## GUIDE TO THE RH1 CAUCASIA FILE

[Caucasia is a part of the modern USSR. The RH1 Caucasia file is concerned with the region of the Caucasus Mountains and its people as a whole, including their condition under Soviet rule. Caucasia is a geographically diverse area located between the Eurasian steppe belt on the north and the fertile crescent in the south. It is bordered by the Black Sea on the west, by the Caspian Sea on the east, and on the south by Turkey and Iran.

The Caucasian region is noted for its extreme ethnic and linguistic diversity. The ethnic groups fall into the general categories of Russians, Georgians, Armenians, and Tatars. There are 50 indigenous languages. Religions represented include Zoroastrianism, several branches of Christianity, both Sunnite and Shiite branches of Islam, and Judaism. The Caucasus is known as one of the great cross-roads of history. The north has witnessed successive waves of nomads spreading from Asia to Europe. Before Soviet rule, the region was predominantly agricultural. In 1923, it was estimated that 75-80% of the population was engaged in animal or vegetable production. Horse and cattle breeding were especially important. Under the Soviet regime agriculture and cattle-breeding are still practiced but the dominant economic fact is increasing industrialization.

There are four sources in the file, numbered 3, 5, 7 and 8. Ethnographic data on northern Caucasian marriage, family, and customary law will be found in 8: Lužbetak. Source 7: Columbia University is a lengthy monograph

on ethnography, history, economics, and politics. Sources number 5 and 3 provide background on the history and economy of the region until the early 1920's. The file was processed in 1955-56.]

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132 vegetation is abundant, and near the sea semi-tropical in its luxuriance.

East of the Suram Mountains the climate is dry, with extremes of heat and cold. The summer is oppressively hot, particularly in the Kura valley. The Caspian basin, as a whole, suffers from drought, and in the Baku district violent sand and dust storms are common.

The climate in the Armenian Highlands shows characteristics similar to those of the two areas above described. At Alexandropol snow lies till the middle of April, spring lasts a fortnight, and the summer parches the country to the condition of a desert. The Aras valley has a somewhat less rigorous climate.

Recent climatic statistics for the three areas are shown in the table given on p. 7.

### (4) Sanitary Conditions

[144] 364 Sanitation in anything like the modern sense of the word is practically unknown in Transcaucasia. Medical facilities, except in the larger towns, are practically non-existent. Constant epidemics of malaria are caused by the marshy conditions prevailing on the Black Sea coast, and in the valleys of the Rion, Aras, and Kura. Goitre and epilepsy are common among the natives of Svanetia. Leprosy occurs among the poorer classes of the Persian population. Elisavetopol is notorious for the so-called Sartian sickness, a kind of skin eruption.

### (5) Race and Language

563 197 Of the numerous peoples represented in Caucasia, 101 some belong to the white race, others to the Mongolian or yellow race.

I. The inhabitants who are of white race belong to the Indo-European, Semitic, or Caucasian families.

*Indo-European Family.*—Everywhere there are *Russian* officials, merchants, and soldiers, and there are also large numbers of peasants, who are either voluntary colonists or religious exiles from European Russia. They speak both Great and Little Russian.

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*Germans*, who came originally from Württemberg, live chiefly in the Tiflis Government and at Helenendorf near Elisavetopol. 543 197 101

There are some 14,000 *Greeks* in Tiflis, near the Turkish frontier, and in Chernomoria. They speak a corrupt form of Greek.

The *Iranians* include *Persians* at Tiflis, who number several thousands; the *Tates*, *Tats*, or *Tads*, descendants of Persian conquerors, who live chiefly in Baku, and speak either Persian or Tatar; the *Talyshes*, who are also of Persian descent, and live in the Lenkoran district; the *Kurds*, who come from the mountains on the Assyrian border, and have spread over a large part of Asia Minor and the Caucasus; and the *Ossetes* (calling themselves *Iron*), who occupy the central mountainous region from Mount Elbruz to Mount Kazbek in the east, and from Vladikavkaz in Ciscaucasia to the district round Dushet and Gori in the Tiflis Government.

The *Armenians* form the merchant and trading class in most of the towns. Armenian peasants are chiefly confined to the Governments of Erivan and Elisavetopol; they are more virile than the townbred Armenians, and cannot be easily distinguished from the Tatars.

*Semitic Family.*—There are over 45,000 *Jews* in the Tiflis and Kutais Governments and in Daghestan. The Jews of Tiflis and Kutais speak Georgian, those of Daghestan local dialects.

*Caucasian Family.*—This family is divided into three groups: the Kartalian or southern, the western Highland, and the eastern Highland. The language of the Kartalian group, except when otherwise stated, is Georgian; there are many dialects. The language is distinct from those of the Indo-European family, but has few affinities with other main Caucasian groups. To the *Kartalian group* belong the *Georgians* or *Gruzians*, who form the majority of the population of the Government of Tiflis, inhabiting the upper reaches of the Kura from Akhaltsikh to below Tiflis

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563 and the Yora and Alazan plains as far as Zakatali.
197 The *Imeretians* live in the Kutais Government, west
101 of the Suram Mountains as far as the River Tskhenis Tskhali. The *Gurians* are found between the Rion and the Chorokh. The *Adzharians* and *Kabuletians* live in the Adzharis Tskhali valley in the Batum Province. The *Khevsurs*, *Tushes*, and *Pshavs* are wild mountain tribes belonging to the central Caucasus. The *Mingrelians* inhabit the country between the Rion, Ingur, Tskhenis Tskhali, and the Black Sea. There are a few *Lazis* in the south-west corner of Transcaucasia; most of this tribe live in Turkish territory in Lazistan. The *Svanetians* live in the valleys of the upper Ingur and Tskhenis Tskhali on the southern slopes of the main Caucasian chain.

[144] To the *western Highland group* belong the tribes who call themselves *Adighé*, but whom the Russians call *Cherkess* (Circassians). They used to inhabit the Caucasus range from Taman to Pitsunda and the left bank of the Kuban in Ciscaucasia. They speak a harsh dialect of their own. The *Abkhasians*, who speak a similar dialect, occupy the Black Sea coast from Pitsunda to the Ingur.

Of the peoples in the *eastern Highland group*, the *Chechentsy* or *Chechens* live mostly in the Terek Province, but there are still a few on the Daghestan frontier. The *Lesghians*, including the *Avar*, *Darginian*, and *Kurinian* tribes, are the chief occupants of the Daghestan Highlands. They speak a guttural dialect of their own, though in the east the Azarbaijan Tatar patois is in common use.

[144] II. Of the peoples of Mongolian race the chief are the *Tatars*, who mostly come from the Persian province of Azarbaijan and occupy both banks of the middle and lower Kura, intermingled with Armenian and Kurd colonies. Their language is akin to Turkish, and is the *lingua franca* of western and southern Transcaucasia. There are a few *Nogaitsy* Tatars in Daghestan.
101 The Tatars in Kars Province are known as the
563 *Karapapakhs*. The *Kumyks*, who live on the Daghestan

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coast north of Derbent, are closely akin to the Azarbaijan Tatars. The *Turks* or *Osmanli* live chiefly in the Provinces of Kars and Batum. In the Province of Kars there are a few *Turcomans*.

To sum up for Transcaucasia, it may be said that the four important peoples are the Russians, Georgians, Armenians, and Tatars. It is upon these peoples and their mutual relations that the future of the country depends.

The official census of 1897 gave statistics of the various peoples in Transcaucasia. Though with regard to the more remote tribes these figures are only approximate, they are the best available and have served as a basis for all subsequent estimates. The distribution of the various peoples is shown in the following table:

GOVERNMENTS AND PROVINCES[1]

| | *Baku.* | *Daghestan.* | *Elisavetopol.* | *Kars.* | *Kutais.* | *Tiflis.* | *Chernomoria.* | *Erivan.* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Abkhasians | 2 | 28 | — | 7 | 59,469 | 46 | 2 | — |
| Armenians | 52,233 | 1,636 | 292,188 | 73,406 | 24,043 | 196,189 | 6,285 | 441,000 |
| Chechens | 10 | 757 | 13 | 63 | 46 | 2,207 | 5 | 3 |
| Cherkess | 18 | 37 | 10 | 71 | 165 | — | 1,939 | 1 |
| Czechs | 149 | 19 | 25 | 11 | 167 | 245 | 1,290 | 36 |
| Georgians | 1,616 | 375 | 1,239 | 526 | 343,929 | 465,537 | 976 | 566 |
| Germans | 3,430 | 261 | 3,194 | 430 | 1,065 | 8,340 | 748 | 210 |
| Greeks | 278 | 38 | 558 | 32,593 | 14,482 | 27,118 | 5,969 | 1,323 |
| Imeretians | 23 | 20 | 119 | 7 | 270,513 | 1,546 | 158 | 9 |
| Jews | 8,172 | 7,361 | 185 | 1,138 | 7,006 | 5,188 | 990 | 850 |
| Kabards | 23 | 31 | — | 19 | 7 | 14 | — | — |
| Karachais | — | 4 | 29 | 6 | 16 | 67 | — | 3 |
| Kumyks | 26 | 51,209 | 2 | 21 | 24 | 25 | 3 | 5 |
| Kurds | 8 | 22 | 3,042 | 42,968 | 1,824 | 2,538 | 22 | 49,389 |
| Lesghians | 62,972 | 450,912 | 22,601 | 524 | 446 | 43,094 | 72 | 124 |
| Lithuanians | 272 | 520 | 116 | 892 | 450 | 1,263 | 47 | 384 |
| Mingrelians | 39 | 10 | 37 | 10 | 238,655 | 498 | 304 | 13 |
| Moldavians | 48 | 66 | 105 | 46 | 197 | 198 | 923 | 29 |
| Nogai | — | 1,909 | — | 1 | — | 18 | — | 12 |
| Osmanli | 1,255 | 18 | 9 | 63,547 | 46,665 | 24,722 | 650 | 245 |
| Ossetes | 113 | 113 | 96 | 520 | 4,240 | 67,268 | 12 | 112 |
| Persians | 5,973 | 1,720 | 338 | 568 | 1,022 | 1,991 | 210 | 235 |
| Poles | 1,439 | 1,630 | 616 | 3,243 | 1,938 | 6,282 | 731 | 1,385 |
| Russians | 77,681 | 16,044 | 17,875 | 27,856 | 23,443 | 85,772 | 34,546 | 13,937 |
| Tatars | 485,146 | 32,143 | 534,086 | 2,347 | 750 | 107,383 | 291 | 313,176 |
| Tates | 89,519 | 2,998 | 1,753 | 6 | 34 | 16 | 2 | 709 |
| Turcomans | 74 | 9 | 4 | 8,442 | 8 | 12 | — | 1 |

[1] The Province of Batum and the District of Sukhum are included in the Government of Kutais. The District of Zakatali is included in the Government of Tiflis.

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175 the lowlanders—pork and wine—was unsuitable to the soldiers of the Khalif and unfavourable to the propagation of Islam. However this may be, Guria, the lowland strip between the Ajar hills and the Rion, was tributary to the Turks, and the Guriels, of the Svanetian family of Varvanidze, whose seat was Ozurgeti, generally brought a contingent into the field to support the Pasha of Akhaltsikh. The Dadians of Mingrelia, of the family of Chikhovan, and the Kings of Imeretia, descendants of David Narin, with their seat at Kutais, were subject to the Turks in approximately the same degree as the rulers of Karthalinia and Kakhetia were to the Persians, and in such a position were alternately the allies and the victims of the Sultan.

To sum up—at the end of the seventeenth century the Persians ruled South-eastern Transcaucasia and dominated Karthalinia and Kakhetia; the Turks held the valley of the Chorokh and virtually controlled Guria, Mingrelia and Imeretia. The northern districts of the Araghva, Svanetia and Abkhazia were in practice independent. Finally, the mountain tribes—the Cherkesses, Kabards, Ossets, Chechens, and Lesghians—recognised no authority, but alternately raided the territories of, or allied themselves with, one or other of the three Bagratid Kings in Georgia.

## II

### SOCIAL ORGANISATION, MANNERS AND CUSTOMS 1

101 It will have been noticed that the above historical sketch deals chiefly with Georgia—that somewhat vague but fertile territory lying south of the Caucasian Range and watered by the Rion to the west and the upper stream of the Kur and its tributaries to the east—whilst little or no space has been devoted to the inhabitants of the mountains themselves. The reason is fairly apparent, for we may say that these mountain tribes, at all events during the period with which we have been dealing, have had no history worth recording. Living as they did in their rough mountain fastnesses, cut off from each other not only by the difficulties of their surroundings but by the immense variety of different languages that they spoke, the only matter of interest in their communications with the outer world lay in the spheres of commerce and religion; and on these we shall touch in the process of description.

The mountain tribes of the Caucasus may be classified for practical purposes in two main groups, those of the Western

1 [see cat. 116, pp. 169-176 -- Analyst]

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and Eastern Highlands respectively. This classification does not correspond to any definite linguistic or ethnological division. But the geographical division through the Daryal Pass, and the historical causes which have associated the western tribes with the Black Sea region and the eastern tribes with the Caspian and Kur Valley, may justify a classification in other respects arbitrary. The western tribes, popularly called Cherkesses,[1] or Circassians, occupied the triangle between Taman, the sources of the Kuban and the Terek and the upper reaches of the Kodor. Generically they were divided into the Adigé, occupying the Black Sea Coast from Anapa to Gagri and the hinterland to the Kuban; the Kabardans, settled on the highlands lying along the upper courses of the Kuban and the Baksan Rivers, and along the left bank of the Terek; and the Abkhazes, divided into the Abazekhs and the Abkhaz, who inhabited the coast from Gagri to Sukhum, and the hinterland as far as the sources of the Kodor. The inaccessible nature of the country, with its dangerous coast, its impenetrable forests and marshes, and its impassable mountains, cut by more than sixty streams falling into the Black Sea, made all communications difficult, and tended to isolate small communities from their neighbours. Here existed a number of tribes speaking different and progressively varying dialects, who were mutually hostile or allied in the waging of perpetual feuds, and whose culture developed with little incentive to change, no occasion for innovation, and rare influence from without.

The coastal valleys formed the natural settlements and the mountains the natural frontiers. The chief tribes of the Adigé were the Chegaki (sailors) of the coast between Anapa and Sunjuk, the Natu Khajis (villages of Natu), who occupied the territory north-eastwards to the left bank of the Kuban; and the Chapsughs (breeders of horses), stretching, with some smaller tribes, as far as Gagri. Lesser tribes occupied the northern slopes of the Caucasus as far as the Kuban.

The social organisation of all the Cherkess tribes was on an elaborate feudal basis; a system had developed which rigidly divided the people into five classes: the princes (*pcheh* or *pchi*), who exercised tribal regal power; the nobles (*work*), who formed a few powerful families of almost equal rank with the pcheh; the freedmen, who had bought their liberty, and whose descendants could by merit acquire the rights of nobles; the serfs, who could own cattle and land of their own, who

[1] A suggested derivation of the name is from the Turkish *cher* (road) and *kesmek* (cut), signifying brigands (Chantre iv, 111).

565 had the right to change masters, and who were protected against arbitrary sale; and the slaves, who were for the most part prisoners of war. Very definite laws regulated the rights and duties of the various castes, and intermarriage was forbidden. On the other hand the princes[1] exercised little real [642] authority; leadership in war was not an hereditary right, but leaders were elected from the families of the princes and nobles by a popular assembly of the four highest classes; while judges were nominated by popular vote, with powers only for a single day.

189 The social organisation of the Cherkesses was in many respects anarchical, for not only was every tribe independent, 871 but every noble's household within each tribe. Nevertheless the general conduct of the people was subject to a series of established customs, based on primitive conceptions of chivalry, respect for age, hospitality and blood-vengeance. The sons of nobles were educated in a long and difficult course of knightly training by cadet members of other noble families, who stood in the joint relation to them of tutor and blood-brother. The women had few rights, but the rights of protection by their fathers and husbands were very clearly defined.

101 The eastern tribes occupied the country between the Daryal and the Caspian littoral, and from the right bank of the Terek to the hills overlooking the valleys of the Alazan and the Kur. On the north, inhabiting the highlands of the Terek, the Sunja and the Argun, were the various tribes of Chechens, and the lesser related tribes of the Ingushes, the Kists, the Itskheris and the Galgais. Segregated in unapproachable villages (*auls*) in the depths of primæval beech-forests, the Chechens had a culture which was far less developed than that of the Cherkesses. They had no class system, and lived together in small anarchical communities.

South-east of the Chechens were the powerful Lesghian [633] tribes, scattered over Daghestan ("The Mountain Country"), which formed an elevated table-land through which innumerable rivers had cut channels to a depth frequently of thousands of feet, the whole being backed and ribbed south and west by mountain chains with several peaks over 13,000 feet in height. The principal Lesghian tribes were the Kubachins and Darghis on the north-east, bordering the Chechen country, the Kazi-Kumukhs of the central plateau, the Kurins and Tabasserans of the south-east, overlooking the Tatar lowlands of Shirvan, and the Avars, Andis and Didos on the west, bordering on Kakhetia.

1 [of the Cherkess--Analyst]

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Of these the Kubachins,[1] skilled armourers, the Kurins and 101
the Tabasserans—the two latter tribes probably descendants of Persian colonists—were the most peaceable, industrious and civilised, while the Avars were the most warlike. All the [622]
Daghestanli tribes were organised on a patriarchal and extremely democratic basis—the chiefs being elective and controlled by councils of elders. To quote Hanway—"as they live under a kind of republican government, the distinction paid to him (the chief) is not very considerable."[2]

Distinct, racially and politically, from the other mountain tribes were the Ossets, who, divided into four main tribes—Digurins, Tagaurs, Kutatins and Alaghirs—were settled over the southern slopes of the Central Caucasus and in the valley of the Upper Araghva. Their social organisation, with its divisions into classes of nobles and serfs, corresponded in many respects to that of the western tribes.

The mountaineers possessed the accepted characteristics of 181
all semi-civilised peoples: on the one hand reckless courage, extreme generosity, hospitality, loyalty, respect for the aged and love of animals; on the other hand a sensibility to offence and a childish vindictiveness which was expressed in perpetual and blood-thirsty vendettas, extreme personal vanity, a disinclination to submit to discipline or to undertake regular work, cruelty, callousness and violence.

All travellers unite in praising the hospitality of the moun- 574
taineers. "They fulfil the duties of hospitality with the most scrupulous attention, and both the host and his guest style one another *conacco*,[3] which is synonymous with *hospes* in Latin. On the departure of the latter, his host escorts him to another lodging, protects him, and, if necessary, risks his own life in defence of his guest. Though it has been observed that robbery is so general in this country that it may be considered as a regular profession, they nevertheless manifest the utmost fidelity to their conacci or guests.[4] Of the Ingushes Klaproth says, "At entertainments the host always waits upon his guests, and eats only what the latter throw him."[5]

The chief occupation and interest of the tribes lay in per- 721
petual raids against their neighbours, or against the inhabitants

[1] Chantre, basing himself on Kubachin legends, suggests that this community was of Greek origin, the descendants of a colony of armourers settled by the Persian Kings at Derbend (Chantre, iv, 228).
[2] Hanway, i. 373.
[3] The Italianised form of "kunakh."
[4] Klaproth, p. 336, Dubois de Montpereux, i, 88, both quoting Interiano.
[5] Klaproth, p. 349.

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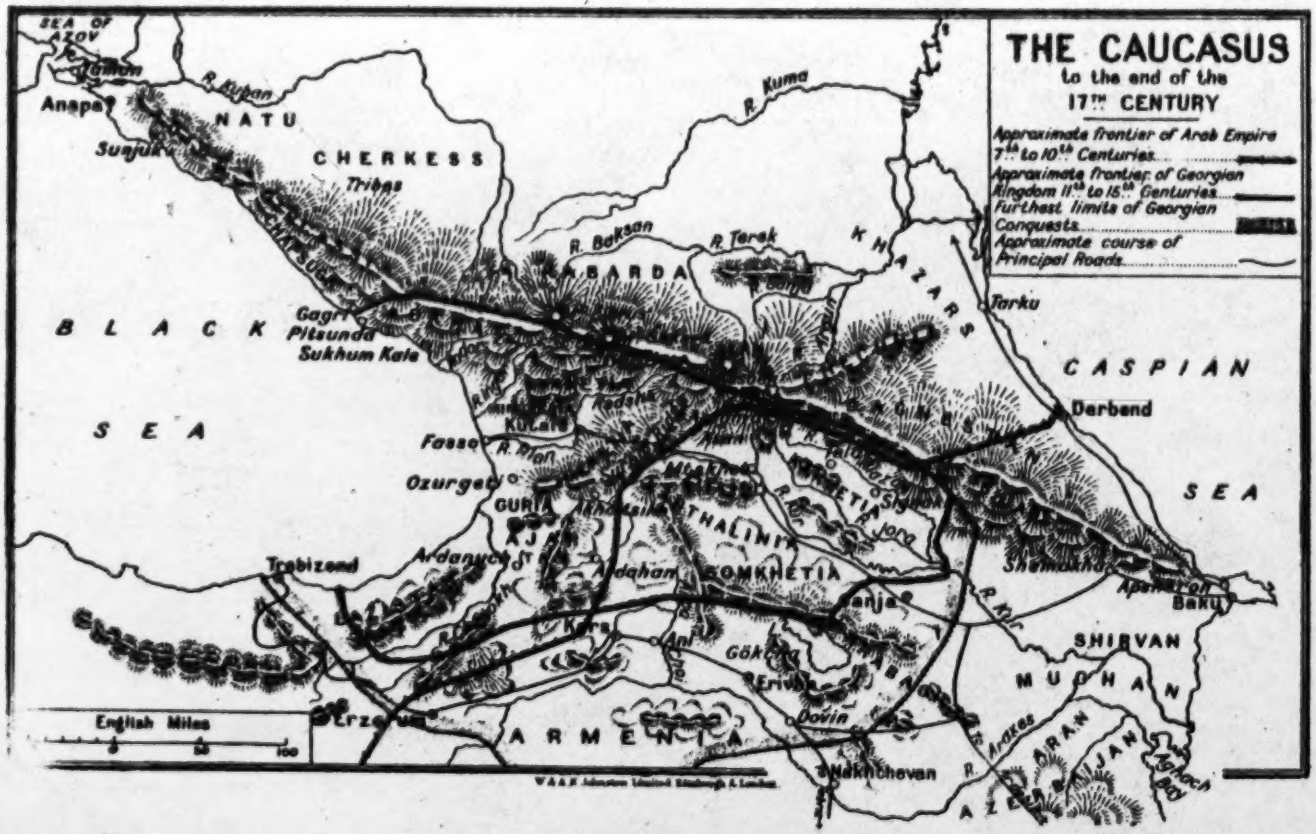


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/For an index of Caucasian peoples, see category 116, pp. 491-501./

144 long while before had largely perished or vanished; and of all countries on the earth, it is in the Caucasus that the greatest number of relic peoples has been preserved down to the present.

901 171 The significance of the Caucasus in the history of human culture is unique; there is no comparison with any of the other mountain ranges mentioned, which share with the Caucasus the quality of a divide and a refuge. Every ancient civilization famous for its mythology survives in Dagestan down to our days. Trans-Caucasia and the region of Maikop in the northwestern foothills of the mountains, both integral parts of the Caucasus and ancient Caucasian lands, are, like Dagestan, the home of very ancient metal-working societies. Quite a few terms for metals and tools in Indo-European, Semitic and other Near and Middle Eastern languages are of Caucasian origin. The primordial cultural significance of the Caucasus finds eloquent expression in the classical myth of Prometheus, the fire-bringer. But it is not only pre-historical or early historical cultures that are at home in the Caucasus; historical cultures of a considerable age, surviving in the tradition of the two groups of ancient inhabitants of Trans-Caucasia --the Georgians and the Armenians--are also to be found there.

172 continued its migration southeastward as far
171 as Noyon (Noyin)-Ola in Mongolia, and finally into northern China. Thus we see a pre-historic cultural connection between the Caucasus and north central Asia and the Far East; this connection took place in the Bronze Age, probably the later Bronze Age, and consisted at least in a cultural transmission over a distance rarely observed during any historical period down to the beginning of the modern
174 age. In mythical and legendary traditions,
.101 peoples of the Caucasus were known to the ancient Mesopotamians, the Assyro-Babylonians, and the Hebrews of the Old Testament as the Gimirru or the Gomer. This name survives well into classical antiquity, when there are repeated mentions of the Kimmerioi as living on the northern and northeastern shores of the Black Sea, and after whom the Strait of Kerch and Taman was called the Kimmerian (or Cimmerian) Bosporus. It is quite possible that this same name is found again in that of Crimea. Peoples living in or near the Caucasus were the Togarma and the Gog and Magog of the Old Testament.

174 The lands of the Caucasus in a larger sense remained without any literature or historiography of their own until Christian times, i.e., until the time of their own conversion to Christianity in the 4th and 5th centuries. But before this time they were in the immediate

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## The Caucasian Groups

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While the northwestern third of the Great Caucasus is completely peopled by Russians only, the central and southeastern thirds are exclusively the home of Caucasian peoples proper. This area begins at the source river system of the Kuban on the western slopes of the Elbrus massif, and extends without interruption down to the southeast, in the region of the Baba-dagh. At the northwestern end of this area, all around the Elbrus massif, the Turkic-speaking Karachai and Balkar lived until 1943 or 1944; in their stead, the area is now inhabited by a few Svans and Mingrelians. This is in the immediate vicinity of the Kabarda, along the western tributaries of the T'erek; the Kabarda are the easternmost people of the Northwestern Caucasians. Farther to the east is the large strip of Oset'is, who speak an East (or North) Iranian language and extend far into the area of the K'art'velian people of Trans-Caucasia, with a scattered group up in the valley of Tsagveri and Bakuriani, east of Borzhomi. East of the Darial gorge, chiefly along the central massifs and on the northern slopes, the Checheno-Ingush lived prior to their deportation to southern Kazakhstan in 1943-1944; further to the southeast follow the

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101 peoples of Dagestan, linguistically designated, like the Chechenians, as Northeast-Caucasians. These peoples reach the Caspian coast at only a few points around the Samur estuary and in the Kusari-Kuba district. The coastal zone is occupied as follows: from the area of Derbent southward, Turkic Azerbaidjanians; from approximately long. 48°E. northward, Turkic Kumyk; and approximately from Buinaki northward, live Russians. The entire southeastern part of the Caucasus, including the peninsula of Apsheron, is peopled by Azerbaidjanians and two nations already pushed back into the mountainous portions of that area: the Tat and the Talysh who speak a West Iranian language. (About half of the Tat are of Jewish religion and are often called "mountain Jews".)

Thus, in these two-thirds of the Caucasus, the extreme geographical variety is matched on the part of the population by an extreme variety of ethnological and linguistic aspects. Like the Kabarda and the Adyghe-Cherkess north of the Caucasus, there is another splinter of the ancient Northwestern Caucasians to the south, the Abkhazes. The majority of these people live south of the Caucasian ranges and along the Black Sea coast, northwest and southeast of ancient Dioskurias, the modern Sukhumi, mainly in the valleys of Bzipi and Kodor. The

162 main ranges of the Caucasus, to the north of
101 them, belong to the area of Russian population.

## Trans-Caucasia

In rather sharp contrast to the great multiplicity of the population of the alpine regions of the Caucasus, the wide Trans-Caucasian valley, as well as the Anti-Caucasus, are comparatively simple in their ethnological and linguistic composition. The eastern part of the area is preponderantly peopled by the Turkic Azerbaidjanians, deriving their name from the Caucasian land which they took over during the 11th century A. D. from Caucasian and Iranian peoples who at that time were under Arab overlordship. These Azerbaidjanians penetrated the valleys of the Kura and the Araxes, even beyond Tiflis and Erivan. Therefore, preponderantly non-Azerbaidjanian populations are found only in northern and central Armenia, the Armenians, and in Karabakh, where after the Armenians the Kurds are in the majority. In the region of Kars, the Azerbaidjanians and their closest relatives, the Osman Turks, the conquerors of Anatolia and thus of the Byzantine Empire, are found side by side.

## Armenians

162 The Armenians appear as strong minor-
563 ities all over Trans-Caucasia, along the Aghry-Chai and the southern slopes of the Great

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a most crude way, which sometimes is found so obtrusive and shocking in many Oriental countries of the present epoch. The technical backwardness--actual or imagined--is thus often matched by a technocratic overemphasis which threatens to level out everything these countries have produced and contributed to their own and to common human culture.

## Georgians

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The K'art'velians or Georgians proper have been split into two groups, an eastern and western, by the intrusion of Oset'i from the north and the Azerbaidjanians from the southeast. The latter extend as far northwestward as the immediate vicinity of the modern capital of Georgia, Tiflis, (in Georgian: T'bilisi, "Hot Springs" from the stem tp'ili [Georgian] "warm;" common with Indo-European, cf. Slav. [Čech.] place-name Teplice, "Hot Springs," mentioned above; Lat. tepidus, "warm," etc.); and from Tiflis southeastward, the Azerbaidjanians hold the entire valley of the Kura (in Georgian: Mtkvari, Strabon's Kyros). The Georgians hold only the Aragvi valley (Strabon's Aragos), the upper Iora, almost the entire Alazani (Strabon's Alazonios) —this is Kakhet'ia, and the upper Kura valley. The Meskhi-Surami Range and the eastern and southern portion of Colchis, Imeret'ia (practically all the land at the left bank, i.e., south

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[103]

C. G. 162 101 and east of the Rioni) are Georgian, and Imeret'ian and other west Georgian dialects are spoken there. To the Georgian area belongs also Adjaristan (Adžaristan), the valley of the Acharis-Tskhali, which borders in the south and west on Azerbaidjanian and Osman speaking peoples, and in the west, with the Laz people. The Adjarians (Acharians), like their neighbors, are of Mohammedan faith.

## T'ushuri, Khevsuri and P'shaveli

The northeasternmost Georgians, living in the alpine parts of the central Caucasus, are an interesting and distinct people. Although they speak East-K'art'velian dialects and are Orthodox Christians, the Georgians do not consider them as the same nation. The reasons are not only their inaccessibility and age-long seclusion and independence, but also customs and manners which in this way have been preserved from by-gone times. These remote people make up three tribes: the T'ushuri, Khevsuri, and P'shaveli, who live in the high valleys of the source rivers of the Andi-Koisu, Aragvi, and Argun, and of the Iora. In sharp contrast to other Caucasian peoples, blue eyes are not rare with them. Shields, spears, straight long swords, iron or steel helmets, coats of mail and armor were worn by many of them (usually the Khevsurs) as late as the nineteenth century, and in a few instances, even after the Russian Revolution.

C. G. [142] 411 713

Georgia RI1
Khevsur, Pschv,
Tushin

C. G. [713] Some had the sign of the cross upon their shields, so that they looked exactly like medieval European knights and Crusaders.

C. G. 764 171 Up in the country of the Khevsurs a few very ancient churches can be found; near these, often isolated, stand some typically Khevsurian tomb structures or burial chapels unique in the Caucasus. Funeral ceremonies held by the Khevsurs are (or were ?) often accompanied by horse races, an ancient custom of horse-breeding nomads of the steppes. (This custom is reminiscent of the "dokhia" [δόχια] of some Turkic tribes in the plains near the Altai, described by the Byzantine envoy Menandros Protector, who was sent in 568 to the Great-Khan of the Türküt in the Altai region, a territory which is now part of northwestern Mongolia.) Perhaps the Khevsurs borrowed this custom from the Alans, the nomadic ancestors of the present-day Oset'i.

## S'vanet'ians

C. G. 162 101 Another K'art'velian group which in its mountainous seclusion has preserved numerous ancient customs and traditions is the Svans (or Shvan, Strabon's Soanes [Σοάνες]), who live in the high valleys of the Ingur and Ts'khenis-Tskhali, just south of the central high massifs of the Caucasus, between Gvandra and Shkhara. Their language is the most archaic of all the K'art'velian tongues. The Svans are

C. G. [141] outstanding for their height; two meters is not rare.

000 outstanding for their height; two meters is not rare.

C. G. 361 342 Svanet'ia is perhaps the only Caucasian country where every individual house is a real fortress. The mountain villages, usually known by the Turkic term aul all over the Caucasus, always consist of a certain number of houses fortified by defense towers. In some parts of the Caucasus every second or third house, or rather estate, has such a tower. In Dagestan, in general, about three-quarters of the houses of a village are fortified. In Svanet'ia, however, most houses are built of stone and have C. G. their own tower. It was known to classical ●[101] antiquity that many, or at least some, Caucasian peoples dwelt in towers, and the Mossynoikoi, mentioned above as metal workers,[1] were accordingly called "tower dwellers" (mossyn meaning "tower"; Xenophon V, 5; Strabon XII, 3, 18). For lack of wood. brushwood, and clay, stone is the only building material in many auls; but in most auls the houses, usually called by the K'art'uli term sakhli, are built of stone for reasons of defense. When the auls are built up the slopes of mountains, the sakhlis are arranged in staircase fashion one above the other, so that it is possible to go through the larger part of an aul using the roofs as the only path, i.e., by climbing from one roof to another. The roofs are flat and consist of stamped clay spread out

[1] [cf. cat. 116, p. 207 -- Analyst]

## Mingrelians

C. G. 162 101

In the northwestern, malaria-infested part of Colchis live the Mingrelians. In the region of Ochamchire, the area is interrupted by the southeastern strip of the Abkhaz, and another group of Mingrelians lives north and northwest of the city of Sukhumi. Occupationally, they do not differ from the Georgians. The charm and beauty of the Mingrelian women is always praised by Caucasians and foreigners alike.

## Laz

As their languages prove, the Mingrelians are the closest relatives of the Laz (or Chan, the Sannoi [ ] of Strabon). A very small minority of the Laz live on Soviet territory right at the frontier, near the estuary of the Chorokh; the vast majority live along the Black Sea coast, from the Chorokh estuary southwestward as far as the Turkish town of Pazar (or Atina) half-way from Batumi to Trapezunt (Turkic: Trabzon, Tarabzun).

## Minorities

C. 162

Each town and city of the Caucasus has a variety of minorities. The population of some towns seems to have consisted at certain

778 after the oil industry had begun to exploit the
177 wells of Apsheron, natural gas was also made use of, with the result that after 1887, the regular religious services at the temple were discontinued. Above the entrance to the fire temple there is a Sanskrit inscription set into the wall, although upside down; however, the inscription does not contain any data as to the erection of the temple or of the particular place in India with which it was intimately connected.
101 The fire worshippers of Surakhany were called
177 Multani, and though no literary sources on this name have come to my attention, this is a hint as to the origin of these fire worshippers, who may have come from the city of Multan on the Chenab, a tributary of the Indus in present-day Pakistan. Evidently, this city was the home of the Parsi founders of that trading colony in or near Baku. These Multānī could hardly be called a national minority in the Caucasus; they are to be considered rather as temporary residents, unlike the Greeks of the ancient Ionian colonies.

## Conclusion. Ethnical History

174 Thus, we see the older inhabitants of the Caucasus living in the higher regions of the Great Caucasus and in Dagestan and the southern and southwestern parts of Trans-Caucasia. These peoples have been living in the Caucasus since pre-historic times. In many instances, we can distinguish among them early and more

144 cases populations have changed their language.
162 Again, the same cultural area may contain diverse ethnic groups.

101 Due to the fact that (1) many Caucasian peoples first became known under names given to them (or to part of them) by one or other of their neighbors, (2) several Caucasian peoples (in a linguistic sense) had no general self-designation but referred to themselves as "from such-and-such a village," and (3) in some cases the whole population of a larger area was referred to by a single name belonging to only one of the ethnic groups in it or by a descriptive term such as "mountaineers." Caucasian ethnic and linguistic nomenclature as found in the literature of the last 200 years is baffling to the unitiated. The list of "Peoples and Languages of the Caucasus" with its Index is intended to be a guide to this complex maze. 1

In the following, the peoples of the Caucasus are summed up. For details on each individual group, reference should be made to the list of "Peoples and Languages."

1. [cf. cat. 116, pp. 421-501 -- Analyst]

7:Columbia U. S-4, 5 1956 RH1 . CaucasiaRH1
Georgia RI 1
Grusians

# I. PALEOCAUCASIAN PEOPLES

C. G. 162 101

On the basis of linguistic criteria the Paleocaucasian peoples fall into three groups: A Southern group with ca. 2,250,000 speakers, a North-Western group with ca. 350,000 speakers and a North-Eastern group with ca. 1,300,000 speakers.

C. G. 101

## A. South Caucasian Peoples

The peoples belonging to the Southern (Kartvelian, Iberian) group occupy the western and central part of the territory between the Great and Little Caucasus, i.e. the basins of the rivers Chorokh, Rioni, Ingur, the upper Kura, Iora and Alazani; this is the territory of the Georgian SSR. The Kartvelian group comprises four peoples: the Svan, the Mingrelians, the Laz and the Georgians.

a. The more than 2 million Georgians are not only by far the most numerous of the Paleocaucasian peoples, but also the only one with an old political tradition and a literary language that goes back into the 5th century A.D. They call themselves Kartveli, pl. Kartvelni, and their language Kartuli ena; from this is derived the term Sakartvelo denoting since the Middle Ages the Georgian state and political territory, and the newly formed adjective kartveluri applied to the South Caucasian languages and peoples as a

C. G. 101

whole. The sense of the term Kartveli has expanded; it referred originally only to the inhabitants of the central and politically leading province of Kartli with the capitals Tiflis and in older times Mtskheta. The European designations: Italian Georgiano, French Géorgien, English Georgia and Georgian, German Georgien and Georgier, derive from the Persian name Gurdj (pl. Gurdjan, adj. Gurdji) heard by the crusaders and spelt by them so as to connect it with the name of Saint George. The Persian Gurdj adopted also by the Turks goes back to Sasanide Persian Waručan - Parthian Wirčan; the latter shows the stem wir - which appears in the Armenian designation of the Georgians Virk, sing. Vratsi; the connection with this stem of the Greek name of the forefathers of the Georgians, the Iberes, is very doubtful. From another Persian name-form Gurz, pl. Gurzan, found already in Syriac sources of the beginning of the 8th century, are derived the Russian terms Gruziya (country) and Gruziny (inhabitants).

C. G. 197

The Georgian dialects, which in the main do not show great differences, are divided by the range of the Surami mountains into two groups. To the Eastern group belong the dialects of Kartli, of K'akheti, the country between the river Iora and the mountains of Dagestan, of the Ingilo, islamized Georgians on the river Alazani, and of the mountain

C. G. 197 tribes: Tush on the upper course of the Andian Koisu, Khevsur on the upper course of the rivers (Eastern) Aragvi and Argun, Pshavs south of them on the Aragvi and the upper Iora, Mokhev and Mtiul on the upper Terek, Western Aragvi and Ksani. The Western group consists of the dialects of Upper and Lower Imereti with the center Kutaisi, of the mountainous regions of Rach'a on the Upper Rioni and Lechkhum in the west of Rach'a, and of Guria south of the Rioni, reaching the Black Sea between Poti and Kobuleti. The Ach'arians south of the Gurians and west of Batum do not differ from them in speech, but in culture, being Mohammedans, and therefore have received the status of an Autonomous Republic.

C. G. •101 b. The Mingrelians, numbering about 300,000 occupy the territory north of the lower Rioni and west of the Tskhenis-tskali extending on the coast of the Black Sea from the mouth of the Rioni up to the town of Ochemchire. They call their country Odishi and themselves Margali; this name is, somewhat distorted, already mentioned by Ptolemy. It corresponds to Georgian Megreli, a derivation from Egrisi, as Mingrelia is called in the Old Georgian documents and by the Armenian geographers. It is probable that Mingrelian in former times occupied a much larger territory, i.e., all Western Georgia, as it is now separated by Gurian from the closely related Laz, and the Western dialects of Georgian show a Mingrelian substrate.

7: Columbia U. S-4,5 1956 RH1 Caucasia RH1
Georgia RI1
Mingrel, Laz, Swan

000 Georgian show a Mingrelian substrate.
C Mingrelian has never been a literary language;
G in the schools, Georgian is the language
197 of teaching so that in the last decades Mingrelian has notably changed in favour of a closer resemblance to Georgian. Many of the modern Georgian authors are of Mingrelian origin.

C c. The Laz live on the seacoast and
G in the valleys of the small rivers falling into
.101 the Black Sea between the towns of Khope and Atina. Only a very small part (730 persons according to the census of 1926) live in Soviet
C territory; the large majority live in Turkish
G territory (ca. 47,000 acc. to the Turkish
[191] census of 1945). All Laz speak Turkish in public and use their mother tongue only as a
[192] home language. Laz is full of Turkish loanwords; even the name Lazi which the Laz use for themselves is borrowed from Turkish. The Georgians call them Ch'ani which corresponds to Tzanoi used by Procopius. Lazike was in Roman and Byzantine times the designation not only of modern Lazistan, but also of all
C Western Georgia, having superseded the old
G Greek name of Colchis. The Laz language is
[197] in phonology almost identical with Mingrelian, but in grammar shows considerable peculiarities. It has never been written except for scientific recording.

d. The Svan (Svanetians) inhabit two valleys in the high mountain chains south of

7: Columbia U. S-4,5 1956 RH1 Caucasia RH1
Georgia RI1
Swan

Mt. Elbrus which in winter were nearly inaccessible before the building of modern roads. The southern valley formed by the upper course of the river Tskhenis-tskali and its tributary Kheledula, formerly belonged to Mingrelia and was called Svanetia of the Dadiani, Dadiani being the name of the ruling family of Mingrelia. The northern valley is that of the Upper Ingur; its lower part in the West was ruled by a family of Abkhaz princes and is known as Svanetia of the Dadishkeliani, the eastern part is called Free Svanetia. The number of the Svan amounts to 22,000 (the number 13,129 given by the census of 1926 is due to some misunderstanding). They call themselves Shwan, sing. Mushwän or Mushwni; the Georgians call them Svani (country: Svaneti), and under this name they were known to Strabo (Soanes) and Pliny (Suani). According to the latter, they were able to set up a military force of 40,000 men. The study of place-names reveals that their territory in former times extended farther south than now.

The Svan and the Georgian mountain tribes (Khevsur, Tush, Pshav, etc.) though they consider themselves to belong to the Georgian nation are culturally in many respects closer to the North Caucasian peoples than to their linguistic relatives in the south.

7: Columbia U. S-4, 5 1956 RHI Caucasia RHI
Georgia RI I
Abchas, Adige

## B. NORTH-WEST CAUCASIAN PEOPLES.

C. G. 101

The North-West Caucasian peoples include the Abkhaz and the Circassians. Up to 1865, the group included a third member, the Ubykh; these, however, emigrated to a man to Turkey after the Russian conquest.

a. The Abkhaz, numbering close to 60,000, live on the Black Sea coast south of the Great Caucasus between the rivers Psou and Ingur. They call themselves Apswa, their country Apsny. In classical antiquity, they were known by the names Absilae (Pliny the Elder, 1st cent. A. D.) and Abasgoi (Arrian, 2nd cent. A. D.). Though since the Middle Ages Abkhazia has been part of the Georgian political territory (and at present the Abkhaz ASSR is part of the Georgian SSR), the Abkhaz, like their Circassian and Ubykh neighbors, preserved a tribal organization and were only to a minor extent affected by the literate culture of Georgia. Small groups of Abkhaz speakers have at different times migrated across the Great Chain to the north; these Abkhaz are now living at the sources of the rivers Kuban and Zelenchuk, and form part of the population of the Cherkes AO. They are known by the name Abaza (R. Abazintsy) and numbered ca. 13,000 in 1926.

C. 101

b. The Circassians or -- as they call themselves -- Adyghe live in the basins of the

•101 rivers Malka, Baksan, Cherek and Upper Terek (Kabardian ASSR); between the Upper Kuban and Zelenchuk rivers (Cherkes AO) and south of the middle course of the Kuban and in the basins of the Laba and Belaya. Smaller groups are scattered in the whole N. W. Caucasus, between and around these concentrations.

[167] The Circassians, now numbering a little over 250,000, were much more numerous before the Russian conquest which caused 3-500,000 of them to emigrate to Turkey. Their self-designation "Adyghe" was first recorded by the Genoese Georgio Interiano (first half of 16th cent.); the Kievan chronicle knows them as Kasogy (and in Ossete the Kabardians are still called Käsäg). Strabo knew in the N.W. Caucasus the Zygoi (other forms: Zikchoi, Zinchoi), a name which may reflect the Circassian word ts'ykhw meaning "human being." The connection of the name "Circassian" (from Ital. Circassi, cf. Turkish, Russian, etc. cherkes) with the ancient Kerketai known already to Hellanikos (5th cent. B.C.) is doubtful.

The Eastern (or Upper) Circassians (in the territory of the present Kabardian ASSR) are known as Kabardians; these were the most numerous and the most warlike of all the Circassian tribes. Of all the N. Caucasian peoples their society developed the most pronounced feudal traits; in the 15-18 centuries they

controlled the neighboring peoples (Chechen, Ossetes, some of the W. Circassians) and assumed cultural leadership in the whole N. Caucasus. The Western (or Lower) Circassians were divided into a number of tribes and preserved to a larger extent the older, patriarchal social structure. The Circassians living in the Cherkes AO speak the Kabardian dialect, but are culturally closer to the W. Circassians; they are the descendants of the so-called "fugitive Kabardians" who emigrated from Kabardá when this was subjugated by the Russians at the beginning of the 19th century.

C. D. 101 197

## C. NORTH-EAST CAUCASIAN PEOPLES.

The North-East Caucasian peoples, which show a much greater linguistic diversity than either the N. W. or the S. group, constitute six major linguistic branches: (a) Veinakh; (b) Avaro-Ando-Dido; (c) Lak-Dargwa; (d) Samurian; (e) Khinalug; and (f) Udi. The representatives of groups (b) - (d), who constitute the Paleocaucasian population of the Dagestan ASSR were usually referred to as "Lezgians," though this name applies only to a member of group (d).

a. The Veinakh peoples comprise the Bats, a small pastoral tribe of ca. 2,500

people living in the village Zemo Alvani on the Kakhetian Alazani, among the Georgian mountain tribe of the Tush (therefore they were formerly erroneously called Tsova-Tush), and a number of tribes whose dialects show common innovations as compared to Bats. Some are nearly extinct, e.g. that of the Karabulak who by 1870 had almost all emigrated to Turkey. The remaining dialects fall into two groups, the Chechen and the Ingush, numbering respectively ca. 408,000 and 92,000 who until 1944 lived between the middle course of the Terek and the Great Caucasus in the Chechen-Ingush ASSR. All Chechen call themselves Nakhchuo (pl. Nokhchiy); the name Chechen came up in the 17th century among the Russians, who applied the name of one aul (Chachan) to the whole people. The older history of the Veinakh peoples is quite unknown; they lived in self-governing communities and had not developed any class distinctions when the Russians came into contact with them. In 1944, the Chechen-Ingush ASSR was abolished and its population deported to Kazakhstan, where it has since received some official recognition (1955) by the issuing of a Chechen language newspaper.

b. The peoples speaking Avaro-Ando-Didoic languages occupy the western part of

C. B. 101 197

Dagestan. The Avar, who live in the basins of the Avar Koisu and the lower Andi-Koisu and also extend to the S. slope of the Great Caucasus, are the most numerous people of this group (1949 ca. 167,000), the peoples forming the Andi and Dido subgroups numbering ca. 35,000. The name Avar is not indigenous, the Avar have no general self-designation, but identify themselves by separate villages; their language they call mahàrul mats', i.e. "mountain language" or khunz mats', i.e. "language of Khunzakh." The name "Avar" seems to have originated with the Kumuk. The Avar never formed a nation in a political sense; they were divided in a number of independent units, the most important of which was the Avar Khanate between the Avar and Andi Koisu with its center Khunzakh. In the 17th century a number of Avar crossed the main chain into the present Zakataly district and subjugated the local Georgian and Azeri population; these Avar are known by the name Dzhartsy or Dzharskie Lezginy.

The Andi and Dido tribes, whose numerous languages are related to though not mutually intelligible with Avar, and who use the latter language as a lingua franca, live around the middle and upper Andi Koisu. The names of both groups are generalizations

C. D. 101 197

from that of a single representative of each, and even so are not self-designations. The Andi proper call themselves Qwannaw (pl. Quannal) after their principal aul Qwanni. The name "Andi" is the Avar designation of their country (Handi), and this name was already known to Pliny (Andacae). The Dido proper call themselves Tsezi (pl. Tsezebi). The name "Dido" is Georgian (didoeti for the country, didouri for inhabitants), as Didouroi, Diduri known to Ptolemy and Pliny.

c. The Lak-Dargwa languages are spoken in the mountains SE of the Avar area (the lowlands in the NE being occupied by the Kumuk). The more than 55,000 Lak inhabit the barren mountains at the upper reaches of the Tleuserakh, Khatar and Kazikumukh-skoe Koisu. They are also known by the name Kazikumukh (after their main aul Kumukh, the inhabitants of which, according to the tradition, in the 8th century willingly accepted and spread by fire and sword Islam, for which the Arabs gave them the name of honor kazi or gazi "fighter for the creed").

C. D. 101

Lak or Lakuchu is the self-designation of the people; the name may be connected with the root Lezg-. Strabo knew in their general area the Gelai and the Legai, which he places between the Albani and the Amazonae. Plutarch mentions the Leges in

C.
D.
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Albania. The Georgians call all the Dagestan mountaineers Lek'i.

*Since the times of the Arab conquest*, the Lak formed a political unit, since the beginning of the 18th century known as the Kazikumukh Khanate, whose power spread well beyond the Lak area. It was Aslan-Khan, Khan of Kazikumukh and Kiure, who in the beginning of the 19th century united most of High Dagestan under his power and promoted the spread of Muridism, under whose banner the mountaineers offered their tough and protracted resistance against the Russian conquest.

As the country of the Lak is barren and the absence of winter pastures makes even sheep-raising difficult the Lak have always depended on richer regions for their subsistence, before the Russian conquest as raiders into Transcaucasia or as mercenaries, afterwards as tinkers, weapon-smiths or laborers. In 1944, a number of Lak were settled in the basin of the Yaryksu river, where the Novo-Lak rayon was created.

In the lower mountains, to the N. E. of the Lak, dwell the tribes speaking Dargwa languages, numbering ca. 125,000. "Dargwa" is not an ethnic term but refers originally to the more or less independent units in which these peoples were subdivided

CD (and which also included a number of Kumuk,
101 Lak and Avar). The "dargwa" of Akusha was the most numerous and powerful; the Utsumi-dargwa was also known as Kaitak or Khaidak (a name of Mongolian origin), its lower part as Kara-Kaitak. In Upper-Kaitak is situated the aul Kubachi, famed far beyond Dagestan for its artistic metal-work. Its inhabitants have been known to the Arabs since the ninth cent. as zirh-gerān "masters of armor" (Pers.); the Turkish name Kubachi (same meaning) has been in use since the 16th cent. The people of Kubachi, who call themselves Ughbug, were always independent of the rulers of Kaitak.

CD Of the numerous Dargwa dialects,
197 Uslar described that of the aul Khiurkila, and so the language became known by the name khiurkilinskii iazyk (Schiefier's Hürkanisch); the present day literary language is based on the dialect of Akusha.

CD d. The southern part of Dagestan, i.e.
101 the basins of the rivers Samur, Kurakh-chai
197 and Chirakh-chai, is occupied by peoples speaking cognate languages which form the Samur group of the N.E. Caucasian language family. The largest people (ca. 165,000) are the Lezgians on the lower and middle course of the Samur and extending in the southeast beyond the Samur into Azerbaidjan,

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where they live intermingled with Azeri. They originally had no general self-designation but borrowed the name Lezgi from the bordering Azeri. The central part of their territory, between the country of the Tabasaran and the Samur, was known under the name K'üre (Russ. Kiura, Kiure); it was for a long time a bone of contention between the Khans of Derbent, Kuba and Kazikumukh. In 1812, the Russians made it into a separate Khanate under the above-mentioned Aslan-Khan, who in 1820 also was appointed Khan of Kazikumukh. Uslar described one of the Kiure dialects; through his work, the Lezgian language became known as kiurinskii iazyk.

Farther upstream on the Samur, in the area of its confluence with the Kara-Samur, live the ca 10,000 Rutul, named after their principal village Rutul which they themselves call Mykhäd. On the uppermost Samur and its tributaries are situated the auls of the ca. 11,000 Tsakhur, who inhabit the region N. of Elisu in Azerbaidjan also. The area of the upper Kurakh-chai and Giulgeri-chai is occupied by the ca. 7,500 Agul. To the W. of Derbend, in the basin of the Upper Rubas-chai and Chirakh-chai live the ca. 30,000 Tabasaran. Finally there belong to the Samur group two languages spoken in the Mt. Shakhdag area, surrounded by Azeri speaking people:

7:Columbia U. S-4, 5 1956 RH1 CaucasiaRH1
Dagestan RH8
BeduKha, Khaput,
Khinalug, Udan

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Budukh (ca. 2000) and Dzhek (or Kryz, Khaputl; ca. 4, 500).

e., f. Two small peoples outside Dagestan speak NE Caucasian languages which show no special affinities either to each other or with any other group. These are the ca. 1500 inhabitants of the aul Khinalug (W. of the habitat of the Dzhek), and the ca. 3000 Udi (in 1897 ca. 7000) who live in the villages Vartashen, Nizh and Oktomberi. The Udi are the only Christian people among the NE Caucasians; they were already known to Pliny (Udini) and Ptolemy (Oudai). In old Armenian sources they are regarded as part of Albania, and it is possible that in their language the old literary language of the Albani (no records of which remain) survives.

7: Columbia U. S-4,5 1956 RH1 Caucasia RH1
Armenians
Osset

.101 The Armenians call themselves Hai, pl. Haik, a name usually considered to have been that of their heros eponymos. The name "Armenia" goes back to Old Persian Armina which appears in the Behistun inscription of Darius I (sixth century B.C.) as the designation of one of the satrapies of the Achaemenian Empire. The Armenians, like the Georgians, are a people with an ancient literary culture. The Armenian-Gregorian Church is the oldest of the Christian churches; Armenian literature goes back to the fifth century A.D. Since the first centuries of our era the Armenians generally have not been independent; their policy has usually been to cooperate with Christian states against various Muslim empires.

162 (b.) The more than 350,000 Ossetes live in the Central Caucasus on both sides of the main chain, in the north along the upper Terek river and its tributaries the Gizel-don, Ardon and Urukh, in the south in the immediately adjoining part of Georgia along the Liakhvi, Ksani and Aragvi rivers, extending southward
101 beyond the Kura river. The name "Ossetes" is derived from the Georgian Oseti referring to the country, the people being called Osi (older forms: Owsi, Owseti); this name is identical with the Yasy of the Russian chronicles and the As of the Arabic geographers. The As were either identical with, or the western subdivision of, the Alans, the last of the Iranian nomadic tribes in the Ponto-Caspian

101 steppe, the successors of the Scythians (eighth to third centuries B.C.) and Sarmatians (third century B.C. to third century A.D.). They were partly eliminated and partly driven into the Caucasian mountains by the Tatars in the thirteenth century. The name of the Alans -- like that of Iran -- goes back to the genetive plural of the word arya: aryānām; the same root is found in the names of certain Ossetian tribes: Ir, Alagir. In the Caucasus, the Ossetes soon became vassals of the Kabardians, by whose culture they were strongly influenced. Since they lived in the area of the main passes of the Central Great Caucasus, the Ossetes were among the first of the Caucasian mountaineers to be affected by the Russian expansion into the Caucasus.

162 (c.) The Talysh, numbering ca. 90,000 in the Soviet Union, live along the Caspian coast south of the river Viliazh-chai, extending across the border into Iran up to Keprichal (their number in Persia is estimated at
101 50,000). The oldest mention of their name is found in the Armenian translation of the Romance of Alexander. Before the Russian-Persian wars, Talysh was a Persian province ruled by a special Khan; since the peace of Gulistan (1813) it has belonged to Russia.

101 (d.) The name Tat is applied both to the
162 Iranian-speaking Muslim population living on the eastern spurs of the Great Caucasus and on the Apsheron peninsula, and to the Jews

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162

who speak the same language; the latter, also known as "Mountain Jews" (Turkish: Dagh Chufuti) or Judeo-Tat are concentrated in the area of Kuba, Derbent, and Buinaksk and are found in smaller settlements in the Groznyi and Nalchik area and on the Kuban river. The Russian census of 1926 lists as ethnic groups ca. 29,000 Muslim Tat and ca. 21,000 Judeo-Tat, but gives the number of speakers of Tat as 86,000. The name "Tat" was originally a Turkic denomination of non-Turkic sedentary elements living in their midst. The history of the Tat is obscure; their presence in the Caucasus may go back to Sassanian times (third to seventh centuries) when Persia tried to strengthen her natural line of defense in the Caucasus by bringing Iranian colonists to the gateway along the Caspian Sea in the Derbent area.

(e.) Of the nearly 5 million Kurds living scattered over various countries in the Near and Middle East, only ca. 60,000 live in Soviet territory, most of them in the Armenian SSR and the southwestern part of the Azerbaidjan SSR. Their name is probably identical with that of the Kyrtioi, Cyrtii mentioned by classical authors in Media and Persia. Throughout their history, the Kurds have contained both nomadic and sedentary elements; they never formed a state but were grouped into a large number of tribul unions.

## III ALTAIC PEOPLES

With the exception of the Mongolian
144 Kalmyk, who were deported during the Second World War, all the Altaic peoples of the Caucasus belong to the Turkic branch of this family. The Azeri and Turcoman belong to the Oghuz Turkic, and the Kumuk, Noghay, Karachay, and Balkar to the Kipchak Turkic subdivision.

162 (a.) The ca. 2,750,000 Azeri in Soviet territory live in eastern Transcaucasia and in the coastal region of Dagestan, northward as far as Derbent. In the south, Azeri territory extends into northwestern Persia, where their number is estimated at 3 million.
•101 The name "Azeri" comes originally from the classic denomination of the country, (Media) Atropatanae, and has become the name of the Azeri people only recently. The Azeri have occupied their present habitat since Seljuk times (eleventh century); their literature goes back to the fourteenth century. The Azeri Turks were originally the most important branch of the Oghuz Turks; but because of their geopolitical position their importance decreased to the advantage of the Ottoman Turks and the Persians.

162 (b.) The Turcomans (Russ. Turkmeny,
101 Trukhmeny) in the Caucasus number ca. 8,000; these Turcomans live divided in small groups

Turcoman
Kawik
Karachai, Balkai

162 on the Stavropol' upland (southward from the
101 Manych canal) and between the Kuma and Yegorlyk rivers. The main concentration of the Turcomans is in the southwestern part of Central Asia (Turkmen SSR ca. 800,000,
[167] Northern Iran over 500,000); the Turcomans immigrated to the Northern Caucasus comparatively recently from the Mangyshlak peninsula.

(c.) The Kumuk (ca. 95,000) live on the northeastern slopes of the Great Caucasus along the Aksai, Sulak, Shura and Cubden rivers and along the Caspian coast from Adzhi-su to Derbent. The date of their arrival in their present habitat is unknown; they have been there at least since the sixteenth century. The Kumuk have been vassals of Russia since the last quarter of the eighteenth century, but continued to be governed by their own rulers called shamkhals until 1867.

(d.) The more than 40,000 Noghay in the Northern Caucasus (their exact number is unknown) live mainly in the steppe between the lower Kuma and Terek rivers, south of the mouth of the Terek adjoining Kumuk territory, and on the right bank of the Kuban north of Cherkessk. They probably reached their habitat at the same time as the Kumuk.

(e, f.) Until 1943 the Karachay and Balkar (respectively ca. 76,000 and 43,000) lived on the northern slopes of the Great Caucasus, the former along the headwaters of the Kuban,

162
101 Teberda, Zelenchuk, Laba and Podkumok, the latter along those of the Baksan, Chegem and Cherek rivers. Culturally, they were largely identical with the Circassians and other North Caucasian mountaineers, and thus occupied a special place in the Turkic world. The name of the Balkar may be connected with that of the Turkic Bulgarians who formed a state in the Azov region in the sixth and seventh centuries.

(g.) Until 1943 the nearly 134,000 Kalmyk lived in the lower Volga area, where they migrated from Central Asia in the first half of the seventeenth century. In 1771 a large part of them migrated back to Chinese Turkes-
[619] tan. They are divided into a number of tribes, the most important of which are the Torghūt (Torgout). The Kalmyk are Buddhists; their literary tradition goes back to the sixteenth century. They were used by the Russians as a Cossack force against the Crimean Turks who represented Ottoman interests. In 1943 the Kalmyk ASSR was abrogated and the Kalmyk deported. Their present fate is unknown.

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Georgia RI I

## 1. GEORGIANS

C. G. 101 NAME: SELF-DESIGNATION: Kartveli, pl. Kartvelni. The name is applied to all the Kartvelian peoples (see below under "Language"); its derivate "Sakartvelo" denotes traditionally the Georgian state and political territory.

RUSSIAN DESIGNATION: Gruziny.

OTHER DESIGNATION: (Armenian:) Vratsi; (Turkish, Persian:) Gürdzhi; (Abkhaz:) Akýrtwa.

C. G. 161 NUMBER: 1897 1,097,000 (Russian census)
1926 1,564,333 (Russian census, ethn.)
1,610,458 (Russian census, ling.)
1939 2,248,566 (Russian census)

The 1939 figure includes the Mingrelians, Laz, and Svan. The Turkish census of 1945 lists 40,076 speakers of Georgian.

C. G. 162 LOCATION: Western and central part of the territory between the mountains of the Great and Little Caucasus, with the lower Alazani river as E border. Of this area are excepted (1) the territory NW of the lower Rioni and Tskhenis-Tskali (which is inhabited by Mingrelians, Svan, and Abkhaz) and (2) the part of the country SW of the lower Chorokh (which is Laz territory). On the other hand, the Georgians extend beyond the Little Caucasus in the SW, where they live in the basins of the upper Kura and Araks. Politically, the main mass lives in the Georgian SSR, extending into the

C. G. 162 adjoining districts of N Azerbaidzhan (Kakh rayon) and NE Turkey (districts of Artvin, Ardahan, Ardanuch, Olti). Isolated from the main body, speakers of Georgian (the Fereidan) constitute the population of 14 villages in the province of Isfahan, Iran.

C. G. 619 101 Tribal breakdown (with indication of Georgian names of tribes):

1. East Georgians: Kakhetians (K'akheli): easternmost part of Georgia, E of the Kura and Aragvi rivers. A special sub-dialect is spoken in the district of Kiziqi (Russ. Signakh) between the Yori and Alazani rivers; Kartlians (Kartleli): their area is that of Georgia minus those of the other tribes, it is subdivided into regions: Somkhiti, Dzhavakheti, Tao, Klardzheti, etc. ; Ingilo (Ingilo): between the Alazani and the main Caucasian chain; Tush (Tushi, Tushuri): on the upper course of the Andiiskoe Koisu; Khevsur (Khevsuri): on the upper course of the E Aragvi and Argun; Pshav (Pshaveli): S of the Khevsur on the Aragvi and upper Iora: Mokhev and Mtiul (Mokhevi, Mtiuli): on the upper Terek, W Aragvi and Ksani.

2. West Georgians: Imeretians (Imereli): between the main Caucasian chain, the Suram range, the Adzharo-Akhaltsikh range and the Tskhenis-Tskali river; Racha (Rach'a): on the upper Rioni; Lechkhum: W of Racha; Gurians (Guruli): S of the lower Rioni, attaining the Black Sea between Poti and Kobuleti; Adzhar (Ach'areli): S of the Gurians, E of Batumi. Speak the same dialect as the Gurians, but are Muslim.

## 2. MINGRELIANS

C. G. 101 NAME: SELF-DESIGNATION: Margali; own name of country: Odishi.

RUSSIAN DESIGNATIONS: Megrely, Megrel'tsy, Mingrel'tsy.

OTHER DESIGNATIONS: (Georgian:) Megreli, the country: Samegrelo; (Abkhaz:) Aghrwa; (Svan:) Myzan, the country: Zan

C. G. 161 NUMBER: 1897 239,625 (Russian census)
1926 242,990 (Russian census, ethn.)
284,834 (Russian census, ling.)

C. G. 162 LOCATION: Territory N of lower Rioni river and W of the Tskhenis-Tskali, extending along the Black Sea Coast from the mouth of the Rioni up to Ochemchiri (rayons Zugdidi and Senaki in W of Georgian SSR). Also in and around the cities of the Abkhaz ASSR.

C. G. 197 LANGUAGE: Mingrelian (Megreli nina) and the very closely related Laz form the so-called Zan member of the S Caucasian (Kartvelian) language group, which also includes Georgian and Svan. The language is not written, Georgian being used as the literary language.

SUBDIVISIONS: Two groups of dialects, which differ very little: West (Samurzakan-Zugdidi) and East Mingrelian (Senaki).

C. G. 241 TRADITIONAL ECONOMY: Agriculture; horticulture; viniculture; sericulture.

C. G. 745 RELIGION: Eastern Orthodox.

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(Turkish:) Lazi;
(Georgian:) Ch'ani,
the country: Ch'aneti.)

## 3. LAZ

C G .101 NAME: SELF-DESIGNATION: Lazi
RUSSIAN DESIGNATIONS: Lazy; for the language also: Chanskii iazyk.
OTHER DESIGNATIONS: (Turkish:) Lazi; (Georgian:) Ch'ani, the country: Ch'aneti.)

C G 161 NUMBER: 1926 643 (Russian census, ethn.)
730 (Russian census, ling.)
The Turkish census of 1945 lists 46,987 speakers of Laz, so that the overwhelming majority of them live in Turkish territory.

C G 162 LOCATION: Between the Chorokh river and the Black Sea coast up to the area of Pazar (Atina) on Turkish territory; also in the Chkhala basin (left tributary of the Chorokh on Russian territory), (Adzhar ASSR, within Georgian SSR).

C G 197 LANGUAGE: Laz (Ch'anuri nena) and the very closely related Mingrelian form of the so-called Zan member of the S Caucasian (Kartvelian) language-group, which includes also Georgian and Svan. The language is not written, Georgian being used as literary language in the USSR, Turkish in Turkey.

SUBDIVISIONS: Two dialect-groups; West (Vitse-Arkhava and Atina) and East Laz (Hopa, Chkhala).

C G 241 226 TRADITIONAL ECONOMY: Agriculture, fishing, trade.

C G 795 RELIGION: Islam (Sunni)

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Georgia RI 1

## 4. SVAN

C. G. 101 NAME: SELF-DESIGNATION: Shwan, sing. Mushwän, Mushwni.

ENGLISH VARIANTS: Svan, Svanetians

RUSSIAN DESIGNATIONS: Svany, Svanety.

OTHER DESIGNATIONS: (Georgian:) Svani; the country: Svaneti

C. G. 161 NUMBER: 1897 15,756 (Russian census)
1926 13,218 (Russian census, ethn.)
13,142 (Russian census, ling.)

The 1926 numbers are very low and must be due to some misunderstanding. The Bol'shaia Sovetskaia Entsiklopediia (1st ed.) Vol. 50 (1944), p. 371, gives the number of the Svan as over 23,000.

C. G. 162 LOCATION: Two valleys S of Mt. El'brus, one of the upper Tskhenis-Tskali and its tributary the Kheledula (Sv. of the Dadiani), the other of the upper Ingur (West: Sv. of the Dadishkeliani, East: Free Sv.) Georgian SSR)

C. G. 199 LANGUAGE: The Svan language is a member of the S Caucasian (Kartvelian) language-family, to which belong further Migrelo-Laz (Zan), and Georgian, the latter languages forming one group as against Svan. The language is not written, Georgian being used as the literary language.

C. G. 631 SUBDIVISIONS: Historically, Svanetia fell into three parts, Svanetia of the Dadiani, Svanetia of the Dadishkeliani, Free Svanetia.

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## 5. ABKHAZ

C. G. 101 NAME: SELF-DESIGNATION: Aàpswa.

ENGLISH VARIANTS: Abkhaz(ians); for the tribes N of the Cauc. ridge: Abazinians.

RUSSIAN DESIGNATIONS: Abkhazy, Abkhaztsy; for the tribes N of the Cauc. ridge; Abazintsy, Beshkesek-Abaza.

OTHER DESIGNATIONS: (Georgian:) Apkhazi; (Svan:) Mibkhaz; (Turkish:) Abaza.

C. G. 161 NUMBER: 1897 72,103 (Russian census)
1926 56,957 (Russian census, ethn.)
48,130 (Russian census, ling.)
1939 58,969 (Russian census)

These numbers do not include the Abaza on Russian territory (see below under "Subdivisions"), whose number was in 1926: 13,825 (ethn.), 13,057 (ling.) (Russian census). The Turkish census of 1945 lists 8,602 speakers of "Abaza" (i.e. Abkhaz).

C. G. 162 LOCATION: Black Sea coast S of the main Cauc. chain between the rivers Psou and Ingur (Abkhaz ASSR, within Georgian SSR). The Bzyb'-Abkhaz live around the river Bzyb', the Abzhui-Abkhaz around the river Kodor, the Samurzakan'-Abkhaz in the SE, bordering on Mingrelia. The Abaza tribes live in 15 villages N of the Cauc. chain at the sources of the rivers Kuban' and Zelenchuk (Cherkes AO, within RSFSR).

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C. G. 197 LANGUAGE: Abkhaz belongs to NW Caucasian, together with Circassian and Ubykh (the latter no longer spoken in the Caucasus). Two dialects have been reduced to writing: in the Abkhaz ASSR that of the Abzhui, in the Cherkes AO that of the Tapanta. The speakers of the Abaza dialects are all bilingual and speak also the Kabardian dialect of Circassian. In the Abkhaz ASSR knowledge of Georgian is widespread.

SUBDIVISION: Abkhaz has five major dialects: Bzyb', Abzhui, Samurzakan', Ashkharwa and Tapanta. The speakers of the latter two dialects are known as Abaza (R. Abazintsy), though linguistically the first four dialects form one group, while Tapanta stands apart.

C G 101 Further tribal names (Russ. form): Tsebeldintsy, Dzhigety; (Abaza:)Beshilbei, Tam, Barakei.

C. G. 241 231 TRADITIONAL ECONOMY: Cattle-breeding; agriculture, viniculture; apiculture.

C. G. 795 RELIGION: Islam (Sunni); Eastern Orthodox.

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Adige, Kabardin
Cherkess

## 6. CIRCASSIANS

101 NAME: SELF-DESIGNATION: Adyghe.
ENGLISH VARIANTS: Circassians, Cherkes.
RUSSIAN DESIGNATIONS: Cherkesy (see also below under "Subdivisions").
OTHER DESIGNATIONS: (Abkhaz:) Azkhwa; (Ossete:) Käsgon, collective: Kasag (refers particularly to the Kabardians); (Georgian:) Cherkezi.

161 NUMBER:

Kabardians:

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 1897 | 98,561 | (Russian census) |
| 1926 | 139,925 | (Russ. cens. ethn.) |
| | 138,925 | (Russ. cens. ling.) |
| 1939 | 164,106 | (Russian census) |

Other Circassians:

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 1897 | 46,286 | (Russian census) |
| 1926 | 65,270 | (Russ. cens. ethn.) |
| | 64,195 | (Russ. cens. ling.) |
| 1939 | 87,973 | (Russian census) |

The Turkish census of 1945 lists 66,691 speakers of Circassian. A considerable number of Circassians live in Syria, Jordan and Irak.

162 LOCATION: 1. Upper Circassians: (Kabardians:) basins of the rivers Malka, Baksan, Cherek, and Upper Terek in the central Caucasus ("Great Kabarda"), a strip of land E of the Terek ("Little Kabarda"): these constitute the Kabardian ASSR. Also between the upper Kuban' and Zelenchuk rivers, included in the Cherkes AO. Smaller groups around Mozdok and in the E part of the

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Adige, Kabardin, Cherkess

162 Adygei AO (Beslenei:) Two auls of the Cherkes AO: Beslenei and Bakozhile; two auls in the Uspenskii rayon (Krasnodar Krai): Kurgovskoe and Konovskoe; two auls in the Adygei AO: Khodzh'and Uliap.

2. Lower Circassians: S of the lower middle course of the Kuban'and in the basins of the Laba and Belaia; these in the Adygei AO (mixture of various tribes). Also SE of Tuapse and in the aul Suvorovo-Cherkesskii on the Taman' peninsula (Shapsug). Smaller groups scattered in the NW Cauc., among others near Armavir.

197 LANGUAGE: The Circassian language (Adyghèbze) belongs with Abkhaz and Ubykh (no longer spoken in the Caucasus) to the NW group of Caucasian languages. The two major dialects, Upper and Lower Circassian, both have the status of literary language, under the names "Kabardinskii" or "Kabardinocherkesskii", and "Adygeiskii iazyk" respectively (the last based on the Temirgoi dialect). A Lower Circassian dialect is spoken by the Armenians in the town of Armavir.

197 SUBDIVISIONS: Two main dialect-groups:
● 101 Upper Circassian (Kabardian and Beslenei) and Lower Circassian (or Kiakh, with subdialects Bzhedukh-Temirgoi [the latter also called Chemgui], Shapsug, and Abadzekh). In Russian sources the Circassians in the Adygei AO are referred to as "Adygeitsy", those in the Cherkes AO as "Cherkesy", those in the Kabardian ASSR

197 as "Kabardintsy". The dialects follow old
101 tribal divisions. Other tribal names (Russ. form.): Natukhaevtsy, Gatiukai, Zhane(e)vtsy, Egerukaevtsy, Makhosh(ev)-tsy, Kiakhi, Khagak (Khegek, Shegek).

241
231 TRADITIONAL ECONOMY: Agriculture; horticulture; cattle-breeding; horse-breeding (esp. Kabardians); apiculture; home industry (Caucasian felt cloaks).

795 RELIGION: Islam (Sunni); only the Kabardians around Mozdok are Christians.

## 7. CHECHEN-INGUSH

101 NAME: SELF-DESIGNATION: (Chechen:) Nakhchuo, pl. Nokhchiy; (Ingush:) Ghalghai, Lamur ("mountaineers"); (Kist:) Veppie; (Karabulak:) Arshte.

RUSSIAN DESIGNATION: Chechen(ts)y, Ingushi, Mizdzhegi.

OTHER DESIGNATIONS: (Georgian:) Chachani, Kist'i, Kist'uri, for the Ingush in particular: Ghlighvi; (Circassian:) Sheshen; (Ossete:) Tsatsan; (Avar:) Burt'ichi, Burti'iyaw; (Kumyk:) Mychyghysh, (Michikish, Michigysh).

161 NUMBER:

| | Chechen: | Ingush: | Kist: |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1897 | 226,496 (Russian census) | 47,409 | 413 |
| 1926 | 318,522 (Russian census ethn.) | 74,097 | |
| | (all groups combined:) (Russian census, ling.) | | 393,713 |
| 1939 | 407,690 (Russian census) | 92,074 | |

162 LOCATION: Formerly between the middle course of the Terek and the main Cauc. ridge, in the now abolished Chechen-Ingush ASSR, most of which has become part of the krai Groznyi. Deported in 1943. Have since received some official recognition by the issuing of a Chechen language newspaper in the Kazakh SSR, where therefore a sizable group of them must be living now. Some representatives of the Kist tribe are left in the territory of the Georgian SSR, on the upper Assa, Argun, and Alazani rivers.

197 LANGUAGE: Chechen and Ingush are very closely related languages. Together with Bats.

## 8. BATS

101 NAME: SELF-DESIGNATION: Batsaw, pl. Batsbi.
RUSSIAN DESIGNATIONS: Batsbiitsy, Tsova-Tush, Tush (due to incorrect naming by Güldenstädt)

161 NUMBER: 1926 7 (Russian census, ethn.)
2,459 (Russian census, ling.)

162 LOCATION: In winter and spring in the village Zemo Alvani on the Kakhetian Alazan' (near Telavi), in summer in the mountain meadows on the upper Kakhetian Alazan' and Tush Alazan' (Akhmet rayon, Georgian SSR).

197 LANGUAGE: Bats (Batsbe mot') forms, with Checheno-Ingush, the Veinakh group of the NE Caucasian languages. The language is not written, Georgian being used as literary language.

231 TRADITIONAL ECONOMY: Cattle-breeding.

715 RELIGION: Eastern Orthodox.

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Avar

## 9. AVAR

C. A. 101 NAME: SELF-DESIGNATION: None for the people as a whole. Own designation of language: maharul mats'ᵊ ("mountain language") or Khᵊunx mats'ᵊ ("language of Khunzakh")

RUSSIAN DESIGNATIONS: Avartsy, Tavlintsy (the latter from Kumyk "Taulu" meaning "mountaineers" in general). The southern groups of Avar are also referred to as Dzhartsy.

OTHER DESIGNATIONS: (Lak:) Yaruchū, (Dargwa:) K'araqᵊan.

C. D. 161 NUMBER: 1926 158,769 (Russian census, ethn.)
158,922 (Russian census, ling.)

In the Bol'shaia Sovetskaia Éntsiklopediia (2nd ed.) Vol. 1 (1949), p. 62, the total number of Avar is given as ca. 167,000. The number of persons able to speak Avar is ca. 220,000 (estimate, Chikobava).

C. A. 162 LOCATION: Basins of lower Andi Koisu, and of the Avar Koisu; some groups isolated from the main body along the W tributaries of the Andi Koisu (rayons Gergebil', Gumbet, Gunib, Kazbek, Kakhib, Tliarata, Untsukul', Khunzakh, Charoda, all in the Dagestan ASSR). Also extending to the S slope of the main Caucasian chain (rayons Belokany and Zakataly, Azerb. SSR).

C. B. 197 LANGUAGE: The Avar language (mahárul mats'ᵊ Khᵊunx mats'ᵊ) forms with the Andi and Dido groups of languages one of the six main divisions of NE Caucasian (the

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Dagestan RH 8
Andi

## 10. ANDI

C. D. 101 NAME: SELF-DESIGNATION: Qwannaw, pl. Qwannal

RUSSIAN DESIGNATIONS: Andii, Andiitsy (this name is also used to include, besides the Andi proper, the other peoples of the Andi group; cf. below under "Language").

OTHER DESIGNATIONS: (Avar:) Handísew, pl. Handál, the country: Handí.

C. D. 161 NUMBER: 1926 7,840 (Russian census, ethn.)
7,720 (Russian census, ling.)

C. D. 162 LOCATION: N of the Andiiskoe Koisu, at its bend eastward (auls Andi, Ghunkha, Ghaghatl, Rik'uan, Chankho, Zilo, Muni in rayon Botlikh and auls Kvankhidatl, and Khuset in rayon Vedeno, Dagestan ASSR).

C. D. 197 LANGUAGE: Andi (Qwannab mits·i) forms with Botlikh, Godoberi, Karata, Bagulal, Tindi, Chamalal, and Akhvakh, the so-called Andi subgroup of the Avaro-Ando-Dido group of the NE Caucasian languages. The language is not written, Avar being used as the literary language.

C. D. 231 438 TRADITIONAL ECONOMY: Sheep-raising, home industry (Caucasian felt cloaks, tapestries, goldsmithing).

C. D. 795 RELIGION: Islam (Sunni).

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## 11. BOTLIKH

C.D.
●101 NAME: SELF-DESIGNATION: Buykhatli (gen. of Buykhe "the village B.").
RUSSIAN DESIGNATIONS: Botlikhtsy, Buiukhad.

C.D.
161 NUMBER: 1926 3,354 (Russian census, ethn.)
2,789 (Russian census, ling.)

C.D.
162 LOCATION: Just N of the bend of the Andiiskoe Koisu, SW of the Andi area (rayon Botlikh, auls Botlikh and Miarso, Dagestan ASSR).

C.D.
197 LANGUAGE: Botlikh (Buykhatli mits') forms with Andi, Godoberi, Karata, Bagulal, Tindi, Chamalal, and Akhvakh, the Andi subgroup of the Avaro-Ando-Dido group of the NE Caucasian languages. The language is not written, Avar being used as the literary language.

C.D.
231 TRADITIONAL ECONOMY: Cattle-breeding,
241 home industry, agriculture.

C.D.
745 RELIGION: Islam (Sunni).

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## 12. GODOBERI

CD
•101 NAME: SELF-DESIGNATION: Ghibditl·i adami (i.e. "people of the village Ghidu (Godoberi").
RUSSIAN DESIGNATION: Godoberi-(ntsy).

CD
161 NUMBER: 1926 1,425 (Russian census, ethn.)
1,425 (Russian census, ling.)

CD
162 LOCATION: Just NW of the bend of the Andiiskoe Koisu, W of the Botlikh area (rayon Botlikh, aul Godoberi, Dagestan ASSR).

CD
197 LANGUAGE: Godoberi (Ghibditl·i mits·i) forms with Andi, Botlikh, Karata, Bagulal, Tindi, Chamalal, and Akhvakh, the Andi subgroup of the Avaro-Ando-Dido group of the NE Caucasian languages. The language is not written, Avar being used as the literary language.

CD
231 TRADITIONAL ECONOMY: Cattle-breeding;
241 home industry; agriculture.

CD
795 RELIGION: Islam (Sunni).

## 13. KARATA

C. D. 101 NAME: SELF-DESIGNATION: Kirtl•e, pl. Kirtl•ei.
RUSSIAN DESIGNATIONS: Karatintsy, Karatai, Kirdi.
OTHER DESIGNATIONS: (Avar:) K'alalal.

C. D. 161 NUMBER: 1926 5,303 (Russian census, ethn.)
5,303 (Russian census, ling.)

C. D. 162 LOCATION: Just S of the bend of the Andiis'koe Koisu (N part of rayon Akhvakh, also rayons Andalaly and Vedeno (Dagest. ASSR). (1)

C. D. 197 LANGUAGE: Karata (Kirtl•i mats'i) forms with Andi, Botlikh, Godoberi, Bagulal, Tindi, Chamalal, and Akhvakh, the Andi subgroup of the Avaro-Ando-Dido group of the NE Caucasian languages. The language is not written, Avar being used as the literary language.

SUBDIVISIONS: Dialects: Karata proper Anchikh and Tokita.

C. D. 231 241 TRADITIONAL ECONOMY: Cattle-breeding, home industry, agriculture.

C. D. 795 RELIGION: Islam (Sunni).

(1) auls Karata, Archo, Anchikh, Tokita, Mashtada, Rachabalda, Chabakoro.

## 14. BAGULAL

C. A. 101 NAME: SELF-DESIGNATION: Kwantl hekuâ, or Bagolal.

RUSSIAN DESIGNATION: Bagulaly; Bagvalal, Bogulal.

OTHER DESIGNATIONS: due to their dual self-designation, referred to both as Bagulal and Kvanada.

C. D. 161 NUMBER: 1926 3,054 (Russian census, ethn.)
3,053 (Russian census, ling.)

C. D. 162 LOCATION: S of the bend of the Andiiskoe Koisu, S of the Karata area (rayon Tsumada, auls Khushtada, Tlondoda, Kvanada; rayon Akhvakh, auls Gimerso, Tisi, Tlibisho, Dagestan ASSR).

C. D. 197 LANGUAGE: Bagulal (Bagulazul mits') forms with Andi, Botlikh, Godoberi, Karata, Tindi, Chamalal, and Akhvakh, the Andi subgroup of the Avaro-Ando-Dido group of the NE Caucasian languages. The language is not written, Avar being used as literary language.

SUBDIVISIONS: Dialects: Bagulal proper and Tlisi.

C. D. 231 241 TRADITIONAL ECONOMY: Cattle-breeding; agriculture; home industry.

C. D. 79 RELIGION: Islam (Sunni).

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## 15. TINDI

CD .101 NAME: SELF-DESIGNATION: Idaraw hekwa
RUSSIAN DESIGNATIONS: Tindii, Tindiitsy, Tindal', Inderi (ntsy), Idi.
OTHER DESIGNATIONS: (Dido:) Bogozi, pl. Bogozibi.

CD 161 NUMBER: 1926 3,812 (Russian census, ethn.)
3,704 (Russian census, ling.)
1952 5,000 (estimate Gudava)

CD 162 LOCATION: Aul Tindi, on the E tributary of the Andiiskoe Koisu which separates the Bagulal group from the Khvarshi area; (rayon Tsumada, Dagestan ASSR). (1)

CD 197 LANGUAGE: Tindi (Idara mits' ) forms with Andi, Botlikh, Godoberi, Karata, Bagulal, Chamalal and Akhvakh the Andi subgroup of the Avaro-Ando-Dido group of the NE Caucasian languages. The language is not written, Avar being used as the literary language.

CD 231 241 TRADITIONAL ECONOMY: Cattle-breeding; agriculture; home industry.

CD 795 RELIGION: Islam (Sunni)

(1) Also auls Tisi, Echeda and Akhnada (rayon Tsumada) and Qedi (rayon Vedeno)

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## 16. CHAMALAL

CD .101 NAME: SELF-DESIGNATION: according to separate villages; as opposed to other peoples: Ch'amalaldu, pl. Ch'amalaldube, collective: Ch'amalali.
RUSSIAN DESIGNATION: Chamalaly.

CD 161 NUMBER: 1926 3,438 (Russian census, ethn.)
3,438 (Russian census, ling.)

CD 162 LOCATION: On the E side of the Andiiskoe Koisu, just below the bend; auls Verkhnii Gakvari (with sub-villages), Nizhnii Gakvari (with sub-villages), Agvali, Tsumada, Tsumada-Urukh, Richaganik, Gadyri (with sub-villages), Gachitl', Gigatl' (with sub-villages), Kvankhi (Tsumada rayon, Dagestan ASSR).

CD 197 LANGUAGE: Chamalal (Ch'amalaldub mits'•) forms with Andi, Botlikh, Godoberi, Karata, Bagulal, Tindi, and Akhvakh, the Andi subgroup of the Avaro-Ando-Dido group of the NE Caucasian languages. The language is not written, Avar being used as the literary language.

SUBDIVISIONS: Dialects: 1a. Gakvari (incl. Gakvari, Agvali, Tsumada, Tsumada-Urukh, Richaganik); 1b. Gadyri (incl. Gachitl' ) and Kvankhi; 2. Gigatl' .

CD 231 438 241 TRADITIONAL ECONOMY: Cattle-breeding; home industry (Caucasian felt cloaks, goldsmithing); agriculture.

CD 795 RELIGION: Islam (Sunni).

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Dagestan RH8

## 17. AKHVAKH

C D .101 NAME: SELF-DESIGNATION: Atluatl'i.
RUSSIAN DESIGNATION: Akhvakhtsy.

C D 161 NUMBER: 1926 3,683 (Russian census, ethn.)
3,683 (Russian census, ling.)

C D 162 LOCATION: Between Avarskoe Koisu and Andiiskoe Koisu, just at their bend to the E (rayon Akhvakh: auls Izani, Kudiiab-Roso, Tad-Magitl', Lologonitl'; rayon Kakhib: auls Tlenob, Tsekob; rayon Andalaly: aul Ratlub; all in Dagestan ASSR).

C D 197 LANGUAGE: Akhvakh (Atluatl·i mits·i) forms with Andi Batlikh, Godoberi, Karata, Bagulal, Tindi, and Chamaiai, the Andi subgroup of the Avaro-Ando-Dido group of the NE Caucasian languages. The language is not written, Avar being used as the literary language.

C D 231 241 TRADITIONAL ECONOMY: Cattle-breeding; agriculture; home industry.

C D 795 RELIGION: Islam (Sunni).

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Dagestan RH8

## 18. KHVARSHI

C. D. 101 NAME: SELF-DESIGNATION: Kedaes hikwa. RUSSIAN DESIGNATIONS: Khvarshiny, Khvarshintsy.

C. D. 161 NUMBER: 1926 1,019 (Russian census, ethn.)
1,018 (Russian census, ling.)

C. D. 162 LOCATION: On a S tributary of the Andiiskoe Koisu, SW of the Bagulal area (auls Khvarshi, Inkhokari, etc., Vedeno rayon, Dagestan ASSR)

C. D. 197 LANGUAGE: Khvarshi (Kedaes mits°, Inkhies mits', depending on village) forms with Dido, Kapucha, Khunzal, and Ginukh, the Dido subgroup of the Avaro-Ando-Dido group of the NE Caucasian languages. The language is not written, Avar being used as the literary language.

C. D. 241 231 TRADITIONAL ECONOMY: Agriculture; cattle-breeding.

C. D. 795 RELIGION: Islam (Sunni).

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Dagestan RH8
Didoi

## 19. DIDO

C. D. 101 NAME: SELF-DESIGNATION: Ts'ezi, pl. Ts'ezibi

RUSSIAN DESIGNATIONS: Didoi, Didoitsy, Tsezy.

OTHER DESIGNATIONS: (Georgian:) Dido; (Kakhetian-Georgian:) Tsunt'a "ragamuffin", a name also used by the Avar and several peoples of the Andi group.

C. D. 161 NUMBER: 1926 3,276 (Russian census, ethn.)
3,198 (Russian census, ling.)

C. D. 162 LOCATION: S of the upper Andiiskoe Koisu.

C. D. 197 LANGUAGE: Dido (Ts'ezias mets') forms with Khvarshi, Kapucha, Khunzal, and Ginukh, the so-called Dido subgroup of the Avaro-Ando-Dido group of the NE Caucasian languages. The language is not written, Avar being used as the literary language.

C. D. 231 241 326 TRADITIONAL ECONOMY: Cattle-breeding; agriculture; home industry (goldsmithing).

C. D. 795 RELIGION: Islam (Sunni).

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Dagestan RH8
Khaput

## 20. KAPUCHA

C.
D.
●101 NAME: SELF-DESIGNATION: Kapuchias suko or Bezhtl·as suko, depending on the village.
RUSSIAN DESIGNATIONS: Kapuchiny, Bezhitiny.

C.
D.
161 NUMBER: 1926 1,448 (Russian census, ethn.)
1,448 (Russian census, ling.)

C.
D.
162 LOCATION: Upper basin of Avarskoe Koisu (rayon Tliarata, auls Bezhity, Khocharkhota, Tliadal' Dagestan ASSR).

C.
D.
197 LANGUAGE: Kapucha (Bezhtl·alas mits·) forms with Khvarshi, Dido, Khunzal, and Ginukh, the Dido subgroup of the Avaro-Ando-Dido group of the NE Caucasian languages. The language is not written, Avar being used as the literary language.

C.
D.
231 TRADITIONAL ECONOMY: Cattle-breeding;
241 agriculture; home industry (goldsmithing).
326

C.
D.
795 RELIGION: Islam (Sunni).

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Dagestan RH8

## 21. KHUNZAL

C. D. 101 NAME: SELF-DESIGNATION: ------
RUSSIAN DESIGNATIONS: Khunzaly, Gun(d)zaly, Nakhada.

C. D. 161 NUMBER: 1926 106 (Russian census, ethn.)
129 (Russian census, ling.)

C. D. 162 LOCATION: Auls ~~Hunzib~~ and Gharbuti (with former Nahada) (rayon Tlarata, Dagestan ASSR).

C. D. 197 LANGUAGE: Khunzal forms with Khvarshi, Dido, Kapucha, and Ginukh, the Dido subgroup of the Avaro-Ando-Dido group of the NE Caucasian languages. The language is not written, Avar being used as the literary language.

C. D. 231 241 TRADITIONAL ECONOMY: Cattle-breeding; agriculture; crafts.

C. D. 795 RELIGION: Islam (Sunni).

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## 22. GINUKH

C.D. 101

NAME: SELF-DESIGNATION: -----
RUSSIAN DESIGNATION: Ginukhtsy

C.D. 161 NUMBER: 200 (estimate, Bokarev)

C.D. 162 LOCATION: Aul Ginukh, rayon Tliarata, (Dagestan ASSR). Majority had moved to rayon Vedeno by 1949 (village Kidero).

C.D. 197 LANGUAGE: Ginukh forms with Khvarshi, Dido, Kapuchi, and Khunzal, the Dido subgroup of the Avaro-Ando-Dido group of the NE Caucasian languages. The language is not written, Avar being used as the literary language.

C.D. 231 TRADITIONAL ECONOMY: Cattle-breeding; home industry.

C.D. 795 RELIGION: Islam (Sunni).

7:Columbia U. S-4, 5 1956 RH1 Caucasia RH1
Dagestan RH8
Archin

## 23. ARCHI

C. D. 411 NAME: SELF-DESIGNATION: Arshishuw, Arshishtuw.
RUSSIAN DESIGNATION: Archintsy.
OTHER DESIGNATIONS: (Lak:) Roch.

C. D. 161 NUMBER: 1926 863 (Russian census, ethn.)
859 (Russian census, ling.)

C. D. 162 LOCATION: Aul Ruch-Archi on the Khatar river, rayon Charoda (Dagestan ASSR).

C. D. 197 LANGUAGE: Archi (Arshatten ch'at) belongs to the Avaro-Ando-Dido group of the NE Caucasian languages; its exact position in this group is uncertain. The language is not written, Avar being used as the literary language.

C. D. 231 286 TRADITIONAL ECONOMY: Cattle-breeding; home industry (cloth and tapestry weaving).

8 795 RELIGION: Islam (Sunni).

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DagestanRH8
Lak

## 24. LAK

C. D. 101 NAME: SELF-DESIGNATION: Lak; Lakuchū
RUSSIAN DESIGNATIONS: Laki, Kazikumukhtsy.
OTHER DESIGNATIONS: (Avar:) Tumaw, pl. Tumal; Lezgian: Yakholshu

C. D. 161 NUMBER: 1926 40,380 (Russian census, ethn.)
40,336 (Russian census, ling.)
1955 well over 55,000 (estimate, Zhirkov).

C. D. 162 LOCATION: Basin of the upper Tleuserakh, Khatar, and Kazikumukhskoe Koisu (rayons Lak and Kula, separate villages in rayons Tsudakhar, Akusha, Rutul, Kurakh, Charoda, and Dakhadaev). Since 1944 also in the valley of Yaryksu river (Novo-Lak rayon, Dagestan ASSR).

C. D. 197 LANGUAGE: Lak (lakū maz) forms with the Dargwa group of languages the Lak-Dargwa subdivision of the NE Caucasian languages, which include also Veinakh, Avaro-Ando-Dido, Samurian, Khinalug, and Udi. Lak has the status of a literary language in the Dagestan ASSR; the written language is based on the Kumukh dialect.

C. D. 231 241 438 TRADITIONAL ECONOMY: Cattle-breeding; production of leather goods and pottery; metal-work (weapons); agriculture.

C. D. 795 RELIGION: Islam (Sunni).

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DagestanRH8
Dargin

## 25. DARGWA

CA 101 **NAME:** SELF-DESIGNATION: No general one (the term "Dargwa" refers originally to a type of political-administrative unit); according to villages: Ts'udq·ran, pl. Ts'udq·ur "person from Tsudakhar", Khurq·an, pl. Khuruq· "person from Khiurkila", etc.

RUSSIAN DESIGNATIONS: Darginy, Dargintsy; language also Khiurkilinskii iazyk.

OTHER DESIGNATIONS: (German:) for the language: Hürkanisch.

CA 161 **NUMBER:** 1897 130,209 (Russian census)
108,963 (Russian census, ethn.)
107,645 (Russian census, ling.)

The 1897 figure probably includes Kubachi and Kaitak.

CA 162 **LOCATION:** In the lower mountains between the rivers Kazikumukhskoe Koisu and Ullachai (rayons Sergokala, Akusha, Dakhadaev, Shuragat, Tsudakhar, most of Levashi; separate villages in rayons Karabudakhkent (Gubden, Gurbuki), Buinak (Kadar, Karamakhi, Chankurby), Gunib (Miamusi), Agul (Amukh, Chirakh), Dagestan ASSR).

CA 197 **LANGUAGE:** Dargwa forms with the closely related Kubachi and Kaitak the so-called Dargwa subgroup of the Lak-Dargwa group of the NE Caucasian languages. It has the status of literary language in the Dagestan ASSR; the written language is based on the Akusha dialect (Aq·usha midz).

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## 26. KAITAK

C. D. 101 NAME: SELF-DESIGNATION: Khaidaqlan, plur. Khaidaq.
RUSSIAN DESIGNATION: Khaidaki, Kaitagi, Kaitaki.

C. D. 161 NUMBER: 1926 14,430 (Russian census, ethn.)
14,469 (Russian census, ling.)

C. D. 162 LOCATION: Basin of Ulla-Chai, between the Dargwa and the Tabasaran areas (rayon Kaitak, S part of rayon Dakhadaev, Dagestan ASSR).

C. D. 197 LANGUAGE: Kaitak forms with the closely related Dargwa and Kubachi the so-called Dargwa subgroup of the Lak-Dargwa group of the NE Caucasian languages. The language is not written, Dargwa being used as the literary language.

C. D. 231 241 TRADITIONAL ECONOMY: Cattle-breeding; agriculture; home industry.

C. D. 795 RELIGION: Islam (Sunni).

## 27. KUBACHI

C.D. 101 **NAME:** SELF-DESIGNATION: Ughbug.
RUSSIAN DESIGNATION: Kubachintsy.

C.D. 161 **NUMBER:** 1926 2,322 (Russian cens., ethn.)
2,470 (Russian cens., ling.)

C.D. 162 **LOCATION:** Aul Kubachi (rayon Dakhadaev, Dagestan ASSR).

C.D. 197 **LANGUAGE:** Kubachi (Ughbughan hub) forms with the closely related Dargwa and Kaitak the Dargwa subgroup of the Lak-Dargwa group of the NE Caucasian languages. The language is not written, Dargwa being used as a literary language.

C.D. 231 326 **TRADITIONAL ECONOMY:** Cattle-breeding; goldsmithing; incrustation work.

C.D. 795 **RELIGION:** Islam (Sunni).

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Lezgin

## 28. LEZGIANS

C. D. 101 NAME: SELF-DESIGNATION: Lezgí, pl. Lezgiar.

ENGLISH VARIANTS: Lezg(h)i, Lezg(h)ians.

RUSSIAN DESIGNATIONS: Lezginy, Kiurintsy, for the language: Kiurinskii iazyk. (The name Lezginy has often been used to refer to the Dagestan mountaineers in general.)

OTHER DESIGNATIONS: (Georgian:) Lek'i (in a wider sense referring to the Dagestan mountaineers in general); (German:) for the language: Kürinisch.

C. D. 161 NUMBER: 1897 159,213 (Russian census)
1926 134,529 (Russian census, ethn.)
164,763 (Russian census, ling.)

C. D. 162 LOCATION: Basins of Gyulgeri-chai, middle and lower Samur and Shakh-Nabad rivers, i.e. the whole SE part of Dagestan and the adjoining part of N Azerbaidzhan. (Dagestan ASSR; Azerbaidzhan SSR).

C. D. 197 LANGUAGE: Lezgian (Lezgi ch'al) forms with Agul, Rutul, Tsakhur, Tabasaran, Budukh, and Dzhek, the Samurian subdivision of the NE Caucasian language group. It has the status of a literary language in the Dagestan ASSR; the written language is based on the Kiuri dialect.

SUBDIVISIONS: Three basic dialects: Kiuri, Akhty, Kuba.

## 29. AGUL

C. D. 101 NAME: SELF-DESIGNATION: Aghul, Aghul'shuy
RUSSIAN DESIGNATION: Aguly

C. D. 161 NUMBER: 1926 7,653 (Russian census, ethn.)
7,653 (Russian census, ling.)

C. D. 162 LOCATION: Basin of upper Kurakh-chai and Gyulgeri-chai (Magudere), with affluents (rayons Agul and Kurakh, Dagestan ASSR).

C. D. 197 LANGUAGE: Agul (Aghul ch'al, Aghularin ch'al) forms with Lezgian, Rutul, Tsakhur, Tabasaran, Budukh, and Dzhek, the Samurian subdivision of the NE Caucasian language group. The language is not written, Lezgian being used as the literary language.

SUBDIVISIONS: Two dialects: Agul proper and Koshan.

C. D. 231 438 TRADITIONAL ECONOMY: Cattle breeding; home industry (production of cloth, tapestries, felt cloaks).

C. D. 715 RELIGION: Islam (Sunni).

## 30. RUTUL

C. D. 101 NAME: SELF-DESIGNATION: no general one; the inhabitants of the aul Rutul (Mykhád) call themselves Mykhashura.
RUSSIAN DESIGNATION: Rutuly, Rutul'tsy.

C. D. 161 NUMBER: 1926 10,495 (Russian census, ethn.)
10, 356 (Russian census, ling.)

C. D. 162 LOCATION: Area of confluence of Samur and Kara-Samur (18 villages) (Rutul rayon; vill. Khnov in Akhty rayon (Dagestan ASSR); Shin and Kainar in Nukha rayon, Azerbaidzhan SSR).

C. D. 197 LANGUAGE: Rutul (Mykhánidy ch'äl) forms with Lezghian, Agul, Tsakhur, Tabasaran, Budukh, and Dzhek, the Samurian subdivision of the NE Caucasian language-group. The language is not written, Lezgian being used as the literary language.

C. D. 231 438 TRADITIONAL ECONOMY: Cattle-breeding; home industry (production of cloth, tapestries, felt cloaks).

C. D. 795 RELIGION: Islam (Sunni).

## 31. TSAKHUR

C. D. 101 NAME: SELF-DESIGNATION: No general one; inhabitants of aul Tsakhur (Ts'akhur) call themselves Ts'akhighali, pl. Ts'akhby.
RUSSIAN DESIGNATION: Tsakhury.

C. D. 161 NUMBER: 1926 19,085 (Russian census, ethn.)
10,951 (Russian census, ling.)

C. D. 162 LOCATION: Samur basin W of its confluence with the Kara-Samur (Tsakhur rayon, Dagestan ASSR); also on the S slopes of the Caucasus in the area of Elisu (Azerbaidzhan SSR).

C. D. 197 LANGUAGE: Tsakhur (Tsakhbishda miz) forms with Lezgian, Agul, Rutul, Tabasaran, Budukh, and Dzhek, the Samurian subdivision of the NE Caucasian language-group. The language is not written, Avar being used as the literary language in the Daghestan ASSR, Azeri in the Azerbaidzhan SSR.

C. D. 231 438 TRADITIONAL ECONOMY: Cattle-breeding; home industry (production of cloth, tapestries, felt cloaks).

C. D. 795 RELIGION: Islam (Sunni).

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## 32. TABASARAN

C.D. 101 NAME: SELF-DESIGNATION: Tabasaran zhvi, Tabarasan zhvi, Ghumghum zhvi.
RUSSIAN DESIGNATION: Tabasarantsy.

C.D. 161 NUMBER: 1926 31,983 (Russian census, ethn.)
29,726 (Russian census, ling.)

C.D. 162 LOCATION: Basin of Upper Rubas-chai and Upper Chirakh-chai (rayons Tabasaran and Khiv, Dagestan ASSR).

C.D. 197 LANGUAGE: Tabasaran (Tabasaran ch'al) forms with Lezgian, Agul, Rutul, Tsakhur, Budukh, and Dzhek, the Samurian subdivision of the NE Caucasian language-group. It has the status of a literary language in the Daghestan ASSR; the written language is based on the southern dialect.

SUBDIVISIONS: The language has two main dialects: North (Khanag) and South Tabasaran.

C.D. 241 438 TRADITIONAL ECONOMY: Agriculture; horticulture; home industry (weapon- and tool-making, silversmith's and coppersmith's work, tapestry-weaving).

C.D. 495 RELIGION: Islam (Sunni).

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## 33. BUDUKH

C. D. 101 NAME: SELF-DESIGNATION: ----
RUSSIAN DESIGNATION: Budukhi, Budugi

C. D. 161 NUMBER: 1926 1 (Russian census, ethn.)
1,995 (Russian census, ling.)

C. D. 162 LOCATION: Mt. Shakhdag area, in the upper basin of the Kara-chai (Konakhkend rayon, Azerb. SSR).

C. D. 197 LANGUAGE: Budukh forms, with Lezgian, Agul, Rutul, Tsakhur, Tabasaran, and Dzhek, the Samurian subdivision of the NE Caucasian language-group. The language is not written, Azeri being used as the literary language.

C. D. 231 241 TRADITIONAL ECONOMY: Cattle-breeding; horticulture.

C. D. 795 RELIGION: Islam (Sunni).

## 34. DZHEK

C.D. 101 NAME: SELF-DESIGNATION: -----
RUSSIAN DESIGNATION: According to villages; Dzheki, Kryzy, Khaputtsy, (Gaputlintsy, Khaputlintsy).

C.D. 161 NUMBER: 1926 Dzhek 590 Kryz 5 Khaput 12 (Russian census, ethn.)
All three groups together: 4,348 (Russ. census, ling.)

C.D. 162 LOCATION: Mt. Shakhdag area, in the basin of the upper right arm of the Kudial-chai (Konakhkend rayon, Azerbaidzhan SSR). Also daughter-settlements near the Caspian coast in the Khachmas area (Azerbaidzhan SSR).

C.D. 197 LANGUAGE: The Dzhek language forms with Lezgian, Agul, Rutul, Tsakhur, Tabasaran, and Budukh, the Samurian subdivision of the NE Caucasian languages. The language is not written, Azeri being used as the literary language.

SUBDIVISIONS: According to villages: Dzhek, Kryz, Khaput.

C.D. 231 241 TRADITIONAL ECONOMY: Cattle-breeding; agriculture; horticulture.

C.D. 715 RELIGION: Islam (Sunni).

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## 35. KHINALUG

C.D. 101 NAME: SELF-DESIGNATION: -----
RUSSIAN DESIGNATION: Khinalugi.

C.D. 161 NUMBER: 1926 105 (Russian census, ethn.)
1,540 (Russian census, ling.)

C.D. 162 LOCATION: Shakhdag area, aul Khinalug (Khynalyk) on the upper right arm of the Kudial-chai (rayon Konakhkend, Azerbaidzhan SSR).

C.D. 197 LANGUAGE: Khinalug (Kättidmits) is a member of the NE Caucasian language-group to which there belong further the Veinakh, Avaro-Ando-Dido, Lak-Dargwa, and Samurian groups, and the Udi language. Khinalug is not written, Azeri being used as the literary language.

C.D. 231 TRADITIONAL ECONOMY: Cattle-breeding.

C.D. 795 RELIGION: Islam (Sunni).

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## 36. UDI

C. D. 101 NAME: SELF-DESIGNATION: Udi, Uti.
RUSSIAN DESIGNATION: Udiny.

C. D. 161 NUMBER: 1897 7,100 (Russian census)
1926 2,455 (Russian census, ethn.)
2,762 (Russian census, ling.)

C. D. 162 LOCATION: Villages Vartashen and Nidzh (rayons Vartashen and Kutkashen, Azerbaidzhan SSR), Oktomberi (Georgian SSR).

C. D. 197 LANGUAGE: Udi (Udi muz) is a member of the NE Caucasian language-group, to which there belong further the Veinakh, Avaro-Ando-Dido, Lak-Dargwa, and Samurian groups, and the Khinalug language. Though Udi was written before the revolution, it does not have the status of literary language, this function being fulfilled by Azeri.

C. D. 241 231 TRADITIONAL ECONOMY: Agriculture; cattle-breeding.

C. D. 795 RELIGION: Eastern Orthodox, Armenian-Gregorian.

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## 37. ARMENIANS

101 NAME: SELF-DESIGNATION: Hai, Pl. Haik.
RUSSIAN DESIGNATION: Armiane
OTHER DESIGNATIONS: (Georgian:) Somekhi; (Turkish:) Ermeni.

161 NUMBER: 1897 1,173,096 (Russian census)
1926 1,567,568 (Russian census, ethn.)
1,475,250 (Russian census, ling.)
1939 2,151,884 (Russian cenus)

162 Distribution: Main concentration in USSR (over 40 per cent of the Armenians in the USSR live outside the Armenian political units of the latter); Turkey: 61,000 (1950; Turkish census); Syria: 118,537 (1943; official estimate); Iran (number unknown); other countries of Near East (number unknown); People's Democracies: 80,000 (1949; estimate Bol'shaia Sovetskaia Éntsiklopediia); France: 70,000 (1952, estimate "Les langues du monde"); USA: 175,000 (1952, same source). Total number of Armenians 3,400,000 (estimate, same source).

LOCATION: S Transcaucasia, in the area of the upper Kura, Lake Sevan, the middle Araks and on the E slopes of the Karabakh Mts. (Armenian SSR; High Karabakh AO); scattered groups throughout the Caucasus and in S Russia, mainly in the cities. Outside USSR: Turkey (mainly Istanbul; Syria; Iran (mainly Teheran and Isfahan (Dzhulfa)); other countries of Near East; France; USA.

## 38. OSSETES

101 NAME: SELF-DESIGNATION; no general one, according to tribes: Ir (collective), Iron (sing.), Irättä (pl.); Dygur, Digor (coll.), Dyguron, Digoron (sing.); Tuallag (sing.), Tuallägtä (pl.).
ENGLISH VARIANTS: Ossetes; for the language: Ossetian, Ossetic.
RUSSIAN DESIGNATIONS: Osety, Osetiny.
OTHER DESIGNATIONS: (Georgian:) Osi; (German:) Ossen, Osseten.

161 NUMBER: 1897 171,716 (Russian census)
1926 272,272 (Russian census, ethn.)
267,019 (Russian census, ling.)
1939 354,500 (Russian census)

162 LOCATION: In the central Caucasus on both sides of the main chain, in the N along the upper Terek and its affluents on the left (Gizel'don, Ardon, Urukh) (North-Ossetian ASSR), in the S in the immediately adjoining part of the Georgian SSR (South-Ossetian AO), smaller groups also farther to the S, extending beyond the Kura river.

197 LANGUAGE: Ossetian (Iron ävzag) is a member of the Eastern (in older terminology, Northern) subdivision of the Iranian branch of the Indo-European language-family, to which branch belong also Persian, and, in the Caucasus, Tat, Talysh, and Kurdish. Ossetian has the

## 39. TALYSH

101 NAME: SELF-DESIGNATION: Tolysh.
ENGLISH VARIANTS: Talysh, Talish.
RUSSIAN DESIGNATIONS: Talyshi, Talyshintsy.

161 NUMBER: 1897 35,291 (Russian census)
1926 77,323 (Russian census, ethn.)
80,629 (Russian census, ling.)
1931 89,398 (Azerb. upravl. nar.-khoz. ucheta.)
In Iran: 50,000 (estimate, B. V. Miller)

162 LOCATION: Along Caspian coast S of the River Viliazh-chai (rayons Lenkoran', Zuvand, Astara, and part of Massala, Azerbaidzhan SSR), extending into Persian territory up to Kepri-chal.

197 LANGUAGE: Talysh (Tolysha zyvon), like Tat, is a member of the NW subdivision of the Iranian branch of the Indo-European language-family, to which branch also belong Persian, and, in the Caucasus, Ossetian and Kurdish. The Talysh in the USSR are all bilingual and speak also Azeri, which is used as the literary language.

241 231 TRADITIONAL ECONOMY: Agriculture; horticulture; stock-raising; home industry.

795 RELIGION: Islam (Shii).

## 40. TAT

101 NAME: SELF-DESIGNATION: Tat.
ENGLISH VARIANTS: Tat; for the Jewish Tat: Mountain Jews, Judeo-Tats.
RUSSIAN DESIGNATIONS: Taty; for the Jewish Tat: Gorskie evrei.
OTHER DESIGNATIONS: (Turkish, for the Jewish Tat:) Dagh Chufuti; (German, for the Jewish Tat:) Bergjuden.

161 NUMBER: 1897 95,056 (Russian census)
1926 28,705 (Muslim Tat)(Russian census, ethn.)
21,471 (Jewish Tat)(Russian census, ethn.)
86,088 (Russian census, ling.)

162 LOCATION: On both slopes of the Eastern extension of the main Caucasian chain and on the Apsheron peninsula, in the coastal zone of the Caspian Sea between Apsheron and Kuba, SE of Kuba and NW of Shemakha (Azerbaidzhan SSR; Dagestan ASSR). The Jewish Tat are concentrated in the Area of Kuba, Derbent and Buinaksk; other settlements in the Groznyi and Nal'chik area and on the Kuban'.

197 LANGUAGE: Tat(zuhun Tāti), like Talysh, is a member of the NW subdivision of the Iranian branch of the Indo-European language-family to which branch also

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## 41. KURDS

101 NAME: SELF-DESIGNATION: Kurd
RUSSIAN DESIGNATION: Kurdy

161 NUMBER:

Kurd
1897 99,949 (Russian census)
1926 54,661 (Russ. cens., ethn.)
34,162 (Russ. cens., ling.)
1939 45,866 (Russian census)

Yezid (See under "Religion")
1897 14,726 (Russian census)
1926 14,523 (Russian census)

162 Distribution: Iran 1,500,000 to 2,000,000 (1950 estimate, Menges); Turkey 1,841,000 (1950 Turkish census); Iraq 800,000 (1947 estimate, Hourani); Syria 100,000 (1947 estimate, Hourani), 100,000 to 200,000 (estimate, Royal Inst. of Intern. Affairs); Afghanistan, Pakistan (numbers unknown); total 5,000,000 (estimate, Les langues du monde).

LOCATION: Southern Transcaucasia, in scattered groups, especially in the Armenian SSR and the SW part of the Azerbaidzhan SSR. There are also a small number of Kurds in the Turkmen SSR. (Scattered in Iran, especially the N frontier region; SE Turkey, NE Iraq.)

## 42. AZERI TURKS

101 NAME: SELF-DESIGNATION: Türkler, Azerbayjanlilar; also tribal names (Shahsevenler, etc.).

ENGLISH VARIANTS: Turks, Azeri Tatars, Turks of Azerbaijan, Tatars of Azerbaijan, Azerbaijan Turks, Azerbaijanians.

RUSSIAN DESIGNATIONS: Tiurki, Azerbaidzhantsy, Azerbaidzhanskie Tiurki.

TURKISH DESIGNATIONS: Türkler, Azeri Türkleri, Azerbaycan Türkleri; also tribal names (Şahsevenler, etc.).

161 NUMBER: USSR

1897 1,506,540 (Russian census)
1926 1,706,605 (Russ. cens. ethn)
1,751,965 (Russ. cens. ling.)
1939 2,274,805 (Russian census)

Persia

Mid-thirties: 2,500,000 (estimate; Németh)
1950: 3,000,000 (estimate; Kazemzadeh)

Iraq

1950 over 100,000 (estimate; Halasi-Kun)

162 Distribution:

USSR: ca. 45 per cent
Persia: ca. 52 per cent
Iraq: ca. 3 per cent

## 43. TURKOMANS

101 NAME: SELF-DESIGNATION: Türkmenler.

ENGLISH VARIANTS: Turkmens, Turkmans, Turkomans of Stavropol', Trukhmens.

RUSSIAN DESIGNATIONS: Trukhmeny, Turkmeny.

TURKISH DESIGNATION: Türkmenler.

161 NUMBER: USSR:

Northern Caucasus, 1926: 8,000, (estimate, Russ. cens.)

USSR:
(with Northern Caucasus:)
1897 281,351 (Russian census)
1926 763,940 (Russ. cens. ethn.)
745,859 (Russ. cens. ling.)
1939 811,769 (Russian census)

Afghanistan:
1939 200,000 (estimate, Jarring)

Persia:
1955 over 500,000 (estimate, Halasi-Kun)

162 Main concentration in Central Asia; only a small group in the Caucasus.

LOCATION: Geographical: Northern Caucasus: Stavropol' upland (southward from Manych Canal between the Kuma and Yegorlyk rivers); in SW Central Asia.

## 44. KARAPAPAK

101 NAME: SELF-DESIGNATION: ----
RUSSIAN DESIGNATION: Karapapakhi
TURKISH DESIGNATION: Karapapaklar

161 NUMBER: USSR
1926 6,316 (Russian cens., ethn.)
6,311 (Russian cens., ling.)

Persia
mid-twenties: 15,000 (estimate, Mirza Bala)

162 Distribution:
USSR ca. 30 per cent
Persia ca. 70 per cent

LOCATION: Geographical: Transcaucasia: the area between the Kura and Arpachai rivers. Persia: the area around Sulduz on Lake Urmia.
Political-Administrative: USSR: Akhalkalaki Uezd of the Georgian SSR, Leninakan Uezd of the Armenian SSR. Persia: Province of Azerbaijan.

197 LANGUAGE: Karapapak; belongs with Kipchak Turkic substrata to the Western Oghuz Turkic group, and differs very little from Azeri Turkic, Turkish, and Kashkay-Hamse (in the Georgian SSR it is often confused with Azeri Turkic (Azeri of Borchalino and Azeri of Akhalkalaki), whereas in Turkey it has been absorbed into Turkish and is no longer spoken)

7:Columbia U. S-4, 5 1956 RHl Caucasia RHl
Kumik

## 45. KUMUK

101 NAME: SELF-DESIGNATION: Kumuklar
ENGLISH VARIANTS: Kumyk
RUSSIAN DESIGNATION: Kumyki
TURKISH DESIGNATION: Kumuklar

161 NUMBER: 1926 94,549 (Russian cens. ethn.)
94,909 (Russian cens. ling.)

162 LOCATION: Geographical: The northeastern slopes of the Greater Caucasus along the Aksai, Sulak, Shura, and Gubden rivers, and along the Caspian coast from Adzhi-Su to Derbent.

Political-Administrative: Dagestan ASSR (Makhachkala, Buynaksk, Izberbash, and Derbent okrugs), Groznyi Oblast (southern parts of the former Kizliar Okrug).

197 LANGUAGE: Kumuk; belongs to the Kipchak Turkic group, together with Crimean Turkic, Karachay, Balkar, Noghay, Kazan Turkic, Kazak, etc.); literary language since the 19th century; lingua franca in Dagestan ASSR northward from Derbent.

241 231 226 TRADITIONAL ECONOMY: Agriculture; cattle-breeding; fishing.

795 RELIGION: Islam (Sunni).

7:Columbia U. S-4, 5 1956 RHl Caucasia
Nogai RHl

## 46. NOGHAY

101 NAME: SELF-DESIGNATION: Noghaylar
RUSSIAN DESIGNATION: Nogaitsy
TURKISH DESIGNATION: Noğaylar

161 NUMBER:

USSR

Groznyi Oblast, 25,000 (1950 estimate, Jyrkänkallio)

Astrakhan Oblast (rayons along the Kuma) (unknown)

Cherkes Autonomous Oblast, 15,000 (1939 estimate, Shabad)

Astrakhan Oblast (rayons along the Volga) (unknown)

Crimean SSR (before 1945) (unknown)

Bulgaria

Dobruja 30,000 (1950 estimate, Jyrkänkallio)

162 Distribution: USSR: Groznyi Oblast, Astrakhan Oblast (rayons along the Kuma and Volga rivers), Cherkes AO; Crimean SSR (before 1945); Bulgaria: Dobruja.

LOCATION: Geographical: USSR: Northern Caucasus: between the Kuma and Terek rivers and northwards from the Kuma River; on the Zelenchuk River

## 47. KARACHAY

101 NAME: SELF-DESIGNATION: Karachayla
RUSSIAN DESIGNATION: Karachaitsy,
TURKISH DESIGNATION: Karaçaylar

161 NUMBER: 1897 27,233 (Russian census)
1926 55,123 (Russian census, ethn.)
55,349 (Russian census, ling.)
1939 75,737 (Russian census)

162 Distribution: Deported from the Caucasus in 1943. Present location unknown.

LOCATION: Geographical: Before 1943, on the northern slopes of the Greater Caucasus along the headwaters of the Kuban', Teberda, Zelenchuk, Laba, and Podkumok rivers.

Political-Administrative: Before 1943: Karachai AO.

197 LANGUAGE: Karachay; belongs to the Kipchak Turkic language group (which includes Crimean Turkic, Kumuk, Noghay, Kazan Turkic, Kazak, etc.), and is almost identical with Balkar; as a literary language, a common Karachay-Balkar language was used which was created in the Soviet period.

231 241 TRADITIONAL ECONOMY: Cattle-breeding; agriculture; handicrafts.

795 RELIGION: Islam (Sunni).

## 48. BALKAR

101 NAME: SELF-DESIGNATION: Malkarla
RUSSIAN DESIGNATION: Balkary
TURKISH DESIGNATIONS: Malkarlar, Balkarlar.

161 NUMBER: 1897 34,232 (Russian census)
1926 33,307 (Russian census, ethn.)
33,276 (Russian census, ling.)
1939 42,666 (Russian census)

162 Distribution: Deported from the Caucasus in 1943, present location unknown.

LOCATION: Georgraphical: Before 1943, on the northern slopes of the Greater Caucasus along the upper course of the Baksan, Chegem, and Cherek rivers.
Political-Administrative: Before 1943: Kabardino-Balkar Autonomous SSR (Balkar rayon).

197 LANGUAGE: Balkar; belongs to the Kipchak Turkic language group, along with Crimean Turkic, Kumuk, Noghay, Kazan Turkic, Kazak etc.) and is almost identical with Karachay; as a literary language, a common Karachay-Balkar language was used, which was created in the Soviet period.

231 241 TRADITIONAL ECONOMY: Cattle-breeding and some agriculture.

795 RELIGION: Islam (Sunni).

7: Columbia U. S-4, 5 1956 RHI Caucasia RHI
European Kalmyk

## 49. KALMYK

101 NAME: SELF-DESIGNATION: Kal'imaq, Oirot, Ōirŭt ("the Confederate"), Dŭrwŭn Ōirŭt ("The Four Oirot").
ENGLISH VARIANTS: Kalmuck, Kalmyk, Kalmack (also with initial C).
RUSSIAN DESIGNATION: Kalmyki, for the language: Kalmytskii iazyk.
OTHER DESIGNATIONS: (various Turkic languages:) Qalmaq, Qalmyq.

161 NUMBER: 1897 190,480 (Russian census)
1926 129,321 (Russian census, ethn.)
130,997 (Russian census, ling.)
1939 134,327 (Russian census)

162 Distribution: Deported from the Caucasus (1943), present location of this group unknown. Additional groups: the Sarat-Kalmyk in the Kirgiz SSR (2,773, Russian census, ethn., 1926); in the Mongolian People's Republic ca. 60,000 (estimate, Benzing); in China (number unknown); also emigrant groups elsewhere (USA ca. 3,000).

LOCATION: The largest group lived until 1943 in the Lower Volga area in the now abrogated Kalmyk ASSR. The Sart-Kalmyk live near Lake Issyk-kul' in the Tien Shan Mts. (Kirgiz SSR). Outside the USSR there are scattered groups of Kalmyk in a giant semicircle all around the E Mongolian area (Dzungaria, NW Tibet,

## 50. AISOR

101 NAME: SELF-DESIGNATION: Surai
ENGLISH VARIANTS: Chald(a)eans, Syrochald(a)eans, Assyrians.
RUSSIAN DESIGNATIONS: Aisory, Assiriitsy, Assuriitsy.
OTHER DISIGNATIONS: (Georgian:) Kaldeveli.

161 NUMBER:

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 1897 | 5,353 | (Russian census) |
| 1926 | 9,808 | (Russian census, ethn.) |
| | 15,476 | (Russian census, ling.) |
| 1939 | 20,200 | (Russian census) |

162 LOCATION: Concentrated near Erevan', also scattered in other regions of Transcaucasia. Outside USSR: Iraq (esp. in Tur Abdin) and NW Iran.

197 LANGUAGE: Aisor is a New-Syrian dialect, belonging to the Aramaic subdivision of the Semitic language-family. Aisor has the status of a literary language in the USSR.

241 TRADITIONAL ECONOMY: Agriculture; cattle-breeding; crafts.

795 RELIGION: Nestorian and Jacobite Christian.

8: Luzbetak E-4 (no date) 1951 RH1 Caucasia RH1

# I. GENERAL INTRODUCTION

## Chapter I

## A General Introduction to the Study of Caucasian Culture

### § 1. PEOPLES AND TRIBES OF CAUCASIA

The Caucasus has been called an ethnographic mosaic, and rightly so, for, of the 170 different nations, peoples and tribes of the U.S.S.R. at least a third live in the Caucasus.[1] Some decades ago it was still a problem to classify the inhabitants of this relatively small area—a problem which, thanks to the progress made in Caucasian linguistics, has practically disappeared. We may divide them into two main groups, the Caucasians and the non-Caucasians. By "Caucasians" we understand all tribes which speak a language belonging to no linguistic group outside the Caucasus, whereas the "non-Caucasians" are all the other peoples who migrated to the Caucasus in more recent times and speak languages belonging to linguistic groups outside this territory, such as the Indo-Europeans, Turco-Tartars, and Semites. The true Caucasians are further divided into three branches, the Northwestern, the Northeastern, and Southern Caucasians,[2] a classification based again on linguistic affinity. As mentioned in the Preface, our interest centres around the Northwestern and Northeastern Caucasians.[3] 197 101

The large ethnographic map (Map I), the note regarding the absolute and relative population (*infra*, p. 5), and the following outline with its detailed classification of the peoples and tribes inhabiting the Caucasus and their various names will provide sufficient orientation for the reader and may prove useful for future reference.

#### I. Caucasians

**A. The Northwestern Caucasians**

1. The *Abkhaz* (called Absoi, Abaski, Abasgi, etc. by the Greek writers of the second century; Abaskhoi by the Byzantine writers; Abkhasi by 101

[1] R. Bleichsteiner, "Die Völker des Kaukasus," *Asien-Berichte*, V (1944), No. 22, p. 3.

[2] The languages of the Caucasus and their relationship to one another and to other languages outside the Caucasus are treated in a special section below. See pp. 12—16.

[3] In the present study we do not include such tribes that no longer live in the Caucasus, such as the Ubykhs.

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Georgian authors; Adzekha by the Cherkess; Ap'shili and Ap'sari by the Georgian Chroniclers; their own name is Ap'sua, i. e., "Men")

a) Abaz tribe
b) Abkhaz proper
c) Abshavs
d) Barakei
e) Beshilbei
f) Bsubbs
g) Dzhigits
h) Samursakanians
i) Tsebelendinians, etc.

2. The *Cherkess* (called Circassians by Turks, Cherkets; Zygoi, Zinkoi, Sundyi, Kerketaioi, Kerketai, etc. by the Latin and Greek writers; own name, Adighé, i. e., "Men" or perhaps from the Abkhazian word *adzy*, meaning "water" and hence "Coastal Dwellers"; own name also Dzikhursh, perhaps from the Greek *Zygoi*)

a) Abadzekhs ("Horse-breeders")
b) Beselenians ("Forest Dwellers")
c) Bzhedukhadz (called Medovei by the Russians, meaning "Honey-people" or "Bee-keepers")
d) Kabardians
e) Natukhadz ("Traders")
f) Shapsugs

3. The *Ubykhs* (own name, P'yokh; no longer in the Caucasus)

**B. The Northeastern Caucasians**

1. The *Chechens*

a) Bats (Batsbi or Tsova)

b) Chechens proper (called Čečenci by the Russians after the main Chechen town; Chachantsi by the Dido; Tsatsar by the Ossetes; Sheshen by the Kabardians; own name, Nakhchui, meaning "People")
(1) Aukh or Akki
(2) Ichkerians, etc.

c) Ingushi (own name, Lamur, meaning "Mountain")
(1) Dzherakh sub-tribe
(2) Galash
(3) Khamkhal
(4) Metskhal
(5) Mountain Ingushi (Galgai)
(6) Nazranians
(7) Tsori, etc.

d) Karabulaks (no longer in the Caucasus)

2. The *so-called Lesghians* (called Lesghi by the classical writers; Lekebi by the Lesghians themselves; Tauli by the Kumyks; Lamauroi by the Chechens; Lyasgarians by the Kurins) 101

a) The Avaro-Andian sub-group

(1) The Avars (from the Turkish meaning "warlike")

(2) The Andi branch

(a) Akhvakh (own name, Akhluati)

(b) Andi (called Andiritshu by the Laks; Andi by the Avars; own name, Kuannal)

(c) Botlikh (Botlikh in Avarian; own name, Buikhakhl'i; also called Buyukhadi)

(d) Chamalal (in Avarian and Botlikhian Chamalal; own name, Chama-iga)

(e) Godoberi (Godoberi in Karataian; called Godoberies Hikua by the Khvarshi; own name, Gibditli Adami after town of Gidu)

(f) Karat'abi (called Karat'abi by the Dido; own name, Kirtlei after town of Kirtle,

(g) Kuanada or Bagulal (own name, Bagolal)

(h) Tindi (own name, Idarau Hekua; in Avarian, Tindiseu)

(3) The Dido branch

(a) Dido properly so-called (own name, Tsezi)

(b) Kapuchi or Khvanal (own name, Khapuchias Suko, i. e., "Men from Kapuchi")

(c) Khunsak (called Khunzali by the Dido; also called Nakhada, perhaps from *nakha*, an Avarian word meaning "behind")

(d) Khvarshi (called Kkhuarshitli by the Godoberi; Kkhuarshidi by the Botlikh; own name, Khedaes Hikua, i. e., "A Man from Kheda")

b) The Lak-Dargwa sub-group

(1) The Dargwa (or Dargins, derived from Kumykian *dargilar* and *dargva*)

(a) Akusha

(b) Hirkanians (also called Hurkilians, "Inhabitants of the Town of Khur Kkhila Shi")

(c) Varkun

(d) Khaitak

(2) The Laks (Kazikumukh, derived from the town called Kumukh + the Arabic word *gâzî*, i. e., "Victorious Defenders of the Faith")

c) The Samur sub-group

(1) Aghulians

(2) Budukh

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(3) Dzhek (or Dzhek-Krys)

(4) Kurins (own name, Lyagar ; Lesghians properly so-called)

(*a*) Akhti
(*b*) Kuba
(*c*) Khüri

(5) Rutulians (or Mikhashurians or Mekhad after their town Mikheshura)

(6) Tabassaranians (or Gumgum)

(7) Tsakhurians (after their main town called Tsakhur)

*d*) The Archi
*e*) The Udins
*f*) The Khinalugians

**C. The Southern Caucasians**

1. The *Georgians*

*a*) Kharthlians
*b*) Kakhetians (The islamized Kakhetians of Sakataly are called Ingiloi !)
*c*) Khevsurs
*d*) Pshavs
*e*) Tushi
*f*) Mokhevians
*g*) Racha
*h*) Gurians (The islamized Gurians are known as the Adzhars.)
*i*) Imeretians or Imeréti
*j*) Mtiuletians

2. *Mingrelians* (Georgian Megréli)

*a*) Senaki
*b*) Sugdidi
*c*) Samursakanians

3. *Laz* (also called Chanians ; own name, Tsani ; called Alas by the Abkhaz ; Ch'ani by the Georgians)

4. *Svans* (also called Shvan, Shan, derived from Georgian *savane*, " A Place of Refuge ")

## II. Non-Caucasians

**A. Indo-Europeans**

1. *Russians*
2. *Ukrainians*

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3. *Poles*
4. *Bohemians* (and other Slavs)
5. *Germans*
6. *Greeks*
7. *Armenians*
8. *Kurds*
9. *Ossetes*
   a) Alaghir
   b) Kurtalinsk Ossetes
   c) Tagaurians
   d) Tualti, etc.
10. *Persians*
11. *Talysh*
12. *Tat*

**B. Mongols** (Kalmuks)

**C. Turks**

1. *Azerbaijani Tartars*
2. *Karachai*
3. *Kirghiz*
4. *Kumyks*
5. *Nogai*
6. *Osmanli Turks*
7. *Balkarians*
8. *Turkomans*
9. *Karapapaks*

**D. Semites**

1. *Aissores*
2. *Arabs*
3. *Mountain and other Jews*

**E. Finno-Ugrians**

1. *Esthonians*
2. *Mordovanians*

**Population of Caucasia:** Finno-Ugrians and Semites, 1.1%; Turco-Mongols, 19.2%; Indo-Europeans of Iranian stock, in the Caucasus since 1,000 B.C., 18.4%; Indo-Europeans who immigrated in relatively recent times, 37.3%; true Caucasians, 24%. 162

Esthonians: 2,400. Arabs: 900. Mt. Jews: 26,000. Other Jews: 24,000. Chaldeans: 12,000. Nogai: 23,000. Kumyks: 94,800. Karachai: 55,000. Balkarians: 33,000. Turkomans: 11,000. Karapapaks: 6,300. Azerbaijani: 2,274,000. Kalmucks: 134,000. Russians: 2,400,000. Ukrainians: 1,600,000. Poles: 4,000. Germans: 60,000. Greeks: 100,000. Moldovanians: 7,000. Armenians: 2,151,000. Ossetes: 354,000. Tat: 150,000. Talysh: 90,000. Kurds: 45,000. Persians: 50,000. West Cherkess: 88,000. East Cherkess: 164,000. Abkhaz: 58,000. Chechens proper: 407,000, Ingushi: 92,000. Bats: 2,500. Avars: 159,000. Andi: 7,700. Botlikh: 2,800. Godoberi: 1,400. Karatai: 5,200. Akhvakh: 3,700. Chamalal: 3,500. T'indi: 3,700. Dido: 3,200. Khvarshi: 1,000. Kapuchi: 1,500. Nakhada: 130. Laks: 40,000. Dargwa: 122,000. Kubachi: 2,400. Kurins: 165,000. Aghulians: 7,000. Budukh: 2,000. Dzhek: 10,000. Tabassaranians: 30,000. Rutulians: 12,000. Tsakhur: 11,000. Archj: 859. Udins: 2,800. Khinalugs: 2,000.

These figures are based on R. Bleichsteiner, "Die Völker des Kaukasus," *Asien-Berichte*, V (1944), Heft 22; R. Bleichsteiner, "Die kaukasische Sprachgruppe," *Anthropos*, XXXII (1937), pp. 61—74; *Izvestija* of April 29, 1940; A. Dirr, "Anthropologische und ethnographische Uebersicht über die Völker des Kaukasus," *Petermann's Mitt.*, LVIII (1912), No. 1, pp. 17—19. We have not included the less important non-Caucasian peoples as the Bulgarians, Bohemians, *etc.* It is to be noted also that the Caucasians living outside of the Caucasus are not included either, *e. g.*, only 700 Laz are indicated because the other 63,000 live in Turkey. The Gurians and Adzhars are included with the figure for the Georgians: some authors wrongly classify them as independent peoples.

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MAP II

# Daghestan

## PROVINCES AND PEOPLES

Referred to in the Adat-collections Used in the Present Work

**Boundaries:**

▬▬ of Daghestan

- - - of the Provinces ("Okrugs")

The boundaries of the "Okrugs" have been based on A. Dirr, Petermann's Mitteilungen, 1910, No. 1.

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The *Lesghians*, who are geographically and linguistically related to the Chechens, likewise countenance polygamous marriages, but, here polygyny is a privilege that has always been reserved for a few. It is to be noted that these privileged personages seldom espouse more than two women.[13] 595 [10]

The largest and the most important people of the Lesghian group are the Avars. Speaking of these people, L'vov tells us expressly that only relatively few men can boast of two or at most three wives.[14]

The Lesghians were the first to be Islamized and their conversion was the most thorough. The Laks, for example, accepted the Koran as early as the 116th year of the hegira A. D. 777. By the end of the ninth century Mohammedanism was firmly rooted among the Daghestanian mountaineers.[15] 797

Hence, to discover the pre-Islamic condition of the Lesghians, we must go to the early Persian and Arabian writers. They inform us that when Islamism was introduced into Daghestan, the people were all followers of Zoroastrianism. These reports are confirmed by the fact that today there are still not a few traces of Avestic teaching in the Caucasus and in Daghestan in particular.[16] Attempts to Christianize the Daghestanians had been made at first by Armenian, Georgian, and Byzantine missionaries, then, in the thirteenth century by the Roman Catholic Church.[17] But in spite of all Christian missionary activity, pre-Islamic Daghestan must be classified as Avestic.

Polygyny is in full accord with Zoroastrianism, no less than with Mohammedanism, and therefore there is no reason why we should place plural marriages in the Mohammedan period and exclude them from Avestic times. Ahura Mazda Himself is supposed to have had a number of wives, and Zoroaster, his Prophet, according to tradition, had three. In fact, Avesta (Vend. iii. 3) actually encourages polygyny by teaching that in the household of the just, "both women and children abound" (Geiger, *Ostiranische*, pp. 244, 247). Polygyny was ex- 595

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[13] M. Kovalevskij, *Zakon*, II, p. 166.

[14] N. L'vov, "Domaĭnaja i semejnaja žizn dagestanskich gorcev avarskago plemeni," SSKG, III (1870), p. 20.

[15] For the Islamization of Daghestan see R. Erckert, *Der Kaukasus*, pp. 152—156; for the conversion of the Laks see Said Gabiev, "Laki, ich prošloe i byt," SMOMPK, XXXVI (1906), p. 14.

[16] Abû Ḥamîd el-Andalûsî writes about the Lesghians: "They have no religion, and pay no taxes. If a man dies they hand him over to men in houses under the earth, who cut up the members of the deceased, remove the flesh entirely from the bones, collect it together on one side, and give it to ravens to devour; they stand near with bows to keep off other birds from eating any of the flesh. If a woman dies they hand her over to other men (*var.* women) under the earth, who remove her bones, and give her flesh to vultures, while they stand by with knives to hinder other birds from approaching the flesh." Abû Ḥamîd el-Andalûsî is here referring to the Kubachi, a Dargwa-speaking people. J. Abercromby, *A Trip through the Eastern Caucasus*, p. 290. Of the Colchi Aelian writes in his *Historical Miscellanies*, iv. 1 (c. A. D. 200), "The Colkhi place their dead into skins and sew them up and then hang them up in trees." Both of these practices are traces of Zoroastrianism. "To bury a body," according to Sir Denison Ross, "would defile the pure earth, which is one of the gifts of Ahuramazda, and to burn it would defile his symbol, the Sacred Fire. Bodies are therefore exposed on towers (*dkhma*) specially constructed for the purpose, to be devoured by birds of prey." (Cited by Henry Field, *Contributions to the Anthropology of Iran*, Anthropological Series Field Museum of Natural History, Chicago, December 15, 1939.) [764]

[17] J. F. Baddeley, *op. cit.*, II, p. 39.

595 pressly recognized as lawful as early as the composition of the Mâtigân-i-Hazâr Datîstân.[17*]

[101] On the southern slopes of the Caucasus, in high isolated valleys, we find the GEORGIAN mountain tribes, the Khevsurs, Tushi, Pshavs and Svans, who, owing to their isolation, have preserved the ancient Georgian culture better by far than their brothers in the lowlands, and therefore, when speaking of the Georgians, we shall limit ourselves as much as possible to these four tribes.[17**]

Formerly plural marriages were of frequent occurrence in *Khevsuria*. "In former times," writes Nansen, "polygyny was general," or in the words of the original, "war früher an der Tagesordnung."[18] By "formerly" we mean before the conversion of the Khevsurs to the Orthodox Church.[19] But a deeply ingrained customary law cannot be easily "repealed" and such is the case in Khevsuria in regard to the right of having more than one wife; for, even today, although rarely, some Khevsurs still insist on marrying several women.[20] The *Svans* are "monogamists" but, like the Khevsurs, they gave
[586] up plural marriages only after their conversion to Christianity. They are monogamists officially and economically, but, like the Khevsurs, they are sexually polygamous: in order to evade the law of the Church, the Khevsurs and the Svans introduced extremely easy divorce, a form of *successive* polygamy. Divorce is so frequent and easy (almost an annual affair) that we hesitate to call it monogamy.[21] G. Radde, in his monograph on the Khevsurs, claimed that many had been divorced and remarried ten times before they were 35 years of age.[22]

And now if we pass on to the non-Caucasian neighbours of the North Caucasian tribes, we find that the Mohammedan as well as the Christian OSSETES countenance polygyny, but as elsewhere it is rare, as rare as wealth.[23]
[565] As a rule, only the two highest classes, the princes and the *aldars* could afford more than one wife. In fact, there are even special *adats* which seem to reserve the privilege for these classes.[24]

The TURCO-TARTARS of the Caucasus have had a great share in the moulding of modern Caucasian culture and consequently demand our consideration.

Vambéry in his *Die primitive Kultur des turko-tatarischen Volkes* (pp. 71 f) assures us that not even the slightest traces of polygyny can be found among the primitive Turco-Tartars. In fact their language lacks such terms as "secondary wife," "bastard," and "prostitution."[25]

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17* *Hasting's Encyclopedia of Religion and Ethics*, V, p. 745.

17** The Svans are "Georgians" only in a broad sense of the word, meaning "South Caucasians."

18 F. Nansen, *Through the Caucasus to the Volga*, p. 58; *Durch den Kaukasus zur Wolga*, p. 39.

19 G. Radde, *Die Chewsuren und ihr Land*, p. 90.

20 C. Hahn, *Bilder aus dem Kaukasus*, p. 82; A. Byhan, *La civilisation caucasienne*, p. 114. R. Eristov, "O Tulino-Pšavo-Chevsurskom Okrugè," ZKO, III (1855), p. 113.

21 F. Bodenstedt, *Die Völker des Kaukasus*, I, p. 282. N. Dubrovin, *Istorija*, Tome I, Bk. II, p. 109.

22 Radde, *op cit.*, p. 113. Cf. R. Briffault, *The Mothers*, II, pp. 269 ff.

23 Dubrovin, *op. cit.*, Tome I, Bk. I, p. 329.

24 Leontovič, *Adaty kavkazskich gorcev*, II, p. 12, § 10; p. 14, § 27; p. 16, a 40.

25 Schmidt-Koppers, *Völker und Kulturen*, p. 204.

1 [Sic -- Analyst]

(b) *Aznauri* of the second order. Regular priests and monks. Merchants of the first order (mok'alak'is, i. e., "inhabitants of the city," usually rich Armenian families of merchants living in Tiflis.[139] 565 [141]

(c) *Aznauri* of the third order and landowners. Here we must include also the merchants of the second order and parish priests. (§ 31) [193]

(d) Merchants of the third order and archdeacons. (§ 32)

(e) Merchants of the fourth order, peasants and artisans *(glekhi)*.[140]

East of the Cherkess, separating them from the Northeastern Caucasians, are the probable descendents of the Alans known as OSSETES. Social differentiation was practically unknown in Ossetia. The rank of "nobles" (*aldars* and *badilyats*) was found only among certain Ossete tribes such as those of Kurtatinsk and Tagaursk, and even in these cases the "nobles" did not enjoy any essential privileges. Among the other tribes there existed at the most an initial stage of social stratification.[141] The Alaghir were specially averse to social classes.[142]

Since it is quite probable that the Ossetes are a remnant of the Alans and Sarmatians, we might rightly ask whether social classes disappeared only in their later history or whether it is an ancient tradition. Moses of Chorene (A. D. 370—490) speaks in his *History of the Armenians* of the son of an Ossetine ruler. This prince, we are told, was captured in a battle between the Ossetes and the Armenians. This report, however, is not reliable, being based on mere legend.[143] Ammianus Marcellus (*Rerum gestarum*, xxxi. 2) seems to be closer to the truth when he writes: "All the Alans are equally of noble descent. They have no slaves." Tacitus indeed says that the Alans were "divided into small tribes and groups, each having a chief or prince," but, as Ladyženskij rightly points out, Tacitus is most likely referring here to the *elders* of each sib and not to princes in the strict sense.[144] [101]

Before the abolition of slavery in the Caucasus the following four distinct classes could be found among the Tagaurians:[145]

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[139] Karst, p. 82, *note 7*.

[140] These classes existed in pre-Soviet times. The *eristhavi* or "heads of the people" (a class of nobles who held the position of provincial governors) disappeared much sooner. They used to be appointed by the King; the office however, once bestowed, could be passed down from father to son. Cf. Mourier, *Guide au Caucase*, I, p. 102.
The history of Georgian social classes has been studied by S. Danelia, *Fedaluri revoluthia Sakarthveloši*. *Narkvevi tarmoiobis istoridan Sakarthveloši* (Feudal Revolution in Georgia. A Historical Sketch of the Origin of Feudalism in Georgia), Tiflis, 1935.

[141] N. F. Takoeva, "Kosta Chetagurov etc.," SE, 1949, No. 2, p. 121. Ladyženskij, "Entstehung und Entwicklung des Staates bei den kaukasischen Bergvölkern," *Zeitschr. f. Völkerpsych. u. Soz.*, VI (1930), pp. 428 f.

[142] A. H. Günther, "Zusammenstöße zwischen Gesetz und Gewohnheitsrecht im nördlichen Kaukasus," *Zeitschr. f. vergl. Rechtsw.*, XLVI (1931), p. 325.

[143] Ladyženskij, "Entstehung und Entwicklung des Staates bei den kaukasischen Bergvölkern," *Zeitschr. f. Völkerpsych. u. Soz.*, VI (1930), p. 445.

[144] *ibid.*

[145] Dirr, AGKB, p. 79, *note 117*. Kovalevskij, *Coutume contemp.*, pp. 17—20. Leontovič, II, p. 9. B. V. Skitskij, *K voprosu o feodalisme v Digorii*, Ordžonikidze, 1933.

1/n [Georgian noble -- Analyst]

8: Lužbetak E-4 (no date) 1951 RHl Caucasia RHl

By Purchase



has in places disappeared completely, namely in the modern cities, where both partners earn money before their marriage (p. 197), while in other places it has disappeared officially, continuing only as a secret practice (p. 197). In 1921 the bride wealth fluctuated between Rs. 500 and Rs. 1,000 (p. 198). 583

Generally the *kalym* is so high that the entire joint-family of the prospective groom must share the burden. According to Cherkess customary law, when a joint-family decides to split into several units and consequently the common possessions must be divided, a portion must first be set aside as *kalym* for the unmarried sons.[3] Sometimes the joint-family cannot afford to "purchase" a wife and hence all relatives, near and distant, must contribute,[4] and, if it be necessary, also the entire *tleush* (*supra*, p. 55).[5] The burden is greatly eased by the possibility of paying the *kalym* in instalments.[6] [596]

The amount to be paid has always been subject to great variations. Before a daughter is given in marriage, the amount of the bride wealth must be agreed upon by both families. Not only are the particular personal qualities of the prospective wife taken into account, as, for example, her virginity,[7] but especially the social standing of her family.[8] The higher the rank (and, as we have seen above, the ranks of the Cherkess are endless) the higher the bride wealth demanded. Thus at one time a maiden of the *uzden* class cost as much as Rs. 800 to Rs. 1,200. One hundred years ago the price was somewhat lower: Rs. 500 for a maiden of the princely class and Rs. 300 for a widow; Rs. 350 for a maiden of the uzden class of the first order and Rs. 200 for a widow; Rs. 220 for a maiden of a lower *uzden* sub-class and Rs. 150 for a widow; Rs. 150 for a maiden of the free class and Rs. 100 for a widow. Dubrovin tells us that this payment went to the father, brother or paternal uncle of the bride, and if she had neither father, nor brother nor paternal uncle no *kalym* was necessary.[9] Sometimes slaves were used as payment.[10]

We have said nothing about the Abkhaz, for in essentials and even in many particulars they agree perfectly with the Cherkess. In fact, the marriage and family *adats* of the Abkhaz and those of the Cherkess are so much alike that Ladyženskij regards the Abkhaz as a Cherkess tribe.[11] [10]

The NORTHEASTERN CAUCASIANS. As elsewhere in the Caucasus, the *kalym* in Ingushetia and Chechnia may consist of money, cattle, arms and

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[3] Ladyženskij, FT, p. 206.

[4] Dubrovin, *Istorija*, I, i, p. 140.

[5] Longworth, *A Year among the Circassians*, I, p. 234.

[6] Neumann, *Russland und die Tschetschenen* (1840), p. 117.

[7] "Adats of the Black See Line, Kuban and Terek Territories," Leontovič, II, p. 253, § 162.

[8] Leontovič, II, p. 253, §§ 163—165. V. V. Vasil'kov, "Očerk byta temirgoevcev," SMOMPK, XXIX (1901), No. 1, p. 90, sets the bride-price of the Termirgoi as follows: for an ordinary peasant girl Rs. 600; for a girl of noble birth Rs. 1, 500; for a princess Rs. 3,000.

[9] Dubrovin, *Istorija*, I, i, p. 140 f.

[10] *ibid.*

[11] We do not of course accept this faulty classification. The Abkhaz, Ubykhs, and Cherkess are *distinct* peoples.

174 the first nomads to establish themselves in the Caucasus, after having forced the Cimmerians (c. 1000 B. C.) into the background. The Scythians were predominantly a pastoral people, while the tribes they subjected were agriculturalists. Then we see new waves of Indo-Europeans, the Sarmatians, sweep over the Scythian country (c. 300 B.C.—A.D. 200): we see the Maeotes, Sindae, Sauromatians, etc. submitting to the newcomers.

175 This contact with the nomadic civilization continued up to our own times. To recall some of the history of this region—in the first century B. C. Crimea and the northern coasts of the Black and Azov Sea belonged to the Roman Empire. It was in this region that the Goths appeared. In the fourth century the Huns became the masters of the region north of the Caucasus. In the sixth century the Khazars,[36] Avars,[37] and the Bulgars appeared in North Caucasus; in the ninth century we meet the Magyars there; in the eleventh century the Kumans,[38] and in the thirteenth and fourteenth century the Mongols, driving the inhabitants of the Caucasus higher and higher into the mountains. In the fifteenth century the Turks conquered Crimea, and the Georgian kings were made tributary to the Mongols.

[101] A glance at our ethnographical map of the Caucasus will suffice to convince us that the situation today is essentially the same: today the North Caucasians live in very close contact with peoples who, originally if not any longer, possessed a typically nomadic culture. The Mountain Tartars (Balkarians) are most probably descendents of the Khazars or Volga-Bulgars. The Karakaitaghs seem to be turkized Mongols. The Nogai are descendents of the Golden Horde. And besides these originally Asiatic nomads we find in the Caucasus such peoples as the Kalmucks, Kumyks, etc.

177 58 This constant contact with nomadic societies perhaps from the very beginning of pastoral nomadism—certainly since the Scythian period almost 3000 years ago—throws light upon the intricate problem: Why, how and when did the North Caucasian marriage and family customary laws become so pastoral nomadic? This contact, although not sufficient to *solve* the problem, can and actually does shed considerable light upon the *adats* of the North Caucasians.

177 59 But it is not only the contact we must consider but the actual similarity of the family organization. We shall therefore briefly describe the ancient Indo-European family and then the common features of the Altai society. Physical anthropology has shown that the Caucasians have mixed (racially) with nomadic peoples coming from the North;[39] linguistics proclaims the same

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F. Hančar, "Die Ausweitung unseres Geschichtsbildes durch die sowjetische Urgeschichtsforschung," *Blick nach Osten*, 1949, No. 1—2, pp. 51—61; "Hallstatt-Kaukasus, ein Beitrag zur Klärung des Kimmerierproblems," *Mitteilung der Oesterreichischen Gesellschaft für Anthropologie, Ethnologie und Prähistorie*, LXXIII—LXXVII (1947), pp. 152—167.

[36] At least the rulers, if not all Khazars, were Turks.

[37] These Avars have no connection with the Lesghians bearing the same name. The Avars referred to are proto-Mongols, and therefore neither Turks nor true Caucasians.

[38] The Kumans are also known as the Kypchaks, or, as the Russians sometimes call them, the "Polovcy."

[39] *Supra*, pp. 11 f. The Ossetes, for example, especially certain tribes, have a strong Caucasian strain. Many centuries ago some Ossetine groups have been actually Georgianized.

MAP IV

# Peoples of Ancient Caucasus

After A. Sanders, *Kaukasien*, pag. 23

21: Kolarz J-4 (no date) 1952 R1 Soviet Union
Caucasia RH1

# VII

# THE NORTH CAUCASUS PEOPLES

## RUSSIA AND THE CAUCASUS

The Caucasus means more to the Russians than either Russian Central Asia or the Russian Far East. The bonds between Russia and the Caucasus are strong and real and no official propaganda efforts are needed to prove their existence. The idea of the 'Russian Caucasus' will be alive among the Russian people as long as they continue to honour and read their great poets, because the Caucasus has become part and parcel of Russian national tradition through the works of Pushkin, Lermontov and Tolstoy.

Lermontov's works in particular show that the Russians have interpreted the word 'Caucasus' not as a purely geographical notion, but as a whole period of Russian history and a political programme strongly flavoured with romanticism. While deploring the end of the primitive freedom of the Caucasus peoples Lermontov, like Pushkin, considered the final triumph of Russian civilization over the Caucasus tribes to be an unavoidable historical necessity. Thus the two greatest Russian poets gave to the Caucasian peoples identical advice, namely to reconcile themselves to the victory of the Russians.

Pushkin has expressed this conviction in the phrase: 'Humble thyself, Caucasus, for Yermolov* is coming'. Lermontov, on the other hand, predicted to the Circassians that one day they would proudly say 'We may truly be slaves, but at least we are slaves of the ruler of the Universe!' Since Lermontov's time Russia's power has grown considerably and the service of a great master has indeed become the dubious consolation not only of the Caucasian peoples but of many others besides, throughout the Soviet Union.

The peoples of the Caucasus did not act in accordance with Pushkin's and Lermontov's admonitions; they stubbornly fought Russia and struggled desperately for their freedom, because they did not realize the tremendous odds they were facing. They were too remote from the world of political and diplomatic realities of the nineteenth century to understand either the hopelessness of their own situation or the power of the Russian Empire. They deceived themselves by the erroneous supposition

* General Yermolov (1772–1863) was the principal Russian hero of the Caucasus conquest.

21: Kolarz J-4 (no date) 1952 R1 Soviet Union R1
Caucasia RH1
[Osset]



territory comprising 1,200 square miles was a national triumph for Georgia, for it enabled her, for the first time, to spread out to the north of the Caucasus. S.U. 563 634

## A 'GOOD' PEOPLE – THE OSSETINS

After the expulsion of the Chechens from their homeland the Ossetins became the largest mountain people of the Northern Caucasus. In 1939 there were altogether 354,000 Ossetins in the U.S.S.R. of whom slightly less than two-thirds lived in the Autonomous Republic of Northern Ossetia, with which we are here primarily concerned, and about one-third in the Southern Ossetin Autonomous Province of Georgia. The two Ossetin territories adjoin each other and it would have been logical to amalgamate them into a single Autonomous Republic. Representatives of the two Ossetias went to Moscow in October 1925 to discuss the unification of their people with the Soviet central Government and personally with Stalin whose own mother is of Ossetin origin. This discussion which is briefly referred to in the seventh volume of Stalin's complete works, was inconclusive. The unification of the Ossetins would have been possible only at the expense of Georgia and the Kremlin was apparently not prepared to harm the interests of one of the constituent republics of the U.S.S.R. for the sake of a minor nationality. Ca. 161 [162] 642 S.U. 563 631

Czarist and Bolshevik authorities agree in their appraisal of the comparatively peaceful and placid Ossetins, no less than in their judgment on the turbulent Chechens. Of course, both régimes had encountered difficulties among the Ossetins, too, but never on the same scale as in the case of other Caucasus mountain peoples. Ca. 181

Czarist Russia started the conquest of the Ossetins in the period of Catherine II and skilfully exploited the class differences among them as well as their hostility toward their western neighbours – the Kabardinians. Many Ossetins considered the establishment of Russian rule as a safeguard against the danger of attacks by more warlike mountain peoples. Ossetin folk-songs of the early epoch of Russian conquest reflect a pro-Russian spirit and state unequivocally that living under Russian rule was identical to living in peace. Ca. 175 177

The Ossetins appreciated that Russian occupation and protection enabled them to settle in the plain from which they had been driven by the Kabardinians. Part of that re-settlement had already started in the second half of the eighteenth century. The major part of the re-settlement action was, however, carried out much later, between the twenties and the forties of the nineteenth century.

The Ossetins were of use to Russia not only as settlers, but also as soldiers. As early as the last years of the eighteenth century a number of Ossetin officers distinguished themselves in Prince Potemkin's army in

21: Kolarz J-4 (no date) 1952 R1 Soviet Union R1
Caucasia RH1

# VIII

# TRANSCAUCASIA

## TRANSCAUCASIA AND RUSSIAN HISTORY

Ca.
101
175
S.U.
181

Russia swept beyond the Caucasus and established her rule in Transcaucasia decades before the peoples of the Caucasus mountains themselves were fully pacified and subjected to Russian rule.

The benefit which Russia derived from taking possession of Transcaucasia is similar to that gained by an upstart ruler through an alliance with a princess of royal blood: namely, making his own a tradition in which he had been lacking.

By becoming linked with Armenian history, for instance, Russian history established a link with antiquity, with ancient Egypt, Assyria and Persia, with Alexander the Great and, finally, with the Roman Empire. Soviet historians indeed proudly recall that it was the Armenians, 'a people of the Soviet Union', who, under the leadership of their king, Tigran the Great, had defeated the 'invincible Roman legions' of Lucullus and this fact could not be altered even if at a later stage Armenia did become a vassal kingdom whose rulers were given the title of 'friend of the Roman Empire'.[1]

Both Armenians and Georgians had their written alphabets more than 1,000 years before the introduction of the Cyrillic script on which the Russian alphabet was ultimately based. The latest discoveries of Soviet scholars have even led to the assumption that the Georgian alphabet originated not later than the seventh century before Jesus Christ.

It is true that the history of the peoples of Russian Central Asia, which was annexed half a century later than Transcaucasia, also goes back to antiquity. However, by incorporating the Georgian and Armenian lands Russia was able to put to her credit not only general historic traditions, as in the case of Central Asia, but also an ancient Christian tradition. Both the Georgians and the Armenians had been converted to Christendom at the beginning of the fourth century, i.e. earlier than most of the peoples in the Occident and about 700 years before the conversion of the Russians.

In annexing Western and Central Transcaucasia the Russians had the proud satisfaction of having brought safely into the orbit of Christian civilization two peoples who for many centuries had been exposed to

21: Kolarz J-4 (no date) 1952 R1 Soviet Union R1
Caucasia RH1



permanent and violent pressure and persecution, on the part of Oriental, non-Christian powers. The Russians avenged the sufferings and hardships which both Armenians and Georgians had endured from Turkish and Persian overlords. Although the primary motives of the Russians were hardly of an exclusively humanitarian nature they could claim, with some justification, that they acted in Georgia and Armenia as a protecting rather than as a colonial power.

Ca. 101 175 S.U. 181

The case of Azerbaidzhan, which covers Eastern Transcaucasia, is altogether different; unlike the Georgian and Armenian 'protectorates' that country has more the character of a colony. Azerbaidzhan is, indeed, the only part of Transcaucasia where Russian colonization has been conducted on a large scale.

In Western Transcaucasia the influx of Russian elements has always remained insignificant even if Russian cultural influences are promoted there as strongly as anywhere else in the Soviet Union. The two principal peoples of Western Transcaucasia, the Georgians and Armenians, enjoy a special privileged position. They are expected to encourage Russian state interests in their area, as it were, by their own initiative, but without visible interference by Russian colonists who in other Soviet Republics occupy commanding posts in cultural and economic life.

Nominally, Georgia and Armenia have the same status as Kirghizistan or Uzbekistan, but their actual status is on a higher level. Georgia is the only Soviet Republic, apart from the R.S.F.S.R., forming a miniature federation which includes two Autonomous Republics and one Autonomous Province. Thus the Georgians exercise within the framework of the Soviet constitution a certain guardianship over other peoples, a role which the Russians claim for themselves practically everywhere else in the Soviet Union. Armenia again is not only the State of the Armenians within the Soviet Union but also the spiritual home of the Armenian people scattered all over the globe.

Ca. 631

## TRANSCAUCASIA AND RUSSIAN MIDDLE EAST POLICY

Politically and strategically the whole of Transcaucasia forms a Russian wedge driven into the Middle East which has every possible chance of expanding. Lermontov seems to have felt the tremendous implications which the submission of the Caucasus mountains to Russian rule may have for both Russia and the peoples of the East. He may have had a premonition that the conquest of the Caucasus would open a new chapter in the history of many lands situated to the South of the great mountain system. In Lermontov's prophetic poem 'Dispute', two Caucasus mountains, Kazbek and Shat, talk to each other. Shat warns Kazbek of the 'powerful East crowded with people', but he fails to

S.U. 185 539

21: Kolarz J-4 (no date) 1952 R1 Soviet Union R1
[Talysh] Caucasia RH1
TRANSCAUCASIA
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Ca. lems facing the Soviet Government in that part of the Russian Empire.
563 Each of the three Transcaucasian republics also includes a large number
S.U. of ethnical minorities which differ widely in character and can, from
563 the point of view of the Soviet régime, be classed into three categories:
[101] 1. Minorities organically linked with the three Transcaucasian state nations (Ossetins and Abkhazians in Georgia, Talyshi in Azerbaidzhan*). They are a purely internal problem of the Transcaucasian Soviet Republics.

2. Minority groups, mainly made up of immigrants, who proved to be a handicap to the Soviet régime. These minorities included Germans in Georgia and Azerbaidzhan, Greeks who, in 1926, formed 2 per cent of the entire population of Georgia, Anatolian Turks in Armenia and small groups of Persians. The Soviet Government treated all these minorities at one time or another as potential agents of a foreign power. These communities of immigrants were much reduced by deportations and arrests during and after the Second World War.

3. Minority groups who can be used for purposes of Russian power politics. This group comprises Assyrians and Kurds.

## THE ASSYRIANS

Ca. The Assyrians can be compared in many ways with the Armenians. They
563 are a Christian people scattered among Moslem countries, a people
[101] which has been deprived for many centuries of a State of its own. The
S.U. number of Assyrians who have survived oriental persecution is too
563 small to enable them to follow the example of the Armenians and
[101] rebuild a kind of 'National Home'. As a matter of fact, by interfering in the life of this small Christian people Russia probably did more to hasten their doom than to help them towards recovering from the blows which their Moslem neighbours had inflicted on them.

During the First World War in particular the Assyrians had to pay dearly for their pro-Russian sympathies. The Russian army relied in the early part of the war on the Assyrians as allies behind the Turkish lines. The Assyrians assisted the Russians, indeed, wherever they could, but in return they did not obtain national liberation. Their fate was exile or death. In May 1915, inspired by the expectation of Russian help, the Assyrians started an insurrection but were unsuccessful. To save their lives 40,000 Assyrians then embarked on a heroic march across difficult mountain passes and finally reached the Russian side of the front. The Russian authorities cordially welcomed them and the Grand Duke Nikolay decorated the Mar Shimun, the political and religious leader

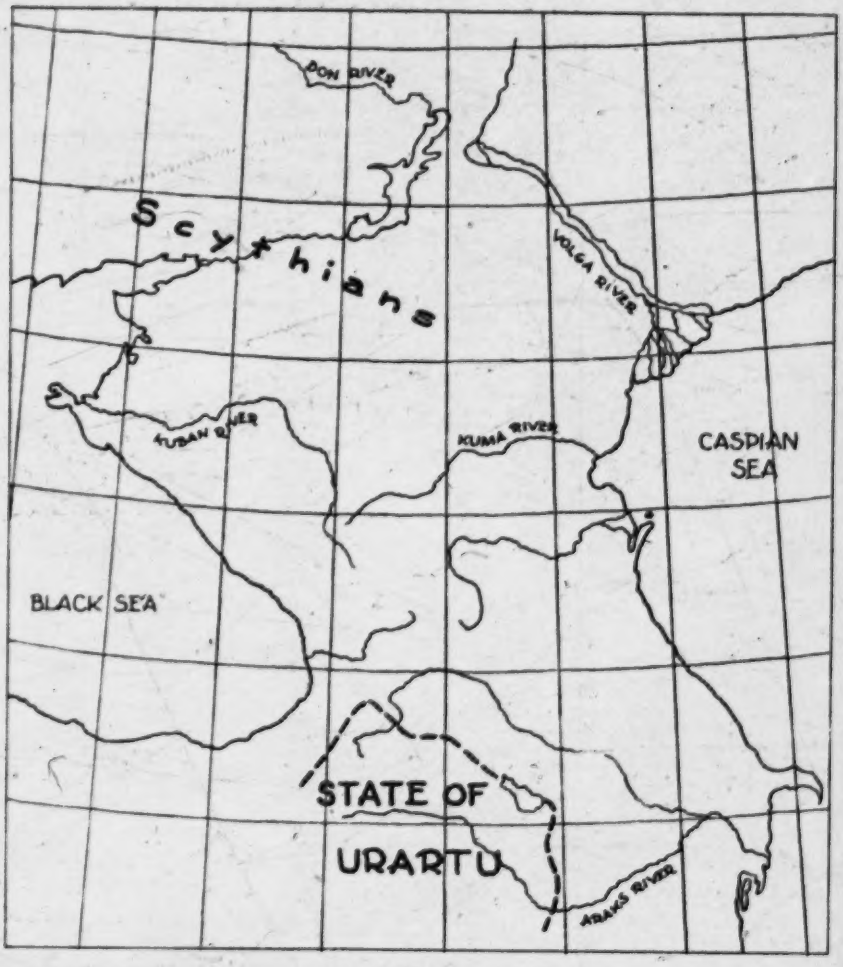
* The Talyshi are a people of Persian stock of whom 80,000 are living in the area of Lenkoran on the Soviet-Persian border. They were not granted a special administrative unit, presumably because their national consciousness is little developed. Most of them are bilingual and speak Turkic in addition to their native tongue.

1. 1200-750 B. C.

102

2. 750 B. C.

• 102


DON RIVER
Scythians
VOLGA RIVER
KUBAN RIVER
KUMA RIVER
CASPIAN SEA
BLACK SEA
STATE OF URARTU
ARAKS RIVER

3. 700 (600)-500 B. C.

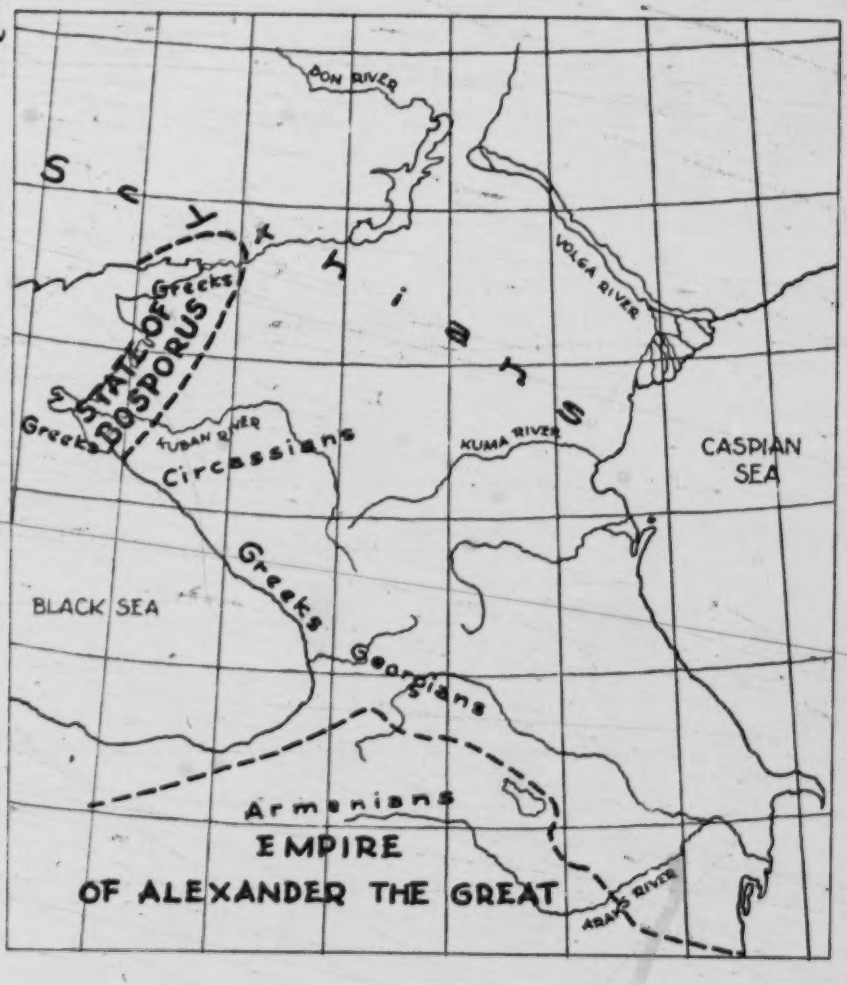
102

4. 5th Century B. C.

102

5. 323 B. C.

102


DON RIVER
Scythians
VOLGA RIVER
Greeks
STATE OF BOSPORUS
Greeks
KUBAN RIVER
Circassians
KUMA RIVER
CASPIAN SEA
BLACK SEA
Greeks
Georgians
Armenians
EMPIRE
OF ALEXANDER THE GREAT
ARAXES RIVER

6. 250 B. C.

102

DON RIVER
Sarmatians
VOLGA RIVER
Greeks
STATE OF BOSPORUS
KUBAN RIVER
Circassians
KUMA RIVER
CASPIAN SEA
BLACK SEA
Greeks
KOLKHIS
Georgians
IBERIA
ALBANIA
Armenians
ARMENIA
ARAXES RIVER
MEDIA ATROPATENE

7. 120-66 B. C.

102

8. 66 B. C. -62 A. D.

102

9. 62-226 A. D.

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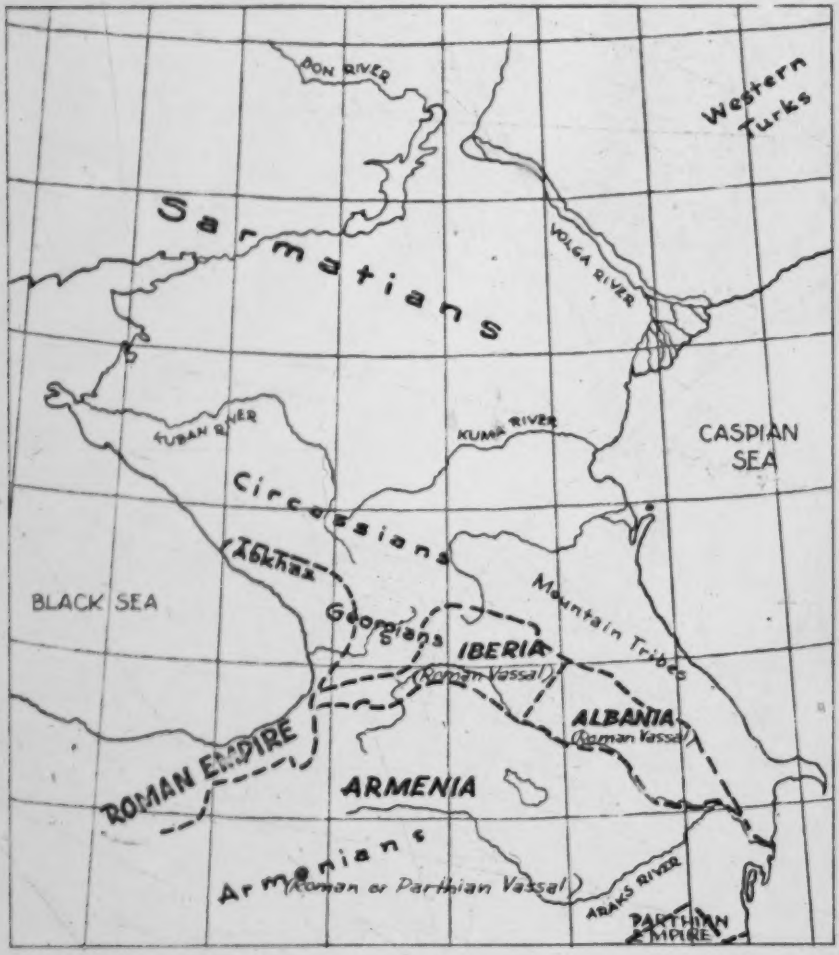
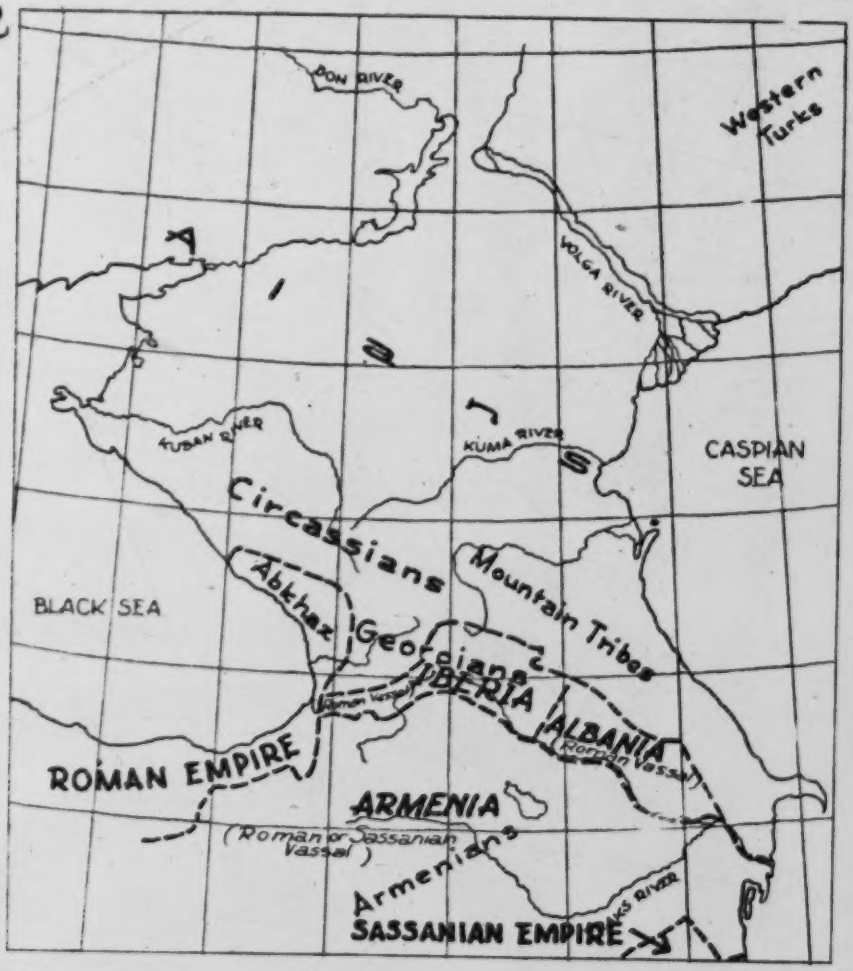


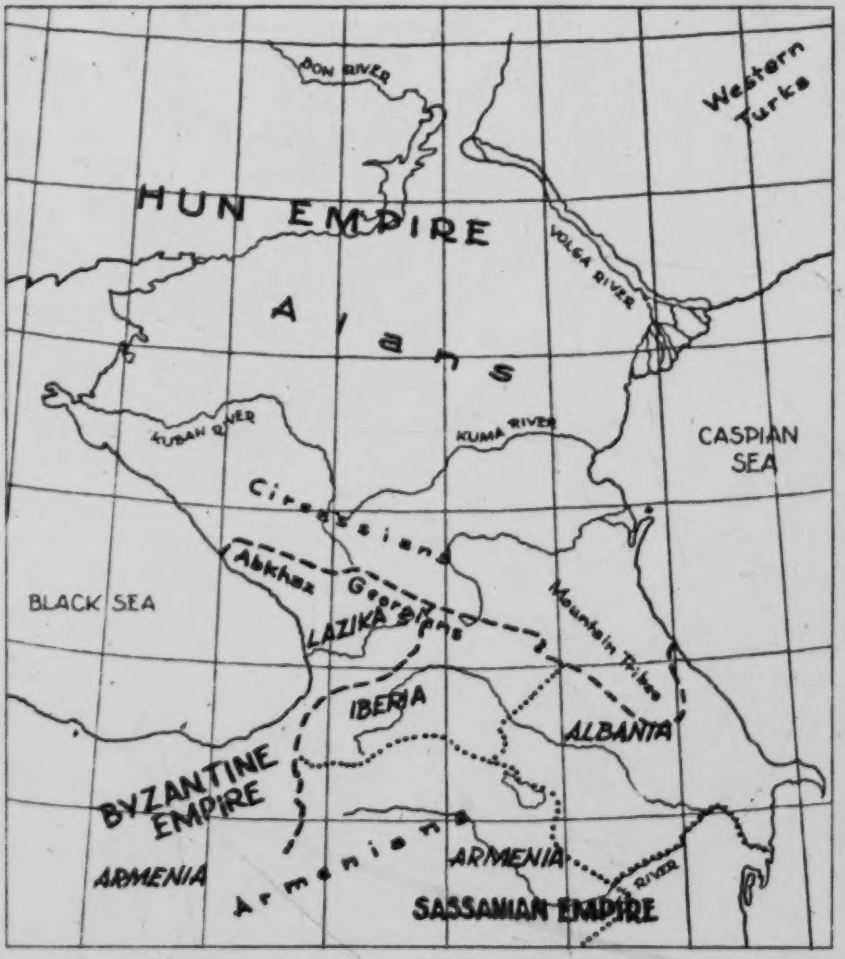
10. 226-387 A. D.

102



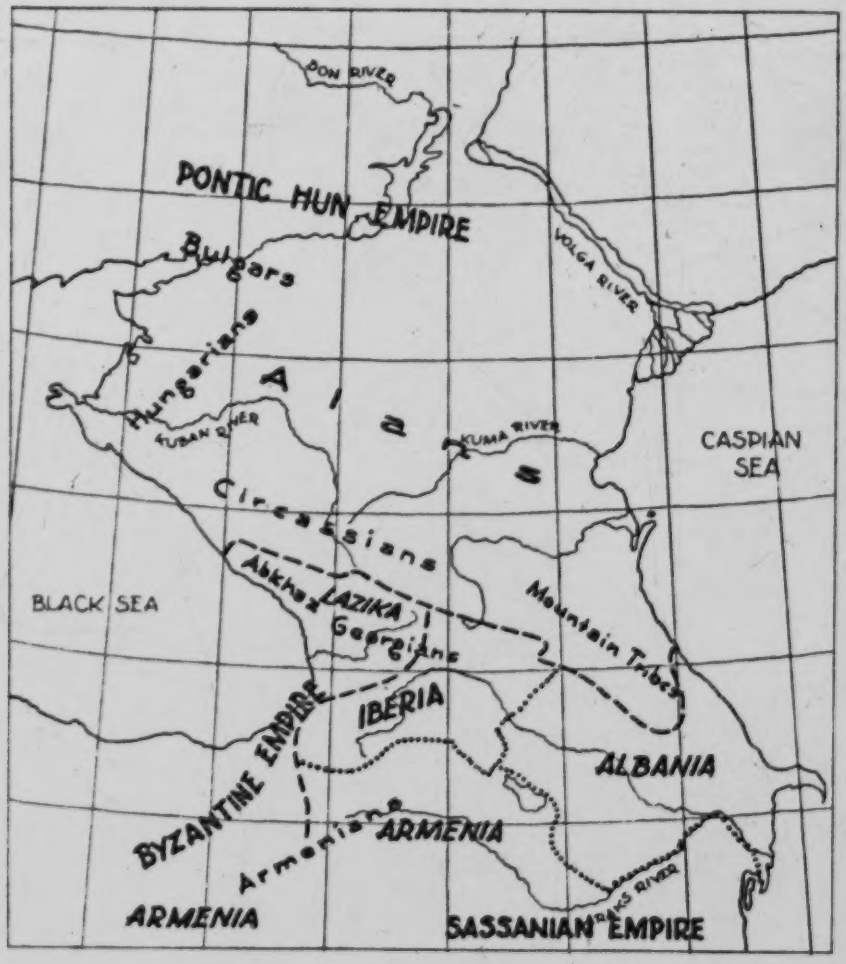
11. 387-463 A. D.

102



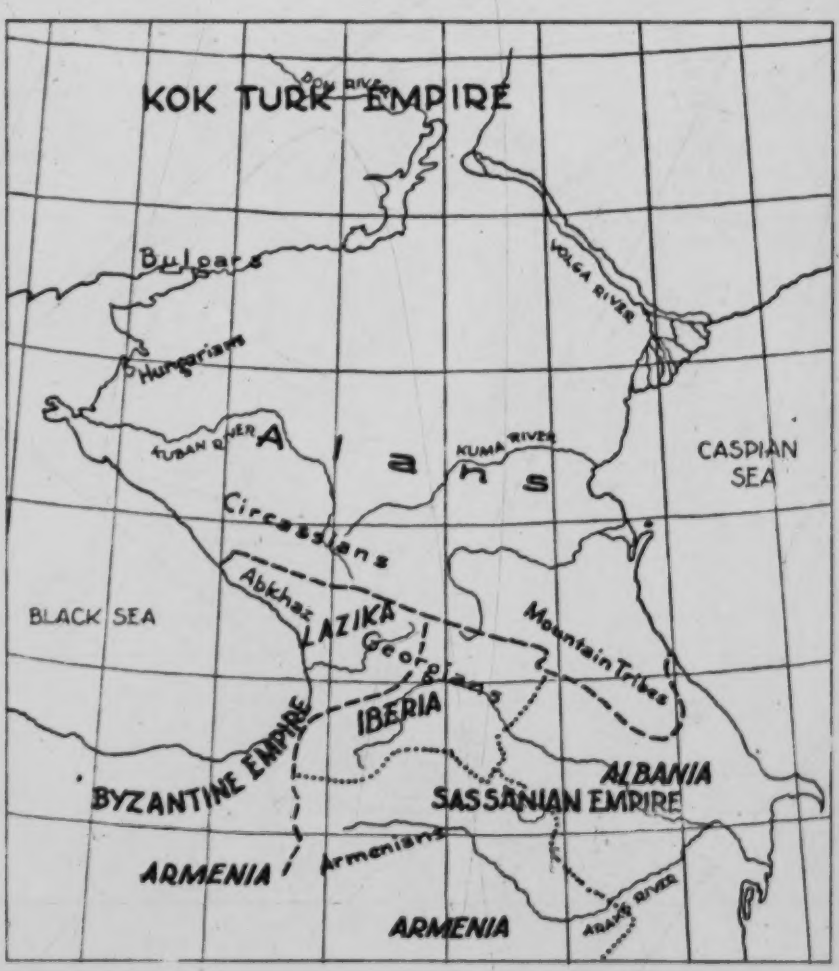
12. 463-550 A. D.

102



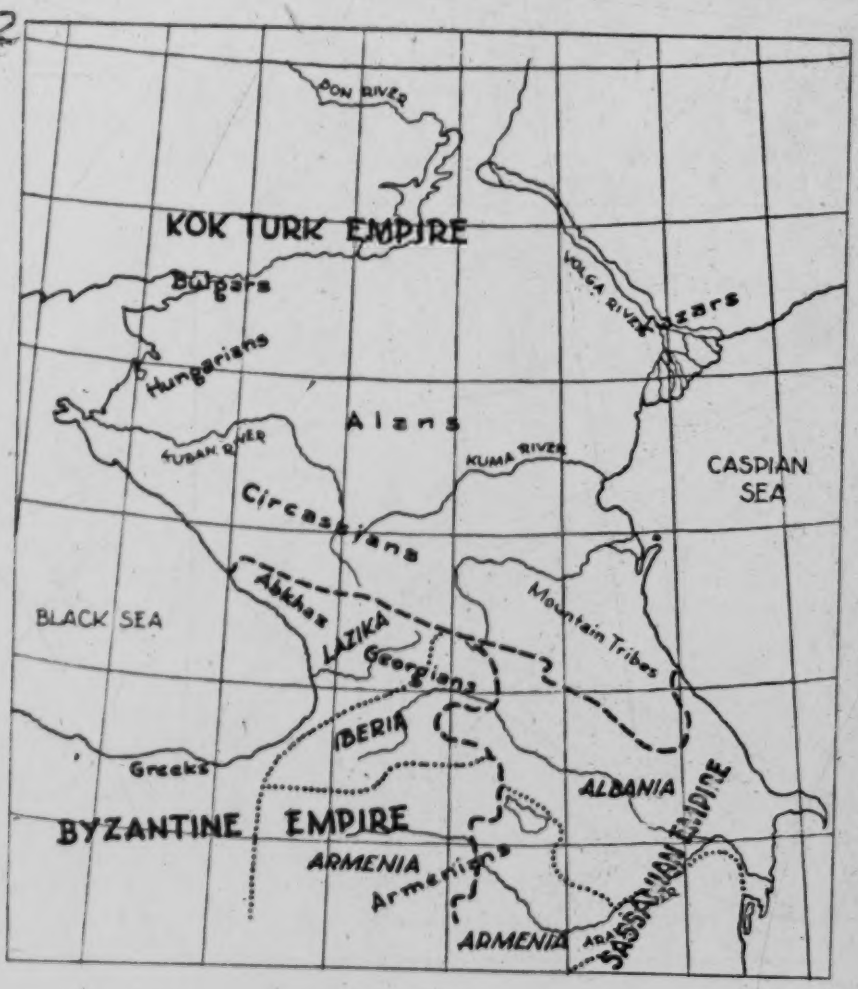
13. 550-591 A. D.

102



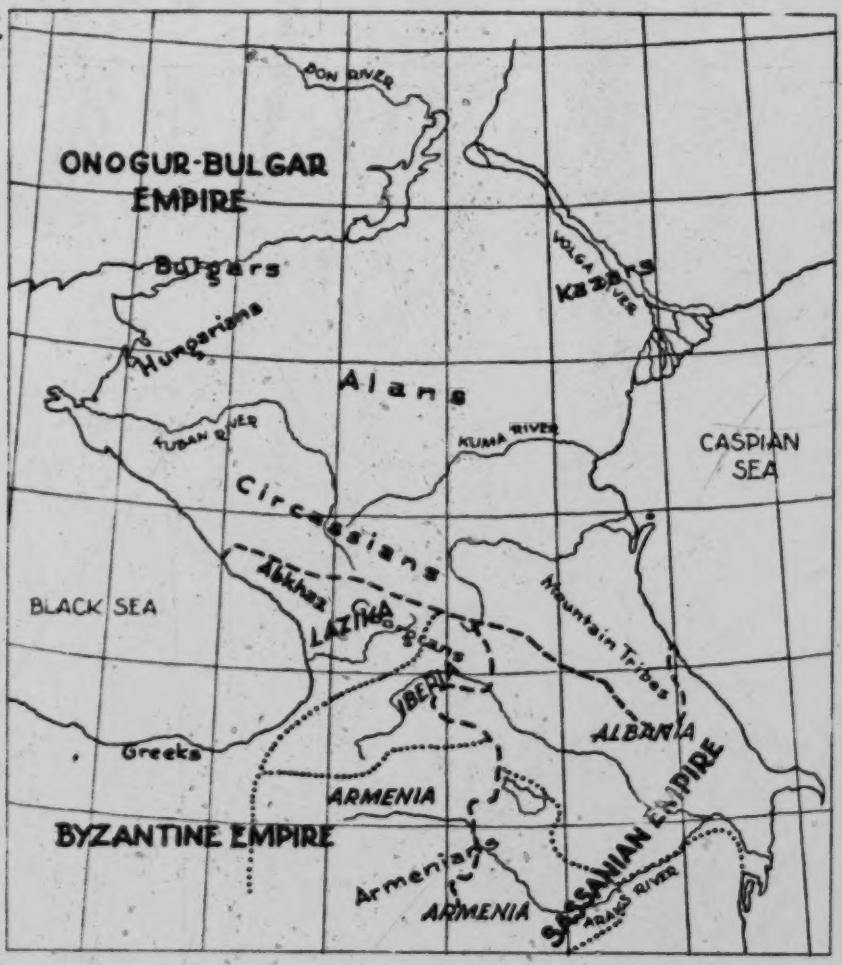
14. 591-620 A. D.

102



15. 620-644 (650) A. D.

•102



16. 644 (650)-680 A. D.

• 102

17. 680-717 A. D.

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18. 717-750 A. D.

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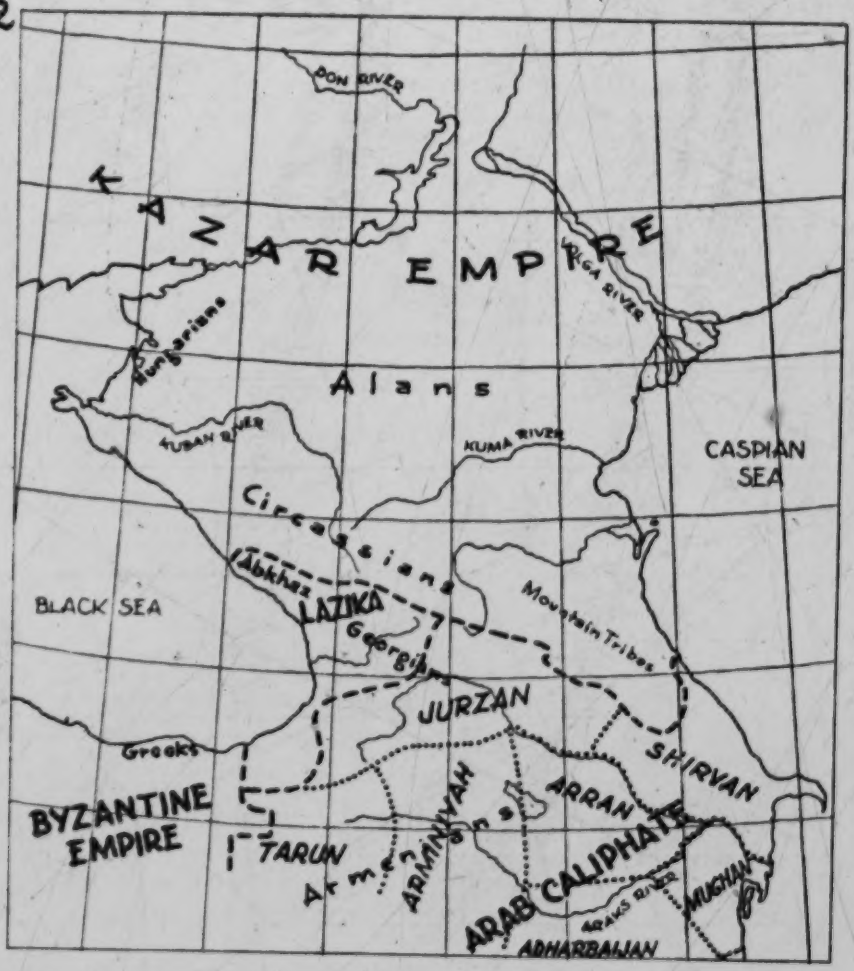
19. 750-800 A. D.

102



20. 800-890 A. D.

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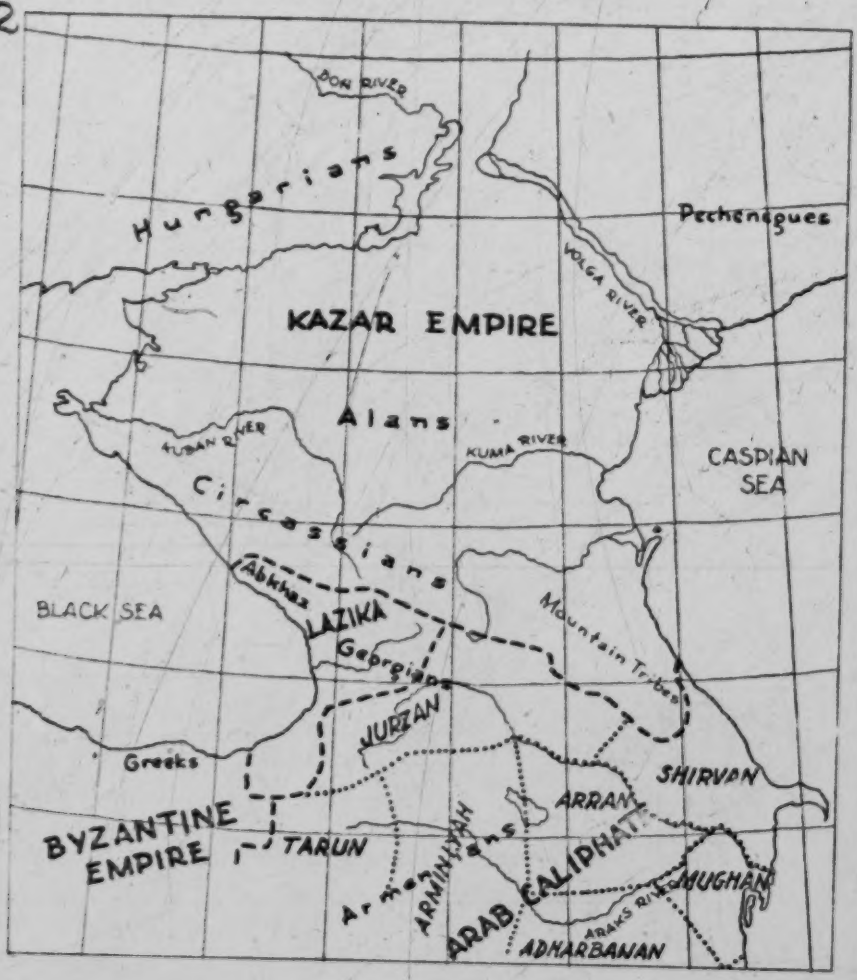

21. 890-930 A. D.

102

22. 930-966 A. D.

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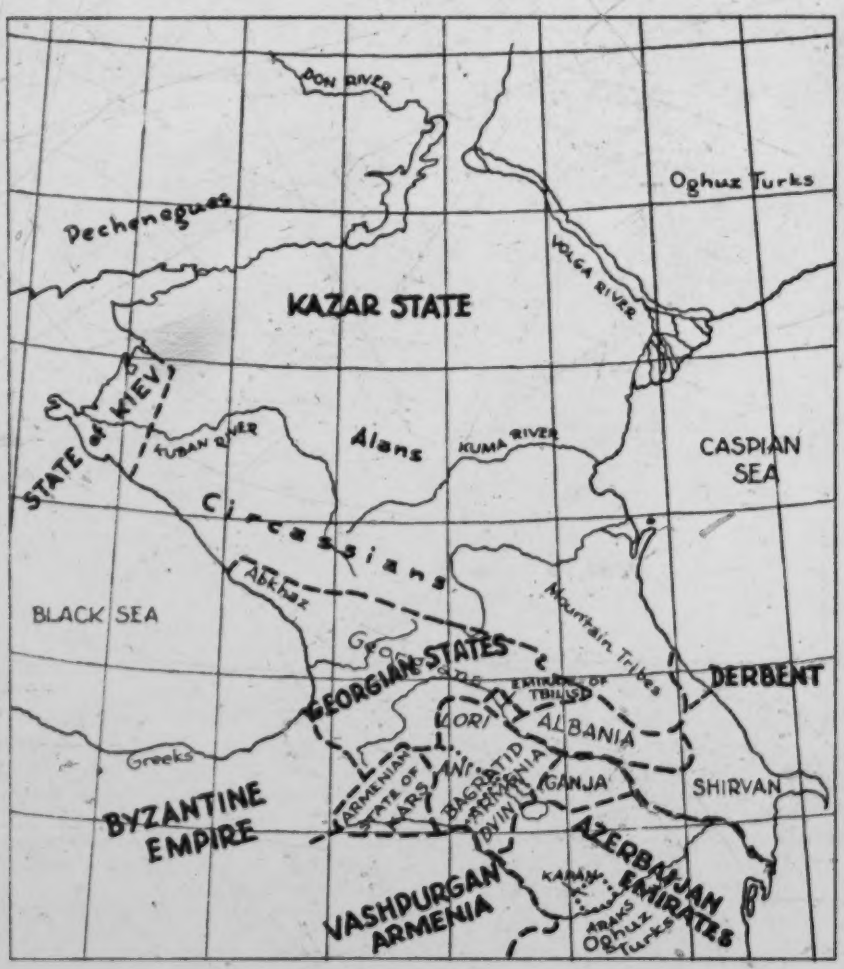
23. 966-1022 (1045) A. D.

•102



24. 1022 (1045)-1064 A. D.

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25. 1064-1136 A. D.

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26. 1136-1204 (1220) A. D.

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27. 1204 (1220) - 1256 A. D.

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28. 1256 - 1336 A. D.

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29. 1336 - 1391 A. D.

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30. 1391-1405 A. D.

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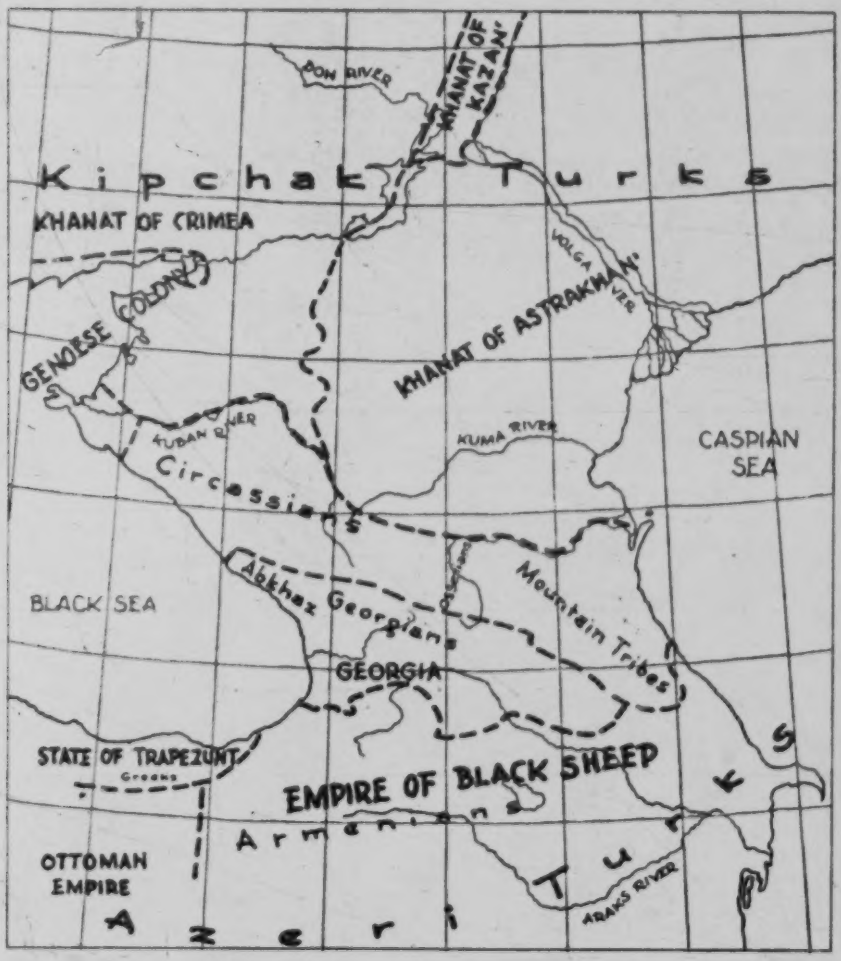
31. 1405-1467 (1475) A. D.

102



32. 1467 (1475)-1502 A. D.

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33. 1555-1556 A. D.

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34. 1590 A. D.

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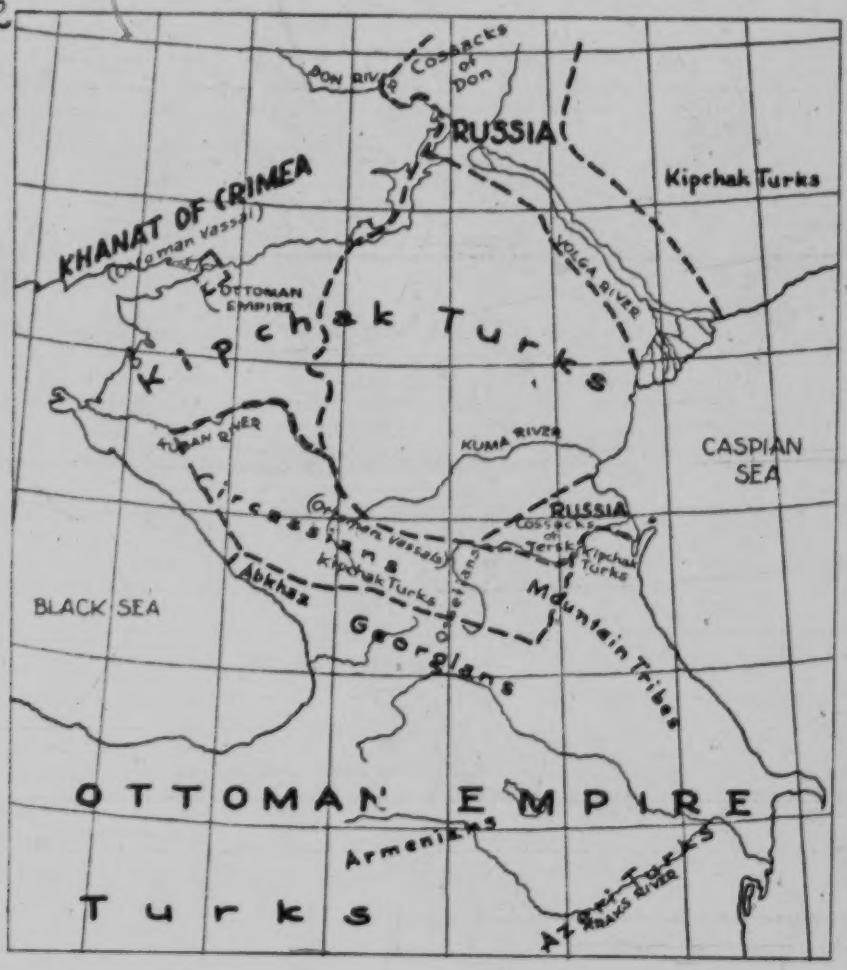
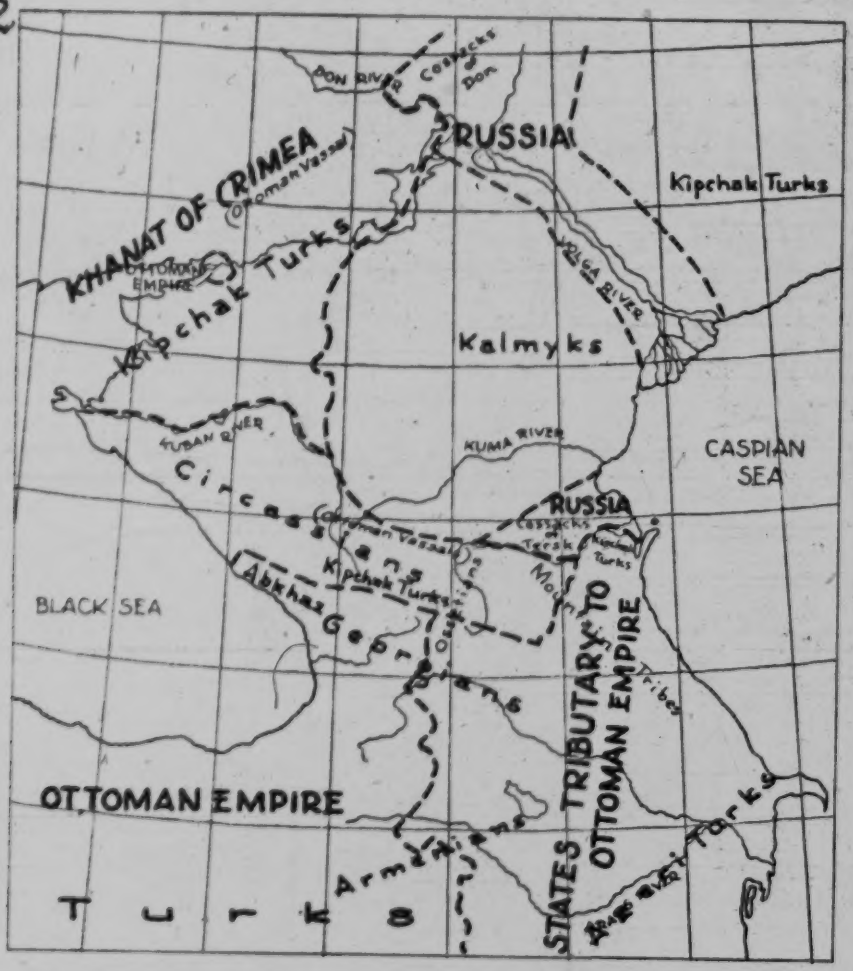


35. 1645-1681 A. D.

•102



36. 1681-1734 (1739) A. D.

102

37. 1734 (1739)-1783 A. D.

902

38. 1783-1801 A. D.

•102

39. 1801 A. D.

•102

40. 1813 A. D.

902

41. 1828-1830 A. D.

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42. 1858-1864 A. D.

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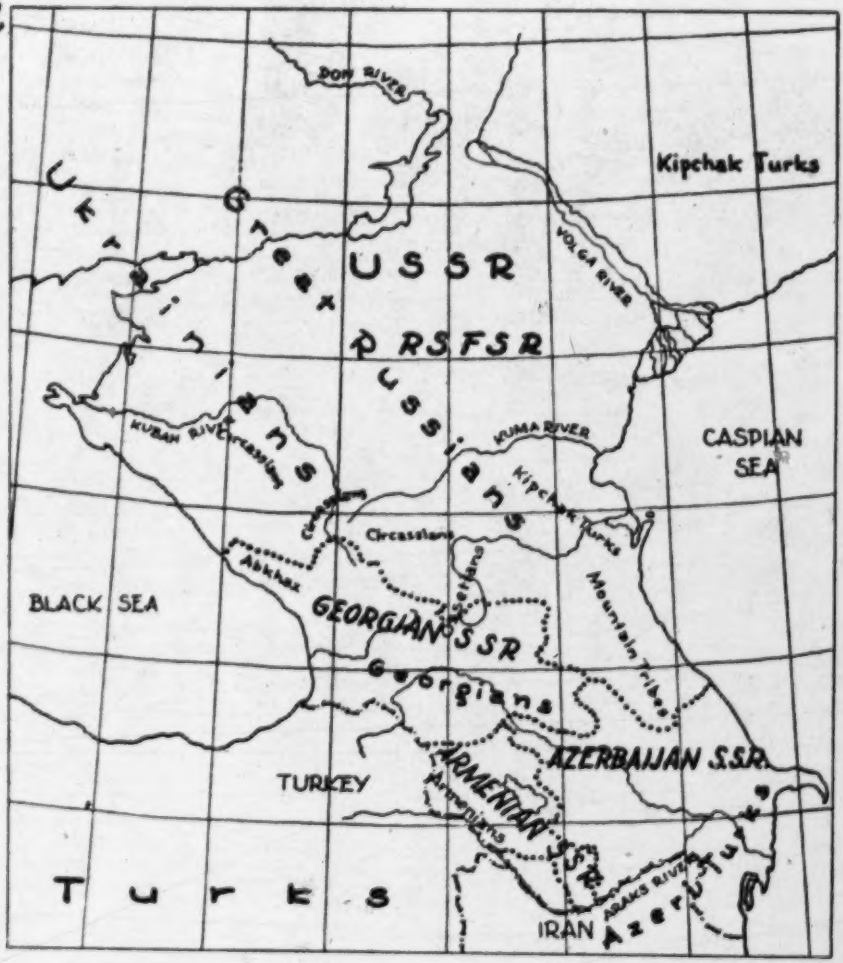
44. 1918-1920 A. D.

102

46. January 5, 1955 A. D.

•102



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23; Shabad N-4 (no date) 1951 RI Soviet Union RI
Caucasia. RHI

**NORTHERN CAUCASUS**

(1) Adyge Autonomous Oblast; (2) Cherkess Autonomous Oblast; (3) Kabardinian Autonomous SSR; (4) North Ossetian Autonomous SSR
Su. Sundzha; V., Vinogradnoye; KK, Kosta-Khetagurovo; DK., Darg-Kokh; G., Gisel'don
(Arrows indicate territorial changes.)

211

2: Byhan--ii E-4 (no date) 1926 RI13 Abkhaz RI13
CAUCASIA RHI

A
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C
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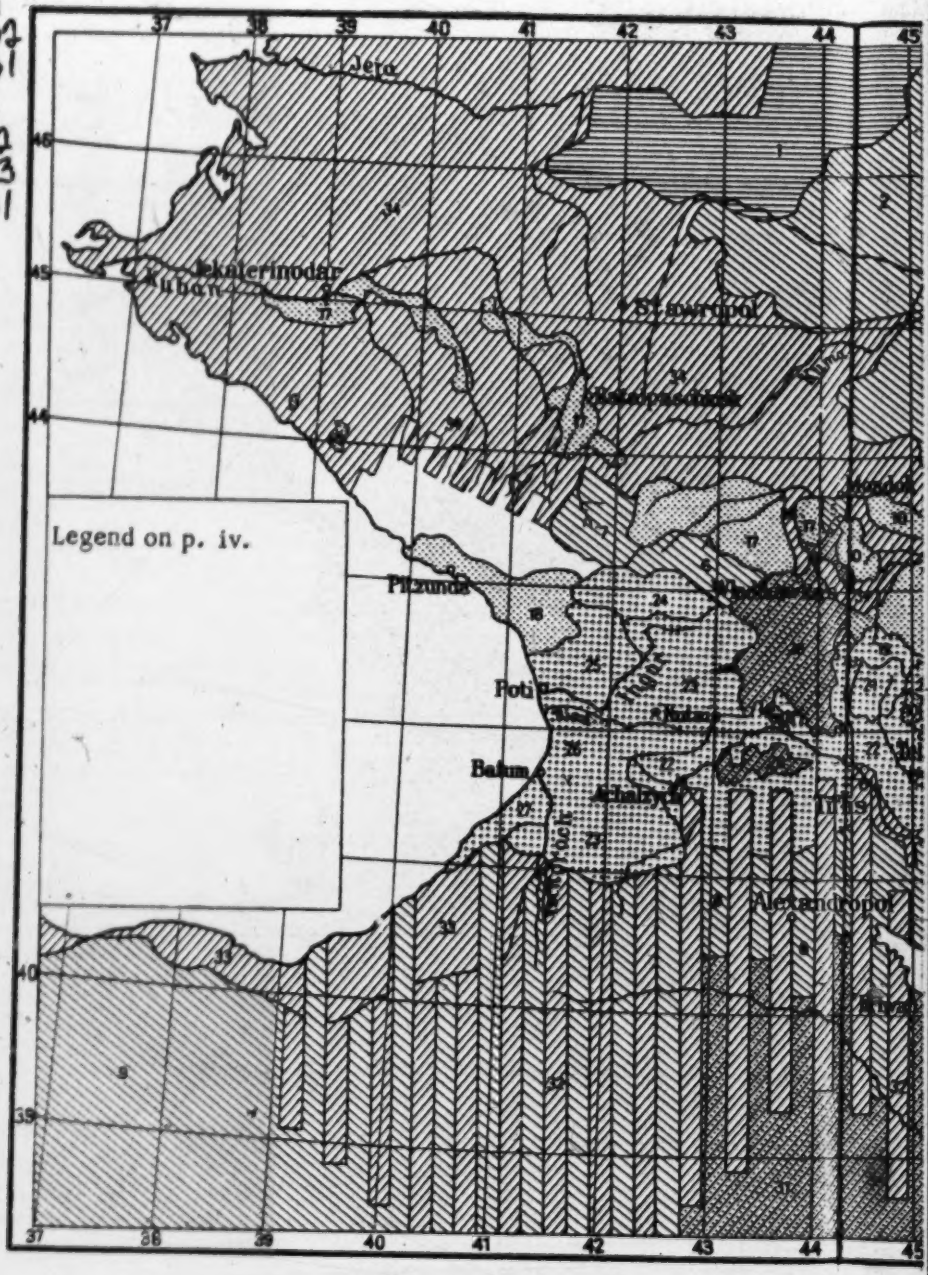
133
131



2: Byhan--iii E-4 (no date) 1926

RI13 Abkhaz RI13
Caucasia RII

A
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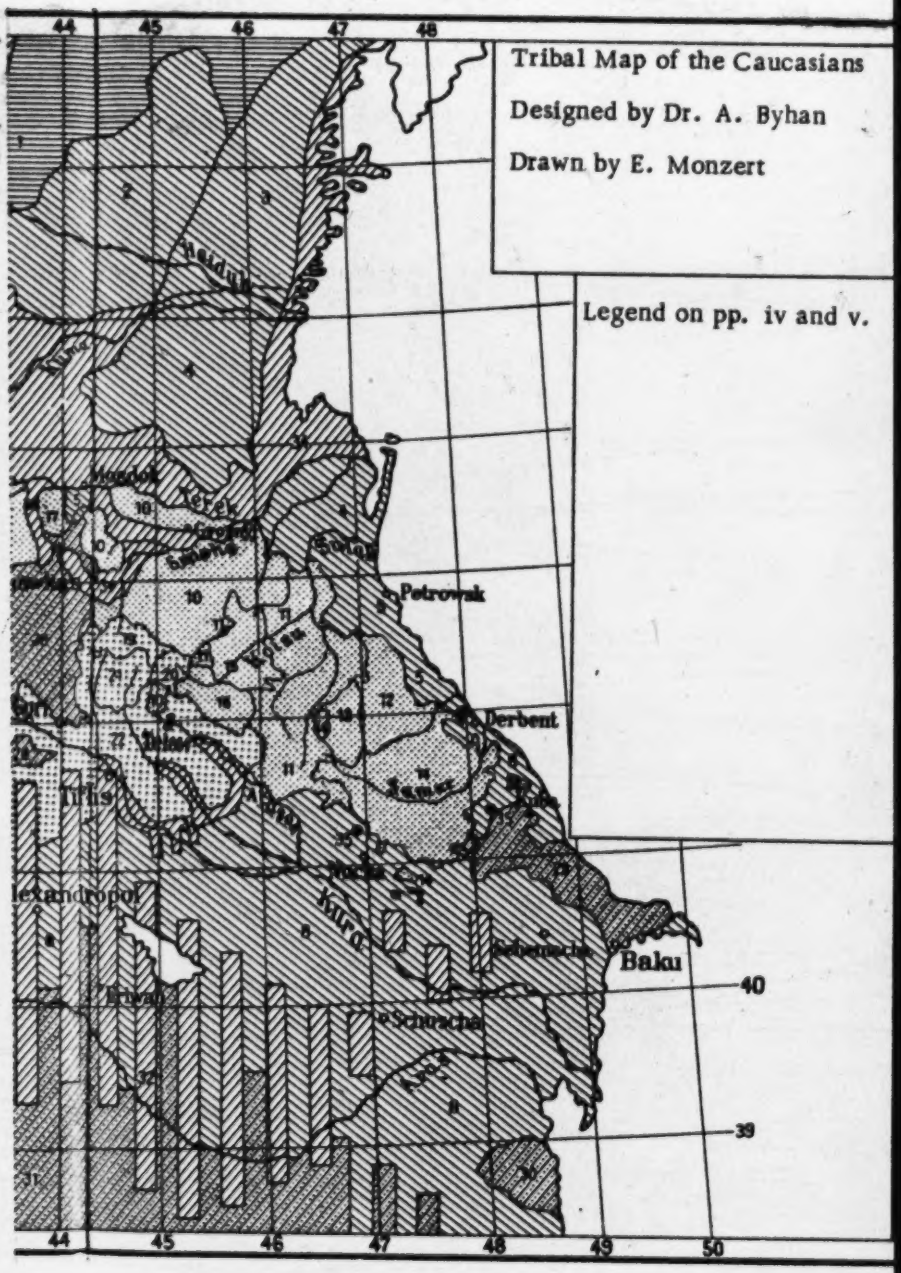


[p. 749 (B)]

A
102
131
C
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133
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MONGOL:

1 Kalmyk

TURKS:

2 Turkmen /Turcoman/
3 Kirgis /Kirgiz/
4 Nogai
5 Kymyk /Kumyk/
6 Taulu
7 Karatschai /Karachai/
8 Aserbaidshan Tatar /Azerbaijani Tatar/
9 Osman

CAUCASIANS:

10 Tschetschen /Chechen/
LESGHIER: /Lezgin/
11 Awar /Avar/
12 Dargin
13 Lak /Lek/
14 Kürin /Kurin/
15 Andi
16 Dido /Didol/

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17 Tscherkess /Cherkess/
18 Abchas /Abkhaz/

KHARTHWELIER /Karthvelians/

19 Chewsur /Khevsur/
20 Thusch /Tush/
21 Pschaw /Pshav/
22 Georgier /Grusians/
23 Jmerier /Imeretin/
24 Swan
25 Mingrel
26 Gurier /Gurian/
27 Las /Laz/

Caucasia RH1

A
102
131

INDO-EUROPEAN:

JRANIER /IRANIANS/:

C
102
133
131

28 Ossen /Osset/
29 Tat
30 Talysch /Talysh/
31 Kurd

32 Armenians
33 Greeks
34 Russians

SEMITES:

35 Mountain Jews

# 103

103 PLACE NAMES--lists of the names of settlements and geographical features; etymologies of place names; historical and cultural connotations; etc. See also:

Settlements . . . . . 36 Territorial divisions . . . . . 631
Personal names . . . . . 551

3: Anonymous U-4 (no date) 1920 RH1 Caucasia RH1



175 1902–5. Riots in Baku. Rising in Georgia.
1917. Treaty of Brest-Litovsk. Batum, &c., ceded to Turkey.
1918. Georgian, Armenian, and Daghestan Republics established.

## (1) *Early History*

103 THE Caucasus was well named by the Arabs 'Jebel Assuni', the Mountain of Languages, for the great range shelters as many different tongues as the famous Tower of Babel.

The lands stretching from the valley of the Phasis (Rion) north-eastwards were known to the ancients as Colchis and Iberia. The name 'Georgia' came later to be applied to the kingdom whose nucleus is covered roughly to-day by the Government of Tiflis; at the height of its power Georgia ruled from the Caucasus to the Aras (Araxes), and from the Black Sea to the Caspian.

175 Recognized history begins with the conquest of the country by Alexander the Great in 323 B.C., and the subsequent expulsion of the Macedonian governors by Pharnawaz, son of a prince of the original dynasty and a Persian mother. The chronicles of the period that follows make constant mention of the Abkhasians, who held the Black Sea coast and range from the Phasis north-westwards; of the Assos or Osses (Ossetes), a Median tribe whose territory lay in the hills from Mount Elbruz to the Dariel Pass; and of the incursions of Mongol Khazars and Alans from the steppes of the Caspian Sea, to meet which the fortress of Dariel was built at the northern end of the defile in 140 B.C. Persia, in war and peace, was the predominant factor, though her hold on the allegiance of Caucasia was insecure.

At a later period the introduction of Christianity, about A. D. 318, reopened the conflict with Persia. Shapur II ravaged the country in 371, and the general left by him to hold the conquered lands built a fortress on the site of the present city of Tiflis.

The Georgians now began to seek help from their co-religionists in the Roman Empire, but Persia was

174 the majority of them with their names only slightly altered. The populations of these ancient Greek colonies were usually multinational, within which the Greek element still today has a certain percentage and represents a cultural zone.

•103 The seafaring traveler from the West sees these mountains slowly emerging from the sea, their white peaks rising to the skies, as the ship advances to the East until it drops anchor in one of the ports of Colchis. They were from the oldest times known to the Greeks and thus to the entire West under the name of Kaukasos, from which comes the Latin Caucasus, taken over by all European languages. This name is not of Caucasian origin - the Caucasians proper have no general term for their home mountains - but it may be well derived, as Joseph Markwart showed about thirty years ago, from the ancient Iranian Krou-kasis ("ice-covered," "ice resplendent"). While several peoples speaking Iranian languages dwell today in the Caucasus Mountains, it seems that at those remote times Iranians were permanently living not in the Caucasus, but in the nearby areas southeast, east, and north of it. This is parallel with the name of the Black Sea, whose Greek name mentioned above is a euphemistic alteration of an earlier Greek form Pontos Axeinos, itself being a popular etymology of the original ancient Iranian term axšaena "black." The present-day

103 Caucasians also call the Pontos the "Black Sea" (Georgian Šavi Zγva).

Later, in Arabic and Persian geographical and historical literature, forms of the name of these mountains such as Qabaq, Qabuq (?) appear, and a similar form Qāf or Qāp, becomes the general term for the Caucasus throughout the Near and Middle Eastern Islamic world (in Turkic Qāf daγlary, etc.), forms which have some slightly remote relationship with the old Iranian and Western term.

181 For a long time the Caucasus was, and
132 in a certain sense still is, a great divide between two rather different worlds: on the one hand, Trans-Caucasia, which is culturally Mediterranean and Near Eastern, and climatically arid and sub-tropical; and on the other, the North-Caucasian plains, a cultural no-man's land, the transitory roaming-grounds of nomadic peoples, and climatically belonging to the continental zone of the vast East European plains. The steppes of the northern
133 Caucasian triangle between Don-Volga and the
167 Caucasus have been, down to the last two centuries, the battlefields between ever-changing nomadic conquest groups, arriving one after the other in an almost unending sequence out of the high plains of Central and Eastern Asia, trying to force their way into the territories of the Persian or the Roman Empires, which had their outer defenses established in these plains. But even prior to those movements,

C. 563 G. 105 a most crude way, which sometimes is found so obtrusive and shocking in many Oriental countries of the present epoch. The technical backwardness--actual or imagined--is thus often matched by a technocratic overemphasis which threatens to level out everything these countries have produced and contributed to their own and to common human culture.

## Georgians

C. G. 162 101 The K'art'velians or Georgians proper have been split into two groups, an eastern and western, by the intrusion of Oset'i from the north and the Azerbaidjanians from the southeast. The latter extend as far northwestward as the immediate vicinity of the modern capital of Georgia, Tiflis, (in Georgian: T'bilisi, C. G. [103] "Hot Springs" from the stem tp'ili [Georgian] "warm;" common with Indo-European, cf. Slav. [Čech.] place-name Teplice, "Hot Springs," mentioned above; Lat. tepidus, "warm," etc.); and from Tiflis southeastward, the Azerbaidjanians hold the entire valley of the Kura (in Georgian: Mtkvari, Strabon's Kyros). The Georgians hold only the Aragvi valley (Strabon's Aragos), the upper Iora, almost the entire Alazani (Strabon's Alazonios) —this is Kakhet'ia, and the upper Kura valley. The Meskhi-Surami Range and the eastern and southern portion of Colchis, Imeret'ia (practically all the land at the left bank, i.e., south

## Cities and Towns

103

1. Abastumani
2. Achi-Su
3. Adler
4. Agara
5. Agdam
6. Agdash
7. Akhalkalaki
8. Akhaltsikhe
9. Akhsu
10. Akstafa
11. Alagir
12. Alaverdi
13. Ali-Bayramly
14. Alyaty-Pristan'
15. Amamlu
16. Ambrolauri
17. Anapa
18. Anipemza
19. Apsheronsk
20. Ararat
21. Armavir
22. Artashat
23. Artik
24. Astara
25. Astrakhan-Bazar
26. Astrakhan'
27. Avchala
28. Azov
30. Baku
31. Bakuryani
32. Balandzhary
33. Bank
34. Barda
35. Bashanta
36. Bataysk
37. Batumi
38. Belaya Kalitva
39. Beslan
40. Bolnisi
41. Borzhomi
42. Budennovsk
43. Buynaksk
44. Buzovny
45. Byandovan
46. Cherkessk
47. Chertkovo
48. Chiatura
49. Chiragidzor
50. Chokhatauri
51. Dagestanskiye Ogni
52. Dashkesan
53. Derbent
54. Dilizhan
55. Divichi
56. Dokhshukino
57. Dusheti

103 58. Dzaudzhikau
59. Dzhebrail
60. Dzhul'fa
61. Echmiadzin
62. Gagra
63. Gali
64. Gayduk
65. Gelendzhik
65A Geokchay
66. Georgiyevsk
67. Goradiz
68. Goragorskiy
69. Gori
70. Goris
71. Goryachiy Klyuch
72. Groznyy
73. Gudauty
74. Gudermes
75. Gurdzhaani
76. Im. 26 Bakinskikh Komissarov
77. Imishli
78. Izberbash
79. Kadzharan
80. Kafan
81. Kamensk-Shakhtinskiy
82. Kanaker
83. Karachala
84. Karyagino
85. Kaspi
86. Kaspiysk
87. Kaspiyskiy
88. Kazakh
89. Kazi-Magomed
90. Kedabek
91. Khachmas
92. Khasavyurt
93. Khashuri
94. Khudat
95. Kirovabad
96. Kirovakan
97. Kirovsk
98. Kirovskiy
99. Kislovodsk
100. Kizlyar
101. Klukhori
102. Kobuleti
103. Koksovyy
104. Konstantinovskiy
105. Krasnaya Polyana
106. Krasnodar
107. Krasny Sulin
108. Kropotkin
109. Kuba
110. Kutais
111. Kutaisi
112. Kvaisi
113. Kyurdamir
114. Kyzyl-Burun

103 115. Labinsk
116. Lachin
117. Lagodekhi
118. Lazarevskoye
119. Leninakan
120. Lenkoran
121. Lokbatan
122. Lopatin
123. Makhachkala
124. Makharadze
125. Malgobek
126. Mashtagi
127. Maykop
128. Mikha-Tskhakaya
129. Millerovo
130. Mineral'nye Vody
131. Mingechaur
132. Mir-Bashir
133. Mirzaani
134. Mizur
135. Molotovo
136. Morozovsk
137. Mozdok
138. Mumra
139. Mtskheta
140. Naftalan
141. Nakhichevan'
142. Nal'chik
143. Neftegorsk
144. Nevinnomyssk
145. Nizhniy Baskunchak
146. Norashen
147. Nor-Bayazet
148. Novocherkassk
149. Novorossivsk
150. Novoshakhtinsk
151. Novosolenovskiy
152. Nukha
153. Ochemchiri
154. Oktemberyan
155. Oni
156. Oranzherei
157. Ordzhonikidze
158. Ordubad
159. Petropavlovskiy
160. Pirsagat
161. Port Il'icha
162. Poti
163. Primorsko-Akhtarsk
164. Privolzhskiy
165. Prokhladnyy
166. Pushkino
167. Puta
168. Pyatigorsk
169. Rostov
170. Rustavi
171. Sabirabad
172. Sabunchi
173. Sachkere
174. Sadon
175. Sal'sk
176. Sal'yany
177. Samtredia

103 178. Sara-Ostrov
179. Sevan
180. Shakhty
181. Shamkhor
182. Shaumyani
183. Shemakha
184. Shusha
185. Signakhi
186. Sochi
187. Solntsedar
188. Staliniri
189. Stavropol'
190. Stepanakert
191. Stepanavan
192. Stepnoy
193. Sukhumi
194. Sulak
195. Sumgait
196. Surakhani
197. Taganrog
198. Tauz
199. Tbilisi
200. Teberda
201. Telavi
202. Temryuk
203. Tikhoretsk
204. Tkibuli
205. Tkvarcheli
206. Tsageri
207. Tsimlyanskiy
208. Tskhaltubo
209. Tsnori
210. Tsulukidze
211. Tuapse
212. Tumanyan
213. Tyrny-Auz
214. Udzhary
215. Verkhniy Baskunchak
216. Yerevan
217. Yessentuki
218. Yevlakh
219. Yeysk
220. Zakataly
221. Zernovoy
222. Zestafoni
223. Zhdanovsk
224. Zhelesnovodsk
225. Zhiloy
226. Zugdidi

21: Kolarz J-4 (no date) 1952 R1 Soviet Union
Caucasia RH1
[Chechen]



563 175 describing them as the 'most active and strongest opponents of the Czarist Government during the conquest of the Caucasus'. The Russians suffered extensive and costly disasters at the hands of this people, who were unequalled in forest warfare.

Ever since the time of Peter the Great, the Chechens have challenged the Russian Empire, but from 1818 onwards their resistance to Russian rule assumed major proportions. In that year General Yermolov built [103] a fortress to subjugate more easily the land of the Chechens. He called the new fortress 'Grozny', meaning 'menacing' and 'formidable'. The name of Grozny had a deeper meaning than might appear at the first glance: it was the symbol of a political programme that Yermolov defined in the following words: 'I wish that the terror of my name should guard our frontiers more potently than chains of fortresses, that my word should be for the natives a law more inevitable than death'. Grozny became Yermolov's headquarters, and it was from Grozny that countless Russian expeditions set out 'to punish raiders, avenge defeats, establish new posts, relieve beleaguered garrisons, or rescue retreating bands and armies'.[4] The Russian campaign against Chechenia reached its climax in 1840, at the time of the great Chechen rising under the leadership of Imam Shamil. The breakdown of Shamil's fanatical Moslem movement led to the gradual submission of the Chechens in the years 1857-59.

175 167 The Russian authorities knew well that these new subjects of the Czar, after all the trouble they had caused, would not easily reconcile themselves to the loss of their freedom; so an attempt was made to settle the 'Chechen problem' by a double transfer of population. Immediately after the conquest the inhabitants of forty-four auls (mountain villages) were transplanted from the mountains to the plains, where they could more easily be controlled. The more rebellious ones were forced to emigrate to Turkey, where they were given hospitality on the express demand of the Russian Government. In the summer of 1865, 39,000 Chechens, one-fifth of the entire Chechen population at that date, left Russia. Those who stayed behind did not remain quiescent. In 1877 there was another wave of unrest following the outbreak of the Russo-Turkish War, and more trouble in 1886. A Russian monograph on the Chechens, published in 1894, said that they could not yet be considered 'fully pacified'; they still looked across the border to Turkey whither many more dreamed of emigrating.[5] The emigration of the 39,000 had not eliminated the 'Chechen problem', for the birthrate of these Chechens was particularly high, far above the average in the Russian Empire.

## CHECHEN-INGUSH MOSLEM OPPOSITION

669 The immediate consequence of the October Revolution in Chechenia was a revival of violent nationalism and religious fanaticism among the

21: Kolarz J-4 (no date) 1952 R1 Soviet Union R1
[Osset] Caucasia RH1
[Kabardin]



that three districts were to be added to the Northern Ossetin A.S.S.R. in their entirety as well as parts of three other districts. The major portion of this new Ossetin territory was sliced off the Stavropol Territory, but a section of it came from Ingushetia,* which had occupied the western border area of the Chechen-Ingush A.S.S.R. In this way the Northern Ossetin A.S.S.R. grew from 2,390 square miles before the war to 3,250 square miles. This territorial change altered the ethnographic character of the Republic, for together with its new territories Ossetia received a fairly large number of Russians who mostly lived in the two new 'Ossetin' towns, Mozdok and Malgobek. Russian communists thus obtained a greater say in the running of the Northern Ossetin A.S.S.R. at the expense of their Ossetin comrades. In the small Northern Ossetin Republic of the inter-war period (an Autonomous Province until 1936) the Ossetins had formed 84 per cent of the entire population against 13·4 per cent Russians and Ukrainians. In 'Greater Ossetia' however, the percentage of the Ossetins may have dropped to about 60 per cent while the Slav share may have increased accordingly. Ca. 631 162 S.U. 563 634 Ca. [131]

In addition to the territorial expansion of Ossetia the Soviet Government made still another 'concession' to the Ossetins. The capital of the republic, Vladikavkaz, was allowed to assume the Ossetin name of Dzaudzhikau – a worthless gesture since Russian predominance in the town was not affected by the change of its name. Dzaudzhikau remained that which was implied in its former name of Vladikavkaz, meaning 'Ruler of the Caucasus'. It continues to be one of the centres from which Russian administration exercises its control over the mountaineers. Ca. 103 633

## RE-EDUCATION OF THE KABARDINIANS

The Chechens and the Ossetins represent the two extremes in the attitude of the local Caucasus peoples towards the Russians – the most irreconcilable resistance in the case of the Chechens, and the most far-reaching appeasement in the case of the Ossetins. The Kabardinians, forming part of the once powerful Circassian group which had been broken up by Russian colonization and conquest, stand between these extremes. In the Second World War their attitude was not beyond reproach. The Kabardinians had their deserters and traitors, but the Soviet Government did not consider they were bad enough to justify the abolition of their Autonomous Republic. Ca. 609 687

During the important administrative reorganization which took place in the Caucasus towards the end of the Second World War, the Kabardinian A.S.S.R. was diminished by only 300 square miles, which were incorporated into Georgia. This, however, was not meant to be a punishment for the Kabardinians, but was directed against the Balkars who had inhabited the area in question. The small administrative reform Ca. [631] [131] S.U. 563 634 687

* [Cf. category 116, pp. 185 ff., R1 Sov. Union — Analyst]

[824 cont.]

443
291

Fig. 503. Persian fruit-seller in Baku.

563 [177] through the Tatars, have exerted a strong influence from the earliest times on southern and eastern Caucasia with regard to mental culture, art, warfare, etc. As a landmark of their power, the great stone wall, which extends from the national portal on the Caspian Sea, from the city [825] of Derbend [103] (Persian = gate-lock; Tatar, Demír-kapú = iron door; Arabic, Bāb-el-abwāb = gate of gates), to the west 60 to 70 kilometers into the mountains, still stands today. It was erected by the Sassanid king, Khosrau Anōšarvān (531-579 A.D.), for protection against the invasions of the Khazar and Alan, against whom his father, Kobad (491-531), had already built a wall [112] of mud bricks that was strengthened by many towers and small citadels (kalé). Except for indigenous tribes, Khosrau entrusted the defense of the wall primarily to Iranian settlers whom he had brought over from Persia and the land of Sogd, that is Kharezmia and Samarkand. The inhabitants of the Kaitakh region, the Tabassaran, seem to be descendants of these settlers, and their name may be a contraction of Tabor-i-Khorassan (= host, people from Khorassan); likewise the Tāt between Baku, Kuba, and the Babadagh and near Derbend. The former may have sprung from a mixture of Lezgin with

# 104

104 GLOSSARY--definitions of native terms frequently used in the sources; orthographies and transliteration systems. See also:

Word lists and vocabulary . . . . . 192

7: Columbia U. S-4, 5 1956 RHI Caucasia
RHI

## Note on Transcription

● 104

In rendering the foreign names, I considered it necessary to follow, in this version, common English usage. The only diacritical mark used is that of aspiration ('), which means that in Caucasian names consonants not so marked are to be pronounced with laryngal occlusion (i.e. glottalized). Velar q and palatal k are unfortunately also not distinguished here — except in a few names which now have been adopted in that form, such as Iraq, Qazvin, and the like.

Where the Russian forms of native names show palatal features, these are left unmarked, even when occurring in final position, since the Caucasian forms do not have this feature, e.g. Taman, Kuban, etc., where the Russian forms have -ń (нь).

In the Soviet Union, the tendency to adopt the native forms in official and scholarly usage is observed, so that this facilitates objective presentation of many forms.

In English usage, differentiation of the sounds Russian (and Turkic) y (ы) and the yod (i consonans) is often effaced by the ambivalent sign y. Here too, the y is used in both capacities; if it is found in front of a vowel, it is to be read as a yod, but interconsonantically as Russian, Turkic y (=ы, velar i). Only in the case of the nom. sg. masc. of the Russian

• 104 adjective - very common in place names - the ending -yj (=ый) is rendered as -yi. Initial (word or syllable) Russian e is always given as ye.

In instances of -y in the Russian forms of Caucasian names in -i, I generally prefer the original -i (Zakatali, Kobuletʿi), since the Russian -y developed here in order to render those names declinable (usually as f/pl).

In a few cases, however, I have preferred forms which may not always render that of the language of the ruling nationality and/or presently accepted usage, as e.g. Tiflis - a Perso-Arabicized form of Georgian Tpʿilisi or Tʿbilisi. Many more examples might be adduced here. In order to simplify matters, I have given preference the name of Vladikavkaz over Ordzhonikidze (Ordžonikidze) or the native Osetʿi Dzaudjyqau Dzaudzhykau (Osetʿi Dzaudžyqau), Gandja (Gandža) over Kirovabad, Karakilıs (Karaklis) (Qarakilise, Qarakilis) over Kirovakan, etc.

The sound of the -dg- as in 'edge', is regularly rendered -dj- , even in cases when it comes from Oriental languages into Russian, whose alphabet has no letter for this sound because it does not form part of the Russian phonetic system. In a few cases, however, such as Ordzhonikidze, I leave -dzh-, following a widespread usage.

7: Columbia U. S-4, 5 1956 RHI Caucasia RHI

104 O:2 Note on Transcription and Transliteration

Turkish names are quoted in the official Turkish orthography.

Russian names are given in the transliteration of the Library of Congress. Contrary to Russian usage, ethnic names have been capitalized for greater clarity of presentation.

In quoting Caucasian names, English approximations rather than phonemic exactness have been aimed at.

A few addition comments on symbols used follow here:

| | |
|---|---|
| a, o, u | as in German |
| y | (not in contact with vowels) high-central or mid-central vowel |
| y | (in contact with vowels) semivowel |
| kh, gh | velar, uvular, or pharyngal fricative |
| q | postvelar stop or affricate |
| tl | lateral fricative or affricate |
| (x)' | glottalic consonant |
| (x) | palatalized consonant |
| (x) | stress |
| (x)· | geminate or emphatic consonant |

# 105

105 CULTURAL SUMMARY--synopsis of the whole culture (as a background for specific information); references to summaries in other works. *See also:*

Cultural history . . . . . 17 Ethos 181

3: Anonymous U-4 (no date) 1920 RH1 Caucasia RH1



453 *Volga-Kama Commercial Bank* (of Petrograd), at Armavir, Baku, Ekaterinodar, Grozni, and Tiflis, with sub-agencies at Elisavetopol, Erivan, Kutais, Maikop, and Novorossiisk; the *Russian Bank for Foreign Trade* (of Petrograd), at Armavir, Baku, Yeisk, Ekaterinodar, and Novorossiisk; the *Russian Commercial and Industrial Bank* (of Petrograd), at Armavir, Baku, Ekaterinodar, Novorossiisk, Petrovsk, and Stavropol; the *Banque de l'Union* (of Moscow), at Baku and Batum; and the *Banque Internationale de Commerce de Petrograd*, at Baku and Tiflis.

[452] The *Peasants' Land Bank*, a State institution, advances money on the security of their crops to peasants desirous of acquiring land. Loans are made either to village communes, to associations of peasants, or to individuals; 2,297 such loans were made between 1883 and 1914—1,463 to individuals, 782 to associations of peasants, and 52 to communes.

474 Of late years there has been a great increase in the
453 number of co-operative banks—including credit societies
452 (open and mutual), joint-stock mortgage institutions, and mutual mortgage institutions—and a less marked increase in the smaller communal loan and savings banks. There were 95 mutual mortgage institutions in 1912. In 1914 there were 633 open credit associations, with a total membership of 308,952, and a total grant of loans to the value of £2,047,071; and 217 associations of mutual credit and savings, with a membership of 105,358, and a total grant of loans to the value of £1,296,706. Kuban has by far the greater proportion of both kinds of credit association. Of the smaller communal loan and savings banks there were 106 in 1914, of which 102 were in Stavropol.

## (E) GENERAL REMARKS

105 Caucasia as a whole is handicapped by the length and severity of its winters and the mountainous character of the country. Up to 1914 little had been done to relieve these natural disabilities by the provision of

3: Anonymous U4 (no date) 1920 RH1 Caucasia RH1



railways and roads, or of adequate accommodation at the ports. A further disadvantage lies in the lack of union among the population, accentuated of late by the increase of political power among the Armenians. The exodus of the Turks, who owned the prosperous tea and tobacco plantations, was an economic loss, though they may be replaced by the Armenians, Tatars, or Georgians. 105

The British consular report for 1913 described Caucasia as a poverty-stricken country, making only the slowest progress. This estimate seems harsh in view of the increasing exports from the three chief ports and the development of the large Russian oil trade. The oil-fields, however, are exploited by international capital, so that most of the profits derived from the trade leave the country. It should be noted, too, that in the new fields oil is found at greater depths than in the old, so that, unless American deep-drilling methods are introduced, production may cease to be profitable. The manganese industry has made great advances, but so far has yielded small profits only, on account of the cost of transport. The increased value of the cereal exports has chiefly benefited a few large landowners. 439 105

The fact remains that Caucasia contains great natural wealth, little exploited as yet. There are openings for development in the use of its forests and water-power; in the exploitation of minerals and mineral springs; in the cultivation of fruit, vines, tea, and, with the help of scientific irrigation, of cotton; and in the production of silk.

Novorossiisk has already shown a remarkable increase in prosperity, although, since its bombardment by the Turks, trade has temporarily deserted it. It was long since pointed out that, with improved harbour facilities and the increase of oil production, Batum had a fair chance of becoming a port of world-wide importance. [509]

5: Allen H-4 (no date) 1923 RH1 Caucasia RH1



721 of the lowlands to the north and south. Spring and autumn were their favourite periods, and much ingenuity was exercised in spying out the land. Fighting was only resorted to in extreme cases; and on the whole we may look upon these raids as merely low-class robbery resorted to for the purpose of obtaining cattle, supplies and slaves, which were either absorbed by the raiders themselves or bartered with other tribes or merchants from other countries.

105 Some interesting descriptions of their daily life in the fifteenth to eighteenth centuries are in existence. By these we learn that in the west their houses were all built of straw or wood. No towers or houses of stone existed, for that would show that the owner was in fear and did not know how to protect himself. They lived mostly on meat, millet, water and mead, and wore long silk or linen tunics with wide trousers tucked into long boots, the whole covered with a cloak of felt, and crowned by a conical cap. They wore long moustaches and shaved their heads, and their arrows, leather work and embroidery were of very fine execution. The eastern tribes, on the other hand, lived in stone fortified villages; their food consisted of barley bread, roots and a little meat, and their weapons included not only guns and spears but wooden shields as well. The Lesghians appear to have been much better off than most of the other tribes, but the Ossets and other Daghestanlis lived often in a condition of great poverty and hardship.

795 In the history of the religion of the various tribes can be traced the effects of the influence of neighbouring civilisations. 177.79 The primitive paganism of the tribes, tree, idol and animal worship, survived as a living force until the end of the eighteenth century. On the foundation of this paganism were grafted the various faiths of the different races, who successively invaded or traded with the mountain regions. The Persians introduced fire-worship; the early Georgian Kings propagated Christianity among the Abkhazians, Ossets and Lesghians. Even during the period of Arab hegemony in the Caucasus many districts were Christian which are now fanatically Muhammadan.

The Arabs were successful in converting large portions of Daghestan to Islam, and their influence survives, not only in religious practices but in the writing and the methods of gardening and irrigation used by the eastern tribes.[1]

During the Middle Ages Christianity was spread by the Bagratids among the Kabardans and Chechens, and in the

[1] Chantre, iv, 218.

[i.e., of the caucasian mountain tribes--Analyst]

•105 The Caucasus is an area of extreme diversity in many respects. Great differences among the inhabitants of this region are associated with the geographical differentiation--high mountain ridges and huge lowlands, forest and steppe regions, fertile river basins and deserts--and a variation in climatic zones from glaciated areas to subtropical.

The most striking feature of the cultural diversity is the large number of distinct languages, belonging to a variety of language families. There are fifty indigenous languages, ranging from language communities with only a few hundred speakers to large national groups which enjoy recognition in the political-administrative structure of the Soviet Union. Besides those invaders who became integrated into the area, there are small remnants of early colonizers such as the Greeks; and, more recently, a massive inundation of the area by Slavs in the north.

The linguistic diversity is accompanied by differences in the use of script. Literacy in some regions, as in Georgia and Armenia, both having a national script, goes back to the early centuries of our era. Later, and in other regions a script adapted from the Arabic provided a tie with neighboring related peoples. Again elsewhere, literacy was introduced only after the revolution. In the last two decades the growing importance of Cyrillic can be noted.

Differences in religion also presented a complex picture, although it is not known exactly to

105 what extent they survive. We find remnants of Zoroastrianism, several branches of Christianity, both the Sunni and Shii branches of Islam, Judaism, and also various syncretistic religious practices. In more recent times the Communist ideology is campaigning against religion.

In the recent past, differences in economy were also characteristic of the area -- there were nomads and settled groups, predominantly agricultural areas, and regions where mainly horse- and cattle-breeding were practiced. Although cattle-breeding and agriculture are still important, the increasing industrialization of the area is now the dominant feature.

Though it is difficult to speak of traits characteristic of the Caucasus as a whole, there is, despite internal conflicts and rivalries, a general adherance to traditional ways of thought and an identification with the Caucasus on the part of the inhabitants. These peoples take pride in their heritage and are conscious of their history.

The Caucasus has been one of the great crossroads of history. Despite the many movements of peoples into and out of the area, there exist a number of groups who have lived there for millennia. Recent emigrations from the area provide emotional ties with the Caucasus on the part of many groups in the Near East as well as in America.

In recent times, the general character of the society is changing. The advancing industrialization, the influx of labor force from the

105 outside, the propagation of the Communist ideology, and Russification are contributing factors to the leveling of differences and the social amalgamation of the area.

# 111

111 SOURCES PROCESSED--complete bibliographical references to all sources actually processed, with a brief critique of each. Sources are numbered, and arranged numerically.

3: Anonymous. Caucasia. Handbooks prepared under the direction of the Historical Section of the Foreign Office, Prothero, G. W., Editor, No. 54. London: H. M. Stationery Office, 1920.

Pp. V, 91, bibliography

Yale: Bw 51c 9

/This article is one of a series issued by the British Foreign Office for the use of the British Delegates to the Peace Conference of 1918. It contains in a condensed form the basic information on the political history of Transcaucasia and Ciscaucasia, geographic, economic, social, and political conditions, industry, commerce, and finance, up to the First World War. Most of the material is based on official Russian censuses and statistics. --Analyst/

Field date: none
Analyst: Mary Vorobiov

Evaluation: Unknown--4
Processed in 1955

5: Allen, W. E. E. The Caucasus. In John Buchan, ed., The Baltic and Caucasian States, pp. 167-269. In the series, The Nations of Today: A New History of the World. London: Hodder and Stoughton, Limited, 1923.

Yale: lu. 405 (L. &B. Collection)

[This source is intended to provide the non-specialist with background information on Caucasia. It falls into two parts, one of historical résumés of the period between the 11th century B. C. and 1921 and the other of data on the economy of the Causasus before World War I. The first and greater part comprises a brief history of Georgia in the general context of Caucasian history (pp. 169-76, 191-227), notes on the culture history of the Caucasian mountain tribes (pp. 176-90) and a brief history of Azerbaijan (pp. 228-43). Events during the first World War and the Revolution receive greater emphasis than those of earlier periods. The section on the economy of the Caucasus (pp. 244-58) contains data on natural resources, foreign trade and labor. There are two chronological tables, one for the Caucasus as a whole (pp. 223-27) and one for Azerbaijan (pp. 242-3); three maps (facing pp. 192, 205 and 258) illustrative of shifting frontiers and political supremacy in the region over time; and an annotated bibliography (pp. 260-66). --Analyst]

Field date: none
Analyst: Anne Dyer Murphy

Evaluation: Historian-4
Processed in 1955

7: Columbia U. The Caucasus. Subcontractor's Monograph. HRAF-35, Columbia-1, prepared for HRAF in 1955-56. Vol. I and II.

Pp. 1008; 151 maps.

HRAF copy

/This handbook is a general account of the Caucasian peoples and their physical and social environments. There is a detailed description of the geographical features of the Caucasus followed by a brief summary of the historical background of the area as a whole. The section on peoples and languages presents a general survey of the demographic features, ethnic composition and nomenclature, and of language affiliations of the Caucasian population. Information on material culture, social structure, family relationships, intellectual expression and religious beliefs is grouped under the section on ethnography and religion. A brief note on the constitutional structure of the component republics and a list of key personalities are included in the section on current politics. The researcher interested in biographical data will find the explanatory keys to various abbreviations in category 116, pp. 657-659 and pp. 831-832. The concluding section of this handbook is a survey of the agricultural and industrial potentials of the region. /

Field date: none
Analyst: Robert Lee

Evaluation: Social Scientist-4, 5
Processed in 1956

8: Luzbetak, Louis J. Marriage and the Family in Caucasia: A Contribution to the Study of North Caucasian Ethnology and Customary Law. Vienna-Modling: St. Gabriel's Mission Press, 1951.

Pp. xvi, 272; Preface; 4 maps; tables; bibliography; index.

Library of Congress: HQ638. C3L8. copy 2.

[In this comparative study, originally submitted as a doctoral thesis at the University of Fribourg, Switzerland, the author reviews the material known with respect to the origins and racial affinities of the North Caucasian peoples, before entering into a detailed discussion of the various customary laws (Adats) regulating betrothal and marriage, as well as the function of the Caucasian family as a social, economic and religious entity. Considerable light is shed on Caucasian attitudes towards women,

8: Luzbetak, Louis J.

their kinship organization, the sanctions against murder (blood feuds), thievery and sexual offenses, and the position of the Caucasian male, with emphasis on the "patria potestas" and the apparent survivals of so-called mother-rights. In his concluding "retrospect", the author summarizes the various outside influences represented in the Caucasian way of life, and attempts to determine what elements constitute vestiges of their original customs. He defines the Caucasian marriage and family as being originally and predominantly of a "pastoral-nomadic" nature. The author also assesses Soviet and pre-Soviet writers in the field. An extensive bibliography and index round out this scholarly work. -- Analyst

Field date: none
Analyst: Jack Crane

Evaluation: Ethnologist--5
Processed in 1956

# 113

113 ADDITIONAL REFERENCES--bibliographical lists; annotated bibliographies; works referred to in processed sources; etc.

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Caucasia RH1

[For anthropometry of Jews in Caucasia see 1: Field, MA1 Iran, category 116, pp. 316-330.]

• 113, 19 Caucasia RH1

[For information pertaining to the Caucasian languages, see 22: Matthews, R1 Soviet Union, category 116; pp. 86-88; 76-77 (Kumik, Karachai); 88-92 (Lesghin, Avar, Agul); 94-96 (Adige); 102-103 (Ossetic). ]

113, 13 Caucasia RH1

/For data on the physical geography, geology, climate, flora, fauna, and soil of the Mountains of the Caucasus including the Glavny Range, Daghestan, the Armenian Plateau and the Dry Regions of Eastern Transcaucasus and Mountain Talysh, see 58: Berg, R1 Soviet Union, cat. 116, pp. 192-198. --Analyst/

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## MAPS

Caucasia is covered by five sheets (Batum, K. 37; Tiflis, K. 38; Baku, K. 39; Rostov, L. 37; Praskoveya, L. 38) of the International Map (G.S.G.S. 2758) published by the War Office, on the scale of 1 : 1,000,000.

A special map of Caucasia, on the scale of 1 : 2,027,520, has been published by the War Office (G.S.G.S. 2167).

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[The author is indebted for items of information to Prince Soumbatoff and Mr. Gugushvili of the Georgian Legation in London; to Mr. Krasnokutski, formerly attached to Colonel Chermoiev; to Prince L. Mélikov and Prince I. Dédish-Kéliani of the Georgian Legation in Paris; and to Mr. A. Safrastian of the Armenian Information Bureau in London. From Mme V. Semenov-Tianshanski he has received much assistance in the translation of Russian texts. Finally, he wishes to express his thanks to the staff of the London Library, and most particularly to Mr. J. F. Cox.] 115

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Another very important project of the Soviet ethnographers is the publication of valuable books of pre-Soviet times which are no longer available. According to a report in the *Sovetskaja Etnografija* (1936, No. 4—5), the Academy of Science then planned a six volume series containing ethnographical data gathered from M. Kovalevskij's 15 works.[75] The Cherkess Institute has re-edited Dubrovin's work.

The work being done by the Soviet ethnographers is certainly an encouragement to all interested in ethnology, for the ethnologist is dependent on the ethnographer for his material. On the other hand, we must not imagine that the activity of the Soviet ethnographer cannot be improved upon. To mention some of the shortcomings—many of the expeditions carried out are too brief; the fieldworker, though trained in folklore, often lacks the knowledge of the native tongue; the fieldworkers are too interested in the material culture of the natives, neglecting the social and religious life; Soviet publications must be made more accessible outside the U.S.S.R. (It is especially this point that tends to discourage the non-Soviet ethnologist from studying an otherwise very important field.); complete monographs of the North Caucasian tribes are still non-existent; finally, a large, detailed, exact ethnographical map is still a task of the future.[76]

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### 3. Criticism of Sources

127— [121] In our attempt to describe the North Caucasian marriage and family we shall have recourse especially to the literature of *pre-Soviet* times. And rightly so ! Our aim is not to portray the culture of the very last hour but to get as far back into the history of the North Caucasian family as possible. This can be

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(2) Nogai;

(3) Ossetes (chapter two: position of Ossetine widow, *kalym*, wedding, divorce; chapter three: wedding customs, polygyny, bride-price, social position of women; division of labour, secondary wives, engagement, dowry, bride capture, child-engagements, marriage age, hetaerism, fire-place ceremony, avoidances, respect of children for elders, social position of women, divorce, the levirate, temporary wives, childbirth, *patria potestas*, sexual offenses, rearing of children, sororate;

(4) Chechens (chapter one: princely class; chapter two: slaves, status of women, hetaerism, marriage by consent, elopement, engagement, gifts on occasion of betrothal, part played by brother in engagement, marriage age, freedom of choice, *kalym*, rights of an engaged man, polygyny, wedding, bride capture, husband-wife relations, divorce; chapter four: social classes;*

* These details clearly show the abundance of ethnographic data regarding marriage and the family to be found in this work.

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(5) Lesghians;
(6) Kumyks.

Bk. ii:

(1) Abkhaz, (2) Svans, (3) Georgians, (4) Imeréti, Mingrelians, Gurians, (5) Tushi, Pshavs, Khevsurs, (6) Transcaucasian Mohammedans, (7) Tartars, and (8) Armenians.

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# 114

114 COMMENTS--reviews; critiques of earlier sources; information about authors and their backgrounds; general statements on field experience; etc.
See also:

Methodology . . . . . 12 Date and locale of field study . . . . . 101

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Millet, oats, flax and hemp are also grown in limited quantities in Transcaucasia. 433 241

Tobacco has been grown with great success in the sheltered subtropical parts of the Black Sea littoral and in the neighbourhoods of Tiflis, Kutais and Zakatali. Of the total Russian output of high quality "Turkish" tobacco in 1915, it is estimated that 33 per cent. came from Transcaucasia. Of this the heaviest crops and the richest quality was grown round Sukhum and Sochi. The tobacco of Batum and Ozurgeti was little inferior.

Wine is made throughout Transcaucasia, and vine-culture is a secondary occupation of many of the peasants. The wines of the Alazan, of Elisavetpol and of Echmiadzin are celebrated in Russia, and much is exported to that country, but for the most part the vintners cater for the very generous local consumption.

Mulberry-trees flourish on the southern slopes of the Caucasus; about 5,000 tons of silk a year are produced, and are mostly consumed by local industry. In Azerbaijan silk has, like rice, suffered from the recent preference accorded to cotton. Other products are: tea, round Ozurgeti and Chavka; plums, the most luscious of which come from Sochi and Sukhum; oranges from Chavka; olives from Artvin and Sukhum; lemons, apples, liquorice-root, the sun-flower—from which a substitute for linseed oil is obtained—attar of roses, *ramie* fibre, and inconsiderable quantities, consumed locally, of potatoes, lentils, beans, haricots and peas.

*Minerals.*—It is only in recent years that the discovery of the existence of a belt of oil-bearing rock (*vide* Petroleum, below), extending from the Northern Caucasus to Southern Persia, has attracted the attention of European capital to the mineral potentialities of the Middle East—particularly of the Caucasus and Persia. The effects of this discovery have already been considerable, and it is probable that the coming half-century will witness, on the one hand the transformation of the Middle East from a backward agricultural to an important industrial region; on the other the concentration of political interest on the area between the Kuban and Terek and the Persian Gulf. 135

The mineral resources of the Caucasus have never been adequately prospected. The Russian Government left the exploration and exploitation of possible mineral deposits to individual enterprise. Thus, with the exception of the very interesting book of Mr. D. Ghambashidze,[1] no reference-books 135 114

[1] D. Ghambashidze, *Mineral Resources of Georgia and Caucasia.*

[see cat. 116, pp 252-253 -- Analyst]

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135 [114] 135 316 [78] 471

exist on the subject, and in Mr. Ghambashidze's book the existence of many important deposits is only broadly indicated.

*Metals.—Manganese* is the only metal which has been adequately worked in Georgia, and the growth of this industry has, by creating a community of miners, had an important effect on the industrialisation and subsequent growth of the Socialist movement in the country.

The principal manganese deposit covers an extent of about 100 square miles along both banks of the river Kvirili, in the Government of Kutais, the centre of the mining region being at the town of Chiaturi. The mines were at first worked by a large number of small native firms who, from lack of expert knowledge and capital, employed very unscientific methods, with the result that there was much waste. Later, however, foreign firms, chiefly German, began to purchase holdings and to organise the industry, and towards the end of the last decade of the nineteenth century Georgian manganese rivalled that of Brazil and India. Great Britain was at first the principal purchaser, but Germany and other Continental countries later absorbed the bulk of the output. The industry reached the height of its prosperity in 1906, when a decrease in demand, unusually high sea-freights, and foreign competition caused a depression which lasted until 1911. In that year a revival of prosperity took place, but with the closing of the Dardanelles at the end of 1914 the industry suffered a severe blow. At the end of 1918 work at the mines had practically ceased, and heavy stocks of ore were lying at Chiaturi and Poti.

Further deposits of manganese exist at Khvartata (Batum), Saifalu (Elisavetpol), Samtredi and Novo-Senaki (Kutais).

Outcrops of *copper* occur in many parts of the Caucasus, and its mining has been in progress from the remotest times. There are three main areas which are known to contain rich deposits: (1) south of Tiflis, and east and west of the Tiflis-Kars Railway; (2) in the Chorokh Valley; and (3) in the Zangezur region.

(1) The Kedabeg group, comprising the mines of Kedabeg, Kelakent and Kara-bulag, situated north-east of Gökcha in the Government of Elisavetpol, have been worked by the American firm of Siemens Brothers, whose production of copper in 1913 amounted to 1,272 metric tons. The Allahverdi, Akhtala and Shambru mines, in the Lialvar Hills, south of Tiflis, are worked by the French Cie Métallurgique et Industrielle du Caucase, their production in 1913 amounting to 4,760 metric tons. Native firms also work mines in the Phambak Hills,

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# PREFACE

122 This Handbook on the Caucasus has been prepared at the Language and Communication Research Center of Columbia University in fulfilment of a contractual obligation with the Human Relations Area Files. Though only certain of the topics covered by the Project were part of the general aims of the Research Center, it was felt that we could undertake the responsibility for preparing additional sections [114] since Dr. Aert H. Kuipers, one of the very few specialists on the Caucasian languages, was a Research Associate of the Center, and because of the presence on the Columbia teaching staff of three scholars whose specialities included various aspects of Caucasian studies: Dr. Bernhard Geiger, Dr. Tibor Halasi-Kun, and Dr. Karl H. Menges.

The contract was originally to run from February 16, 1955 until April 15, 1956; however, due to administrative difficulties, the signing of the contract was delayed, and the staffing of the project could not be arranged before the end of April 1955. That in spite of the shortness of the time this amount of information could be assembled on this highly complex and relatively unknown area, was possible only through the preparation and knowledge brought to the project by the principal investigators and the collaborators.

114 128 Drs. Geiger, Halasi-Kun, Kuipers, and Menges worked out the main sections of this handbook. For specific topics we called upon the cooperation of Elizabeth Beyerly and Theodore Shabad, both affiliated with Columbia University, and A. O. Sarkissian of the Library of Congress. Each contribution appears under the name of the author.

127 In the sections on the ethnography of the Caucasian peoples proper, use was made of a manuscript prepared by Professor Gerhard Deeters of the University of Bonn and Dr. Kuipers in 1951; this manuscript was part of a project on the Peoples and Languages of the Soviet Union, under my direction,[1] supported by the Rockefeller Foundation and sponsored by the Slavic Department. The work of Professor Deeters on the North Eastern and Southern Caucasian peoples was fruitfully utilized in this Handbook in the sections prepared by Dr. Kuipers. Professor Deeters also contributed valuable last-minute information for the population survey.

128 In accordance with a later agreement, to facilitate the use of the materials in the various H. R. A. F. handbooks, this Handbook on the Caucasus follows strictly the order of topics given in the first three sections of Annex A. The extent to which the topics are covered varies; some are not treated at all, due to the shortness of time and the

[1] [i.e. John Lotz--Analyst]

193 sentences may be incorporated into the verbal form. Adverbial relations, temporal designations, direction, mood, and many other determinations are expressed by the verb form itself. To complicate matters, sometimes the original verb itself consists of only one consonant, which is lost in the numerous additions just mentioned and many others besides—infixes and suffixes that denote place, negation, question, relationship; even substantives may be attached to the verb. The Northeastern languages distinguish between momentative, durative, iterative, and inchoative forms.[22] Verbal forms become exceedingly complicated in languages that not only distinguish between different classes of beings but also have the use of person, as is the case in the Dargwa language.

## 5. Declension

In the Northwestern languages the declension is extremely simple. (A declension is almost superfluous, for, as we have mentioned above, the verb is capable of incorporating all possible relationships.) Similarly, the declensions of the South Caucasian languages are simple. The Northeastern languages, however, possess a complicated declension. The instrumental is the most important case, the genitive and dative being derived from the instrumental. The agent is placed in the instrumental while the aim of the action is in the nominative.[23] The locative is also an important case: by means of suffixes a large number of adverbial relations can be expressed, e. g., *upward, toward, upon, against, over, into, etc*

## 6. Linguistic Relationships

197 Our first question is: Do the three Caucasian groups of languages constitute
114 a distinct linguistic family, as do, for example, the Indo-European languages? Despite the similarities between the groups and despite the fact that Abkhazian seems to form a bridge between the Southern as well as the Northeastern languages,[24] sufficient evidence has not yet been brought forth to justify anyone in speaking of a common "Caucasian Family." As far as our present knowledge of the Caucasic languages goes, it is much more probable that there are three (or perhaps two, Northern and Southern) distinct families.

The affinity of the languages of Caucasia with other languages has been a favourite question among the Caucasologists, formerly much more than in

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[22] R. Bleichsteiner, "Die kaukasische Sprachgruppe," *Anthropos*, XXXII (1937), pp. 66, 68. G. Deeters, *Das khartvelische Verbum*, Leipzig, 1930.

[23] The ergative is used in the other groups too. Cf. C. Tagliavini, "Osservazioni sull'ergativo georgiano," *Mélanges de linguistique et de philologie offerts à Jacq. Van Ginneken, à l'occasion du soixantième anniversaire de sa naissance*, pp. 187—193.

[24] R. Bleichsteiner, *op. cit.*, p. 72. Today there is absolutely no doubt about Professor Bleichsteiner's opposition to a single "Caucasian Family" of languages: "Die drei eigentlichen kaukasischen Sprachgruppen sind weder untereinander noch mit anderen Sprachfamilien Eurasiens verwandt." ("Die Völker des Kaukasus," *Asien-Berichte*, V (1944), No. 22, p. 15.)

recent times. Even the Marr School, once so eager to establish a "Japhetic" family not only within Caucasia but from the Pyrenees (the Basques) to Hindu Kush (Burushaski), including practically all lang ages of the ancient Near East, is more interested today in "stages" of these languages than in their affinity. Prof. Marr (d. 1934), the founder of the School, based his classification of the "Japhetic" languages on certain regular recurrences: a sibilant in one group of languages corresponded to a "spirant" in another and to sonants in a third. The position of certain languages within the scheme was, naturally, only tentative, while the position of others was considered more or less final. The following table shows Professor Marr's classification of the "Japhetic Family."

**Prof. Marr's Japhetic Family**

- (1) Sibilant Branch
  - "s" Group — Georgian
  - "ʒ" Group
    - Mingrelian
    - Lazian
- (2) Spirant Branch
  - eastern Group
    - Southeastern languages
      - Ando-Didoian
      - Avarian
      - Lak
      - Kubachi
      - Hyrkanian
      - Archi
      - Kurin
        - Lesghian
        - Tsakhur
        - Aghulian
        - Tabassaranian
      - Udin
    - Northeastern languages
      - Chechenian
      - Ingushian
      - Tsova-Tushian
  - Northwestern Group
    - Adighé
      - Kabardian
      - Cherkess
    - Ubykhian
- (3) Sonant Branch
- (4) Mixed Languages
  - Spirant + "s" Group
    - Haykian
    - Abkhazian
    - Basque
    - Burushaski
  - Spirant + "ʒ"
    - Hayish
    - Svanian
    - Etruscan
  - Spirant + Sonant Group
    - Elamitic
      - North Elamitic
      - South Elamitic (Hallapirti)
    - Sumerian
    - Vannish (Urartu-Biaina)

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Professor Marr and other linguists who have tried to establish a relationship between the Caucasian languages and the dead languages of Near East were actually attempting the impossible: no one knew (or knows today) what "Proto-Caucasian" might be, and this unknown language was being related to other unknown or little-known languages like Etruscan, Sumerian, Mitani, Elamitic, Lydian, Lycian, Cilician, Carian and Cappodocian.[25] A relationship between Basque and Abkhazian and South Caucasian is quite possible but not yet certain.[26] Similarly, the Burushaski language of Hindu Kush has doubtless many striking features in common with the languages of Daghestan,[27] but to say that these languages originated from a common parent-language is to assume more than has been proved.

Nevertheless these attempts were not totally fruitless. The intense research work carried out especially by the Marr School has brought to light not a few common and mutual influences. Even though we must reject as unfounded the claim of Bork, Winkler, Hüsing, and others that Elamitic is *related* to Caucasian, we cannot deny the strong mutual influence between ancient Georgian and Elamitic. The same holds in regard to Mitani and the language of Urartu: *affinity* to Georgian may be denied, but the *influences* common to ancient Georgian, Mitani and Urartu may not.

## § 4. PREHISTORY

### 1. Lower and Middle Paleolithic

There can no longer be any doubt about North and South Caucasus being inhabited since early Paleolithic times, as the prehistoric sites of Yshtakh, Kyurdere, Aragas, Ochemchiri and Ilskaya testify. The famous Mt. Yashtukh site was an accidental discovery made by Zamjatnin in 1934, about three miles north of the city of Sukhum.[28] These Lower Paleolithic remains include accidently formed side-scrapers, points from large flakes, and some fist hatchets (11.1 cm. long and 7 cm. wide). The Yashtukh artifacts are characterized by

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[25] Cf. M. Tseretheli, "Sumerian and Georgian," *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, (1913), pp. 783—821. M. Tseretheli, "Rassen- und Kulturprobleme des Kaukasus," Heft 1 der Veröffentlichungen der deutsch-georgischen Gesellschaft.
F. Bork, "Die Mittanisprache," MVAG XIV (1909), pp. 1—126.
A. Dirr, *Einführung in das Studium der kaukasischen Sprachen*, p. iv.
H. Winkler, *Die Sprache der zweiten Kolonne der dreisprachigen Inschriften und das Altaische*, Breslau, 1896.
G. Hüsing, "Die Sprachen Elams," *86. Jahresbericht der Schles. Gesellschaft für Vaterländische Kultur*, Breslau, 1908.
G. Hüsing, *Die einheimischen Quellen zur Geschichte Elams*, Part I, Leipzig, 1916.
G. Hüsing, "Der Zagros und seine Völker," *Der Alte Orient*, VIII (1908), No. 3—4, E. Speiser, *Mesopotamian Origins*, London, 1930.

[26] G. Dumézil, "Langues caucasiennes et basque," *Festschrift für Herman Hirt*, Heidelberg, 1936, Vol. II.
R. Bleichsteiner, "Die Verwandtschaftsbeziehungen des Baskischen," WZKM, 1931.
K. Bouda, *Baskisch-Kaukasische Etymologien*, Heidelberg, 1949.

[27] R. Bleichsteiner, "Die werschickisch-burischkische Sprache," *Wiener Beiträge zur Kulturgeschichte und Linguistik*, I (1930), Cf. also D. L. Lorimer, *The Burushaski Language*, Oslo, 1935.

[28] S. N. Zamjatnin, "Novyie dannye po paleolitu Zakavkaz'ja," SE, 1935, No. 2.

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The Lesghians were known to the classical writers as the "Lesghi." The early history of the various Lesghian peoples is uncertain. Before their conversion to Islamism in the eighth century they were worshippers of Ahura Mazda. Shamyl, the famous prophet, reformer, warrior, and leader, was a Lesghian. 175

The history of the SOUTHERN CAUCASIANS is much better known. The ancient Latin and Greek writers speak of the kingdoms of Colchis, Lazica, Albania, and Iberia. The Scythians ruled over Georgia in the seventh century. Later the Georgian kingdoms were forced to recognize the Roman protectorate. Pompey conquered the Albanians in 66 B. C., Iberia in 65 B. C., and Colchis in 63 B. C. In A. D. 224, the Sassanidae attacked East Georgia; Diocletian quickly came to the aid of the Caucasians, conquered the Persians, and thus Iberia was once again subject to the Romans. Christianity was declared the state religion of Georgia under Constantine the Great.

The OSSETES are most probably the descendents of the Alans, and therefore of the Scythians as well. They seem to be the descendents of some survivors who took refuge in the mountains. In the first century A. D., we know, they occupied the area between the Don and the Sea of Azov. Then, in the ninth century they were driven southward by the Khazars, in the twelfth century by the Mongols, and finally, in the fourteenth century by the Kabardians, who themselves were being driven into the mountains by the Tartars.

The TURCO-TARTARS. The Karachai are most probably the descendents of Tartars who had been forced to occupy an isolated valley in the mountains. The Taulu are perhaps descendents of the Tartars who lived in the steppes of Kuma. After their city (Madzhar) had been destroyed in 1408, they sought refuge in the Caucasus.[51]

## § 6. BIBLIOGRAPHY

Most ethnographers and ethnologists are under the false impression that only very little has been published about the Caucasus. This impression has been created, first of all, because most of the material has been written in a strange language—strange to English, French, German, and Italian speaking scientists—Russian. And even if the student of Caucasian culture has a fair knowledge of Russian, he must still face an even more discouraging difficulty. This Russian material is scattered in periodicals that are difficult to find even in the best non-Russian libraries, scattered in rare magazines or books that appeared in extremely small editions exclusively for members of learned societies and finally were shelved and forgotten in an obscure corner of some small library. These are the obstacles one must face in one's search for pre-Soviet sources. The more recent (Soviet) publications, especially recent Georgian publications, are very poorly represented outside the U.S.S.R., even in the large 114

[51] Cf. Byhan, "Die kaukasischen Völker," Buschan, *Illustrierte Völkerkunde* III, pp. 671—675, 749 f., 774 f., 799 f., 835; A. Sanders, *Kaukasien, Nordkaukasien, Aserbeidschan, Armenien, Georgien, Geschichtlicher Umriss*, Munich, 1944; W. E. D. Allen, *A History of the Georgian People from the beginning down to the Russian Conquest in the Nineteenth Century*, London, 1932; Bertold Spuler, *Die Goldene Horde, Die Mongolen in Russland 1223—1502*, Leipzig, 1943.

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114 national libraries. The final difficulty for the Soviet as well as for the non-Soviet cultural anthropologist, lies in the fact that the Caucasus has not been studied systematically, though in recent years this obvious neglect has been taken more and more into account. Thus, for example, more literature is found about the Cherkess than any other people in the Caucasus, and still, of all the Caucasians these people are the least known.

The late John F. Baddeley, who spent many years in Russia as a correspondent for the London *Standard* in St. Petersburg and who was in close touch with various diplomats, was constantly collecting these scattered works, till he could claim one of the finest collections of Russian sources on the Caucasus anywhere to be found in Western or Central Europe. His collection includes some very rare and perhaps even unique books and magazines. Without the use of this excellent collection (now at the London Library, St. James's Square) such a work as this would hardly be possible. The British Museum and the various libraries in Vienna have made some of the more recent material accessible to me.

## 1. A General Historical Conspectus of Ethnographical Data about the Caucasus

Ethnographical data are the tools of the ethnologist, without which he is as helpless as an archaeologist without his finds.

(1) **Ancient Literature.** The Caucasus and its immediate vicinity was known to the ancient Greeks even long before Herodotus (480—425 B. C.), but to all these writers it was a land of fables and myths.[52] It was Herodotus who first broke away from fiction and offered some reliable data, for which we are still thankful today.[53] Several centuries later Strabo too left something more

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[52] Homer (c. 850 B. C.) *Illiad*, iii. 188; vi. 186. (The Amazons). *Odyssey*, x. 135; xii. 1; xii. 69—72 ('Αρτή).
Hesiod (fl. 776 B. C.) *Theogonia*, vs. 340, speaking of the Φᾶσις.
Mimnermus (fl. c. 630—600 B. C.) mentions the 'Ιόσων.
Hecataeus (c. 550 B. C.) speaks of various Caucasian tribes and neighbours: Μελάγχλαινοι, Μάκρωνες, etc.
Aeschylus (c. 525—456) narrates the story of Prometheus.
Pindar, (522—448 B. C.) *Pythian* speaks of the Phasis and Κόλχοι.
Scylax (521—485 B. C.) *Periplous* mentions Τανεις, Σαυρομάται, Μαιώται, Σίνδοι, Κερκέται, Μελάγχλαινοι, Κόλχοι, Μακροκέφαλοι, Μοσσύνοικοι Τιβαοηνοι.
Hippocrates, (born c. 460 B. C.) "Air, Earth and Locality" §§ 13—17.

[53] Herodotus i. 2, 103 f; 201—204; ii. 103 ff; iii. 92 ff, 97; iv. 11 f, 28, 37 f, 40, 45 f, 86, 110—117, 123; vi. 84; vii. 62, 67, 78; ix.
Other writers of about this time who refer to the Caucasus in their works are:
Hellanicus, fragments 84, 87, 92, 109.
Ctesias, *Persica* vii. 81; Aelian 17, 34.
Xenophon, (born c. 430) *Anabasis*, iv. 1—8; v. 2, 4, 5.
Plato (born c. 427 B. C.) "Laws," vi. refers to the Σαυροματίδες.
Pherecydes (c. 430—400 B. C.).
Aristotle (384—322 B. C.) *Meteorologica*, i. 13; ii. 1.
Apollonius Rhodius (c. 295—215 B. C.) *Argonautica*, ii. 370, 393, 970, 1015, 1095, 1096, 1097, 1142, 1204, 1244, 1264; iii. 198, 213, 235, 340, 828, 1214, 1225; iv. 131, 219.
Polybius (c. 202—120) v. 55.
Apollodorus (c. 140 B. C.) *Bibliotheke* (a work wrongly attributed to Apollodorus !).

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reliable than mere fables.[84] Among the earliest Roman writers were Plinius Secundus and Pomponius Mela.[85] 114

After Dionysius Periegetes and Claudius Ptolemy, for about 200 years, very little was written about the Caucasians. It was Ammianus Marcellinus who again took up the pen, to leave us some useful notes about the Caucasians

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[84] Strabo (c. 64 B. C.—19 A. D.) i. 1—3 ; ii. 1, 4 f ; vi. 4 ; x. 3 ; xi. 1 f., 10—19 ; xii. 3.

[85] Cicero (106—43 B. C.) "Tusculan disputations," ii. 10.
Sallust (35 B. C.) *Historia*, iii. fr. 46, 48 ; iv. fr. 18.
Virgil (70—19 B. C.) *Georgics* ii. 440 ; *Aeneid* i. 490.
Horace (65—8 B. C.) *Carmina*, i. 22, 5 ; *Epodes*, iii. 9 ; v. 21 ; xvii. 35.
Ovid (43 B. C.—A. D. 18) *Epistolae ex Ponto*, iv ; x. 51 f. *Metamorphoses*, ii. 224 ; vii. 6 ; viii. 798.
Seneca (c. 4 B. C.—A. D. 65) *Thyestes*, 369 ; *Hercules Oetaeus*, 1449 ; *Hercules furens*, 1204, 1326.
Theodore of Sicily (c. 50—25 B. C.) *Bibliotheca historica*, ii. 43—46 ; iv, 45—48 ; xiv. 24—31 ; xvii. 75 ff. (Scythians and Amazons).
Livy (59 B. C.—A. D. 17) *Periochae* Bk. CI.
Memnon (c. 25 B. C.).
Propercius (c. 50—16 B. C.) *Elegies*.
Velleius Paterculus (19 B. C.—A. D. 40) *Historiae Romanae* II. 33, 37, 40, 82, 94, 100, 102, 122.
Pomponius Mela (A. D. 15—60) *De situ orbis*, Bk. III.
Pliny the Elder (A. D. 23 or 24—A. D. 79) *Naturalis Historiae*, ii. 106 ; iii. 3, 23, 26 ; iv. 17 ; v. 27 ; vi. 1, 4—7, 10, 12, 15 f, 16, 18 ; viii. 3, 27 ; viii. 50, 60 ; x. 67 ; xx. 95 ; xxv. 100 ; xxxiii. 15, 37.
Josephus Flavius "Early History of the Jews" i. 6 ; xviii. 4. "History of the Jewish Wars" ii. 16 ; vii. 7.
Petronius Arbiter (d. A. D. 65) *Satires*.
Lucan (A. D. 39—65) *Pharsalia*, ii. 590 ; iii. 264.
Tacitus (c. A. D. 55—117) *Annals*, ii. 68 ; vi. 32, 33, 34, 35, 36 ; xi. 8, 9 ; xii. 44—48, 50 ; xiii. 6, 37 ; xiv. 23, 25. *Historiae* i. 6.
Plutarch (c. A. D. 46—120) *Pompey*, xxxiii—xxxvi ; xlv. *Alexander the Great*, xliv ; xlvi. *Lucullus*, xiv ; xxvi.
Suetonius *XII Vitae Imperatorum*, i. 22 ; iii. 8, 41 ; iv. 1 ; v. 25, 40 ; viii. 2.
Pausanias (c. A. D. 160) *Hellados Periegesis*, i. 2, 15, 17, 21, 32, 41 ; iii. 19, 24, 25 ; iv. 31, 34 ; v. 10 f ; vii. 27 ; viii. 27 ff.
Dionysius Periegetes (c. A. D. 90) *Orbis Descriptio*, §§ 488, 652, 679, 719, 1020. (See also Eustathius's commentary to Dionysius Periegetes 12th century A. D.)
Quintus Curtius (A. D. 41—79) *De Rebus Alexandri*, iv. 5 ; vi. 5 ; vii. 3 f.
Arrian (c. A. D. 95—175) *Periplous. Anabasis*.
Pseudo-Plutarch (c. A. D. 98—138) *De fluviorum et mortuum nominibus*, v. Φασις ; xiv. Τανατς ; xv. Θερῆδον ; xxxiii. Ἀράξης.
Aelian (fl. c. A. D. 200) "On the Characteristics of Animals," iv. 9 ; v. 27, 42 ; vi. 24, 65 ; vii. 35 ; ix. 59 ; xi. 29 ; xvii. 10, 17, 31, 33, 34, 38. "Historical Miscellanies," iii. 39 ; iv. 1 ; v. 21 ; fragment 135.
Appian of Alexandria (fl. c. A. D. 160) "Roman History," Proemium, §§ 2, 4 ; *Mitridates*, §§ 13, 15, 64, 69, 78, 101, 103, 104, 107, 108, 113, 114, 117, 120.
Claudius Ptolomey (c. A. D. 120—170) v. 8—11. *Bellum Thracium*, I. xxxviii. *Bellum Mithridaticum*, I. xxxviii ; II. xiii.
Justin (2nd or 3rd century A. D.) xxiv. 2 ; xlvii. 5.
Dio Cassius (c. A. D. 150—235) "Roman History," lviii. 26 ; lxix. *Historia Augusta* (117—284) by Aelius Spartianus, Julius Capitolinius, Vocatius Gallicanus, Aelius Lampridius, Trebellius Pollio and Flavius Vopiscus contains some passing references to the Caucasus.
Philostratus (2nd and 3rd century A. D.) *Heroicus*, ccxi. 24 ; ccxv. 30 ; ccxvi. 12 ; ccxvii. (About the Amazons.)
Solinus (3rd century A. D.) *Collectanba rerum memorabilium*, ix. 19 ; xv. 5, 17, 19 ; xix. 4, 19 ; xxxviii. 11 ; xlix. 6 ; lii. 50.

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●114 of his time.[56] An exact study of these classical and post-classical writers will prove very useful for the study of Caucasology. A number of attempts have been made[57] but the greatest of all difficulties, localization of the reports, and the multiplicity of names still remain to be untangled.

(2) **Byzantine Writers.** *Memoriae Populorum, olim ad Danubium, Pontum Euxinum, Paludem Maeotidem, Caucasum, Mare Caspium, et inde magis ad Septentriones incolentium e Scriptoribus Historiae Byzantinae erutae et digestae a Joanne Gotthilf Strittero, Gymnasii Academiae Scientiarum Imperialis Petropolitanae Conrectore* is a large four-volume collection of Byzantine writings, each volume being about 1,000 pages. Volume III and IV treat of the Caucasus and immediate vicinity.[58] A long article about the Byzantine writers appeared in the *Sbornik materialov dlja opisanija městnostej i plemen Kavkaza* IX (1890) No. 1, pp. 1—213, "Iberija po Byzantizskimi pisateljam" ("Iberia according to Byzantine writers").

(3) **Medieval Arabian Writers.** A considerable amount has been written by the Arabs in the Middle Ages and much of this material is still extant. We shall make use of al-Mas'ûdi's "Murûj aḍ-ḍahab wa ma'âdin al-jawâhir"[58*] written about A. D. 943) as well as of passing references from other authors. The

[56] Ammianus Marcellus (c. A. D. 390) in his continuation of the history of Tacitus, xxi. 7; xxii. 7, 8, 21, 24, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29, 30, 31, 46, 47, 48; xxiii. 5, 6; xxv. 7; xxvii. 12; xxxi. 2, 3.
Sextus Aurelius Victor (c. A. D. 350) *De viris illustribus*, lxxvii. 5.
Eutropius (fl. A. D. 364—378) *Breviarium ab urbe condita*, vi. 14; viii. 3.
Rufus Festus (c. A. D. 365) *Breviarium rerum gestarum populi Romani.*
Lucius Ampelius (c. A. D. 380) *Liber Memorialis.*
Agathemeros (1—3rd. century A. D.). (A short anonymous geographical guide.)
Claudian (Claudius Claudianus) (fl. c. A. D. 400).
Marcian (c. A. D. 410); Zosimus (c. A. D. 550); Vibius Sequester; Stephan of Byzantine (c. A. D. 500); Julius Honorius (c. A. D. 590).
To this long list of authors we must add the following Greek writers: Dionysius of Mileta, Herodorus Heracleensis, Sophaenetus Stymphalius, Heraclides Ponticus, Aristocsene of Tarentum, Palaephatus Abydenus, Nymphodorus of Syracuse, Duris Samius, Mnases Patrensis, Ptolemy Energetes, Agatharchides Cnidus, Metrodorus Scepsius, Alexander Polyhistor, Posidonius Aramensis, Nicolaus Damascene, Thrasyllus Mendesius, Arrian Nicomedensis, Phlegon Trallianus, Nicanor Alexandrinus, Charax Pergameus, Asinius Quadratus, Dexippus Atheniensis, Eunapius Sardianus, Priscus Panites and others.
For the above passages see C. Hahn, "Izvěstija drevnich grečeskich pisatelej o Kavkazě," *Materialy dlja opisanija městnostej i plemen kavkaza*, IV (1884), No. 1, pp. 1—248.

[57] Cf. G. H. Lünemann, Descriptio Caucasi ex Strabone, comparatis scriptoribus recentioribus (imprimis Gueldenstaedt), 1803. C. Hahn, "Kratkija izvěstija drevnich pisatelej o kavkazě", MOMPK II (1882), No. 1, pp. 18—44. C. Hahn, "Izvěstija drevnich grěčeskich i rimskich pisatelej o kavkazě," SMOMPK IV (1884), No. 1, pp. 1—248. E. Eichwald, *Alte Geographie des Caspischen Meeres, des Kaukasus und des südlichen-Rußlands, nach griechischen, römischen und anderen Quellen* (Reise auf dem Caspischen Meere in den Caucasus, 1825—6, vol. I [in two parts] and vol. II, Stuttgart, 1834—1838). C. Hahn, Aus dem Kaukasus, pp. 1—34. John F. Baddeley, *The Rugged Flanks of Caucasus*, Appendix C, "Retreat of the Ten Thousand Greeks".

[58] Petropoli, Impensis Academiae Scientiarum Tom III, 1777; IV, 1779.

[58*] "Golden Meadows and Jewelmines." For more about this author see, Carl Brockelmann, *Geschichte der arabischen Litteratur* I (Weimar, 1898), pp. 143—145; *op. cit.* Supplementary volume (Leiden, 1937), pp. 220—221.

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Arabian writers of the Middle Ages do not lack value for the study of the Caucasus, but since they are mostly fanatical Mohammedans, "the chosen children of Allah," describing the conduct and morals of "infidels" much is unreliable. Karaulov has written a series of articles about these writers, likewise published in the *Sbornik materialov dlja opisanija městnostej i plemen Kavkaza*, "Svěděnija arabskich pisatelej o Kavkazě, Armenii i Aderbejdžaně"[59] ("Reports of Arabian Writers about the Caucasus, Armenia and Azerbeijan[59]).

(4) **Medieval Persian Writers.** A short treatise about the Persian writers of the Middle Ages can be found in the *Izvěstija Kavkazskago Otděla I. R. G. O.*, "Materialy dlja drevnej geografii Zakavkaz'ja po persidskim istočnikam" ("Data for Ancient Geography of Transcaucasia from Persian Sources").[60]

(5) **Medieval Georgian Writers.** M. Džanašvili's excellent study of Georgian sources was printed in the *Sbornik materialov dlja opisanija městnostej i plemen Kavkaza*: "Izvěstija gruzinskich lětopisej i istorikov o sěvernom Kavkazě i Rossii. Opisanie Osetii, Dzurazukii, Didoztii, Tušetii, Alanii, i Džiketii. O carjach Chazaetii, Alguziani,"[61] and "Izvěstija gruzinskich lětopisej i istorikov o Chersonisě, Goteii, Osetii, Chazarii, Digoetii i Rossii."[62] These two articles (310 pages) will provide sufficient bibliography.

(6) **Other Medieval Writers.** Without going into detail, it is worth noting that a number of Russian and Armenian works of the Middle Ages are still extant. There is also the famous *Derbend Nameh* collection of works by various Tartar historians.

(7) **Writers of the 15-17th century.** Among the first strictly ethnographical works are those of Interiano, a Genoese,[63] John de Lucca and Olearius. Interiano's *Della vita dei Zychi chiamati Circassi*[64] is an excellent little work, admirable for its simplicity and relative freedom from exaggeration. This sixteenth century travel documentary as well as the work of the Dominican Missionary John de Lucca, *Relations des Tartares, Pericopites et Nogaies, des Circassiens, Mingrêliens et Géorgiens*, will be of great help in determining more exactly certain pre-Islamic customs in present-day Caucasian life.

(8) **1700—1775.** To this period belong especially the works of Potocki *Voyage dans les pays du Caucase* (Paris, 1798) and *Voyage dans les steps d'Astrakhan et du Caucase* (Paris, 1829) and John Hanway's *An historical account of the British trade over the Caspian Sea: with a journal of travels*

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[59] XXIX (1901), No. 1, pp. 1—73; XXXI (1902), No. 1, pp. 1—57; XXXII (1903), No. 1, pp. 1—63; XXXVIII (1908), No. 1, pp. 1—130.

[60] I (1872—1873), pp. 131—136.

[61] XXII (1897), No. 1, pp. 1—206.

[62] XXVI (1899), No. 1, pp. 1—104.

[63] Ramusio, *Raccolta di viaggi* (1583). See also Manuzio, *Viaggi fatti da Vinetia, alla Tana, in Persia, in India et in Constantinopoli: con la descrittione particolare di città, luoghi siti, costumi, della porta del gran Turco: di tutte le intrate spece, modo di governo suo et della ultima impresa contra Portoghesi. Vinegi 1545.*

[64] The full title is: *Della vita dei Zychi altrimenti chiamati Circassi Georgiano Interiano, Genovese, a. M. Aldo Manutio, Romano.* It was first edited in 1559, then re-edited several times, in 1574, 1583, 1606, 1613, and translated into German by Klaproth in his *Reisen in den Kaukasus*, chapter XXVII.

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*from London through Russia, Germany and Holland, to which are added the revolutions of Persia during the present century, with the particular history of the great usurper Nadir Kouli* (London, 1753).

(9) **1775—1850.** In this period not only does the ethnographical material begin to increase and reach considerable proportions but the investigations carried out by the authors are scientific in nature. Actual fieldwork is being done. The writers are therefore no longer mere casual travellers but fieldworkers in the strictest sense. Although the method and scholarship of these explorers does not come up to that of modern ethnographers, their works have a special value because they are the products of expeditions prior to the rapid modern acculturation. The first scientific expedition was undertaken by Professor Güldenstädt at the request of the Empress of Russia to penetrate the wild regions of Caucasus, to classify the peoples (her subjects) according to their languages and to study the natural history of the land. The results of Güldenstädt's fieldwork were published in several books, *Beschreibung der kaukasischen Länder* (Berlin, 1834), *Reisen durch Rußland und im kaukasischen Gebirge* (St. Petersburg, 1787), *Reisen nach Georgien und Imerethi* (Berlin, 1815). Soon afterwards some excellent works of travel and some purely scientific works appeared, such as those of Reineggs, Pallas, Steder, Klaproth, Bodenstedt, Dubois de Montpéreux, Longworth, Spencer, Neuman and Wagner.

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(10) **1850—1920.** The Caucasians are still analphabetic except for the Georgians and Armenians, and are unaffected by modern civilization. This is a period of much travel and good field work, e. g., by Radde, Hahn, Erckert, Abercromby, and others. Several large series of periodicals devoted exclusively to the study of the Caucasus are published.[65] Valuable collections of customary laws *(adats)* made—to mention only *Adaty kavkazskich gorcev*, a collection of customary laws which we shall have endless opportunity to cite. In a word this is a productive period.

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(11) **Soviet Caucasus, Caucasology Today.** Considerable progress has been made in the last decades. In linguistics, for example, if we compare Güldenstädt's or Pallas' first attempts with the results attained by Erckert and then if we compare Erckert's achievements with those of the great geniuses like Professor Marr, Prince Trubeskoj and Adolf Dirr, we must say the progress is gratifying. Although Erckert's linguistic contributions contain countless and very serious errors, his work by far surpasses those of Güldenstädt and Pallas, but again compared with modern linguists Erckert is hardly anything more than an untrained amateur. Although the advance made in Caucasian linguistics must be attributed mainly to the work done by the Soviet scholars, such capable linguists as Dirr, Bleichsteiner, Deeters, Dumézil and the contributors to the *Caucasica* must not be overlooked.

Greater progress has been made in prehistory than in any other branch of Caucasology. The activity of the Marr School and Hančar's unparalleled work, *Urgeschichte Kaukasiens* are sufficient evidence of the advance made in this field.

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[65] See *infra* pp. 33 f.

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The *ethnologist*, however, cannot boast of such progress. Interest in strictly ethnological questions, even among Soviet scholars, is not so intense as it should be or as it is in regard to other branches of Caucasology. Nevertheless we may speak of progress. In pre-Soviet times the writers and fieldworkers did not venture beyond mere ethnography, and if by way of exception Kovalevskij did, his conclusions are merely a restatement of evolutionistic tenets. Today ethnology of the Caucasus is practically a monopoly of the Soviet scholars. Since the Revolution the number of strictly ethnological articles and books by non-Soviet authors is astoundingly small. In the bibliography of E. G. Kagarov, "Inostrannaja literatura po etnografii Kavkaza za poslednie 10 let" ("Foreign ethnographical literature on the Caucasus published in the last 10 years")[66] we can hardly find half a dozen works not written by Russians or Georgians, which we may more or less call ethnological.[67] English is not represented at all! This almost complete lack of interest on the part of non-Soviet ethnologists is no doubt greatly responsible for the relative lack of progress realized up to the present.

A closer analysis of Soviet ethnology will reveal, first of all, that this branch takes only a secondary place among the interests of the Caucasologists. Moreover, it will reveal that the Soviet ethnologist, by his very profession, is obliged to oppose the doctrines of his bourgeois colleague. By his interpretations and historical reconstructions of Caucasian culture he must show himself to be "a zealous Soviet patriot of his socialistic fatherland," as the *Pravda* of December 11, 1948, characterizes him.[68] In fact, the formal object of Soviet ethnology is none other than to prove that the theories of Marx and Engels are "not theories" at all but "facts."[69] Engels, Marx, Lenin, or Stalin must be quoted in all scientific works, otherwise the author may be accused of "heretical" teaching.[70] Since the Caucasus is an "ethnographic museum," the Soviet ethnologist is convinced that although limiting his studies to the Caucasian peoples, he can prove the "*universally* valid" principles of Communism, the origin of religion, the origin of state, the origin of class strife, and, finally, that economic conditions are primarily and almost exclusively responsible for any given culture. In a word, a good Soviet ethnologist is one who distinguishes himself in "two virtues—orthodoxy and positive enthusiastic patriotism."

Although the ethnologists are lagging behind, the *ethnographers* are maintaining the pace set by the other groups of Caucasologists. Very few pre-Soviet

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[66] *Sovetskaja Etnografija*, 1936, No. 4—5, pp. 274 f.

[67] To this list we must add R. Bleichsteiner's excellent study *Rossweihe und Pferdeopfer im Totenkult der kaukasischen Völker*. In Kagarov's bibliography we find a number of ethnological works in German by Russian and Georgian authors, as for instance Ladyženskij and Nioradze.

[68] Cf. I. I. Potechin, "Zadači bor'by s kosmopolitizmom v etnografii," SE, 1949, No. 2, pp. 25 f.

[69] For a classical example see D. K. Zelenin, "Problema pervobytnoj religii," SE, 1937, No. 4, pp. 3—17.

[70] See Ladyženskij's defense against the accusation of "heresy" for failing to quote Marx and Lenin, "Zur Erforschung der Rechtsgewohnheiten der Bergvölker des Kaukasus," *Zeitschrift für Ethnologie*, LXII (1930), p. 234.

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or non-Soviet ethnographers of today might be compared with such scholars as Čursin or Pčelina, to mention but two leading Soviet ethnographers. Present Soviet ethnography distinguishes itself by its exactness and scholarship in general. Another great merit of the Soviets, which cannot be over-estimated, is the encouragement given native Caucasians to study their own culture. The Georgians, of course, are the most active folklorists and the works produced by such students of Georgian culture as Nioradze and Makalatija may be compared with the best any country might offer. The centres of research are the Museums of Vladikavkaz, Petrovsk, and Tiflis. But besides these centres, a number of smaller branch institutes for specialized study of local cultures have been founded. Special training is given to future folklorists at the University of Tiflis. Folklore is being encouraged also by frequent museum exhibitions.[71] And in general, the rapid development of museums in the Caucasus is astounding. Since the Revolution they have doubled and trebled their collections. The Georgian Museum in Tiflis will serve as a good example. In 1926 small independent collections were pooled and collectors were sent out to various parts of Georgia. In 1921 the Museum had 12,500 specimens; in 1938 it could boast of 31,000, having more than doubled its collection within 17 years. The collection now includes 274 costumes, 620 amulets, 660 ornaments, 390 pieces of woodwork, 1,850 specimens of arms, 1,800 specimens of pottery, 600 musical instruments, 300 agricultural implements.[72] In recent years Tiflis has become a great centre of well-planned expeditions undertaken by trained fieldworkers. Expeditions to Svanetia were made in 1931, 1934, 1935, 1936, 1937; to Khevsuria in 1927; to Pshavia in 1929; to Tushetia in 1932; Mingrelia in 1937; Adzharia in 1933; Meskhetia in 1924; Kakhetia in 1928; Karthlia 1926 and 1936, to mention but some of the expeditions made in Transcaucasia.[73] Another great undertaking of the Soviet ethnographers is the assembling of numerous excellent manuscripts in the archives of the Russian Academy of Science and in other archives throughout the U.S.S.R., among which are the manuscripts of A. Ja. Kupfer, Güldenstädt, Montpéreux and others. Some of these manuscripts have already been published in the series *Archiv Akademii Nauk SSSR. G. A. Knjazev, Trudy Archiva* ("The Archives of the Academy of Science of the U.S.S.R. General Editor, G. A. Knjazev, The Works of the Archives") and others are still to follow.[74] Some of the more important publica-

[71] These exhibitions are not restricted to Georgia. See, for example. G. A. Nikitin, "Vystavka 'Kabardino-Balkarija' v Central'nom muzee narodov SSSR." SE, 1937, No. 1, pp. 166 ff.

[72] For the rapid development of North Caucasian museums, see, for example, L. I. Lavrov, "Kraevedčeskie muzei na Severnom Kavkaže," SE, 1936, No. 6, pp. 132 f.

[73] For the development of Georgian museums and folklore see G. S. Čitaja, "Etnografija Gruzii za sovetskij period" ("Georgian ethnography during the Soviet period"), SE, 1940, No. 3, pp. 207—213; S. I. Makalatija, "Etnografija i kraevedenie v Gruzii," SE, 1940, No. 3, pp. 214 f. For more about expeditions in North and South Caucasus see the various reports in the *Sovetskaja Etnografija*, e. g., E. Krupnov, "Severo-kavkazskaja ekspedicija gosudarstvennogo istoričeskogo muzeja 1936 g.," 1937, No. 1—2, pp. 119—122.

[74] Cf. M. O. Kosven, "Ob archivnych materialach po etnografii SSSR.," SE, 1936, No. 1, pp. 132—135. The *Archiv Akademii Nauk SSSR.* includes manuscripts dealing with all parts of the U.S.S.R.

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done especially by recourse to older sources describing the conditions before the rapid acculturation of recent times. Moreover, to my knowledge, the Soviets have not published much about our present subject, and, as we have mentioned above, monographs about the North Caucasian tribes are practically non-existent,[77] especially on this side of Russia. In the use of pre-Soviet literature we are aware that great caution must be observed. The writers of czaristic times as a general rule were not of the exact and scholarly type of ethnographer modern fieldwork demands. There is a tendency among many pre-Soviet writers to over-emphasize the "savage" primitiveness of the Caucasians. But wholesale condemnation of these sources, as is sometimes done by the amateur Caucasologist, is unjustifiable. A glance at the list of sources used by such great Caucasologists as Nioradze or Pčelina will convince us of the great value pre-Soviet ethnography has for modern Caucasology. As Ladyženskij, one of the best Soviet ethnologists, puts it, "Es sind doch die Arbeiten des Akademikers W. Th. Miller, des Akademikers M. M. Kovalevskij, des korrespondierenden Mitglieds der Akademie der Wissenschaften Dubrovin, Uslars, Bacharadze und vieler andern vorhanden, die in manchen Beziehungen auch heute noch nicht übertroffen sind."[78] 127

We have derived most of our material from a number of rare periodicals and adat collections.

The periodicals we refer to are the following:

(1) A 10-volume series devoted exclusively to Caucasian ethnography, known as the *Sbornik svědenij o kavkazskich gorcach* ("A Collection of Information about the Mountain Peoples of Caucasus") Tiflis, 1868—1881, to my mind, a very good collection of material. 114

(2) A series of almost 50 volumes, likewise devoted exclusively to the study of the Caucasus, is the *Sbornik materialov dlja opisanija městnostej i plemen Kavkaza* ("A Collection of Material for Describing the Localities and Tribes of the Caucasus"). The first volume appeared in 1881 and the last issue I have seen was that of 1929 (Volume XLVI). This series contains many purely ethnographical articles and many other valuable contributions regarding the history, languages and archaeology of the Caucasus.

(3) A 9-volume series, *Sbornik svědenij o Kavkazě*, is valuable mainly for its statistics. It was published in Tiflis from 1871 to 1885. ("A Collection of Information about Caucasia.")

(4) The *Zapiski Kavkazskago Otděla* ("Memoirs of the Caucasian Division of the Imperial Russian Geographic Society"), Tiflis 1862—1917, is an immense series. It is primarily geographic in character and has the Caucasus as its exclusive scope.

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[77] A number of monographs have appeared e. g., Jakovlev's *Ingušii*, Požidaev's, *Gorci sěvernago Kavkaza*, Samurskij's *Dagestan*, Balkirov's *Iskustvo Dagestana*, but these works are neither as thorough as we would have them nor do they include all the peoples of North Caucasus. The monographs of Makalatija about the Pshavs (Tiflis, 1934), Tushi (Tiflis, 1933) and the Khevsurs (Tiflis, 1935) have not been at my disposal.

[78] A. Ladyženskij, "Zur Erforschung der Rechtsgewohnheiten der Bergvölker des Kaukasus," *Zeitschrift für Ethnologie*, XLII (1930), p. 243.

114 (5) Other periodicals, valuable indeed but less important for our present work, are, for example, the *Terskij Sbornik*, *Kavkaz*, and *Caucasica*. The *Sovetskaja Etnografija* will provide much of the more recent ethnographical data for our study.

In regard to the use of adat collections it should be kept in mind that not all collections are of equal value. The task of collecting the customary laws was of special interest to the Russian military government during the czarist régime, but unfortunately some of the collectors were not suitable for the work assigned to them. The collections we shall make most use of are :

(1) *Adaty Južno-Dagestanskich Obščestv* ("Adats of the South Daghestan Districts").

(2) *Adaty Darginskich Obščestv* ("Adats of the Districts of Dargwa Province").

(3) *Adaty Kumyskoj Ploskosti* ("Adats of the Kumykian Plains").

(4) Leontovič's *Adaty kavkazskich gorcev, Materialy po obyčnomu pravu severnago i vostočnago Kavkaza* ("Adats of the Mountain Peoples of the Caucasus. Data regarding the customary law of Northern and Eastern Caucasus," 2 volumes, Odessa, 1882—1883.) We shall use Leontovič's collection constantly. According to A. Dirr, the *Adaty kavkazskich gorcev* is supposed to be an extremely rare collection. He calls it an " außerhalb Rußlands wohl kaum auffindbare Quelle,"[79] but the fact is that it is found among John F. Baddeley's books and among my own microfilm collection.

We shall now, briefly and in alphabetical order, consider some of our other sources, at least those which we deem need special comment. At the end of this work we shall present a large general bibliography of Caucasia.

(1) Abdul-Hassan's[79a] " Golden Meadows and Jewelmines " has been translated by M. Abicht and published in Klaproth's *Beschreibung der russischen Provinzen zwischen dem Kaspischen und Schwarzen Meere* (Berlin, 1814), pp. 182 to 269. Although Abdul-Hassan falls under the class of Arabs whom we may almost *a priori* suspect of prejudice, this little work (written about A. D. 943) can be of some value for the study of the Caucasus if used with caution.

(2) General Alichanov is supposed to be an authority on the Daghestanians. But we shall have occasion to disagree with him in regard to the status of Avarian women.

(3) Amirov's " Sredi gorcev severnago Dagestana," *Sbornik svědenij o kavkazskich gorcach*, VII (1873), pp. 1—80 will prove very useful for our study because it contains a detailed account of family life in Northern Daghestan and its author is a Dargwa, a native of Daghestan.

(4) Čach Achriev's articles about the Chechens are well-written and sufficiently reliable.

(5) John F. Baddeley's *The Rugged Flanks of Caucasus* (London, 1940) is the product of several visits to the Caucasus and of many years of study. He is

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[79] A. Dirr, " Trepanation als gerichtlicher Beweis im Kaukasus," *Festschrift P. W. Schmidt*, Wien, 1928, p. 218, note.

[79a] Cf. *Supra*, Note 58*.

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an excellent critic on literature about the Caucasus and has written perhaps the best history of the Russians in the Caucasus.[80]

(6) Josaphat Barbaro's *Viaggio di Iosephat Barbaro, ambasciadore di Venetia alla Tana ed in Persia (1436—1471)* is important only in as far as it is one of the first reliable ethnographical works about the Caucasus and vicinity.

(7) A. Baschmakoff's *Cinquante siècles d'évolution ethnique autour de la mer Noire* is supposed to be based on the results of the Japhetic School, but we can be quite certain that the members of the School today do not make such sweeping generalizations and assumptions as does the author of this book (published in Paris, 1937). Baschmakoff evidently lost contact with the Marr School. On the whole, the work is fantastic, its conclusions being completely unfounded or at least premature. His explanation of mesocephaly in the Caucasus, however, is quite possible.

(8) Berže's *Čečnja i Čečency* (Tiflis, 1859) has a fine section on family feuds and some useful material on our subject.

(9) R. Bleichsteiner is one of the few scholars on this side of Russia devoting most of his time to Caucasology and is one of the greatest living Caucasologists. He is primarily a linguist.

(10) Joseph Castagné's "Le droit coutumier familial des montagnards du Caucase et des Tscherkesses en particulier" is based on Ladyženskij and differs but slightly from A. Dirr's translation in the *Zeitschrift für vergleichende Rechtswissenschaft*. Castagné makes the capital mistake of identifying Cherkess customs with those of all North Caucasians. Such a generalization is impossible and certainly not intended by Ladyženskij.

(11) G. F. Čursin (d. 1930) was one of the leading Soviet ethnographers. (For obituary and list of works see *Sovetskaja Etnografija*, 1931, No. 3—4, pp. 189—195.)

(12) Balir Dalgat is a native Chechen, who, evidently, had a good education, a deep appreciation of Caucasian culture and a fine sense for ethnographical detail. We shall use his "Pervobytnaja Religija Čečencev," later translated from the *Terskij Sbornik* by A. Dirr and printed in the *Anthropos* VIII (1908), pp. 729—740, 1050—1076. We shall indirectly have an occasion to use his unpublished manuscripts, on which Kovalevskij greatly depended.

(13) Adolf Dirr, till his death in 1930, was perhaps the greatest Caucasologist in the world. His periodical *Caucasica* was second to none in matters dealing with the Caucasus. Especially useful for our present study is his "Aus dem Gewohnheitsrecht der kaukasischen Bergvölker." (A list of Dirr's publications can be found in the *Caucasica* VI [1930] No. 2, pp. 4—9.)

(14) Dubois de Montpéreux *Voyage autour du Caucase* is a work of the first half of the last century. It is an immense study of six volumes with two large atlases (maps and architectural and archaeological diagrams), presenting the results of an expedition. The *Voyage autour du Caucase* won the first prize offered by the Geographic Society of Paris in 1838.

(15) N. Dubrovin's *Istorija vojny i vladyčestva russkich na Kavkaze* ("History of the War and Domination of the Russians in the Caucasus") is a six-

[80] *The Russian Conquest of the Caucasus*, New York, Bombay, Calcutta, 1908.

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114 volume work of which the first volume is a purely ethnographic. It is especially this first volume that will prove of much value for our present study, for it contains a treasure of useful information culled from sources that either no longer exist today or at least are not at our disposal. Unfortunately Dubrovin refers to his sources only in a more or less general way, leaving us in the dark as to the exact authority on which he bases the particular assertion. Nor does he care much about whether the custom described belongs to the past or present. In spite of these shortcomings,[81] Dubrovin's *Istorija* remains a useful source book of lasting value.

(16) Djavachišvili is a native Georgian, professor at the University of Tiflis, whose compilation of anthropological data of the Caucasus up to 1925 is perhaps the best available.

(17) Tamby Elechoty is a native Ossete, specialist on customary law of the Mountain Peoples of the Caucasus, from whom J. Castagné received some information for his article.

(18) Ellis does not enjoy much authority in spite of being one of the earlier writers about the Caucasus. His work is not the product of fieldwork but only of the study of such authors as Reineggs and Güldenstädt.

(19) Erckert may not be remembered as a linguist, except perhaps for his mistakes, but his value lies not in his linguistic attempts but rather in his ethnographical contribution, *Der Kaukasus*. Erckert had a high position in the czar's army and spent two years in the Caucasus.

(20) Eristov is not free from contradictions but he does offer good material not found elsewhere.

(21) Essad-Bey's works are of a popular nature, remarkable for their clear and charming presentation of the genuinely Caucasian spirit. He also goes by the name of Noussimbaum.

(22) Said Gabiev offers us some valuable material about the Laks in his "Laki. Ich prošloe i byt" ("The Laks. Their Past and Form of Life.")

(23) Grabovskij has written two articles which we find useful for our present study, "Ekonomičeskij i domašnij byt žitelej gorskago učastka Ingušev-skago Okruga" ("The Economic and Domestic Life in the Ingush Province") and his "Inguši." Baddely accuses Grabovskij of "gross contradiction"[82] but quite unfairly. We are inclined to agree rather with Dirr that Grabovskij's articles are "ausgezeichnet."[83]

(24) Güldenstädt is the pioneer explorer of the Caucasus.

(25) C. Hahn has written a large number of articles and books about the Caucasus. They are all the products of fieldwork. Nevertheless they must be used with caution, since sometimes the author's visits were too brief for a strictly scientific expedition.

(26) Haxthausen's works contain some valuable information, but he too is not an ideally gifted observer.

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[81] For a lengthy criticism of Dubrovin's work see SSKG., VI (1872).

[82] J. F. Baddeley, *The Rugged Flanks of Caucasus*, II, 88.

[83] A. Dirr, "Aus dem Gewohnheitsrecht der kaukasischen Bergvölker," *Zeitschr. f. vergl. Rechtswissenschaft*, XLI (1925), p. 8.

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(27) J. Karst has done the laudable service of translating and writing a commentary to King Vakhtang's Code. 114

(28) Jakovlev's is a popular work with a scientific value. He presents the life of the Ingushi as found in recent (1925) times.

(29) Juynboll's *Handbuch des islamischen Gesetzes* published over 40 years ago is still recognized as the best exposition of Islamic law according to the Shâfi'itic School.

(30) Klaproth is famous for his wholesale plagiarisms. Nevertheless we must admit that he at least had a good judgement and "borrowed" only the best.[84]

(31) Kokiev is a native Ossete, a Digorian.

(32) M. Kovalevskij has produced the finest works on Caucasian law up to the present day. He was a trained jurist and explored the Caucasus himself, carefully studied the adats of the natives and had access to valuable manuscripts and government archives. His works, especially *Zakon i Obyčaj na Kavkazě* ("Law and Custom in the Caucasus"), published in 1890, and his *Sovremennij Obyčaj i Drevnij Zakon*, published in 1886 and later translated into French under the title of *Coutume contemporaine et loi ancienne* (Paris, 1893), contain an immense amount of material. Although we must reject Kovalevskij's evolutionism and not a few other conclusions, we will have constant recourse to the invaluable data gathered by him. According to a report in the *Sovetskaja Etnografija* (1936, No. 4—5, pp. 227 f.), the Russian Academy of Science plans to publish Kovalevskij's ethnographical and sociological data in a special six-volume work. This interest of the Soviet ethnographers of today clearly proves that Kovalevskij's works have a lasting value, although written half a century ago.

(33) P. I. Kovalevskij must be distinguished from M. M. Kovalevskij. P. I. Kovalevskij offers us a good conspectus of the peoples and tribes of Caucasia in his *Kavkaz, Narody* Kavkaza. (St. Petersburg, 1914. "The Caucasus. The Nations of the Caucasus.") He has lived in the Caucasus and describes the peoples with whom he was personally in contact. Unfortunately the number of nations he wishes to portray is so large that his work is necessarily too sketchy and can hardly offer the reader anything new.

(34) Ladyženskij is one of the best authorities on customary law. A number of his articles have been translated into German. The most useful article for the present work is, of course, "Das Familiengewohnheitsrecht der Tscherkessen," translated from the Russian by A. Dirr.[85] Ladyženskij presents the results of an expedition in 1927, and generally his interpretations are very good. His studies contain excellent material, which we shall amply make use of in the present work.

(35) Laudaev is a native Chechen, the first to write about his own people in Russian.[86]

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[84] See Baddeley's repeated criticism of Klaproth, *op. cit.*

[85] *Zeitschr. f. vergl. Rechtsw.*, XLV (1930), pp. 178—208.

[86] "Iz Čečencev ja pervy pilu na russkom jazykě o moej rodině, ečče tak malo izvěstnoj" ("I am the first Chechen to write about my people, who are still so little known"), SSKG., VI (1872), p. 1, *note*.

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114 (36) Marr and the Marr School are responsible more than anyone else for the great interest in Caucasology, which we find today. Professor Marr, a Scotch-Georgian by birth, was, no doubt, a great genius,[87] although at times his enthusiasm led him to over-hasty conclusions. Today his school plays the leading rôle in Russian archaeology. The linguists tend to part more and more from their Master's opinions, but, we must remember, the direction of this departure was given by Marr himself, toward the end of his life.

(37) Halil Beg Mussayassul is a native Daghestanian, son of a *nā'ib*. His *Das Land der letzten Ritter* (Munich, 1936) is a popular book, intended more to entertain the ordinary reader than to inform the scientist; nevertheless it is a useful work, faithfully describing the life of the Daghestanian noble class in pre-Soviet times.

(38) Fr. Nansen's *Through the Caucasus to the Volga* is a popular work, based on a few more or less reliable authors and on a trip through the Caucasus. It has very little scientific value.

(39) Nioradze is the leading Georgian ethnologist.

(40) Omarov is a native of Kazikumukh Province.

(41) Pallas's works are products of expeditions, dating back to the 18th century.

(42) Pčelina has, to my mind, produced some of the best Soviet ethnography. He is an exact fieldworker (expedition of 1934—1936) and doubtless masters the literature on the Caucasians. His articles are outstanding for their exactness and critical presentation.[88]

(43) Pfaff was the first Russian interested in the Ossetine customs. Though he made many serious mistakes (as, for example, to consider the Ossetes a mixture of Aryan and Semitic stock, or again, his numberless mistakes in philology), nevertheless, his purely ethnographical contributions are good. In fact he preserved much Ossetine lore which would have otherwise perished.

(44) A. H. Post is cited in the present study merely as a secondary source with a confirmartory value. We reject his evolutionism.

(45) Požidaev, lecturer at the North Caucasian Pedagogical Institute of Vladikavkaz, is the author of *Gorcy severnogo Kavkaza* ("Mountain Peoples of Northern Caucasus"). The ethnographical data he has to offer is reliable and based on practical fieldwork.

(46) Reinegg's *Reise* is more than a mere work of travel; we might almost call it an expedition. Much of Klaproth's plagiarism goes back to his high appreciation of this well-written work.

(47) Seidlitz was the head of the statistical department during the czarist régime. His acquaintance with the conditions in the Caucasus was good and his articles are generally reliable.

(48) Vakhtang VI's Code is a collection of Georgian laws edited in the eighteenth century but based on ancient Georgian customary law.

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[87] Cf. "Pamjati učenogo-revoljucionera Nikolaja Jakovleviča, Marra," SE, 1935, No. 1, pp. 3—7. I. I. Meščaninov, "Nikolaj Jakovlevič Marr," SE, 1935, No. 1, pp. 8—17.

[88] Cf. "Rodil'nye obyčai u osetin," SE, 1937, No. 4, pp. 85—103; "Obrjad gostepriimstva v osetii," SE, 1932, No. 5—6, pp. 140—163; *Ossetica*, a bibliography.

585 [776] (7) In a number of instances we have noticed that the dagger or sword was used in connection with the marriage ceremony. The best-man took the bride around the hearth and each time he struck the chain with his dagger. The bride had to enter her new home under an arch of swords or with a dagger or club held above her head. This wedding custom, too, has a religious basis. The household gods of the bride's family have become exceedingly jealous of the bride, because by marrying she has united herself to another family and will now worship other ancestors, abandoning her own. These jealous godlets realize that the best time to enter her new home and to cause countless harm is simultaneously with the bride. Fortunately, these household gods are afraid of dagger[844]s.[114] Among the Georgian mountaineers, a mother after having given birth to a child will keep a sword under the pillow as a protection against aerial spirits.[115] Spirits are afraid of the sword for several reasons—at least such is our conjecture. The God of Iron, of the Sword, and of the Hearth-Chain is one and the same god, called Safa. This sword ceremony may perhaps insure [823] Safa's protection against jealous godlets. It may also insure the protection of [769] the departed because *iron* is a means of contacting ancestors. In Ossetia on the [787] "feast of the dedication of clothing" clothes are consecrated and sent to the netherworld by means of an iron knife.[116] The Ingushi get in contact with their departed by means of iron tongs.[117]

(8) The other marriage ceremonies are likewise mainly pastoral in character: horse-racing, submission to the husband, wishes for a rich progeny but always with a disproportion of "nine boys to every blue-eyed girl." Finally, the long elaborate and expensive wedding itself is typical of pastoral peoples.

[606] There are, however, a few traces of a so-called mother-right culture. The rôle played by the mother-in-law in the ceremonies, as we have stressed (*supra*, p. 125), is indeed not inconsistent with the position of the mother of the household in a patriarchal family, but, we must admit that their astounding importance gives them a suspiciously matriarchal colouring: in the ceremonies described, it is the Lesghian mother who welcomes the bride into the house as if she were the head of the family. It is the mother who holds her by the hand as she crosses the threshold. It is the mother's brother who led the bride's horse in the Ingiloi procession from her home to that of her groom. It is the mother who puts the honey into the mouth of the bride as a sign that the bride has a sweet life ahead of her under such an amiable mistress as her mother-in-law. And we should not forget that in the Lesghian engagement it was the mother who presented the engagement gifts which concluded the betrothal contract.[118]

595 585 114 We cannot conclude this chapter without briefly refuting some of Kovalevskij's assumptions. Like so many anthropologists of his day, he was inclined to find traces of an epoch older than that of patriarchy, and older than that of

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[114] For the custom among the Ossetes see Kovalevskij, *Coutume contemp.*, pp. 170 f.

[115] Cf. Reineggs, *op. cit.*, II, p. 112 f.

[116] Kokiev, *Slepovye soerudeinija*, (Vladikavkaz, 1928), p. 38.

[117] Baddeley, *op. cit.*, II, p. 120.

[118] *Supra*, p. 103.

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matriarchy, even where there were no such traces to be found. The fact that the bride is segregated during the wedding and no older relative of the bridegroom (especially no *male* relative) may see and speak freely with the bride is supposed to be a clear vestige of fraternal polyandry. In other words, there is supposed to have been a time when all male members of the family had access to the bride, for she was the wife of all. Then came a time when, from experience, the Caucasians came to the conclusion that individual marriage was by far better than group marriage or fraternal polyandry. It was, of course, as we are told, not easy to abolish such a deeply ingrained custom, so that the bride had to be kept away from the others. Today the segregation of the bride is supposed to be nothing but a vestige of the means taken against group marriage or fraternal polyandry.[119]

But if that were the case, why is the *groom* hiding, and in fact, even longer and farther away than the bride? Is that a vestige of a kind of sororal polygyny? Moreover, why is the groom hiding *elsewhere?* The best defense against anyone approaching the bride would be if the husband himself were at her side.

Another vestige of group marriage, according to Kovalevskij's fancy, is the ceremony of "tramping on the bed." After the unveiling of the bride, as she is being led into the marriage chamber, all the young people rush in and the first to throw himself on the bed receives a prize. So as not to be accused of mere destructive criticism, we wish here to propose another conjecture (nothing more than a conjecture!), but a conjecture far more plausible than that of Kovalevskij. It is much more probable that we have here a vestige of the *jus primae noctis.* First of all, the ceremony of "tramping on the bed" takes place immediately *before* the groom enters the bridal chamber. If it were a vestige of group marriage or fraternal polyandry, why doesn't the main person take part in the ceremony? Moreover, the *jus primae noctis,* though very often reserved for the chief or father-in-law, is sometimes a privilege reserved for the strongest wedding-guest. In our case, the struggle among the young people to enter the bridal chamber first may be a vestige of a contest to prove who among them is the strongest. The remarkable fact is that in *neighbouring* Southern Russia, until rather recently, it was precisely the strongest wedding-guest who was given the task of deflowering the bride.[120] The Caucasians could have had a similar custom (perhaps even from the same source), which, however, evolved into a ceremony the significance of which has been forgotten.

From among all the juridical aspects of the ceremonies described, the most important is: Which ceremony constitutes the essence of marriage? In other words, at which point of the complicated wedding are the mates actually married? Naturally, where Christian or Mohammedan formal contracts are made, there is usually no doubt about the answer. But we are interested in customary law. Negatively, the marriage is certainly considered complete after the marital act has taken place. To say anything more positive in regard to

[119] Cf. Kovalevskij, *Coutume contemp.*, p. 177.

[120] O. Asboth, "Ein Hochzeitsbrauch in Südrußland," *Archiv für Anthropologie*, XIII, pp. 318 f.

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(6) The *maternal uncle* appears on the scene in marriage and family affairs as an important figure. A special part of the bride price (*madi-arvadai-kal*) of the Ossetes is reserved for the maternal uncle.[56] Among the Ingushi and a number of other tribes in North Caucasia, if someone drinks to the health of his friend's sister and then gives him a present, the friend is obliged to arrange a marriage between his sister and his friend, otherwise a blood-feud will be the result. This custom, as we have said, overrules even the inviolable *patria potestas* and all the *adats* regarding the choice of mates. It is, as it were, an acceptance of the bride price by the brother ("maternal uncle") without handing the bride over to the purchaser.[57] Moreover, an Ingush lad, after reaching the age when he is allowed to carry arms, has a right to a special present from his maternal uncle. In fact, the youth may go and steal the present with impunity, because he has a *right* to it.[58] This, I think, may very easily be a vestige of a former inheritance rule through the maternal uncle.[59] The Khevsur orphan automatically falls to the guardianship of the maternal uncle.[60] Kovalevskij conjectures that the Georgian institution known as *tsatsali*[61] may be a vestige of the custom to adopt a maternal uncle.[62]

Kovalevskij, Post and other ethnologists of the 19th century "found" an astoundingly large number of "undeniable" vestiges of a former matriarchal culture in the Caucasus. Any custom that would fit into the false principle "mater certa, pater incertus" was "infallibly" a matriarchal vestige. Thus the *atalyk*,[63] the taboos forbidding a father to carry his own child, the prohibition for anyone to ask about the health of another person's wife or child, etc.[64] were all "vestiges" of former matriarchy. The Cherkess *tleush*[65] and the Ingush *taipa*[66] were likewise "vestiges." Kovalevskij's article "La famille matriarcale au Caucase"[67] is a typical example of the matriarchy mania under which the scientists of the past century laboured. Every now and then they would come across a true vestige or a possible indication of matriarchy or mother-right, and these we have incorporated in the present work. The other "vestiges" we have rejected and offered other, more plausible explanations and interpretations.

Russian interest in the problem of mother-right has again been revived. The Russian ethnologist maintains that matriarchy was universal at one time: it was a stage through which all civilizations had to pass, while patriarchy is only

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[56] *Supra*, p. 87.

[57] *Supra*, p. 101. A Berže, Čečnja i čečency, p. 98; Leontovič, II, pp. 251 f, § 149; Kovalevskij, "La famille matriarcale au Caucase," *L'Anthropologie*, IV (1893), pp. 271 f.

[58] Jakovlev, *Ingušl*, p. 47.

[59] This seems to be a genuine vestige.

[60] Kovalevskij, *op. cit.*, p. 273. The maternal uncle also plays an important part in the Khevsurian blood-feuds (Hahn, *Aus dem Kaukasus*, p. 273).

[61] *Supra*, p. 182.

[62] Kovalevskij, *l. c.*

[63] *Supra*, p. 57.

[64] *Supra*, pp. 149 f, 162—167.

[65] *Supra*, p. 55.

[66] *Supra*, p. 84.

[67] *L'Anthropologie*, IV (1893), pp. 259—278. See also Kovalevskij's *Zakon*, I, pp. 3—27.

611 a further development of this stage with the avunculate as a link between
114 matriarchy and patriarchy.[68] Although the modern Soviet ethnologist is very cautious about what he terms "matriarchal," it is the universality of matriarchy that must be rejected as unfounded.

174 Linguists, especially of the Marr School, have pointed out other vestiges of
611 mother-right in the Caucasus, thus confirming our ethnological argument.[1]

Prehistory too might be able to offer some valuable data, but unfortunately the prehistorian has no way of establishing a connection between his discoveries and the culture of any North Caucasian people. Nevertheless, we can use the prehistorical data at least as a negative argument: the prehistorical discoveries do not exclude the existence of an older, more or less strong mother-right influence. On the contrary, the finds confirm such an opinion. The Copper Age discoveries of the Nalchik, Kuban, and the Kuban-Terek stages point to a society with a matriarchal sib organization.[69]

In other words, we cannot deny the existence of so-called mother-right vestiges, but compared to the numerous typically pastoral nomadic traits in the marriage and family customary laws of the North Caucasians they are quite rare. Nevertheless, the mother-right vestiges are sufficient in number to be a good indication that the family organization was much more matriarchal prior to the influences from Inner Asia than afterwards.[70]

We may ask ourselves the following two important questions: Why are the northwestern marriage and family *adats* the most "pastoral nomadic," the southern the least so, while the northeastern occupy a middle position? Why should the number of so-called mother-right traits be found in the three groups precisely in the reverse order? Caucasology is still too young to allow anyone to venture upon a final and complete solution. Here too we are able to offer only a partial solution.

174 The NORTHWESTERN CAUCASIANS. The true origin of the Cherkess is uncertain. It seems that at one time they were a powerful pastoral people, occupying a vast area, the entire North Caucasian foreland and a large sector of southeastern Europe. The Cherkess legends frequently refer to the steppes, to customs and usages of a distinctly steppe culture.[71] Later on their relations with the various nomadic peoples in this region, especially with the Scythians, Sarmatians, Alans—not to mention the more recent relations with the Ossetes and Turco-Mongols—were by far closer than were those of the other Caucasians. This hypothetical origin and economic life of the Cherkess

[68] Cf. M. O. Kosven, "Avunkulat," SE, 1948, No. 1, pp. 1—46. Also the following by the same author: "Perežitki matriarchata u narodov Kavkaza," SE, 1936, No. 4—5, pp. 211 ff; *Matriarchat, Istorija Problemy*, Izkatel'stvo akademii nauk SSSR, Moskva-Leningrad, 1948, 329 pages; "Ob archivnych materialach po etnografii SSSR," SE, 1936, No. 1, pp. 132—135. See also H. P. Dyrenkova, "Perežitki materinskago roda u altajskich tjurkov," SE, 1937, No. 4, pp. 18—45.

[69] See Table 4.

[70] It is interesting to note that the last two stages of the Caucasian Copper Age (the Kuban and the Kuban-Terek stage) begin to show a distinct rise of male importance through leadership in trade, religion, metallurgy, and cattle-breeding.

[71] R. Bleichsteiner, "Kaukasische Völker," *Reallexikon der Vorgeschichte*, VI, p. 253.

[1] [Cf. cat. 116, pp. 199 f. -- Analyst]

# 115

115 INFORMANTS--identification and characterization of persons serving as sources of information. See also:

Use of informants and interpreters in field research . . . . . 134

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Suvorin, A., *Kornilov's Campaign* (in Russian), Rostov, 1919. 113
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(The above two interesting brochures are published by Loeffler, 585–7 rue de Téké, Pera.)
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Nitti, *L'Europe sans Paix* (contains interesting references to Italian policy in the Caucasus).
Articles in *La Revue de Paris* (October 1919), the *Quarterly Review* (October 1920), the *Contemporary Review* (February 1921), and the *Edinburgh Review* (October 1922).

There is much interesting information in the current numbers of *The Near East*. Reference should also be made to the articles of Mr. D. Ghambashidze and "An Armenian" in *New Europe* for April 25, March 2, and November 28, 1918, and of Mr. P. N. Miliukov and others in *New Russia* for June 24, July 1, July 8, August 5, August 25, October 28, November 18, and November 25, 1920.

[The author is indebted for items of information to Prince Soumbatoff and Mr. Gugushvili of the Georgian Legation in London; to Mr. Krasnokutski, formerly attached to Colonel Chermoiev; to Prince L. Mélikov and Prince I. Dédish-Kéliani of the Georgian Legation in Paris; and to Mr. A. Safrastian of the Armenian Information Bureau in London. From Mme V. Semenov-Tianshanski he has received much assistance in the translation of Russian texts. Finally, he wishes to express his thanks to the staff of the London Library, and most particularly to Mr. J. F. Cox.] 115

# 116

116 TEXTS--a full set of pages from each processed source, arranged in page order, as a means of establishing the context for any particular slip. Sets are arranged in the numerical order of the sources. See also:

Literary texts . . . . . 539

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HANDBOOKS PREPARED UNDER THE DIRECTION OF THE HISTORICAL SECTION OF THE FOREIGN OFFICE.—No. 54

# CAUCASIA

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# EDITORIAL NOTE

127 In the spring of 1917 the Foreign Office, in connexion with the preparation which they were making for the work of the Peace Conference, established a special section whose duty it should be to provide the British Delegates to the Peace Conference with information in the most convenient form—geographical, economic, historical, social, religious, and political—respecting the different countries, districts, islands, &c., with which they might have to deal. In addition, volumes were prepared on certain general subjects, mostly of an historical nature, concerning which it appeared that a special study would be useful.

The historical information was compiled by trained writers on historical subjects, who (in most cases) gave their services without any remuneration. For the geographical sections valuable assistance was given by the Intelligence Division (Naval Staff) of the Admiralty; and for the economic sections, by the War Trade Intelligence Department, which had been established by the Foreign Office. Of the maps accompanying the series, some were prepared by the above-mentioned department of the Admiralty, but the bulk of them were the work of the Geographical Section of the General Staff (Military Intelligence Division) of the War Office.

121 Now that the Conference has nearly completed its task, the Foreign Office, in response to numerous inquiries and requests, has decided to issue the books for public use, believing that they will be useful to students of history, politics, economics, and foreign affairs, to publicists generally and to business men and travellers. It is hardly necessary to say that some of the subjects dealt with in the series have not in fact come under discussion at the Peace Conference; but, as the books treating of them contain valuable information, it has been thought advisable to include them.

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121 It must be understood that, although the series of volumes was prepared under the authority, and is now issued with the sanction, of the Foreign Office, that Office is not to be regarded as guaranteeing the accuracy of every statement which they contain or as identifying itself with all the opinions expressed in the several volumes; the books were not prepared in the Foreign Office itself, but are in the nature of information provided for the Foreign Office and the British Delegation.

The books are now published, with a few exceptions, substantially as they were issued for the use of the Delegates. No attempt has been made to bring them up to date, for, in the first place, such a process would have entailed a great loss of time and a prohibitive expense; and, in the second, the political and other conditions of a great part of Europe and of the Nearer and Middle East are still unsettled and in such a state of flux that any attempt to describe them would have been incorrect or misleading. The books are therefore to be taken as describing, in general, *ante-bellum* conditions, though in a few cases, where it seemed specially desirable, the account has been brought down to a later date.

G. W. PROTHERO,

*General Editor and formerly*
*Director of the Historical Section.*

*January* 1920.

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1.

# I. GEOGRAPHY PHYSICAL AND POLITICAL

## *TRANSCAUCASIA*

### (1) Position and Frontiers

631 131 Transcaucasia in Asiatic Russia consists of the following six Governments, three Provinces, and two Districts:

| | *Square Miles.* | | *Square Miles.* |
|---|---|---|---|
| Black Sea (Chernomoria) . . | 3,220 | Elisavetopol . . | 16,991 |
| Kutais . . . | 8,145 | Batum . . . | 2,693 |
| Tiflis . . . | 15,770 | Kars . . . | 7,239 |
| Baku . . . | 15,061 | Daghestan . . | 11,471 |
| Erivan . . . | 10,725 | Zakatali . . | 1,539 |
| | | Sukhum . . | 2,545 |
| | | Total . . . | 95,399 |

131 The northern boundary (650 miles in length) runs from Cape Taman, on the eastern side of the Straits of Kerch, along the summits of the Caucasian chain as far as Donos Mta, and thence along the north-west frontier of Daghestan to the Bay of Agrakhan on the Caspian. The western frontier, about 400 miles long, is formed by the coast of the Black Sea from the peninsula of Taman to Cape Kopmush, south of Batum. The southern frontier falls into two divisions, the Russo-Turkish and the Russo-Persian. The former starts from Cape Kopmush and runs for 348 miles south-east to Mount Ararat, where the boundaries of Russian, Turkish, and Persian territory meet. The Russo-Persian boundary (350 miles) runs south-east to a few miles east of Ordubad, where it turns to the north-east as far as the village of Karakyavendikli; thence it again turns south-east and finally reaches the

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131 Caspian at Fort St. Nicholas on the Astara. The eastern frontier, some 450 miles in length, is formed by the Caspian Sea from the Bay of Agrakhan to the River Astara.

Geographically Transcaucasia is so placed that, with the development of communications, it should reap considerable advantages from the commercial development both of northern Persia and of north-eastern Asia Minor.

## (2) Surface, Coasts, and River System

### *Surface*

133 Transcaucasia is divided across the centre from west to east by the two valleys of the Rion and Kura, the head-waters of which are separated by the low ridge of the Suram Mountains, connecting the Caucasus with the Armenian Highlands. These valleys run west and east into the Black and Caspian Seas respectively. They are roughly equivalent to the Governments of Kutais (the Rion valley), Tiflis, Elisavetopol, and Baku. The Governments of Kutais and Tiflis and parts of Batum form the region known as Georgia.

The Rion valley is narrowed in its upper part by the mountainous district of Svanetia, but begins to broaden west of Kutais, and becomes a flat, marshy plain. The Kura valley narrows about Tiflis, and then widens till, at the Mughan steppe, it is over 100 miles broad. The valley floor slopes gently east from 1,200 ft. at Tiflis to 500 ft. in the middle of its course, and 85 ft. below sea level at the Caspian. The only interruption is caused by a plateau of between 2,000 and 3,000 ft. along the southern foot-hills of the eastern Caucasus in the region known as Kakhetia.

134 The soil in the Rion and upper Kura valleys is extraordinarily fertile. On the southern slope of the Caucasus, in fact, almost every available patch of ground is successfully utilized for agriculture, even up to a height of 7,000–8,000 ft. Most of the steppes in the lower Kura valley are too dry to be cultivated without the aid of irrigation.

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The Caucasus range dominates the whole of Transcaucasia. It is over 400 miles long, while its outskirts stretch for 150 miles and 100 miles respectively to Baku and Novorossiisk. It runs from west-north-west to east-south-east between 45° and 40° north latitude, and falls naturally into three well-defined sections: a western section from Anapa to the upper valley of the Kodor, not far from Sukhum; the main central section from the upper Kodor valley to Mount Kazbek; and an eastern section, including the Highlands of Daghestan, and extending from Mount Kazbek to Baku.

The *western* section commences with hills, which rise gradually to a height of 7,000 ft. at the source of the Kodor. The mountains fall abruptly to the Black Sea.

The *main central* section is entirely mountainous, the general elevation being within the limit of perpetual snow, which on the north side is 9,500 ft. and on the south 10,800 ft. The five highest peaks are Mount Elbruz (18,470 ft.), Koshtan Tau (16,539 ft.), Dikh Tau (16,925 ft.), Janga (16,660 ft.), and Kazbek (16,546 ft.); and there are many others over 14,000 ft. The chief passes are the Mamison Pass (9,253 ft.), across which runs the Ossetian Military Road, connecting Kutais with Vladikavkaz; and the Dariel Pass (4,122 ft.), over which the Georgian Military Road runs from Vladikavkaz to Tiflis. There are no large lakes, and few tarns.

The *eastern* section broadens as it approaches the Caspian, including on the northern side of the main range a triangular area known as the Daghestan Highlands. The country here is difficult of access, and only one military road leads up from the River Terek in Ciscaucasia, the eleven passes being mere bridle-paths. The general elevation of the main range rarely exceeds the line of perpetual snow, but there are three peaks of over 14,000 ft. From Shemakha the elevation declines rapidly; at Baku there are only low hills. The Gudam Pass, 7,977 ft., which forms the western limit of this section, is the best in Transcaucasia. Over the Vantliashet Pass runs the road from Petrovsk to Tiflis.

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133 The Caucasus is joined to the Little or Anti-Caucasus by the Suram or Mezghian Mountains, a low range averaging 3,627 ft. in height, running from north to south and separating the head-waters of the Rion from those of the Kura.

The Little Caucasus is formed by the eastern and central part of the Russian Armenian Highlands, which occupy the southern half of Transcaucasia, and may be divided into two areas: the mountains which surround Lake Gokcha, of which the highest peak is Mount Alagez (13,436 ft.); and the mountain plateau lying to the west of these, including the plateau on which stand the towns of Alexandropol and Kars. The latter area is somewhat bleak and rugged and is intersected with numerous mountain streams in deeply cut valleys.

The western and southern parts of the Russian Armenian Highlands are composed of spurs of the Pontic Mountains and the Eghri Dagh Mountains. The latter divide the streams which flow into the Black Sea and Caspian from those which enter the Persian Gulf. There is a general elevation of 8,000 ft.; the mountains are bare of timber, have little water, and are very rugged.

The ranges composing western and southern Russian Armenia thus stretch from the south-east corner of the Black Sea 400 miles to the south-east, as far as the Kara Dagh and Salavat Mountains in northern Persia, which link them to the Elburz Mountains at the southern end of the Caspian.

*Coasts*

Transcaucasia includes about 400 miles of the Black Sea coast. From Cape Taman on the eastern side of the Straits of Kerch, as far as the roadstead of Anapa, the coast line is low and monotonous, with sunken reefs close to the shore. From this point south-east to Sukhum, there are steep cliffs, with deep water close inshore, and occasional beaches at the mouths of small rivers. From Sukhum to Nikolaevsk, south of Poti, the coast is low and flat; and inland from Poti there is

an immense flat alluvial plain forming the delta of the 133 rivers Ingur and Rion. South of Nikolaevsk mountains replace the plain. For a few miles south-west of Batum the shore is formed by the flat delta of the Chorokh.

The eastern frontier of Transcaucasia extends for 450 miles along the Caspian Sea. From the Bay of Agrakhan to the small port of Petrovsk the coast is flat and inclined to be marshy. From thence to a few miles south of Derbent (Derbend) it is steep, but drops farther on to a flat area formed by the deltas of many small rivers. After another rise comes the long, low Apsheron Peninsula, off which there are several islands. From Baku the coast line trends south-west as far as Cape Vezir, beyond which is the Gulf of Salyani. The mountains then begin to approach the sea, and rise to a height of 6,000 ft.; they are thickly wooded to the water's edge.

### *River System*

Most of the rivers are mountain torrents, and, with the exception of the wider and navigable portions of the Rion and Kura, they are all at times fordable. As a rule there is most water in them during the summer and least during the winter. The chief rivers are the Rion, Ingur, and Chorokh, flowing into the Black Sea, and the Kura with its affluents, the Alazan and Aras (Araxes), flowing into the Caspian.

The *Rion* (100 miles) rises between Koshtantau and Kazbek and enters the Black Sea at Poti.

The *Ingur* rises in the highest part of the Caucasus, in the north of the Government of Kutais, and flows in a south-westerly direction, reaching the Black Sea at Anaklia.

The *Chorokh* rises in Turkish territory, and only a small part of its course lies within Caucasia. It crosses the border from Turkish Armenia in the neighbourhood of the mountain region of Diduve, south of Artvin, and reaches the sea between Batum and Gonia.

The *Kura* (830 miles) rises in the high plateau north

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133 of Kars and flows north into the Kartalian plain. After turning east through Gori and Tiflis it follows a south-easterly course to the Caspian, which it enters by three mouths. During the months of March, April, and May it is flooded, and inundates the surrounding country at some points to a width of 3 miles. Its chief tributaries are the Alazan on the left bank and the Aras on the right.

The *Aras* (500 miles) rises in Turkish territory, entering Transcaucasia between the villages of Khorasan and Karakurt. It flows east till it is joined on the left bank by the Arpa Chai, passing through the Erivan plateau, and then takes a wide bend towards the south past Nakhichevan as far as Julfa, after which it turns east to Ordubad and then north-east, finally discharging into the Kura. The current is very rapid in the upper course, and also between Julfa and Ordubad, but is moderate from Erivan as far as Nakhichevan. There are many islands in the lower reaches.

In the Russian Armenian Highlands are the only important lakes in Transcaucasia: Gokcha, 540 square miles, at a height of 6,340 ft.; Chaldir, 33 square miles, at a height of 6,520 ft.; and several smaller ones, all at heights between 6,500 and 7,000 ft.

### (3) Climate

132 It is possible to divide Transcaucasia into three climatic areas: the Black Sea basin, the Caspian basin, and the Armenian Highlands.

West of the Suram Mountains, which form a dividing line between the Black Sea and Caspian basins, the atmosphere is moist and temperatures are moderate. The winter is mild, and, though snow falls, it rarely lies; the summer is hot and conditions are unhealthy on the Black Sea littoral. The annual rainfall averages from 60 to 80 inches. Periodical changes of wind are not uncommon, and cause sudden alterations of temperature. The effect of the climate on the country is noticeable;

| | Locality. | Height in feet above sea level. | Mean Temperature in Degrees Fahrenheit. | | | | Annual Rainfall in inches. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | | Jan. | May. | August. | Annual. | |
| Black Sea Basin | Batum . . . | 173 | 41 | 61 | 78 | 58 | 80·15 |
| | Kutais . . . | 480 | 40 | 66 | 76 | 58 | 44·35 |
| | Poti . . . | 10 | 43 | 62 | 76 | 58 | 65·30 |
| | Sukhum . . | 30 | 44 | 64 | 76 | 59 | 40·47 |
| Caspian Sea Basin | Baku . . | 53 | 38 | 64 | 78 | 58 | 12·86 |
| | Lenkoran . . | 65 | 37 | 66 | 77 | 58 | — |
| | Tiflis . . . | 1,343 | 33 | 63 | 76 | 55 | 18·44 |
| | Temir Khan Shura (Daghestan) . | 1,510 | 26 | — | 73 | 51 | 17 to 21 |
| Armenian Highlands | Alexandropol . | 5,090 | 13 | 53 | 66 | 42 | 13·40 |
| | Aralikh . . | 2,606 | 20 | 65 | 79 | 53 | 6·08 |
| | Erivan . . . | 3,174 | 13 | 69 | 80 | 53 | — |
| | Shusha . . | 3,870 | 33 | 56 | 66 | 49 | 20·79 |

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| | Prevailing Wind. | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| | *Winter.* | *Spring.* | *Summer.* |
| | S.E. | — | N.W. |
| | N.E. | N. by E. | W.N.W. |
| | S.E. | S.S.W. | S.W. by N. |
| | S.E. | S.W. | S.W. |
| | — | N.N.W. | N. by E. |
| | N.W. | S.E. | S.E. |
| | N.E. | N. by W. | N.W. |
| | S.W. | — | N.W. |
| | — | N.E. by N. | N.E. |
| | — | N.N.W. | N.W. by N. |
| | — | S.E. | N.E. |
| | — | — | S.E. |

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132 vegetation is abundant, and near the sea semi-tropical in its luxuriance.

East of the Suram Mountains the climate is dry, with extremes of heat and cold. The summer is oppressively hot, particularly in the Kura valley. The Caspian basin, as a whole, suffers from drought, and in the Baku district violent sand and dust storms are common.

The climate in the Armenian Highlands shows characteristics similar to those of the two areas above described. At Alexandropol snow lies till the middle of April, spring lasts a fortnight, and the summer parches the country to the condition of a desert. The Aras valley has a somewhat less rigorous climate.

Recent climatic statistics for the three areas are shown in the table given on p. 7.

### (4) Sanitary Conditions

[-44] Sanitation in anything like the modern sense of the
164 word is practically unknown in Transcaucasia. Medical facilities, except in the larger towns, are practically non-existent. Constant epidemics of malaria are caused by the marshy conditions prevailing on the Black Sea coast, and in the valleys of the Rion, Aras, and Kura. Goitre and epilepsy are common among the natives of Svanetia. Leprosy occurs among the poorer classes of the Persian population. Elisavetopol is notorious for the so-called Sartian sickness, a kind of skin eruption.

### (5) Race and Language

563 Of the numerous peoples represented in Caucasia,
197 some belong to the white race, others to the Mongolian
10 or yellow race.

I. The inhabitants who are of white race belong to the Indo-European, Semitic, or Caucasian families.

*Indo-European Family.*—Everywhere there are *Russian* officials, merchants, and soldiers, and there are also large numbers of peasants, who are either voluntary colonists or religious exiles from European Russia. They speak both Great and Little Russian.

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*Germans*, who came originally from Württemberg, live chiefly in the Tiflis Government and at Helenendorf near Elisavetopol. 543 197 101

There are some 14,000 *Greeks* in Tiflis, near the Turkish frontier, and in Chernomoria. They speak a corrupt form of Greek.

The *Iranians* include *Persians* at Tiflis, who number several thousands; the *Tates*, *Tats*, or *Tads*, descendants of Persian conquerors, who live chiefly in Baku, and speak either Persian or Tatar; the *Talyshes*, who are also of Persian descent, and live in the Lenkoran district; the *Kurds*, who come from the mountains on the Assyrian border, and have spread over a large part of Asia Minor and the Caucasus; and the *Ossetes* (calling themselves *Iron*), who occupy the central mountainous region from Mount Elbruz to Mount Kazbek in the east, and from Vladikavkaz in Ciscaucasia to the district round Dushet and Gori in the Tiflis Government.

The *Armenians* form the merchant and trading class in most of the towns. Armenian peasants are chiefly confined to the Governments of Erivan and Elisavetopol; they are more virile than the townbred Armenians, and cannot be easily distinguished from the Tatars.

*Semitic Family.*—There are over 45,000 *Jews* in the Tiflis and Kutais Governments and in Daghestan. The Jews of Tiflis and Kutais speak Georgian, those of Daghestan local dialects.

*Caucasian Family.*—This family is divided into three groups: the Kartalian or southern, the western Highland, and the eastern Highland. The language of the Kartalian group, except when otherwise stated, is Georgian; there are many dialects. The language is distinct from those of the Indo-European family, but has few affinities with other main Caucasian groups. To the *Kartalian group* belong the *Georgians* or *Gruzians*, who form the majority of the population of the Government of Tiflis, inhabiting the upper reaches of the Kura from Akhaltsikh to below Tiflis

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563 and the Yora and Alazan plains as far as Zakatali.
197 The *Imeretians* live in the Kutais Government, west
101 of the Suram Mountains as far as the River Tskhenis Tskhali. The *Gurians* are found between the Rion and the Chorokh. The *Adzharians* and *Kabuletians* live in the Adzharis Tskhali valley in the Batum Province. The *Khevsurs*, *Tushes*, and *Pshavs* are wild mountain tribes belonging to the central Caucasus. The *Mingrelians* inhabit the country between the Rion, Ingur, Tskhenis Tskhali, and the Black Sea. There are a few *Lazis* in the south-west corner of Transcaucasia; most of this tribe live in Turkish territory in Lazistan. The *Svanetians* live in the valleys of the upper Ingur and Tskhenis Tskhali on the southern slopes of the main Caucasian chain.

[144] To the *western Highland group* belong the tribes who call themselves *Adighé*, but whom the Russians call *Cherkess* (Circassians). They used to inhabit the Caucasus range from Taman to Pitsunda and the left bank of the Kuban in Ciscaucasia. They speak a harsh dialect of their own. The *Abkhasians*, who speak a similar dialect, occupy the Black Sea coast from Pitsunda to the Ingur.

Of the peoples in the *eastern Highland group*, the *Chechentsy* or *Chechens* live mostly in the Terek Province, but there are still a few on the Daghestan frontier. The *Lesghians*, including the *Avar*, *Darginian*, and *Kurinian* tribes, are the chief occupants of the Daghestan Highlands. They speak a guttural dialect of their own, though in the east the Azarbaijan Tatar patois is in common use.

[144] II. Of the peoples of Mongolian race the chief are the *Tatars*, who mostly come from the Persian province of Azarbaijan and occupy both banks of the middle and lower Kura, intermingled with Armenian and Kurd colonies. Their language is akin to Turkish, and is the *lingua franca* of western and southern Transcaucasia. There are a few *Nogaitsy* Tatars in Daghestan.
101 The Tatars in Kars Province are known as the
563 *Karapapakhs*. The *Kumyks*, who live on the Daghestan

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coast north of Derbent, are closely akin to the Azarbaijan Tatars. The *Turks* or *Osmanli* live chiefly in the Provinces of Kars and Batum. In the Province of Kars there are a few *Turcomans*.

To sum up for Transcaucasia, it may be said that the four important peoples are the Russians, Georgians, Armenians, and Tatars. It is upon these peoples and their mutual relations that the future of the country depends.

The official census of 1897 gave statistics of the various peoples in Transcaucasia. Though with regard to the more remote tribes these figures are only approximate, they are the best available and have served as a basis for all subsequent estimates. The distribution of the various peoples is shown in the following table:

GOVERNMENTS AND PROVINCES[1]

| | *Baku.* | *Daghestan.* | *Elisavetopol.* | *Kars.* | *Kutais.* | *Tiflis.* | *Chernomoria.* | *Erivan.* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Abkhasians | 2 | 28 | — | 7 | 59,469 | 46 | 2 | — |
| Armenians | 52,233 | 1,636 | 292,188 | 73,406 | 24,043 | 196,189 | 6,285 | 441,000 |
| Chechens | 10 | 757 | 13 | 63 | 46 | 2,207 | 5 | 3 |
| Cherkess | 18 | 37 | 10 | 71 | 165 | — | 1,939 | 1 |
| Czechs | 149 | 19 | 25 | 11 | 167 | 245 | 1,290 | 36 |
| Georgians | 1,616 | 375 | 1,239 | 526 | 343,929 | 465,537 | 976 | 566 |
| Germans | 3,430 | 261 | 3,194 | 430 | 1,065 | 8,340 | 748 | 210 |
| Greeks | 278 | 38 | 558 | 32,593 | 14,482 | 27,118 | 5,969 | 1,323 |
| Imeretians | 23 | 20 | 119 | 7 | 270,513 | 1,546 | 158 | 9 |
| Jews | 8,172 | 7,361 | 185 | 1,138 | 7,006 | 5,188 | 990 | 850 |
| Kabards | 23 | 31 | — | 19 | 7 | 14 | — | — |
| Karachais | — | 4 | 29 | 6 | 16 | 67 | — | 3 |
| Kumyks | 26 | 51,209 | 2 | 21 | 24 | 25 | 3 | 5 |
| Kurds | 8 | 22 | 3,042 | 42,968 | 1,824 | 2,538 | 22 | 49,389 |
| Lesghians | 62,972 | 450,912 | 22,601 | 524 | 446 | 43,094 | 72 | 124 |
| Lithuanians | 272 | 520 | 116 | 892 | 450 | 1,263 | 47 | 384 |
| Mingrelians | 39 | 10 | 37 | 10 | 238,655 | 498 | 304 | 13 |
| Moldavians | 48 | 66 | 105 | 46 | 197 | 198 | 923 | 29 |
| Nogai | — | 1,909 | — | 1 | — | 18 | — | 12 |
| Osmanli | 1,255 | 18 | 9 | 63,547 | 46,665 | 24,722 | 650 | 245 |
| Ossetes | 113 | 113 | 96 | 520 | 4,240 | 67,268 | 12 | 112 |
| Persians | 5,973 | 1,720 | 338 | 568 | 1,022 | 1,991 | 210 | 235 |
| Poles | 1,439 | 1,630 | 616 | 3,243 | 1,938 | 6,282 | 731 | 1,385 |
| Russians | 77,681 | 16,044 | 17,875 | 27,856 | 23,443 | 85,772 | 34,546 | 13,937 |
| Tatars | 485,146 | 32,143 | 534,086 | 2,347 | 750 | 107,383 | 291 | 313,176 |
| Tates | 89,519 | 2,998 | 1,753 | 6 | 34 | 16 | 2 | 709 |
| Turcomans | 74 | 9 | 4 | 8,442 | 8 | 12 | — | 1 |

[1] The Province of Batum and the District of Sukhum are included in the Government of Kutais. The District of Zakatali is included in the Government of Tiflis.

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563 It will be seen from the above figures that Russians
162 form a majority in Chernomoria only, while the Armenians form a large majority in the Government of Erivan and the Province of Kars, the Georgians in the Governments of Kutais and Tiflis, the Tatars in the Governments of Baku and Elisavetopol, and the Lesghians in Daghestan.

## (6) Population.

### *Distribution and Density*

161 The Russian official census of 1897 gave the total population of Transcaucasia as about 5,565,000. Since then various estimates have been made, based upon this census and the yearly increase of the population so far as it could be ascertained.

*The Statesman's Year Book* for 1918 gives the following statistics (approximate) for the population on January 1, 1915:

| *Area.* | *Population.* | *Density per Square Mile.* |
|---|---|---|
| Baku | 1,119,600 | 75 |
| Batum | 186,000 | 69 |
| Chernomoria | 201,800 | 63 |
| Daghestan | 732,600 | 64 |
| Elisavetopol | 1,117,200 | 66 |
| Erivan | 1,034,800 | 96 |
| Kars | 403,000 | 56 |
| Kutais | 1,070,300 | 130 |
| Sukhum | 147,600 | 58 |
| Tiflis | 1,394,800 | 88 |
| Zakatali | 101,800 | 66 |
| Total | 7,509,500 | 79 |

From this it will be seen that the population is densest in the Governments of Kutais, Erivan, and Tiflis, where the soil is richest and agriculture is the general occupation. The density of the population in the Government of Baku is largely due to the existence of the oil-fields.

### *Towns*

361 *Tiflis* (population in 1913, 327,800) is the capital of
161 Caucasia and the largest town. Next in size is *Baku*

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(population in 1913, 237,000). Other important towns 361
are *Novorossiisk* (66,700), *Elisavetopol* (63,400 in 1910), 161
*Kutais* (53,900), *Batum* (46,000), and *Erivan* (34,000).
For further particulars concerning these see below, pp. 42 and 77.

*Movement*

Recent statistics are not available, but the annual 161
rate of increase can be roughly estimated at 60,000. 165
It is probable that the Armenians increase at a more rapid rate than the other nationalities in Transcaucasia. The death-rate, particularly among children, is certainly high; for this the unhealthy climate in the west, the rigorous winters in the east and central parts, and the ignorance of the natives are responsible.

Accurate statistics of emigration are not available. 167
Since the great migration of the Cherkess (to Anatolia) and other Mohammedan tribes (to Turkey), which depopulated much of the western coast in the latter half of the nineteenth century, emigration has tended to be spasmodic. A certain number of Armenians emigrate to America. Many tribes still live what is practically a nomadic life; and for those who are not too proud to do manual labour the towns form a continual attraction.

Immigrants are largely Russians, both official and non-official. The latter come very largely from South Russia and settle in the central governments or, for industrial purposes, at Baku. There is a small annual influx of foreigners, but not to the same extent as in Ciscaucasia. Periodically there have been Armenian immigrations from Turkish Armenia, though these have lately been regarded unfavourably by the Government.

## *CISCAUCASIA*

### (1) Position and Frontiers

Ciscaucasia, a district of European Russia, is the 131
northern part of the region of Caucasia. It is bounded on the west by the Black Sea and the Sea of Azov;

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131 on the south by the Caucasus and the Province of Daghestan; on the east by the Caspian Sea; and on the north by the Kuma-Manych depression, a chain of narrow shallow lakes and river beds filled at certain seasons with water, connecting the Manych, a tributary of the Don, with the Kuma, which flows into the Caspian Sea.

## (2) Surface, Coasts, and River System

### *Surface*

133 The parts of the Caucasus range which are included in Ciscaucasia are (1) the *Black Sea ridge*, 155 miles in length, stretching from Anapa on the coast to Mount Oshten (9,369 ft.). These mountains are covered with thick woods. (2) The *Kuban Caucasus*, 120 miles in length, which extends from Mount Oshten to Mount Elbruz. Here the heights vary from 3,000 to 6,000 ft. (3) The *Central Caucasus*, which contains various subdivisions, included for the greater part in Transcaucasia.

[487] The passes across the Caucasus from Ciscaucasia to Transcaucasia are few and are at high altitudes, varying from 9,000 to 12,000 ft. above sea-level.

The northern foot-hills of the Caucasus form on both sides of the River Terek the mountainous region of the Kabarda. North-eastwards from this stretches highland country, which merges into a depression northwards from Stavropol. Between these two there rises the isolated mass of the Beshtau Mountains.

The plains of Ciscaucasia slope gently from the base of the Caucasus Mountains towards the Kuma-Manych depression. In the centre is the Stavropol plateau, which varies in height from 2,000 to 2,500 ft. and separates the tributaries of the River Kuban from those of the Terek and the Kuma. Towards the foot-hills of the Caucasus the plateau is covered with dense forests; on the west it merges into steppes or ends in the reedy marshes of the Kuban delta. In the north

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and east the steppes towards the Caspian and the 133
Kuma-Manych depression are barren and stony or sandy.

*Coasts*

The coast of Ciscaucasia is flat, and the only ports [504]
worth noting are Anapa, Temryuk, and Yeisk. The Ciscaucasian shores of the Caspian Sea are surrounded by steppes and are flat throughout. They are formed chiefly of the alluvial land of the deltas of the rivers Terek and Kuma.

*River System*

The rivers of Ciscaucasia rise in the central Caucasus. There are three river basins, corresponding with the three administrative divisions.

The River *Kuban* rises on the northern side of Mount Elbruz. It is formed by the Khursuk and the Uchkulan, which unite at Uchkulan. It retains its character as a mountain stream until it enters the plain at Batalpashinsk, at a height of 1,075 ft. The middle course extends from the Cossack settlement of Nevinnomysk as far as Ekaterinodar. The river bed is wide, but the river itself is a mere streamlet except in times of flood. After the Kuban turns definitely westward the fall is only about 20 inches in a mile.

The largest tributary of the Kuban is the Laba [312]
(200 miles), a canal from which at Chamlik irrigates several thousand acres of steppe land. Another large tributary is the Byeláya (150 miles). The Kuban flows by many mouths, forming several islands and *limans* (marshy lagoons), into the Gulf of Kyzyltash. The river is frozen from December to March. In the lower part of its course inundations are frequent, and the district is marshy.

The *Terek* (382 miles) rises on the slopes of Mount Kazbek at Zilga-Khokh, and pierces the mountain range by the Dariel gorge, which it leaves at Vladikav-

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133 kaz, on the high plains to the north of the Caucasus. The Terek bends first north-west, then east, past Mozdok (altitude 441 ft.) and Kislyar (29 ft. below sea-level), and enters the Caspian Sea by several branches. The delta is sixty miles wide, and the river forms large sand-banks opposite its mouths. It does not freeze every year. The chief tributary is the Zunzha, all the others being mere mountain torrents.

On the left bank of the lower river are great steppes, while shifting sand-dunes cover an extensive tract from Mozdok northwards; near the delta is the depression of Kislyar, covered with impenetrable salt morasses, while to the right of the Terek is fertile country.

The *Kuma* (about 400 miles) rises on the northern slope of the Caucasus, and flows by several branches through the sandy steppes towards the Caspian. At times of flood it reaches the sea, but at other seasons its channels disappear in the sandy steppes along the coast. Its tributaries are the Karamyk, Podkumka, and Buivola.

### (3) Climate

132 The climate is continental, and in the winter the cold is severe.

*Temperature.*

| | *Mean Annual Temp.* | *January (Mean).* | *July (Mean).* |
|---|---|---|---|
| Vladikavkaz (altitude 2,345 ft.) | 47·7° F. | 23° F. | 69° F. |
| Stavropol (altitude 2,030 ft.) | 47° F. | 24° F. | 79° F. |
| Pyatigorsk | 48° F. | 25° F. | 71° F. |

*Annual Rainfall.*

*Terek Province*

| | |
|---|---|
| Mountainous districts | 37 in. |
| Steppes | 10 to 20 in. |

*Vladikavkaz*

34·2 in., of which 25·8 in. falls between April and September.

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In the 'black earth' steppes of Ciscaucasia the maximum rainfall is at the beginning of summer; on the eastern steppes, which extend along the Caspian Sea, the maximum is reached in March. 132

### (4) Sanitary Conditions

The science of hygiene is unknown in Caucasian villages, and medical aid is absent or inaccessible in country districts. Malaria is the characteristic disease of Caucasia, but small-pox, scarlet fever, measles, dysentery, typhus, and pneumonia are prevalent and cause many deaths. 758 164

In the fashionable health resorts, such as Kislovodsk, Jelieźnovodsk and Pyatigozsk, there are very up-to-date sanatoria established on the latest German lines, to which people come from all parts of Russia to take the waters and the cure. 529

### (5) Race and Language

Russians form 34 per cent. of the people of Ciscaucasia, and in the Government of Stavropol amount to 90 per cent. In the Province of Kuban 109 per 1,000 are Cossacks; in Terek the proportion is 179 per 1,000. Tatars live in the east and south-east, where they form 19·3 per cent. of the inhabitants. The remainder consists of Kalmucks, Turcomans, Nogai-Tatars, Armenians, Georgians, Germans, Poles, &c. (See also p. 8.) 162

### (6) Population

The population of the three Ciscaucasian provinces on January 1, 1913, was 5,470,600, distributed as follows:

| | *Rural Population.* | *Urban Population.* | *Total.* |
|---|---|---|---|
| Kuban . . | 2,667,000 | 244,800 | 2,911,800 |
| Stavropol . | 1,232,400 | 79,700 | 1,312,100 |
| Terek . . | 1,015,100 | 231,600 | 1,246,700 |

*Towns*

*Ekaterinodar* (population in 1897, 65,697, now about 107,000), the capital of the Province of Kuban, is 161 361

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161 situated on the left bank of the Kuban river, 100 miles
161 from its mouth and 125 miles south of the Sea of Azov. Other towns are *Anapa* (population in 1897, 6,676), a port; *Batalpashinsk* (8,100); *Maikop* (in 1902, 34,191, now about 50,000); *Temryuk* (in 1897, 14,479), a fortified town and port; *Yeisk* (in 1897, 35,446, now about 50,000), a port on the Sea of Azov.

In the Province of Stavropol, *Stavropol* (population in 1897, 41,621, now about 60,000), which is strongly fortified, is the chief town.

In Terek, *Vladikavkaz* (population in 1897, 49,924, now variously estimated at 53,000 to 79,000) is the capital, and is an important centre of communications. Other towns are *Mozdok* (in 1897, 14,583), 50 miles north of Vladikavkaz; *Georgievsk* (11,532), a fortified town on the Podkumka; *Kislyar* (7,353), on the road from Astrakhan to Derbent; *Kislovodsk* (4,078), a Cossack town with hot saline springs.

On the steppes or prairies of the Caucasian Highlands and along the Kuban river there are many prosperous Cossack villages with considerable populations.

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# II. POLITICAL HISTORY

## Chronological Summary

175

B. C. 323. Conquest by Alexander the Great.
302–237. Pharnawaz expels the Macedonians.
C. A. D. 318. Introduction of Christianity. Conflict with Persia.
371. Shapur II of Persia subdues the country.
446. Vakhtang I. Alliance with Persia.
571. Beginning of Bagratid dynasty.
640–734. Spread of Mohammedanism by the Arabs.
1048–64. Incursions of the Seljuk Turks.
1099–1125. Reign of David II.
1184. Accession of Tamara.
1236. Invasion of Ghenghiz Khan.
1386 and 1393–94. Invasions of Tamerlane.
1442. Partition of Georgia by King Alexander I.
1492. First appeal for Russian assistance.
1586. Defensive treaty with Russia.
1619. Russian intervention between Shah Abbas I and Teimuraz of Kakhetia.
1638. Mingrelia swears allegiance to Russia.
1650. Imeretia swears allegiance to Russia.
1717. Commercial treaty between Peter the Great and Persia.
1722. Russian expedition in the Caucasus.
1724. Russo-Persian Treaty. Cession of Caspian provinces to Russia.
1734. Surrender of Caspian provinces to Persia. Restoration of Bagratid dynasty.
1769. Heraklius obtains Russian assistance against the Turks.
1783. Treaty of Georgievsk. Heraklius declares himself vassal of Russia.
1801. Annexation of Georgia by Russia.
1813. Treaty of Gulistan between Russia and Persia.
1828. Peace of Turkmanchay. Final peace with Persia. War between Russia and Turkey.
1829. Peace of Adrianople.
1830. Risings in Daghestan.
1859. Surrender of Shamyl and his tribesmen.
1877. Russo-Turkish War. Ineffectual risings in the Caucasus.
1878. Treaties of San Stefano and Berlin. Acquisition of Batum, &c. Development of Baku oil-fields.

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175 1902–5. Riots in Baku. Rising in Georgia.
1917. Treaty of Brest-Litovsk. Batum, &c., ceded to Turkey.
1918. Georgian, Armenian, and Daghestan Republics established.

## (1) *Early History*

103 THE Caucasus was well named by the Arabs 'Jebel Assuni', the Mountain of Languages, for the great range shelters as many different tongues as the famous Tower of Babel.

The lands stretching from the valley of the Phasis (Rion) north-eastwards were known to the ancients as Colchis and Iberia. The name 'Georgia' came later to be applied to the kingdom whose nucleus is covered roughly to-day by the Government of Tiflis; at the height of its power Georgia ruled from the Caucasus to the Aras (Araxes), and from the Black Sea to the Caspian.

175 Recognized history begins with the conquest of the country by Alexander the Great in 323 B.C., and the subsequent expulsion of the Macedonian governors by Pharnawaz, son of a prince of the original dynasty and a Persian mother. The chronicles of the period that follows make constant mention of the Abkhasians, who held the Black Sea coast and range from the Phasis north-westwards; of the Asses or Osses (Ossetes), a Median tribe whose territory lay in the hills from Mount Elbruz to the Dariel Pass; and of the incursions of Mongol Khazars and Alans from the steppes of the Caspian Sea, to meet which the fortress of Dariel was built at the northern end of the defile in 140 B.C. Persia, in war and peace, was the predominant factor, though her hold on the allegiance of Caucasia was insecure.

At a later period the introduction of Christianity, about A. D. 318, reopened the conflict with Persia. Shapur II ravaged the country in 371, and the general left by him to hold the conquered lands built a fortress on the site of the present city of Tiflis.

The Georgians now began to seek help from their co-religionists in the Roman Empire, but Persia was

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too near at hand to be resisted; and, when in 446 175 a strong king—Vakhtang I—arose in Georgia, although he re-established Christianity, he adopted a policy of union with Persia and assisted in the campaigns against the Roman Emperor Jovian. Vakhtang not only achieved great military successes, but built schools for his subjects and strengthened his frontiers. He also transferred the capital from Mtskhet to Tiflis.

### (2) *Bagratid Dynasty. Struggle with Islam*

The line of Vakhtang failed in the sixth century; and, Byzantium's power being then in the ascendant, the Georgian throne was filled in 571 by a nominee of the Greek Emperor, one Guram, a Bagratid, whose descendants held the Georgian crown for the next twelve centuries. The supremacy of Byzantium in the Caucasus, always fiercely challenged by Persia, was finally extinguished by the Arabs, who from 640 onwards constantly invaded the Caucasian States and spread Islam amongst the pagan mountaineers. The successes of Musslimieh in 684 and of Abu Moslem in 734 ended in the undisputed sovereignty of the Caliphate; the Bagratid dynasty was, however, confirmed in the possession of the Georgian throne.

In the eleventh century the Seljuk Turks under Toghrul Bey and Alp Arslan twice laid Karthli (Georgia) waste, forced the king to embrace Islam, and sacked Tiflis. But the Georgians still resisted and clung to Christianity; they regained their religion and their freedom under David II, who bears the title of Restorer (1099–1125). The constant wars and invasions had split the country into separate kingdoms; cities and surrounding regions bestowed on emirs, vassals of the Seljuks, constituted a bewildering crowd of Moslem principalities, with each of whom in turn Christian Georgia was at war. The distant successes of the Crusaders had their effect on the Caucasus, and, fighting courageously against the encroaching Moslems, the Bagratid kings gradually won back their lost lands.

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175 The great-granddaughter of David II, Thamar or Tamara, succeeded her warlike father Giorgi III in 1184 and cleared her country of invaders from the Caucasus to the Aras. Her son, Giorgi Lashi, 1212–23, added Gandja (now Elisavetopol) to Georgia; but his sister and successor, Rusudan, offended the Sultan of Khorasan, and his vengeful invasion was followed in 1236 by that of the hordes of Ghenghiz Khan, who ravaged the country and carried off Rusudan's son as hostage. Georgia next passed through the hideous devastations of Tamerlane in 1386 and 1393–4. Alexander I freed the country from Tatar rule (1413–42), but, having united Georgia as in the days of Pharnawaz, Vakhtang, and Tamara, he committed the irreparable error of dividing it between his three sons. Civil war broke out, and Guria, Mingrelia, Svanetia, and Abkhasia were lost for ever to the Georgian kings. Too weak to maintain themselves, the various states became the pawns of the Porte and Persia, the Turks taking Trebizond and Sukhum and establishing their hold on Mingrelia, Guria, and Imeretia, the larger portion of which territories accepted the Moslem faith. Karthli and Kakhetia, nominally under Persian vassalage, cast about for help.

### (3) *Growth of Russian Influence*

On the northern side of the Caucasus, where the Khazars, now displaced by the Tatar hordes, had ruled, the growing power of Russia was making itself felt.

So early as 1492 the King of Kakhetia had sought Russian assistance against the Turks and Persians; and outposts of this new power appeared in the valley of the Terek in 1505, in the shape of Cossacks of Riazan, who, at first fugitives from their Tsar's wrath, were in 1579 holding territory near the present Grozni in the name of the Tsar, Feodor Ivanovich. Alexander II of Kakhetia appealed to him for help against the Tatar Shamkhal of Tarku; and in 1586 a treaty was concluded in which the Tsar exacted a yearly tribute in return

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for his assistance. Co-operation between the new175
allies broke down at the first effort, which resulted in the annihilation of the Russians on the Sulak; and, although the Tsar assumed the titles of 'Lord of the Iberian Lands, of the Tsars of Georgia and of Kabarda', further defeat in 1604, at the hands of the Russian generals Burtuvlin and Pleshchagev, was a poor confirmation of these claims. The Georgians, however, continued to look for Russian intervention. In 1619 Teimuraz of Kakhetia, then in hiding, obtained the Tsar's intercession with Shah Abbas I of Persia, who had driven the last king, Alexander, from his throne on suspicion of treachery.

Mingrelia in 1638, and Imeretia in 1650, swore allegiance to Russia in return for help against the Porte, which the Tsars were not able to furnish; and the appeal of Vakhtang VI of Kakhetia to Peter the Great was little more efficacious. With a view to establishing trade with India by way of the Volga and Caspian, Peter had made a treaty with Persia in 1717, and he undertook an expedition in 1722 ostensibly to avenge an affront to his traders by the Lesghians, who were in revolt against Persia, then in the throes of the Afghan invasion. The expedition was, in fact, merely a pretext for annexing the Caucasian possessions of Persia. Peter took Derbent and Tarku, and established further Cossack settlements between the Terek and those of the Grebentsi, as the Cossacks about Grozni were termed; the treaty concluded by Peter with Turkey and Persia in 1724 gave to Russia Derbent, Baku, Daghestan, Astarabad, and Mazandaran, but acknowledged Turkey's suzerainty over Georgia. After the Persian revolution of 1734, however, Russia surrendered her Persian provinces to Nadir Shah, who expelled the Turks from Georgia, and restored the Bagratid dynasty. The Cossack settlements in the Caucasus remained and increased, gradually including Kumyks, Chechens, and Kabards. In 1763 the Prince of Little Kabarda became an Orthodox Christian and swore allegiance to the Tsar; and the fort of Mozdok was built for his protection

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175 against the Lesghians. While Russia's influence grew in the east, in the western Caucasus the Ottomans took tribute from the Cherkess (Circassians) and the Abkhasians (nominally of the Moslem faith), continued to dominate Mingrelia and Imeretia, and held, as a Pashalik of the Empire, Akhaltsikh, the centre of the slave-trade in Georgian boys and girls. In 1769 King Heraklius (Irakli) of Georgia made an effort to shake off the Turk. Brother-in-arms of Nadir Shah, whom he had accompanied on an expedition to India (1738–39), and who had bestowed on him the crowns of Karthli and Kakhetia in return for his successful campaigns against the Lesghians, Heraklius, though the vassal of Persia, knew her to be helpless from internal troubles, and therefore made an agreement with Russia, which procured him the support of an army under Count Totleben in his effort to deliver Imeretia. Totleben left Heraklius to subdue Akhaltsikh alone, relieved Kutais, failed at Poti, and returned to Russia without accomplishing anything of value. Heraklius continued a valiant struggle against the Turks and the Daghestan tribes, their allies, until Russia's conquest of the Crimea in 1783 again awoke hopes of aid. By the Treaty of Georgievsk (1783) he openly acknowledged himself vassal of the Empress Catherine, who was steadily increasing her grasp of the Caucasus. Vladikavkaz was founded in 1785 on the site of the Ossetian village, Zaluch, adding another link to the chain of forts stretching from the Caspian to the Azov. Ten years later Persia was again strong enough to attempt the recovery of her lost suzerainty; in 1795 Aga Mohammed Khan suddenly marched on Georgia, and, while the Russian general, Count Gudovich, remained inactive, Tiflis was sacked and the country put to fire and sword. Not until the autumn of 1795, when the disaster was complete, did troops under Zubov attack and defeat the Persians at the mouth of the Kura. The Emperor Paul recalled his army next year, and Heraklius died in 1798, leaving his country a prey to Turk and Persian.

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### (4) *Annexation of Georgia*

His son and successor, Giorgi XIII, was utterly unable 175
to cope with the situation, and, in their extremity, the Georgian nobles offered the country to the Tsar. The deed of surrender was signed by the King in 1799, and in 1801 Georgia, Mingrelia, Guria, and Imeretia were declared by the Tsar Alexander I to be Russian provinces. The royal family, except some insurgent members of it, were transferred to Russia, where they received estates and pensions. A Georgian noble, educated in Russia, Prince Tsitsianov, was made Governor of the new territories; the Georgian Church was incorporated with the Russian; the Russian code of laws was established, but modified and adapted at first to national custom and the code of Vakhtang VI.[1] The poverty of Georgia necessitated a large Russian subsidy to maintain the government and troops, the very small existing revenue being devoted to the gradual restoration of the towns. Tsitsianov began the great military road by the pass of Dariel between Vladikavkaz and Tiflis in 1804, stormed Gandja, 1805, and perished before Baku. The Turks held Imeretia against Russia, assisted by King Solomon until his death in 1815; the small kingdom was then absorbed into the other provinces.

### (5) *Treaty of Gulistan*

War continued between Russia and Persia for the possession of Karabagh[2] and Shirwan[3] until 1813, when the Treaty of Gulistan finally ceded them to Russia, together with Sheki, Talish, Gandja, Kuba, and Derbent. It remained to hold the new territories, where the Moslems of Daghestan and Chechnia defied Russia's power for half a century to come. The Cossacks were the means chiefly relied on to overawe

[1] This was superseded by the Russian Code in 1841.
[2] Now the Shusha, Jevanshir, Sangesur, and Jebrail districts.
[3] Now the Shemakha, Geokchai, and Jevat districts of the Baku Government.

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175 the independent mountaineers; forts along the Terek and the Sundja were multiplied. General Yermilov, appointed Governor and commander-in-chief in 1816, grappled with the problem in a spirit of ferocious severity that even outdid that of the tribesmen. The Lesghians were the first to feel the weight of his hand, next the Chechens; but the sullen quiet his methods for the moment produced was broken by war with Persia in 1826.

### (6) *Wars with Persia and Turkey*, 1826–9

Yermilov's strange inactivity at the outset of hostilities caused his recall and the appointment of Prince Paskievich, whose capture of Erivan and other successes resulted in the Peace of Turkmanchay in 1828, by which Russia acquired the khanates of Erivan and Nakhichevan. Paskievich then devoted himself to the Turkish campaign, Russia having taken up the cudgels for Greece. Kars and Akhaltsikh fell successively; and Paskievich, recruiting his ranks from Tatars and Armenians in Transcaucasia, supported by Guria, hitherto suspected of Turkish sympathies, advanced into Armenia and occupied Erzerum. When he retired at the Peace of Adrianople in 1829, the fortresses of Akhalkalaki and Akhaltsikh and the greater part of the pashalik of Akhaltsikh were added to Russia.

### (7) *Muridism; War with the Tribes in Daghestan and Chechnia*, 1830–59

The Mohammedan tribes who had risen in the hills in response to Turkey's call to arms now absorbed Russia's attention. On the extreme west, from the mouth of the Kuban to Mount Elbruz, the Cherkess and Abkhasians, in communication with Turkey by the Black Sea, kept up desultory warfare until 1864. The chief threat to Russia's supremacy lay, however, in the east, in the regions of Chechnia and Daghestan, where the doctrine of Muridism, inciting the tribes to a holy

war against Russia, was preached by the Imams 175
Kaza Mullah, Hamzad Bek, and Shamyl, and in time united the tribesmen from the Caspian to the Dariel Pass. Between the two districts lay tribes submissive to Russian authority, the Khevsurs, Pshavs, Tushes, Svanetians, Ossetes, and Kabards. The forts stretching from the Sea of Azov to the Caspian were held by Cossacks, organized into various *voiskos*, which from 1832 each represented a regiment and became part of the Imperial military organization. The Cossacks kept up the roads and the postal service, provided maintenance for the drafts of Imperial troops sent to reinforce the line, and cultivated the land, drawing labour from the friendly tribes, who were obliged to give their services for fixed periods. The Cossack himself was soldier and farmer in one, ploughing his fields with his gun at his side, ready for the signal of cannon-shots that collected the settlers—two were a call to arms, four signified a raid, eight an attack in force—signals which in case of need were passed from fort to fort. The enemy around them was brave, desperate, animated by religious fervour and by the fierce doctrines and examples of Kaza Mullah, slain at Ginri in 1831, and his disciples, Hamzad Bek and Shamyl, the latter of whom became leader in 1834 and began in failure, through the defection of the Avars, the most powerful of the Daghestan tribes. Four years later, Shamyl's efforts won back the Avars, and by 1845, in spite of frequent reverses, his word swayed the whole country-side.

The absence of roads and the length of the Russian line of communications favoured the tribesmen operating, in Daghestan, on a wild barren plateau intersected by deep ravines, and in Chechnia amid hills covered with dense forests. Punitive expeditions had no lasting effect. The one undertaken by Prince Vorontzov in 1845 against Shamyl's Chechnian stronghold, Dargo, resulted in the loss of two-thirds of the Russian troops in a terrible return march through the forest, and increased the Murids' confidence. Next

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175 year Shamyl broke past the Sundja forts and appeared in Kabarda; but the aid of the western Caucasus failed him. The Russians now adopted a plan, conceived by Yermilov's lieutenant, Veeliamenov, but never before put in practice—that of gradually advancing the Russian defensive line, and of systematically clearing away the forests as the troops closed in on Shamyl. So well aware was the Imam of the value of the screening trees that his law ordained the death of any Murid who should fell one.

Prince Vorontzov's operations were delayed by the events of the Crimean War, made memorable in these regions by General Williams's defence of Kars for five months against overwhelming numbers. The tribesmen took no concerted action with Turkey, and, in spite of the awe Shamyl still inspired, his severity was gradually loosening his hold. Veden, his second stronghold, was captured in 1858, and his escape to the valley of the Andi Koisu only delayed his capture to the following autumn, when he was surrounded at Gunib and taken prisoner by Prince Bariatinski. All the tribes laid down their arms; the reluctant submission of the Abkhasians and Cherkess followed in 1864. These peoples steadily migrated to Turkish territory.

### (8) *War with Turkey*, 1877

When war again broke out in 1877 between Russia and the Porte, Daghestan, Chechnia, Circassia, and Abkhasia rose in response; but there was again no concerted action, and the tribes soon quieted down after the signing of peace. The Treaties of San Stefano and Berlin (1878) added to Russia Kars, Bayazid, the country as far as Soghanlu Dagh (including the valuable rock-salt mine of Kulp), Ardahan, and Batum, which was declared a 'free port' and attracted commercial enterprise. The Baku oil-fields, exploited now by foreign capital, opened up an undreamt-of source of wealth, by which Tatars and Armenians chiefly profited. The Georgians took little part in these

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developments; the people, brave and energetic in national emergencies, were unenterprising and unambitious; the nobles, much impoverished by the Act of Emancipation which restricted their right to the labour of the people, lived on their estates or served in the army; Armenians and Tatars were the energetic elements of the very heterogeneous populations, and many amassed huge fortunes in the oil-fields or concerns connected with them. 175

### (9) *Revolutionary Movement*, 1902–6

It was among these elements that trouble first broke out (1902–5) in the terrible riots at Baku at the time of general unrest in Russia which followed the war with Japan. Political agitation had its effect on the western Georgians, awaking dreams of autonomy which the ill-judged government of the last few years had put them in a state to welcome. The Caucasus was placed under martial law; the outbreaks in the Government of Kutais were suppressed with the utmost severity by General Alikhanov; and during 1906 tranquillity was generally restored. But neither the oil-fields of Baku nor the trade of the port of Batum recovered their former prosperity; and the attitude of the Armenians, whose schools and cherished Church property were threatened by the Russian Government's policy of nationalization, continued to be resentful, while the Pan-Islamic sympathies of the Tatars were carefully encouraged by Turkey.

### (10) *Effect of the Great War*, 1914–18

With the outbreak of the European War in August 1914, the old antagonism of Christian against Moslem reappeared. Russia's successes in Armenia at first held in check the Mohammedan element in her midst; but, after the internal revolution of March 1917, the situation became increasingly difficult. Though till that date Georgians and other Transcaucasians alike

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175 had fought gallantly in the Russian armies, an anti-Russian spirit now began to make itself felt, and in May 1917 Georgia proclaimed the spiritual independence of her Church. Meanwhile, after a period of internecine war, the mountaineers of Daghestan formed a separate republic, which was peaceably disposed towards the temporary republic created in Transcaucasia (see p. 33), where Armenians and Georgian were loyally upholding the Allied cause and keepin the gates against Turkey.

In Georgia the movement for autonomy had been rapidly growing; and on May 26, 1918, two hours after the dissolution of the Transcaucasian Diet—which had been formed from Georgians, Armenians, and Tatars to uphold some form of order—the Georgian National Council, elected in the previous November, proclaimed the independence of their country. Within a week or two, cut off from supplies, and without resources, with the Baku Tatars actively assisting Turkey in the East, the Georgian Republic was obliged to fulfil the terms of the Treaty of Brest-Litovsk and cede to Turkey the disputed districts of Batum, Ardahan, Akhalkalaki, and Akhaltsikh.

Meanwhile the Armenians and Tatars also claim to have established separate independent republics, with capitals respectively at Erivan and Baku. The capital of the Georgian Republic is at Tiflis.

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# III. SOCIAL AND POLITICAL CONDITIONS

## (1) Religious

The State religion of Russia is the Orthodox Faith, 795 to which the Georgians conform. Their independent Church, which broke off from the Armenian in A. D. 542, was absorbed into the Russian Orthodox Church in 1811, and the existing Georgian Church property, amounting to some 700,000,000 roubles, confiscated. The twenty Georgian bishoprics were reduced to six. The Katholikos Patriarch was officially known as the Exarch of Georgia and Archbishop of Karthli and Kakhetia; he had a seat in the Holy Synod at Petersburg.

Since the revolution of 1917 the independence of the Georgian Church has been re-established, and Bishop Kirion has been consecrated Katholikos Patriarch of Georgia.

The Armenians form an independent Church with a Katholikos at Echmiadzin.

There are numerous sects among the Russian settlers (Dukhobortsi, Molokani, or 'milk-eaters', and Skoptsi), who are for the most part nonconformists exiled from Russia. There are also various sects among the Cossacks.

The German colonists are Protestants and sectarians.

The Svanetians, Khevsurs, and Ossetes are nominally Christians of the Orthodox Faith.

The Tates and Azarbaijan Tatars are Shiah Mohammedans.

Chechens, Lesghians, Kabards, Lazis, Cherkess, or Adighé, Abkhasians, Kumyks, and Karachai Tatars are, with rare exceptions, Sunni Mohammedans.

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## (2) Political

631 The title and powers of Viceroy of the Caucasus were revived in 1905; the Viceroyalty had been abolished in 1882 in favour of a Governor-Generalship, directed and controlled by a Caucasian Committee at Petersburg.

The Viceroy's powers comprised:—the supreme civil administration of the Provinces and Governments making up the Caucasus region, the command of all the troops quartered in the Caucasus, the framing of any new regulations necessary in his administration, together with a seat on the Council of the Empire and the title of Ataman of the Cossacks in the Caucasus. There was a civil Governor at the head of each Province or Government (*gubernie*), except those of Daghestan, Sukhum, Batum, and Kars, where the Governor was a military official. The *gubernies* were divided into districts, governed by *nachalniks*, and the districts were divided into communes (*volosts*), each presided over by an elder (*volostnoi starshina*), elected by the community. The *volosts* were made up of villages under elected headmen (*starosts*), assistants to the communal elder. In each village every tenth man had to take his turn in assisting in the preservation of law and order; these were known as tenth men (*desyatniks*).

631 692 There were District Courts (*okrujni sud*) in five Transcaucasian Governments—Tiflis, Kutais, Elisavetopol, Erivan, and Baku. These also constituted courts of appeal from the lower courts. Each minor division had two stipendiary magistrates; civil cases, to the value of 2,000 roubles (£200), appeared before one, and minor police cases before the other. The rural judges (*selskiya sudya*), or the *kandidati* in their stead, investigated all complaints and settled disputes; the number of these *selskiya sudya* could not exceed twelve in each district, and their decisions were subject to the *volostnoi starshina's* approval. Beneath these officials again were elected arbitrators, to settle questions of trespass or damage to property. Appeals

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from the District Courts' decisions could be taken to the 631
Supreme Court at Tiflis, and from that to Peters- 692
burg. The Courts were accessible and cheap, and there was no discrimination between Russian subjects and foreigners in legal proceedings; but judgements given in Russian Courts had no effect in England, nor decisions obtained in England in Russia.

The Cossack communities are divided into *stanitzas* 631
or villages, each *stanitza* having an elected assembly of 563
30 members; in populous *stanitzas* one man is elected from every ten households. These assemblies have wider powers than the usual *mir* or commune, viz. division of land, assessment of taxes, regulation of schools, grain stores, cultivation, &c., and the election of elders (*ataman*) and judges.

When the Revolution occurred in 1917, the Viceroy was recalled, and the various nationalities in the Caucasus arranged representative National Assemblies; but, as chaos in the Empire increased, relations were broken off with the Central Government. A separate [642]
Transcaucasian Republic was formed, in the Government of which Armenians, Tatars, and Georgians were equally represented; and another new state called the Republic of Daghestan, under the presidency of a Lesghian of the Mohammedan faith, also emerged. The Cossacks, however, remained aloof.

## (3) Educational

Public education was in the hands of the State, or was 871
directly controlled by it. The number of persons able [212]
to read or write in the Caucasus in 1912 was only 17 per cent., and the percentage of schools to the population was very low. Some progress was made in the provision of instruction during 1912 and 1913, but the outbreak of war hindered the completion of the various schemes put forward, in particular by the towns of Anapa, Novorossiisk, Yeisk, Temryuk, Maikop, Grozni, Georgievsk, Pyatigorsk, and Stavropol in

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871 Ciscaucasia, and Tiflis and Baku in Transcaucasia. In 1913, 3,665 elementary schools were open, and this number was to be increased to 4,220. Secondary or middle schools, divided into Realgymnasia, Gymnasia, and Progymnasia, were also on the increase. The Province of Kuban had the largest number of secondary schools (27), and the Province of Kars the lowest (2). Schools and institutes for the training of teachers were on the increase, and the Polytechnic Institution in contemplation at Tiflis was to embrace agricultural, chemical, economic, and mechanical sections. £210,512 had been collected for this purpose, of which Baku had contributed £42,105, with the petition that a mining section should be added. The Board of Education in 1913 granted permits for 57 new private schools, of which about 234 existed. Movable summer schools for the education of the nomad tribes were attempted for the first time in 1913 in the Governments of Erivan and Kutais. The industrial schools included 22 secondary and lower-grade technical schools, 5 trade schools, 14 lower-grade trade schools, and 3 charitable trade schools.

## GENERAL OBSERVATIONS

181 For nearly a century this region, inhabited by small nationalities of pronounced racial feelings and varied religions, has been welded together by the constraining force of a single dominant power.

The Mohammedan hill-tribes, conquered by superior force, unprogressive, brave, and violent by nature, valued their lost independence more than the peace which Russia's strong hand and impartial justice secured. The Christians, on the other hand, at first grateful for the protection afforded them, began, with increased education and a higher standard of living, to resent the effects of autocratic government and the cramping economic conditions.

The disturbances of 1902–5, though they were

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sternly repressed, left seeds of unrest behind them; and 181
the provinces were probably on the road to a serious effort to secure autonomy, when the European War, and later the Russian Revolution, shattered the existing system. Since May 26, 1918, when the Transcaucasian [642]
Diet proclaimed its own dissolution, there have existed three independent republics in what used to be Russian Caucasia—the Armenian Republic, the Georgian Rep' blic, and a Tatar Republic in the eastern Caucasus. Of these the eastern republic presents by far the most formidable problem. It is manifestly impossible to leave the Tatars of the eastern Caucasus, with the wild hill-tribes of Daghestan, to their own devices. The vital importance to Europe of the oil-fields in this region makes the problem here exceptionally pressing.

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# IV. ECONOMIC CONDITIONS

## (A) MEANS OF COMMUNICATION

### (1) Internal

#### (a) *Roads*

491 In an area of 181,173 square miles there were in the Caucasus in 1912 only 1,950 miles of macadamized road and 5,300 miles of unmetalled road. Progress was being made in some parts, but in others the roads were falling into disrepair. After the outbreak of war important work was carried out on some of the main roads, and in 1915 and 1916 several new military roads were constructed over the Turkish frontier.

The main artery of the country, running from north to south, is the Mozdok–Vladikavkaz–Tiflis–Erivan road, 382 miles in length. The Vladikavkaz–Tiflis section, which crosses the main range of the Caucasus by the Dariel Pass, is known as the Georgian Military Road, and is a fine piece of engineering. There is a motor-car service, run by a French company, along this section.

Two unmetalled roads lead northward from Mozdok—the one runs north-west to Alexandrovskoe, whence a metalled continuation goes to meet at about 25 miles north-east of Stavropol a metalled road from Stavropol to Divnoe near the Astrakhan frontier; the other runs north-east into Astrakhan, dividing at Senkina, some 15 miles from Mozdok, into two branches, both of which eventually cross the border.

A road runs south-westward from Tiflis to Kars, a distance of 167 miles, and is metalled for part of the way.

An important road, the Ossetian Military Road, runs north-west from Vladikavkaz to Ardonskaya and thence

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south-west to Kutais, a distance of 191 miles. It 491
crosses the Caucasian main range by the Mamison Pass.

The most important road from west to east is the Kutais–Tiflis–Elisavetopol–Shemakha–Baku road, with a total length of 542 miles. The Kutais–Tiflis section is known as the Imeretian Military Road.

There are also coast roads along the shores of the Black and Caspian Seas:

On the Black Sea coast a metalled road begins at Anapa, passes through Novorossiisk, 30 miles to the south-east, and runs along the coast to Sukhum and Ochemchiri, where it turns inland, dividing at Novo-Senaki into two branches which meet again at Kutais. The coast section was being improved in 1913.

Other roads terminating on the Black Sea coast are the Armavir–Maikop–Tuapse road, 166 miles long, the Akhaltsikh–Batum road, 110 miles long, and the Akhalkalaki–Artvin–Batum road, 200 miles long. The first of these is now to some extent superseded by the recently constructed railway following the same course. Batum lacks road connexions with the north.

Along the Caspian coast there is a road, for the most part unmetalled, from Astrakhan to Baku, a distance of 600 miles; and there is a road, metalled except where it crosses the Vantliashet Pass, from Petrovsk, on the Caspian, to Tiflis.

Road communications between the Caucasus and Russia are very few, the only ones of importance being the above-mentioned road along the Caspian littoral and one from Stavropol to Rostov-on-Don.

### (*b*) *Rivers and Canals*

Few of the numerous rivers of the Caucasus are 133
navigable, and those are used to a limited extent only 505
for transport. The floating of timber to the seaboard for shipment is the principal traffic in almost every case.

In Ciscaucasia the Kuban and the Terek have navigable stretches. The *Kuban*, which flows into the

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133 Sea of Azov, is navigable by light-draught steamers for
505 141 miles from its mouth. On the river and the various tributaries forming its basin there are 964 miles of water suitable for floating timber. The *Terek*, which flows into the Caspian, is navigable by light vessels for 112 miles from its mouth, but there is no steamer traffic. Timber can be floated for 320 miles. It has no tributaries of importance.

In Transcaucasia the navigable rivers are the Chorokh and Rion, emptying into the Black Sea, and the Kura, emptying into the Caspian. The *Rion* is navigable for 83 miles from its mouth at Poti, but no steamers can be used. Timber is floated or rafted for 123 miles. The *Kura* is navigable for 390 miles from its mouth, and of this distance 197 miles are suitable for steamers. Including its tributaries, the basin of the Kura provides 1,098 miles of water upon which timber-floating is possible.

[656] All these navigable waters were under the care of the State, which, through the Ministry of Ways and Communications, was responsible for their maintenance and improvement.

There are no navigable canals in the Caucasus. For irrigation canals, see p. 59.

### (c) *Railways*

496 In 1912 there were 2,442 miles of railway in the Caucasus. 994 miles being in Ciscaucasia and 1,448 miles in Transcaucasia. These are generally of 5-ft. gauge, and, with certain exceptions indicated below, are of single track.

*Principal Railways.*—There are two principal railway systems—the Vladikavkaz and the Transcaucasian.
[471] Both were constructed and maintained originally by private companies, but the latter was acquired by the State in 1906.

(i) The main line of the *Vladikavkaz Railway*, 819 miles in length, runs from Rostov-on-Don (where con-

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nexion is made with all parts of Russia) to Baku, *via* 496
Tikhoretskaya, Kavkazkaya, Armavir, Mineralniyavodi, Beslan, Grozni, Petrovsk, and Derbent. From Tikhoretskaya to Mineralniyavodi the track is double.

There are four principal branches: one runs from Tikhoretskaya to Tsaritsin on the Volga, 333 miles; another from Tikhoretskaya to Ekaterinodar, and thence as a double line to Novorossiisk, 170 miles in all; a third from Kavkazkaya to Ekaterinodar, 85 miles; and a fourth from Kavkazkaya to Stavropol, 93 miles. There are also short branches from Mineralniyavodi to Kislovodsk and other watering-places, from Kotlyarevskaya to Nalchik, and from Beslan to Vladikavkaz.

The Vladikavkaz Railway is considered to be one 473
of the most profitable and best-managed private lines 496
in Russia. The company's original concession expired in 1911, but was renewed for fifteen years, and thereupon various improvements and plans for new branches and terminal facilities were undertaken.

The receipts in 1912 amounted to £5,845,100, and the expenses to £3,137,400, leaving a net profit of £2,707,700, less the sum of £348,400, which the State received in accordance with the rate fixed in the company's statutes. In 1910, the latest year for which such figures are available, the railway carried about 8,000,000 tons of goods.

(ii) The *Transcaucasian Railway* runs from Batum 496
to Baku, a distance of 563 miles, *via* Samtredi, Rion, 475
Sharopan, Michailovo, Tiflis, and Elisavetopol. From Akstafa to Elisavetopol and from Adji-Kabul to Baku the track is double. The railway also owns an 8-in. [315]
pipe line from Baku to Batum, which is capable of delivering 1,600,000 tons of oil per annum.

There are six principal branches: from Samtredi to Poti (41 miles); from Rion, *via* Kutais, to Tkvibuli (33 miles), serving the coal-mines at the latter place; from Sharopan to Sachkeri (narrow gauge, 33 miles), serving the Chiaturi manganese mines; from Michailovo, *via* Borzhom, to Bakuriani; from Tiflis, *via* Alexandropol and Kars, to Sarykamish (226 miles), with

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496 a branch from Alexandropol to Julfa on the Persian
475 border (206 miles), and thence to Tabriz; and from Baku to Sabunchi (double track, 12 miles), with a single-track branch (3 miles) to the Surachani oil-field.

The receipts of the Transcaucasian Railway in 1911, the latest year for which figures are available, were £1,983,455, and the expenses £1,293,485. In 1910 the railway carried 6,000,000 tons of goods. The working of the railway was said to give cause for dissatisfaction in many respects. High freights, deficient rolling-stock, and undue delays were complained of by traders; but though the management made promises of amendment, these had not been fulfilled when war broke out.

473 (iii) An independent company, the *Armavir–Tuapse*
496 *Railway Company*, was the owner of the line, 166 miles long, which runs from Armavir through the Maikop oil-fields to the port of Tuapse. This line was provisionally opened for traffic in 1914 and completed in 1916. No figures as to its working are yet available. Proposed extensions are referred to below.

499 *Railways under construction.*—Eight short lines in the north-western districts of Ciscaucasia were surveyed or under construction in 1914. Their object was to serve agricultural interests in this area. A line along the valley of the Terek to serve Mozdok and shorten the main line to Baku was also being built.

In Transcaucasia the principal lines under construction were extensions into Turkish Armenia, at the time of the invasion of that province by the Russians in 1915–16. A line from Tiflis to Telav, 116 miles long, under construction by an independent company, financed by Georgian landowners, was almost finished in 1914. It was intended to tap a wine-growing district.

*Projected Railways.*—Extensive additions to the Caucasian railway systems had been planned and in some cases surveyed, and money had been raised for their construction when war broke out.

The most important was the Black Sea coast line

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from Tuapse to Novo-Senaki on the Transcaucasian 499
Railway, a distance of 267 miles, which had been undertaken by an independent company, the Kuban–Black Sea Railway Company.

A company called the South Caucasian Railway Company had received a concession for a line from Borzhom to Kars with a branch to Olti, a coal-mining centre, and a line had also been projected from Batum to Kars along the valley of the Chorokh.

The Armavir–Tuapse Railway Company had two extensions in view: one from Armavir to Blagodarnoe (299 miles) to serve Stavropol Province, the other from Kurgannoi to Ust Labinskaya, a narrow-gauge line.

A concession had been granted for a line from Evlakh, a station on the Transcaucasian Railway between Elisavetopol and Baku, to Shusha, 59 miles to the south.

A Caspian coast line from the point south-west of Baku where the main Transcaucasian line turns inland, *via* Salyani and Lenkoran, to Astara, on the Persian frontier, had been planned; and a syndicate for its construction was being formed in 1914.

The question of a railway between Vladikavkaz and Tiflis has been discussed for many years, but the schemes for its construction have all proved abortive on account of the difficulties and high cost of crossing the Caucasus range.

When war broke out railway-building, except on the routes into Turkish Armenia, which were exclusively of military importance, came to a standstill, and all plans for the future fell into abeyance. That construction should begin again is very necessary, for the existing lines are quite inadequate to the economic requirements of the country.

### (d) *Posts, Telegraphs, and Telephones*

The postal service was organized on the European 205
model, and there were the usual facilities for sending money by post. The practice of sending parcels, cash

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205 on delivery, was in existence. Parcels in transit for Persia went duty free.

206 All the principal towns have telegraphic communication with other parts of the Caucasus and with Russia. The lines follow the railway routes, and towns not on these are connected with the main telegraph system by branch lines.

Telephonic communication between Tiflis and Baku was established in 1911, and it was intended, should the innovation prove a financial success, to extend the system to other large towns.

## (2) External

### (a) *Ports and Roadsteads*

(i) *On the Black Sea.*

504 In *Anapa Roads* are two anchorages, the outer exposed from north-west to south-south-west, the inner (for small craft) sheltered from south-west winds. A pier, 175 yds. long, runs out on the north of the town. The Government proposed to carry out harbour works there. The port does a small trade in grain, fur, and wax.

*Batum.*—The bay of Batum is about a mile and a half wide from east to west and half a mile deep from north to south. From the southern shore, in a north-north-westerly direction, extends a mole 275 yds. long, from the head of which another mole, known as the Petroleum Mole, carrying rails and petroleum pipe lines, runs south-west for 440 yds. The harbour thus formed, known as the Western or Petroleum Harbour, has a dredged depth of 24–30 ft., with berths for 20 steamers. A breakwater running north-east from the first mole for 275 yds. forms the Eastern or Coasting Trade Harbour, which is only 7–17 ft. deep, and needs constant dredging. There is also a mole, 200 yds. long and 60 yds. wide, extending towards the north-north-east from the north-western

extremity of Burun Tabia, which is the western point [504] of the bay.

The harbours, though approachable in all weathers, are exposed to the violence of south-westerly gales; and in 1910 the British Consul stated that complaints were general with regard to their unsafe condition. In 1911, on the subsidence of one of the moles, [455] a scheme was framed which comprised considerable extensions and improvements. The funds provided by the Congress of Harbour Authorities were at first insufficient, but in 1913 the sum of £750,000 was provisionally assigned. The preliminary work and surveys were completed by June of the following year, but on the outbreak of war the undertaking had to be abandoned.

The dangers incurred by shipping in bad weather and the inadequacy of the port to deal with increased traffic resulting from the manganese trade have for years impeded the commercial development of Batum. From 1878 to 1886, however, it enjoyed eight years of exceptional prosperity as a 'free port'. Even after the withdrawal of this privilege in 1886, the petroleum [459] export maintained trade at a high level until the labour disturbances of 1903–5, from the disastrous effects of which the port has not yet recovered. The total value of its trade in 1913 was £5,134,732, of which £4,552,200 represented exports and £582,532 imports. Coasting trade, carried on exclusively by Russian ships, was very prosperous in that year.

*Gagri* is an open roadstead, providing anchorage for small vessels in 5–6 fathoms. The Government had in contemplation a scheme to build a harbour of refuge there, for which a sum of £211,000 was assigned in 1913.

*Gelendjik Bay*, which is 2½ miles long and 1½ miles deep, is sheltered from the violent north-east winds. Light vessels find good anchorage in 12 ft. of water.

The open roadstead at *Gudaut* is used by coasters only.

*Novorossiisk* harbour has been artificially formed by the construction of two moles, each half a mile long. On

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504 the shore front there are 7 piers with depths varying
[438] from 19 to 29 ft. at their outer ends. Five of these piers are owned by the Vladikavkaz Railway Company, one by the Russian Steam Navigation and Trading Company, and one by the Russian Standard Oil Company, and all are connected by double lines of rail with the *terminus* railway station. There is also on the south-west of the harbour a mole, used by coasters, with a depth of 23 ft. alongside. Altogether, there are berths for about 22 steamers.

In autumn and winter anchorage at the head of the bay is rendered very unsafe by the *bora*, a violent north-easterly wind which then prevails; vessels are sometimes unable even to enter.

The harbour is lit by electric light and there are ample loading facilities. The Vladikavkaz Railway storehouses can take 70,000 tons of grain. An iron foundry close to the harbour makes marine boilers and executes repairs.

[439] Novorossiisk has a considerable export trade in grain and mineral oil, amounting to about £5,000,000 a year in value. The imports are inconsiderable, and consist chiefly of machinery, hardware, and coal.

*Poti* harbour affords safe protection to shipping, but is practically unapproachable in bad weather. An outer and inner basin are formed by two moles built of concrete blocks. Another mole in the middle of the outer basin carries two lines of rails and several large sheds. In the inner basin there are berths for eight or ten steamers and an elevator for loading manganese. The length of quayage is 1,500 yds.

[439] In 1913 the value of the exports, of which manganese was by far the most important, was £835,972, whilst the value of the imports for the same year was only £7,350.

*Sochi* is used by sailing vessels, which anchor off Sochi town in 16 fathoms. Steam vessels are able to anchor closer inshore. Sochi was included in the Government scheme for the construction of ports of refuge on this coast.

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*Sukhum Kale* in Sukhum Bay affords indifferent 504
anchorage in 6–8 fathoms. There is a quay, 56 yds. long, built on piles. A sum of £370,000 was assigned in 1913 for improvements to this port.

*Tuapse* roadstead, open to the south and south-west, is protected from north-west winds, and affords good anchorage in 6 fathoms. Two moles, half a mile apart, converge to form the old harbour, the depth inside the eastern mole being 23 ft. When the railway was brought to Tuapse, it was realized that the existing harbour accommodation would be inadequate. A concession to build a safe harbour was [653] granted to a French firm in 1909, but, as they failed to fulfil their agreement, the State took the work over in 1913, and it was nearing completion in the autumn of 1914.

(ii) *On the Sea of Azov.*

The Caucasian ports on the Sea of Azov are as yet undeveloped, and relatively unimportant.

*Akhtar Bay* is so shallow that steamers have to anchor 9 miles from the coast, steam barges bringing out the cargoes.

*Temryuk* stands on a peninsula dividing two shallow lakes. Its harbour is connected with the sea by a channel 12 ft. deep, navigable by light-draught steamers. There are two piers, but vessels anchor out in the bay. A considerable trade is done in grain and fish.

*Yeisk* stands at the base of a sandy spit, on the east of which an artificial harbour has been dredged to a depth of 12 ft., with an inner basin 350 yds. long. Projects have been considered for the construction of a deep water port there, to be connected with Ekaterinodar by a branch line.

(iii) *On the Caspian Sea.*

*Baku* stands on a crescent-shaped bay, 7 miles wide from point to point, protected on the south by Cape

504 Bailov, and on the east by the Kargin Islands, which lie at the entrance to the bay, 7 miles out at sea. A line of quays extends 4 miles, and there are 14 piers, owned by various shipping companies, each company [655] having its own wharf, warehouses, and offices. In 1914 the State assigned £100,000 for the building of other wharves, although there was already ample accommodation for the steamers engaged in oil transport and in the Transcaspian trade. At Cape Bailov there is a capacious dock.

*Derbent* (Derbend), 154 miles to the north-west of Baku, is an open roadstead, affording no protection from the north and south-east winds, which blow with great violence at certain seasons. There are no harbour facilities, but various shipping lines visit the port regularly. There is a considerable local trade in fish.

*Lenkoran*, on a shallow bay, offers only exposed and indifferent anchorage. Large ships lie 3 miles out to sea. There is a considerable trade in boxwood.

*Petrovsk*, 81 miles north-west of Derbent, has a fair harbour, formed by a curved stone mole, 500 yds. long, on the south. There is a wooden pier on the north, and both mole and pier are connected by lines of rails with the railway station. There are berths for about 10 steamers. The quays and wharves are lit with electric light. The port is closed by ice in January only, and in the winter months, when the Volga is [439] frozen, Petrovsk does a considerable transit trade between Russia in Europe on the one side and Persia and Transcaspia on the other. It also exports oil from Grozni to the Volga. All the Caspian Sea steamship companies call at Petrovsk regularly.

### (b) *Shipping Lines*

505 (i) *Russian.*—The Russian Steam Navigation and [4-F] Trading Co. had almost a monopoly of the Black Sea shipping services, and, under a contract due to expire in 1928, received an annual subsidy of £98,000 from the State. It had piers at the ports of Batum and

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Novorossiisk. Its vessels called four times a week at 505 Batum, three times a week at Poti, Gagri, Sukhum Kale, Sochi, Tuapse, and Anapa Roads, and once a week at Gelendjik Bay. In 1914 it possessed 70 steamers with a total tonnage of 142,264.

The Russian Volunteer Fleet Association called at various ports on the Black Sea and the Sea of Azov; in 1914 it had 31 steamers with a total tonnage of 116,264.

The Caucasus and Mercury Co. had 39 steamers, with a total tonnage of 16,504 on the Caspian Sea, and received a grant of £30,350 per annum for its Caspian and Volga services. In 1913 the company demanded an increase to £67,000, which was refused. It had a regular service between Baku, Astrakhan, Krasnovodsk, and smaller Caspian ports.

Other Russian shipowners serving the ports of the Caucasus in 1914 were, on the Black Sea, L. L. Andreis with 12 steamers, Ehrtmann & Geelmuyden with 2 steamers, both of Novorossiisk, and P. Spoliansky of Batum with 2 steamers; on the Caspian, the Eastern Trading Co. with 34 steamers, the Mazut Co. with 14 steamers, the Nadejda Co. (affiliated to the Caucasus and Mercury Co.), Nobel Brothers, and Kachtcheef Brothers.

(ii) *Foreign.*—The Wilson Line, the Oesterreichischer Lloyd, and the Navigazione Generale Italiana had regular services to Batum, Novorossiisk, and Poti; the Compagnie de Navigation Paquet, the Messageries Maritimes, and the Deutsche Levante Linie regular services to Batum and Novorossiisk, and boats calling occasionally at Poti; the Cunard and Moss Companies regular services to Batum only. Vessels of the Ellerman Line called occasionally at Batum, and those of the Danube Steam Navigation Co. (Rumanian) at Batum and Novorossiisk.

A good deal of 'tramp' tonnage was attracted to the Black Sea, especially in the autumn, when grain shipment from Novorossiisk was brisk. The vessels were of all nationalities, but British shipping easily held

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505 first place, followed, up to the outbreak of the Balkan War, by vessels under the Greek flag. Only Russian-owned vessels trade on the Caspian Sea.

Shipping facilities both on the Black and Caspian Seas were equal to all demands; on the former the majority of the vessels from abroad arrived in ballast, as imports nowhere balanced exports.

Particulars of shipping at the principal ports in 1909 and 1913 are given in Table I of the Appendix (p. 92).

### (c) *Telegraphic and Wireless Communications*

206 The Indo-European Telegraph Co. has a line running from Julfa by Erivan, Tiflis, Zugdidi, Sukhum Kale, Tuapse, Ekaterinodar, and Temryuk to Chushka Point, whence two submarine cables belonging to the company cross the Kerch Straits to Yenikale. Land telegraph lines connect Batum with Constantinople *via* Trebizond. A submarine cable connects Baku with Krasnovodsk in Transcaspia.

Batum possesses a wireless telegraph station, installed in 1911, in communication with Sevastopol. A wireless station with a range of 267 miles connects Petrovsk with Fort Alexandrovsk in Transcaspia, and another of the same power was opened at Baku in 1914. Funds were assigned in that year for erecting stations at Novorossiisk and Poti.

## (B) INDUSTRY

### (1) Labour

#### (a) *Labour Supply; Immigration and Emigration*

463 Agriculture forms the occupation of the majority of
181 the inhabitants of the Caucasus, though in many cases it is pursued in combination with other activities. The numerous peoples of which the population consists (see above, pp. 8–12)* naturally show very various capacities for labour and prejudices with regard to it. The people of Caucasian or Georgian stock are cultivators of the land and keepers of flocks and herds, with little taste

* [see cat. 116 -- Analyst]

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for industrial work; many of them, especially those of the mountainous districts, are very backward (as are also the Kurds and Ossetes), but the Lesghians and Gruzians are reliable and hard-working, and constitute the best native labour supply. The Armenians, on the other hand, find their most congenial employment in trade and usury, though a good many of them are employed on the oil-fields; the Russian colonists make good agriculturists, but are often idle and intemperate; while the Tatars, who in general are farmers and breeders of sheep and cattle, are also the predominant element on the Baku oil-fields. 463 181

The native labour supply, however, is insufficient for the country's requirements on the oil-fields and elsewhere, and there has been a considerable *immigration* for some years past, the chief sources being as follows: 464 167

(i) *Russian.* — When Transcaucasia came under Russian rule in 1878, the State replaced the many Abkhasians and Circassians who left the country by considerable numbers of Russian colonists. Russian settlers have been planted by the State on the reclaimed lands of the Mughan and Mil steppes. There is a seasonal movement of some 300,000 labourers from Central Russia into Ciscaucasia for the harvest. *Artels*, or combines of Russian skilled workers, numbering from 10 to 50 persons, move about the country undertaking various sorts of contract work, and earn high wages.

(ii) *Armenian.*—Except in the two or three years following the establishment of the Young Turk Government, there has been a steady stream of immigration from Turkish Armenia to the Caucasus. This immigration increased during the persecution of the Armenians in 1915, but the fate of the refugees since the Turco-German occupation of the Caucasus is uncertain. Echmiadzin, in the Government of Erivan, the residence of the Armenian Patriarch, was regarded as the national capital of the Armenians.

(iii) *Turkish* labour is imported for the tea plantations on the Black Sea coast, and for the copper mines in the Batum district.

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464 (iv) *Persians* go to the Baku oil-fields as tub-cleaners,
167 &c.

(v) Induced by the demand for labour on railway construction and other public works, a considerable number of *Italians* immigrated into Transcaucasia about the middle of last century, and remained there in scattered communities. There is also a small seasonal immigration of Italians, chiefly masons, road-makers, and sculptors, which increases whenever new public works are taken in hand.

(vi) A few *Greeks* enter Caucasia, mainly to work in the copper mines.

(vii) There are a few villages inhabited by *German* immigrants of long standing, representing, as in Hungary, early German efforts at colonization.

167 There has been no *emigration* worth mention since the beginning of the present century, except that in 1910 a number of Turkish Armenians returned to their native country, hoping that the Young Turk revolution would secure better political conditions for their race.

### (*b*) *Labour Conditions*

466 Since the revolutionary disturbances at Baku in 1902–5 (see above, p. 29) the conditions of labour in the Caucasus have steadily improved, in spite of the difficulties placed in the way of labour organization
468 by the diversity of nationalities involved. There have been frequent strikes. In 1913 manganese miners, case and can factory hands, copper miners at Dzansul, dock labourers at Poti, and the employees of the Russian Steam Navigation and Trading Company struck for shorter hours, increased pay, and better housing. These movements met with varying degrees of success; an average advance of 30 per cent. in the rate of wages was effected and an eight-hours day was generally conceded. In May 1914 there was a general strike on the Baku fields, the demands including recognition of workmen's committees, better conditions both in the workshops and in the workers'

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own homes, and a rise of from 10 per cent. to 50 per 468
cent. in the rates of pay. A promise of improved housing had been obtained when war broke out, and the men returned to work.

In the matter of wages, the demand at Baku was for 465
a minimum of £3 10*s.* a month; in 1908 an ordinary labourer on the oil-fields had earned only from 32*s.* to 40*s.* a month. In other industries ordinary labourers received from 2*s.* 6*d.* to 5*s.* a day, artisans from 5*s.* to 7*s.* 6*d.*, and miners from 5*s.* to 8*s.* 4*d.* Italian masons were paid from 3*s.* 4*d.* to 6*s.* 8*d.* a day. Agricultural labourers in 1913 were receiving from about 1*s.* 7*d.* to about 2*s.* 2*d.* a day, wages being highest in Kutais and lowest in Terek. Female labour, which is much used both in agriculture and in industry, is very poorly paid.

Since 1912 accident and sickness insurance has been 745
compulsory for large industrial concerns. Medical attendance, maintenance during illness, and pensions for totally disabled workmen and for the dependants of workmen accidentally killed in their employers' service, have to be provided by the employers.

## (2) Agriculture

### (*a*) *Products of Commercial Value.*

*Vegetable Products.—Cereals* grow well in the soil of 243
Ciscaucasia, which is a continuation of the 'black earth' 311
of southern Russia. The area planted with *wheat* in 1914 throughout the country was 12,700,000 acres, yielding nearly 3,000,000 tons of grain; nearly 5,000,000 acres were in Kuban and over 4,000,000 in Stavropol. The area under *barley* in the two divisions of Caucasia in 1914 was about 5,500,000 acres (yielding 1,600,000 tons), and of these more than 4,000,000 were in Ciscaucasia—2,000,000 in Kuban, 1,600,000 in Stavropol, and the rest in Terek. Between 1911 and 1915 Ciscaucasia produced on an average one-third of the total output of winter wheat in the whole Russian Empire and about 15 per cent. of the entire yield of

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243 wheat and barley. Considerable quantities of both
311 wheat and barley are also grown in the eastern and central parts of Transcaucasia, the area under wheat in 1914 being 475,000 acres in Baku, 692,000 in Elisavetopol, and 680,000 in Tiflis, and that under barley, which thrives up to an elevation of 8,000 ft., being 248,000 acres, 329,000 acres, and 318,000 acres respectively in the same three governments.

*Maize* is the cereal most widely cultivated in north-western Transcaucasia, where it forms the principal food of the population, and whence it is also exported to Europe and Turkey. In Kutais the crop covered 466,000 acres in 1914; and in the little coastal district of Sukhum more than 100,000 acres. The acreage under maize in the whole country was 1,440,000, of which 670,000 acres were in Transcaucasia. Of the 770,000 acres sown in Ciscaucasia, 561,000 were in Terek. The total production of maize in 1914 amounted to 481,000 tons. *Millet* is almost entirely confined to Ciscaucasia, which in 1914, out of a total of 951,000 acres, yielding 355,000 tons, could claim 895,000 acres, more than half of them in Terek and most of the remainder in Stavropol. *Oats* are even more exclusively a product of the northern provinces, for in 1914, of a total of 1,056,000 acres, 512,000 were in Kuban, 301,000 in Stavropol, and 204,000 in Terek. The total yield was 441,000 tons. *Rye* is the least popular of the cereals, there being only 407,000 acres under this crop in the north, of which 246,000 were in Kuban, and 133,000 in the south, of which 75,000 were in Elisavetopol. The total yield was 137,000 tons. The growing of *rice* is decreasing; the yield in 1914 was 28,000 tons, and the area under cultivation 78,000 acres.

248 *Cotton*, first grown in the Government of Kutais in 1860, had come before the war to be cultivated over considerable areas in Elisavetopol and Erivan, and to a smaller extent in Baku, Tiflis, and Kutais, while a beginning had been made in Sukhum and Kars. Indeed the cotton crop, which was superseding rice, was looked on as a promising source of future prosperity, and

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its cultivation was encouraged by the Government. 248
American cotton gins, irrigation pumping plant, traction engines, and ploughs had been introduced, and cleaning mills of modern pattern built, and it was hoped that on the completion of the irrigation schemes, by which the surplus waters of the Kura and Aras (Araxes) were to be utilized (see pp. 59–60), it would be possible greatly to enlarge the area under cultivation. That area, which [311] thirty years ago was only about 30,000 acres, had already increased by 1910 to 150,000 acres, and by 1912 to 223,000 acres. With regard to the area sown in 1914, there is a wide discrepancy between the Russian official return (186,000 acres) and the figure (337,500 acres) supplied by the British Consul at Batum. The Consul states, however, that owing to a decreased demand and consequent fall in prices, caused by the closing of the Polish mills and the shortage of labour in the manufacturing centres of Russia, there was a tendency among growers to abandon cotton for cereals; and it is possible that his figure is based on an estimate of the probable acreage before this tendency had become fully operative, while the Russian figure represents the area actually cultivated. Of the 186,000 acres of the Russian return, half lay in the Government of Elisavetopol, about a third in that of Erivan, and some 20,000 acres in that of Baku; while of the yield, which was a little under 60,000 tons, 35,500 tons came from Elisavetopol and 18,000 tons from Erivan. This yield, however, owing to heavy rains and cold weather, was below the average.

*Flax* was grown on 168,000 acres in Ciscaucasia and 248
18,000 acres in Transcaucasia in 1914, the total yield 311
being 38,000 tons, which was double the yield of 1910. The cultivation of *hemp* is on a very much smaller, though an equally increasing, scale, and is almost entirely confined to the north. There is, however, a plant closely resembling hemp, called *kanap*, which is easily grown and might be used for the same purposes.

*Fruit.*—Practically all the districts in Transcaucasia 000

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245 Fruit.- Practically all the districts in Transcaucasia are suitable for the cultivation of European and sub-tropical fruits. Oranges and lemons thrive particularly well, and peaches, apricots, plums, apples, pears, and olives are also grown. The plums of Sochi and the oranges of Chavka have a special reputation, and in the Batum district strawberries attain great perfection. Sukhum district and the neighbourhood of Artvin grow the best olives. Melons are intensively cultivated. Fruit-growing is being developed on scientific principles by the peasants and small landowners of Kuban.

246 In 1913 the total area devoted to *hay* was 1,895,000 acres, of which 373,000 were in Terek, 278,000 in Chernomoria, and 227,000 in Baku.

249 The collection of *liquorice* root, which grows wild, is 257 an industry of some significance, and before the war the shipments from Batum, chiefly for America, were increasingly large. The manufacture of liquorice paste, however, was much affected by the high price of crude oil, used as fuel by the factories, and there has been no export of it since 1914.

An attempt has been made to grow beet-root for *sugar* in Kuban, but the production was very small; 8,785 acres were under cultivation in 1914, of which 7,380 belonged to a sugar factory at Gulevichi.

249 The *sunflower* is cultivated for the sake of the oil to be obtained from the seeds, which is used as a substitute for linseed oil. The seeds are crushed in local mills and the stalks are used for the manufacture of potash. The crop covers a greater area than any other except the cereals, but is practically confined to Kuban. In 1914 there were 698,000 acres under cultivation, of which 681,500 acres were in Kuban, and the total output was 298,000 tons, of which the Kuban fields gave 292,000 tons, the rest being grown in the neighbouring Province of Stavropol. In that year the production of Ciscaucasia represented seven-eighteenths of the total production of sunflower oil in the Russian Empire. Its share in the total for 1915, however, was less than one-third, a decrease probably due to the necessity of growing more cereals than usual to meet

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the falling off of supplies from Russia since the out- 249
break of war. Up to 1914 the export of oil was
considerable.

There were 2,020 acres of land under *tea* along the 245
Black Sea coast in the Province of Batum and 75 acres
in the Government of Kutais in 1914. Of this area, [471]
1,080 acres were in the Imperial Domains, 489 acres
were the property of the firm of Popoff Brothers, and
the remaining plantations belonged to thirteen villages
near Chavka. The revenue from the sale of tea was in
1909 about £26 per acre on the Imperial plantations.
As a result of the success achieved on the Imperial [654]
Domains, tea-growing was beginning to be taken up as
a local industry, and the National Government granted
a sum of about £1,500 towards the construction of
a factory at Batum, under the management of the
Batum Agricultural Society, where locally-grown tea
could be cured. Another factory was also to be erected
at Ozurgeti, under the management of an instructor
from the Imperial plantation at Chavka. The cultiva-
tion of tea was proceeding successfully at Ozurgeti in
1914. In that year the plantations near Batum pro-
duced about 160 tons of leaf.

*Tobacco* is grown in all the provinces of Caucasia 249
except Stavropol, where its cultivation has been aban-
doned since 1911; but the most important centres are
in Kuban, Sukhum, and Chernomoria. The Kuban
plantations apparently give the heaviest crops,[1] but
the tobacco of the best quality grows on the Black Sea
coast, especially near Sukhum and Sochi. Of the
total Russian output of high quality Turkish tobacco
in 1915, 90 per cent. came from Caucasia, and of this 57·6
per cent. originated from Kuban, 21·2 per cent. from
Sukhum, and 11·2 per cent. from other districts. In
1914, out of a total cultivated area of 80,500 acres,
producing 32,600 tons of tobacco, 29,000 acres, pro-

[1] Judging by the returns for 1914; but the figures vary in different reports, and moreover the yield fluctuates considerably according to the weather, so that the figures for one season are not a safe basis for generalization.

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ducing 15,000 tons, were in Kuban, nearly 33,000 acres, producing 9,700 tons, in Sukhum, and 10,000 acres, yielding 3,600 tons, in Chernomoria. In Transcaucasia tobacco is most cultivated in Tiflis, Batum, and Kutais, but the acreage and output of Zakatali, though actually small, is not inconsiderable in relation to the size of the district.

*Wine* is made throughout the country, but though the produce of Ciscaucasia is not inconsiderable in quantity, the grapes are comparatively poor in quality and their juice is thin and acrid. So excellent, on the other hand, are those of Transcaucasia, and in such abundance do they grow, that until the appearance of oïdium, which of late years has necessitated the application of some 4,000 tons of sulphate of copper per annum, thus greatly increasing the cost of production, the peasants were able, by their primitive methods, to make sufficient wine at a cheap rate for their own very liberal consumption. With the introduction of scientific treatment of the vines and of French methods of manufacture the industry should prove lucrative. In a few places modern establishments already existed in 1914, but at present too many kinds of grapes are grown and the plantations are too close together. The district in which the vineyards are most extensive is that of Tiflis; but whereas in 1914 in that Government 81,000 acres yielded only 73,000 tons of grapes, Kutais produced 89,000 tons from 50,000 acres. The localities most celebrated for their wines, however, lie in the Gelendjik district and also in the country round Shemakha and Geokchai, where 22,500 tons of grapes were produced in 1913; in the district between the rivers Kura and Alazan, the ancient Kakhetia, on the borders of Zakatali and Elisavetopol; and at Echmiadzin in the Government of Erivan. In 1914 the total area covered by the vineyards of Caucasia was a little over 300,000 acres, and the yield of grapes 350,000 tons.

*Other crops* grown in Caucasia, with their acreage and production in 1914, were the following: potatoes, 234,000 acres, 586,500 tons; spelt, 24,000 acres,

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7,000 tons; buckwheat, 21,000 acres, 7,000 tons; 241
lentils, beans, and haricots, 20,000 acres, 5,300 tons; peas, 9,000 acres, 3,000 tons. Ramie fibre and attar of roses are produced on the Black Sea coast.

*Live-stock and Animal Products.*—Owing to the ten- 231
dency to convert pasture into arable land, there has been a great decrease in the numbers of live-stock raised in Caucasia of late years. To this rule, however, the Jevat and Geokchai districts in Baku Government present an exception; for cattle and horse raising has there been developed into an important industry, the profit obtained in the former region in 1914 being estimated at £70,000. In 1913 the total area devoted to [233]
pasturage, which is situated in the steppes and on the mountain slopes up to an elevation of 9,000 ft., was 3,700,000 acres, and the animals in the country comprised 6,327,000 head of cattle, 2,135,000 horses, 13,336,000 sheep and goats, and 1,215,000 pigs. The largest numbers of animals are found in Kuban and Terek; there were in 1912 nearly 4,500,000 of all kinds in the former province and nearly 3,500,000 in the latter.

*Buffaloes* and a small breed of *oxen* are bred in large [492]
numbers; they are used as draught animals, and in some districts as beasts of burden and for ploughing. The best breed of buffaloes is reared in the Governments of Elisavetopol and Kutais.

*Horses* are raised in other southern districts of Baku besides those already named, and on the Karabagh steppe, which extends from Baku into Elisavetopol; in the valley of the Terek and the Kabarda districts near Vladikavkaz; and in the Provinces of Kuban and Stavropol. A breed of mountain ponies is reared in Kutais. There are numerous private studs.

*Camels*, which are bred in the south-eastern provinces, [492]
are used chiefly as pack animals in the transport of goods to and from Persia, but occasionally also for draught purposes.

Great numbers of *sheep* and *goats* are bred on the 231
steppes and plateaux and in the hill districts. The 236

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231 wool production was 14,946 tons in 1908, 13,339 tons
236 in 1909, and 17,356 tons, of which 16,473 tons were fine wool and 883 tons coarse, in 1913. The nomad Kurds, the Tatars, the Ossetes, the Svanetians, the Kabards, and the Abkhasians live principally by their flocks and herds, which they raise by primitive methods. Part of the wool crop is sold in the Tatar camps at shearing time to local carpet-weavers; part is exported.

231 *Honey* and *wax* are obtained throughout the Caucasus. In 1912 there were 26,000 apiaries, containing nearly 600,000 hives, and the production was 2,500 tons of honey and 300 tons of wax, most of which was consumed locally.

*Silk.*—Mulberry-trees are grown on the lower slopes of the Transcaucasian mountains, and the silkworm industry, after a period of depression due to the spread of disease amongst the silkworms, has developed greatly of late years, especially in the Governments of Tiflis, Erivan, Elisavetopol, and Kutais. In the Baku Government, where it was once widespread, the industry is only continued to any considerable extent in the district of Geokchai. Much of the output, which in 1914 amounted to over 5,000 tons, is normally con-
[439] sumed in local silk manufactures. Silkworm eggs were imported, principally from Turkey and Italy, and were strictly examined by the Imperial Agricultural Society at Tiflis. The failure of the Turkish supply after 1914 adversely affected subsequent cocoon crops.

### (*b*) *Methods of Cultivation*

242 Ciscaucasia is far in advance of Transcaucasia in respect of agricultural methods, a fact due in part to the more enterprising character of the Cossack population and in part to the less isolated geographical position of the northern provinces. In both divisions of the country, however, there has in recent years been a notable advance in agricultural science, evidenced by the rapid development of co-operation. Whereas in 1909 there were 100 agricultural associations in the

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Caucasus, in 1913 there were 803. Agricultural methods242
were taught in some of the industrial schools. There
were experimental botanical gardens, subsidized by
the State, at Tiflis and Batum, and a sericultural
station. The grants made by the Caucasian Board242
of Agriculture for the promotion of rural industries in654
1913 amounted to £100,000, an advance of 50 per cent.
on the sum granted in the previous year. Of this
total £61,000 was allocated to research, £2,000 to im-
provement of live-stock, and £5,000 to grants in aid
to agricultural societies.

In 1913 a commission of agriculturists appointed by the Viceroy of the Caucasus recommended that all educational and experimental institutions should be brought under the Board of Agriculture, and that a permanent commission should be formed to control and initiate such institutions, to organize the supply of information, and to compile statistics.

Partly on account of labour difficulties (see p. 50) there was an increasing demand for agricultural machinery, but better methods of cultivation were simultaneously being introduced.

Extensive *irrigation* schemes had been carried out312
and others were in contemplation. At Chamlik, a canal
from the Laba, the largest tributary of the Kuban,
irrigates several thousand acres of steppe land. There
is an irrigation canal near Tiflis. In 1906, 62,100 acres
of land in the Mughan steppe were reclaimed, at a cost
to the State of £31,000; 14 villages were planted, and
land which had been practically worthless yielded
about £4 an acre. In 1913 the Irrigation Board set
up a modulation section to test the rise and fall of
water for irrigation purposes in the Karayaz experi-
mental fields and the Mughan steppe. The irrigation of
the Mughan steppe was completed and the adjoining
Mil steppe was made fertile by means of the Romanov
Irrigation Canal, which was opened in 1914; in this
year a large barrage was under construction at Saalti,
and was to have been completed by 1915. A total
of 190,000 acres on the Mughan had been reclaimed,

312 and 20,000 settlers planted. These improvements had cost £425,000 up to 1914. The water for irrigation was to be obtained chiefly by controlling the rivers Aras and Kura, which in their lower reaches overflow their banks and form permanent marshes. The question of the regulation of all the principal rivers of the country was being officially studied.

### (c) *Forestry*

137 The total area of forest land in Caucasia cannot be [65] stated with certainty. The extent of the forests under the control of the Ministry of Forests was 12,218,000 acres, or about 11 per cent. of the total area of the country and rather more than half of its cultivated area. Kasperowicz[1] puts the total at 16,000,000 acres, and specifies as being favourably situated for commercial exploitation, 1,372,000 acres in Tiflis and Zakatali, 1,008,000 in Elisavetopol, 863,000 in Chernomoria, 807,000 in Kuban, 705,000 in Terek, 647,000 in Batum, 453,000 in Kutais, and 417,000 in Sukhum. The largest tracts of virgin forest are to be found on the mountain slopes of the Black Sea coast; there is a large forest north of Lake Gokcha, and another in the east of Elisavetopol Government; the middle course of the Kura is wooded throughout, and there are considerable forests in the Armenian Highlands. The best exploited forests in Transcaucasia are those in the Ateni valley near Gori, in the Adzhamer valley near Rion, and at Borzhom—all to the west of Tiflis or the east of Kutais.

The trees include walnut, box, beech, oak, birch, Caucasus palm, wych-elm, pine, alder, &c., of which the first five are the most valuable. The walnut and [439] box tree grow extensively in Transcaucasia; their timber formed a valuable article of export, but the quantities exported are declining, since the remaining walnut forests are remote from railways, and the boxwood is being held back to await more favourable

[1] Raffalovich, *Russia: its Trade and Commerce*, p. 94.

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prices. Special varieties of conifers, birch, oak, and 137
palm grow in the Caucasus. The Caucasus palm or *samshita* is not plentiful, but is greatly valued. The commonest tree is the beech, which occupies 25 per cent. of the total forest area; the oak occupies 16·7 per cent. and the pine 8·1 per cent. Plantations of bamboo at Chavka and Sukhum have been very successful, the cane being used for industrial purposes.

The Italian firm of Sbrajavacca was in 1914 exploiting 313
the pine-forests of Svanetia and Ratce, the timber being 471
floated down the river Rion. The firm has saw-mills at Socilava and Poti.

The Russian State levied on all timber a royalty [659]
varying according to the kind of wood, &c. The State also fixed the amount of timber to be felled in each area, which was then sold to the highest bidder. The total amount of timber which might be cut in the Caucasus was fixed in 1913 at nearly 220,000,000 cubic feet, of which only a little more than a quarter was actually delivered.

### (*d*) *Land Tenure*

The Caucasus as a whole has no fixed system of land 423
tenure, nor are any of the characteristic Russian 471
features of land-holding found there. The various kinds of landowner may be divided into six classes: the old nobility of Georgia; Tatar and Armenian peasant holders; nomad pastoral tribes, who occupy large areas of steppe land, especially in Stavropol Province; Russian settlers, placed on land vacated after the conquest; the Russian State, which owned large areas, mainly forest; and the Imperial family, which had acquired valuable appanages in the Caucasus.

No figures are available to show the proportions in which the land is held by these various owners; and, as a large part of the total productive area is occupied by nomads, no exact statistics would be possible. Moreover, recent events have to a great extent obliterated the old divisions, and new claims to ownership of much valuable land will have to be settled in the course of time.

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### (3) Fisheries

228 The fisheries off the Caucasian shore of the Caspian
226 Sea are an extremely important source of revenue, and employ large numbers of men, though of late years the more valuable kinds of fish have decreased greatly both in numbers and in size. The catch of *puzanka*, a small variety of herring, off the coasts of Daghestan and Terek averages about 44,000 tons a year, while in 1910 it reached 80,000 tons, with a value of £1,000,000. Owing, however, to the deficiency of means of communication between the Terek coast and the commercial centres of the country the industry is far less profitable than it should be to those engaged in it.

The *sturgeon* fishing in the River Kura, which has its centre at Salyani, is the richest in the world. The bank fishery at the mouth of the river produces from 160 to 240 tons of *caviare*, worth from £75,000 to £150,000 a year, while the total production of the river averages 320 tons. There is ample cold storage accommodation.

The Caspian Sea fisheries are divided into plots, which are let by auction by the Government. In 1910 two large firms obtained two-thirds of these, and a combine of all the Caspian fisheries was expected to follow.

The Kuban Cossack fisheries in the Sea of Azov give some 350 to 400 tons a year, with an average value of over £50,000. The output from Chernomoria in 1911, the only year for which figures are available, was 880 tons of fish, of which 260 tons were herrings and 170 tons were flat fish ; the value was £15,000.

All the streams of the Caucasus abound in fish ; trout, salmon, and various coarser varieties are caught in large quantities. The total number of fish caught in Caucasian waters in 1911 was, in round figures, 2,400,000 salmon and sturgeon, and 232,000,000 other fish. The total output of *caviare* in the same year was 418 tons.

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## (4) Minerals

The mineral resources of Caucasia have never yet been systematically surveyed, but they are known to be both varied and extensive. As at present worked, and excepting mineral oils (see below, p. 68)* which as a source of wealth have hitherto stood alone, the most valuable products are manganese and copper. 316

*Baryta* is produced in Kutais by six enterprises; the output in 1910 amounted to 1,750 metric tons, or five-sixths of Russia's total output.

*Coal* is mined chiefly at Tkvibuli, in Kutais, where the mines are served by a branch railway. This coal yields a dense strong coke useful for metallurgy. A very little coal is also produced in Kuban, and lignite of poor quality is found and consumed locally in the Migri valley, at Manglis and Borchka. Unexploited deposits exist on the Black Sea coast, where the Tkvarcheli forest is believed to cover 54,000 acres of coal of excellent quality. A large deposit occurs near Tiflis, in the valley of the River Oltinsk, and coal has recently been found at Akmetovskoi. The production in recent years shows a steady increase, the total output having been 45,700 metric tons in 1910, 51,000 in 1911, 69,000 in 1912, and 75,000 in 1913.

*Copper.*—The rich copper deposits have hitherto been only partially worked, but three distinct areas are now exploited by foreign capital: 471 316

(i) The Kedabek mines, in Elisavetopol (north-east of Lake Gokcha), are worked by the American firm of Siemens Brothers. There are three mines, at Kedabek, Kalakent, and Karabulakh, which are connected by a metre-gauge railway. The ore contains from 2 to 20 per cent. of copper, and the production of copper in 1913 was 1,272 metric tons. Benzene brought from Baku by pipe line is used for smelting, whereas the companies referred to below use electricity. Siemens Brothers had begun before the war to exploit copper at Kvartshana in the Province of

* [see cat. 116 -- Analyst]

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Batum, and were about to erect blast furnace smelting works there.

(ii) The Allahverdi, Aktala, and Shambru mines, in the Lialvar Mountains (Tiflis), are worked by the French Compagnie Métallurgique et Industrielle du Caucase. At Allahverdi, the most productive mine, the ore (copper sulphide) contains 7·18 to 18·56 per cent. of copper, and the output of copper in 1913 was 4,760 metric tons.

(iii) The Dzansul, Chiakathevi, and Erga mines, on the borders of the Provinces of Batum and Kutais, are exploited by the Caucasus Copper Co., a British company formed in 1900. Heavy initial outlay and climatic difficulties necessitated a large capitalization, but in 1913, when some 12,000 workmen were employed, the profit obtained was £87,800. The ore in the mines contains from 16 to 18 per cent. of copper. In 1912 the production was 40,000 metric tons of ore and 3,000 metric tons of copper, but in 1913 the progress of the company was described as disappointing, the amount of copper produced being only 3,280 metric tons.

In addition to the above, there are various native enterprises. In the Okchi valley in the Sangesur district of Elisavetopol, old mines of great productivity have been reopened, but pack-horses are the only available means of transport. The Katar mine in Sangesur is now worked by electricity. In the Pambak Mountains, also in the Government of Elisavetopol, there are mines at Delijan, Sirimadan, Sagali, Mishkan, and Seifalu; at the last of these the ore yields from 20 to 30 per cent. of copper. The most important native companies are the Melik Azariantz, the Kunduroff, and the Grielsky.

The output of copper in Caucasia was 7,536 metric tons in 1908, 9,520 in 1909, and 7,631 in 1910. In 1912, 303,225 metric tons of ore were mined, of which 200,000 were smelted, yielding 9,270 metric tons of metal. In 1913 the production was 9,220 metric tons. The figures for 1912 and 1913 refer to the British, French, and American companies only. It is not clear whether those

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for earlier years include also the production of the 328
native undertakings, but in any case their quota is comparatively small. In 1913 Caucasia furnished 31 per cent. of the total Russian output. All Caucasian copper is disposed of in Russia.

Unexploited copper exists in the Naltchinsky Hills 135
and over a small area on each side of the Ossetian Military Road; in both cases the deposits are estimated to be rich.

The production of *Glauber's salt* in Tiflis in 1910, 317
amounting to 725 metric tons, represented nearly half of Russia's total output.

*Iron* is worked only spasmodically. It occurs chiefly 327
in the Government of Elisavetopol, at Chinarlidz, where [135]
the veins are from 2 to 21 metres thick, and as haematite at Sirimadan in the Pambak Mountains and in the Boyan valley. Nearly 2,000 metric tons were produced in 1908, but in no subsequent year does anything approaching that amount appear to have been obtained.

*Lead.*—There are extensive deposits of argentiferous 328
lead, but they have been little worked. The largest 135
production is that of the Alagir Smelting Co. in Terek; but the metal also occurs in the Lialvar district, in the upper valley of the Kura, and near Kedabek, and shortly before the war was found near Akmetovskoi station in Kuban.

*Manganese.*—The principal deposit covers an area 317
of nearly 100 square miles in the Kvirili valley in the [135]
Government of Kutais, the head-quarters of the industry being at Chiaturi. The ore contains on an average 40 per cent. manganese, 0·16 per cent. phosphorus, and 8 per cent. silicon, but in some workings the proportion of manganese is as high as 50 per cent. The ore is got out by means of hand picks, and is sorted by hand in a primitive way. It is soft and readily mined, and the firmness of the rock renders extensive timbering unnecessary. The miners do not fully exhaust the drifts, but work on them until they become dangerous or, on account of diminishing yield, unremunerative, a point which is soon reached owing

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317 to unscientific methods of removal. Much ore is con-
[364] sequently wasted. Since 1909 an increasing amount of ore has been washed for the preparation of ferro-manganese, and this has resulted in the serious pollution of the River Kvirili, which runs through the mining district. Regulations have been made to control the practice of discharging refuse into the river, and plans formed to collect the refuse-laden water in an artificial basin, where it could be purified and utilized for generating electric power to be employed in the ferro-manganese furnaces. Little improvement, however, had been effected by 1914.

[471] Many small native firms are occupied in manganese-mining. A little before the war foreign capitalists were acquiring manganese-bearing land, which is usually leased in small lots of from half an acre to 50 acres in extent; about 1910 there was an extensive acquisition of unworked land by German firms. The recent tendency has been for the control of the industry to pass from small to large concerns.

There was a heavy slump in manganese just before 1908, but since that year the output has greatly increased: in 1910 it amounted to 548,300 metric tons; in 1911 it fell again to 451,600 metric tons, but in 1912 it rose to the high figure of 913,500 metric tons, and in
[439] 1913 to 1,051,500 metric tons. Nearly the whole output is exported; export figures are given on pp. 83 and 84. The trade was very heavily hit by the war.

Chiaturi competes with India and Brazil for pride of place as supplier of manganese to the world. It has, however, been handicapped by difficulties of transport, though favoured to some extent in the matter of freight rates. The Sharopan–Sachkeri rail-
[492] way lies some distance from the mines, and the ore has to be conveyed in carts or on pack animals to the station, whence further carriage to Poti or Batum is both slow and expensive. The Association of Manganese Producers (see p. 79) had up to 1914 failed to secure from the State anything beyond promises of improvement.

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Other places in Caucasia at which manganese occurs 317
are Kvartala in Batum, where the French Manganese [471]
Ore Co. had arranged for the erection of plant at the end of 1913, Seifalu in Elisavetopol, and in the neighbourhood of Samtredi and Novo-Senaki.

Huge beds of *marl* are now being exploited near Novorossiisk by the cement companies there.

*Salt.*—There are rock-salt deposits in Erivan and Kars. and a certain amount of evaporated salt is produced in Baku and Daghestan. The total output of salt in 1910 was 28,340 metric tons, which consisted of 16,600 tons of rock-salt from Erivan, 6,930 tons of rock-salt from Kars, 4,370 tons of evaporated salt from Baku, and 440 tons of evaporated salt from Daghestan. The total output in 1911 amounted to 37,830 metric tons, and in 1913 to 32,260 metric tons.

*Zinc* is worked by the Alagir Smelting Co. at Sadon 328
and Alagir, and from blende ore near Vladikavkaz. The company's works, which are 60 miles from the mines, are fitted with modern plant. In 1914 the company were planning a new exploitation, on a large scale, of both lead and zinc. The output of zinc in 1910 was 3,400 metric tons, and in 1912 the combined production of zinc and argentiferous lead was 26,000 metric tons.

*Other Minerals.*—At Soglik, near Dash Kessan, in 135
the Gokcha range (Erivan) there is an inexhaustible 316
supply of *alunite*, containing 37·58 per cent. of alum, but it is very little worked. *Antimony* is mined in small quantities in Tiflis. There is *arsenic* ore at Bechenakh, but up to the present it has not been exploited. There is a small output of *asbestos* from Sharopan, Vzhinevi, and Lechgum in Kutais. There are excellent *bitumen* beds on the Black Sea coast, and *asphalt* is a by-product of the petroleum industry. *Cobalt* is mined in small quantities in Elisavetopol. White *diatomite* (infusorial earth), containing 87 per cent. of silica, is worked at Kissatip, near Akhaltsikh (Tiflis). *Emery* is found at Karabulakh (Elisavetopol). *Gold* exists in very small quantities in the alluvial deposits of the Alindja river, and in the ore of the

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135 Kedabek copper mines. *Graphite* and *mercury* have
316 recently been found. *Pyrites* is worked for sulphur in Elisavetopol and Tiflis, and sulphur is also obtained at Bechenakh and Gunur, in Kutais.

## (5) Mineral Oils

### (a) *Sources of Supply*

135 Mineral oil, the great source of Caucasian wealth,
315 is found chiefly in the Governments of Baku, Terek, and Kuban, although small quantities occur elsewhere. Hitherto by far the richest oil-producing area has been that of Baku, comprising the Apsheron Peninsula, Cheleken Island and Holy Island, and the outlying district of Benagadi. In the Apsheron Peninsula lie the older oil-fields: the five belts of Balachani, Sabunchi, Romani, Bibi-Ebyat, and Zabrat, and the comparatively newly-discovered oil district of Surachani, about 12 miles away. Second to those of Baku in importance and apparently of increasing productivity are the Grozni fields in Terek Province. The Maikop oil-fields, in Kuban Province, have since 1912 yielded unsatisfactorily.

In 1908 the Caucasian oil-fields supplied about 22 per cent. of the world's total production, but the proportion has sunk very considerably since then. General figures of the output from 1910 to 1916 are given in Table II of the Appendix (p. 93).

382 The products of the mineral oil include illuminating oils, engine and cylinder oils, solar oils, goudron (asphalt), benzene, residuum (*ostotki*), and crude oil (untreated). Of these, *ostotki* was for years treated as waste, but it is now by far the largest product, having superseded kerosene, which bears a heavy duty, while *ostotki* is untaxed; it has a large sale as fuel for factories, railways, and steamships. Balachani oil is the heaviest in quality; *ostotki* is not so readily formed from the Bibi-Ebyat and Grozni products. Cheleken Island and Telav produce ozokerite (or paraffin wax). The lowest percentage of benzene

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is yielded by Balachani. Grozni oil is particularly adapted for the manufacture of first grade petrol, great quantities of which have accumulated there during the war.

The following particulars may be given of the chief oil-fields:

(i) *The Baku Fields.*—The first well was bored at Baku in 1871. Since that year the oil-fields have been developed one after another, with capital supplied partly by the Swedish firm of Nobel Brothers, and partly by the French Rothschilds and others. The Balachani–Sabunchi–Romani field occupies about 2,640 acres on a plateau a few miles from the Caspian Sea.[1] At Sabunchi eight very productive belts are known. At Romani there was a natural depression into which ran the water and refuse from adjoining properties, forming a lake of 432 acres; this was drained in 1904 by the Moscow Caucasian Co., by means of a subterranean channel, and an outlet into the Caspian Sea was also provided, which serves as a permanent drain for the whole oil-field. Bibi-Ebyat contains five rich belts, but its productivity is declining. Puta, a continuation of the Bibi-Ebyat fields, has been very little developed. Zabrat has been prospected by a French company, but the yield is only spasmodic.

Between 1908 and 1911 there was a marked decrease in production in all but one of the old Baku oil-fields, as seen by the following comparative table:

| | *Balachani.* | *Sabunchi.* | *Romani.* | *Bibi-Ebyat.* | *Total.* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Metric tons. | Metric tons. | Metric tons. | Metric tons. | Metric tons. |
| 1908 | 1,124,784 | 3,181,936 | 1,222,304 | 1,914,128 | 7,443,152 |
| 1911 [2] | 755,200 | 2,131,200 | 1,019,200 | 1,225,600 | 5,131,200 |

After 1911, in spite of new borings, the production, though increased, did not reach the 1908 level, whilst after 1914 the Surachani output is reckoned in with the old Baku output, and the separate yield of the original oil-fields cannot therefore be calculated. There

[1] On this plateau 120,000,000 gallons of oil were thrown up in 1873 before it was understood how to conserve it.

[2] Ten months only.

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315are, however, many localities left in the Apsheron district to be tested when the exhaustion becomes more pronounced.

Surachani, the new Baku oil-field, gives a supply of natural gas, which, through the enterprise of the Baku Naphtha Co., is now conducted in 8 and 10 inch pipes to the various oil-fields, where it is used for boiler-heating. Some wells, about 1,200 ft. deep, yield about 5,000,000 cubic ft. of gas daily. Surachani wells also produce white oil, a medicinal product, of which the output is about 48 tons daily. Crude oil, which lies beneath the natural gas, has also been exploited with good results.

In 1902, 24,000 workers were employed at Baku; by 1916 this number had doubled. The average number of producing wells in the Baku district in 1914 was 2,894, the output per well before exhaustion being from 40,000 to 50,000 tons.

Holy Island produces oil which is shipped by Nobel Brothers in its crude state to the Volga for fuel. The output in 1914 was 94,000 tons.

Cheleken Island produces a heavy petroleum, from which ozokerite is extracted. In 1912 the yield was 209,000 tons, but since that year it has greatly declined. The oil is sent abroad to be refined.

Benagadi produces a very heavy oil, pumped through pipe lines to the railway. The Benagadi output was steadily increasing in 1914. Digga and Sarai localities, near Benagadi, are both petroliferous, and in 1914 were about to be exploited by Baku companies.

The Baku oil-fields seem to have escaped damage and pillage during the military events of 1918.

(ii) *The Grozni Fields* consist of a belt of petroliferous land, 1,800 ft. wide and about 7 miles long. The oil-bearing strata usually lie 1,500 to 1,800 ft. below the surface, but sometimes even deeper, and the deposits are impregnated with lime. The Grozni oil often issues in great spouts, but the life of the wells is usually short. At Mamakai the oil reaches the surface, and has been obtained from hand-dug wells for fifty years past.

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The European Petrol Co., a British concern, was founded in 1893 to exploit the Grozni oil, and another British company, the Kazbek Syndicate, struck a prolific fountain in 1903. The Anglo-Terek Co. found oil on the western field in 1907 at 2,500 ft. deep, and the parallel ridge of Sundja is expected to prove rich. The area occupied by wells in 1913 was 2,497 acres, in the hands of twelve firms. Several new fields were proved in 1913 in the neighbouring localities of Belik and Chermoff, and 200,000 claims have been staked; the whole country round Grozni for a radius of about 30 miles has been covered with oil claims. The principal new oil districts are Sleptsovskaya, Voznesenskaya, Broguni, Kakhanovskaya, Isstissu, and Chir-Urt nearer Petrovsk. Pipes from both eastern and western fields take the oil to Grozni station, and in 1914 pipes were completed leading to Petrovsk, on the Caspian Sea. 315 [471]

In 1917 the Grozni oil-fields employed 9,000 workmen. The average number of producing wells in that year was 398.

The Grozni oil-fields suffered much more than those of Baku or Maikop in 1918. Almost all the oil-wells and plant have been destroyed or burnt, so that production will be impossible for some years to come.

(iii) *The Maikop Fields* have been scientifically exploited since 1908 only, chiefly by British capital. There are four districts, Shirvansky, Apsheronsky, Nephtianoi, and Hadizhensky, and the wells number about 200. Before the completion of the new Armavir–Tuapse railway, the oil went either to Novorossiisk or Petrovsk. There are two pipe lines, one from Maikop to Tuapse, the other from Shirvansky to Ekaterinodar for transport on the Ekaterinodar–Novorossiisk branch railway; both pipes belong to the Maikop Pipe Line and Transport Co., Ltd., a British concern. Nearly all the Maikop oil has been consumed in Russia. It is refined at Ekaterinodar. The output has been very disappointing, and has steadily declined since 1912. 315 471

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315 (iv) *Other Sources.*—Berekei and Kaikent in Daghestan
47 have been exploited, but in both the oil is damaged by the inflow of sulphurous water. Berekei was closed in 1907; Kaikent, in the hands of the Anglo-Russian Petrol Co., only yields spasmodically.

Kaluga, in Kuban Province, showed oil in 1907, but work only began in 1914. The Vladikavkaz Railway Company hold 15 plots of promising petroliferous land there, and intend to use the oil for the railway. The prospects are good.

In Tiflis Government two localities have been exploited, one east of Tiflis and the other at Telav. In 1904 the Southern Oil-Fields of Russia Company was working there, and in 1914 the Tiflis locality was again being explored.

315 In 1914 prospecting was going on at many other places, where there are unmistakable indications of large quantities of oil, notably at Guria, where a thick black oil was found, and at Shemakha, Jevat, and Lenkoran. Jingy (or Djeng), near Shemakha, forms the extremity of a huge oil-field with a reputed area of 70,000 square miles, lying chiefly in the Ural Province. Nobel Brothers have already sunk wells there with good results; in October 1915, 225 plots of petroliferous ground near Borz and Jingy were declared open for new claims.

Oil is also obtained from numerous wells on small plots worked by peasants, especially in the Grozni and Maikop districts.

### (*b*) *Methods of Working*

At Baku the Russian system of boring is still in use, the American, although generally superior, being declared to be unsuccessful on account of the frequency of landslips and fractured tubing. Another view, however, is that the continued use at Baku of a comparatively wasteful system has been a factor contributing to the successful competition of American oil in the world market, in spite of the fact that at Baku a few square miles produce as much oil as several

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thousands of square miles in America, and that a single 315
Baku oil fountain has actually yielded as much in one day as 25,000 wells in America. The American system has been adopted at Grozni and Maikop. Manila ropes have been very generally replaced by wire ropes. Pumps cannot be used at Baku to raise the oil, and it is therefore baled by steam or electric power; air-lifts have recently been found successful. In default of fresh water, steam at Baku has to be obtained from sea-water, which causes rapid destruction of the boilers.

Oil is conveyed to the Black Town (Baku) refineries [471]
in pipe lines, of which in 1906 there were 39 in private ownership besides the State pipe lines. Large firms had their own pumping stations in addition to those provided for general use. Fountain oil was pumped direct to the stations and measured there. Some of the Bibi-Ebyat oil goes by barge.

From Baku the oil has four means of transit: by [483]
rail to Batum or Poti; by pipe line (kerosene) to Batum; by rail to Petrovsk; and by tank-steamer to Astrakhan and thence up the Volga. The last route, by which the Volga factories are supplied, is only open from April to October.

Electric power was steadily replacing steam power [377]
on the oil-fields in 1914. The Spies Petroleum Co. at Grozni run their works almost wholly by it. There are generating stations at Sabunchi, belonging to Nobel Brothers; at Zabrat, belonging to the Société de la Caspienne et de la Mer Noire; at White Town (1,200 horse-power); and at Baieloff (4,500 horse-power). At Sabunchi and Zabrat the Surachani gas is used to generate electricity.

### (6) Manufactures

Ciscaucasia and Transcaucasia have each their own 438
characteristic industries, which, in the former case, are those proper to a region predominantly agricultural, and in the latter are dependent on the output of the oil-fields.

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228 The *caviare* industry of the Caspian littoral is declining, but is still important (see p. 62).

339 *Cement* is made at Novorossiisk, Gelendjik, Tuapse, and Yeisk. It is used for lining oil wells, and also for harbour works and other purposes. There were nine large cement factories at Novorossiisk in 1917, with an annual output of 4,600,000 barrels, the most important being the Black Sea Cement Manufactory, the Franco-Russian Cement Manufactory, and the Zep Cement Works.

282 *Leather-work* is a fairly extensive industry, of which the chief centres are Alexandropol, Elisavetopol, Shusha, and Tiflis. Tanning is done at Tiflis, and saddlery is well made in Daghestan and the Black Sea districts.

391 *Metallic and Allied Industries.*—The copper and zinc smelting works have already been mentioned (see pp. 63–64 and 67). There are iron foundries at Ekaterinodar, Baku, Tiflis, Batum, and Armavir. 'Colonist' reaping machines are made at Novorossiisk, and galvanized iron roofing and hardware goods at a factory at Baku. Among manufactures subsidiary to the oil industry are those of oil-cases and oil-cans, carried on at Baku and Batum, and of wire rope, carried on at several factories at Baku. The manufacture of small-arms, once a flourishing industry, is declining, but is still carried on at Tiflis and Nukha and in the bazaars [463] of Daghestan and Sukhum. The number of skilled native workers in enamel, filigree, and inlaid metal-ware is also decreasing.

256 The *milling* industry is second in importance only to the refining of oil. There are many flour-mills worked by water-power; those in Stavropol produce 300,000 tons of flour per annum, and those in Kuban, about the same amount; the mills of the Black Sea district give some 20,000 tons yearly. Besides the flour-mills, there are also mills for crushing sunflower seed, linseed, and cotton seed.

382 The *oil refineries* are the most important manufacturing enterprises in the country. They exist at Baku,

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Grozni, and Ekaterinodar, and, on a smaller scale, at 382
Armavir. There are a number of large refineries at Black Town, near Baku, where crude oil is refined to produce kerosene. In 1914 the oil products received from the stills amounted to 4,354,000 tons, while in 1916 there were nearly 5,000 men employed. At Ekaterinodar the oil from Maikop is treated, and the decline in the production from that field has greatly reduced the industry there.

*Potash* is made in Kuban from sunflower stalks, and 385
in 1910 a combine of eighteen firms of potash manufacturers was formed. The industry has doubtless been affected by the decline of sunflower cultivation (p. 54).

Of the *textile industries*, which are in a very backward 288
state, silk-weaving and carpet-making are the most 286
highly developed. Silk is woven at Tiflis, and since the revival of sericulture, steam silk-mills have been started at Shusha and in the Elisavetopol Government. Felt and carpets are made at home by women—chiefly at Shusha, but also at Akhaltsikh, Akhalkalaki, Gadrut, Kasapet, and Kubrassy—with wool bought from the Tatars. Both hand-knitted and woven woollen goods are made. Cotton is spun at Tiflis and Akhaltsikh, and a rough cotton stuff called *khami* and a little linen of indifferent quality are woven by hand.

There are seventeen *tobacco* factories in Caucasia, 277
six being in Tiflis, four in Kuban, two in Daghestan, two in Baku, two in Sukhum, and one in Terek. The industry is controlled by a dozen large firms, and the output in 1914 was 8,395 tons.

*Wine-making and Distilling.*—There is a good deal of 274
wine made, especially in the Province of Kutais; the best quality is produced in the Gelendjik district, and Echmiadzin is one of the great centres. The best known type of wine is the Riesling. At Abrau, a Crown estate near Novorossiisk, is made the Abrau-Dursan champagne, which is considered equal to a good French champagne. The total output of wine in Caucasia was 27,449,350 gallons in 1911 and nearly

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274 22,000,000 gallons in 1914. Were French methods of manufacture employed more extensively, the industry might be greatly developed. There is an Italian firm at Kislovodsk in Terek which makes Riesling and other wines under modern conditions.

*Distilling* is in part an independent industry and in part a means of utilizing the inferior wines. In 1913 there were 15 distilleries—8 in Kuban, 4 in Terek, 2 in Stavropol, and 1 in Kutais—and the output of alcohol in that year was 8,193,000 gallons, of which more than two-thirds were distilled in Kuban.

438 *Other industries* of the country may be very briefly
471 enumerated. A *tea* factory has recently been opened at Chavka, and has an annual output of about 55 tons, and other factories are (or were) being built with Government aid at Baku and Ozurgeti. A *beet-sugar* factory, started in 1913 at Gulevichi, was brought to a standstill for want of beetroot in 1914. There are three *saw-mills* at Tiflis; the Italian firm of Sbrajavacca has saw-mills at Socilava and Poti, which turn out 300 cubic metres daily, and Ananov Brothers have small saw-mills in Kutais, driven by electric power. A factory for making *bamboo furniture* was opened at Chavka in 1907. There are nine *brick* and *tile* factories at Baku and four tile factories at Tiflis, while *pottery* works have been opened at Ksauka, Tiflis, by an Italian firm, which also makes tiles. *Soap* is made at Tiflis, and *sulphuric acid* at Baku.

## (7) Power

377 In 1914 there were ten chief power-stations: near Beli Ugol on the Podkumka river (1,000 horse-power); near Sukhum on the Besletk river (owned by the Sukhum Electric Co.); near Gagri on the Jockvar river (working the climatic station); at Batum (water-driven), supplying Batum with electricity; at Kutais, supplying power for Ananov Brothers' saw-mills; at Sanain (700 horse-power), belonging to the Caucasus Metallurgical Co.; at Katar copper mines (Sangesur

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district); at Dzansul copper mines (1,000 horse-377
power); and two at Erivan.

Smaller electric plants are to be found at New Athos Monastery (at Goro); at Borzhom, on the Grand Ducal estates; and at Akhalkalaki, in private hands.

The electric power-stations on the Baku oil-fields have already been mentioned (see p. 73).

The water-power offered by the rapid streams of the 376
Caucasus has hitherto been almost entirely neglected, but in 1914 an important scheme was set on foot for the erection of two large power-stations, one on the Terek at Kazbek on the Georgian Military Road, and the other at Elenoffka, in Erivan, utilizing the waters of Lake Gokcha. The concession for the erection of [471] turbines and generators for supplying power to all the industrial centres of Caucasia as well as for the lighting of cities was granted to a British company, and preliminary work had been carried out by August 1914.

A scheme was also under discussion in 1913 and 1914 for utilizing the refuse-laden overflow of the River Kvirili for generating electric power to be used in ferro-manganese furnaces.

## (C) COMMERCE

### (1) Domestic

#### (a) *Towns, Markets, and Fairs*

*Baku*, besides being the refining centre for the oil 361
produced in the neighbouring fields, is also a distribut- 439
ing centre for the imports of Central Persia and Transcaspia. The volume of trade which passed through Baku to and from Persia and Russian Central Asia in 1912 amounted to over 5,000,000 tons, and was steadily increasing in 1914 at the expense of that of the trans-Armenian and trans-Mesopotamian routes. The popu- [161] lation of Baku and the adjacent oil-fields in 1914 amounted to nearly 380,000. In 1909 the municipality 363
raised a loan of £2,842,000 (of which £1,300,000 was 653

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361 subscribed in London) for the purpose of a new water-
653 supply, drainage, and the construction of an electric station. Only the first of these three works has been carried out. A description of the port of Baku is given above, p. 45. *

361 *Ekaterinodar* is the centre of the increasingly im-
438 portant trade in tobacco. It has an annual fair, at which the value of goods exchanged is said to be about £400,000. There are several refineries, dealing with oil from the Maikop fields. As the town is both an agricultural and an industrial centre, experimental fruit-farms and technical schools have been opened there.

*Tiflis*, the seat of Government, is a fine modern town, with electric light, electric trams, and cold storage facilities. Only in the oriental quarter are there open bazaars. It is the distributing centre for Russian manufactured goods, and also does a large transit trade in Persian exports.

*Vladikavkaz* is the principal town of Ciscaucasia and an important agricultural centre. *Elisavetopol* is a centre for trade in wine, fruit, and cotton; *Erivan* and *Kutais* for trade in wine and fruit. *Stavropol*, *Akhaltsikh*, *Alexandropol*, *Kars*, *Grozni*, *Nukha*, and *Maikop* are all agricultural centres, the last especially for wine, while Nukha, Akhaltsikh, and Alexandropol are particularly concerned with fruit. Grozni and Maikop are also petroleum centres.

The principal centres of industry are *Tiflis*, *Baku*, *Batum*. *Ekaterinodar*, *Shusha*, *Novorossiisk*, and *Chavka*. Batum is declining as an industrial centre, whilst Baku and Ekaterinodar are progressing; both these last-named towns doubled their budgets between 1904 and 1909.

All Transcaucasian towns have their bazaars, and in the less populated and poorer districts monthly fairs take the place of shops.

Batum, Novorossiisk, Poti, and other ports are described above (pp. 42–46).

* [see cat. 116 -- Analyst]

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### (b) *Organizations to promote Trade and Commerce*

It is only within recent years that any efforts towards 441
the organization of the trade and industry of Caucasia have been made, but before the outbreak of war a good deal had already been done in that direction. The first chamber of commerce in the country was established at Batum in 1910. The number of trade associations increased rapidly, especially in Ciscaucasia, where the Cossacks take kindly to co-operation, and many credit societies were formed.

The chief organizations confined to particular industries were the Association of Baku Naphtha Producers, the Manganese Producers' Association, and the Caucasian Cotton Growers' Association. The first of these levied a tax of 5*d.* a tin on oil products, which it expended on hospitals, &c. It had a statistical bureau, published journals, and held an annual conference which was attended by delegates from the committees of the various oil interests and by a representative of the Minister of Agriculture. The Manganese Producers' Association also levied a tax, which was devoted to improvements in plant, &c. It brought pressure to bear on the State to improve railway facilities and rolling-stock, and was anxious to secure the connexion of the mines with the railway, but did not succeed in this. One of the objects of the Caucasian Cotton Growers' Association was to increase the cultivation of cotton in Caucasia and Russian Central Asia, so that the Central Russian mills could be fed entirely with home-grown supplies. Extensive irrigation was among its schemes.

### (c) *Foreign Interests*

The largest field for the investment of foreign capital 471
in Caucasia is of course the oil industry. This being 315
a matter of international finance, it is impossible to gauge with precision the share which any particular nation has therein; but it was stated in 1919 by an expert of the *Mining Journal* that the controlling

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315

power was the Deutsche Bank. Of the firms engaged in extracting oil, the Swedish house of Nobel Brothers has the largest interests, its production being double that of any other single firm. French companies financed by the Rothschilds also figure largely in the Baku fields. The chief of these is the Société de la Caspienne et de la Mer Noire, which in 1912 combined with others, among them the British concern known as the Schibaeff Company, to form the Royal Dutch Shell Combine, which is said to be responsible for 11·8 per cent. of the total Baku output. British interests in the Baku fields are comparatively small, but at Grozni and Maikop they are predominant. During the Maikop boom sixty-six companies were formed in London, but of these only five are still working. In 1913 a British company, the Guria Petroleum Corporation, Ltd., acquired a lease of some 70 square miles of land between Batum and Poti. Estimates of the total value of British capital invested in Russian oil-fields vary from £10,000,000 to £17,000,000. Armenian interests are rapidly increasing, especially in the new oil districts round Grozni.

Copper is mainly mined with the aid of British, French, and American capital. The manganese industry, on the other hand, has hitherto been for the most part in native hands, though in recent years British, Dutch, German, and French have begun to participate in it.

Franco-Jewish financiers supplied the capital for the construction of the Transcaucasian railway, which was taken over by the State in 1906. In connexion with the railway expansion schemes of more recent date the Anglo-Russian Trust Company, having a capital of £1,000,000 and debenture stock amounting to £500,000, was formed to place the shares of the Armavir–Tuapse, the Black Sea–Kuban, and the Kakhetian railways on the London market, principal and interest in each case being unconditionally guaranteed by the Russian Government. The same company also invested in the municipal 5 per cent. gold bonds of the city of Baku.

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British capital has played an important part in various other public enterprises. 315 471

Certain minor commercial undertakings, such as pottery-making at Tiflis, wine-growing in Terek, and timber exploitation in the Rion district, are in Italian hands.

### (d) *Methods of Economic Penetration*

For some years past the Germans have adopted their usual business methods with success in the Caucasus.[1] They appointed agents who spoke Russian fluently, and who were invested with full powers to act for the firms they represented. A single firm frequently offered widely varying lines of goods, of which the agents could produce samples. All catalogues and price-lists were printed with Russian quotations in the Russian currency, and were therefore much more popular than those of British firms, which were invariably presented in English only, with prices quoted in English money. 439

The nearest British agencies were at Rostov-on-Don. British firms were unwilling to give the credit expected by Russian merchants, and appeared indifferent to local prejudices and preferences in regard to the nature of goods to be supplied. They were, therefore, at a disadvantage in competing with the more enterprising German. In certain lines of goods, such as ready-made clothes, haberdashery, boots and shoes, drugs, all kinds of fancy goods and stationery, Germany and Austria-Hungary held the market; and they were beginning to encroach on the steel, agricultural machinery, engine, and motor trades, once almost exclusively British.

## (2) Trade with Russia

Most of the manufactured goods required by Caucasia are supplied by Russia, the chief exceptions being machinery and other metal goods; produce of various

[1] In 1916 a German-Georgian society was established in order to cultivate economic intercourse between the two countries.

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43 kinds is sent in exchange. Ciscaucasia, indeed, produces little that cannot be obtained in other parts of the Empire, except the oil of Grozni and Maikop; but Transcaucasia is in somewhat the same relation to Russia as a sub-tropical colony to a northern mother country.

Russia now takes by far the greater part of the Caucasian oil output. At one time no more went thither than was shipped to foreign countries, but the labour troubles of 1905 combined with the competition of America to deprive Baku of its market not only in China and Japan but even in Arabia and Mesopotamia. Compensation for this loss has, however, been found in the increased demand from Russia. In 1913, out of 6,000,000 tons of oil products sent out of Caucasia, 5,000,000 tons went to Russia. Of these, at least 3,000,000 were residuum, which is used as fuel for steamers, locomotives, and factory boilers; 1,000,000 were crude oil; and 1,000,000 refined oil. The export to foreign countries, on the other hand, consisted almost exclusively of lubricating and illuminating oil.

Other commodities which Caucasia sends to Russia are copper, tobacco, wine, raw silk and cocoons, wool, cotton, and fruit. In the case of tobacco, cocoons, and wool, there is also a foreign export, but it is small in comparison. Russia also takes practically all the cement[1] which is shipped from Novorossiisk, and probably the greater part of the live-stock.

### (3) Foreign

#### (a) *Exports*

It is not easy to come to any conclusion as to the value of the export trade of Caucasia immediately before the war. No statistics are available for shipments from the smaller ports or for overland trade with Turkey and Persia, but it is unlikely that either was of considerable value. A more serious difficulty is with regard to the value of trade passing through the

[1] 234,000 tons in 1910; 301,000 tons in 1912.

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three chief ports—Batum, Novorossiisk, and Poti. 439 The latest year for which complete figures are available is 1908, when exports from Batum amounted in value to £3,242,138, from Novorossiisk to £2,957,686, and from Poti to £478,345, so that the total value was £6,678,169. In 1913 the total exports from Batum and Poti amounted in value to £5,388,172. A moderate estimate for the export trade of all three ports in that year would be about £14,000,000. If sales to Russia were reckoned as part of the export trade, its total value would hardly have been less than £30,000,000.

The following table shows the value of the principal exports from the three chief ports in 1908:

| *Article.* | *Batum.* | *Novorossiisk.* | *Poti.* | *Total.* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | £ | £ | £ | £ |
| Carpets | 36,000 | — | — | 36,000 |
| Cement | — | 26,533 | — | 26,533 |
| Grain and flour | 40,402 | 1,573,197 | 12,735 | 1,626,334 |
| Liquorice | 93,765 | 37,687 | — | 131,452 |
| Manganese | 11,130 | — | 458,250 | 469,380 |
| Oil products | 2,441,649 | 363,747 | — | 2,805,396 |
| Oil-cake | 19,334 | 626,900 | — | 646,234 |
| Potash | — | 68,632 | — | 68,632 |
| Seeds (linseed and sunflower) | — | 77,574 | — | 77,574 |
| Silk and cocoons | 87,000 | — | — | 87,000 |
| Timber | 348,200 | 47,975 | 6,190 | 402,365 |
| Tobacco | — | 25,272 | — | 25,272 |
| Wool | 48,363 | 15,624 | — | 63,987 |

A few additional particulars may be given with regard to some of these exports:

*Grain and Flour.*—Wheat and barley were shipped largely from Novorossiisk, mainly to Germany direct or *via* Holland, while the export from Poti consisted almost entirely of maize destined for Turkey, Germany, and elsewhere. The values of the Batum and Poti exports in 1913 were £201,900 and £99,815 respectively.

*Liquorice* root was shipped from Batum mainly to the United States. The value of the export in 1913 was £148,700, but this was above the average, and the export is said to have ceased.

*Manganese* exported from Poti in 1913 amounted in value to £649,780, and that from Batum to £399,800.

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439 Most of the Poti manganese went to Germany, which country in 1913 imported from Russia nearly 447,000 metric tons, most of which, if not all, must have come from Chiaturi.

*Oil.*—The market for western Europe has been captured by America, but considerable quantities were sent from Caucasia to eastern Europe. The largest export is from Batum, whence in 1913, 610,400 tons were shipped, amounting in value to £2,817,300. No details of the destination of this oil are available. The shipments from Novorossiisk, exclusive of those to Russia, amounted in 1913 to 170,339 tons, and were distributed as follows:

| | *Tons.* |
|---|---|
| France | 59,076 |
| Holland | 17,000 |
| Great Britain | 54,993 |
| Germany | 22,527 |
| Egypt | 12,300 |
| Gibraltar | 4,443 |

In the same year 26,500 tons were exported direct from Baku to Persia.

*Oil-cake.*—The export from Batum in 1913 was 12,445 tons, valued at £77,200. No figures of value are available for the much larger export of 149,244 tons from Novorossiisk. Germany was the chief buyer.

*Seeds.*—The export of linseed seems to have ceased, but a certain amount of cotton seed was exported to Liverpool, and the export of sunflower seed rose from 10 tons in 1908 to 5,873 tons in 1913.

*Silk* and *cocoons* were exported from Batum only, and in 1913 the value of the export was £207,700. In 1911, and presumably in other years, the greater part of the export consisted of cocoons imported from Persia or Central Asia. Nearly all the cocoons from the Caucasus went to Russia.

*Timber* was shipped from all three ports, but only at Poti was there a steady increase in the quantity exported, which rose from 1,541 tons in 1909 to 11,414 tons in 1913; this was due to Italian enterprise in the

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Rion district (see above, pp. 61, 76). The export 439
values from Batum and Poti in 1913 were £27,900 and £83,590 respectively.

*Tobacco* was exported from Novorossiisk, and, in much smaller quantities, from Batum. The Novorossiisk export gradually increased, as the quality of Kuban tobacco became better recognized in European markets, and during the Balkan wars Caucasian tobacco began to supplement Turkish. In 1913 the total tobacco export amounted to 4,950 tons, of which 2,000 tons went to Egypt and most of the rest to Germany and France, the United States and Great Britain at the same time taking small quantities. The Sukhum merchants were anxious to increase the export to the United States, but were opposed by the American Tobacco Trust. The value of the export from Batum in 1913 was £51,100.

*Wool* was exported mainly from Batum, but also from Novorossiisk. The shipments from Batum in 1913 amounted to 4,677 tons, valued at £222,800, and those from Novorossiisk to 185 tons. In all about 17,000 tons of wool were produced in Caucasia in that year, the balance being either sold locally or sent overland to Russia.

### (*b*) *Imports*

The imports of Caucasia reach a much lower total value than the exports. Very few statistics are obtainable, no values being given in the British consular reports except for 1913, and then only for goods received at Batum. Imports at Novorossiisk were increasing steadily before 1914, but those at Poti were quite inconsiderable.

Of the total import value of £582,532 at Batum in 1913, £235,800 was assigned to sundries, and this heading must include all the textiles, stationery, china and glass, leather goods, fancy goods, &c. The chief imports specified were tin plates (for oil cases and cans) and machinery, of which the respective values were £112,832 and £106,500. The tin plates were supplied

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439 largely, but probably not exclusively, by Great Britain and Turkey. The machinery came from America, Great Britain, and Germany, as well as from Russia. Agricultural machinery was supplied chiefly by the United States, with the exception of ploughs, which for the most part came from Germany. British agricultural implements, though frequently found in Ciscaucasia, are rarely seen in Transcaucasia. France took the leading part in supplying motor-cars, though they were also imported from Germany, Switzerland, Italy, the United States and Russia, and a few of superior quality came from Great Britain. Hardware, house-fittings, lifts, and central-heating apparatus were imported exclusively from Germany. Copper wire and copper sulphate came in considerable quantities from Great Britain, which also supplied fire-clay, iron-ware, carbolic acid, and the best quality of belting, the rest of the belting coming from Russia and Germany. Steel for Baku came exclusively from Austria-Hungary and tiles from France. Coal was imported at Novorossiisk from Great Britain and Germany: in 1913 Great Britain supplied 40,000 tons and Germany nearly 11,000; in 1914 Great Britain sent 164,000 tons. Small quantities of chemical fertilizers for experimental purposes were imported from Great Britain and South America. Textiles no doubt came in bulk from Russia, but Germany was working up a trade in haberdashery and Great Britain supplied a little cloth of fine quality to Baku. Great Britain had at one time a monopoly of the supply of china and glass, but in 1914 the supply came from Continental Europe.

The share of Great Britain in European trade with Caucasia was estimated in 1910 to be about 17 per cent., but in the import of certain classes of goods the competition of Germany was making itself more and more severely felt (see also above, p. 81).

### (c) *Transit Trade*

Caucasia does a large and increasing transit trade between Europe on the one side and Persia and Russian

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Central Asia on the other. In respect of trade with 439
Persia it has largely supplanted Mesopotamia and Turkish Armenia, partly on account of the prohibition of the transit of goods from Europe to Persia through these countries, and partly on account of the superiority of the railway system. Baku is the chief centre of this trade, which is facilitated by the regular services between that port and Astara, Enzeli, and Bandar-i-Gaz. The total volume of trade which passed through Baku in 1912 was 5,338,837 tons, made up of exports from Persia, 194,249 tons, from Russian Central Asia, 583,774 tons; imports into Persia, 90,946 tons, into Russian Central Asia, 4,469,868 tons.

The chief articles exported from Persia in that year were rice, 68,135 tons; grain, 66,262 tons; cotton seed, 20,645 tons; wool and carpets, 6,516 tons; fruit, 5,914 tons; and timber, 4,056 tons. The export of raisins from Persia is a new and promising branch of trade.

The chief articles from Russian Central Asia were crude oil, 182,490 tons; timber, 122,963 tons; fish, 11,223 tons; drinking water, 98,310 tons; fruit, 5,859 tons; and cotton seed, 3,200 tons.

The chief articles imported by Persia were sugar, 49,796 tons; kerosene, 24,302 tons; flour, 9,692 tons; metals, 2,095 tons; and manufactured goods, 1,701 tons.

The chief articles imported by Russian Central Asia were petroleum products, 4,313,971 tons; rice, 35,779 tons; flour, 28,200 tons; metals, 15,000 tons; sugar, 8,232 tons; fruit, 7,966 tons; provisions, 6,872 tons; and tea, 6,624 tons.

The transit trade in tea had declined in comparison with 1910, when it amounted to about 18,000 tons (one-third from China and two-thirds from India).

These statistics from Baku only represent a part of the Russo-Persian transit trade, since considerable quantities of goods used to come by sea to Poti or Batum and were forwarded by rail through Tiflis and Julfa, a roundabout route, but the shortest available. The completion of the Julfa–Tabriz line in 1917 will

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439 have greatly facilitated trade by this route. A direct line from Batum to Kars would, however, effect a still greater economy of cost and time.

A part of the Russian transit trade with Transcaspia and Persia passes through Petrovsk when the Volga is frozen. No statistics of this trade are available.

## (D) FINANCE

### (1) *Public Finance*

652 As a large portion of the Caucasus has only recently been incorporated into the Russian Empire, and parts of the country have been vacated by the former inhabitants owing to their dislike for Christian rule, the country has been treated more as a colony than as an integral portion of Russia. Details of revenue and expenditure are not easily available. It would, however, seem that vast sums have been spent in the past on settling the country, building military roads, &c., and that, owing to the rapid expansion of the oil industry and to fair success in some other mining ventures, together with sound agricultural development and the repute the country has gained as a tourist resort and for its medicinal springs, the revenue was gradually being adjusted to expenditure. The revenue is stated to have risen by 35 per cent. between 1906 and 1910.

651 Taxation in Russia as a whole was mainly indirect, only about 8 per cent. of the revenue being derived from direct taxes on land and trades and industries. Excise revenue furnished about 22 per cent., duties about 8 per cent., royalties (including the profit on the spirit monopoly) about 30 per cent., and profits from State undertakings (forests, railways, State factories, &c.) about 30 per cent. For the Caucasus considered separately, these proportions might differ in certain particulars. It is not possible to trace the incidence of expenditure in the Caucasus at all.

Local taxation is either urban or rural. In 1912 nine towns were entitled to raise revenue for urban

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purposes, and in that year their aggregate revenue 651
amounted to some £1,250,000 and their aggregate debt to £1,800,000. Baku had a revenue of £670,000 in 1912, Tiflis of £218,000, and Ekaterinodar of £147,000. The remaining towns had revenues of less than £50,000 each.

Rural taxation in Russia was undertaken by the *zemstvos*. Caucasia, however, had no *zemstvos*, and local matters were administered by official boards. The Province of Stavropol acquired a *zemstvo* in 1912, but no record of its activities is available.

### (2) *Currency*

The paper money and coinage current in Caucasia 436
is that of the Russian Empire, but certain silver coins of the old Georgian currency are still in circulation, namely, the *shaur* (worth 5 kopecks, or about 1d.), the *half abaz* (10 kopecks), the *abaz* (20 kopecks), and the *two abaz* (40 kopecks).

### (3) *Banking*

The most important distinctively Caucasian bank is 453
the *Banque de Caucase*, or *Banque de Commerce de Tiflis*, which has its head office at Tiflis and branches at Baku, Batum, Elisavetopol, Erivan, Grozni, Kars, Kutais, and Nukha. Smaller Caucasian banks are the *Tiflis Agrarian Bank* at Tiflis, the *Tifliser Kaufmannsbank* at Tiflis, and the *North Caucasian Commercial Bank* at Armavir.

The following Russian banks have branches in the Caucasus: the *Imperial State Bank*,[1] at Armavir, Baku, Batum, Ekaterinodar, Erivan, Stavropol, Tiflis, and Vladikavkaz; the *Banque Russo-asiatique* (of Petrograd), at Armavir, Baku, Batum, Yeisk, Ekaterinodar, Grozni, Novorossiisk, and Vladikavkaz; the *Banque de Commerce de l'Azoff-Don* (of Petrograd), at Armavir, Elisavetopol, Erivan, Yeisk, Grozni, Novorossiisk, Poti, Stavropol, Tiflis, and Vladikavkaz; the

[1] The functions of the Imperial State Bank are described in *Don and Volga Basins*, No. 53 of this series, p. 100.

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453 *Volga-Kama Commercial Bank* (of Petrograd), at Armavir, Baku, Ekaterinodar, Grozni, and Tiflis, with sub-agencies at Elisavetopol, Erivan, Kutais, Maikop, and Novorossiisk; the *Russian Bank for Foreign Trade* (of Petrograd), at Armavir, Baku, Yeisk, Ekaterinodar, and Novorossiisk; the *Russian Commercial and Industrial Bank* (of Petrograd), at Armavir, Baku, Ekaterinodar, Novorossiisk, Petrovsk, and Stavropol; the *Banque de l'Union* (of Moscow), at Baku and Batum; and the *Banque Internationale de Commerce de Petrograd*, at Baku and Tiflis.

[452] The *Peasants' Land Bank*, a State institution, advances money on the security of their crops to peasants desirous of acquiring land. Loans are made either to village communes, to associations of peasants, or to individuals; 2,297 such loans were made between 1883 and 1914—1,463 to individuals, 782 to associations of peasants, and 52 to communes.

474 Of late years there has been a great increase in the
453 number of co-operative banks—including credit societies
452 (open and mutual), joint-stock mortgage institutions, and mutual mortgage institutions—and a less marked increase in the smaller communal loan and savings banks. There were 95 mutual mortgage institutions in 1912. In 1914 there were 633 open credit associations, with a total membership of 308,952, and a total grant of loans to the value of £2,047,071; and 217 associations of mutual credit and savings, with a membership of 105,358, and a total grant of loans to the value of £1,296,706. Kuban has by far the greater proportion of both kinds of credit association. Of the smaller communal loan and savings banks there were 106 in 1914, of which 102 were in Stavropol.

## (E) GENERAL REMARKS

105 Caucasia as a whole is handicapped by the length and severity of its winters and the mountainous character of the country. Up to 1914 little had been done to relieve these natural disabilities by the provision of

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railways and roads, or of adequate accommodation at the ports. A further disadvantage lies in the lack of union among the population, accentuated of late by the increase of political power among the Armenians. The exodus of the Turks, who owned the prosperous tea and tobacco plantations, was an economic loss, though they may be replaced by the Armenians, Tatars, or Georgians. 105

The British consular report for 1913 described Caucasia as a poverty-stricken country, making only the slowest progress. This estimate seems harsh in view of the increasing exports from the three chief ports and the development of the large Russian oil trade. The oil-fields, however, are exploited by international capital, so that most of the profits derived from the trade leave the country. It should be noted, too, that in the new fields oil is found at greater depths than in the old, so that, unless American deep-drilling methods are introduced, production may cease to be profitable. The manganese industry has made great advances, but so far has yielded small profits only, on account of the cost of transport. The increased value of the cereal exports has chiefly benefited a few large landowners. 433 105

The fact remains that Caucasia contains great natural wealth, little exploited as yet. There are openings for development in the use of its forests and water-power; in the exploitation of minerals and mineral springs; in the cultivation of fruit, vines, tea, and, with the help of scientific irrigation, of cotton; and in the production of silk.

Novorossiisk has already shown a remarkable increase in prosperity, although, since its bombardment by the Turks, trade has temporarily deserted it. It was long since pointed out that, with improved harbour facilities and the increase of oil production, Batum had a fair chance of becoming a port of world-wide importance. [504]

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# APPENDIX

## TABLE I.—SHIPPING IN 1909 AND 1913

| | 1909. | | | | 1913. | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | *Foreign trade.* | | *Coasting vessels.* | | *Foreign trade.* | | *Coasting vessels.* | |
| | *Number.* | *Tonnage.* | *Number.* | *Tonnage.* | *Number.* | *Tonnage.* | *Number.* | *Tonnage.* |
| 1. *Black Sea.* | | | | | | | | |
| Batum | 692 | 661,000 | 777 | 100,000 | 527 | 1,007,027 | 2,484 | — |
| Poti | 383 | 516,130 | — | — | 155 (steamers) | 321,933 | 94 (sailing vessels). | 4,790 |
| Sukhum | — | — | 1,034 | 8,060 | — | — | — | — |
| Novorossiisk | 563 | 1,242,000 | 1,645 | 225,406 | 458 | 810,806 | 1,932 (steamers) | — |
| | | | | | | | 331 (sailing vessels) | — |
| 2. *Sea of Azov.* | | | | | | | | |
| Temryuk | 36 | 123,340 | 168 | 10,256 | | | | |
| Akhtar Bay | — | — | 340 | 16,130 | | | | |
| Yeisk | — | — | 913 | 5,677 | | | | |
| 3. *Caspian Sea.* | | | | | | | | |
| Baku | 646 | 83,726 | 6,870 | 4,800,000 | | *Tons loaded.* | | *Tons discharged.* |
| Derbent | — | — | 145 | 2,000 | | 5,400,000 | | 664,200 |
| Petrovsk | 14 | 2,630 | 1,284 | 212,936 | | | | |
| Lenkoran | 56 | 300 | 1,394 | 21,742 | | 640,000 | | 233,754 |

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TABLE II.—OUTPUT OF MINERAL OIL, 1910–16[1]

| *Oil-fields.* | 1910. *Metric tons.* | 1911. *Metric tons.* | 1912. *Metric tons.* | 1913. *Metric tons.* | 1914. *Metric tons.* | 1915. *Metric tons.* | 1916. *Metric tons.* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| *Old Baku* . . . | 8,016,000 | 5,131,200 | 6,758,054 | 6,290,323 | 5,435,484 | 7,264,000 | 7,712,000 |
| *New Baku* . . . | 160,000 | 661,289 | 709,677 | 758,064 | 1,389,774 | | |
| *Maikop* . . . | 16,000 | 128,000 | 145,161 | 96,774 | — | 128,000 | 48,000 |
| *Grozni* . . . | 1,184,000 | 1,200,000 | 1,048,389 | 1,129,032 | 1,593,549 | 1,408,000 | 1,632,000 |
| *Hand-dug wells* . . | — | 161,090 | — | — | 209,677 | — | — |
| Total . . . | 9,376,000 | 7,281,579 | 8,661,281 | 8,274,193 | 8,628,484 | 8,800,000 | 9,392,000 |

[1] The Maikop and other productions of 1914 and various other productions in 1912 and 1913 are classified under 'Other Sources', of which an unknown proportion is of Transcaspian origin, so that the totals for 1912, 1913, and 1914 are really higher than the figures here given.

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## MAPS

Caucasia is covered by five sheets (Batum, K. 37; Tiflis, K. 38; Baku, K. 39; Rostov, L. 37; Praskoveya, L. 38) of the International Map (G.S.G.S. 2758) published by the War Office, on the scale of 1 : 1,000,000.

A special map of Caucasia, on the scale of 1 : 2,027,520, has been published by the War Office (G.S.G.S. 2167).

# 116

116 TEXTS--a full set of pages from each processed source, arranged in page order, as a means of establishing the context for any particular slip. Sets are arranged in the numerical order of the sources. See also:

Literary texts . . . . . 559

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# THE CAUCASUS

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# INTRODUCTORY AND GEOGRAPHICAL

133 "And at day-dawn they looked eastward, and midway between the sea and the sky they saw white snow-peaks hanging, glittering sharp and bright above the clouds. And they knew that they were come to Caucasus at the end of all the earth: Caucasus the highest of all mountains, the father of the rivers of the East. On his peak is chained the Titan, while a vulture tears his heart; and at his feet are piled dark forests round the magic Colchian land."—KINGSLEY'S *Heroes*: The Argonauts.

THE Caucasus Range stretches for a distance of 650 miles in a south-easterly direction from the Taman Peninsula to the neighbourhood of Baku. It may be divided into three sectors. The western sector, 230 miles in length from Taman to Pitsunda, forms the difficult coast, rising in places to 7,000 feet, of Circassia and Abkhazia. The main wall begins east of Pitsunda, on the Black Sea, and extends eastward for 200 miles, with but a few hazardous passes, with no gap under 10,000 feet, and attaining nearly 19,000 and 17,000 feet respectively at the peaks of Elbrus and Shkara. Immediately east of Kazbek (16,000 feet) lies the important pass of Daryal, giving good access from the northern to the southern slopes. From the region of Kazbek south-east for 250 miles the bleak hills of Daghestan stretching to the Caspian form the third sector. Innumerable streams, fed by the great glaciers, run north and south of the chain. To the north, the Kuban falling into the Black Sea, and the Kuma and Terek into the Caspian, traverse the salt steppe which once was covered by the waters that united the two seas. To the south, the Ingur and the Rion flow through the fertile Mingrelian Plain to the Black Sea, and the Kur, mingling its waters with the Araxes (Aras) coming from the Armenian Plateau, ends in a swampy delta which finds the Caspian in Aghach Bay south of the Apsheron Peninsula. Between the upper waters of the Rion and Kur the Caucasus throws out the Suram Range, an arm to link with the Armenian system, while, between the Kur and the Aras, Karabagh, a formidable bastion of that system, reaches to within 150 miles of Southern Daghestan. And between the two mountain-masses and their lesser arms nestle the two cuplike depressions of the Rion and Kur Valleys.

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175 The influence on history of this formidable range[1] of the Caucasus has been profound. To the Ancients the Caucasus represented the confines of geographical knowledge; all that lay beyond was mystery and darkness, "the Land of Gog and Magog." The Caucasus protected Southern Asia like a wall. It divided the Eastern World into two: to the north was the land of the Nomads, while to the south the peoples of the Mesopotamian river-valleys and of the Mediterranean coast-lands developed their civilisations, for centuries undisturbed. And when during the first millennium B.C. the Aryan tribes broke in upon the Mediterranean and Semitic races, the Caucasus, as a rampart along the bridge between the Euxine and the Caspian, deflected their course. The Aryans were compelled, by a great circular movement, to sweep down on Iran and India by the steppes to the east of the Caspian, and to enter Asia Minor by Scythia, Thrace and the Bosporus. A thousand years later a fresh wave of nomads, Teutonic, Slavonic and Turki, found the Caucasus obstructing their road into Persia and Roman Asia, and rode on across Scythia into the Balkans and Western Europe. And after another thousand years Seljuk Turks and Mongols, by breaking into the Perso-Arab Empire on its north-eastern frontier, at last took the wall by a great flank march.

175 133 There were two gaps in the mountain-wall which gave possible access to the south to an invader from the north. The first was the deep gorge through the central mountains, the Daryal—Dar-i-Alan, the "Alan road," the Iberian Gates of the Ancients; the second was the swampy littoral of the Caspian, which constituted a passage-way between the mountains and the sea, and which at one point—the Derbend of the Persians, the Bab-al-Abwab of the Arabs, the Caspian Gates of the Romans—narrowed to two miles. These two points every energetic ruler of Iran or Armenia was careful to control. Hence the valley of the Kur constituted a frontier march to the kings of South-west Asia, and its history is mainly a history of war, of incursions by the northern peoples and of counter-attacks against them, or of mutual rivalry for control on the part of the rulers of Iran and Asia Minor.

As the Caucasus was the strategic focus of the struggle between the settled folk of Southern Asia and the nomads of the northern plain, so the Armenian Plateau was the subject of perennial conflict between the rulers of Asia Minor and of Persia. From Lake Gökcha (Sevan) to the Taurus the Armenian passes command all the roads into Persia, Meso-

1 [see cat. 116, p171 -- Analyst]

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potamia, Syria and Egypt, and from the Anti-Taurus to the 175
upper waters of the Halys and the Lycus they give access to 133
all Western Asia Minor, the wealthiest lands of the lords of Constantinople. Thus, both for reasons of trade and of war, neither the rulers of Iran nor of Asia Minor have dared to allow their rival to establish control of the Armenian Plateau. The history of Armenia and the adjacent lands is therefore mainly a record of a tedious and always indecisive struggle for control between their neighbours of the West and of the East. Rome and Parthia, Byzantium and Persia, Byzantium and the Eastern Khalifat, Seljuk and Mongol, Osmanli and Persian, have in turn fought for the control and have wasted their manhood and their wealth in the struggle. In all these wars the valleys of the Rion and the Kur have constituted a route by which the western and eastern combatants have endeavoured alternately to outflank the other.

If these age-long wars were exhausting to the contending 175
Empires, they were disastrous to the peoples inhabiting the disputed lands. They have had a radical effect on the development of the two suffering races, Armenians and Georgians. The history of these two races may be divided into three phases: firstly, the long periods when they were under the political influence, but not under the direct domination, of their eastern, western or northern neighbours; secondly, the shorter period when they were under the actual rule of a foreign race, and formed an integral part either of the Arab, the Byzantine, the Mongol, the Turkish, the Persian or the Russian Empires; and thirdly, the brief periods when political upheavals affecting one or all of their neighbours have allowed them to establish their complete independence.

And if Armenian and Georgian history is mainly a record 181
of treachery, violence and cruelty, it is well to remember that both races were involved in a struggle in which they had no interest, and in which each combatant came as an invader. Also it must be remembered that perpetual warfare prevents the development of all culture, and produces as the dominant types, not the progressive statesman, the enlightened scholar, the prosperous merchant, and the industrious peasant, but the ambitious soldier of fortune, the time-serving politician who must always apprehend a change of masters, the merchant who has no security for his trade and must bribe for his safety, and the peasant driven desperate by oppression, who finds brigandage or service in foreign armies more remunerative than sowing for the invader to reap or burn.

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# A. HISTORY

## SECTION I—GEORGIA AND THE CAUCASUS

### I

### A GLANCE AT CAUCASIAN HISTORY UP TO THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

175 THE earliest inhabitants of Transcaucasia appear to have been a semi-troglodytic race of neither Semitic, Aryan nor Turanian stock. It is reasonable to suppose that the tribes were linguistically and physically connected with, and under the occasional political influence of, the Hittites, whose sway extended over Western and Central Asia Minor, and who then (*c.* 1100 B.C.) represented the most cultured portion of the races of that portion of the globe.

Several centuries before the Christian era the influx of Aryan tribes from the west and of Semitic peoples from the valleys of Mesopotamia had assimilated these early tribes; and Trans-Caucasia passed with the rest of Western Asia under the domination of the Persian King of Kings. From henceforward its history was fated to be a succession of invasions and counter-invasions which left it little peace and little time for normal development.

Persian control and cultural influence lasted for some 300 years, until the victories of Alexander of Macedon removed the overlord and eventually left a somewhat legendary King Pharnavaz trying to organise an independent kingdom in what is now Georgia—but in vain. The country next fell under the sway of Mithridates King of Pontus; and the defeat of the latter by Pompey in 65 B.C. brought Transcaucasia into direct relations with the Roman world and with the Greeks, who through their traders had founded colonies in the rich West Georgian lands of Colchis and Phasis as early as the seventh century B.C. Commerce of East and West gradually began to open up the country; but its development was delayed by the

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perpetual wars between the Eastern Roman and Persian Empires 175
which for so many years ravaged the fair lands of Asia Minor.

The first important period in Caucasian history is the latter [795]
half of the fifth century, when a powerful local king, Vakhtang Gurgaslan (434–467), finally established the supremacy of the new Christian religion, and removed his capital from Mtskhet to its present site at Tiflis. A hundred years later Western Georgia[1] became a Roman province under Justinian; and in 622 the severe defeat of the Persians by the Emperor Heraclius bred hopes of a long period of tranquillity.

But in vain. Only fifteen years later an invasion of Arabs from the south overran the country, and the Moslem conquerors penetrated even into the mountain-ranges of the Caucasus itself. They failed, however, to establish themselves west of the Suram ridge, and under the rule of their own Bagratid Kings the Georgians to the west and south-west flourished amazingly. The next invasion was that of the Seljuks in 1072; but the First Crusade attracted these unwelcome visitors away to defend the south-west, and a Golden Age of comparative prosperity ensued for Georgia, lasting for 120 years and more. Of the monarchs who reigned during that era none is more celebrated than the wonderful Queen Thamara, of whom legend has made an almost celestial figure of beauty, wisdom and virtue. And indeed she appears to have been a woman remarkable for her moderation, humanity and personal culture. At her death in 1212 Georgia was predominant in the Caucasus, her authority extending from the Black Sea almost to the Caspian, and from the main range of the Caucasus to the Araxes and the Upper Chorokh.

Her successors were not so fortunate. Eight years after her death a vast horde of Mongols appeared from the south-east, where, after pursuing the fugitive Shah Ala-ud-Din to the Caspian, they had devastated all Northern Persia. In the following year they advanced on Tiflis and cut to pieces a Georgian army which had rapidly been collected by King Giorgi Lasha. In 1223 they reappeared, ravaged Southern Georgia and moved on into Russia by the gap of Derbend. On this Queen Rusudan, daughter of Thamara, took advantage of the recent Persian disaster and attacked the Persians. She was however heavily defeated by Shah Jelal-ud-Din, who advanced to Tiflis and sacked it. Five years afterwards the

[1] The name of Jorzan, a tribe in the Upper Kur Valley, appears first to have been applied by the Arabs to the whole country. The name Georgia is in no way derived from the Greek.

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175 Mongols came back and occupied the country; and had it not been for the tact of one of the nobles (Avak Mkhargrdzelidze by name) in securing the patronage of the great Khan Ogotai, the land would have been overwhelmed in the general ruin of Central Asia and Persia. By 1247 the whole of Georgia had passed definitely under the control of the Mongols. The latter however left the administration in the hands of the natives, contenting themselves merely with taking heavy tribute from the country, commandeering whatever happened to suit their fancy, and compulsorily enrolling in their forces large numbers of the young men, many of whom were by no means averse from a life of fighting and opportunities for plunder and distinction.

During the middle third of the fourteenth century conditions in Georgia steadily improved; but at the end of that century she again received a heavy set-back through the invasion of Timur Leng (Tamerlane), who ravaged the country during the last decade, and through the appearance of the Black Death, which swept away thousands of the inhabitants. Meanwhile the Osmanli had appeared on the scene, and the old struggle for the Armenian Plateau began again, this time between the Persians and the followers of Othman. The seizure of Constantinople by the Turks in 1453 cut off the Caucasians from all contact with Western civilisation, and the Georgians were for a time hard set to maintain their religion and their existence against attacks by the Moslem nations on either side of them. None of these combatants however permanently held Central Transcaucasia, and the Georgian princes of Mingrelia, Imeretia, Karthalinia and Kakhetia, by opportunist diplomacy and careful treachery, succeeded in maintaining a limited independence. But the difficulties incurred by alternately conciliating and defying the Sultan or the Shah required that the different parts of the country should be sufficiently independent of the others to be able to pursue an exclusive policy in accordance with local conditions and with their comparative propinquity to Persian or Turk. Thus the former Kingdom of Georgia was divided into seven or eight mutually independent districts, all owing allegiance in varying degrees to one of the two Mussulman Empires, and all loosely united by common ties of religion and language.

It would be wearisome to record at length the details of the sordid history of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, and it will be sufficient to indicate the broader division of the principalities and the respective positions of the two

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Mussulman States towards the close of the seventeenth 175 century.

Persia at that time exercised a comparatively effective suzerainty over the Mussulman Khans of Eastern Transcaucasia, and controlled on her northern frontier Derbend, and on her western the fortresses of Ganja and Erivan, respectively commanding the routes into North-west Persia by the valleys of the Kur, the Arpa Chai, and the Araxes. The King of Karthalinia and Somkhetia, a descendant of Giorgi, son of Alexander, the last King of all Georgia, was the vassal and nominee of the Persian Shah, and was under the obligation to profess an official devotion to the tenets of Islam. The King of Kakhetia, a descendant of Alexander's son Dmitri, was also a vassal of the Shah, but—owing to the remoteness of his possessions and to the proximity to the mountains of his chief towns, Telav and Signakh—was less pliant and often defiant. In the region south of Daryal the family of Bibelur, Kabards by extraction, and *eristavs*[1] of Ksan and the Araghva, were virtually independent of both the Kings of Karthalinia and of Kakhetia. To the west, in the upper valleys of the Rion and the Ingur, the Svanetians remained almost isolated from the Georgians of the south, and virtually independent under the Dadians—the Georgian family of Ghelovani—until the end of the seventeenth century, and later the Kabardan family of Dadish Kilian. To the south-east of Svanetia the district of Radsha, under eristavs of the family of Chkeidze, were nominal dependents of the Dadians of Mingrelia. To the north-west the Abkhazians maintained complete independence, under princes of the family of Sharvashidze, claiming descent from members of the family of the Shirvan-Shah exiled to Abhazia during the reign of David the Restorer. In South-western Georgia Turkish influence was predominant.

During the sixteenth century the Turks had occupied the valley of the Chorokh; Ahkaltsikh had fallen into their hands in 1545; Ardahan and Ardanuch in 1550; two years later they had built a fortress at Kars, to command any Persian advance from Erivan up the valley of the Arpa Chai. The Georgian mountain-tribes of the Chorokh region, Lazes and Ajars, became completely Muhammadanised, and the Georgian family of Jaquel, *Atabegs* of Akhaltsikh, acquired the position of hereditary Pashas of the fortress of Akhaltsikh. The Turks never established themselves beyond the Ajar hills; and for this Sir John Chardin gives as a reason that the staple diet of

[1] Nobles.

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175 the lowlanders—pork and wine—was unsuitable to the soldiers of the Khalif and unfavourable to the propagation of Islam. However this may be, Guria, the lowland strip between the Ajar hills and the Rion, was tributary to the Turks, and the Guriels, of the Svanetian family of Varvanidze, whose seat was Ozurgeti, generally brought a contingent into the field to support the Pasha of Akhaltsikh. The Dadians of Mingrelia, of the family of Chikhovan, and the Kings of Imeretia, descendants of David Narin, with their seat at Kutais, were subject to the Turks in approximately the same degree as the rulers of Karthalinia and Kakhetia were to the Persians, and in such a position were alternately the allies and the victims of the Sultan.

To sum up—at the end of the seventeenth century the Persians ruled South-eastern Transcaucasia and dominated Karthalinia and Kakhetia; the Turks held the valley of the Chorokh and virtually controlled Guria, Mingrelia and Imeretia. The northern districts of the Araghva, Svanetia and Abkhazia were in practice independent. Finally, the mountain tribes—the Cherkesses, Kabards, Ossets, Chechens, and Lesghians—recognised no authority, but alternately raided the territories of, or allied themselves with, one or other of the three Bagratid Kings in Georgia.

## II

### SOCIAL ORGANISATION, MANNERS AND CUSTOMS[1]

101 It will have been noticed that the above historical sketch deals chiefly with Georgia—that somewhat vague but fertile territory lying south of the Caucasian Range and watered by the Rion to the west and the upper stream of the Kur and its tributaries to the east—whilst little or no space has been devoted to the inhabitants of the mountains themselves. The reason is fairly apparent, for we may say that these mountain tribes, at all events during the period with which we have been dealing, have had no history worth recording. Living as they did in their rough mountain fastnesses, cut off from each other not only by the difficulties of their surroundings but by the immense variety of different languages that they spoke, the only matter of interest in their communications with the outer world lay in the spheres of commerce and religion; and on these we shall touch in the process of description.

The mountain tribes of the Caucasus may be classified for practical purposes in two main groups, those of the Western

1 [see cat. 116, pp. 169-176 -- Analyst]

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and Eastern Highlands respectively. This classification does 101
not correspond to any definite linguistic or ethnological division. But the geographical division through the Daryal Pass, and the historical causes which have associated the western tribes with the Black Sea region and the eastern tribes with the Caspian and Kur Valley, may justify a classification in other respects arbitrary. The western tribes, popularly called Cherkesses,[1] or Circassians, occupied the triangle between Taman, the sources of the Kuban and the Terek and the upper reaches of the Kodor. Generically they were divided into the Adigé, occupying the Black Sea Coast from Anapa to Gagri and the hinterland to the Kuban; the Kabardans, settled on the highlands lying along the upper courses of the Kuban and the Baksan Rivers, and along the left bank of the Terek; and the Abkhazes, divided into the Abazekhs and the Abkhaz, who inhabited the coast from Gagri to Sukhum, and the hinterland as far as the sources of the Kodor. The inaccessible nature of the country, with its dangerous coast, its impenetrable forests and marshes, and its impassable mountains, cut by more than sixty streams falling into the Black Sea, made all communications difficult, and tended to isolate small communities from their neighbours. Here existed a number of tribes speaking different and progressively varying dialects, who were mutually hostile or allied in the waging of perpetual feuds, and whose culture developed with little incentive to change, no occasion for innovation, and rare influence from without.

The coastal valleys formed the natural settlements and the mountains the natural frontiers. The chief tribes of the Adigé were the Chegaki (sailors) of the coast between Anapa and Sunjuk, the Natu Khajis (villages of Natu), who occupied the territory north-eastwards to the left bank of the Kuban; and the Chapsughs (breeders of horses), stretching, with some smaller tribes, as far as Gagri. Lesser tribes occupied the northern slopes of the Caucasus as far as the Kuban.

The social organisation of all the Cherkess tribes was on an 565
elaborate feudal basis; a system had developed which rigidly divided the people into five classes: the princes (*pcheh* or *pchi*), who exercised tribal regal power; the nobles (*work*), who formed a few powerful families of almost equal rank with the pcheh; the freedmen, who had bought their liberty, and whose descendants could by merit acquire the rights of nobles; the serfs, who could own cattle and land of their own, who

[1] A suggested derivation of the name is from the Turkish *cher* (road) and *kesmek* (cut), signifying brigands (Chantre iv, 111).

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565 had the right to change masters, and who were protected against arbitrary sale; and the slaves, who were for the most part prisoners of war. Very definite laws regulated the rights and duties of the various castes, and intermarriage was forbidden. On the other hand the princes[1] exercised little real [642] authority; leadership in war was not an hereditary right, but leaders were elected from the families of the princes and nobles by a popular assembly of the four highest classes; while judges were nominated by popular vote, with powers only for a single day.

181 The social organisation of the Cherkesses was in many respects anarchical, for not only was every tribe independent, 871 but every noble's household within each tribe. Nevertheless the general conduct of the people was subject to a series of established customs, based on primitive conceptions of chivalry, respect for age, hospitality and blood-vengeance. The sons of nobles were educated in a long and difficult course of knightly training by cadet members of other noble families, who stood in the joint relation to them of tutor and blood-brother. The women had few rights, but the rights of protection by their fathers and husbands were very clearly defined.

101 The eastern tribes occupied the country between the Daryal and the Caspian littoral, and from the right bank of the Terek to the hills overlooking the valleys of the Alazan and the Kur. On the north, inhabiting the highlands of the Terek, the Sunja and the Argun, were the various tribes of Chechens, and the lesser related tribes of the Ingushes, the Kists, the Itskheris and the Galgais. Segregated in unapproachable villages (*auls*) in the depths of primæval beech-forests, the Chechens had a culture which was far less developed than that of the Cherkesses. They had no class system, and lived together in small anarchical communities.

South-east of the Chechens were the powerful Lesghian [633] tribes, scattered over Daghestan ("The Mountain Country"), which formed an elevated table-land through which innumerable rivers had cut channels to a depth frequently of thousands of feet, the whole being backed and ribbed south and west by mountain chains with several peaks over 13,000 feet in height. The principal Lesghian tribes were the Kubachins and Darghis on the north-east, bordering the Chechen country, the Kazi-Kumukhs of the central plateau, the Kurins and Tabasserans of the south-east, overlooking the Tatar lowlands of Shirvan, and the Avars, Andis and Didos on the west, bordering on Kakhetia.

1 [of the Cherkess -- Analyst]

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Of these the Kubachins,[1] skilled armourers, the Kurins and 101
the Tabasserans—the two latter tribes probably descendants of Persian colonists—were the most peaceable, industrious and civilised, while the Avars were the most warlike. All the [622]
Daghestanli tribes were organised on a patriarchal and extremely democratic basis—the chiefs being elective and controlled by councils of elders. To quote Hanway—"as they live under a kind of republican government, the distinction paid to him (the chief) is not very considerable."[2]

Distinct, racially and politically, from the other mountain tribes were the Ossets, who, divided into four main tribes—Digurins, Tagaurs, Kutatins and Alaghirs—were settled over the southern slopes of the Central Caucasus and in the valley of the Upper Araghva. Their social organisation, with its divisions into classes of nobles and serfs, corresponded in many respects to that of the western tribes.

The mountaineers possessed the accepted characteristics of 181
all semi-civilised peoples: on the one hand reckless courage, extreme generosity, hospitality, loyalty, respect for the aged and love of animals; on the other hand a sensibility to offence and a childish vindictiveness which was expressed in perpetual and blood-thirsty vendettas, extreme personal vanity, a disinclination to submit to discipline or to undertake regular work, cruelty, callousness and violence.

All travellers unite in praising the hospitality of the moun- 574
taineers. "They fulfil the duties of hospitality with the most scrupulous attention, and both the host and his guest style one another *conacco*,[3] which is synonymous with *hospes* in Latin. On the departure of the latter, his host escorts him to another lodging, protects him, and, if necessary, risks his own life in defence of his guest. Though it has been observed that robbery is so general in this country that it may be considered as a regular profession, they nevertheless manifest the utmost fidelity to their conacci or guests.[4] Of the Ingushes Klaproth says, "At entertainments the host always waits upon his guests, and eats only what the latter throw him."[5]

The chief occupation and interest of the tribes lay in per- 721
petual raids against their neighbours, or against the inhabitants

[1] Chantre, basing himself on Kubachin legends, suggests that this community was of Greek origin, the descendants of a colony of armourers settled by the Persian Kings at Derbend (Chantre, iv, 228).
[2] Hanway, i. 373.
[3] The Italianised form of "kunakh."
[4] Klaproth, p. 336, Dubois de Montpereux, i, 88, both quoting Interiano.
[5] Klaproth, p. 349.

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721 of the lowlands to the north and south. Spring and autumn were their favourite periods, and much ingenuity was exercised in spying out the land. Fighting was only resorted to in extreme cases; and on the whole we may look upon these raids as merely low-class robbery resorted to for the purpose of obtaining cattle, supplies and slaves, which were either absorbed by the raiders themselves or bartered with other tribes or merchants from other countries.

105 Some interesting descriptions of their daily life in the fifteenth to eighteenth centuries are in existence. By these we learn that in the west their houses were all built of straw or wood. No towers or houses of stone existed, for that would show that the owner was in fear and did not know how to protect himself. They lived mostly on meat, millet, water and mead, and wore long silk or linen tunics with wide trousers tucked into long boots, the whole covered with a cloak of felt, and crowned by a conical cap. They wore long moustaches and shaved their heads, and their arrows, leather work and embroidery were of very fine execution. The eastern tribes, on the other hand, lived in stone fortified villages; their food consisted of barley bread, roots and a little meat, and their weapons included not only guns and spears but wooden shields as well. The Lesghians appear to have been much better off than most of the other tribes, but the Ossets and other Daghestanlis lived often in a condition of great poverty and hardship.

795 In the history of the religion of the various tribes can be traced the effects of the influence of neighbouring civilisations.
177.79 The primitive paganism of the tribes, tree, idol and animal worship, survived as a living force until the end of the eighteenth century. On the foundation of this paganism were grafted the various faiths of the different races, who successively invaded or traded with the mountain regions. The Persians introduced fire-worship; the early Georgian Kings propagated Christianity among the Abkhazians, Ossets and Lesghians. Even during the period of Arab hegemony in the Caucasus many districts were Christian which are now fanatically Muhammadan.

The Arabs were successful in converting large portions of Daghestan to Islam, and their influence survives, not only in religious practices but in the writing and the methods of gardening and irrigation used by the eastern tribes.[1]

During the Middle Ages Christianity was spread by the Bagratids among the Kabardans and Chechens, and in the

[1] Chantre, iv, 218.

[i.e., of the caucasian mountain tribes--Analyst]

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Western Caucasus among the Cherkesses by Byzantine, Russian and Latin influence. It was not until the sixteenth century, when Turkish influence was strong in the Caucasus, and when the Russians were approaching from the north, that religion, as a political force, became a serious issue.

The relations between the Turks and the Cherkesses, Kabardans and Abkhazians were confined to the exchange of merchandise for slaves and raw materials. Such relations were mutually beneficial, for while the Turks obtained from the Caucasus brave recruits for their Janissary Corps and beautiful wives for their harîms, the young men of the mountains grasped eagerly at the opportunity of a brilliant military career in foreign lands, and the young women forwent with little misgiving the hard domesticity of the mountain huts for the lives of luxurious ease which lay beyond the slave-markets of Trebizond, Akhaltsikh or Constantinople. Militarily the Turks made no attempt to force their hegemony on the mountain tribes, while the latter for their part would have been quick to resent any encroachment on their independence. If Islam spread among the mountaineers, Cherkesses, Kabardans and Abkhazians, it was rather the result of casual but continuous contact with the Mussulman merchants and sailors than of any deliberate policy of proselytisation on the part of the Turks. And it was an easy faith, in the practice of which were mingled many old pagan superstitions and forgotten rites of Zoroastrian and Christian, and which lay as lightly on the mountaineers as had Christianity during the period of Bagratid influence. Klaproth, commenting on the propagation of the Muhammadan faith among the Kabardans during the latter half of the eighteenth century, remarks that "the Porte had endeavoured to spread the religion of Mohammed by means of ecclesiastical emissaries. . . . Their [the Kabardans'] *mullahs* or priests are generally freedmen of the princes or *usden* who go to the Tatars of Tabasseran or to Ender, where they learn to read and write a little, assume the title of *Effendi*, and return to their native country to instruct the people in the Mohammedan faith, and to detach them more and more from the connection with Russia." [1]

In Daghestan Islam had been maintained and consolidated, since the days of the Arabs, by constant contact with the Persians and Tatars of Shirvan. The Daghestanli were for the most part Sunni and, at times, vented their fanaticism on the Shiah townsmen of Derbend and Shemakha.

[1] Klaproth, p. 317.

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000 As regards the manners and customs of the Georgians and of those who dwelt in the more level country south of the Caucasus Range we have somewhat contradictory reports. Marco Polo (A.D. 1275) informs us that "Of Georgiana and the kings thereof . . . the people are very handsome, capital archers and most valiant soldiers. They have a fashion of wearing their hair cropped like Churchmen. . . . The country produces the best goshawks in the world"; while Josaphat Barbaro, writing about 1450, tells us frankly that "They are a beastly people. . . . And the Genowaies that practise in those pties use for a proverbe to saie: Thou art a Mongrello,[1] when they are disposed to saie thou art a foole." It seems clear, however, that feudalism under a reigning monarch developed early under Persian influence, and was the normal form of government for many centuries. At the head of the State was a King, whose functions were to command the army in time of war, to maintain internal order and to administer justice. Immediately below the King were three classes of *thavads* or princes, who with the titles of *didebul* (great), *mthvar* (chief) and *eristav* (ἄριστος), held great landed estates, and who were, during the weakness of the monarchy, virtually independent. Their titles were originally administrative, but had soon become hereditary, as the titles duke, marquis, and count in Western Europe. Dependent on the thavads were the *aznaurs* (Armenian, "noble") or gentlemen, who followed them in the field and, in their youth, rendered personal service as esquires. Equal in social status to the second and third classes of aznaur were the *mokalaki* (from kalaka "town") or merchants of Tiflis and Gori, who were organised in guilds. These mokalaki were mainly Armenian immigrants and, in Mingrelia, Jews. The *msakhurs* formed an intermediate class between the gentry and the two grades of serfs. They appear to have been drawn originally from the more intelligent serfs, and were the upper servants in the noble houses. Many of them gained official posts under the Crown and at court, and the chief of the msakhurs was third among the high dignitaries of the State. There were two classes of peasants, the *kmas* and the *monas*. The kma was the prosperous serf, who though attached to the soil and to the estate of his master had acquired property and had the chance to buy his liberty. The kma probably comprised the artisan class, the outdoor servants of an estate, such as falconers, gardeners and gamekeepers, and the non-commissioned officers

[1] I.e., Mingrelian.

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of the army. The monas were the slaves without property who performed unskilled labour, working in the fields, vineyards and forests of their lords, repairing the roads, and constructing buildings. Further, they were under obligation to supply guides and escorts to their lords on a journey and in time of war to follow his banner. In return they occupied a plot of land, proper to themselves—a proportion of the produce of which they were compelled to pay to their masters,—and they could rely on the protection of the seignorial castle in the event of invasion. The lords administered local justice and had power of life and death; further, they were at liberty to sell or exchange their serfs, while the latter, if the land were sold, passed with it.

After the end of the fifteenth century, when intercourse with Persia and Turkey became easy, this seignorial privilege, which had its parallel in every country in Europe, was abased by the wholesale exportation of serfs, male and female, to the slave-markets of Tabriz, Akhaltsikh and Trebizond. This iniquitous commerce was particularly brisk in Mingrelia and Guria, and Chardin, in the latter half of the seventeenth century, estimated that the peasantry were sold into Turkey at the rate of 12,000 a year. "La Mingrélie," he states, "est aujourd'hui fort peu peuplée . . . la cause de cette diminution vient de ses guerres avec ses voisins, et de la quantité de gens de tout sexe que les gentilshommes ont vendue ces dernières années." He goes on to tell of an impecunious but enterprising nobleman who had recently sold twelve priests and his own wife to a Turkish sea-captain at Trebizond.

It must be explained, however, that this sale of Christian souls to the Infidels was strongly condemned by the heads of the Georgian Church, who imposed severe penalties when it was within their power, and remitted the sins of the penitent who should redeem a Christian from slavery in Turkey.

In addition to the feudal dues from the Royal estates, the Kings levied a number of general taxes, and of special dues on certain neighbourhoods, some of which must have seriously interfered with the prosperity of their subjects. Such were taxes on wine, flocks, beasts of burden, ploughs, married men, furnaces and falcons. But in addition to the impositions of their own kings and feudal lords, the long-suffering Georgian peasantry were subject to the indiscriminate levies of invading armies of Mongols, Persians and Turks. In 1724 the Turks imposed a poll-tax on the whole male population and levied on cattle, horses and agricultural products; in 1736 the Per-

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651 sians imposed such an onerous tax on cattle and trees that, five years later, the army of Nadir Shah was beset by famine. But the Persian exactions continued, until in 1747 the King of Karthalinia effected a kind of general strike by withdrawing all the working population into the hills and strong places. Lastly, in consequence of the wars, the people were frequently subjected to a special tax, enduring over a period of years, the proceeds of which were spent in the repair of churches and castles and in the redemption of slaves.

175 659 795 In two respects the Church in Georgia bears an important relation to the political history of the country. Firstly, Christianity, both in Zoroastrian and Mussulman days, represented the influence of Byzantium and the West as opposed to that of Persia and the East. And the prosperity and power of the Church fluctuated according to the respective strength of Christendom and Islam. Secondly, Georgia did not experience the struggle between Church and State which was taking place in other parts of Christendom. This fact must be attributed directly to the menace of Islam. The influence of the Church with the peasantry was too valuable to the King, and the armed protection of the King was too important to the Church, to allow of either of them attempting to weaken or dispense with the other. The revival of the Georgian monarchy saw the reappearance of a Catholicos at Mtzkhet, and the rich endowment of churches and monasteries. While Henry II in [793] England was wrangling with Thomas à Becket, the Georgian Kings were showering favours and privileges on their clergy. The Catholicos and his bishops held wide lands and owned great numbers of slaves; many nobles were the vassals of Mtzkhet. Besides this, the clergy were free from all taxation, being liable only to contribute in a national emergency.

175 659 During the great days of the Bagratid monarchy the Church flourished and grew rich, under the protection of and in alliance with the Crown. But rarely do we note traces of that friction between the two dominant bodies in the State which was disturbing the politics of Western Christendom. The Catholicos, indeed, was recognised virtually as the equal of the King, and his feudal levies were commanded by an independent General, nominated by himself.

The two powers seem to have been interdependent; the King nominated a new Catholicos; the Catholicos presided over the Assembly of lords and bishops at the coronation of a new King. Together the King and the Church monopolised the greater part of the wealth of the country. Hundreds of

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churches and monasteries sprang up, constructed at great cost by architects, stonemasons and woodcarvers imported from Byzantium. The churches were full of gorgeous vestments, of rare illuminated holy books, of miraculous relics presented by noble devotees returned from the Holy Land, of costly gold and silver vessels. At the boards of the Catholicos and of his bishops holy men and their lay guests feasted to their full on the first fruits of the land. And the Church was chosen by the cadets of the aristocracy as a career more lucrative and more pleasing than service at the Court, or in the trains of the great *didebuls*.

With the fall of the national monarchy and the predominance of the Mussulman powers began the decline of the Georgian Church. The Turkish capture of Constantinople severed all connection with the Greeks, who had so profoundly influenced every aspect of Georgian religious life, its doctrines, its rites and its architecture. Finally when the Georgian Kingdom split, the Church split too. The influence and efficiency of the clergy speedily declined. All the European travellers in Georgia during the seventeenth century unite in condemning their ignorance, their drunkenness, their immorality and their levity. The bishops were hardly to be distinguished from the ordinary feudal proprietors, and their seats were bought and sold by, or conferred as rewards upon, the relatives of the different ruling princes. The aristocracy, demoralised by the humiliating political conditions which often compelled them to embrace Islam, and forced them to send their sons in hostage to be educated by the Mullahs of Isfahan, or to give their daughters into Persian or Turkish harîms, had assumed a cynical indifference towards their religion. They combined Mussulman polygamy with Christian drunkenness, and interested themselves in either religion only to the extent of celebrating, with admirable impartiality, the feast-days of both.

Only among the peasantry and the artisan class did any true religious sentiment survive, and this for the most part took the form of national feeling against the Persians. For the rest, the peasants clung to a number of superstitions dignified with the name of Christianity. But the churches were in ruins and for the most part unfrequented. Chardin has something cynical to say about their condition: "Les Géorgiens . . . ont une coûtume assez étrange de bâtir la plupart des églises sur le haut des montagnes. . . . On les voit et on les salue en cet éloignement, de trois ou quatre lieues; mais on n'y va jamais; et l'on peut bien assurer que la plupart

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771 ne s'ouvrent pas une fois en dix ans. Je n'ai jamais pu
découvrir le motif de cette extravagance. . . . Je crois, pour
175 moi, qu'ils les édifient en des lieux inaccessibles pour éviter de les orner et de les entretenir."

In their buildings the Georgians closely followed the archi-
341 tectural principles of the Byzantines and the Persians. The ruins of three very fine early examples (Ouplos, Darbasse and Vardzia)[1] still exist, and in the seventeenth century we have accounts of some great palaces built precisely like those of Persia. The houses of the lesser gentry were rough, two-storied, timber barns, roofed with clay or wooden tiles, frequently burnt down during the incessant civil wars, and easily rebuilt. The large living-room usually accommodated a number of domestic animals. "Les maisons," to quote Chardin, "sont fort incommodes et fort sales; elles n'ont ni cheminées ni fenêtres, le feu s'y fait au milieu, le jour y entre par la porte." The peasants lived more miserably still. Their huts were for the most part troglodytic, and all that was to be seen of them by a traveller riding past were the rough roofings of timber and earth, on which vegetables were flourishing and where the women lazed in the evening. A distinctive feature of Georgian houses of the better class were wide balconies, running the length of the building and furnished with divans, where the master and his guests would eat and drink and lounge away the afternoon and, during the hot season, sleep. Castles, consisting of a keep or donjon, surrounded by stables and other buildings, the whole protected by a wall and ditch, were scattered about the country, and formed the strongholds and treasuries, but infrequently the residences, of the princes. They afforded a refuge to the countryside in time of war.

The towns of Georgia were insignificant, wretched collections
361 of mud-and-timber houses, built so close together that "il est souvent plus facile de cheminer sur les toits que par les rues." Tiflis, the stronghold of Persian political influence, and hence the centre of Transcaucasian politics, alone might claim to be a city. As the chief market-town of the Kur Valley, it brought farmers and merchants from all over the Caucasus, to buy and sell wine and silk and wool and cotton, horses and cattle and arms, while its famous mineral springs attracted wealthy invalids from Tabriz and Isfahan. Its bazaars and caravanserais, "bâtis de pierres et bien entretenus," were always crowded and busy—"on y voit autant de sortes d'étrangers

[1] Situated respectively near Gori, Kutais and Akhaltsikh.

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qu'en aucun lieu du monde." And it supported fourteen churches—"beaucoup en un pays où il y a très peu de dévotion." 361

A few lines on the subject of costume may be of interest. 291

Certain mural paintings show the early Bagratids in all the glory of Byzantine coronets and sceptres, long purple tunics, broad jewelled belts and red leather boots. In the thirteenth century Byzantine influence becomes less marked, and a mixture of native innovations and fashions borrowed from Persia are to be observed. The men wear the long oriental moustaches, and the women have their eyebrows painted in one line, after the Persian manner. At this period the "bashlik" or hood of goats' hair or cloth, so common in the Caucasus, first appears in the costumes of both men and women. Josaphat Barbaro, who was travelling in Georgia about 1470, gives a realistic picture of contemporary fashions. "They have very fylthie apparill," he says. "They go with their heads rounded and shaven, leaving only a little heare, after the maner of our abbotts that have great revenewes, and they suffer their mostacchi to grow a quarter of a yard longer than their beardes. On their heads they wear a littell cappe, of divers colors, with a creste on the top. On their backes they were certein garments meetly lenge,[1] but they be straite and open behind downe to the buttocks; for otherwise they could not gett to horsebacke; wherein I do not blame them, for I see the Frenchmen use the like. On their feete and legges they were bootes or busgynes, made with their soles of such a sorte, that when they stand, the heele and the toe touche the grounde, but the plante of the foote standeth so high that yow may easelie thrust yor fyst undernethe without hurting of it, whereof it followeth that when they go afoote they go with paine."

Pictures of the sixteenth century display the Georgian princes in the rich stuffs, the long hanging robes, jewelled headdresses and aigrettes in vogue at the Persian court, while a picture of the following century shows a Mingrelian princess in the silk trousers of the Turkish harîms. The trousseaux of Royal ladies in these times, judging from the lists which have come down to us, were magnificent, costly and voluminous, and illustrate the great wealth of even the smaller Georgian Kings during times of prosperity.

The dresses of the poorer gentry were naturally less elaborate, those of the peasantry being miserable in the extreme. Chardin in the seventeenth century notes the same peculiarity with

[1] The forerunner of the modern long, tight-fitting, high-necked "cherkesska."

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291 regard to shaving the head and the same kind of caps as Barbaro had observed in the fifteenth. Of the gentry Chardin says that " ils sont si gueux et si misérables, que pour ne point gâter à la pluie leur calotte ou leur bonnet ils le mettent dans la poche lorsqu'il pleut et vont ainsi tête nue." He adds that [293] every man carried a length of rope " pour attacher les personnes et le bétail qu'ils enlèvent à leurs voisins " ; a knife and a stone with which to sharpen it, a gun and three leather pouches, containing respectively salt, pepper, and needles and thread.

He adds that the poor peasantry go nearly naked, with simply a piece of felt to cover them. " Ils mettent le feutre," he says, " en passant la tête dedans, et ils le tournent comme ils veulent du côté que vient le vent ou la pluie ; car il ne couvre qu'un côté du corps, et ne descend que jusqu'aux genoux."

Most of the mediæval travellers agree in describing the RI Georgian gentry as ignorant and idle, dissolute and venal, [274] gluttonous and drunken. The history of these days is one long enumeration of murders, assassinations, mutilations, robberies, abductions and treacheries, and it is easy to believe the worst which the travellers have to say of their Georgian hosts. Nevertheless, condemnation of the manners of mediæval and eighteenth-century Georgia should be tempered by the consideration that the vices and crimes recorded are comparative. The condition of the serfs of Georgia was no worse than that of the serfs of Russia or of Continental Europe ; the lives of the princes no more extravagant and no more immoral than those of the courtiers of Louis XIV or of Charles II. Further, local conditions both of climate and of politics tended to vitiate the characters of the Georgian gentry. A lowland climate and a land of plenty, and a diet composed chiefly of millet and pork, made them lazy and luxury-loving ; an abundance of wine made them drunkards ; their privileges made them extravagant. Again, difficult political conditions, which required the conciliation of a powerful neighbour, or the betrayal of a weak or unwary ally, produced a type of man who was opportunist, unscrupulous, venal and without ideals. Lastly, frequent contact with the degenerate civilisations of Islam and with the minor ruffians of Persian and Turkish history accelerated a general decline of morals and a lapse into a sensual and undignified mode of life.

Chardin gives the following analysis of the character of the Georgians, with which the observations of previous and contemporary travellers are in general agreement : " Les Géorgiens

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ont naturellement beaucoup d'esprit ; l'on en feroit des gens 181
savants et des grands maîtres, si on les élevoit dans les sciences et dans les arts ; mais l'éducation qu'on leur donne étant fort méchante, et n'ayant que de mauvais exemples, ils deviennent très ignorans et très vicieux. Ils sont fourbes, fripons, perfides, traîtres, ingrats, superbes. . . . Outre ces vices de l'esprit, ils ont ceux de la sensualité les plus sales, l'ivrognerie et la luxure. Ils se plongent d'autant plus avant dans ces saletés, qu'elles sont communes et nullement déshonnêtes en Géorgie. . . . Pour le reste, les Géorgiens ont de la civilité et de l'humanité, et de plus ils sont graves et modérés."

The life of the Georgian gentleman was passed entirely in 565
hunting, in war and in the satisfaction of personal feuds ; from 224
the age of four years he was brought up to horsemanship and 262
the use of arms ; every man was a past-master with the bow and lance. They hunted the jackal and the fox with hounds, but their favourite pastime was hawking, their principal game being cranes, herons and pheasants. After the chase the company would give themselves up to feasting and drinking. A main item of diet was *gom*, a kind of porridge made with millet, which formed almost the sole nourishment of the peasants, and was a much-appreciated course at the tables of the gentry. They had little fish except tunny and salt-fish imported from Trebizond and Kaffa, but ate many varieties of meat, the most abundant of which was pork, then venison, beef, mutton and hare.

At any great feast it was a point of honour to become in- 273
toxicated, and he who failed in this respect was considered to be a poor fellow. The lower classes, however, were often miserably fed, and the standard of their living was a very low one.

Georgian was a literary language, at least from the time of 212
Pharnavaz, who is said to have introduced the Georgian alphabet, derived, like the Armenian, through the Pahvli and Zend, from the Aramæan. The earliest extant examples of Georgian writing are copies of the Bible, lives of the Saints and other sacred works.

The Mongol and later Mussulman wars effectually checked 517
the natural development of Georgian intellectual life, and to 538
the separation from the philosophical and educational influences of Western Europe must be attributed much of the illiteracy, coarseness and lack of idealism of the Georgian aristocracy of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. What little literary culture there was in the country was the preserve of

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517 the monasteries and, more particularly, of the small colonies
538 of Italian Capuchin monks. With the beginning of the eighteenth century, however, a literary revival began, due partly to renewed facilities for communication with Western Europe. In 1712 King Vakhtang VI set up a printing-press in Tiflis and began the collection and publication of mediæval Georgian poems and romances, while under his direction *The Georgian Chronicle* was edited and published. Vakhtang in fact initiated a patriotic literary renaissance, which was a counterpart to the contemporary political reaction against the Mussulman overlords of Georgia.

538 It was however in poetry and in romanticism that the Georgian mind found its highest expression, and it is in the descriptions of colour, of nature, and of the emotions of the senses that Georgian writers have achieved the most beautiful passages in their language. The lyrical compositions of the great Georgian poets show us the best side of the national character—a love of the dance and of music and song and pleasant company, a delight in bright colours and rich stuffs, a kindliness for horses and wild creatures, an enthusiasm for fresh air and for the chase, an easy though sincere sentimentalism and a gay fatalistic philosophy of life—all are reflected in the literary masterpieces of the land. The most renowned of these mediæval romancers were Shaveli (all of whose works have been lost), Shakhrukhzade, Rustaveli, Khoneli, and Tmokveli. Of these Rustaveli is the best-remembered, and his masterpiece, *The Man in the Panther's Skin*, a lyrical romance of 1,600 quatrains, has survived complete.

Rustaveli died, according to legend, in the same year as Thamara[1]; with her passed the form, with him much of the spirit, of the Great Age of Georgia. But through all the dark centuries of the Mongol and Mussulman wars his poem survived. It lived as the expression of the national philosophy of the Georgians; it was repeated and quoted in camp and in the hour of battle; recited on many a shady balcony during the hot afternoons of seven hundred years; its vulgarised quatrains were bawled by drunken voices across many princely dining-boards; every young bride was required to know it by heart before her marriage; and to this day peasants may be heard singing broken snatches of it as they follow the plough or garner in the corn.

1 [i.e. Queen Thamara (d. 1212); see cat. 116, p 173 -- Analyst]

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## III

## THE COMING OF THE RUSSIANS

At the beginning of the sixteenth century, when the Tsars 175 of Moscow had finally thrown off the yoke of the Golden Horde and established a nucleus of the Russian State, they found themselves confronted on the west by an aggressive Poland, dominating many hundreds of miles of Russian land, on the north-west by a Sweden which controlled all the Baltic coast, on the south by a Turkey which choked any development towards the Black Sea. Each of these three Powers in turn aspired to dominate Russian politics; the first two supported their pretenders to the Russian Crown, the third periodically sent the Crim Khans to burn Moscow, Kursk or Orel, and ravage all the broad lands around. In such circumstances did the Muscovite Tsars evolve the vast strategic plan the ultimate object of which was to be the control of their own gates—of the Baltic and the Black Seas. And the history of Russian expansion has been the history of the development of this plan, of the great agricultural lords of Muscovy directing the march of their peasant soldiers towards the river-mouths, that they might sell their grain and hides and minerals without the warranty of Swede or Pole or Turk.

On the vast southern front of the Russian State the expansion assumed the form of a struggle with the Ottoman Porte for the control of the Black Sea, which may be divided into two phases: the wars to acquire the Crimea and the mouths of the Don, Dnieper and Dniester; and the wars to secure the western and eastern flanks and the fortress commanding the entrance to the inland sea—the Balkans, the Caucasus and Constantinople.

The first bands of Cossacks, the forerunners of the Russians, 175 appeared in the steppes to the north of the Caucasus in the 563 beginning of the 16th century. They settled along the northern banks of the Sunja, and along the Lower Terek, founding Tarku and Andreyevo. These received the names of Grebentsi (*greben*, "a ridge") and Terek Cossacks. They mixed much with the adjoining Kabardan and Chechen tribes, and acquired many of their customs and methods of agriculture. "The Cossacks of that day," says Baddeley, "were probably at most the equals in civilisation of the Chechens and Kumiks, and certainly the inferior of the Adighé, to whom belonged

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175 the Kabardian princes and people." It was not until the be-
563 ginning of the eighteenth century that the Grebentsi and Terek Cossacks felt the effective power of the Tsar, but in 1712 Peter the Great's celebrated admiral, Apraxin, received their official submission, and five years later they furnished a contingent for the ill-fated Khivan expedition of Bekovich-Cherkasski.

175 The gradual approach of Russia to the Northern Caucasus was of considerable interest to the Georgian princes. They saw in allegiance to the Tsar an alternative to the humiliating necessity of perennially seeking the patronage or protection of either of the two Mussulman Powers, and the more patriotic looked forward to the possibility of liberating and reuniting their country with the support of the great Orthodox Tsar. As early as 1586 King Alexander of Kakhetia had applied for Russian help against the Shamkhal of Tarku. A Russian expedition under the Boyar Khvorostin was cut to pieces by the Shamkhal (1594), but Tsar Feodor Ivanovich nevertheless assumed, somewhat prematurely, the title of "Lord of the Iberian Land, of the Tsars of Georgia, of Kabarda, of the Cherkess and Mountain Princes." The Shamkhal destroyed another Russian force in 1599, and the brief *rapprochement* between Russia and Georgia was terminated by the death of two of the principals to a dual marriage which had been intended to unite the families of Tsar Boris Godunov and of the Karthalinian Bagratids.

Throughout the seventeenth century intrigues continued without any definite results between the Russians and the Georgian princes. The heroic King Taimuraz of Kakhetia spent a long and arduous life in a struggle against the Persians and in vain journeyings both to Constantinople and to Moscow, to solicit foreign assistance. The Russians sent a mission on one occasion to Kutais (1658), and a few years later (1664) intervened at Isfahan in favour of a Georgian King who had, as a matter of fact, already been assassinated. But throughout the seventeenth century they had not the power, had they the will, to try conclusions with Persia or Turkey in Transcaucasia.

In 1722 Peter the Great, having pursued a chequered career of conquest against the Swedes on the Baltic and the Turks on the Black Sea, directed his attention to Persia and the Caspian. In Persia the last of the Safavid Shahs were confronted with civil war and a desperate Afghan invasion, and Peter took advantage of the anarchy by making an attack on Russian property at Shemakha the excuse for invading the

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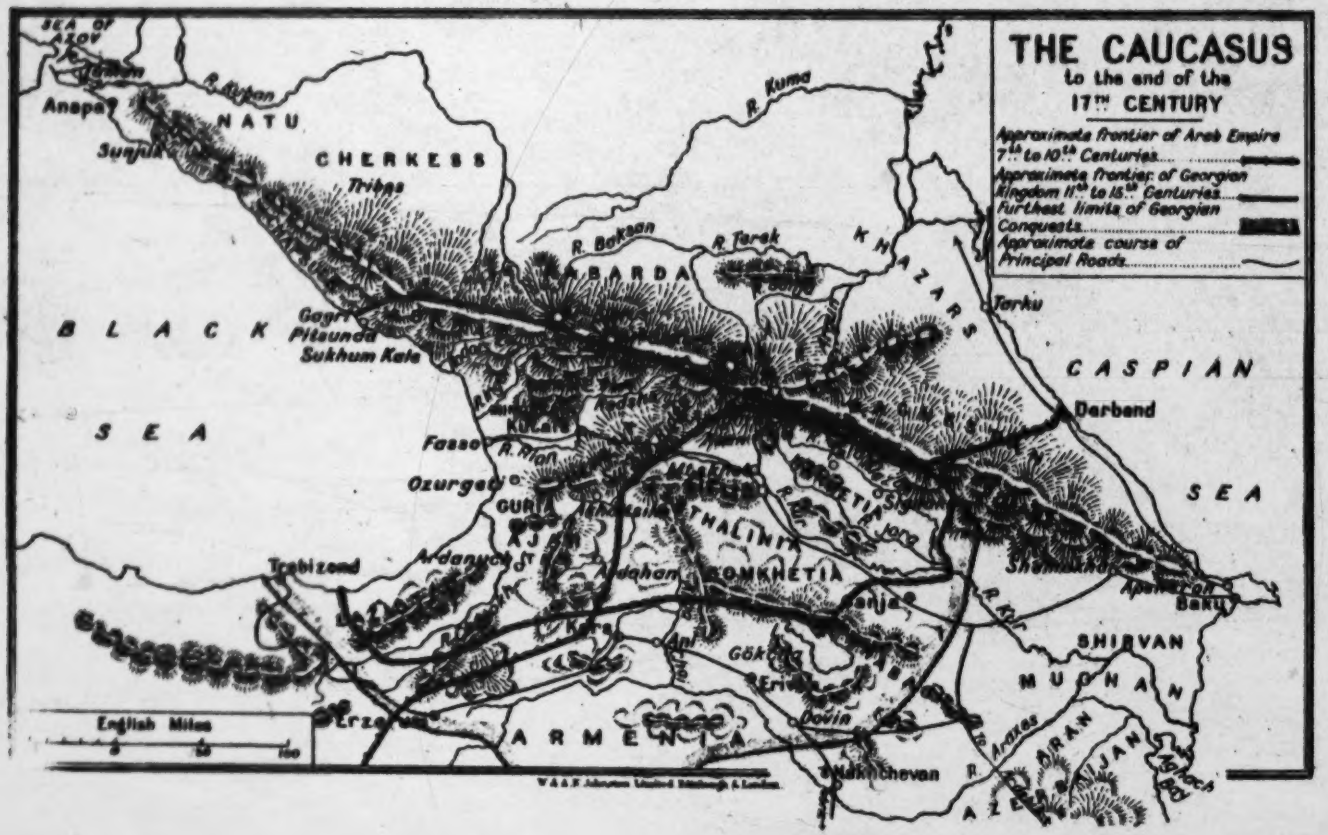


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175 North-western Provinces of the Shah. The objects of his campaign were essentially maritime—i.e. the control of the Caspian littoral—and he confined his operations to the coast without interesting himself in Georgian affairs.

In the late summer of 1722 Peter sailed with a flotilla from Astrakhan, supported by about 80,000 regular troops and 70,000 Cossacks, who moved along the coast. He occupied Tarku, the Shamkhal's capital, unopposed, and after defeating the Utsmi of Karakaitagh received the submission of Derbend. In the autumn Peter returned to Moscow, but in the following year General Matushkin occupied the Khanates of Baku and Shirvan (capital Shemakha) and Resht, with all the Persian littoral of Gilan and Mazanderan. At the same time the Turks, acting in alliance with the Russians, occupied Tiflis, Erivan, Tabriz and Hamadan.

Hostilities dragged on until 1732. Peter was then dead, and the military power of Persia was revived under Nadir Shah, who had inflicted several defeats on the invading Turks. Further, the Russians were suffering severe casualties from malaria along the unhealthy southern coast of the Caspian. Accordingly in 1732, by the Treaty of Resht, the Empress Anne restored to Persia all territories south of the Kur. Three years later, war with Turkey on the Danube being inevitable, the Russians consented to retire to the Terek, leaving Baku and Derbend to Nadir Shah (Treaty of Ganja, 1735). This surrender was occasioned by the fear of a Turko-Persian coalition against them in Transcaucasia, and with the object of allowing Nadir to establish himself in Georgia to the disadvantage of the Turks.

For nearly a quarter of a century the affairs of Europe occupied the whole military strength of Russia, and the defence of Russian interests in the Caucasus was left to the plucky Cossack settlers along the Terek.

In 1763 the Treaty of Versailles achieved a temporary settlement of the affairs of Western Europe, and left Austria, Prussia and Russia free to pursue their schemes in the East. The Russian Empress, Catherine II, immediately began to develop the expansionist policy of Peter the Great, on her western frontier by the partition of Poland and on her southern frontiers by an attempted dismemberment of Turkey.

On the eastern side of the Black Sea the Russians, in preparation for a war with the Turks, began to strengthen the Cossack Line, and in 1765 built Mozdok, a proceeding which incurred the hostility of the Kabards.

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175 The situation in Transcaucasia had, since the Treaty of Ganja, been modified in favour of the Turks. The death of Nadir Shah (1747) flung Persia again into anarchy, and while the Turks entered all Western Georgia and reoccupied Kutais and Shorapan, the Karthalinian King Taimuraz and his son Irakli made themselves independent in Tiflis and seized the Mussulman towns of Erivan and Ganja. Taimuraz however was no less hostile to the Turks than to the Persians, and in 1760 he undertook a visit to Russia, where he died.

When the first Russo-Turkish War broke out in 1768, the Turkish troops on the Kuban coast attacked the Cossack Line, while their Kabardan allies sacked Kisliar, on the Caspian. On the other hand Todleben, the celebrated captor of Berlin (in 1760), crossing the Daryal with 400 men and four guns, entered Tiflis (1769). In conjunction with Georgian forces he then ousted the Turks from Kutais and Bagdat and laid siege to the Turkish fort at Poti. But here mutual differences between the Kings of Imeretia and Karthalinia and the Russian General made further operations impossible, and the Russians retired to the Line. By the Treaty of Kuchuk Kainarji (1774) both Turks and Russians were to leave Imeretia and Mingrelia independent.

During the period of fifteen years which elapsed before Russo-Turkish hostilities were renewed the Russians were engaged in strengthening and extending the Cossack Line, and in consolidating their influence in the Northern Caucasus by expelling the natives and encouraging the settlement of Cossack families. The fortresses of Ekaterinograd, Giorgievsk and Stavropol were founded, and a line of forts and Cossack villages united Mozdok with the Sea of Azov.

By the Treaty of Kuchuk Kainarji the Russians had expelled the Turks from the Crimea, and in 1784 they definitely annexed that peninsula. Nevertheless the Turks still controlled the whole eastern coast of the Black Sea, and held fortified posts at Anapa, Sukhum-Kale, Anaklia, Poti and elsewhere. These posts were a continual menace to the Russians, for their possession enabled the Turks to communicate with, to arm and to incite the mountain tribes.

The aggressive policy of Russia in the Northern Caucasus had already begun to disturb the minds of all the tribal chiefs, and, mutually hostile as they had always been, they gradually began to tend to combination, and, for lack of common ideals of national patriotism, Islam became the organ of their union. The brutal massacre of the Nogai Tatars at Yeisk in 1784, a

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sequel to the annexation of the Crimea, at last roused the tribes to common action. The remnants of the Nogais and the Cherkesses attacked the Russians in the Western Caucasus. But next year a sinister development occurred farther to the east. A prophet, Sheikh Mansur,[1] suddenly appeared at Aldi in Chechnia, preaching a Ghazavat or Holy War against the Christians. A Russian force took and burnt Aldi, but Sheikh Mansur later attacked in the forests and practically annihilated it. The news of his success brought him thousands of followers from Kabarda, Chechnia, Daghestan and the Kumik steppe, and he proceeded to attack Kisliar and other Russian forts. He was, however, defeated at Tatarub in Kabarda, and his heterogeneous force scattered. Sheikh Mansur then fled to the Western Caucasus, where he was welcomed by the Cherkesses.

In 1787 hostilities between Russia and Turkey were renewed, and the Russians sent three columns against the Cherkesses, which succeeded in breaking up their bands. Sheikh Mansur took refuge with the Turks at Anapa, against which stronghold the Russians made two unsuccessful attacks (1788 and 1789). As a result of these failures the Turks took the offensive, and the Seraskier Batal Pasha, landing in the Kuban, advanced against the weak and demoralised Russians with a force of 40,000 men. He was however defeated by the comparatively insignificant corps of Generals Hermann and Rosen, and next year (1790) the Russians stormed Anapa. Here Sheikh Mansur was at last trapped, and sent to end his days in the monastery of Soloviets on the White Sea. A year later the Treaty of Jassy terminated the war, and restored to Turkey her losses in the Kuban.

Meanwhile the Russians had become involved in heavy liabilities in Transcaucasia. In 1783 Irakli II—whose dominions included all Karthalinia and Kakhetia—fearing the revival of Persian aggression against Georgia, concluded with Catherine's representative the Act of Gori (July 24) by which he recognised the suzerainty of Russia, conditional on the support of Russian troops. Count Paul Potemkin, a cousin of the Empress's favourite, who had recently been appointed first Viceroy of the Caucasus, immediately proceeded to consolidate the alliance by the construction of a military road across the Daryal Pass, and a fort at the northern embouchure,

[1] The origin of this remarkable man is obscure. He is supposed to have been an Italian renegade from Montferrat, the son of a notary. See Baddeley, pp. 47–9 and note.

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175 which received the name of Vladikavkaz—"Conqueror of the Caucasus."

In the late autumn a garrison of two Russian battalions with four guns arrived at Tiflis. "The day was cold and gloomy, and the shivering Georgians remarked that their new friends had brought their climate with them; but they had brought something else, it was thought—or at least hoped—permanent protection, that is against the Tatars and Persians—and the sorely-tried inhabitants of Tiflis rejoiced accordingly."[1] On January 25, 1784 Catherine's Proclamation of suzerainty over Georgia was published, but the Russian troops were soon afterwards withdrawn, and King Irakli was left to his own resources.

In 1795 the new Persian Shah, Agha Muhammad Khan, prepared to re-establish Persian influence in the whole of Transcaucasia. He laid siege to the Georgian fortresses of Erivan, Shusha and Ganja, defeated a Georgian army in the field, and delivered up Tiflis to a six days' sack. The gallant old Irakli, deserted by all his sons, fled to Ananur, where he organised a small army and next year recaptured Tiflis. The Russians now intervened and occupied all the country as far as the Araxes, but the accession of the Emperor Paul caused a reversal of policy, and they suddenly retired to the Terek. The Persians again prepared to invade Georgia, but the murder of Agha Muhammad (1797) delayed operations. The new King of Georgia, Giorgi XIII, appealed for Russian protection, while his brother, Alexander, who pretended to the throne, joined the Persians. The latter, in conjunction with a Lesghian horde under Omar, Khan of the Avars, invaded Georgia but the arrival of a Russian force caused them to retire, while Omar was defeated at the junction of the Jora and the Alazan.

The danger was past, but Giorgi, who lay dying of dropsy at Tiflis, sent an embassy to St. Petersburg to beg the Emperor Paul to accept the Georgian Crown. On December 18, 1800 the Emperor's manifesto in compliance was published.

In 1803 Prince Tsitsianov, a Georgian by extraction, came to Tiflis to organise the Russian administration. He proved a most vigorous and capable man, and during his brief régime he did much to establish the power of Russia in Transcaucasia. "He found his unhappy country, untaught by the bitter past, still a prey to internal dissensions. . . . Convinced, therefore, that the safety and future well-being of the Khartvel race depended on the reunion of its component parts under Russian

[1] Baddeley, p. 21.

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rule, he exerted himself whole-heartedly for the extension of that rule." [1] 175

During the following ten years Russian power was consolidated and extended in the Caucasus by a number of brilliant officers, who successfully overcame the enormous difficulties involved in the organisation of the devastated Georgian Provinces, in the subjugation of mountain-tribes, and in resistance to the greatly superior military forces of Persia and Turkey. At this time Russia was engaged in a series of foreign wars which required the concentration of all her strength in Europe, with the result that the armed forces at the disposal of the authorities in the Caucasus were always ridiculously inadequate. "One hardly knows which to wonder at most," comments Baddeley, "the heroic tenacity of the Muscovite troops under such leaders as Kotliarevski, Portniagin and others, or the hopeless incompetence of the various Mussulman Powers, great and small, who, with everything in their favour, not only failed to throw back the northern invaders to the line of the Terek and the Kuban, but, beaten time after time by vastly inferior forces, lost ground in every direction."

To summarise the Russian operations during the years 1803 to 1813: in 1803 the Dadian of Mingrelia [2] was induced by Tsitsianov to surrender his sovereignty to Russia; in 1804 Imeretia was proclaimed a Russian Province, although it was not finally annexed until 1810; in the same year the turbulent Jaro-Bielokanis submitted, and the petty Lesghian sultanates of Elisu and Samukh were annexed; the Russians also occupied the Tatar Khanates of Ganja, Shusha and Nukha. But in 1806 Tsitsianov was assassinated during an unsuccessful attempt to take Baku; and in 1812 a Persian victory at Sultanbuda, and Georgian risings at Tiflis, Telav and Signakh seriously threatened Russian rule in the Caucasus at the moment when Napoleon was marching on Moscow. In the same year however the repulse of an Osset advance on Tiflis, the final defeat of the Georgian pretender Alexander in Daghestan, and a great victory won by Kotliarevski over a superior Persian force at Aslanduz on the Araxes restored the situation. In 1813 the discomfiture of the Persians was completed by Kotliarevski's occupation of Lenkoran, the capital of the Khanate of Talish and by the defeat of the Khan of Erivan. Finally, through the intervention of Sir Gore Ouseley, the British Minister at Tehran, the Treaty of Gulistan was concluded between Persia and

[1] Baddeley, p. 63.
[2] Svanetia was only formally incorporated in the Russian Empire in 1833.

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Russia. Persia ceded the Khanates of Karabagh (Shusha), Ganja (renamed by the Russians Elisavetopol), Sheki (Nukha), Shirvan (Shemakha), Derbend, Kuba and Baku, together with Lenkoran and part of the Khanate of Talish. Further, Persia relinquished all claims over Georgia, Mingrelia, Imeretia and Abkhazia.

During the same year the Russians subdued the Khevsars, capturing their stronghold, Shatil.

A campaign with varying fortunes had been waged against Turkey from 1807 to 1812, in the course of which the Russians had taken Anaklia and Anapa (1807), Poti (1808) and Akhalkalaki (1811), while they received the submission of Guria and Abkhazia with Sukhum Kale in 1810. In 1812 however the Emperor Alexander I, anxious for Turkish neutrality during the war with Napoleon, concluded the Treaty of Bucharest, by which Anapa, Poti and Akhalkalaki were restored to the Turks.

In 1825 Abbas Mirza, the able and ambitious son of Fath' Ali Shah, made one more attempt to recover the possessions of Persia in Transcaucasia. He was angry at the arrogant and uncompromising attitude of the Russian Viceroy Yermolov with regard to certain outstanding details of the Treaty of Gulistan, and further was confident that risings among the mountain-tribes and the discontents among the Tatar begs in the newly-annexed Khanates would seriously jeopardise the Russian position. The campaign opened well for the Persians. The distinguished Yermolov acted with strange irresolution, and he lacked regular reserves; a small Russian force capitulated at Akh-Kara-Chai; Ganja and Lenkoran fell; and Baku, Shusha and Gumri (Aleksandropol) were blockaded. However, with the arrival of Paskievich (1826) in the Caucasus and the virtual dismissal of Yermolov the situation changed. The Persians were defeated at Shamkhor and Akstafa; and Paskievich laid siege to Erivan and occupied Nakhichevan. A Persian attack on Echmiadzin was repulsed; and while Erivan capitulated, a small Russian force seized Tabriz, the provincial capital of Abbas Mirza. The Russians then advanced to Urmia and Ardebil, and Abbas Mirza sued for peace. The Treaty of Turkmanchai (1827) gave the Khanates of Erivan, Nakhichevan and Southern Talish to Russia, and finally confirmed the exclusion of Persia from Transcaucasia.

In the following year a Russo-Turkish war broke out, and the Russians after two campaigns succeeded in occupying Anapa, Guria with Poti, and the Pashalik of Akhaltsikh with

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the towns of Akhaltsikh, Akhalkalaki and Khertvis; and advanced as far as Erzerum and Baiburt. By the Treaty of Adrianople (1828) Russia remained in possession of Anapa, and all Guria and the Pashalik of Akhaltsikh. 175

Thus, in three-quarters of a century of war the Russian frontiers had been advanced from the Kuban and the Terek to the Chorokh and the Araxes, and she came into the possession of a territory whose economic possibilities had yet to be realised and whose strategic position gave to her the opportunity of dominating the policies both of Persia and of Turkey.

## IV

### THE MOUNTAIN WAR (1816–1864)

DURING the thirty years in which the conquest of Transcaucasia was in process, the Russians were engaged simultaneously in organising the vast territories in the North Caucasus which had come under their rule through the gradual settlement of Cossack bands, the expulsion of the native nomad tribes, and the exclusion of the Turks. Until the middle of the eighteenth century the Cossacks of the Terek had been virtually independent and associated freely with the native tribes, with whom they came into conflict in mutual raids, but with whom their relations were no more hostile than were those of the tribes with each other. But as the power of the central authority increased, the dividing line between the Cossacks and the Caucasian tribes became more distinct. On the one hand the Cossacks were organised into *voiskos* or military divisions, and in 1816 forfeited the right of electing their own *atamans*. On the other hand the native tribes, who had fraternised with the free Cossack communities, regarded with suspicion that Muscovite Government which had treated with such harshness the Lowland Tatars and which seemed determined to check the raiding expeditions which had been their occupation for centuries. 175 563 721

Further, the Turkish wars and the constant propaganda of Mussulman mullahs tended to accentuate their distrust and to arouse their fanaticism. The continued independence and hostility of the mountaineers were intolerable to the Russian Government. On the one hand the raids of the mountaineers caused considerable harm to the prosperity of the colonists; 175 721

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175 on the other the military power of the tribes was a constant menace to the difficult line of communications with Trans-
721 caucasia, a menace the more dangerous when considered in conjunction with the friendly relations between the mountaineers and the Turks, and the latter's naval control of the Black Sea. In 1816 therefore, when Yermolov became Viceroy of the Caucasus, Russia's military obligations in Europe and in Persia being for the moment eased, it was decided to undertake the reduction of the mountain tribes.

726 The operations[1] which extended along the whole length of
175 the Cossack Line, a length of over 450 miles, were divided into three groups. On the right flank, the Cherkesses and Abkhazians were to be attacked; on the centre, the Kabards and Ossets; on the left flank the Chechens and the tribes of Daghestan. Of these three groups, the task allotted to the troops on the left flank was the most difficult. The western tribes though brave were not numerous; their strength had been sapped by a plague originally introduced by Turkish sailors, while the central tribes, Kabards and Ossets, had already received some severe lessons and gave little further trouble. The Chechen tribes, however, were numerous and capable guerrilla fighters, while the thick forests covering their hills made difficult any general advance. Daghestan presented still more formidable obstacles. The area inhabited by the troublesome tribes consisted, as we have seen, of a narrow strip of littoral along the Caspian coast and an elevated table-land, through which a large number of streams had cut channels of a great depth, the whole rising south and west to lofty mountain chains, with several peaks of over
726 13,000 feet in height. The Lesghians, further, were the most
361 numerous—at the beginning of the war they are estimated
175 to have numbered nearly 2,000,000—and the most highly organised of all the tribes. And when threatened by superior forces, they would retire into their *auls* or fortified villages, situated on the most inaccessible parts of the mountains. These villages were so placed that the artillery of those days could seldom be brought to bear with effect on them, and their capture was only possible by storm—" a formidable business when every individual house has its garrison of desperate men, and still more desperate women. . . . The houses were of stone, two stories high; . . . they were disposed, as far as possible, amphitheatre-wise, so as to enfilade one another, the streets being tortuous and barely wide enough for two horsemen to ride abreast; straddled, too, in places by a house furnished

[1] [i.e., in the Mountain War of 1816-64; see cat 116, p199 -- Analyst]

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with a wooden bar or portcullis, making passage impossible until the defenders posted there had been ousted or killed." [1] 726 361

In 1818–20 Yermolov commenced operations against the Chechens by the construction of the forts of Grozni ("Threatening") and Vnezapnaia ("Fort Surprise"), while the Armenian General Madatov reduced the Lesghian Khanates of Sheki (with Nukha), Kiuri (with Akhti), Tabasseran, Kara-Kaitagh, Kazi-Kumukh, Khuntzakh (the capital of the Avar), and Akusha (the capital of the Dargo) Khans. In 1822 the central part of the Line was advanced into the Kabardan country, and the tribesmen, ravaged by a fourteen-years' plague, were reduced with cruel severity. Two years later the Chechens were attacked, but succeeded in inflicting several small defeats on the Russians. 175

The tribes were thoroughly roused by the brutal methods of the Russians, who had marched over their hills, burning auls, carrying off flocks, destroying crops and levelling trees, and there now arose at Ghimri in Avar Daghestan two preachers, Kazi [2] Mullah and Sheikh Shamil, who initiated a movement, Muridism, which at first advocated religious reform, temperance and the cessation of blood-feuds, but soon developed into a fierce agitation, at once religious and political, against the Russians. A common danger had at last united the warring tribes, and the leaders of the movement appealed to that fanatical religious feeling which alone could bind together peoples lacking common national traditions and ideals. Shamil was the more remarkable, although Kazi Mullah, until his death, overshadowed him as Imam, or secular head of the Murids. Desperately brave, a devoted husband and father, Shamil was at the same time cruel, treacherous, and jealous of the success of his subordinate chiefs. He frequently showed himself not only a skilful partisan-leader but a clever strategist, while his success in uniting the tribes was due as much to his administrative and organising ability as to his personal magnetism and power of rousing the religious fervour of the mass of the mountaineers by rhetoric and by a clever assumption of religious sanctity. In the latter respect he has been compared to Muhammad, for he showed a deep knowledge of psychology and an understanding of dramatic effect in the mysterious ceremonies, personal flagellations and supposed communings with the Prophet by which he imposed on the credulity and ignorance of his followers. But as his courage, organising ability and cunning laid the foundations of his 175 668 159

[1] Baddeley, ch. xxxii.

[2] Properly Ghazi.

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175 success, so his cruelty, tyranny, injustice, jealousy and nepotism
668 encompassed his downfall. He alone was responsible for the
159 resistance against the best troops and generals of Russia during more than twenty-five years, but he too by his exactions and merciless discipline destroyed the *moral* of the mountaineers and the prestige of the Murids, and brought about the development of that state of mind which eventually made the tribes whom he had led in victory and defeat ready to desert him and to submit to Russian rule.

175 The history of the Russian war against the mountaineers
726 is largely one of raids and counter-raids, of cruel destruction
668 of crops and villages, of massacres and desperate sieges. In outline it may be divided into three phases: (1) 1829–39—including the campaigns of the first and second Imams, Kazi Mullah (1825–32) and Hamzad Beg (1832–4), the election of Shamil as third Imam and the apparent extinction of his power after the Russian capture of his stronghold Akhulgo (1839): (2) 1840–49—covering the period of Shamil's greatest victories, when his authority extended from the Caspian to the Daryal and from Elisu to the walls of Grozni; and (3) 1850–59—when Shamil's popularity was gradually waning, and when the Russians were encroaching into the hitherto impassable mountains by a plan of campaign directed rather against nature than against Shamil, which comprehended the systematic levelling of forests and building of roads and bridges.

Space fails us wherein to describe the operations and the desperate fighting that took place during the first two of these periods. But an account of an eye-witness of the destruction of the great aul of Germenchug may be taken as showing the typical and magnificent courage of the mountaineers and the difficulties with which the Russians had to contend. "When the aul was in flames," says the narrator, "the Russian commander proposed to grant quarter to the survivors. The defenders listened to the proposal, conferred together for some minutes, and then a half-naked Chechen, black with smoke, came out and made a short speech, followed by a volley from all the loopholes. What he said was to this effect: 'We want no quarter; the only grace we ask of the Russians is to let our families know that we died as we lived, refusing submission to a foreign yoke.' Orders were now given to fire the houses from all sides. The sun had set and the picture of destruction and ruin was lighted only by the red glow of the flames. The Chechens, firmly resolved to die, set up their death-song, loud at first, but sinking lower and lower as their

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numbers diminished under the influence of fire and smoke." "With hearts like stones," concludes the narrator, "the victors sought the refuge of their tents; and maybe more than one in the depth of his being asked himself, why must such things be? Is there no room for all on this earth, without distinction of speech or faith?"[1]

During the third period (1850–59) the Russians confined themselves to the reduction of the Murids by slower but very efficacious means. In the south they built forts to protect the native States from all invasions; on the north they gradually advanced through Chechnia, and pursued a persistent policy of destroying the forests and of removing the mountain population to the northern steppe. At the same time Shamil's influence was waning. His tyranny bore heavily upon the villagers who, further, were weary of the constant warfare of a nature very different from their traditional raids; and his jealousy and nepotism alienated his lieutenants, the most famous of whom, Haji Murad, deserted to the Russians in 1851, as the result of a plot formed by Shamil against his life.

Simultaneously with the campaign against the eastern tribes the Russians had been engaged in long and tedious hostilities with the Cherkesses and Abkhazians. But the fighting in the Western Caucasus at no time attained to the intensity of that in Daghestan.

The Crimean War, which broke out in 1853, failed even to revive the fortunes of Shamil. The gross incompetence of the Turkish commanders in Armenia gave him little opportunity for co-operation, and he confined himself to two inconsiderable raids into Kakhetia. On the west the British fleet bombarded the Cossack posts along the coast, which afforded some relief to the Cherkesses, who still maintained a guerrilla war there.

In the autumn of 1855 a Turkish army of 20,000 men, under Omar Pasha, landed at Sukhum Kale, and after defeating a small Russian force on the Ingur advanced on Kutais. But the autumn rains made further operations by the badly-equipped Turkish army impossible, while the Mingrelians—much to the disgust of Laurence Oliphant, who was accompanying Omar—received the Turks with marked lack of enthusiasm. Omar reached Sugdidi, but was compelled to retire into winter quarters at Sukhum, whence his troops were withdrawn on the conclusion of the war.

At that time anti-Russian feeling was strong in England,

[1] Baddeley, pp. 373–4.

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At that time anti-Russian feeling was strong in England
175 and a number of fantastic propositions for the dismemberment
648 of the Muscovite Empire were being published. So influential a man as Lord Stratford de Redcliffe advocated the creation of an independent Circassia at the time of the Treaty of Paris, and in 1862 a number of enthusiastic public meetings at Dundee, Preston and elsewhere welcomed Cherkess deputies, who had come to England to petition the intervention of the Queen. But these efforts were of no avail. The Kars and Ingur campaigns had convinced responsible British statesmen that it was too late to attempt to retard the Russian absorption of the Caucasus, and the Treaty of Paris, by ignoring "the Circassian Question," gave the sanction of Europe to the Russian
175 position in those regions.

[668] In 1859 Shamil, deserted by his followers, and surrounded
[59] by Russian forts, was driven from his last stronghold, Veden. Accompanied only by a hundred faithful *murtazeks*, he fled to the mountainous aul of Gunib in Southern Daghestan, where he subsequently surrendered.[1] The war-weary mountaineers had everywhere laid down their arms; the Russian conquest of the Eastern Caucasus was complete.

Five years later, in 1864, the last resistance of the Cherkesses
175 and Abkhazians was crushed. Nearly 500,000 of these un-
727 fortunate people, together with 100,000 Chechens, emigrated subsequently to Turkey, where the greater number died of disease and starvation.[2] They left their mountain homes a desert, but their place was gradually filled by Bohemian and Cossack immigrants.

During the Russo-Turkish War of 1877–8 there was some unrest amongst the remnants of the western tribes, but Turkish attempts to raise a general insurrection of the Mussulman mountaineers were ineffectual. As a result of the war, the Russians, by the Treaty of Berlin (1878), obtained almost the last remaining areas inhabited by the Caucasian races, Batum and the Ajar hills.

[1] After exile at Kaluga and Kiev, he died on a pilgrimage, at Medina, in 1871.

[2] Some thousand Cherkesses—Chapsughs, Ulikhs, Kabardans and Abkhazians
[666] —are settled in the vilayet of Sivas, others in that of Bitlis. The Chechens, after causing much trouble in the vilayets of Kars and Erzerum, finally scattered about the region of Bitlis, Van and Mush, while others settled in the vilayet of Diarbakr.

1 [i.e., during the Crimean War -- Analyst]

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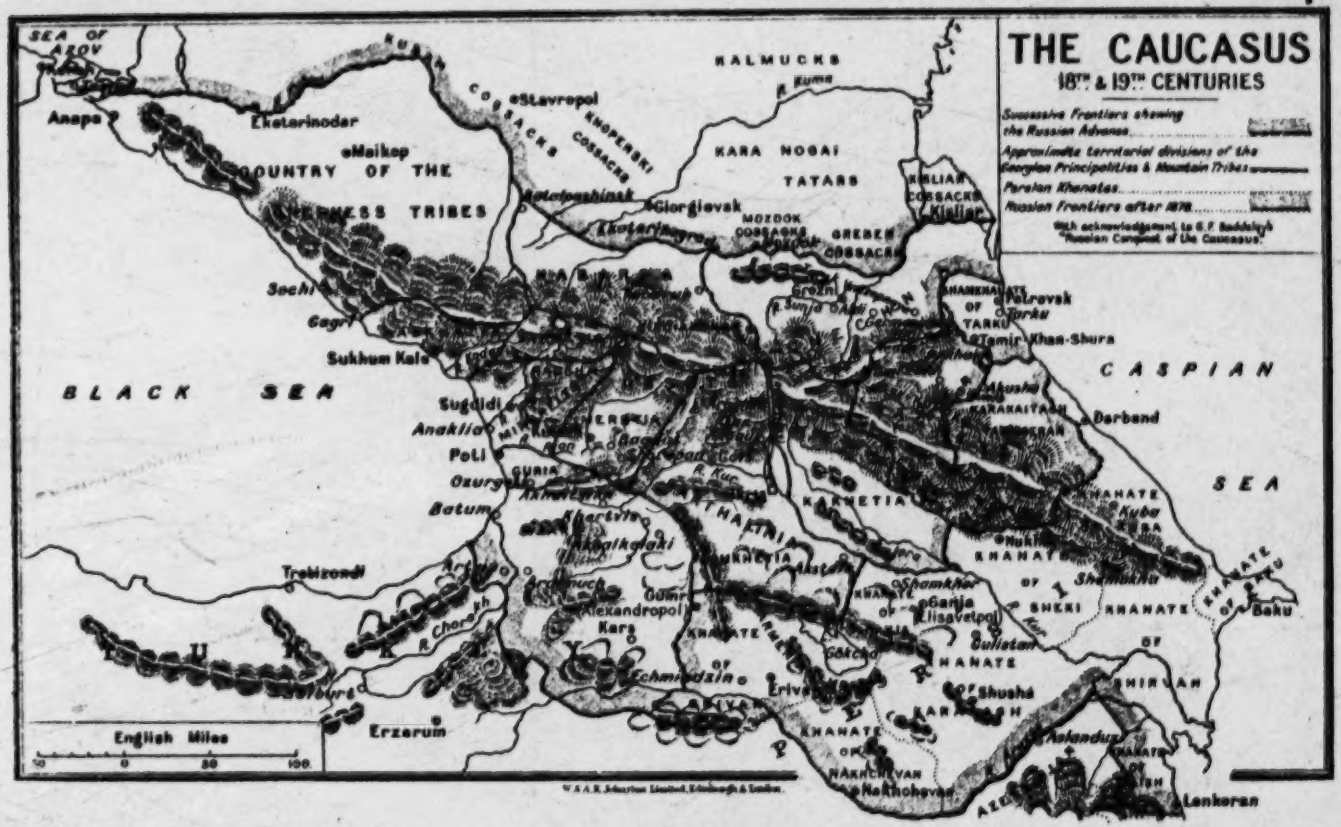
B1


THE CAUCASUS
18TH & 19TH CENTURIES
Successive Frontiers showing the Russian Advance
Approximate territorial divisions of the Georgian Principalities & Mountain Tribes
Persian Khanates
Russian Frontiers after 1878
With acknowledgment to G.F. Bakhtiyar "Russian Conquest of the Caucasus."
SEA OF AZOV
Anapa
Ekaterinodar
Maikop
COUNTRY OF THE
CIRCASSIAN TRIBES
Stavropol
KUBAN COSSACKS
KNOPERSKI COSSACKS
KALMUCKS
KUMA
KARA NOGAI TATARS
KIZLIAR COSSACKS
Kizlyar
Pyatigorsk
Ekaterinograd
Giorgievsk
MOZDOK COSSACKS
GREBEN COSSACKS
Sochi
Gagri
Sukhum Kale
BLACK SEA
Sugdidi
Anaklia
Poti
Ozurgeti
Batum
Trebizond
Erzerum
English Miles
Petrovsk
Tarku
Tamir Khan-Shura
CASPIAN SEA
Derbend
KARAKAITAGH
KARAGHAN
KHANATE OF KUBA
KUBA
KHANATE OF SHEKI
KHANATE OF BAKU
KHANATE OF SHIRVAN
KHANATE OF KARABAGH
KHANATE OF NAKHCHEVAN
Nakhchevan
Lenkoran
KARTALINIA
KAKHETIA
IMERETIA
MINGRELIA
GURIA
ABKHAZIA
Akhalkalaki
Akhaltsikhe
Alexandropol
Kars
Gumri
Echmiadzin
Erivan
Ganja
Elisavetpol
Shamkhor
Sulistan
Shusha
Aslanduz
Julfa
Tiflis
Kutaisi
Sukhum
Tskhinvali
Mtskheta
Tbilisi
Kazbek
Elbrus
Ararat
Kuma
Kubani
Terek
Rion
Chorokh
Kura
Aras
Sunja
Sulak
Samur
Kura
Aras
Terek
Kuma
Kubani
Rion
Chorokh

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## V

## NATIONALISM AND SOCIAL REVOLUTION, 1811–1917

175 THE tendencies and results, good and bad, of the Russian system are demonstrated in the history of Russian rule in the Caucasus. The Russians at the beginning of the nineteenth century assumed control of a country whose condition was possibly more anarchical than that of any other part of Asia, whose population was being gradually exterminated by war, plague and famine, whose political organisation and culture had almost collapsed into utter ruin and whose economic possibilities had been completely neglected.

Firstly they gave to the Transcaucasus a military security which it had never before enjoyed. For a hundred years no hostile army approached Tiflis. Consequently it may be claimed that the Russian régime not only gave to the Georgians and Armenians the possibility of developing national prosperity in peace, but preserved those peoples from the virtual extinction which has been the fate of the Armenians and other Christian races whose country lies beyond the Russian borders.

175 565 Secondly, Russian rule tended to improve the condition of the individual. The aristocracy, who during the period of Persian hegemony had led lives of idle luxury and undignified subservience to their Mussulman lords, found careers, which were at least healthier and wider, in service in the Russian Army and Civil Service. The peasants, whose lot still left much to be desired, gained on the one hand by the abolition of serfdom within the Russian Empire (1864), on the other by the increased prosperity which followed the development of communications, the establishment of schools and the introduction of modern methods of agriculture. And there developed a prosperous middle-class, for the most part Armenian and Russian, whose political rôle in the Caucasus became increasingly important.

Lastly, the peace imposed by Russian arms permitted the development of the economic resources of the country, with its subsequent general increase of prosperity and population.

643 But the inherent shortcomings of Russian rule were productive of grave troubles. The administrative policy was one
631 of centralisation. Until 1882 the Caucasus was ruled by a Viceroy nominated by the Tsar and possessing supreme civil

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[1811 - 1917]



643 power, which gave him in effect the position of an autocratic
631 monarch during the period of his viceroyalty. From 1882 to 1905 the administration was yet further centralised by the substitution for the Viceroy of a Governor-General, directly controlled by a Caucasian Committee at St. Petersburg. A civil Governor subordinate to the Viceroy or Governor-General ruled each Province, with the exception of those of Daghestan, Sukhum, Batum and Kars, where the Governor was a military officer. The Provinces were divided into districts, governed by officials bearing the title *nachalnik*, and the districts were divided into communes (*volost*), where the chief authority was a native elder (*volostnoi starshina*) elected by the community and assisted by a headman of each village (*starosh*). With regard to the law, small cases were tried by local magistrates; those involving more than 2,000 roubles by Russian judges in the district courts.

It will thus be seen that while the Russian administrative
186 machine provided for a degree of local autonomy, the natives
469 had no influence on the conduct of Caucasian or even of provincial affairs. But this system was suitable enough to the mass of the peasantry who, under native rule, had lain in still deeper servitude. The Tatar peasantry, particularly, after the termination of the national struggle for independence, reconciled themselves to Russian rule. The Georgian aristocracy, still inspired by some glimmerings of sentimental patriotism, and resenting at once the supremacy of the Russian bureaucracy, the decline of their own feudal powers, and the steady growth of an Armenian bourgeoisie, alone of all the elements in the Transcaucasus continued to foster a vivid resentment against the existing régime. The Russian policy of Russification, the chief incidents of which were the subjecting of the Georgian Autocephalous Church to the Holy Synod (1811) and the abolition of the autonomy of Svanetia (1833) and of Mingrelia (1867), roused them more than once to sporadic revolt. Thus risings, partly nationalist and partly agrarian in character, in which members of the nobility led the peasant bands, took place at different dates—in Imeretia (1821), in Guria (1822) and in Mingrelia (1857).

During the same period, and parallel with the political
538 discontent, the patriotic literary revival, initiated during the
186 previous century by Vakhtang VI and Prince Vakhusht, was developed, and a school arose of aristocratic journalists and poets, chief of whom were Alexander and Ilia Chavchavadze, Giorgi Eristavi (a Decabrist), Grigor Orbelian and Ivané

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[181.-1417]



Machabeli, who founded a daily paper. The style of this school was for the most part romantically patriotic, and it appealed primarily to the large and impoverished aristocratic class; but of all its disciples Ilia Chavchavadze alone had a following among the people. In general, the Russian Government had little to fear from the patriotic movement of the nobles; the majority of them served faithfully, some with distinction, in the Georgian regiments which played an important part in the Caucasian Campaign of 1877–8. Finally, the incorporation, in 1884, of the hitherto distinct Georgian army in the general military organisation of the Russian Empire marked the disappearance of the last remnant of the independence of the Georgian kingdom.

With the economic development of Transcaucasia the subversive social doctrines already spreading among the workmen of European Russia reached the Caucasus, and the Tiflis administration was confronted with a movement more real and more dangerous than the sentimental romanticism of the native princes. In 1870 European capital began to exploit Baku, and in the same year operations were begun at the great manganese deposits of Chiaturi. The construction of a railway line from Poti to Tiflis had been begun in 1867, and in 1883 this line was continued to Baku. In 1884 foreign capital, chiefly that of the Rothschilds, began to build a port at Batum. During the following thirty years the industrialisation of the Caucasus proceeded. Baku became one of the greatest petroleum centres of the world; further deposits of oil were exploited at Maikop and Grozni; another railway soon linked these towns with the Black Sea, the Caspian and Baku, and Russian, Armenian and foreign companies hastened to undertake the working of the rich manganese and copper deposits and the export of the silk, cotton, timber and wine of the country.

This sudden development soon produced the most complicated problems; antagonisms social and racial were presented in an acute form. The oil-towns were the foci of these antagonisms and the scene of the more sanguinary events of 1904–6, but the conditions there reacted on, and were reproduced in a lesser degree in, Georgia. Foreign capitalism was more than usually aggressive, as it believed itself to be operating in a new country where it was in a position to exploit cheap and inexhaustible supplies of uneducated native labour; and a sudden transition from feudalism to industrialism had created a labouring class the more dangerous because it could

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[1911-1917]



177.66 668 receive without assimilating all the latest doctrines of the semi-emancipated workers of Western Europe. And the great mass of casual labour—Gurians, Imeretians and Mingrelians—which flocked back to the villages every few months from the copper and manganese mines or the docks and oilcase factories at Batum, carried with them into the countryside the ill-comprehended doctrines of Marx and Engels which some agitator had muttered into their bucolic ears a few days before.

668 Thus it was not long before a branch of the Russian Social Democratic Party had been formed in Georgia, with local centres at Tiflis, Kutais, Poti and Batum. It was founded by Russians, but a number of able young Georgians were soon at its head. But they were journalists, artisans and lawyers who had replaced the former aristocrats of Chavchavadze's school as the leaders of Georgian opinion. Such were S. Gibladze, "the pioneer of Georgian Socialism," Ninishvili, "the Georgian Gorki," and G. Tsereteli, the founder of the Socialist paper *Kvali*. The Social Democratic movement which professed to despise the Nationalist thought of Chavchavadze and based its theories on the class struggle, began to gain strength about the same time as the Imperial Government was initiating fresh anti-national measures, such as the forced emigration of the Ajars to Turkey (1880) and the enforcement of conscription in the Caucasus (1887). These measures doubtless drove many adherents into the Socialist ranks. In 1896 the railwaymen formed a first trade-union, [46] an example to be followed soon by the printers, iron-workers and other trades. In the same year Georgian Social Democracy received a brilliant recruit in Noah Jordania, who returned hot from the study of Marxism at Geneva to attack Ilia Chavchavadze in a series of articles in *Kvali*. Agitation was now gathering force, and in 1900 Prince Galitsin's Military Law, imposing liability to service in the remoter parts of the Empire, provoked a series of ugly strikes, as a result of which Jordania was arrested, and *Kvali* was suppressed, only to be revived by Irakli, son of Giorgi Tsereteli.

669 Towards the end of 1904 the revolutionary disturbances which had begun in European Russia spread to the Caucasus. The most blood-thirsty manifestations during the period 1904–6 took place at Baku and in the Armeno-Tatar regions, but the disaffection in Georgia was serious. In Tiflis bombs were thrown and officers were assassinated, while the Cossacks on more than one occasion inflicted cruel casualties on the crowd. Strikes took place along the Transcaucasian Railway,

½ [see cat, 116, pp 206-7 -- Analyst]

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[1811 - 1917]



and at Batum there was trouble between the Gurian and Mingrelian workmen and the Ajars, whom the authorities proposed to employ as "blacklegs." Finally, there was a serious Armeno-Tatar outbreak at Tiflis (December 1905), and for a time the city was threatened by Tatar bands who had advanced from the Borchalu district. On the countryside the troubles assumed still more serious proportions. The Guriel[1] and Prince Eristavi were murdered on their estates, and many landowners were forced to take to flight. The railway-line was cut at various points and troop-trains were wrecked. At Ozurgeti the "Gurian Republic" was proclaimed. For several months the Government lost all control of the country between Kutais and Batum. At last, in the first months of 1906, the reaction having triumphed in Russia, a powerful force of Cossacks under the Tatar General Alikhanov marched through Mingrelia, Imeretia and Guria, and suppressed the insurrection after some difficult fighting. 669

The revolutionary movement as a whole had failed, but its suppression indicated but the end of a phase in the struggle, and, for the Caucasus, it had not been without its meagre results. The Viceroyalty was revived, and the Caucasus was accorded twenty-nine seats in the Duma.[2] The Socialists did not—as in Russia proper—boycott the elections to the first Duma, to which were elected their most prominent representatives, Jordania, Irakli Tsereteli and G. Makharadze. 643 666

The tribes of the Northern Caucasus were naturally little affected by the revolutionary movement in Russia. But the old free spirit still survived in the mountain auls in spite of the bitter suffering and ruin of Shamil's wars. The Russo-Turkish War of 1877–8 had come too soon to rouse an active response among the exhausted tribes, but in the last decade of the nineteenth century the governmental policy of expropriating the mountaineers from the most fertile districts in favour of Cossack immigrants began to revive the warlike spirit. In 1898 a serious outbreak occurred among the Chechens, and four years later the Ossets rose. The disturbances of 1904–6 occasioned a recrudescence of the old raiding habits of the mountaineers. Trains were wrecked along the railway from Vladikavkaz to Baku, and bands of Ingush Chechens threatened the environs of Vladikavkaz and Grozni. But with the reaction in Russia, order was restored in the mountains. The tribesmen in reality retained little of their former strength. The best 669

[1] Chief Prince of Guria.
[2] Reduced to nineteen at the elections for the Third Duma.

 [see cat. 116, pp 207-9 -- Analyst]

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[1811-1917]



669 of their youths had been drawn to the oil-wells at Maikop, Grozni and Baku, and those who remained were no match for disciplined troops armed with rifles and machine-guns. After the Young Turkish Revolution of 1908 an effort was made by the many Caucasians in Turkey to revivify the hostility to the Russian Government, and an "Association of Political Émigrés from the Caucasus in Turkey" was formed at Constantinople, to be replaced later by a "Committee of the Caucasus." The movement was no doubt encouraged by the Young Turkish Government as a part of their general Pan-Turanian—Pan-Islamic policy, but it had little strength or significance.

*The War and the Revolution* (1914–17).—On the outbreak of 669 the European War the Young Turks made an attempt to de-
648 tach from Russia some of the Caucasian national groups. The attempt was to a great extent abortive. The Social Democratic leaders of opinion in the Caucasus were in theory loyal to the Empire. A Georgian, a certain Leo Kerezelidze, did indeed form a "Committee for the Liberation of Georgia" at Constantinople, which proceeded to sign a secret treaty with Turkey, but it was entirely unrepresentative of any Georgian political group. Among the Muhammadan mountain-tribes the Turks found a limited degree of support. The Ajars rose in an unsuccessful attempt to support Enver's Sarikamish offensive (December 1914), and at the end of 1915 a Delegation, including the Georgian Machabeli, the Tatar Selim Beg Bebutov and two Turkish officers, Issa Pasha, a Lesghian, and Ali Fuad Pasha, a Circassian, proceeded to Berlin, to present a Memorandum demanding the assistance of the Central Powers in the formation of a quadruple Caucasian Confederation.

The outbreak of the Russian Revolution in March 1917 was welcomed with enthusiasm in the Transcaucasus. The Social Democrats, who represented the mass of public opinion, were theoretically anti-nationalist, and supported the conception of a Federated Russian Republic. Indeed the most prominent of them were interested rather in Russian than in Transcaucasian politics. A "Special Transcaucasian Committee" representing the four principal nationalities replaced the Viceroy, the Grand Duke Nicholas Nicholaevich, at Tiflis, but the real power reposed in the newly-formed Councils of Workmen's and Soldiers' Deputies, dominated by the Social Democrats.

669 As the disintegration of the central power in Russia proceeded, disunion developed in the Caucasus. The Social

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Democrats, Georgians, Armenians and Tatars, in spite of 669
their internationalist ideals, soon became involved in the real and bitter racial antagonisms of the uneducated mass of the Christian and Mussulman peasantry. And the situation was further complicated, on the one hand by the intrigues of the Mussulman parties with the Turkish Command and by the effects of the propaganda of Turkish agents; on the other by the anti-Mussulman violence of the Armenian Dashnakists and by the reflex on Tatar-Armenian relations of the reciprocal atrocities committed by Mussulmans and Christians in the war-area of Turkish Armenia.

It was in the Northern Caucasus that a separatist movement first assumed definite form in the proclamation of the autonomous "Union of the Peoples of the Northern Caucasus" at Vladikavkaz in May 1917. But in Transcaucasia separatist tendencies were soon afterwards manifested in the demand for the reunion of all Armenian and Georgian contingents on the Polish front, and their concentration in the Caucasus.

The Bolshevist *coup d'état* at Petrograd in October 1917 669
marked the opening of the next phase of the Revolution. In 642
the Northern Caucasus the conservative leaders of the North Caucasus Union naturally repudiated the Soviet Government, and associated themselves with the "South-eastern Union" formed by Messrs. Miliukov, Guchkov and Kharlamov, Gen. Alexeiev, and the Hetman of the Don Cossacks, Gen. Kalédin. The South-eastern Union made a desperate effort to reconcile the growing differences of the Cossacks and the mountaineers —differences which had already resulted in fighting—by engaging the former to cede certain disputed districts. The result was the defection of the Terek Cossacks who, in conjunction with Bolshevist troops returning from the Turkish front, attacked the mountaineers. On December 2, the independence of the "Union of the Mountaineers" was proclaimed, and a Provisional Government, at the head of which was a wealthy Chechen landowner, Colonel Tapa Chermoiev, was formed pending the convocation of a Russian Constituent Assembly. An organisation of local tribal autonomy was established, and the seat of the central authority was fixed at Vladikavkaz.

At the beginning of 1918, however, Bolshevist and Cossack forces advanced along the railway-line from Mineralnaia Vody to Beslan, and the mountaineers, who lacked munitions, were forced, after some severe fighting, to withdraw from Vladikavkaz and Grozni, and to remove their capital first to Nazran and later to Temir-Khan-Shura.

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669 In the Transcaucasus a Social Democratic "Commissariat" had superseded the "Caucasian Committee" at Tiflis. This
642 body, which represented all nationalities (three Georgians, three Armenians, three Tatars and two Russians) was presided over by the Georgian Gegéchkori. It drew its authority from a "Transcaucasian Seim" composed of the Caucasian members of the recently elected All-Russian Constituent Assembly, with the further addition of two members for each original one, the various parties increasing their membership in proportion to the last election figures. Further, the Commissariat and Seim worked in conjunction with the various Workmen's, Soldiers' and Municipal Councils, and with Georgian, Armenian and Tatar "National Committees."

In spite, however, of this inevitable organisation on nationalist lines, the Commissariat still endeavoured to maintain the co-operation of the different races and the principle of unity with Russia; and at the Georgian National Congress in November 1917 the Georgian Social Democratic leaders Jordania and Chenkeli emphasised these principles.

## VI

## RECENT HISTORY

726 As in Russia, the most urgent necessity for Georgia was the conclusion of an early peace. The Turkish commander on the
648 Turko-Caucasian front, Ferik Mehmed Vehib Pasha, proposed a cessation of hostilities at the beginning of December, in accordance with the action of the German General Staff on the Polish front, and on December 14 General Prjevalski, who still held nominal command of the Russo-Caucasian troops, signed an armistice at Erzinjan. During the following month the anarchy behind the Russian lines increased. Turkish agents were active in the Muhammadan districts of Transcaucasia, encouraging the Tatars and Ajars to attack the disorganised bodies of Russian troops who were making their way home through Transcaucasia. Armenian bands were attacking Turkish villages in the Russian area, and were preparing a desperate resistance to the Turkish advance.

In mid-January 1918 the Ottoman Government made a further *démarche*, addressing itself now to the "Independent Transcaucasian Government," which it invited to participate in the Brest-Litovsk negotiations. It was a development of the Turkish policy, revealed at the outbreak of war, of constructing

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a buffer-State in the Caucasus. But the Social Democrats were still loyal to their ideal of a Federal Russia, and demanded a respite "in order to combine their action with the opinions and views of other autonomous Governments in Russia."[1] They then communicated with the Ukrainian Rada at Kiev and with the South-eastern Union at Ekaterinodar. Meanwhile the Turkish Command emphasised the urgency of a settlement by a general advance, under pretext of protecting the Mussulman population behind the Russian lines from the attacks of the Armenians.

In the middle of February Turkish troops reoccupied Erzinjan (February 12), Baiburt (February 14) and Trebizond (February 24). Nevertheless, when the Seim met on February 28, all parties, including even the Tatars, maintained their attitude of co-operation with the non-Bolshevist parties in Russia, and of refusal to participate with the Bolsheviks in the negotiations at Brest-Litovsk. On March 1 they agreed on the four heads of a peace settlement which provided for the restoration of the frontiers of 1914 and the creation of an autonomous Armenia "within the frame of the Turkish State."

Next day the Tiflis Government received a telegram from the Bolshevist Commissary Karakhan, announcing the retrocession to Turkey of the districts of Batum, Ardahan and Kars. The Transcaucasian Government protested that any treaty "signed without its consent" was "void of international importance," and repeated its willingness to discuss a settlement on the basis of the proposals of March 1. But the Turkish Government replied that the cession of the territories in question had been completed, while the Transcaucasus, according to the statements of its own Government, was a part of Russia, and insisted on the immediate evacuation of the ceded districts. The Turkish Command immediately undertook a double offensive against Erzerum and Batum. Armenian troops and volunteers, under General Nazarbekian and the partisan leaders Antranik and Murad, offered a desperate resistance. But the Georgian troops, under General Odichelidze, unwilling to exhaust their strength in the defence of the Turkish Armenian districts, withdrew. On March 11 the Turks entered Erzerum; during the following month they reoccupied the remaining districts of Turkish Armenia, and approached Kars by Olti and Sarikamish. At the same time the Mussulmans rose in the Province of Kars. All communications were cut, and the

[1] Doc. & Mat., Nos. 15–25.

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insurgents seized Ardahan and Merdenik, while the panic-stricken Christian population fled towards Batum or Akhaltsikh.

Further, there was serious friction between the Georgian and Armenian commanders, the former hesitating to co-operate seriously in the defence of the Kars line. Nevertheless, when the Seim met on March 11 the Armenian and Georgian groups still worked together. Jordania opposed the Brest concessions. The Tatars, however, had already committed themselves definitely to a Turkish orientation, and it was evident that they were no longer willing to co-operate in the maintenance of Transcaucasian unity. A week later occurred the Mussavetist attempt to overthrow the Soviet at Baku, and with the departure of the Mussavetist leaders for Elisavetpol the Transcaucasian Seim lost the last semblance of control over the Eastern districts.

During the latter part of March and the beginning of April a Transcaucasian Delegation under the presidency of Mr. Chenkeli was negotiating at Trebizond with the Turkish plenipotentiary Khalil Bey. Chenkeli, more conscious at Trebizond than the Government at Tiflis of the desperate situation, at last agreed to recognise the Brest Treaty. The Turks thereupon pressed for a declaration of Transcaucasian independence, and on April 13 delivered a forty-eight hours' ultimatum. The Seim was still unwilling to yield, and the Delegation was recalled to Tiflis. On April 14 the Turks entered Batum after a feeble resistance. They then advanced to Notanebi and Ozurgeti. On April 27 they occupied Kars. The situation was desperate. The Government of Gegéchkori resigned, and Chenkeli, who had advocated the concessions, succeeded, and proclaimed the Independence of Transcaucasia.

But the Turks immediately advanced fresh demands. They now had plans far more ambitious than the restoration of the territories lost in 1878. They were in communication with the Tatar National Committee of Elisavetpol, and with a delegation from the Union of Mountaineers which had come to Trebizond. And they conceived an advance on Baku and the extension of their power over all Azerbaijan, Daghestan and North-west Persia. They therefore demanded the surrender of the Alexandropol-Julfa railway-line, "so as to prevent a British concentration in Azerbaijan," [1] and began an attack on the Armenians at Alexandropol. On May 15 Alexandropol fell, and the Turks subsequently occupied Elisavetpol (June 1) and Tabriz (June 15).

[1] *New Europe*, December 28, 1918.

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*The Georgian Social Democratic Republic* (*May* 1918–20).—726 648 While the Turks and the Tatars were attacking the Armenians in the region of Alexandropol, Erivan and Kara Bagh, the Transcaucasian Government continued at Batum negotiations for a definite peace with Turkey. The interests of the Armenians and Georgians were now widely divergent, for whilst the very existence of the former was threatened by a Turkish control of the Eastern Caucasus, the latter, from their geographical position, were able to regard the Turkish menace with fewer misgivings, and were only anxious to save themselves from becoming involved in further hostilities. Thus, while the Armenian National Committee at Erivan directed an exclusive policy, the Transcaucasian Government at Tiflis tended more definitely each week to represent Georgian interests alone.

But Khalil Bey, at Batum, showed no intention of allowing the Georgians to assume a neutral attitude towards the Armeno-Turkish war. He demanded the right "to bring military help" to prevent the formation of bands in Transcaucasian territory; control of the railways and of Russian ships in Transcaucasian ports; free passage for Turkish troops and military stores through Transcaucasian territory; and immediate demobilisation of all the armed forces at the disposal of the Transcaucasian Government. Further, he patronised Mussulman delegations from the districts of Akhaltsikh and Akhalkalaki, who petitioned for annexation to Turkey. Meanwhile the Bolshevist dictator at Baku, Shaumian, an Armenian, was organising a Red Army of Russian and Armenian workmen, with the professed intention of marching on Tiflis and destroying "that nest of Menshevist reaction." And in the maritime region Bolshevist ships of the Black Sea Fleet bombarded Sukhum and other watering-places, while a Bolshevist force marched along the coast and occupied Sochi, Gagri and Sukhum.

In this situation the Transcaucasian Government commenced to negotiate for German intervention through the medium of the German representative at Batum, General v. Lossow. The German Government at this time had differences with the Porte on questions of general military policy, and was anxious to check Turkish aggression in the Caucasus, in order to secure the transference of Turkish troops to the Syrian front. During April the Germans had occupied Odessa, Nikolaev and Sevastopol, and had seized the bulk of the Black Sea Fleet. Accordingly they were soon in a position to intervene effectively. On May 25 8,000 German troops under General Kress v. Kressenstein landed at Poti, and German

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726 pickets appeared on all the frontiers of Georgia. On the same
648 day the Transcaucasian Seim voted its own dissolution, and in the evening Jordania announced the declaration of the Independence of the Georgian Republic. Three days later an agreement was concluded at Poti between v. Lossow and Chenkeli, by which the railways and all naval tonnage were ceded to Germany for the duration of the war. By a later agreement, signed at Batum, the Georgian Government guaranteed to Turkey the free transit of petroleum by the pipe-line from Baku to Batum.

726 The apologia of the Georgian Social Democrats for the German
648 Agreement[1] is set forth in a memorandum to the International
728 Socialist Bureau: "We tried to unite the Transcaucasian peoples to defend the whole of the country. But our attempt was broken by the national hatred of the Armenians and Tatars, which was rending Transcaucasia. . . . We remained alone, in a ring of fire, surrounded by enemies on all sides. The Turks marched on us from west and south, the Bolsheviks menaced from the north, and the Tatars from the east. . . . Germany alone was able to tear us away from the noose of the Turkish agreement on the condition that we handed over to her the control of our railway system. . . . No other means remained to deliver us from the Turkish occupation. Our sovereignty as to the railways was, anyhow, destroyed by our defeat. And we signed the Treaty with the Germans, gave them our railways, received their regiments, on the sole condition—which they fulfilled—to defend us from Turkey and not to interfere with our internal affairs. However," they add, "during the darkest days, when German help was most needed, we did not renounce the right of pitilessly criticising German Imperialism."

The German occupation undoubtedly saved Georgia from anarchy, while the diplomatic support of the German mission allowed the Tiflis Government to pursue a policy, in relation particularly to Armenia, which was scarcely consonant with its "pitiless criticism of German Imperialism." During the spring a military force had been organised at Tiflis round the nucleus of a body of armed workmen, and was styled "The National Guard." This body, after wavering for some time between Bolshevism and a Chauvinistic form of Nationalism, was finally persuaded by its leaders to devote itself to the defence and other interests of the Georgian Republic. The first campaign of the young army was the invasion and occupation of the Armenian part of the Borchalu district,

[1] [i.e., on May 28, 1918 -- Analyst]

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Akhalkalaki, and the circuit of Phambak in the government of Alexandropol, on the pretext that Armenia was "unable to build a viable State." When the Erivan Government protested to v. Kressenstein, he replied that "Germany as an ally had engaged itself to support the Georgian claims." [1]

On the north the revival of the Volunteer Army, during the late summer of 1918, enabled the National Guard to drive the Bolsheviks from Sukhum, Gagri and Sochi, and to occupy the mountain districts of the Abkhazians and Ossets, with all the western and central passes of the Caucasus, including the Mamison and Daryal, controlling respectively the Ossetian and Georgian Military Roads.

The conclusion of the armistice in November 1918 greatly modified the situation in Transcaucasia. While the Germans and Turks withdrew respectively from Georgia and Azerbaijan, the British assumed control of Batum and Baku and the line of the Transcaucasian Railway, while the Armenians proceeded to occupy Alexandropol, Kars, Ardahan and Ardanuch.

Three distinct influences must be considered in relation to the situation: (1) the mutual relations of the three national Republics; (2) The attitude of the Russian counter-revolutionary Government at Ekaterinodar; and (3) the policy of the Entente Powers.

(1) Although circumstances now favoured the Armenians, they were so exhausted by the struggle of the preceding year that the Turks at Erzerum and the Tatars at Baku still remained a real menace to their safety. Nevertheless on their Georgian frontier they undertook an offensive against Akhalkalaki and Shulaveri, with the object of regaining the territories occupied by the Georgians during the summer. The Armenians gained some initial successes, but an armistice was imposed by the Allied authorities and the ultimate allocation of the disputed territories was left to the decision of the Peace Conference at Paris. In Tiflis the Armenian offensive and the hostile attitude of the Volunteer Army on the northern frontier proved the occasion of a cruel persecution of the considerable Russian and Armenian element. During January 1919 numbers of Russians and Armenians were assaulted in the streets, and the military capacity of the National Guard was demonstrated in the systematic looting of houses in the Armenian quarter.

During the following months however the Georgian Government made a genuine effort to reconcile national differences

[1] *New Russia*, ii, 23, July 8, 1920.

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and to bring about a degree of co-operation between the national Governments. Various proposals were made for the convocation of a conference of the Transcaucasian States, but the hostility between Baku and Erivan continued to obstruct the conclusion of any common political agreement. However, the signature of the Railway and Postal Convention between the three Governments in the autumn of 1919 was hailed as the first step towards the establishment of a Transcaucasian Confederation.

(2) The counter-revolutionary leaders at Ekaterinodar bore almost as much animosity against the Georgian Socialists as against the Bolsheviks. On the other hand the Georgian Socialists did not hesitate to stigmatise the "Tsarist Generals" as reactionaries—although Mr. Gegéchkori had, in an interview with General Alexeiev, stated that "within our borders the struggle against Bolshevism is implacable"—and they further asserted a series of claims as to the possession or "self-determination" of the Sochi district. Finally, in March 1919, Denikin prepared to make an end of the Caucasian nationalist movement. On the Black Sea coast he occupied Sochi, and the Georgians retired behind the Bzib. At the same time a Russian force occupied Temir-Khan-Shura and brought to an end the "Republic of the Mountaineers."

(3) The policy of the Allies in the Caucasus had been governed by the broader consideration of the Russian Revolutionary question as a whole. While supporting the Russian counter-revolutionaries they had at the same time acquiesced in, or encouraged, the formation of autonomous governments among the border peoples. These, in principle, they were unwilling to recognise as independent, although there was a strong influence in the direction of Allied—particularly of British—policy, which favoured the erection and consistent support of a belt of independent border States. Denikin's attack on the Caucasian Republics provoked a protest from the British Black Sea Command. A small British force was landed at Gagri, between the Volunteer troops at Sochi and the Georgians near Pitsunda, and Denikin, who was dependent on British support in the campaign against the Bolsheviks, was constrained to stop his offensive.

A result of Denikin's offensive was a further effort of the Georgian Government to organise a Transcaucasian alliance—if not a confederation. On July 16, 1919 a Military Convention was signed between Georgia and Azerbaijan, with the object of combined defensive action against the Volunteer Army. But

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Erivan, careful of offence to the Allies, and fearing a Turko-Tatar rather than a Russian attack, held aloof.

In the autumn of 1919 the combination against Denikin developed into a formidable rising of the Daghestanli Khans, which was certainly subsidised and abetted by the Azerbaijan Government. Levies were raised to the number of about 30,000, including 1,000 Turkish *askars*, and organised by fugitive Turkish officers and Tatars, ex-officers of the Imperial Army. In conjunction with Bolshevist elements from Astrakhan the insurgents attacked Derbend and Petrovsk, and threatened other towns. Denikin, at a critical moment, was therefore forced to withdraw two Cossack divisions with armoured cars from the front in Central Russia, but he was successful after a few weeks' campaign in subduing the Khans.

In August the British evacuated all points in Transcaucasia except Batum. A first consequence of this action was a closer Turko-Tatar *rapprochement*, and a desire on the part of the Armenian Government, manifested in a Treaty of Arbitration (November 13), to arrive at a closer understanding with Georgia.

At the beginning of 1920 the collapse of the Volunteer Army and the advance of the Bolsheviks into the Kuban caused the Georgian Government to make one last attempt to achieve some form of co-operation among the Transcaucasian States. The Prime Ministers of Armenia and Azerbaijan were induced to meet and discuss the vexed Zangezur question. But the Tatars were attracted by the prospect of a military alliance with the Turkish Nationalist Government against the Armenians, and concentrated their troops in the Zangezur region. On April 27 the Bolsheviks seized Baku.

The relations of the Tiflis Government with Moscow had, until Denikin's collapse, been normal. Chicherin had, in fact, proposed a Georgian attack on Denikin at the beginning of January. But Gegéchkori had professed disinterestedness in the Russian Civil War, and had refused to permit Georgia to become involved in "a military adventure which would be far beyond her strength." Further negotiations had then taken place, and peace had been agreed upon in principle. But the Bolshevist Staff was notoriously independent of Moscow, and Georgia might expect an immediate attack. During April indeed the Bolsheviks occupied the Gagri district in spite of Georgian protests and raided the Gori district from the north. On May 1 there was a Bolshevist outbreak at Tiflis.

The Polish War however, induced the Bolsheviks to suspend all aggression in the East. Consequently a Treaty was signed

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at Moscow (June 12) by which the Soviet Government recognised the independence of Georgia, and disclaimed all interest in the internal affairs of that country. Georgia was to receive Batum, should it be evacuated by the British, and a neutral zone was established on each side of the Caucasian Mountains. But the cynical attitude of the Bolsheviks towards the Treaty, which they regarded as merely of a temporary nature, was indicated by the correspondence of Chicherin with Mustafa Kemal Pasha, in which he approved the latter's proposal to decide by plébiscite the future of Batum and other regions.

While the Moscow negotiations were in progress the Supreme Council had decided on the evacuation of Batum, and at the beginning of July 1920 the Franco-British troops were withdrawn. The Georgians had already occupied Artvin (May 6), and on July 9 the control of Batum was formally transferred to them by the British High Commissioner, Colonel Stokes.

The evacuation of Batum by the Allies was significant of their intention to abstain from all active intervention in Transcaucasia. Georgia and Armenia were left to their own resources. The situation in the two countries became extremely critical during the autumn of 1920. The people were demoralised by the long period of political crises. In Georgia economic life was disorganised by the unfavourable rate of exchange with Europe, by the impossibility of resuming normal relations with the Northern Caucasus and Azerbaijan, and by the uncertainty of the supply of oil-fuel from Baku. In Armenia the peasants were disheartened by the delay in the solution of the Turkish Armenian question, and the productive capacity of the country was strained to an extreme limit by the necessity of supporting hundreds of thousands of refugees. Thousands of deaths from malnutrition and exposure were occurring, and cholera and typhus were ravaging the crowded villages.

It was patent to all observers that both countries must succumb to a vigorous attack. Their continued independence depended on the preoccupation of the Bolsheviks in other quarters.

In November the conclusion of the Polish War and the unexpected collapse of the White Army in the Crimea precipitated the crisis. The Bolsheviks were now free to despatch troops to the Transcaucasus. At the same time the fall of Venizelos and the political changes in Greece permitted the Turks to withdraw troops from the Smyrna front for despatch to Erzerum. In the middle of September they commenced operations in the regions of Kars and Igdir, and in November the movement

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developed formidable proportions. The demoralised Armenians lacked munitions, uniforms and food, and further, they could hope for no help from the Allies. Kars fell, almost without a shot, and the inhabitants of Erivan only avoided a Turkish occupation by the establishment of a Soviet and recognition of the authority of the Moscow Government.

The Georgians were in a precarious position. Sporadic Bolshevist outbreaks occurred at Tiflis and Batum, and further, the Georgians appear to have been disheartened by the attitude of the British Government, who during the negotiations at Genoa with the Soviet Government appeared to ignore the interests of the Caucasian Governments, and failed to make any suggestion that they should be recognised by the Soviet Government or even to stipulate for their immunity from immediate attack. When the Armenians were attacked the Georgian Government hesitated to make any effort to assist them, and confined themselves, after the Turks had taken Kars and Alexandropol, to occupying the Armenian towns of Ardahan and Ardanuch, officially as a friendly and protective measure.

In the middle of February the Bolsheviks commenced an attack on Georgia. Armenian troops moved on Shulaveri, while a strong force of Bolshevist cavalry advanced up the valley of the Kur towards Tiflis, and detachments crossed the Mamison and Daryal Passes. At the same time another Bolshevist force advanced from Gagri towards Sukhum. The Armenian thrust was repulsed, but the force moving along the Kur was supported by a Bolshevist rising of Russian and Armenian elements in Tiflis, and the Georgian defence was disorganised by the defection of part of the National Guard. In the last week of February Tiflis fell, and the Georgian Government withdrew to Kutais. At the beginning of March the Bolsheviks occupied Mtzkhet and Gori.

Meanwhile the Nationalist Turks occupied Ardahan, Ardanuch and Artvin by agreement with the Georgians, and on March 9 entered Batum.

The Turko-Georgian understanding did not, however, modify the situation. A Georgian rally on the Suram ridge had been expected. But while the Bolshevist Black Sea force took Sukhum and Poti, the Kur army entered Kutais, and the Government of Jordania fled on board an Italian warship at Batum. On March 17 the Bolsheviks approached that town. The Georgian Government troops then deserted to the Bolsheviks, and attacked the small Turkish detachment, which was forced to withdraw.

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The Bolsheviks subsequently[1] established Soviets at Batum
726 and Tiflis under the leaders of Georgian Bolshevism, and a
648 Treaty was signed between Angora and Moscow, which confirmed the Turkish occupation of Ardahan, Artvin and Kars,
728 and guaranteed to the Turks free goods transit to Batum.

Following the Kars Conference (October–November 1921), which regulated the relations of the Angora Government and the Caucasian Bolshevist Governments, confirmed the Turks in the possession of Kars and Ardahan, and established a special régime for the Batum Provinces, the Soviet Government abolished by decree the independence of the three Soviet Republics of Transcaucasia, and established one federal union under Russian control, with a political capital at Baku—the centre of Bolshevist influence—and an economic capital at Tiflis. It should be added that the representatives of the four exiled Caucasian Governments (Georgia, Armenia, Azerbaijan and Daghestan) have also "concluded an alliance and established an understanding" by an agreement signed in Paris on June 10, 1921, providing for co-ordination of foreign policy, compulsory arbitration in disputes, and a Customs Union.

000 In general the situation indicates the development of a further phase of the Russian Revolution—the failure of the separatist movement of the border races and the reconstruction of the Russian Imperial unit through the agency of the Bolshevist military machine. Such a consummation in the Caucasus was, perhaps, inevitable. For the history of the last four years has demonstrated the political instability and military weakness of the national States. And from the standpoint of Russian Imperial policy the re-establishment of control over the Caucasus was a strategic and economic necessity.

Thus for reasons political, economic and moral, it is unquestionable that the future of the Transcaucasian peoples must lie in intimate union with Russia. The actual form of association between Russia and the Transcaucasians, as also the other border races, still remains to be evolved. But it is to be hoped that a liberal autonomy will allow to Georgians, Tatars, Armenians and Mountaineers alike the opportunity for prosperous economic development, and for the preservation of their individual characteristics. In an age of standardisation the distinctive cultures of ancient races are at once a source of advantage to civilisation and of delight to the individual.

1 [for events preceding the settlement of 1921, see cont. 116, p215 ff.--Analyst]

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# CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE

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|---|---|
| B.C. | |
| 11th to 6th Cent. | Period of Semitic predominance in South-east Asia Minor, and of Aryan invasions. The Caucasians are driven gradually eastward into the basins of the Kur and Aras. The Cimmerians (later the Alans) probably displace the Kabards and Cherkesses from the steppe north of the Caucasus. |
| 6th to 4th Cent. | Persians predominant in Transcaucasia. Development of a feudal system in Iberia.[1] Writing said to have been introduced by King Pharnavaz. |
| 4th to 2nd Cent. | Iberians,[1] Colchians and Albanians[1] virtually independent. Period of much Hellenic commercial activity in the Euxine. |
| 112-64 | The kingdom of the Pontine Arsacids. |
| 64 | Roman suzerainty established over the Albanians, Iberians, and Colchians. |
| A.D. | |
| 1st to 7th Cent. | Period of Roman and Persian struggle for the control of Armenia and Transcaucasia. The kingdoms of Lazica, Iberia and Aghovania subject alternately to Rome and Persia. The barbarian tribes, Alans, Huns, Khazars and others constantly invade the lowlands by the Caspian Gates. The Persians try to establish a defensive line from Derbend to Daryal, to which the Romans occasionally make financial contributions. Christianity introduced into Georgia (4th to 5th centuries) and the Greek Emperors found many churches in the western regions (Pitsunda, Nakalevi, etc.). |
| 628 | Conclusion of last Græco-Persian War. |
| 637 | The Arabs, under Habib, take Erzerum. |
| 639 | Stephanos nominated King of Iberia by the Emperor Heraclius. |
| 639–51 | The Arabs capture Nakhichevan, Dovin, Derbend and Tiflis. Stephanos driven East of the Suram Mountains. The Dido and other Lesghian tribes conquered. |
| 651–733 | Wars between the Arabs and Khazars. Finally Mervan the Obstinate re-establishes the former defensive line Derbend-Daryal. The Lesghians and Alans are subdued and converted to Islam. |
| 8th to early 9th Cent. | Period of great Arab commercial activity and general prosperity in Transcaucasia. |
| 9th Cent. | Gradual decay of the Arab administrative machine. Independent Shahs spring up in Daghestan and Shirvan. The Beni-Jafar Emirs of Tiflis. Orbelians in Kakhetia. |
| 10th Cent. | Rise of the Armenian Bagratids. The kingdoms of Lori and Aghovank. |

[1] See p. 229.

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# CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE

| A.D. | |
|---|---|
| 125 985 | Bagrat III elected King of Abkhazia. |
| 994 | He succeeds to the kingdom of Tao. |
| 1001 | David, Kuropalat of Basian, leaves his estates to the Byzantine Emperor. |
| 1008 to 1050 | Bagrat III inherits the Karthalinian crown. Period of hostilities between the Georgians and Greeks, the latter gradually absorbing the Armenian principalities. Struggle between the Georgian kings and the feudal houses, chief of whom are the Kakhetian Orbelians. Period of church building. |
| 1048 | The Seljuk Turks defeat a Graeco-Georgian army. |
| 1071 | The Greeks severely defeated at Melasgird. |
| 1072–89 | The Turks constantly invade Georgia; capture Tiflis (1088). |
| 1092–1125 | David the Restorer, during the period of the Crusades, drives out the Turks; subdues the Orbelians (1105); recaptures Tiflis (1122); founds Gori and Ghelathi. |
| Dmitri I, 1125–54 | Period of warfare against the Mussulmans. |
| Giorgi II, 1154–84<br>Thamara, 1184–1212. | Georgian frontiers extended to Kars, Ani, Dovin and Ganja. The Emirs of East Caucasia and the Mountain-princes dependent on the Georgian kings. Much prosperity, church-building and Greek culture among the aristocracy. Age of Rustaveli and the great bards. |
| Giorgi IV, Lasha, 1212–20.<br>Queen Rusudan, 1220–47.<br>David IV, Narin, 1234–93.<br>David V, Lasha, 1244–69.<br>Dmitri II, 1271–89, And others.<br>Vakhtang II, 1293–1318<br>Giorgi V, the Brilliant, 1318–46.<br>David VII, 1346–60.<br>Bagrat V, 1360–95.<br>Giorgi VII, 1395–1407.<br>Alexander I, 1407–42. | Period of Khvarasmian and Mongol Wars. Mongol hegemony established, and Georgian kings nominated by the Il-Khans. Georgia and Mingrelia for a time independent kingdoms, but eventually united under Giorgi the Brilliant. The invasions of the Mountaineers and of the Ottoman Turks. The Black Death (1366) and the campaigns of Timur greatly weaken the country and shake the power of the Monarchy and the Church. |
| 1442–1722 | Georgia is divided into a number of kingdoms and principalities, i.e. Karthalinia and Kakhetia under Persian influence; Akhaltsikh, Guria, Mingrelia and Imeretia under Turkish influence; Ksan and the Araghva, Svanetia, Abkhazia, Radsha and Ossetia virtually independent. |
| 16th Cent. | First Cossack settlements. |
| 1586–96 | Russian operations against Shamkhal of Tarku. |
| 1619–64 | Intrigues of Taimuraz of Kakhetia with the Russians. |
| 1722 | Peter the Great's campaign in the Caucasus. |
| 1735 | Kisliar founded. |
| 1748–97 | Revival of Georgian kingdom under Irakli II. |
| 1769. | Todleben's campaign in Transcaucasia. |
| 1774 | Treaty of Kuchuk Kainarji. |
| To 1779 | Russian organisation of Northern Caucasus. Stavropol and other forts founded. |
| 1783 | The Act of Gori. Daryal road and Vladikavkaz begun. |

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| A.D. | |
|---|---|
| 1785 | The Ghazavat of Sheikh Mansur. |
| 1790 | The Russians storm Anapa. |
| 1791 | Treaty of Jassy. |
| 1795–6 | Persian invasion of Georgia. Agha Muhammad sacks Tiflis. |
| 1796 | Russians occupy country as far as the Aras, but later withdraw. |
| 1799 | The Avars invade Kakhetia. |
| 1800 | Giorgi XII surrenders the Georgian crown to Tsar Paul. |
| 1803–6 | Viceroyalty of Tsitsianov. |
| 1803 | Mingrelia proclaimed a Russian Province. |
| 1807 | Russians capture Anaklia, Anapa and Poti from the Turks. |
| 1810 | Imeretia, Elisu and Samukh annexed. Guria and Abkhazia seek Russian protection. Jaro-Bielokanis subdued. |
| 1811 | Russians capture Akhalkalaki. Georgian Church subordinated to Russian Synod. |
| 1812 | Treaty of Bucharest restores losses to the Turks. Persian victory at Sultan-buda. Risings at Tiflis, Telav and Signakh. Russian victory at Aslanduz. |
| 1813 | Treaty of Gulistan. Russians subdue the Khevsurs. |
| 1818–20 | Yermolov builds Grozni and Vnezapnaia. Madatov reduces the Lesghian Khanates. |
| 1821 | Rising in Imeretia. |
| 1822 | The Kabardans subdued. Rising in Guria. |
| 1825 | Appearance of Kazi-Mullah and Shamil. |
| 1825–7 | Russo-Persian War and Treaty of Turkmanchai. |
| 1827–8 | Russo-Turkish War. Russians acquire Anapa, Poti and the Pashalik of Akhaltsikh by the Treaty of Adrianople. |
| 1829–32 | Russian campaigns against the Murids. Death of Kazi-Mullah, the first Imam. |
| 1834 | Death of Hamzad Beg, the second Imam. |
| 1837 | Shamil proclaimed third Imam. |
| 1839 | Russians take Akhulgo. "The Murid sect has fallen." |
| 1843 | Revival of Muridism. Shamil lays siege to Temir Khan Shura. |
| 1844 | Daniel, Sultan of Elisu, joins Shamil. |
| 1845 | Vorontsov defeated at Dargo in Chechnia, with a loss of nearly 4,000 men. |
| 1846 | Shamil's unsuccessful attempt to invade Kabarda and establish communication with the Western tribes. |
| 1851 | Haji Murad surrenders to the Russians. Decline of Shamil's power. |
| 1853–5 | The Crimean War. Failure of the Allies to co-operate with Shamil. The Kars and Ingur campaigns. |
| 1857 | Agrarian rising in Mingrelia. |
| 1859 | Shamil surrenders at Gunib. |
| 1862 | Cherkess deputies visit England. |
| 1864 | Final submission of the Western tribes. Wholesale emigration, with disastrous results to Turkey. Autonomy of Abkhazia abolished. |
| 1870 | Autonomy of Mingrelia abolished. Poti-Tiflis railway begun. Chiaturi manganese mines developed. |
| 1871 | Death of Shamil at Medina. |
| 1874 | Georgian National Army abolished. |
| 1877–8 | Russo-Turkish War. Insurrections in Circassia and Daghestan easily repressed. The Russians acquire Batum, Ardahan and Kars by the Treaty of Berlin. |

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| A.D. | | |
|---|---|---|
| 175 1880 | . . . | Emigration of the Ajars to the Brusa district. |
| 1883 | . . . | Tiflis-Baku railway begun. |
| 1884 | . . . | Rothschild activity at Batum. Caucasian Viceroyalty abolished. Marxist movement of Gibladze and Ninishvili begins to replace Romantic movement of Chavchavadze. |
| 1887 | . . . | Conscription applies to the Caucasus. I. Tsereteli founds *Kvali*. |
| 1896 | . . . | Union of Raliwaymen founded. Return of N. Jordania from Geneva. |
| 1898 | . . . | Revolt in Chechnia. |
| 1900 | . . . | Galitsin's Military Law. Outbreak of strikes and arrest of Jordania and others. I. Tsereteli founds *Kvireli* in succession to *Kvali*. |
| 1902 | . . . | Insurrection in Ossetia. |
| 1905 | . . . | Revolutionary outbreaks at Tiflis and elsewhere. The "Gurian Republic." |
| 1906 | . . . | Severe repression in Mingrelia, Imeretia and Guria by Alikhanov. |
| 1908 | . . . | Foundation of "Association of Circassian Émigrés in Turkey." |
| 1914 | . . . | Outbreak of the Great War. Activities of Kerezelidze. |
| 1915–16 | . . . | Caucasian Delegation in Berlin, Vienna and Switzerland. |
| 1917. | *March* | Revolution in Petrograd. "Special Caucasian Committee" nominated.—*May*. Fall of the Cadets. First Congress of the Mountaineers at Vladikavkaz.—*Sept*. Second Congress at Vladikavkaz.—*Nov*. The Bolshevik *coup* at Petrograd. Commissariat and Seim organised at Tiflis.—Relations of the Mountaineers with the South-east Union.—*Dec*. 2. "Union of the Mountaineers" proclaimed.—3. Georgian National Congress. Jordania's "All-Russian platform." |
| 1918. | *Jan*. | Invitation to the "Independent Transcaucasian Republic" to attend the Brest negotiations. "Combined action with autonomous Governments of Russia."—*Feb*. 23. Meeting of Transcaucasian Seim. —*March* 2–*April* 13. Negotiations between the Turks and the Transcaucasian Commissariat at Trebizond. Colonel Chermoiev asks assistance from Tiflis against the Bolsheviks, and later attends the negotiations at Trebizond. Georgian Delegation recalled. Jordania: "We shall not sign." Bolsheviks occupy Black Sea coast and Abkhazia.—*April* 14. Turks take Batum.—27–28. Turks take Kars; advance to Notanebi and Ozurgeti. Resignation of Gegéchkori. Declaration of Transcaucasian independence.—*May* 1. Negotiations continued at Batum. Turks recognise "Republic of the Mountaineers." Germans take Sevastopol.—15. Turks take Alexandropol.—25. German troops landed at Poti.—28. Declaration of Georgian independence.—*June*. The National Guard occupy Sukhum, Gagri and Sochi.—*August*. Osset rising at Dushet.—*Sept*. Georgian aggression in Borchalu region. Gegéchkori meets Alexeiev at Ekaterinodar.—*Nov*. Anglo-Turkish Armistice. British occupy Batum and Transcaucasian Railway. Georgian proposals for a Transcaucasian Conference. |

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—*Dec.* Armeno-Georgian hostilities, in which the Allied representatives intervene. 175

1919. *Feb.* Second proposal for Transcaucasian Conference. Mussulman rising in Akhaltsikh region.—*March.* Denikin takes Sochi and occupies Temir Khan Shura. British interference.—*July* 16. Treaty of Alliance between Azerbaijan and Georgia.—*August.* British evacuate Transcaucasia except Batum.—*Nov.* 13. Armeno-Georgian Arbitration Treaty.

1920. *Jan.* 2 Chicherin suggests a Georgian attack on Denikin.—*Jan.* 12. Supreme Council recognises *de facto* independence of Georgia.—*April* 25–*May* 2. Bolsheviks threaten Sukhum and Gori, and seize the Poi'i bridge over the Kur. Bolshevist outbreak at Tifli. *May* 11. Georgians occupy Artvin.—*June* 12. Russo-Georgian Treaty. Kirov sent to Tiflis.—*June* 9. Allies "transfer" Batum to Georgia.—*Dec.* Turko-Bolshevist attack on Armenia. Georgians occupy Ardahan and Ardanuch.

1921. *Jan.* Allies recognise *de jure* independence of Georgia.—*End of Feb.–March.* Bolshevist attack on Georgia. Occupation of Tiflis, Mtzkhet and Gori. Turks enter Ardaghan, Ardanuch, Artvin and Batum. Bolshevists advance by Sukhum to Poti; occupy Kutais. Drive the Turks out of Batum, and proclaim a Soviet Republic in Tiflis and Batum. *March* 16. Treaty signed at Moscow cedes Artvin and Ardahan to Turkey, with right of free transit to Batum.

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# SECTION II—CAUCASIAN AZERBAIJAN

181 "That country is cold, with abundance of snow and rain; . . . its inhabitants are dull and uncommunicative; they are remarkable for their heavy beards; their tongue is not beautiful."

*al-Mukadassi*, A.D. 985.

"The Tatars . . . have a dignity of bearing and a charm of manner which endear them to all who come in contact with them. . . . They are extraordinarily backward in their development and as ignorant and barbarous as any race in Asia."

LUIGI VILLARI, 1906.

## VII

## GENERAL HISTORY TO 1917[1]

101 THE territories inhabited by a majority of the so-called Turks or Tatars of Azerbaijan comprise the ex-Russian Governments of Baku and Elisavetpol, and parts of the Governments of Daghestan, Tiflis, Zakatali and Erivan. In general, the Tatars of Azerbaijan form a compact mass in the lower valleys of the Kur and Aras and along the Caspian from Derbend to Lenkoran. In the eastern parts of the Government of Tiflis they are mingled with Georgians, in that of Zakatali with Georgians and Lesghians, and in Daghestan with Lesghians. In the region of the Baku oil-fields there is a large alien minority of Russians, Armenians, Poles and other nationalities, whose advent dates only from 1870. In the southern coastal region of Talish there are a number of Persians (Tats) mixed with the Tatars. And in the hilly regions of Zangezur and Kara Bagh, comprising the south-eastern part of the Government of Erivan and the south-western part of the Government of Elisavetpol, Tatar, Armenian, Kurdish and gipsy elements are intermingled. 563 It is in this region that the racial and religious feud between 233 Tatar and Armenian has assumed the most acute form. For whereas the Armenian peasants occupy and cultivate the hill-country, the nomad Tatars, whilst pasturing their flocks and herds on the steppes of Kara Bagh, Mil and Mughan during the winter, are accustomed to drive them up into the hilly

[1] See maps facing pp. 192, 204.

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country for the summer months. Hence have arisen serious economic differences between Armenian farmer and Tatar herdsman which have been embittered by the respective claims of the political leaders of the two races.

The settlement of Turkish-speaking peoples in the Eastern Transcaucasus is of comparatively recent date. In the time of Herodotus the lower valleys of the Kur and Aras were inhabited by tribes of Caucasian affinities, while an Aryo-Persian tribe, the Caspii, held the Talish littoral. In the first century A.D., Strabo describes the Albanians[1] as the inhabitants of the Eastern Transcaucasus. The Albanians were ethnically Caucasians and were related to the neighbouring tribes to the west, Iberians and Colchians. The Caspii had been absorbed by the Albanians, but a Persian element continued to exist as a result of the frequent invasion of the country by the Persians, whose soldiers settled as colonists in not inconsiderable numbers.

From the seventh century B.C. there was a constant infiltration of elements from the Northern Steppe, the later invading tribes being certainly of Turki stock. Evidence however is too scanty to identify distinctly Turkish nomadic elements at this time. During the following seven centuries the nomadic incursions continued. The Persians endeavoured, with little success, to establish a defensive line at Derbend. When the Arabs conquered the Caucasus they likewise tried to establish this line, but it was not until the middle of the eighth century A.D. that they succeeded in breaking the military power of the Khazars, and in forming a strong defensive line against nomadic incursions from Derbend to Daryal. By that date the Turkish element was undoubtedly predominant in the plains of the lower reaches of the Kur and Aras, and the Caucasian or Albanian element had either been absorbed or driven westward and southward.

The Arabs effectively imposed the Islamic culture and religion on this amenable barbarian population, and thenceforward the Eastern Transcaucasus remained a region in which Mussulman institutions were acknowledged and established.

In the eleventh century the Turkish population of Shirvan, Aran and Mughan was further strengthened and augmented by the invasions and settlement of the Seljuks. To the habits of a nomad invader the grassy plains of the Kur and Aras were particularly favourable. The raiding bands of horsemen would place their camps in the plain of Mughan, and from such

[1] Not of course the ancestors of the inhabitants of European Albania.

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175 a convenient centre set out to ravage Georgia, Armenia and North-western Persia.

Two centuries later the Mongols followed the Seljuk Turks, and the Plain of Mughan became the permanent winter-camp, the hills of KaraBagh the summer-camp, of the Persian Il-Khans.

Thus during twenty-one centuries of nomadic invasions the original Caucasian inhabitants of the Caspian littoral and the plains of the lower valleys of the Kur and Aras were gradually expelled or absorbed, and a Turko-Mongoloid, or Tatar, population became settled there as a result, firstly of the incursions of the Khazars from the north through the Gap of Derbend, secondly of the arrival of new Turkish elements from Khurasan and Central Asia in the tenth century, and thirdly of the invasions of the Mongols during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries.

The Arabs were the first Imperial race to secure permanent control of the Kur and Aras Valleys, and to fortify and hold for any length of time the gap which gives access from the Steppe to the Transcaucasian lowlands. Further, they were the first race to bring under one control the western and eastern coasts of the Caspian and to develop to any great extent the maritime commerce of that sea. As a result of this military security and of political and economic organisation the prosperity of Eastern Transcaucasia developed, and Shirvan, Aran and Mughan soon became wealthy and important provinces of the Arab Empire.

175 In the Plains of Mughan and Kara Bagh the ruins of Arab towns and traces of canals, roads and caravanserais are plentiful.
361 The great swampy plain stretching between the Aras and the Caspian was dotted with populous villages and rich in corn.

At Berda'a, the capital of Aran, roads converged from Kermanshah by Tabriz and Dabil, chief town of Muslim Armenia, from Rai by Ardebil and the towns of the Mughan Plain, from Tiflis on the north-western frontier, and from Shemakha.

[439] In the extreme north-east, on the furthermost borders of Islam, lay Derbend, the Bab-el-Abwab or "Gate of Gates" of the Arab geographers, "the port for all the commerce of the Caspian Sea," whither the Khazars brought "honey and wax from the borders of Rus," and also furs and cereals. Derbend was a centre of the textile trade whence, says Ibn Haukal, "they send linen clothes to all parts of Aran and Azerbaijan. Here they also weave tapestry, or carpets, and cultivate saffron."

175 In the middle of the eleventh century the Arab Empire hereabouts collapsed, and for the next three and a half centuries

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Transcaucasia was subject to the inroads and subsequent 175
settlements of the nomadic tribes from the Central Asian Steppe, who were ravaging all the lands from the Baltic to the Red Sea.

During the period of Mongol domination (1236–1498) and 175
later under the Safavi dynasty of Persia (1498–1736) Eastern 361
Transcaucasia, semi-independent under Mussulman Khans, 439
regained something of its former prosperity; but this prosperity was centred in Shirvan rather than in Aran or in Mughan. Derbend rose to importance as the point of junction between the territories of the Northern and Southern Mongols, and its population traded across the Caspian with Central Asia and Northern Persia, in furs, fustians, silk and rice. In this trade both Genoese and Venetians took a hand. Baku, to which the early Arab geographers give only brief references, was already the centre of a considerable trade in oil.

Up to the middle of the eighteenth century peasant and 175
artisan remained in a low state of cultural development subject to the exactions and petty tyranny of the begs or local landowners, and to the oppressive rule of their native khans. These khans were, for the most part, cruel and ignorant soldiers, who spent their uncertain revenues in the maintenance of extravagant little courts where they endeavoured to mimic the luxuries and vices of Isfahan. All the education and knowledge in the khanates were the preserve of the Mussulman theocracy, who fulfilled at the same time the offices of priest, schoolmaster and magistrate.

The eighteenth century witnessed the organisation of Russia, under Peter the Great and his successors, into an aggressive military State and the simultaneous decline of the Muhammadan Powers which bordered her southern frontiers. Territorial aggrandisement at the expense of Turkey and Persia and the eventual control of the Black Sea and Caspian Sea became an integral part of Russian Imperial policy. Eventually, as the result of more than a century of aggression against Persia, the Russians succeeded in gaining control of the Caspian, and in establishing themselves in all the territories north of the Aras, previously subject to Persia.

By the Treaty of Gulistan (1813) Russia acquired the khanates of Derbend, Baku, Shirvan (Shemakha), Sheki (Nukha), Ganja (now Elisavetpol) and Lenkoran.

By the Treaty of Turkmanchai (1827) they further received possession of the Khanates of Erivan and Nakhichevan and the southern part of Talish.

175 Under Russian rule the Tatars prospered. The Imperial Government, inefficient and obscurantist in many things, at
433 least reduced disorder to a minimum, and provided railways, roads, telegraphs and all those material amenities which the ardent nationalist is so inclined to ignore. The Tatar peasant settled down to peaceful agriculture, silk and vine-growing and gardening in the valley of the Kur, and to stock-breeding on the Southern Steppes. And when in 1878 Baku suddenly became a great industrial city, tens of thousands of Tatars flocked thither to gain a living in the oil-fields.

The land-owning class, at first recalcitrant, soon became
175 reconciled to Russian rule, and the wealthy *begs*, with their
565 oriental code of morals and their devotion to sport and military exercises, found much in common with the Russian officers into whose ranks they were gradually absorbed. The development of Baku produced a Tatar middle-class of oil-magnates, managers, engineers, lawyers and business men who, while maintaining a sentimental attachment to Islam and Turan, were proud to mix with the Russian bourgeoisie.

Local politics, particularly in Eastern Transcaucasia, were
175 in the elementary stages of religion and petty nationalism.
563 The Russian domination might be resented, but the object of
578 the antagonism of all Tatars of whatever class was the Christian Armenian. The enmity of Tatar and Armenian was ancient. For centuries the Tatar begs in the south-eastern khanates had treated their Armenian serfs with abominable brutality—brutality of which, it must be admitted, the Tatar peasant was equally the victim. The Armenians had filled a notable rôle as partisans in the Russian wars against Persia and the Khans, and after the Treaties of Gulistan and Turkmanchai large numbers of the Armenian serfs of Tatar begs were freed.

For the first half century of the Russian régime the Armenians were the favoured race against the Muslims. With envy and contempt the Tatars watched the Armenians, more astute and industrious than themselves, absorb all the trade in the country, consolidate themselves as the minor strata of the Russian bureaucracy, and establish themselves as an important factor in the industrial life of Baku. Furthermore, a regular infiltration of Armenian peasantry from Turkey into Transcaucasia alarmed Tatar landowners and peasants alike. But in the last decade of the nineteenth century the Imperial Government, anxious at the growing social unrest of the Empire and believing the Armenian anti-Turkish revolutionary clubs at Tiflis to be connected with Russian seditious organisations, reversed its policy

[Established early in the 19th cent.; see cat III, p 231--
5: Allen, RH1 Caucasia, -- Analyst]

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of favouring the Armenians, and Prince Galitsin, the Governor-General of the Caucasus, initiated a policy of oppression towards them which could not but be grateful to the Tatars. Finally, during the revolutionary troubles of 1903–6 in Russia, the Tatar-Armenian feud culminated in a sanguinary racial war. In the summer of 1903 there were strikes among the Russian and Armenian workmen at Baku and along the Transcaucasian Railway which, though economic in character, were political in tendency.

The Russian bureaucracy, lacking adequate military support from home, not unnaturally inclined towards the time-honoured policy of "divide and rule," by encouraging the Tatars against the Armenians, whose Committee at Baku, though essentially national, was in alliance with the revolutionary elements. In February 1905 the first serious fighting between Tatars and Armenians broke out at Baku. Prince Nakashidze, the Governor, a Georgian noble, made no attempt to protect the Armenians, and, according to a foreign eye-witness,[1] was to be seen "driving about the town openly encouraging the Tatars and slapping them on the back." Further outbreaks, when the Tatars generally took the offensive, occurred during the summer and autumn at Erivan, Nakhichevan, Elisavetpol, Shusha, Tiflis, and again at Baku, in the course of which many hundreds of Armenians and Tatars were killed.

Towards the end of 1905 however the Imperial Government became alarmed at the growing insurgence of the Tatars, and Prince Vorontsov-Dashkov, newly appointed Viceroy, adopted a more friendly attitude towards the Armenians. As the authority of the Imperial Government was restored, actual disturbances became less frequent, but during the period of anarchy racial passions had been aroused which were not to be easily mollified. From 1906 onwards there was great activity, both political and economic, among Georgians and Armenians. Political clubs of varying shades of opinion, but all violently nationalist, were numerous, and terrorist outrages were comparatively frequent. The Tatars had been slow to organise themselves, but gradually an association which professed to represent Tatar interests, known as the "Mussavet" (Union) Club, was formed at Baku. It was supported by the wealthy landowners, the industrial magnates and the bourgeois "intellectuals" of Baku, and its aims were at first ostensibly cultural, comprising the foundation of the Mussulman Philanthropic Society of Baku—generously endowed by the octo-

[1] L. Villari, *Fire and Sword in the Caucasus*, p. 195.

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genarian oil-king Taghaiev—and the organisation of hospitals, homes for Tatars in distress, and summer-schools. The original political aims of the Mussavet were co-operation with the Tatars of Kazan and the Crimea, and the peaceful cultural development of the Tatar peoples within the Russian Empire. In the Duma it adhered to the left wing of the Cadets.

But political developments, both within and without the Russian Empire, impelled the Mussavet leaders to take up an attitude at once more individualistic and more nationalistic. While the growing tension in Russian politics tended to accentuate the differences between opposing groups, the Persian and Turkish Revolutions, representing attempts to invigorate the Islamic and Turanian ideas, could not fail to appeal to the imagination of many Tatars.

At the end of 1914, on the eve of war with Russia, the Young Turks negotiated with the Ottoman Armenians, and with certain Georgians and Tatars, with regard to the possible establishment of independent States in the Caucasus, subject to Ottoman suzerainty; but the scheme was abandoned owing to the hostility of the Armenians, who threw in their lot with the Allies. Even among the Tatars there appears to have been little active sympathy for the Turks, and while Mussulmans in general were not liable to conscription, many Tatars, particularly the landed gentry, voluntarily served in the Russian army.

## VIII

### THE REVOLUTION AND THE REPUBLIC

In March 1917, when the revolution took place, the Tatars behaved with moderation; the masses took part in revolutionary demonstrations, but with little show of enthusiasm. At the first "Congress of Mussulmans" held at Baku in April, the Mussavet expressed the intention of acting in unison with the Tatars of Kazan, the Crimea and Turkistan, and contented themselves with following the idealist trend of other groups by nominating a "Muhammadan Committee of the Caucasus" to formulate the details of a democratic programme of reform. Representatives of the Mussavet attended the "All-Russian Mussulman Congress" which met at Moscow in May, and one of their number, Muhammad Beg Jafarov, sat on the "Committee of Four" which Kerenski had set up at Tiflis to administer the internal affairs of Trans-

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caucasia. But when a Second Congress met at Baku in the 668
middle of June the situation had changed, and strongly-worded
resolutions were adopted on the subject of Pan-Islamism and
Pan-Turanianism. The Third Congress, which met at Baku
at the end of August, was more violent still.

In November the Bolshevist *coup d'état* precipitated the 669
complete collapse of the Russian administrative system. Chaos
immediately broke out in Transcaucasia. At Tiflis the "Committee of Four" was quickly succeeded by a "Commissariat of Fourteen," deriving its authority from a Transcaucasian Seim,[1] composed in proportion of Georgians, Russians, Tatars and Armenians. At Baku, an industrial centre and hence a stronghold of Bolshevism, a Soviet was established; in the country districts round Shemakha and Elisavetpol the peasants robbed and murdered the local begs; and in areas where the population was mixed a bitter racial war broke out. The Mussavetists were now openly pro-Turkish, and as the dissolution of the Russian forces proceeded and the Turks moved eastwards they became more daring. In January 1918 Tatar bands commenced to harass columns of Russian soldiers returning home; and a large force of Russians was cut to pieces at Shamkhor.

When in the middle of March the terms of the Treaty of 669
Brest-Litovsk, ceding Batum, Kars and Ardahan to Turkey, 726
were announced in the Transcaucasian Seim, the Tatar [648]
deputies applauded and loudly advocated acknowledgment of
the Treaty. On March 17 the Mussavet, emboldened by the
Turkish reoccupation of Erzerum, organised a rising against
the Soviet at Baku. But Stepan Shaumian, the able Armenian
Commissary whom Lenin had sent to organise the proletariat
of "the oil-city," proved equal to the occasion. The six
gunboats of the Caspian Flotilla demolished the Muhammadan
quarter and laid in ruins the headquarters of the Philanthropic
Society. After three days' fighting the Tatars were subdued,
having lost more than 2,000 killed; and their leaders fled to
Elisavetpol, where they organised troops to co-operate with
the Turks. The Turkish occupation of Alexandropol, on May [642]
15, decided the Transcaucasian Seim to declare its dissolution,
and the Georgians, Armenians and Tatars respectively proclaimed their independence at Tiflis, Erivan and Elisavetpol.
The Tatars proclaimed the southern part of Daghestan and
the Governments of Baku and Elisavetpol the "Republic of
Azerbaijan," adopting the name of the neighbouring Persian
PROVINCE in order to appeal to the sentiment of its Tatar population.

[1] Chamber.

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000 province in order to appeal to the sentiment of its Tatar population.

726 On June 3 a Treaty was signed at Batum between the representatives of the three new Republics and Turkey, confirming [642] Turkey's advantages under the Treaty of Brest-Litovsk, and 669 allowing to the Central Powers the use of the Transcaucasian Railway. Thereupon the Turkish Command, in spite of German opposition, began to move troops along the railway to the Tatar camp at Elisavetpol. By the end of June a combined Turko-Tatar army, under Nuri Pasha, numbering about 13,000 men, was concentrated there, ready to march on Baku. Meanwhile Shaumian, with the assistance of a young artillery colonel named Petrov, was organising a Red Army out of the Armenian and Russian workers at Baku, and was negotiating for the co-operation of the anti-Bolshevist Colonel Bicherakov, commanding the remnant of the Russian troops in Persia. Shaumian feared a counter-revolutionary *coup d'état* if Bicherakov were allowed to land at Baku, while the latter doubted the good faith of the Red Commissars. Eventually the two parties compromised, and Bicherakov was allowed to land at Alyat, where the Transcaucasian Railway runs east from Elisavetpol to the coast and turns due north to Baku. Bicherakov moved west along the railway with a force of some 1,500 Cossacks, strengthened by a British armoured car squadron from Persia. His plan was to save the important bridge across the Kur at Evlakh, but when he reached Kurd Amir he heard that the Red Army had already lost it.

Petrov's Armenians and Russians were little better than a mob, undisciplined, demoralised and starving; they were short of ammunition and water, and cholera had broken out. Bicherakov therefore, unable to stem the Turkish advance, fell back slowly on Baku, fighting desultory rearguard actions. In the last weeks of July the Turks were close to Baku, and Bicherakov, distrusting the Commissars, retired north of the town to Balajari Station, and from there withdrew by Derbend to Petrovsk and the Northern Caucasus.[1] On July 30 the Turks made an abortive attack on Baku. The same day Shaumian and Petrov retired, and their place was taken by a "Directorate of Five." These latter, faced with the prospect

[1] "Bicherakov was right to consider the town as already in the hands of the Turks, and this would compel his immediate withdrawal, so he accordingly acted in the light of this assumption"; but, "had the partisan detachment . . . remained in position and joined hands with us a few days later, Baku would never have fallen" (*Adventures of Dunsterforce*, p. 199).

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of an immediate Turkish occupation, agreed to the disembarkation of a small British force, under Brigadier-General Dunsterville, which for some months had been concentrating in Northern Persia with the object of intervening against the Turks in Transcaucasia. 726 669

During the first week in August three British battalions,[1] a battery of R.F.A. and a battery of armoured cars were landed, and General Dunsterville and his staff made desperate efforts to organise the defence. Numerically the forces in Baku were adequate, and should have been capable of inflicting defeat on Nuri's small army. But the Red troops, Russian and Armenian, were utterly demoralised: their "one idea was to retire and rest from those parts of the front occupied by us." The Directorate was always obstructing the British officers and quarrelling with the Committee of the Caspian Flotilla, with the Armenian National Council or with the deposed Commissars, who continued to exercise considerable influence. The few Russian general officers still in nominal command of the troops were virtually prisoners and without authority. When, on August 26, the Turks made a fresh attack on Baku, the brunt of the fighting fell on the British troops, while the Baku levies showed little inclination to offer a serious resistance. As a result of this action Dunsterville determined that no more lives should be risked "in a cause which seemed beyond all hope," and prepared to withdraw the troops under his command to Enzeli. The evacuation was successfully carried out, in the face of a Turkish attack, on the night of September 14, and at dawn of the following day armed bands of Tatars and Kurds began to pour into Baku. A savage massacre of Armenians continued during the following three days, and it is estimated that over 20,000 inhabitants perished, while hundreds of Russian, Armenian and Jewish women were abducted.

On the 17th a degree of order was restored, and Nuri and Khalil Pashas, accompanied by the Mussavetist leaders, established themselves in the town. The capture of Baku was a remarkable triumph for the Turks. For the first time the wild dreams of the Young Turk idealists seemed capable of attainment. Russia was sunk in anarchy, and the road lay open to Daghestan and the Terek, Transcaspia and Northern Persia. A Mussavet Government of ardent Pan-Turanians was established at Baku, including Khan Khoiski, Hassan Aghaiev (both murdered at Tiflis in June 1920) and General

[1] These battalions were 7th North Staffordshires, 9th Royal Warwicks, 9th Worcesters.

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726 669 Mekhmandarov. A Turkish force moved along the railway to Derbend, to establish communication with the discontented Mussulman elements in Daghestan, and in the first week of November occupied Petrovsk.

726 669 648 Immediately upon the conclusion of an Armistice with Turkey, October 30, 1918, Major-General W. M. Thomson, commanding the British troops in Northern Persia, began to enforce the evacuation of Transcaucasia by the Turkish and German troops. A Mussavetist delegation proceeded to British H.Q. at Enzeli, when it was agreed that the *de facto* Government at Baku should continue to function. On November 17 a British detachment, supported by Bicherakov's men and by the Caspian Flotilla, landed at Baku without opposition, and General Thomson made a statement to the effect that the occupying force had come "to replace the Ottoman troops" and that they "had no intention of interfering in interior affairs"; and some weeks later (December 28) he made a further statement that the Allied Command gave its full support to the Government of Khan Khoiski as "l'unique pouvoir légal local dans les limites de l'Azerbaijan." Meanwhile a Peace Delegation had left for Paris under the Presidency of Mr. Topchibashev, to place before the Supreme Council a demand for recognition of independence, and a number of extravagant territorial claims, including Batum and Kars.

The situation at Baku was complicated by the attitude of the Russians towards the Tatar Government. Immediately after the Armistice both the British ships on the Caspian and the Russian flotilla were brought into dock at Baku for repairs. The crews of the latter professed strong Bolshevist tendencies, and finally a part of them attempted to break out of port to join the Bolsheviks at Astrakhan, in consequence of which the British authorities assumed control of the flotilla (March 1, 1919). On the other hand Bicherakov and his partisans remained in Baku during December, constituting an element inimical to the Tatars, while General Prjevalski, formerly Russian Chief of Staff on the Caucasian Front, began to collect recruits on behalf of General Denikin. These movements naturally alarmed the Tatar Government, and the British authorities induced Prjevalski to withdraw from Azerbaijan territory. But the Tatars became further alarmed when, during March, Denikin attacked the Georgians at Sochi on the Black Sea, and also occupied Temir Khan Shura, the capital of the short-lived "Mussulman Republic of the Mountaineers of Daghestan."

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[1919]



The situation was critical.[1] Internally the Government was faced with the problems of repairing the serious damage caused at Baku, Shemakha, and other places during the recent fighting, of combating epidemics of cholera and typhus, and with a threatened deadlock in the petroleum industry. This industry, upon which depended the whole economic life of Baku, was in a perilous condition, owing to the fact that its largest market, the Volga Basin, was closed to it. The pipe-line from Baku to Batum was unable to receive more than an insignificant proportion of the output, and the local directors, unable to dispose of their surplus, and fearful to restrict production by declaring a lock-out, were compelled to borrow money from the Government to provide wages. 382 726 669

Meanwhile the pro-Turkish "Ittihad" party was urging co-operation with the discontented elements in Anatolia and an attack on the Armenians. During the whole of 1919 desultory hostilities were in progress between Tatar and Armenian troops in the disputed zones of Kara Bagh and Zangezur. Yet another disruptive element, the "Gummet" or Bolshevist party, was advocating the establishment of a Soviet Republic and an alliance with the Bolsheviks. British intervention temporarily prevented a Russian attack, but the threat of invasion had strengthened the hands of the less moderate Tatars. On April 14 the Cabinet of Khan Khoiski gave place to that of Nazim Beg Usubekov, who to a great extent relied on the support of the Ittihad. On April 25 a Transcaucasian Conference met at Tiflis, with the ostensible object of settling outstanding disputes, but apparently also to concert measures of defence against General Denikin, for on June 27 was announced the conclusion of a defensive military alliance between the Tatar and Georgian Governments. 726 669

Meanwhile an Italian "Mission Extraordinaire" under H.R.H. the Duke of Savoy arrived in Baku (May 16), followed by a Military Mission under Colonel Gabba—a significant development of the pro-Turkish policy of the Italian Government. 726 669 648

The withdrawal of the British from Baku in August, together with the British surrender of control of the Caspian Flotilla to General Denikin, was the occasion for a further trend towards co-operation with the Mussulman revolutionary elements. In October 1919 an offensive and defensive military alliance—a condition of which was the training of the Azerbaijan army by Turkish officers—was signed at Constantinople by the Tatar Kerimov and Jevad Pasha, representing Mustafa Kemal Pasha.

During the winter of 1919–20 it was obvious that a serious

1 [for context see cat 116, p 238 in 5: Allen RHI Caucasia — Analyst]

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726 crisis was approaching. On the one hand the military suc-
669 cesses of the Bolsheviks were inflaming the seditious elements
in Baku, while there remained a danger of invasion by fugitive
648 "Whites" or aggressive "Reds"; on the other hand the
Mussulman extremists, angry at the Turkish Treaty, were
anxious to attack the Armenians. The question of the petro-
[382] leum surplus finally precipitated a crisis. Four million tons
of petroleum products awaited export from Baku, and the oil-
magnates, in order to avert economic catastrophe, decided to
compromise with their principal customers the rulers of the
Volga Basin. On April 27 the "Right" politicians retired to
Elisavetpol, whilst Narimanov, the leader of the Gummet,
proclaimed a Soviet Republic and invited the Bolsheviks at
Petrovsk to occupy Baku. A Russian armoured train then
entered the town, followed by a Russian infantry force. The
Bolsheviks announced official non-intervention in the affairs
of the "Mussulman Republic of Soviet Azerbaijan," and for
the first few weeks the Ittihadist Tatars exultantly contemplated
the prospect of a Russo-Mussulman alliance against the Ar-
menians and the Allies. Hostilities indeed broke out in the
Zangezur region between the Armenians and Soviet troops,
and the Georgians were attacked at Poili. But the Tatars
were soon disillusioned. In June the Soviet Government,
preoccupied in the West, granted treaties of peace to Georgia
and Armenia, while no attempt was made to give material
assistance to Mustafa Kemal. At the same time the Soviet
authorities in Azerbaijan showed little consideration for Tatar
independence, and proceeded to repress with brutal severity
Mussavetist risings which broke out at Elisavetpol and Sham-
khor. "The Bolshevist game was obvious when, instead of
the promised brother-Moslems, Baku was occupied by purely
Russian troops, who at once announced that they had come to
restore Great Russia."[1]

000 The future of the Tatars of Azerbaijan, together with that of
the other races of the Caucasus, must remain in doubt, pending
the solution of the great questions involved in the Russian
Civil War.

But whatever may be the fate of the Armenians and Georgians,
it would appear that the Tatars can scarcely avoid reincorpora-
tion in the Russian State. Strategically Baku and Azerbaijan
must always be at the mercy of the rulers of the Caspian, while
economically Baku forms an integral part of the Russian State.
It would seem that the future of the Tatars of Azerbaijan lies

[1] Statement of the Azerbaijan Delegation in the *Temps*, July 5, 1920.

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in co-operation with the other Turko-Tatar races of the Russian Empire rather than in an insignificant independence or in a precarious alliance with the Ottoman Turks. In conjunction with the 15,000,000 Turko-Tatars of Turkistan, the Volga Basin and the Crimea, the Tatars of Azerbaijan should have an important influence on the political and social development of Russia. A wide measure of autonomy within the Russian State should secure to the Tatars sufficient political independence and freedom for individual national expression. If there be any future for Pan-Turanianism it will be found in a peaceful cultural and educational development, and not in an extravagant aggressive movement.

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# CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE

| A.D. | | |
|---|---|---|
| 175 639–651 | | The Arabs conquer Transcaucasia. |
| 7th–11th Cent. | | The Arabs rule in Shirvan, Aran and Mughan. Baylakan, Berda'a and Derbend centres of trade with the Russians, Khazars, Turkistan and North-west Persia. Ibn Haukal, Masudi, etc., writers. |
| 1040–60 | | Seljuk Turks overrun Transcaucasia. |
| 12th–13th Cent. | | Georgia predominant in Transcaucasia. The Mussulman provinces ruled by local Khans and Emirs. El-Idrisi and Yakuti writers. |
| 1236 | | Mongols conquered Eastern Transcaucasia. |
| Later part of 13th Cent. | | Development of Genoese trade. Rubruck, Polo, etc., writers. Also Abu'l Fida. |
| 1345 | | The Black Death ravages the Mongols. |
| 1395 | | Timur Leng traverses Transcaucasia. |
| 1407–78 | | Ak and Kara Kuyunli Turks predominant in Armenia and Persian Azerbaijan. Narratives of Contarini, Barbaro, Zeno, etc. |
| 1499 | | Ismail Safi of Ardebil seizes Baku, Shemakha and Tabriz and re-establishes a native dynasty in Persia. |
| 16th Cent. | | Turko-Persian Wars. A. Jenkinson in Persia. |
| 17th Cent. | | Decline of Persia. Khans of East Transcaucasia semi-independent. Abu'l Ghazi, Krushinski and Chardin writers. |
| 18th Cent. | | Afghan wars in Persia. |
| 1722–3 | | Russians take Derbend and Baku. |
| 1732 | | Treaty of Resht. |
| 1735 | | Treaty of Ganja. Nadir Shah regains the Khanates. |
| 1748–95 | | Irakli II of Georgia occupies and holds Ganja, Shusha and Erivan. |
| 1796 | | Zubov's campaign in Kara Bagh. |
| 1803–13 | | Russo-Persian War. Treaty of Gulistan confirms Russian annexation of Shirvan, Kara Bagh and Sheki. |
| 1824–7 | | Russo-Persian Campaign. By Treaty of Turkmanchai Russia acquires Erivan, Nakhichevan and Talish. |
| 1873–1900 | | Rise of Baku oil-industry. |
| 1903–6 | | Revolutionary outbreaks and Tatar-Armenian racial war. Formation of the "Mussavet" and foundation of "the Mussulman Philanthropic Society." |
| 1908–9 | | Young Turk Revolution and Persian Constitutional struggle. |
| 1914. | *August* | Outbreak of the World War.—*Nov.* Caucasus Campaign opens. |
| 1917. | *March* | Outbreak of the Russian Revolution.—*April* 21. Tatars hold Congress at Baku.—*May* 1. All-Russian Mussulman Congress at Moscow.—*June* 15. Second Tatar Congress at Baku.—*August* 25. Third Tatar Congress at Baku.—*Nov.* Bolshevist *coup* at Petrograd. Transcaucasia administered by a Commissariat of Fourteen, deriving authority from a Seim. |

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1918. *Jan.* Brest-Litovsk negotiations begin. Tatars massacre Russian troops at Shamkhor and elsewhere. Musavet intrigues against Soviet at Baku.—*March* 17. Mussavetist rising at Baku suppressed by Bolsheviks. Tatar leaders at Elisavetpol.—*May* 15. Turks occupy Alexandropol.—28. Break-up of the Transcaucasian Seim. Khan Khoiski proclaims Tatar independence at Elisavetpol.—*June* 3. Treaty of Batum.—14. Turks occupy Tabriz.—25. First Turko-Tatar attack on Baku. Fall of Shaumian.—*August* 11-*Sept.* 15. British force at Baku.—*Sept.* 17. Khan Khoiski and Nuri Pasha enter Baku.—27. Turks occupy Derbend.—*Oct.* 20. Anglo-Turkish Armistice.—*Nov.* 17. Brigadier-General Thomson occupies Baku.—*Dec.* 7. Parliament of Azerbaijan opens. 25. Government of Khan Khoiski recognised by British as holding local power. Generals Prjevalski and Bicherakov appear in Baku.

1919. *March* 1 British take charge of Caspian Flotilla. Denikin attacks Sochi and occupies Temir Khan Shura. *April* 14. Resignation of Khan Khoiski. Nasib Beg Usubekov forms Cabinet.—*May.* Italian representatives at Baku.—*June* 27. Georgio-Azerbaijan Military Convention.—*August.* British evacuate Transcaucasia except Batum.—*October.* Turko-Tatar Secret Agreement signed at Constantinople.

1920. *Jan.* 12 *De facto* independence of Azerbaijan recognised by Supreme Council.—*April* 27. Bolsheviks reoccupy Baku.

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# B. ECONOMICS

## IX

## THE RESOURCES OF GEORGIA, THE CAUCASUS AND AZERBAIJAN

133 *Climatic Conditions.*—The general characteristics of the geography of the Caucasus and Transcaucasia have already been indicated.[1] To the west are the Euxine, to the east the Caspian depressions. To the north the solid wall of the Caucasian Range, stretching for 650 miles west-north-west to east-south-east, separates the northern steppe from the southern river-valleys. The comparatively low range of the Suram Mountains running from north to south connects the Caucasus with the Pontic or Armenian system and separates the head-waters of the Rion and the Kur. And to the south-east an advanced bastion of the Armenian Mountains dominates the middle reaches of the Kur Valley.

132 Transcaucasia may be divided into three climatic areas. In the west the protection of the great Caucasian Range and of the lesser systems in the east and south has produced in the basin of the Rion a climate which is subtropical. The summers are oppressively hot, and the winters are mild and with little fall of snow. The heavy rains, the annual fall of which averages 60 to 80 inches, combined with the multitude of streams which find their way to the marshy Mingrelian coast, produce an atmosphere of extreme humidity. Hence, whilst the soil is fertile and sub-tropical, and fruits and vegetation flourish, the health of the inhabitants suffers, and malaria, with its consequent enervation of physique and *moral*, is prevalent. To the east, in the Kur Valley, the Suram Range breaks the force of rain-clouds drifting over from the Black Sea, while the parching winds of Central Asia blow across the Caspian and raise in the Baku region the most violent sand- and dust-storms. Kakhetia and Karthalinia are adequately

[1] Vide pp. 169–171.

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watered by the streams falling south and west from the Central 132
Caucasus and Daghestan; but the annual rainfall is low in comparison to that of the Mingrelian Plain, and at Baku registers an average of only 13 inches. The destructive measures of invaders and subsequent desiccation have further contributed to the aridity of the eastern region, and the grassy plains which once supported thousands of Mongol ponies have now degenerated in many parts into desert land. But as it is less fertile, so the Kur Valley is more healthy than that of the Rion. The atmosphere is dry, and if the summers are as hot they are not as humid as those of Mingrelia. In the winter extremes of cold are experienced, and snow lies in many parts of the Kur Valley. The third, or south-eastern, area, including Russian Armenia and Kara Bagh, suffers the violent contrasts of heat and cold of the Armenian Plateau. At Erivan and Alexandropol snow lies until April, while the short summers scorch all vegetation. The Araxes Valley suffers in a lesser degree from the same conditions.

*Communications.*—The chief commercial route in Trans- 496
caucasia is the Transcaucasian Railway. The main line runs north from Batum along the Black Sea coast to Nikolaevsk, whence it turns inland, crosses the Rion and at Samtredi joins a line coming from Poti. Thence it runs east-south-east to Gori and Tiflis, traversing the Suram by a tunnel. It follows the course of the Kur until it crosses the Poili bridge, and then runs south-east by Elisavetpol to Alyat on the Caspian Sea, where it turns north to Baku. The total length is 563 miles. The Railway Company further owns a pipe-line following the same route, which is capable of conveying 1,600,000 tons of oil per annum from Baku to Batum. From Tiflis another line runs south by Karakilissa to Alexandropol, whence it branches west to Kars and south-east to Erivan and Julfa. During the war, the Russians continued the Kars line to Sarikamish, whence a light railway connected it with Erzerum. Another light railway connects Julfa with Tabriz. Branch lines also connect the Transcaucasian line with Kutais and the Tkhvibuli coal-fields, with the Chiaturi manganese area, and with the popular health-resort at Borjom.

Until the collapse of Shamil Transcaucasia was almost 487
without land communication with the North Caucasus, except by the Daryal Pass. The principal commercial communications between Transcaucasia and Russia still continue to be marine, on the Black Sea from Poti and Batum to the South Russian ports, on the Caspian from Baku to Astrakhan.

[see cat 116, p 201 ff; the date is 1859—Analyst]

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491 The Russians have been careful however to develop communications over the Caucasus of extreme military and political [496] importance. A railway from Baku follows the historical passage-way by Derbend and connects with the Vladikavkaz-Rostov line and the main Russian system by Petrovsk, Grozni and Beslan. There is no other railway communication with Transcaucasia, but Russian strategic control has been ensured by four military roads. The main artery, the Georgian Military Road, 382 miles in length, leads from Mozdok via Vladikavkaz and the Daryal to Dushet, Tiflis and Erivan. On the west the Ossetian Military Road runs from Ardon, 20 miles north-west of Vladikavkaz, across the main range of the Caucasus by the Mamison Pass, and reaches Kutais by Oni. Along the formerly impassable Black Sea coast a metalled road now runs from Anapa via Novo-Rossiisk and Sochi to Sukhum and Kutais. On the east a metalled road from Petrovsk traverses Daghestan by Temir Khan Shura and the Vantliashet Pass and leads by Telav to Tiflis. The existence of these four roads is of supreme political importance. The Caucasus is no longer an insuperable military barrier, and the construction of the Black Sea and Ossetian roads has opened two new routes of invasion into Georgia. Other important roads are the lateral road west to east, Kutais—Tiflis—Elisavetpol—Shemakha—Baku; also Tiflis—Kars, Akhaltsikh—Batum, and Akhalkalaki—Ardahan—Ardanuch—Artvin—Batum. Batum has no direct main road connection with Poti or Sukhum.

The Rion is navigable for 88 miles from its mouth at Poti; [492] the Kur for 390 miles.

*Timber Resources.*—The Caucasian area is remarkable for 137 the extent and wealth of its forests, the survival of which has been due as much to the sparsity, and consequently inconsiderable needs of the population, as to inaccessibility and impracticability of transport. In the south-eastern regions much deforestation has taken place, and many of the mountain-sides of Russian Armenia, formerly thickly wooded, are now bare of trees. Similarly, since the Russian conquest, the beech-forests of Chechnia have been greatly thinned. Dense forests of beech, oak and conifers still cover the northern slopes of the Caucasus along the banks of the Kuban and the Terek and their tributaries, while there are extensive forests round Lake Gökcha, east of Elisavetpol, and in Talish.

But it is along the Black Sea coast, on the south-western slopes of the Caucasus and in Georgia, where the many streams and shelter from the winds of the steppe are favourable to

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growth, that the greatest wealth of timber is to be found. It 137
is estimated that nearly 7,000,000 acres, or 38 per cent. of the total extent of the Georgian Republic, are covered with trees. "According to the climate and configuration of the soil the predominant species of tree vary in the different forest districts. In the subtropical zone of the Black Sea shore we find a luxuriant vegetation of leaf-trees and bushes from orange, lemon, pear, peach and apple-trees to beeches, walnut and box-trees. In the Sukhum district the abundance of chestnut-trees is particularly remarkable. From the shore eastward into the Provinces of Kutais and Tiflis beeches and hornbeams form the characteristic outline of the landscape up to an altitude of about 4,000 feet above sea-level, after which they gradually become interspersed, until entirely replaced by coniferous species. Oaks are found chiefly above the 5,500 feet level and form rich forests in Kakhethi; elms, chestnut and lime-trees grow well everywhere up to about 5,000 feet. While the soft-wood, aspen, elder and ash-trees are mostly confined to the moderate altitudes, the birch is found up to the limit of tree-vegetation, i.e. about 8,000 feet.

"The coniferous trees of the Georgian forests, as elsewhere, generally occupy the upper parts of the mountains, beginning above 4,000 feet. They consist of a number of high-stemmed species, several being peculiar to the Caucasus. The most abundant of them are the red and silver firs, pine, larch, yew and maple, the latter growing to enormous heights, particularly in Kakhethi. . . . Firs and Caucasian yew-trees form enormous forests in the districts of Gori and Akhaltsikh. In the lowlands of Eastern Georgia, as in the Shiraki Plain or Lower Kakhethi, the vegetation changes entirely; the high-stemmed trees disappear, and prickly juniper-trees and pistachio-bushes form the chief characteristic of the landscape." [1]

Less than half the area of Transcaucasian forests is sus- 313
ceptible of exploitation, the remaining acreage being at present inaccessible for practical purposes. Until the Revolution the forests were in part the property of the Russian State, in part of the Imperial Family and other landowners. The forests were exploited to a certain extent for local needs. The Italian firm of Sbrajavacca had a concession to cut the forests of Svanetia and Radsha, and floated timber down the Rion to saw-mills on the Black Sea Coast. Export had, however, declined before the war, owing to unfavourable prices.

After the Revolution the forests were declared to be the

[1] *Russo-British Chamber of Commerce Journal*, May 1920

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313 property of the Georgian Government, who have recently exploited the timber of the Kutais and Poti districts for the manufacture of railway sleepers.

433 *Vegetable and Animal Products.*—The Caucasus is essentially an agricultural and pastoral country, and it is estimated that from 75 per cent. to 80 per cent. of the population are engaged in animal and vegetable production. In the mountain-regions, Kabarda, Chechnia, Svanetia, Ossetia, Daghestan and Kara Bagh, the people are virtually self-supporting as regards cereals, but produce little for export. Their surplus production is mainly in animals. In Kabarda and in the Jevad and Gökcha districts of Azerbaijan fine horses are bred, and, in the Mughan, camels. The production of wool, sold for the most part to carpet-weavers, is the main source of living to the mountain and nomad tribes, and in the Borchalu district (south of Tiflis) the Tatars make excellent cheese which is exported to Russia as "Gruyère." The production of wax and honey further forms a secondary occupation of many of the villagers, both of the hills and the plain. In Daghestan and in the Kur Delta there are thriving fisheries. The catch of "puzanka," a small species of herring, off the coast of Daghestan and the mouth of the Terek, averages 40,000 tons a year; while along the Kur the catch of sturgeon gives an annual production of over 300 tons of caviare. Large herds of swine flourish in many parts of Transcaucasia, particularly in the lowlands of Mingrelia and Guria.

433 The chief cereals grown in Transcaucasia are: wheat, which covers approximately 475,000 acres in the Government of
241 Baku, 670,000 acres in the Government of Elisavetpol and 680,000 acres in the Government of Tiflis; maize, which occupies about 470,000 acres in the Government of Kutais, and 180,000 acres in the Government of Sukhum; and rye, which covers about 133,000 acres over Transcaucasia, more than half being grown in the Government of Elisavetpol. Hay occupies about 500,000 acres in the Black Sea and Elisavetpol districts. Rice is grown chiefly in Azerbaijan and Talish, and cotton covers about 200,000 acres over different parts of the country. Cotton has recently tended to supersede rice, especially in the eastern regions, Baku, Elisavetpol and Erivan, where, in 1913, it already covered about 200,000 acres. It is possible that a considerable crop of cotton may in the near future be cultivated in the Mughan Steppe, the irrigation of which the Russian Government had successfully undertaken before the outbreak of war.

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Millet, oats, flax and hemp are also grown in limited quantities in Transcaucasia. 433 241

Tobacco has been grown with great success in the sheltered subtropical parts of the Black Sea littoral and in the neighbourhoods of Tiflis, Kutais and Zakatali. Of the total Russian output of high quality "Turkish" tobacco in 1915, it is estimated that 33 per cent. came from Transcaucasia. Of this the heaviest crops and the richest quality was grown round Sukhum and Sochi. The tobacco of Batum and Ozurgeti was little inferior.

Wine is made throughout Transcaucasia, and vine-culture is a secondary occupation of many of the peasants. The wines of the Alazan, of Elisavetpol and of Echmiadzin are celebrated in Russia, and much is exported to that country, but for the most part the vintners cater for the very generous local consumption.

Mulberry-trees flourish on the southern slopes of the Caucasus; about 5,000 tons of silk a year are produced, and are mostly consumed by local industry. In Azerbaijan silk has, like rice, suffered from the recent preference accorded to cotton. Other products are: tea, round Ozurgeti and Chavka; plums, the most luscious of which come from Sochi and Sukhum; oranges from Chavka; olives from Artvin and Sukhum; lemons, apples, liquorice-root, the sun-flower—from which a substitute for linseed oil is obtained—attar of roses, *ramie* fibre, and inconsiderable quantities, consumed locally, of potatoes, lentils, beans, haricots and peas.

*Minerals.*—It is only in recent years that the discovery of the existence of a belt of oil-bearing rock (*vide* Petroleum, below), extending from the Northern Caucasus to Southern Persia, has attracted the attention of European capital to the mineral potentialities of the Middle East—particularly of the Caucasus and Persia. The effects of this discovery have already been considerable, and it is probable that the coming half-century will witness, on the one hand the transformation of the Middle East from a backward agricultural to an important industrial region; on the other the concentration of political interest on the area between the Kuban and Terek and the Persian Gulf. 135

The mineral resources of the Caucasus have never been adequately prospected. The Russian Government left the exploration and exploitation of possible mineral deposits to individual enterprise. Thus, with the exception of the very interesting book of Mr. D. Ghambashidze,[1] no reference-books 135 114

[1] D. Ghambashidze, *Mineral Resources of Georgia and Caucasia.*

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exist on the subject, and in Mr. Ghambashidze's book the existence of many important deposits is only broadly indicated.

*Metals.*—*Manganese* is the only metal which has been adequately worked in Georgia, and the growth of this industry has, by creating a community of miners, had an important effect on the industrialisation and subsequent growth of the Socialist movement in the country.

The principal manganese deposit covers an extent of about 100 square miles along both banks of the river Kvirili, in the Government of Kutais, the centre of the mining region being at the town of Chiaturi. The mines were at first worked by a large number of small native firms who, from lack of expert knowledge and capital, employed very unscientific methods, with the result that there was much waste. Later, however, foreign firms, chiefly German, began to purchase holdings and to organise the industry, and towards the end of the last decade of the nineteenth century Georgian manganese rivalled that of Brazil and India. Great Britain was at first the principal purchaser, but Germany and other Continental countries later absorbed the bulk of the output. The industry reached the height of its prosperity in 1906, when a decrease in demand, unusually high sea-freights, and foreign competition caused a depression which lasted until 1911. In that year a revival of prosperity took place, but with the closing of the Dardanelles at the end of 1914 the industry suffered a severe blow. At the end of 1918 work at the mines had practically ceased, and heavy stocks of ore were lying at Chiaturi and Poti.

Further deposits of manganese exist at Khvartata (Batum), Saifalu (Elisavetpol), Samtredi and Novo-Senaki (Kutais).

Outcrops of *copper* occur in many parts of the Caucasus, and its mining has been in progress from the remotest times. There are three main areas which are known to contain rich deposits: (1) south of Tiflis, and east and west of the Tiflis-Kars Railway; (2) in the Chorokh Valley; and (3) in the Zangezur region.

(1) The Kedabeg group, comprising the mines of Kedabeg, Kelakent and Kara-bulag, situated north-east of Gökcha in the Government of Elisavetpol, have been worked by the American firm of Siemens Brothers, whose production of copper in 1913 amounted to 1,272 metric tons. The Allahverdi, Akhtala and Shambru mines, in the Lialvar Hills, south of Tiflis, are worked by the French Cie Métallurgique et Industrielle du Caucase, their production in 1913 amounting to 4,760 metric tons. Native firms also work mines in the Phambak Hills,

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and at Delijan, Kazakh, Sagali, Saifalu, and elsewhere in the Government of Elisavetpol. 135

(2) In the Chorokh Basin, the whole length of which is believed to contain rich deposits of ore, the British Caucasus Copper Co. has worked the Dzanzul mine, south of Borchka. In 1912 the production from this mine was 40,000 tons of ore and 3,000 tons of copper, but in the following year the output was disappointing. In the same region Siemens Brothers had begun operations at the Khvartshana mine. 316 471

(3) In the Zangezur region difficulties of transport have prevented adequate exploitation, but work has been undertaken by native firms, notably at Synik, Barabatum and Katar. Other considerable deposits are believed to exist in the Rion Valley round Telav and Zakatali, in the Sukhum district and along the Ossetian Military Road.

*Iron* has been little exploited in the Caucasus, but deposits have been prospected at Khamuli in Kutais, Chachak in Tiflis, on the banks of the Bzib near Sukhum, at Veden in Chechnia, in the Maikop district, and near Lenkoran. 135 316

There are deposits of *lead* and *zinc* ore at Sadon, near Vladikavkaz, in the neighbourhoods of Sukhum and Gori, in the Government of Elisavetpol, near Mozdok and Artvin, and elsewhere, but little exploitation has been undertaken. Deposits of *mercury*, *molybdenum*, *antimony*, *iron pyrites*, *cobalt* and *nickel*, and also small quantities of *gold* and *silver* exist, and would probably repay exploitation.

*Non-Metals.*—*Coal* is exploited in the Caucasus only at the mines of Tkhvibuli in the Government of Kutais, where the annual production for 1911–15 averaged about 5,000 tons. Much of it however was of poor quality. Rich deposits have been prospected at Tkvartcheli, in the Government of Sukhum, and another field has been located near Olti in the Government of Kars.

Deposits of *baryta* have been worked in the Government of Kutais; *asbestos* is produced at Shorapan and elsewhere in Kutais; *sulphur* abounds in the Government of Erivan; *salt* is produced in considerable quantities in the Governments of Baku, Erivan, Kars, and Daghestan; there are *bitumen*-beds on the Black Sea coast; *emery* is found at Kara-Bulakh; fine *lithographic stone* is obtainable at Amlivi, near Tiflis, and *pumice-stone* near Kars; *mica* and *graphite* also exist.

*Mineral Springs.*—The Caucasus is celebrated for its mineral springs, and before the Revolution many thousands of Russians, and even invalids from Western Europe, visited the health- 312 529

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giving waters. In the Northern Caucasus Essentuki, Piatigorsk, Kislovodsk and Zhelesnovodsk were the favourite resorts. In Transcaucasia Borjom, in the Government of Tiflis, an appanage of the Grand Duke Nicholas Nicholaevich, was the most popular resort, and its waters, rich in carbonic acid and comparable with those of Vichy, were exported to Russia, Western Europe and America—in 1913 to the amount of 9,000,000 bottles.

At Abas-Tuman, 40 miles from Borjom, and at Tiflis are hot baths, efficacious for the cure of skin diseases, nervous diseases, rheumatism, etc. Some of the springs contain the same qualities as Cauterets and Barèges in France, and Baden in Austria, while the climate of Abas-Tuman attracts consumptive patients.

Tskhalkubo, near Kutais, possesses warm springs whose radio properties are declared to be equal to those of Teplitz-Schönau in Bohemia. For this resort is prophesied an important future as soon as the nature of the waters is more widely known, and ordered conditions make it accessible to the timid invalids of Western Europe and America.

*Petroleum* (1) The Baku Fields.—The Baku area has hitherto been the most productive source of Caucasian oil. The older oil-fields lie in the Apsheron Peninsula—Balakhani, Sabunchi, Romani, Bibi-Ebyat and Zabrat—while there is a more recently discovered field at Surakhani. The outlying district of Benagadi and Holy and Cheleken Islands in the Caspian, are also worked by the Baku firms. The Baku fields had been exploited since ancient times, and from 1813 some attempt had been made by the Russians to develop their potentialities. An onerous concession system, however, discouraged private enterprise, and when, in the middle of the nineteenth century, a universal demand for crude-oil was created, the fields still remained almost untouched, and Russia became dependent on oil imported from America. In 1872 the concession system was at last abolished, and State participation in the profits was ensured by the imposition of an excise duty. Later, the nascent industry was further assisted by the imposition of a duty on oil imported into Russia.

In 1873 the Swedish Nobel Brothers commenced to bore in the Apsheron fields, and in the following years many foreign groups, principal of which were the French Rothschilds, obtained concessions. In 1908 the prosperity of the Baku fields reached its zenith, and in that year the Caucasian oil-fields together produced 22 per cent. of the world's output. Between 1908 and 1911, however, there took place a serious decrease, the output falling from nearly 7,500,000 metric tons in 1908 to just over 5,000,000 metric tons in 1911.

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But in 1914, while the production of the older wells was still 382
decreasing, the newly exploited field of Benagadi was giving a 471
steadily increasing output; and it is unquestionable that the oil-deposits of the South-eastern Caucasus are by no means exhausted, and many rich areas remain to be prospected and exploited.

(2) The Grozni Fields.—The petroliferous area round Grozni had been worked for some years to supply local needs when, in 1893, the European Petrol Company, a British concern, commenced scientific exploitation. The oil-bearing area, at present developed, covers an area of about 2,500 acres, while new areas in the neighbourhood have been prospected for a radius of about 30 miles. The whole district is believed to be extremely rich in petroleum products, and experts consider that its output may eventually rival that of Baku. The Kazbek Syndicate and the Anglo-Terek Co., both British concerns, also own important holdings.

(3) The Maikop Fields, originally exploited by British capital in 1908, have proved disappointing. The output has steadily declined since 1912, and little oil has been available for export, the bulk being consumed locally.

Other petroliferous areas are known to exist in the regions of Shemakha, Jevad, Lenkoran, Telav and Ozurgeti.

*Export and Import Trade.*—The bulk of the trade of Trans- 439
caucasia was, before the war, carried on with other parts of the Russian Empire, by Batum and Poti to the South Russian ports, and by Baku to Astrakhan and Central Asia. Further Transcaucasia enjoyed the benefits of a growing transit trade between the Mediterranean countries and Russia on the one hand, and Persia and Central Asia on the other.

The Transcaucasus exported into Russia the whole of the copper produced and a proportion of the manganese, together with the bulk of the production of tobacco, tea, raw silk and cocoons, wine, wool and fruit. In return Russia exported into the Transcaucasus machinery and other metal goods and cereals, supplying one-fifth of the consumption of grain in the Transcaucasus. This last item is significant, for it implies the partial dependence of the Transcaucasus, itself an agricultural country, on Russia for food-supply.[1]

On the other hand the Transcaucasus exported to Europe,

[1] "Somme toute, la balance de l'industrie rurale accusait, en Géorgie, avant la guerre, plutôt des déficits que des excédents; le manque de blé n'était pas compensé par un surplus des autres branches de l'agriculture" (V. Vohtinsky, *La Démocratie Géorgienne*).

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439 by Batum and Poti, the bulk of the manganese output and large quantities of petroleum products, together with small quantities of silk and cocoons, timber, tobacco, wool and fruit. In return, the western countries sent machinery and tin plates (for oil cases and cans), textiles, stationery, china and glass, leather goods, fancy goods, etc.

The United States supplied the bulk of the machinery, the European countries the sundry imports. Until the end of the last century Great Britain controlled about 40 per cent. of the foreign trade of the Caucasus, but in recent years has been superseded by Germany, owing, to a great extent, to the more accommodating methods of German importers and to the superior knowledge and linguistic abilities of their travellers. In 1910 the share of Britain in the foreign trade of Caucasia had declined to 17 per cent.

The exports of petroleum products from Transcaucasia to Europe were steadily declining before the outbreak of war. The progressive development of American oil-fields, on the one hand, the revolutionary troubles in the Caucasus on the other, had tended to dislocate the trade with Europe, while the development of Russian industry and communications had created an increased demand from Russia. In 1913, out of 6,000,000 tons of petroleum products exported from the Caucasian fields, Russia consumed 5,000,000 tons, i.e. five-sixths of the output.

The outbreak of war and the subsequent disorders in Russia interrupted the entire economic life of the Caucasus; the closing of the Dardanelles prevented all communication with the Mediterranean, and the disorganisation of the Russian railways hindered the maintenance of regular relations with Russia. At the end of 1914 work ceased at the Chiaturi manganese-mines and at the copper-mines in the Chorokh Basin, while at Groni production was reduced owing to the difficulty of transport and to lack of storage accommodation. Baku continued to supply the requirements of the armies and of the interior of Russia, but towards the end of 1917 work there practically ceased.

The advent of the Germans in the summer of 1918 tended to relieve the situation, for, while they had not time to restore the production of the Baku fields, they hastened to export the large supplies of tobacco accumulated at Sukhum and of manganese at Poti.

During the period of independence from the summer of 1918 to the end of 1920 the economics of the Transcaucasus were in an extremely parlous condition. For Georgia, Armenia and

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Azerbaijan were suffering in a lesser degree from the same economic causes and effects which were then operating in Russia. The war and virtual isolation during four years from the commercial centres of the world had disorganised the whole structure of trade; the railways were in disrepair; factories and machinery were ruined; the peasants were working with worn-out tools, and they lacked the most common necessaries of their occupations and of everyday life. On the other hand, at a time of universal shortage, and with the opening of markets, which were equally in need but at the same time more approachable and more secure, there was little inducement to European capital to resume relations with the Transcaucasus. The export of petroleum by the pipe-line from Baku to Batum recommenced at the end of 1918, and some attempt was made to revive the tobacco and manganese industries in Georgia. But the three Transcaucasian Governments were hampered by the heavy expense involved in the repair of damaged property, in the relief of refugees, in the maintenance of the excessive numbers of officials—whose appearance seems inevitably to follow the establishment of a Socialist régime—and in the pursuit of militant foreign policies whereby to emphasise their national revindications. Economic isolation from Russia further increased the difficulties of the Governments of Georgia and Azerbaijan. On the one hand Denikin's blockade of the northern frontier prevented the transport of the necessary annual supply of grain from the North Caucasus; on the other, the closing of the Volga Basin prevented communication with the greatest market for Caucasian oil. As the Bolsheviks advanced in Southern Russia, the situation of Georgia grew worse. In 1917 the Georgian Government had been successful in negotiating an exchange of Sukhum tobacco for Ukrainian sugar, while they had revived the interest of some foreign importing groups. The Italians, indeed, sent a Commercial Mission to Tiflis. But with the successes of the Bolsheviks, the Georgian rouble fell, and foreign firms became even more chary of undertaking trade in Georgia. The capture of Baku and the occupation of the South-eastern Caucasus by the Bolsheviks was in reality a recognition of the principle—even by the conservative and nationalistic oil-magnates of Baku—of the economic dependence of the Caucasus on Russia. But if Baku depended on the Volga Basin for its market and on the Northern Caucasus for its food, Georgia depended on Baku for its fuel. Thus, without foreign military support and material assistance, it became inevitable that Georgia should submit to economic incorporation in Russia.

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466 *Labour Conditions: Recent Socialist Legislation.*—Previous to the Revolution the economic conditions of the working classes in the Caucasus had left much to be desired. During the first decade of the present century the organisation of unions and their subsequent action had caused the employers, particularly foreign, to concede a number of amelioratory measures, such as the construction of model houses, schools, public libraries, baths and hospitals. The conditions of living on the petroleum fields was less satisfactory than those of the mining-regions, and it was at Baku that the labouring classes were most unsettled. In the summer of 1914 some very significant strikes took place. The demands of the men included better housing, improvement of sanitary conditions of dwellings, a month's holiday each year on full pay, the abolition of overtime and piece-work, etc., etc. It was difficult to foresee to what results the strikes would have led had they continued. At the beginning of war, however, the strikes suddenly came to an end by the men resuming work.

466 578 563 On the outbreak of the Russian Revolution Baku proved to be one of the centres of industrial extremism, and when the Bolsheviks seized power in the autumn of 1917 a Soviet administration was established in the oil-fields which endured until the middle of 1918. With the Turkish occupation the conservative oil-magnates were restored to power, and, basing their policy on the principles of Turan and Islam, they were successful in obtaining the support of the Tatar workmen against their Armenian and Russian fellows. The differences between the Mussulman and Christian elements continued to divide the proletariat of the oil-fields, and the hostility of the Armenian and Russian workmen towards the Tatar Government was one of the factors favourable to the re-establishment of a Russian Bolshevist régime.

466 563 In Georgia, where the industrial element was weaker, the tendency towards extremism was less marked. The Social Democrats indeed had to base their policy on the support of the peasants who, secure in the possession of their land, evinced little sympathy for any other principles of social evolution. A series of regulations establishing workmen's committees to participate in the management of concerns, regulating wages in accordance with the cost of living, guaranteeing security of employment and imposing State arbitration in the case of disputes, were the only modifications of the former industrial organisation which the Social Democratic Government introduced. This moderation in industrial legislation, combined

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with the repression of national minorities, tended to form among the Russian and Armenian workmen in Tiflis and Batum a Bolshevist minority. 466 563

The only result of the Revolution which appears likely to be permanent are the measures which expropriated the landowners and gave possession of the land to the peasants. 423

This agrarian revolution was effected by a decree of the Transcaucasian Commissariat (December 16, 1917) which alienated from the original landowners all property over a certain fixed average (about 19 acres of land under intensive culture, vines, tobacco, cotton, etc.; about 41 acres of land under cereals; about 109 acres of pasturage) and appointed local commissions to supervise the division of the land confiscated among those holding less than the scheduled acreage, and among the majority who had hitherto been employed on the land only as paid labourers. In Georgia this agrarian revolution was carried out almost without bloodshed, for whilst many of the largest landowners were Russian Grand Dukes and officers absent from the Caucasus or impotent to protest, the native aristocracy wisely gave their approval to the measure.

In the Tatar districts the change was by no means recognised, and in many parts the begs, supported by the influence of the mullahs, succeeded in maintaining their position.

*Conclusion.*—The economic and social future of the Caucasus is necessarily involved in that of Russia, and the Soviet system of government is being introduced into the Caucasus, in conformity with that of Russia. It is consequently impossible to give here any present financial or commercial details of permanent value. Two points are, however, evident. Firstly, if the industries of the Caucasus—petroleum and manganese—are to be revived, and if its natural resources—copper, timber, water-power and agriculture—are to be developed, such modifications must of necessity be introduced into the social and industrial organisation as will afford to foreign capital some confidence of security of tenure and of amicable relations with labour. Lastly, the development of relations between the Soviet bureaucracy and the peasantry—who in the Caucasus, as in Russia, form the overwhelming majority of the population—must be considered. The peasantry certainly would not hesitate to resist any attempt to modify the terms of their tenure of the land, and the Bolsheviks will scarcely be prepared to risk an issue with them. It remains to be seen whether the efficiency of the young Jewish agri-

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cultural experts, fresh from Communist propaganda schools and technical colleges, will prove more acceptable to the peasant than the rough good-nature and understanding of many—and the selfish exactions of some—of his former landlords. The peasant wants no master, the technical expert even less than the baron. And in the next few years there will probably develop in the Caucasus—as in Russia—a healthy passive opposition to the Bolshevist administration, if not a counter-revolution or regenerative movement of the peasant against the urban bureaucrat.

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# C. MISCELLANEOUS

## DEFENCE

701 Georgia and Azerbaijan have no troops of their own; all troops in Transcaucasia are at the disposal of Soviet Russia.

There is a Special Caucasus Army at present in Transcaucasia (H.Q., Tiflis), composed of 1 Independent Cavalry Brigade (H.Q. uncertain), strength estimated at 1,000 sabres, and 3 Divisions (H.Q. Kutais, Baku or Lenkoran, Erivan or Alexandropol), each Division estimated at 4,700 rifles.

The above information is given for what it may be worth but, as formations are constantly changing, this Special Caucasus Army cannot be considered as of a definite composition. It merely corresponds to one of the 9 Military Districts into which Russia is at present divided.

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## PREFACE

122 This Handbook on the Caucasus has been prepared at the Language and Communication Research Center of Columbia University in fulfilment of a contractual obligation with the Human Relations Area Files. Though only certain of the topics covered by the Project were part of the general aims of the Research Center, it was felt that we could undertake the responsibility for preparing additional sections [114] since Dr. Aert H. Kuipers, one of the very few specialists on the Caucasian languages, was a Research Associate of the Center, and because of the presence on the Columbia teaching staff of three scholars whose specialities included various aspects of Caucasian studies: Dr. Bernhard Geiger, Dr. Tibor Halasi-Kun, and Dr. Karl H. Menges.

The contract was originally to run from February 16, 1955 until April 15, 1956; however, due to administrative difficulties, the signing of the contract was delayed, and the staffing of the project could not be arranged before the end of April 1955. That in spite of the shortness of the time this amount of information could be assembled on this highly complex and relatively unknown area, was possible only through the preparation and knowledge brought to the project by the principal investigators and the collaborators.

114 128 Drs. Geiger, Halasi-Kun, Kuipers, and Menges worked out the main sections of this handbook. For specific topics we called upon the cooperation of Elizabeth Beyerly and Theodore Shabad, both affiliated with Columbia University, and A. O. Sarkissian of the Library of Congress. Each contribution appears under the name of the author.

127 In the sections on the ethnography of the Caucasian peoples proper, use was made of a manuscript prepared by Professor Gerhard Deeters of the University of Bonn and Dr. Kuipers in 1951; this manuscript was part of a project on the Peoples and Languages of the Soviet Union, under my direction,[1] supported by the Rockefeller Foundation and sponsored by the Slavic Department. The work of Professor Deeters on the North Eastern and Southern Caucasian peoples was fruitfully utilized in this Handbook in the sections prepared by Dr. Kuipers. Professor Deeters also contributed valuable last-minute information for the population survey.

128 In accordance with a later agreement, to facilitate the use of the materials in the various H. R. A. F. handbooks, this Handbook on the Caucasus follows strictly the order of topics given in the first three sections of Annex A. The extent to which the topics are covered varies; some are not treated at all, due to the shortness of time and the

[1] [i.e. John Lotz--Analyst]

128 inaccessibility of materials. On the other hand, new sections have been added, and fitted into the format of Annex A. These sections are indicated by a superscript number. The material has also been grouped into an Introduction and six chapters which reflect the interests of a scholarly handbook on the Caucasus, as was worked out by the principal investigators in a program independent of the present project.

The survey of Peoples and Languages of the Caucasus, which appears in this Handbook as section 1. Sociological, $e^1$. Survey of Peoples and Languages, appeared as a pre-publication in November, 1955 and was distributed among interested scholars, learned organizations, and government agencies. Comments received were utilized for this Handbook. A further publication on the script systems of the Caucasus is scheduled to appear in May, 1956.

Due to the differences in scholarly tradition among the participants, it was impossible in the given time to achieve uniformity in the presentation. This is particularly true of transliteration of names. (Thus Azerbaijan, the preferable Anglicized spelling, also appears as Azerbaidjan; and, transliterated from the Russian, as Azerbaidzhan. Dagestan also occurs as

128 Daghestan. The Ossetes, in the chapter on their religion, are designated Ossets.) The manuscripts could have been edited further and the style improved if time had permitted.

000 It remains now to express my appreciation to those who contributed to the preparation of this handbook:

To Drs. Geiger, Halasi-Kun, Kuipers and Menges, who found time and interest for this research amidst their heavy academic duties;

To Dr. Sarkissian, Mr. Shabad and Mrs. Beyerly, who made valuable contribution not covered by the principal investigators.

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000 To Miss Eloise Kerlin, Research Associate of the Center, who assisted in the administration of the Project, and in the various aspects of the preparation of this Handbook.

John Lotz, Director
Language and Communication
Research Center

April 15, 1956

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# INTRODUCTION

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# 1. Sociological

## a. General Character of the Society

### Staff

105 The Caucasus is an area of extreme diversity in many respects. Great differences among the inhabitants of this region are associated with the geographical differentiation--high mountain ridges and huge lowlands, forest and steppe regions, fertile river basins and deserts--and a variation in climatic zones from glaciated areas to subtropical.

The most striking feature of the cultural diversity is the large number of distinct languages, belonging to a variety of language families. There are fifty indigenous languages, ranging from language communities with only a few hundred speakers to large national groups which enjoy recognition in the political-administrative structure of the Soviet Union. Besides those invaders who became integrated into the area, there are small remnants of early colonizers such as the Greeks; and, more recently, a massive inundation of the area by Slavs in the north.

The linguistic diversity is accompanied by differences in the use of script. Literacy in some regions, as in Georgia and Armenia, both having a national script, goes back to the early centuries of our era. Later, and in other regions a script adapted from the Arabic provided a tie with neighboring related peoples. Again elsewhere, literacy was introduced only after the revolution. In the last two decades the growing importance of Cyrillic can be noted.

Differences in religion also presented a complex picture, although it is not known exactly to

105 what extent they survive. We find remnants of Zoroastrianism, several branches of Christianity, both the Sunni and Shii branches of Islam, Judaism, and also various syncretistic religious practices. In more recent times the Communist ideology is campaigning against religion.

In the recent past, differences in economy were also characteristic of the area -- there were nomads and settled groups, predominantly agricultural areas, and regions where mainly horse- and cattle-breeding were practiced. Although cattle-breeding and agriculture are still important, the increasing industrialization of the area is now the dominant feature.

Though it is difficult to speak of traits characteristic of the Caucasus as a whole, there is, despite internal conflicts and rivalries, a general adherance to traditional ways of thought and an identification with the Caucasus on the part of the inhabitants. These peoples take pride in their heritage and are conscious of their history.

The Caucasus has been one of the great crossroads of history. Despite the many movements of peoples into and out of the area, there exist a number of groups who have lived there for millennia. Recent emigrations from the area provide emotional ties with the Caucasus on the part of many groups in the Near East as well as in America.

In recent times, the general character of the society is changing. The advancing industrialization, the influx of labor force from the

105 outside, the propagation of the Communist ideology, and Russification are contributing factors to the leveling of differences and the social amalgamation of the area.

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## SOURCES

113 There are no modern treatments of the entire Caucasus. Older sources which may be mentioned are:

Jules Klaproth, Voyage au Caucase et en Georgie, Paris, 1832.

[J. Klaproth, Reise in den Kaukasus. Halle-Berlin, 1812.]

Dubrovin, N., Istoriia voiny i vladychestva russkikh na Kavkaze. 6 vols. Spb. 1871-1888.

R. von Erckert, Der Kaukasus und seine Volker, Leipzig, 1888.

For some modern aspects of the problem, also see Bol'shaia Sovetskaia Entsiklopediia.

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# I Geography

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# I. Sociological

## a[1]. Geographical Setting
With 5 maps and 3 charts

Karl H. Menges

Introduction
Physical Geography
Climate
Geology
Flora and Fauna
Human Geography

Note on Transcription

## GEOGRAPHICAL SETTING

### INTRODUCTION

174 The Caucasus was known to classical antiquity from the earliest times on. Not only in early Greek history, but in the epic and legendary traditions of Greekdom the Caucasus plays a great role. It was the home of Prometheus, who against the wish of the gods betrayed the secret of fire to man, and who, for this transgression, was cruelly punished by the gods in the Caucasus Mountains. The Argonauts sailed to the land of Colchis on the Caucasian shores of the so-called "Hospitable Sea," the Pontos Euxeinos, to take the Golden Fleece. It was through those early contacts of the Greeks or their Mediterranean predecessors with the Caucasian world that they became acquainted with wine and viniculture and many other amenities previously unknown to the West. The Caucasus was a fabulous land, a land of promise and attraction, to which not only the Greeks succumbed, as is well known from history. The contacts of classical antiquity with the Caucasus were maintained and strengthened through the many Greek colonies established between the 8th and 4th centuries B. C., all along the coast of the Black Sea. The cities and ports which these Greek merchants and travelers built still exist today,

174 the majority of them with their names only slightly altered. The populations of these ancient Greek colonies were usually multinational, within which the Greek element still today has a certain percentage and represents a cultural zone.

103 The seafaring traveler from the West sees these mountains slowly emerging from the sea, their white peaks rising to the skies, as the ship advances to the East until it drops anchor in one of the ports of Colchis. They were from the oldest times known to the Greeks and thus to the entire West under the name of Kaukasos, from which comes the Latin Caucasus, taken over by all European languages. This name is not of Caucasian origin - the Caucasians proper have no general term for their home mountains - but it may be well derived, as Joseph Markwart showed about thirty years ago, from the ancient Iranian Krou-kasis ("ice-covered," "ice resplendent"). While several peoples speaking Iranian languages dwell today in the Caucasus Mountains, it seems that at those remote times Iranians were permanently living not in the Caucasus, but in the nearby areas southeast, east, and north of it. This is parallel with the name of the Black Sea, whose Greek name mentioned above is a euphemistic alteration of an earlier Greek form Pontos Axeinos, itself being a popular etymology of the original ancient Iranian term axšaena "black." The present-day

103 Caucasians also call the Pontos the "Black Sea" (Georgian Šavi Zγva).

Later, in Arabic and Persian geographical and historical literature, forms of the name of these mountains such as Qabaq, Qabuq (?) appear, and a similar form Qāf or Qāp, becomes the general term for the Caucasus throughout the Near and Middle Eastern Islamic world (in Turkic Qāf daγlary, etc.), forms which have some slightly remote relationship with the old Iranian and Western term.

181 For a long time the Caucasus was, and
132 in a certain sense still is, a great divide between two rather different worlds: on the one hand, Trans-Caucasia, which is culturally Mediterranean and Near Eastern, and climatically arid and sub-tropical; and on the other, the North-Caucasian plains, a cultural no-man's land, the transitory roaming-grounds of nomadic peoples, and climatically belonging to the continental zone of the vast East European plains. The steppes of the northern
133 Caucasian triangle between Don-Volga and the
167 Caucasus have been, down to the last two centuries, the battlefields between ever-changing nomadic conquest groups, arriving one after the other in an almost unending sequence out of the high plains of Central and Eastern Asia, trying to force their way into the territories of the Persian or the Roman Empires, which had their outer defenses established in these plains. But even prior to those movements,

133 which start with the Great Migrations, and
167 during which, time and again, conquering peoples forced their way around or even through the Caucasus Mountains, the North Caucasian steppes and Caucasian lands were the scene of movements of entire nations or of organized armies of one or the other of early Mediterranean or Near Eastern empires. But they found the huge range an insurmountable barrier closing off the entire isthmus between the Black Sea and the Caspian Sea from one end to the other. And it proved very difficult to circumvent this huge natural fortificatory wall because of the narrow passage between mountains and seashore. While the west coast offers the greatest obstacles, the east coast has on its longer extent, along the mountains fanning out towards the northern Caspian basin, a slightly larger strip of land which would serve as a pathway--with only one narrow spot where the fortress of Derbent (Darubanda in Georgian, from Old-Iranian Daru-banda, "door-band" or "closed doors") is situated, built at a very early epoch.

144 The Caucasus is not only a divide but a refuge as well for ethnic groups which have succumbed to pressure, and have had to retreat from large valleys or plains where they were being attacked or gradually displaced and finally doomed either to extinction or flight. Like the Alps, the Elburz, the Hindukush, or Himalaya Mountains, the Caucasus shelters relic peoples from groups which a

144 long while before had largely perished or vanished; and of all countries on the earth, it is in the Caucasus that the greatest number of relic peoples has been preserved down to the present.

101 171 The significance of the Caucasus in the history of human culture is unique; there is no comparison with any of the other mountain ranges mentioned, which share with the Caucasus the quality of a divide and a refuge. Every ancient civilization famous for its mythology survives in Dagestan down to our days. Trans-Caucasia and the region of Maikop in the northwestern foothills of the mountains, both integral parts of the Caucasus and ancient Caucasian lands, are, like Dagestan, the home of very ancient metal-working societies. Quite a few terms for metals and tools in Indo-European, Semitic and other Near and Middle Eastern languages are of Caucasian origin. The primordial cultural significance of the Caucasus finds eloquent expression in the classical myth of Prometheus, the fire-bringer. But it is not only pre-historical or early historical cultures that are at home in the Caucasus; historical cultures of a considerable age, surviving in the tradition of the two groups of ancient inhabitants of Trans-Caucasia --the Georgians and the Armenians--are also to be found there.

## PHYSICAL GEOGRAPHY

### General Characteristics

*133 The Caucasus Mountains stretch in a straight line over an extent of 1100 kilometers all across the isthmus between the Caspian and the Black Seas, in a direction from northwest to southeast. The northwest extremity lies by long. 37° E. and lat. 45° N., and its opposite point in the southeast by long. 50° E. and lat. 40° N., the massif of the Caucasus system following a line declining from the parallels by 30°. In its morphological structure the Caucasus is rather simple, consisting, for the greatest extent of its length, of two main ranges, sometimes of one, rarely of more than two. In the east, the Caucasus has its continuation in the submarine threshold which separates the northern basin of the Caspian Sea from the southern, and also east of this continental sea in the Little and Great Balkhan (Balkan), and further on, in the mountain systems of the Kopet-dagh and Hindukush, which have their origin in the Pamir system, the starting point for all high mountain systems of Asia; and in the west, with a striking similarity to the continuation of the Caucasus in the east, in the Yaila-dagh of the Crimea, and, further on, west of the basin of the Black Sea, in the Balkans, the Carpathians, and finally the Alps. Therewith the Caucasus occupies a central, intermediary position between the Pamir in the

*133 east and the Alps in the west at almost equal distances, and orographically it is the actual central connecting link between the mountain systems of Asia and of Europe, or geographically speaking, the European peninsula of the continent of Eurasia.

The northern declivity of the Caucasus is smoother than the southern, as most of the spurs arising from the central ranges branch out in a northern direction. The southern declivity towards Trans-Caucasia is therefore much more abrupt. Thus a more differentiated system of water courses is found in the north than in the south of the mountains.

In spite of its homogeneity, the Caucasus as a whole can be described as consisting of two distinctly different parts: the eastern and the western halves-- a division which is to be considered as on the same level as the north-south division. The separating line between them is one of the deepest incisions in the Caucasian crest-line at the pass of the Holy Cross (in Russian Krestovyi Pereval) with its elevation of 2388 meters, one of the passes with the lowest elevation in the entire system. This line cuts through approximately at long. 44° 30' E. between the cities of Ordzhonikidze and Tiflis, almost at equal distances from both extremes of the range. East of the pass of the Holy Cross the largest spurs are seen diverging from the central range, all of them in a northeast direction, forming the

*133 northwest part of Dagestan. West of this pass no spurs of similar extent are found, not withstanding the fact that the highest elevation, Mt. Elbrus, is found on one of the northern spurs and not within one of the main ranges.

For the distance of about 400 kms. on each side, the slopes of the Caucasus form the sea coast, with the only difference that the Black Sea coast is far more precipitous than the Caspian, since the Black Sea coast is constituted by the southern, more precipitous, declivity of the Caucasus, while some northern spurs of the eastern Caucasus in the two main chains of the system end at the Caspian coast. For the exterior aspect, the difference between eastern and western Caucasus appears to the observer the more striking the further he advances to the east, and this is not only because of the morphological features of the mountain system, but primarily in view of the fact that the eastern Caucasus belongs to a different climatic zone characterized by a considerably higher degree of aridity.

In the south, the Caucasus is separated from the plateaus of High Armenia by a parallel valley, on the average 100 kms. wide. This valley consists of a smaller western part with a westward declivity to the Black Sea; and a larger eastern part, with an eastward subsidence toward the Caspian basin while the watershed is formed by a broad, rather flat archaic ridge with the Pass of Surami (elevation

#133 950 mtrs.) near the town of Surami, 120 km. west of Tiflis. The Meskhi-Surami ridge extends at this point in a north-south direction, and therewith it connects on a lower level the extreme northwestern ranges of High Armenia with the Caucasus, and constitutes the watershed between the Caspian and the Black Sea drainage systems. The western part of this valley is ancient Colchis; the eastern part, three times as long as the western, is characterized by the depression of its eastern extremes which extends as far as 180 km. west of the Caspian shore. Similarly, the North Caucasian plains are divided into an eastern and a western section by a plateau system consisting of low, hilly ranges extending between long. 42° and 44° E., and approximately lat. 44° and 46° N., due north of the highest part of the Caucasus at Mt. Elbrus. This plateau territory is usually called the Stavropol' plateau (Ставропольская Возвышенность). North of the plateau, almost parallel to the Caucasus range, the Manych valley cuts across the isthmus at the low elevation of 13 meters, which at an earlier geological period was submerged, and this served as the connection between the Black Sea and Caspian basins. The western section of the North Caucasian plains slopes towards the Azov Sea; the eastern one has its declivity towards the Caspian and a considerable portion of it forms part of the vast Caspian Depression. This area is much larger than that of the Trans-

*1.33 Caucasian Depression, and extends in a giant curve all around the shores of the northern Caspian basin. Climatologically as well, the eastern and western portions of the North Caucasian steppes belong to two different zones.

The central and northeastern boundary ranges of High Armenia run parallel to the Caucasus, while the extreme northwestern chain, the Surami range, extends to the Black Sea coast in a southwesterly, then a west-southwesterly direction. These ranges are often called the Little Caucasus or the Anti-Caucasus, while the Caucasus proper is then designated the Great Caucasus. The crest-line as well as the highest peaks of the Anti-Caucasus are about 1000 meters lower than those of the Great Caucasus.

The Caucasus possesses no cirques or basins in which bodies of water of any significance can gather. Instead, the Caucasus has a number of oblong valleys running parallel to the main chains. In these valleys the waters gather from the glaciers, from precipitation or other sources, and immediately stream down to the plains, or even directly into the sea. This type of valley parallel to the main chains is particularly represented on the southern declivity of the system, less so on the northern, where the development of lateral ranges or spurs forces the waters into a different direction, so that most of the rivers streaming down from the northern declivity of the Caucasus soon take on a course almost at a right angle

*133 to the crest-line of the main ranges. A greater abundance of water is found streaming down the northern slopes of the Caucasus, since the water cannot gather in the same or similar amounts on the more precipitous southern slopes; these moreover, in the extreme northwest, form the Black Sea coastline, leaving a minimal distance between the crest-line and the sea. But climatic as well as geo-morphological reasons account for the structure of the hydrographic system.

## Orography of the Great Caucasus

The western half of the Caucasus, west of the pass of the Holy Cross, is narrower than the eastern half; at this pass it has its narrowest spot, with a width not exceeding 100 kms. The western half is less differentiated in its structure, and contains not only the six highest peaks of the entire mountain system, but also the ridge with the highest average elevation. This part is situated between two giants of the Caucasus: Mt. Kazbek, 5047 m., in the east, and Mt. Elbrus, 5633 m., in the west; or, since Mt. Elbrus is not located in the main ridge, we might consider Mt. Gvandra (3983 m.) as the westernmost peak of the ridge, having the highest average elevation of about 3800 m. for an extent of about 180 kms. None of the peaks in the main range in the immediate neighborhood of Mt. Elbrus reaches the elevation of

*733 Mt. Blanc (4810 m.) in the Alps. Here are situated Mt. Dongus-Orun, 4451 m., 17 kms. south-southeast of Mt. Elbrus, and the two peaks of the Özengi-Chat-Bashy, about the same elevation. Farther east on the crest-line, 33 kms. southeast of Mt. Elbrus, is Mt. Ushba, which is 4697 m.; east of Mt. Ushba the main range bends slightly to the east with the Djailyq-Bashy, 4522 m., protruding northward. East of this branch, the range continues again in the usual southeasterly direction. There follow, situated a few minutes west of long. 43°E., in the north, Mt. Tiktengen, 4613 m., and 10 km. south of it Mt. Tetnuld, 4858 m., rising above the height of Mt. Blanc with its 4810 m. Immediately east follow the highest peaks of the main ridges: Dykh-Tau, 5198 m., in the northern main ridge, and Shkhara, 5182 m., in the southern main ridge, with a distance of only 6 kms. between the two peaks, and Koshtan-Tau, 5145 m., only 7 kms. due east of the peak of Dykh-Tau. Mt. Koshtan-Tau is situated at the place where a subsidiary spur projects northeastward. All three peaks belong to the two main ranges, and unlike Mts. Elbrus and Kazbek, they consist, like the entire main ranges, of crystalline rocks rather than of volcanic matter (andesite lava, and the like). Thus, Mt. Shkhara is to be considered as the highest peak of one of the two chief ranges of the Caucasus. For the next 70 kms. to the east, the altitude subsides slightly, so that there are

*133 no elevations above the 4500 m. level; only one peak in the northern range, the Sugan, with a height of 4489 m., almost reaches that level. Due south of it, at a distance of 12 kms., rises the peak of Mt. Laboda, 4318 m., which is situated in the eastern part of a massif from which one major subsidiary spur projects southward, branching off in the Luk'unis-Dzveri to the south-west, and the Mikhuremet'is-Dzveri to the south; and one minor spur, the Domba ridge, to the south-east. The main range here, the southern one, continues on its average altitude as far as the Adai-Khokh massif, south and east of which the first major indentation is found. Mt. Adai-Khokh, 4648 m., is at a distance of 33 kms. southeast of Mt. Laboda. South of the Adai-Khokh massif, the elevation of the Caucasus chain is lowered to 2831 m.; this indentation serves as a pass, called the Mamyson, and it is over this pass that the Oset'i army road leads across the Caucasus into Trans-Caucasia. The eastern ridge of the Adai-Khokh massif, the Kaltber range, is separated by the Kassara Gorge, through which the Ardon breaks in a northern direction, from Tsmia-K'om-Khokh and Mt. Tepli, 4427 m. East of the peak, the range divides into two major ridges, the northern one projecting eastward, and the southern one exhibiting the average northwest-southeast direction. The

*133 northern ridge rises to a special massif of volcanic origin crowned by Mt. Kazbek, 5043 m., the fifth peak of the entire Caucasus system after Mt. Elbrus. The giant, ice-clad dome of Mt. Kazbek, the Mqinvari of the Georgians, rises at the eastern end of this ridge abruptly cut off by the deep gorge of Darial, through which the Terek River thunders down, having, like the Ardon, a northerly direction. Huge subsidiary spurs with an elevation of more than 3500 m. descend from Mt. Kazbek to the east, north and south. West of the volcanic cone of Mt. Kazbek, the highest peaks of the spur are, at a distance of 5 kms., Mt. Gimarai-Khokh, 4777 m. (15,672 ft.); 3 kms. farther west Mt. Tsit'i-Khokh, and 7 km. northwest of Mt. Gimarai-Khokh, Mt. Syrkhu-Bardzond, 4159 m. (13,637 ft.). The main ridge continues southeastward, running at a distance of about 20 km. parallel to the Gimarai-Khokh massif, still with considerable average elevation; there follow from west to east Mts. Tsilga-Khokh, 3723 m. (12,645 ft.), and Kalasan, and due south of Mt. Gimarai-Khokh, Mt. Khorisar, 3772 m., the highest peak in the group of the "Seven Brothers." Only 7 km. east of Mt. Khorisar, the incision of the pass of the Holy Cross is situated (2388 m.) in the middle of the entire Caucasus system, and it is over this pathway that the Georgian army road (Voyenno-gruzinskaia

*733 Doroga) was built. At this indentation the eastern half of the Caucasus system begins.

Like Mt. Kazbek, Mt. Elbrus is situated in a subsidiary spur projecting northward from the main range, and it also is of volcanic origin. With regard to their origin as well as their lateral position, both Mt. Elbrus and Mt. Kazbek may be compared to Mt. Demavend, slightly lower than Mt. Elbrus, 5604 m., which is in the Alburz Mountains and northeast of the city of Teheran -- a few minutes southeast of the intersection of long. 52° E. and lat. 36° N. The cone of the latter, however, is steeper and therefore has a more pointed shape. Mt. Elbrus has two peaks, the eastern one at 5595 m. (18,347 ft.), and the western one at 5633 m. (18,470 ft.), which are not distinguished by special names. The indigenous local name of Mt. Elbrus is Mingi-Taw, "the Eternal Mountain," as the Karachai-Balkarians call it. (The eastern peak of the Elbrus was first climbed on July 19, 1868 by the British alpinists Freshfield, Tucker and Moor, who, on the same expedition, were also the first to ascend Mt. Kazbek, during the summer of 1868.)

West of Mt. Gvandra, the main ridge makes a slight bend westward, and after the indentation known as the Klukhor Pass, 2816 m., it resumes its original direction. There it is known under the name of the Ertsokh range, with its highest peak Mt. Dambai

*133 (Dambai Ülgen), 4043 m. (13,255 ft., 3,980 m. on the map of 1916), rising immediately west of the Klukhor Pass. From the Ertsokh range, three major spurs project northwards, the easternmost reaching an elevation of 3819 m. Parallel to the Ertsokh range in the south rises the Abkhaz range, which bends slightly westward toward the Black Sea coast and continues under the name of the Bzipi range, with the highest peak Mt. Dzishra (2637 m.). Between the Ertsokh and the Abkhaz ranges one of the elongated valleys parallel to the main chains is found, the Chkhalta valley, which is typical of the valleys situated along the southern ridges of the Caucasus system. The Bzipi and the Abkhaz ranges continue eastwards under the name of the Kodor range, roughly extending parallel to the main range of the system. South of the highest section of the central Caucasus, its eastern continuation, often called the Svanet'ian Range, separates the Ingur valley in the north from the valley of the source rivers of the Tskhenis-Tskali in the south, and reaches an altitude of 4086 m. (13,400 ft.; on the map of 1916: 4006 m.), in the peak of Mt. Laila. Further northwest of the Ertsokh range the average elevation drops considerably, and only the highest peaks rarely reach above the 3000 m. line; the highest elevation in the entire Northwest Caucasus is a peak in the Oshten-Fisht (Nagoi-Koshka-Tuba)

*133 massif, 2875 m., due north of the town of Sochi.

West of the Pshish River valley, long. 39° 30' E., lat. 44° 20' N., no altitudes above 1000 m. occur, and the high-mountain and alpine character is completely absent. From both sides of the Strait of Kerch, only hills of an altitude between 104 m. on the eastern peninsula (Tamań Peninsula) and 177 m. on the western one (Kerch Peninsula) are found.

East of Mt. Kazbek and of the pass of the Holy Cross, the large northern spurs develop, which project to a considerable distance from the main ranges. They all have a northeasterly direction, and the spur branching off at Mt. Diklos-Mt'a, 4276 m., reaches a length of about 115 km. The next subsidiary spur projecting from Mt. Addala-Shügkol, 4152 m., in the Bogos massif, has only a slightly shorter extend. The crest-line of these spurs remains relatively high, with some peaks reaching above the 3300 m. level. On the whole, the average elevation of the main ranges of the eastern Caucasus is about 1000 m. lower than that of the section between Mt. Gvandra in the west and Mts. Kazbek or Khorisar in the east.

Typical of the profile of the entire eastern Caucasus is the fact that eastward from the massif of Mt. T'ebulos-Mt'a, 4505 m, the watershed runs along the southernmost range of the Caucasus system.

*133 While in the western Caucasus there are a few subsidiary ranges running south of and parallel to the main chain, there exists east of the pass of the Holy Cross only one relatively low and flat range, which is north and east of the city of Tiflis, between the Kura valley and that of the Alazani, and runs parallel to the main ranges southeastward into the eastern portion of the Trans-Caucasian subsidence. Immediately north of Tiflis this range has a connection with the northern boundary mountains of High Armenia. The Kura River has forced its way through this range by erosion. East-northeast of Tiflis, between the rivers Kura and Alazani, this ridge reaches altitudes up to 1905 m., 12 km. southwest of the town of T'elavi.

Peaks occasionally rising beyond the 4000 m. line are not rare in the eastern Caucasus. East of Mt. Addala-Shügkol, there follows Mt. Bishinei, 4107 m., at lat. 42° N. and long. 46° 50' E.; due east of it, at long. 47°E., lat. 42°N., Mt. Djalty-Dagh, 3792 m.; an unnamed peak of 4050 m. on the General Staff map of 1916, located at lat. 41° 55' N., long. 47° 2' E., and about a half-dozen peaks in the immediate neighborhood of Mt. Bishinei, one of them about 10 km. west of it, located by the General Staff map of 1916 exactly at lat. 42° N., i.e., between

*133 Bishinei and Djalty -Dagh, with 3925 m. altitude. Further southeast, there follow on the northern main range Mt. Alakhun-Dagh, 3652 m. (on Stieler's map of 1939; 3850 m. on the map of 1916), at a distance of 43 km. southeast of Mt. Bishinei. To the south of it, in the southern main range, Mt. Magi-Dagh rises to 3791 m. (Stieler; 3887 m. on the map of 1916). The southern range bends out slightly southward and continues eastward on a high average elevation, with peaks between 3600 and 3900 m. At a point where it bends east and bifurcates into the main range, continuing in the usual eastward direction, with a subsidiary steep and high spur which runs in an east-southeast direction, after a sharp eastward bend for the short extent of only 40 km., there are situated the highest peaks of the eastern Caucasus after Mt. T'ebulos-Mt'a. First, there is Mt. Bazar-Düzi, 4484 m., at long. 48°45' E. and lat. 41°13' N.; and 23 km. northeast of it, in the northern massif, Mt. Shah-Dagh, 4255 m. Farther east, on the southern range, maintaining for a while its high average elevation, there are found Mt. Baba-Dagh, 3643 m. (General Staff map of 1916: 3413 m.) at a distance of 50 km. southeast to east-southeast, and Mt. Dibrar, 3984 m. on the map of Stieler, with only 2210 m. on the map of 1916, 36 km. northeast of the ancient city of Shemakha. It is to be noted here that

*133 on the General Staff map of 1916, the peak of Mt. Dibrar is given as 2210 m. high, while on Stieler's map (Handatlas, sheet 65, of the year 1939), the Dibrar Pass, west of the Dibrar-Dagh, is given the elevation 2210 m., whereas for thepeak of the Dibrar-Dagh, the above figure of 3984 m. is indicated. The General Staff map of 1916 is consistent in that the contour line of 2500 m. does not extend as far east as the Dibrar-Dagh or even to the Dibrar Pass, but ends in the middle of the entire distance between Baba-Dagh and Dibrar-Dagh. Lacking more detailed maps of more recent date, it is impossible to reach a conclusion as to the correctness of one or the other figure. It is not without interest to note that the Bol'shaia Sovetskaia Entsiklopediia, under the heading of Azerbaidjan, does not indicate any figure for even one of all the easternmost peaks of the Caucasus (the northwest frontier of Azerbaidjan runs across Mt. Bazar-Düzi and includes the Shah-Dagh in the territory of Azerbaidjan, so that the Shah-Dagh is the highest peak of Azerbaidjan), but makes only a few cursory remarks about the average height of 2500 m. which the crestline of the Caucasus possesses here. All this mystification is apparently for strategic reasons.

The maps as found in the two Soviet atlases of 1954, "Atlas Mira," as well as

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*133 "Geograficheskiy Atlas," published by the Supreme Directorate of the Department of Geodesy and Cartography of the M. V. D. S. S. S. R., 1954, indicate the height of Mt. Baba-Dagh as 3632 m., and that of Mt. Dibrar (in these maps always given as Dyubrar) at 2209 m., and the contours of the profile are treated accordingly; we may have to assume, then, that the elevation as given on Stieler's map as quoted above is to be amended in favor of the last indicated figures, especially that of 2209 for Mt. Dibrar. At a distance of only 40 km. east of Mt. Dibrar, the 1000 m. contour ends and retreats west-southwest in a sharp line towards the city of Shemakha, 1048 m., to be interrupted only by a number of erosion valleys of small rivers streaming down into the Caspian Sea.

In front of the steep northeastern declivity of the main system, the plain of Kusari and Kuba, so called after the two townships situated there, extends down to the Caspian shore, dissected by numerous water courses running down to the sea. The 200-meter level line of this plateau runs here at a distance of about 20 km. from the seashore, so that it leaves a relatively large thoroughfare. The area between zero and the coastline, at -29 meters, occupies more than half of the entire coastal strip, but is, on the whole, profusely permeated by swampy spots; for instance, northeast of the railroad station at Divichi

*133 and northeast of that of Kusar-Chai. The peninsula of Apsheron is an eastward continuation of one of the main ranges of the Caucasus.

The two extremes of the Caucasus system, the peninsula of Apsheron as well as those of Tamań and its continuation in Crimea, that of Kerch, are characterized by cones of mud-ejecting volcanoes, which, in the northwest, are located in a row parallel to the extreme northwest ranges. In the southeast, these mud volcanoes constitute a typical feature of Apsheron itself, and of both shores of the Bay of Baku and some of its islands. These volcanoes are found, as will be said later, in the immediate neighborhood of petroliferous areas.

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## The Anti-Caucasus or Little Caucasus

*133 In its entire structure the mountain system which generally is called the Anti-Caucasus or the Little Caucasus differs essentially from that of the Great Caucasus. In its central and southeastern parts we have a rather intricate system of higher ridges which are arranged in a direction parallel to the Great Caucasus. However, it is not possible to speak of clearcut ranges such as those of the central or even the eastern Caucasus; rather, we have a number of lateral spurs not all of which are projected from the recognizable main ranges following the northwest-southeast direction. These northeast boundary mountains of the High Armenian plateau, which itself forms the connecting link between the plateaus of Anatolia and Iran, are in their present surface forms determined by the features of volcanic action. This volcanic area has in Trans-Caucasia its central and most active part in the system of Great Mt. Ararat, 5156 m., and Little Mt. Ararat, 3917 m. Around these two peaks about a half-dozen extinct volcanoes are assembled which form the highest elevations in the whole area of Trans-Caucasia. North of Mt. Ararat, at about a distance of 120 km., a second large volcano is found: Mt. Alagoz, [Russ.: Alagez, Alagyoz; Armen.: Aragac], 4095 m., which is the counterpart of Mt. Ararat

*133 on Soviet Armenian territory. Between Mt. Ararat and Mt. Alagoz, the large valley of the Upper Araxes River is situated, here called the plain of Shirak. This upper valley of the Araxes River is limited to the east by the western slopes of the Sevan ridge, with elevations which do not reach the altitude of Mt. Alagoz but to 3569 m. in the peak of the Akh-Dagh ("The White Mountain"), about 30 kms. east of the city of Erivan (or Yerevan), the capital of Soviet Armenia. This range runs generally in a direction parallel to the ranges east of the huge basin of Lake Sevan (also called in Turkic Gok-Chai or "Blue Lake") which form the extreme northeastern system of the High Armenian Mountains separating High Armenia from the Trans-Caucasian valley. In the system of these ranges we find altitudes above 3000 m., such as Mt. Murgus, and Mt. Gamish (Kiambil) and, as one of its farthest northeast protrusions, the Murov-Dagh. The declivity towards the Sevan basin is rather sharp, while the declivity of these mountains towards the northeast, i.e. towards the valleys of Trans-Caucasia, is smoother and therefore also shows relative richness in water courses. The Sevan ridge west of the basin of the Sevan has, in general, a more even distribution of the declivity northeastward or southwestward than the eastern ranges. The ranges of both systems continue southeastward into and through High Karabakh towards Persian Azerbaidjan, from which they are separated

*133 by the deep-cut valley of the central and lower Araxes River. In the southern part of the ridges, there are altitudes like that of the Kirs-Dagh with 2739 m., south of the town of Shusha in the eastern range; farther on, Mt. Ziyaret, not more than 12 km. farther southeast in the same range; and in the western part, Mt. Orashin, 3819 m., and Mt. Kapudzhikh, 3918 m., the latter in the southern part of the western range, and due east of the town of Nakhichevan, at long. 46° E. and lat. 39° 10' N. Both systems are very rich in lateral subsidiary spurs which, in the case of the eastern ridge north of the basin of the Sevan, are of such a size that the original crest-line of the main range cannot be established. In the north of the system, the volcanic protuberance of Mt. Alagoz marks the end of the western range; while the eastern range continues in two major groups of ranges, a considerably broken and dissected eastern range, and a northwestern range which, slightly west of long. 44° E., bends sharply northward and keeps to a strict northward direction for about 150 km. This range ends in a plateau system with a number of lakes, some of the basins of which are of volcanic origin. Extinct volcanoes are situated in the south of the northernmost range, the Suram range, and its eastern parallel which connects the western part of the Suram range with the northern boundary mountains of High Armenia.

As we have seen, in sharp contrast to the Caucasus sytem, the mountainous area of

*133 Trans-Caucasia, often called the Little or Anti-Caucasus, does not represent a unified system of ranges which can be adequately subsumed under one name. The mountainous region of Trans-Caucasia consists of a system of ranges all of which form the extreme northeastern frame of the two huge plateaus of Anatolia and Iran, in the broadest sense of these terms. The plateau nature of this part of Trans-Caucasia is very noticeable, and a considerable portion of the southern part of the area consists of plateaus dissected by mountain ranges or valleys. The northwestern part of the area is mostly mountainous, within the frontiers of the Soviet Union, and the plateaus are found to their greatest extent in the west and southwest of the Soviet-Turkish boundary line; so that the extreme border ridges separating the Anatolian-Armenian plateau from the large plateau of Trans-Caucasia, the Adjaro-Imeret'ian range, is situated completely on Soviet territory. This range constitutes the southwestern connecting link of the Great Caucasus by the Suram range, also called the mountains of Meskhi, with the Pontic Range of Northeast Anatolia. The highest peak is the Mep'is-Tskharo ("King's Peak"), 2850 m. (Stieler's Handatlas: 2846 m.), about 50 km. due south of the West Georgian city of K'ut'aisi. Almost parallel to it in the southeast, the range of T'rialet'i follows, separated from that of Imeret'ia by the valley of the upper

*133 Kura River, and the Trialet i range likewise has no connection in the middle of the Trans-Caucasian valley with two spurs of the Great Caucasus projecting from the T ebulos-Mt a massif, the western, K art alinian, and the eastern Kakhet ian.

To the south of the Trialet'i range the eastern extreme of the plateau of Kars is characterized by features resulting from an enormous volcanic activity of former geological epochs. This feature is typical of the entire area of the plateaus and mountains of Soviet Trans-Caucasia, as of the entire Armenian highland, as this part of eastern Anatolia should best be called. Besides numerous mountain ridges which have in general a northwest-southeast extent, i.e., parallel to that of the Great Caucasus, there are a great number of digressions from this general direction, spurs and branches having considerable size and elevation and projecting in all possible directions. Besides the main ranges, numerous independent secondary formations of volcanic origin are found, and it is these which attain the highest elevation. These volcanic formations and numerous independent systems of volcanic origin contribute to the great variation in surface forms typical of this part of High Armenia. Ancient craters and huge basins, secluded from the drainage systems of the rivers by steep and high ridges surrounding them, are filled with water and

r133 offer the aspect of lakes almost exclusively unknown in the area of the Great Caucasus. The biggest of these lakes is the Sevan ("The Black One") or Gök-Chai ("The Blue Lake"), with a surface altitude of 1934 m. (Russian map of 1938: 1916 m., and the Russian maps of 1954: 1914 m.), in the northern part of Soviet Armenia.

South of the T'rialet'i range, the plateau is divided into two portions, an eastern and a western one, by the Djavakhet'i or Kechut'i range, extending a few minutes west along long. 44° E. West of its northern tip, the lake of Toporovan (on the Russian maps of 1954: Paravani) is situated, out of which flows the Toporovan or Paravani River, one of the upper tributaries of the Kura. About 20 km. farther west, Mt. Abul, 3304 m., is situated. In the south at about lat. 41° N., the chain merges with the Shah-Dagh or Sevan ridge. This ridge contains the sharp incision of the Semyonov Pass, 2114 m., which is located at the northwest tip of Lake Sevan; the ridge then continues on and secludes the basin of the Sevan on the east. The portion of the plateaus east of the Djavakhet'i ridge declines towards the portion of the Kura valley situated south of the city of Tiflis. The southern continuation of the Djavakhet'i ridge south of Mt. Legli-Dagh, 3408 m. (given on the Russian maps of 1954 as 3157 m. [ ?] ), forming with the western spur the watershed between the Kura and Araxes,

*133 is repeatedly interrupted by valleys and volcanic formations. The watershed between the Kura and Araxes follows on this meridional line down to the Pambak range, extending east-southeast to the northwestern end of the Sevan basin. South of the Pambak range, the eastern portion of the Kars plateau is limited by the huge conic massif of Mt. Alagöz, 4095 m., of volcanic origin, long. 44° to 44° 40' E. and lat. 40°15' to 40° 35' N. Farther south and in the line of the north-south extent of the Djavakhet'i range, at a distance of only 95 km., the giant extinct volcano of Mt. Ararat, 5156 m., rises out of the plateau. The ice-clad cone is situated in the center of a massif which contains about a half-dozen craters of considerable size; among them, on the southeast spur of the massif, is Little Ararat, 3914 m. Mount Ararat, its Armenian name being Masis - "The Sublime" -, is the highest peak in the entire East-Anatolian highland system, and one of the highest peaks of the Irano-Anatolian formation, possibly being second only to Mt. Demavend (on the maps of Stieler's Handatlas: 5670 m.; in the Russian Atlas of 1954: 5604 m.) if the Kuh-i Denar in southern Persia, northwest of Shiraz, which reaches somewhat above 5000 m., is in reality not so high as given on Stieler's map of 1940: 5180 m. (The elevation of 4276 m. given on some maps is wrong. For instance on the Army-Navy map [cf. Bushire N. H-39, 2nd Ams. 3] at the position of lat. 30°

*133 45' N. and long. 51° 45' E. This mistake is repeated in both Russian Atlases of 1954 and was tragically proven by the crash of a U. S. Army plane into the mountain around Christmas of 1948.) The subsidence between Mts. Ararat and Alagöz forms the large valley of the Araxes River, being on the average around 1000 m. in elevation, i.e., a few hundred meters lower than the rest of the North Anatolian plateaus. Mt. Ararat is situated at the eastern end of the Aghry-Dagh, which extends northwest and westwards and constitutes the watershed between the Araxes and the Euphrates (here called Murad-Su or Eastern Euphrates), and therewith between the drainage system of the Caspian Sea and that of the Persian Gulf.

On the same meridional line of the Djavakhet'i range, Mts. Alagöz and Ararat, there continues a sharply indented ridge slowly digressing from the meridian in a south-southeast direction, which projects east and westward a great number of spurs and subsidiary ranges. Around lat. 37° N., this range begins to merge with the Zagros system with its orographically very complicated, insufficiently surveyed spurs which connect it with the Armenian Taurus. This range separates the two other huge basins filled up with salty water, that of Lake Urmia in the east, surface elevation 1294 m., and Lake Van in the west, surface elevation 1718 m. (on the Russian Atlases: 1662 m.); it may well be considered the divide

*133 between Anatolia and Iran. The political frontier between Turkey and Persia runs along this range. Its highest elevation as far as is known is in the south - Mt. Djilu-Dagh, 4580 m. (according to a radar measurement taken aboard a K. L. M. plane in the presence of this author, on September 2, 1950), but the entire range is insufficiently surveyed. It also has no general name.

Between the Araxes valley and the basin of the Sevan, the Gegam range, also called Agmangan or Akmangan, after a peak in its northern part, stretches in a northwest-southeast direction, being a southern continuation of the Pambak range. Its highest peak is the Akh-Dagh, 3569 m. (on the Russian maps of 1954 without a name; Stieler's map has 3569 m.). In the south, the Gegam range is broken at several points, and branches out in a range forming the southern fringe of the Sevan basin. South of the incision of the Arpa-Chai valley it merges with the Zangezur range, which in the northeast branches off the Shah-Dagh range in a west-southwest direction. The plateau triangle between the three ridges south of the Sevan forms, east of Mt. Gyuzel-Dere, 3586 m. (on the Russian map of 1916; Stieler's map has 3548 m.), a small secluded area with a few lakes, the biggest of which is the Beyuk-Ala-Gyol ("Great Water-Blue Lake"), and the biggest of the two (or three?) small lakes Kyuchuk-Ala-Gyol ("Small Water-Blue Lake"). They are situated at an altitude between 2000 and

+/33 2500 m. The highest peak of the Zangezur system is Mt. Kapudzhikh, 3906 m. (The Great Soviet Atlas of 1937 gives 3917 m.; Stieler's Handatlas: 3911 m.; the map of 1916: 3578 m.) situated near the southern end of the range, at long. 46° E., about 25 km. due north of the town of Ordubad in the western part of the huge southern bend of the Araxes. East of the Zangezur range, in a southward direction, starts likewise from the eastern continuation of the Shah-Dagh or Sevan range a ridge which is repeatedly dissected by valleys and indentations. It first runs southwestward; a few minutes south-southeast of the intersection of long. 46° E. and lat. 40° N., there is Mt. Taly or Daly-Dagh, 3618 m. (on the Russian maps of 1954; Stieler:3622; on the map of 1916: 3629 m.), south of which the range bends to the southeast and then keeps generally to the southeasterly direction, likewise taking its start from the eastern projection of the Shah-Dagh or Sevan range at the point where the highest elevation of this range is situated, Mt. Gamish, 3722 m. (Stieler gives the name of Mt. Kiambil, 3740 m.; the map of 1916 the same altitude, without a name). This third ridge seems to have no general name. Like the second southward ridge it also is separated from the eastern projection of the Shah-Dagh by the deep-cut valley of the Terter River streaming eastward to the Kura. South of Mt. Taly, both latter ridges are separated from each other by the large valley of

*133 the Akera River, a basin opening in its southern part into the plateaus of the Araxes. Like the Zangezur, the other two ranges also have their continuation south of the deep-cut Araxes valley in a spur of the Kara-Dagh-Savelān mountain system in the northern part of Persian Azerbaidjan. The third range occupies the central part of the autonomous district of High Karabakh, and has peaks under 3000 m.; for instance, Mt. Kyrkh-Kyz-Dagh ("The Mountain of the Forty Maidens"), 2800 m., west of the capital city Step'ana-kert, and Mt. Kirs, 2739 m., south of the town of Shusha (on the maps of 1916 and 1954 both without figures). Between the eastern ridge and its continuation towards the Kara-Dagh system, there is a vast subsidence through which the Araxes River valley leads.

While the plateaus of eastern Anatolia have the average elevation of about 1500 m. (Kars has an altitude of 1740 m.; Mush, west of Van, 1414 m.), those of the central course of the Araxes and of High Karabakh have an average elevation of about 1000 m. High Karabakh is slightly higher; and for instance, the Shirak' plain, north of the Ararat, on which is situated the capital of Armenia, Erivan, is at 984 m.; Shusha at 1122 m. The southeast declivity of the mountains of High Karabakh is rather sharp, and dissected by the valleys of numerous little streams. This is typical of the entire southeast slopes of the northeastern-

*133 most ranges of the entire plateau of High Armenia for about 2° of latitude, from lat. 39° 20' N. to long. 41° 40' N. (southeast of the city of Tiflis).

The eastern projection of the Shah-Dagh, the Murov-Dagh (the highest peak of which bears the same name, and reaches the altitude of 3633 m., according to Stieler) protrudes farthest east into the Trans-Caucasian valley. The Shah-Dagh continues northwestward with steep slopes forming the eastern wall of the Sevan basin and subsiding on its northwest extent from 3722 m. (Mt. Gamish) towards the Akstafa valley. Near this valley the map of 1916 has only unnamed peaks, one with 2684 m. and another with 2125 m. on the northern tip of Lake Sevan. The Murgus-Dagh branches out from the Shah-Dagh northeast of the Bay of Ardanich and then runs parallel to it, and has an elevation of 3003 m. (no indications on the Russian maps of 1954). From the Murgus-Dagh north-northwestward, the eastern border mountains of High Armenia, subsiding more and more towards the north, are dissected by numerous valleys running eastward.

The average elevation of these plateaus of Eastern Anatolia and High Armenia is greater in the northwest portion of the area, and slopes slightly towards the southeast (cf. the altitude of Kars, 1740 m., with that of Shusha, 1122 m.); however, the plains of the

*133 Araxes valley show lower altitudes: Erivan, 1984 m. and Nakhichevan, 897 m. There are two major deep-cut valleys in the north of the entire system. One is the upper Kura, after the estuary of the Toporovan River, where the town of Khertvis is situated at 1086 m.; and at the southwestern end of the valley through which the Kura takes its northeast course, there are the cities of Akhalts'ikhe ("new fortress") at 1011 m., as against Akhalk'alak'i ("new city"), on the Toporovan, at 1678 m. The other valley is that of the Acharis-Tskhali, which separates the Adjaro-Imeret'ian range from the Karchkhal range, the northeasternmost spur of the Pontic Mountains.

The extreme southeastern tip of Soviet Azerbaidjan is a narrow strip of land between the Caspian coast and the crest-line of the northernmost part of the Alburz range, which encloses in a huge semi-circular curve the entire southern basin of the Caspian, and constitutes also the northeastern border mountain of the Iranian plateau and the connecting link of the Little Caucasus with the Kopet-Dagh and the Hindukush systems. This northwestern part of the Alburz has a considerably lower average altitude than that of the main ranges south of the Caspian basin; its highest peaks hardly reach beyond the 2500 m. line.

*133 This part of the Alburz is generally known as the Talysh Mountains. The Soviet-Persian frontier follows the crest-line of the mountains which, in their southern part, have a general southeast-northwest direction. At lat. 38°50' N. the crest-line merges with the Salavat range at a right angle, and continues in the general direction of the Salavat to the northeast; but at a distance of about 50 km. it again bends sharply in its former northwest direction, and after some 40 km. it subsides completely to the southern part of the Mughan steppe, as this south easternmost part of the Trans-Caucasian valley is called.

The highest peaks are, from south to north: an unnamed peak due west of Astara, east of the Persian town of Namin, with 2507 m. (on Stieler's map), Mt. Kyz-Yurdu ("Maidens' land"), 2443 m. on Stieler's map, 2435 on the Russian maps of 1954; Mt. Kömür-Kul, 2503 m. on Stieler's maps, 2434 on the Russian maps of 1954, situated west of Lenkoran; Mt. Gistu-Dagh, a short distance southeast of the juncture with the Salavat range, and Mt. Kula-Tash ("The Greyish Stone" or "The Tower Stone"), 2200 m. (Stieler's map), slightly northeast of this juncture. From there on, a sharper decrease in altitude is noticeable.

*133 The eastern slopes of the Talysh Mountains emerge in short, steep valleys having a general northeasterly direction. The coastal plain at the western shores of the Kyzyl-Aghach Gulf is about 30 km. wide, but becomes narrower with its southern extent, so that near Astara its width hardly amounts to 10 km. More than half of its area belongs to the Caspian Depression; that is, it lies below zero and shows an abundance of swamps and liman-like lake formations, typical of the entire Caspian littoral with the exception of a large portion of the eastern coast.

## PEAKS OF THE CAUCASUS FROM THE NORTHWEST TO SOUTHEAST

| Name and Location | Elevation: Map of 1916 (m.) | Stieler's map 1939-40 (m.) | Russian Atlases 1954 (m.) | Feet (after Freshfield, "Exploration of the Caucasus, 1902). |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Oshten(40° E.;44° N.) | | | 2808 | |
| Fisht (5 km. SW of the preceding; in Nagoy-Koshka - Tuba Massif) | 2054 | | 2852 | |
| Pseashko (50 kms. SE of preceding) | | | 3255 | |
| Klukhor Pass | 2816 | | 2816 | 9240 |

Peaks of the Caucasus from the Northwest to Southeast..... continued

| Name and Location | Map of 1916 (m.) | Stieler's map 1939-40 (m.) | Russian Atlases 1954 (m.) | Feet (after Freshfield "Exploration of the Caucasus.") |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Dambai Ulgen | 3980 | | 4040 | 13,255 |
| Dzyshra (Dzishra) | 2637 | | 2634 | |
| Pshysh | | | 3787 | |
| Gvandra | 3983 | | 3983 | |
| Elbrus | 5629 | 5633 | 5633 | 18,470 [1] |
| Mt. Dongus-Orun | 4451 | | | 14,603 |
| Dongus-Orun Pass | 3198 | | 3198 | |

[1] According to Webster's Geographical Dictionary (1949), 18,481'



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Peaks of the Caucasus from the Northwest to Southeast..... continued

| Name and Location | Map of 1916 (m.) | Stieler's map 1939-40 (m.) | Russian Atlases 1954 (m.) | Feet (after Freshfield "Exploration of the Caucasus.") |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Ushba | 4697 | | 4710 | |
| Djaylyk-Bashy | 4522 | 4535 | | 14,868 |
| Mestia-Pass | 3661 (not given as pass) | | 3661 | |
| Tiktengen | 4613 | | | 15,267 |
| Tetnuld | 4858 | | | 15,918 |
| Laila (Lekheli) | 4006 (id. in Soviet Atlas 1937) | | 3986 | 13,400 |

*33

Peaks of the Caucasus from the Northwest to Southeast.. .....continued

| Name and Location | Map of 1916 (m.) | Stieler's map 1939-40 (m.) | Russian Atlases 1954 (m.) | Feet (after Freshfield "Exploration of the Caucasus.") |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Dykh-Tau | 5198 | | 5198 | |
| Koshtan-Tau | 5145 | | 5145 | |
| Shkhara | 5182 | | 5201 | |
| Sugan | 4489 | | 4491 | 14,730 |
| Laboda | 4318 | | 4319 | 14,168 |
| Adai-Khokh (Uil-pata on the maps of 1954) | 4648 | | 4648 | 15,274 |
| Mamyson Pass | 2850 | | 2829 | 9,282 |

Peaks of the Caucasus from the Northwest to Southeast..... continued

| Name and Location | Various Sources | Map of 1916 (m.) | Stieler's map 1939-40 (m.) | Russian Atlases 1954 (m.) | Feet (after Freshfield "Exploration of the Caucasus.") |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Tepli | | 4254 | | 4427 | 14, 510 |
| Kazbek (Mqinvari) | | 5043 | | 5047 | 16, 546 [1] |
| Gimarai-Khokh | 4777 | 4619 [2] | | | 15, 672 |
| Syrkhu -Bärzond | 4159 | 4091 | | | 13, 637 |
| Ts'ilga-Khokh | 3723 | | | | 12, 645 |

[1] According to Webster's Geographical Dictionary, 16, 541'.

[2] Erroneously marked on the spot of the Chach-Khokh. The Russ. Geological Map of 1929 had it correctly marked, and indicates 4738 m.

*33

Peaks of the Caucasus from the Northwest to Southeast.....continued

| Name and Location | Various Sources | Map of 1916 (m.) | Stieler's map 1939-40 (m.) | Russian Atlases 1954 (m.) | Feet (after Freshfield "Exploration of the Caucasus.") |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Khorisar | 3772 | | | | |
| Pass of the Holy Cross | 2345 | 2381 | | 2388<br>2382 | 7,973 |
| Shan | | | | 4429 | |
| Tebulos-Mt'a | | 4505 | | 4494 | |
| Diklos-Mt'a | | 4276 | | 4275 | |
| Addala-Shügqol (Boghos Massif) | | 4152 | 4140 | 4034[1] | |

[1] The Russ. Geolog. Map of 1929: 4135 m., "Bochek".

Peaks of the Caucasus from the Northwest to Southeast.....continued

| Name and Location | Map of 1916 (m.) | Stieler's map 1939-40 (m.) | Russian Atlases 1954 (m.) | Feet (after Freshfield "Exploration of the Caucasus.") |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Kodor Pass | | 2392 | 2357 | |
| Bishinei (42° Lat. N/ 46° 50' Long. E) | 4107 | | 4131[1] (Dülty-Dagh) | |
| Djalty -Dagh (42° Lat. N. /47° Long. E) | 3789 | 3792 | | |
| Alakhun-Dagh | 3850 | 3652 | | |
| Magi-Dagh | 3887 | 3791 | | |
| Salavat Pass | 2816 | 2829 | 2896 | |
| Bazar-Düzü | 4491 | 4484 | 4480(1937: 4489) | |

[1] The Russ. Geolog. Map of 1929 also has Dülty-Dagh, with 4122 m.

*133

Peaks of the Caucasus from the Northwest to Southeast..... continued

| Name and Location | Map of 1916 (m.) | Stieler's map 1939-40 (m.) | Russian Atlases, 1954 (m.) | Feet (according to Webster, op. cit.) |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Shāh-Dagh | 4252 | 4255 | 4250 | |
| Baba-Dagh | 3413 | 3643 | 3632 | |
| Dibrar (Dübrar)-Dagh | 2210 | 3984 (?) | 2209 | |
| Dibrar Pass | | 2210 (?) | | |
| ANTI-CAUCASUS | | | | |
| Suram(Meskhi) Range Mep'is-Tskharo | 2845 | 2846 | 2850 | |

*133

Anti-Caucasus.....continued

| Name and Location | Map of 1916 (m.) | Stieler's map 1939-40 (m.) | Russian Atlases, 1954 (m.) | Feet (according to Webster, op. cit.) |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Sevan Range (Shāh-Dagh) Mt. Gämish | 3740 (unnamed) | 3740 | 3722 | |
| Lake Sevan (Gök-Chai) | 1925 | 1934 | 1914 | |
| Semënov Pass | 2125 | | 2114 | |
| Lake Toporovan (Paravani) | 2080 | | | |
| Mt. Abul | 3300 | 3304 | 3304 | |
| Djavakheti Range: Legly-Dagh | 3053 | 3408 | 3157 | |

*133

Anti-Caucasus..... continued

| Name and Location | Map of 1916 (m.) | Stieler's map 1939-40 (m.) | Russian Atlases, 1954 (m.) | Feet (according to Webster, op. cit.) |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Alagöz | 4095 | 4095 | 4095 | |
| Ararat | 5165 | 5156 | 5156 | 16,873 (= 5142.[illegible] m.) |
| Little Ararat | 3925 | 3914 | 3914 | |
| Lake of Urmia | 1500 (probably misprint for 1300) | 1294 | 1275 | |
| Lake of Van | 1720 | 1718 | 1662 | |
| Djilu-Dagh (4580 m.) | 4168 ("Gilo-Dagh") | | | |

Anti-Caucasus..... continued

| Name and Location | Map of 1916 (m.) | Stieler's map 1939-40 (m.) | Russian Atlases, 1954 (m.) | Feet (according to Webster, op. cit.) |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Akh-Dagh | 3604 (unnamed) | 3569 | 3599 (unnamed) | |
| Güzäl-Därä (Mt.) | 3538 | 3548 | | |
| Kapudjyk | 3578 | 3911 | 3906 (1937: 3917) | |
| Taly (Daly)-Dagh | 3629 | 3622 | 3618 | |
| Kyrkh-Kyz (Mt.) | | 2800 | | |
| Kirs | | 2739 | | |
| Murov-Dagh | | 3633 (on its place stands 3740, the elevation of Mt. Gamish west of it.) | | |

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*133

Anti-Caucasus.....continued

| Name and Location | Map of 1916 (m.) | Stieler's map 1939-40 (m.) | Russian Atlases, 1954 (m.) | Feet (According to Webster, op. cit.) |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Murgus-Dagh | 3003 | 3003 | | |
| Kars, town | 1740 | 1740 | | |
| Mush, town | | 1414 | | |
| Shusha, town | | 1122 | | |
| Erivan, city | | 984 | | |
| Nakhichevan, town | | 897 | | |
| Khertvis, town | 1086 | | | |
| Akhalk'alak'i, town | 1678 | | | |
| Akhalts'ikhe, town | 1011 | | | |

*133

# ALBURZ RANGE

| Name and Location | Map of 1916 (m.) | Stieler's map 1939-40 (m.) | Russian Atlases, 1954 (m.) | Feet (according to Webster, op. cit.) |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Dämavänd | | 5670 | 5604 | 18,600 (?)[1] |
| Unnamed peak, Talysh Mts. west of Astara | | 2507 | | |
| Kyz-Yurdu | 2448 | 2443 | 2435 | |
| Kömür-Qul | | 2503 | 2494 | |
| Gistu-Dagh | | | | |
| Qula-Tash | | 2200 | | |

[1] Acc. to Webster, op. cit., this would be 5873 m.!

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## THE HYDROGRAPHIC SYSTEM

*133 The Great Caucasus shows on its northern slopes a richly-developed hydrographic system, since, as mentioned above, it has a greater and more differentiated system of lateral spurs than on its southern declivity. Thus the water reserves of the Caucasus, guaranteed by the regions of permanent glaciation and resources of snow as well as the periodic precipitation, are generally taking a northern direction down the slopes which show the greatest differentiation. In the south the greater drainage systems of the entire system are characterized by the latitudinal extent of their valleys, which run roughly parallel to the main ridges of the Caucasus. The rivers and streams which constitute the hydrographic system of the North Caucasus generally leave the high mountain area in a course which makes a right angle to the crest-line of the chief ranges. On the North Caucasian plains the rivers separate into two directions according to the surface features of this area. On a line approximately connecting the center of the Caucasus at the pass of the Holy Cross with the Volga bend at Stalingrad, this area exhibits a very flat threshold having insignificant elevation, which divides the North Caucasian plains into a smaller eastern area declining towards the Caspian basin, and a large western portion, declining towards the Sea of Azov, and therewith the

*133 Black Sea basin. This line constitutes a watershed between the Caspian and the Black Sea basins, determining the course of the rivers streaming from the Caucasus towards the north into two natural groups: the eastern one constituting the Caspian, the western one the Black Sea drainage system.

## Rivers of Dagestan

To the Caspian drainage system belong all the rivers of Dagestan and those of the central Caucasus, which belong to the tributaries of the T'erek. In Dagestan we have, from south to north, the river systems of the Kuba plains, which are numerous little streams named after the inhabited places situated on their banks; for instance, the two larger ones are the Kubinka, on whose bank the city of Kuba is situated, and the Kusar or Kusari-Chai, north of the Kubinka, on which is the town of Kusari, in the northeast foothills of the Caucasus, where this river enters the plain of Kuba. South of Derbent, midway between it and the Kusar, the Samur river, which constitutes the southern frontier of Dagestan and the expansion of the Dagestanian peoples, streams in a huge semi-circle, first to the south and southeast, and then to the east and northeast, to the Caspian Lake.

*133 312 The uneven distribution of water, either seasonal or due to insufficiency, found with the many small streams running down to the

*133 plains of Kusari and Kuba in almost parallel
312 courses between the estuary of the Samur and the Kyzyl-Burun ("Red Cape"), has now been regulated by the Samur-Divichi Canal. This canal starts from the lower Samur at a point about 30 km. from the coast, and runs in a southeasterly direction, first at an elevation of between 200 and 300 meters above zero; then, at a point about 25 km. east of Kuba, it gradually descends to lower levels. Near the town of Kyzyl-Burun it joins the sea, having a total length of about 110 km. In this way, water of the Samur can be used in the fertile Kusari-Kuba plains at periods when the water supplied by the smaller streams of that area is diminished or even absent. According to most recent information the Samur-Divichi Canal is being extended beyond Kyzyl-Burun to Apsheron, in order to feed a large reservoir in that arid
*133 area (Dr. Theodore Shabad, orally). The Samur has its sources in the High Caucasus between the two main ridges in the area northwest of Mt. Bazar-Düzü and north of Mt. Magi-Dagh. In the close vicinity of the sources of the Samur, the source of a river system of central Dagestan is found, generally called the system of the Koisu (in Turkic "sheep river"), which has a large drainage system from the northern slopes of the Alakhun-Dagh to the eastern slopes of the Diklos-Mt'a. Here four source rivers are distinguished, three of them called Koisu. The eastern one, which has its sources on the northern slope of the Alakhun-Dagh, is the Koisu of Djumakh; the next one to

*133 the west has its sources on the eastern and western slopes of Mt. Bishinei. The eastern source river, the Khatar, and the western, the Tleuserakh, are tributaries of the Koisu of Djumakh, and meet it at the town of Tergebil. About 10 km. northwest, the Avar Koisu unites with the eastern Koisu, near the township of Kikuni in a deep gorge at an altitude of only 555 m. The Avar-Koisu has its sources southwest of the Bishinei massif and circumvents it in a huge curve having at first a northwesterly, then a northerly, and finally a northeasterly course. The next valley between the massif of the Addala-Shügkol and that of the Diklos-Mt'a is the valley through which the Andi Koisu streams in a general northeasterly direction, having its sources south of the Diklos-Mt'a, Komito, and Tebulos-Mt'a massifs. One of its source rivers is called Alazan, the same name as the river system which constitutes the drainage of the entire southern slope of the eastern Caucasus from the Tebulos-Mt'a on. After the confluence of the Andi Koisu with the united southeast Koisus, a few kilometers northwest of the town of Gimri, the river is called the Sulak. The Sulak streams in a general northerly direction down into the plains north of the foothills of the Caucasus and turns sharply eastwards into the Caspian Depression. Here it separates into a larger southern branch, which streams into the Caspian in a southeast direction, and a few smaller branches which stream down into the Bay of Kyzyl-Aghach under the name of Kan-Talma. The sources of the Andi Koisu south of the

*133 T'ebulos-Mt'a are found in the immediate neighborhood of the sources of the Argun, which circumvents the T'ebulos-Mt'a massif in the northwest, and takes a northeasterly, then from the foothills of the Caucasus on, a northern direction. It is itself the largest tributary of the Sundja River, which comprises the drainage system of all the small water courses streaming down between the Argun and the T'erek. The Sundja itself has its sources on the northern slopes of the Caucasus, southeast of the city of Ordzhonikidze (or Dzaudjykau) at a short distance from the T'erek River. The Sundja River system is separated from the T'erek River by a flat, elevated range which protrudes from the Caucasus in a northwest direction and is divided into a western and an eastern section. The eastern section forces the Sundja immediately eastwards, so that it falls into the T'erek only in its lower course not far from the point where the T'erek enters the Caspian Depression. The T'erek system is the biggest of the northeastern Caucasus river systems, and also the one which carries the greatest abundance of water. Since the Sundja is situated so close to the east of the T'erek River, the T'erek must gather its waters only from the left, i.e., from the southwest and west of its course. After it leaves the mountains at the point of

*133 Ordzhonikidze, it has at first a general northwesterly direction until it reaches the southwesternmost angle of the Caucasus plains, which incline towards the Caspian. (At this point, the Russian town of Prokhladnenskiy, a railroad hub, is situated.) Just at this lower section of the T'erek River, where it bends sharply eastward, it receives from its left all the rivers and creeks streaming down from the Caucasus between Mt. Kazbek and the system of the Elbrus. Its larger left tributaries are the Ardon, having its sources under the name of Mamyson-Don, south of the highest range of the Caucasus on the southern slopes of the Adai-Khokh massif and south of the Tepli massif under the name of Nardon. West of the Ardon, from the northern slopes of the central massifs, with Mts. Laboda and Sugan, the source rivers of the Urukh stream down to the T'erek; then follow the Cherek and Bezengi, its main western tributaries, streaming down from the main range between Mts. Laboda and Tiktengen; and west of these river systems we have that of the Chegem and the Baksan, which constitute the drainage system of the southern and eastern slopes of Mt. Elbrus massif, the Malka River. Thus we have the fan-like tributary system of the Upper T'erek, which concentrates its affluence in the

*133 vicinity of the great bend of the T'erek eastward, along the southern part of the plains, to the north of the Caucasus, with their declivity towards the Caspian Lake. From its eastward bend on, the T'erek has no longer an affluence, and this for a long distance, until it takes on from the south the Sundja, which constitutes the Sundja-Argun drainage system. The elevation in the profile between the northeast course of the Sundja and that of the Sulak forces the T'erek into a northeasterly course which brings it into the Caspian Depression at lat. 43°30' N., and long. 46°20' E. Very soon after this point, the T'erek divides into a number of courses which stream down to the Caspian Lake. The southernmost estuary, that of the so-called Novyi Terek ("New T'erek"), and that of its northernmost branch, known under the Russian name of Prorva ("Break-Through") are found at a distance of more than 150 km. The strongest of the estuary branches of the T'erek still seems to be the Staryi T'erek, which is found north of the Novyi T'erek in the general northeast direction of the lower course of the T'erek. The entire area of the lowland through which the T'erek streams is extremely rich in swamps, caused mostly by the great abundance of water the T'erek carries down. However, the less considerable

*133 Sulak also has swampy areas on its lower courses. There are a number of smaller river courses between the Sulak and the T'erek which do not reach the Sulak River, despite the declivity in the profile, but lose themselves slowly in the steppes between the Sulak and the T'erek, forming swampy areas at their end points.

With its tributaries, which, as explained above, are all from the left, the Ardon, Urukh, Cherek, Chegem, and Malka, the T'erek forms the largest drainage system of the northern Caucasus, belonging to that of the Caspian Sea; in addition, it is also the richest in volume of water carried.

The T'erek has its sources in the valleys south of the northern main ridge of the Caucasus. The western source river bears the name of T'erek; the eastern ones are the Narzan-Don (the Oset'ic Narzan is a general designation for mineral water), Baidara, and some others northeast and east of the pass of the Holy Cross. The T'erek proper, the western source river, has its sources south of the Tsit'i-Khokh—Gimarai-Khokh—Kazbek Massif, and north of the Tsilga-Khokh-Kalasan system as well as Mt. Khorisar and the "Seven Brothers." North of the pass of the Holy Cross the T'erek turns northeast; then,

*133 immediately east of Mt. Kazbek, between it and Mt. Shan, it breaks through the northern main ridge in one of the deepest and most fantastic gorges in the world, with walls rising almost perpendicularly to a height of about 1000 m. The nearest defile is about 3 km. long, situated between the Oset'i village of Lars in the north, and the Georgian village of Kazbeki in the south. In this Gorge of Darial (Dariela, in Persian, probably originally meaning "The Gate of the Alans," Dar-i Ālān), the river has wrought a ravine through a layer of granite, the basic mineral of the main chains of the entire Caucasus; giant mountains of grey-pink granite tower above the gorge, which at its narrowest point is no wider than 20 m. at the bottom. Some of the many bridges crossing the violent river are no longer than 22 m. At these spots, even in broad daylight, there is always a mysterious, awe-inspiring twilight and cold, humid air which carries the icy breath of the glaciers of Mt. Kazbek, and at certain spots sprinkles the traveller with its frost, which is colder to the touch than snow. The whole gorge resounds with the ceaseless roar of the thundering, dark-greenish water with its crystal-like foam. At the southern (i.e., upper) entrance to the Darial Gorge, north of the Darial cirque, stands an old

#133 Georgian watch-tower, now in ruins, which is celebrated by the Russian poet Lermontov as "The Caste of T'amara"; and in the center, standing upon a natural rocky platform, is the yellowish fortress. There is no defile in the entire Caucasus as narrow and deep as that of the T'erek at Darial.

The Ardon, the next major tributary of the T'erek from the west, has its sources, like the T'erek itself, entirely south of the northern main ridge of the Caucasus, with the Mamyson-Don, south of the Adai-Khokh-Kaltber Massif, and the Nar-Don system, south of the Tsmiakom-Khokh and Tepli Massif. The larger source rivers of the Nar-Don system flow northward down from the southern main ridge with Mts. Khalatsa, 3937 m. (map of 1916) or 12,915 ft., and Tsikara, 3834 m. or 12,570 ft. - the western continuation of the Khorisar-Tsilga-Khokh system. At the southern foot of Mts. Kaltber and Tsmiakom-Khokh, in a large Alpine cirque, Mamyson-Don, Nar-Don, and Tsmiakom-Don form their confluence, then, about 3 km. farther on, taking on from the left (west), the Zaromag-Don. The river so formed, the Ardon, breaks through the northern main ridge in a steep and picturesque gorge called the Kassara (Oset'i käsär,

*133 meaning "threshold, entrance"), which, however, is not so impressive as the Darial. The Os et'ian Army Road leads through the Kassara Gorge and across the Mamyson Pass into the Rioni Valley in Imeret'ia, as that part of Georgia is called. In the plain, before it joins the T'erek, the Ardon takes on a number of smaller rivers from the right, such as the Arkhon, Gizel-Don, and Fiyyag-Don ("shovel river").

West of the Ardon, all the tributaries have their sources north of the northern main ridge of the Caucasus. Urukh and Cherek are the drainage systems of the central Caucasus, from the Adai-Khokh massif in the east to the Koshtan-Tau, Shkhara, and Dykh-Tau massifs in the west; west of the Mamyson pass the watershed bends sharply northward and runs along the main ridge in which Mts. Adai-Khokh, Laboda, Shkhara, Tetnuld, Tiktengen, and Ushba are situated. South of this line, the drainage system belongs to that of Trans-Caucasia.

The Chegem draws its waters from the northern slopes of the Tiktengen massif, and from the eastern slopes of Mt. Djailyk-Bash; farther west, the main range, up to Mt. Elbrus, belongs to the drainage system of the Baksan, having a northeast direction. The northern slopes of Mt. Elbrus are drained by the Malka River flowing to the T'erek in an easterly direction.

*133 All these left tributaries of the Terek branch out in different courses as soon as they have made their way down into the plains, so that they form a fan-like affluent pattern for the Terek which can constitute a good natural irrigation system; however, they have all the disadvantages of alluvium-carrying Alpine rivers, along with the ever-present danger of violent inundations. The Malka has one major water course branching off near the Russian village of Mariinskaia, where the main course runs eastward to the Terek; but the smaller one continues northeast into the plains, where it oozes out in the steppes after 100 km. near the 100 m. elevation contour, which in that area marks the transition into the arid zone interspersed with desert areas.

## The Drainage Systems Between the Terek and the Kuban

The entire Caucasus west of the Elbrus belongs to the Kuban drainage system and hence to that of the Black Sea. But there is a sector between the Terek and the Kuban drainage systems which is situated north of the Elbrus massif, and continues into the Stavropol valley. It now forms independent drainage areas which formerly could more easily be subsumed under the Manych hydrographic system, situated in the ancient

*133 strait between the Black Sea and the Caspian. The Manych subsidence, also called the Kuma-Manych subsidence, has an elevation of +10 meters at the banks of Lake Manych-Gudilo. It is filled in, in the central and western sections, by a number of long, narrow lakes in the center of which is the largest, Lake Manych-Gudilo (long. 42°30' to 43° E., lat. 46°30'N.), which, because of its greater evaporation, contains salt water. To the west it is connected by a weak stream--the western Manych--with the Don River. During the last decennia, the western Manych has discharged water only during the high-water period in the spring, but otherwise has no permanent connection with the Don. On this western course of the Manych, during the hot years, the Vesyoloye Water Reservoir was built,--mainly, it would seem, for purposes of irrigation, in view of the ever-increasing desiccation of that area; however, it can also be used for water transportation.

East of Lake Manych-Gudilo, i.e., east of long. 43° E., the subsidence is now dry throughout, and consists of a series of small, salty lakes diminishing considerably towards the end of summer and autumn. Dry river beds, now real wādīs, are all that is left of the former rivers, including those coming from the south. These latter reach the eastern Manych valley but ooze out there, so that the eastern Manych, which they once fed, exists only for the short distance of about 40 km.,

*133 east of the point where the Kalaus River falls into the Manych valley. This would be true for average years; during periods of diminished water supply, the Eastern Manych is dry. On the map of 1916, the Kalaus does not even reach the Manych valley, in contrast to the indications given on the Russian maps of 1954. On the map of 1916, a canal project is indicated using the Eastern Manych subsidence up to long. 45° E., and then turning southeast, not following the eastern extension of the Manych valley (marked here merely by a number of disconnected salt lakes), but crossing the present-day lower reaches of the Kuma and reaching the old bed of that river, which is then followed into the Caspian Depression. There the line continues to the sea in an almost easterly direction, ending in the Kizlyar Gulf. However, after the completion of the Tsymlianskoye More (the artificial Tsymliansk Sea) on the lower Don, and the Volga-Don Canal near Stalingrad, this Manych-Caspian Canal project seems to have been abandoned.

The former drainage system of the Manych comprised three southern affluences. First, there was the Kuma in the east, which has its sources immediately west of the extreme western tributary of the Terek -- the Malka -- and in the immediate vicinity, at a distance of about 25 km., of the upper Kuban. With the source rivers of Podkumok and Kuma (with a number of affluents to each of them), the Kuma

comprises the entire drainage of the eastern declivity of the Stavropol plateau without any tributary from the right. The Kuma flows in a general northeasterly direction to the eastern Manych valley, but does not merge with the river bed of the Manych. For the last 100 km. before reaching the Caspian Depression, it forms swamps and a number of lakes during the high-water period, and loses itself in the steppes as soon as it touches the Caspian Depression. An older, more southerly course of the Kuma is still discernible, branching off at the intersection of long. 45° E. and continuing from there in an eastward direction at a distance of about 40 km. from the present course.

The next tributary west is the Kalaus, which is the drainage of the central and northern part of the Stavropol' plateau. It first runs northward, then bends to northeast, and finally east and east-southeast to reach the eastern Manych. As recently as a hundred years ago, the Kalaus was interesting because of its bifurcation at the point where it reaches the Manych valley, exactly on the divide of the watershed between the Black Sea and the Caspian Sea, one branch flowing westward to the Manych-Gudilo, and the other to the southeast, into the Eastern Manych. This bifurcation does not exist at present.

*133 The third river is the Yegorlyk. It has its sources in the Southern part of the Stavropol' plateau near Mt. Strizhament and the Kuban valley. It receives most of its tributaries from the right, i.e. northwest, slopes of the Stavropol' plateau. It falls into the western Manych between Lake Manych-Gudilo and the water reservoir slightly west of the intersection of Manych and 42nd E. meridian. Southwest of [312] the city of Stavropol', a canal has been built connecting the Kuban and the Yegorlyk, making use of the subsidence of the flat range of the plateau between Nadzornyi on the Kuban and Sengleyevskaia on the Yegorlyk.

The drainage systems of the Yegorlyk and Kuban, and another one between these two, belong to that of the Black Sea.

The entire portion north of the Manych, particularly the western part, i.e., west of the low, hilly Yergeni range, whose eastern declivity is relatively steep while the western is very flat and subsides smoothly towards the west, belongs to the drainage system of the lower Don which, for a length of about 200 km. between Kalach in the northeast and Tsymliansk in the southwest, has been converted into an extensive artificial lake called the Tsymliansk Sea. A number of small water courses of this region flow into the Tsymliansk Sea. The only larger one is the Sal, which flows into the Don between the estuaries of the Donets and the Manych. The Sal has two source rivers,

*133 the Karasal from the northeast, and the Djurak-Sal from the south; they meet at a right angle at about lat. 47° 20' N. and long. 43° 40' E., and then flow westward between the Don and the Manych. Most of the tributaries of the Sal come from the south.

Immediately along the eastern slopes of the Yergeni hills, in the northern portion of the area, a number of large, shallow lakes similar to those of the Manych valley are laid out in longitudinal order connecting the Volga valley south of Stalingrad with the northwesternmost part of the Caspian Depression. These lakes have the collective name of Sarpa Lakes, Sarpinskiye Ozĕra, and are the remains of an old, more western bed of the Volga as evidenced both by the form of the lakes and the profile of the subsidence. The water of these lakes is sweet, which means that it is being rejuvenated by precipitation and does not undergo the same degree of evaporation as the Manych-Gudilo, many lakes farther to the southeast, or the two bigger sheets of water to the northeast, Lakes Elton and Baskunchak, lat. 49° N. and lat. 48°N. respectively, not so far to the east of the lower Volga.

## The Kuban System

The drainage system of the Kuban is very similar to that of the Terek; it might actually be called the latter's western counterpart. All of its major tributaries come from

*133 the left, i.e., the south, and from the mountains, not from the plateau or the plains. Like the Terek, the Kuban runs at first in a northerly direction, and only after reaching the plains turns westward and keeps a west-southwest direction until it carries its waters, in the shape of a huge fan rich in swamps and lakes, into the southern basin of the Azov Sea, the Maiotis of old. The main estuary river is the southern, which is separated by the peninsula of Taman into two branches; the bigger one of these flows north of Temryuk into the Azov Sea; the other, smaller, at present into the liman (coastal lake) of Kiziltash on the Black Sea.

Because of the greater humidity of the climate of the western portion of the Caucasus and adjacent regions, the Kuban receives a greater number of tributaries than the Terek, even though no essential difference in size seems to exist between the two drainage areas. The lowlands through which the Kuban takes its course towards the sea are considerably more abundant in swamps and lakes than those of the Terek, or other rivers emptying into the Caspian Depression. In addition to swamps and lakes the coast is rich in limans on the shores of the Azov Sea, as well as those of the Black Sea - in the latter case, of course, only in a small area around the former Black Sea estuaries of the Kuban. Only a few of those lakes, the more northern ones, contain salt water. These are, around the liman of Akhtari

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*133 and north of the liman of Beysug, the larger Khanskoye Ozero, and three smaller lakes east of it.

Like the Terek, the Kuban has no northern or, in this case, right tributaries. This is caused by the features of the profile, since the right bank of the river is higher than the left, and therefore constitutes a minor watershed of its own. Thus all the rivers originating north of the central course of the Kuban are forced northwest, and constitute their own independent drainage systems. These are, from south to north: Beysug, Chelbas, Sosyka, and Yeya, all flowing northwest into the Azov Sea.

The Kuban has its sources south, southwest, and west of the Elbrus massif, the largest source river being the Ullu-Üzen (Özen) south-southeast of the peak and north of the Gvandra. The western main source river is the Teberda, coming from the northern slopes of the main Caucasian range, the Dambai-Ülgen massif, and the Ertsokh. Farther to the west follow other tributaries, valley after valley. There are the Aksau and Marukh, later forming the Little Zelenchuk; the Little Zelenchuk with the Käfer later becoming the Great Zelenchuk; and the Urup, the Great Laba with its tributary the Beskes, and the Little Laba, uniting in the foothills of the Caucasus. The Laba constitutes a larger drainage system of its own, since, like the Kuban, it takes a

*133 westerly course slightly north of lat. 45°N.; therefore, before flowing into the Kuban it receives quite a few tributaries--the Fars, Ul, Giyaga, and, a short distance before the confluence with the Kuban, the Psenafo. The Laba also has one tributary from the right, the Sinyukha with its tributary, the Chamlik. The tributaries of the Kuban farther to the west become smaller and shorter the longer we continue in that direction, as the Kuban approaches the Caucasus more and more closely and the latter subsides to an ever-greater extent; as a result, the size of the individual drainage systems diminishes accordingly. West of the Laba system is the Belaia system, with its eastern source river Nisha, and its western tributaries Kurdjips and Pshekha, the sources of which are in and near the Oshten-Fisht massif (given on the map of 1916 as the Nagoi-Koshka-Tuba group); immediately west is the Pshish, flowing through a rather deep incision in the Caucasus range, west of which there are no elevations
*133 above 1000 m. The sources of the Pshish, the
164 larger ones being the Psekups, Afips, and Khabi, are rather insignificant; some of the smaller ones do not reach the Kuban at present but ooze out into swamps flanking the lower course of the Kuban from the Psenafo confluence on, thus making the Kuban valley a rather unhealthy area. This is also true of the swamp regions along the lower Terek, Kuban, Manych, or the entire Caspian littoral;

*133
164 malaria is a most common disease in these places. Up to 1934, sanitation had made no particular progress there.

## The Black Sea Drainage System, Except for the Rioni

*133 Typical of the steep Black Sea coast of the Caucasus in its northwestern portion are small water courses which, the farther southeast we go, take on the character of Alpine creeks and torrents. Only southeast of the Pshish incision and the city of Tuapse do we find several more sizeable water courses: the Psezuapse, about 40 km. southeast of Tuapse; the smaller rivers Shakhs and Svechi, emptying near Sochi; the larger Mzimta, reaching the sea near Adler; and the Bzipi (Russian Bzyb ), forming at its estuary an alluvial gravel fan 20 km. south of the town of Gagra (Russian Gagry). The Bzipi has its sources south of the main range and south of the Zelenchuk sources, and for about 70 km. it has a western direction similar to that of most of the rivers rising from the southern slopes of the Caucasus and having a generally latitudinal direction. The Kodor River, with its estuary about 25 km. southeast of the city of Sukhumi, has its sources between the main range of the Caucasus and the Kodor range, the southern parallel range. Its eastern source river is the Gvandra, coming from the southern slopes and glaciers of Mt.

*133 Gvandra, while the main western source river, the Chkhalti, is the drainage chiefly of the Ertsokh range. After these two rivers have come from opposite directions to form the main river Kodor, the latter forces its way through a subsidence between the Kodor range and the Abkhazian range. Beyond the estuary of the Kodor, the old land of Colchis begins. Its two rivers, the Ingur and Rioni, are more significant than those to the northwest. The Ingur has a generally southwest direction. It has its sources on the southern slopes of the central Caucasus massif, with three of the highest peaks, Dykh-Tau, Koshtan-Tau, and Shkhara, and is the drainage of the huge glacier formations of those massifs as well as of the northern slopes of the southern parallel chain where Mt. Laila is situated. This country is called Svanet'i Dadishkiliani, or western Svanet'ia of the Dadishkiliani. The river circumvents the Laila massif, often called the Svanet'ian range, in the west, and bends southwest towards the subsidence of Imeretia (Western Georgia or eastern Colchis) through whose northern part it flows, emptying into the Black Sea at a distance of about 30 km. north of the Rioni. A small independent drainage system between this and that of the Rioni belongs to the Khopi, which has its sources on the southwest slopes of the Laila range.

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## The Rioni System

*133 East of the Khopi, the system of the Rioni begins, to which the largest portion of the area of ancient Colchis belongs. Its source rivers come from the western slopes of the Meskhi-Surami range, which also constitutes the divide between western and eastern Trans-Caucasia, and thus between the Black Sea and Caspian Sea. These mountains are likewise the boundary between K art alinia, or eastern, and Imeret ia, or western, Georgia. The source rivers of the Rioni are Dzirula and Kvirila, which have sources not far from each other in the northwestern part of the Meskhi-Surami range; at first they flow southwestward, then near the town of Shorapani they unite with the eastern source river, the Chkheremela. The river thus formed, also called the Kvirila, reaches the bottom of the western Trans-Caucasian subsidence, which it follows down to the Black Sea, keeping close to the northern foothills of the Adjaro-Imeret ian range. At a distance of about 30 km. from the sea, the Rioni enters the swampy area of the coastal region of Colchis, which begins near the city of Ochamchire, where the coastline turns in an almost longitudinal direction. There a great number of small rivers flowing north and south of the Ingur to the sea are the main cause of the swamp formation. In the lower course of the Rioni, a few canals branch off the main river, and one of them unites with the Khopi. A

*133 few kilometers southeast of the estuary, a large liman is found, Lake Paleostom, which is, as its Greek name indicates, the remains of the ancient mouth of the river.

South of the city of K ut aisi, the Kvirila at first meets a small tributary from the right, the Gumbra, then about 2 km. farther on, also from the right, the main river is joined; from this point on, the entire drainage system is named the Rioni proper. This main course has its sources on the southern slopes of the central Caucasian range, with two source rivers, an eastern one, the Khamkhakhi, springing west of the Mamyson pass on the southern slopes of the Adai-Khokh massif, and a western one, the Rioni, having its sources south of the main ridge and of the spurs of Mts. Domba and Mikhvremet'is-Dzveri and east of Mt. Luk'unis-Dzveri, very near the eastern source rivers of the Cherek. The Rioni first streams to the southeast, unites with the Khamkhakhi at a right angle, and takes a southwestward course across some lower ranges parallel to the main one in the north, flowing through the old land of Racha in northeast Imeret'ia. For the Oset'ian army road, the Rioni and Khamkhakhi valleys are the southern ascent to the Mamyson pass.

The next tributary to the west is that of the Tskhenis-Tskhali, which possesses a more extensive drainage system of the alpine regions of the Caucasus than the main river. This

*133 upper drainage system is situated south of the main Caucasian ridge, with the three 5000 m. peaks Shkhara, Dykh-Tau and Koshtan-Tau. It is west of the system of the upper Rioni and east of the Ingur. The latter in its upper course runs roughly parallel to that of the Tskhenis-Tskhali; the divide here is the La la-Lekheli system, also called the Svanet'ian range. The northeasternmost source rivers of the Tskhenis-Tskhali are found in the immediate vicinity of the northwesternmost source rivers of the upper Rioni, south of the main range and northwest of the Luk'unis-Dzveri. South of the Laila-Lekheli range the Tskhenis-Tskhali turns sharply to the south, but by a smaller spur, about 2000 m. high, it is prevented from joining the upper Rioni. There it takes a general southwesterly direction towards the eastern portion of Colchis or Imeret'ia, and falls into the main river only at Samtredia, about 40 km. west-southwest of K'ut'aisi.

The divide between the upper Rioni and the Kvirila is the mighty Racha range, a spur projecting from the southern main range of the Caucasus, with Mts. Khalatsa and Tskara, situated south of the Adai-Khokh and Tepli massifs.

## The Kura System

*133 East of the Meskhi-Surami range, the drainage system of the Kura, and hence of the Caspian Sea, begins.

Today the entire drainage system of the Caspian Sea is that of the Kura, since about 180 km. from its estuary in the Caspian Sea it takes on the Araxes from the southwest. The Araxes at different historical epochs changed its lower course and had a separate estuary in or near the Kyzyl-Aghach Bay, about 60 km. southwest of the present estuary of the Kura. While the Araxes is the main river of the entire south of the Anti-Caucasus plateaus, the Kura and its system is the drainage of the northern part of the plateaus, and the entire Trans-Caucasian valley. The Kura system can be subdivided into that of the Kura proper and that of its largest left or northern tributary, the Alazani, with the result that the Trans-Caucasian drainage network consists of the tripartite system of Kura, Araxes, and Alazani.

The Kura has its source rivers in the extreme northwest of the Trans-Caucasian plateau; the western one is also called Kura, and arises on the volcanic plateau northwest of Kars and southwest of Ardahan (Stieler: 1781 m.) in the Turkish vilayet (province) of the same name, about 50 km. west of the Chaldyr-Göl basin (Stieler: 1988 m., Russian

*133 map of 1916: 1948 m., Soviet Atlases of 1954: 1959 m. [here called Childir]). The Chaldyr-Göl, along with a few smaller lakes, such as the Khozapini(Khazavin), is circumvented by the Kura from the northwest, breaking through a rather irregular range disturbed by strong volcanic activity during former geological periods. The Turkish-Russian frontier is drawn along this range. Near here, at the point where the town of Khertvis is situated, the Kura receives from the right, i.e., southeast, its eastern source river, the Toporovan or Paravani, which has its source in the lake of the same name, between Mt. Abul and the northern section of the Djavakhetian range. The Kura turns in a generally northwest direction right towards the Adjaro-Imeret'ian range, takes on a smaller, unnamed tributary from the west, which drains the eastern part of the subsidence south of the Adjaro-Imeret'ian range, and turns at a sharp angle to the northwest, to cut a deep valley into the subsidence between the Meskhi-Surami range in the northwest and the Trialet'i range in the southeast. It enters the Trans-Caucasian valley at its westernmost corner, not far from the Suram pass, near the town of Surami, and here it takes a generally eastward course, changing to a generally southeasterly one only after the river passes through the subsidence between the Trialet'i and the K'art'alinian range. At this point the river enters the main (eastern) portion of the Trans-Caucasian valley,

*133 and it is here, too, that the city of Tiflis is situated. In the section between Surami and Tiflis, the greater number of tributaries come from the left, i.e., north, and therefore from the Great Caucasus; the southern tributaries, those from the northern slopes of the Anti-Caucasus, are fewer, and carry a lesser volume of water. Among the tributaries from the Great Caucasus should be mentioned the Liakhvi, which has its sources south of those of the Ardon and T'erek, south of the southern main range of the Caucasus, and has its estuary near the town of Gori; also noteworthy is the Aragvi, with its sources south and southeast of those of the T'erek, likewise on the southern slopes of the southern main range. The northwest source river of the Aragvi, the Blue Aragvi, streams through the valley which leads up to the pass of the Holy Cross. It is through this valley that the Georgian army road leads northward. Southeast of Tiflis the distribution of the tributaries changes, since there the southeastern continuations of the K'art'alinian range, the Kara-Yazy ("Black Steppe") and of the Kakhet'ian range, the Shirak steppe, are naturally poor in water and do not discharge any permanent tributaries into the Kura. The northeastern slopes of the Kara-Yazy steppe, as also the Shirak steppe, have their own drainage in the systems of the Iori (Iora) and Alazani. Thus, between the Aragvi northwest of Tiflis, and the Iori-

*133 Alazani-Kura confluent, the Kura has almost exclusively right, i.e., southern, tributaries from the northeastern slopes of the Anti-Caucasus. About 20 km. below Tiflis and before the Khrami confluent, the Kura supplies an area of about 130 km. with irrigation water.

South of Tiflis, the tributaries Khrami, Debet, and Akstafa constitute the drainage of the Trans-Caucasian plateaus and of the mountains east of the Djavakhetian range and north of the Sevan; the tributaries flowing south of the above are the drainage system of the northeastern and northern slopes of the Sevan range (Shah-Dagh and Murov-Dagh) and of the northern, higher portion of the plateau of High Karabakh. Among these rivers the Shamkhor-Chai, Gandja-Chai (so called after the famous old Azerbaidjanian cities of Shamkhor and Gandja--now Kirovabad--near or through which they flow), and Terter should be mentioned. As soon as the latter enters the plains near the town of Mir-Bashir, it branches off in several courses which serve as natural irrigation systems. The little rivers streaming down from the northeastern slopes of the outer border range of Karabakh do not reach the Kura or Araxes at present; they are exhausted in the
*133 plains right near the foothills. The southern
312 rivers are interconnected by a long canal system supplying the area with natural irrigation. This system starts a few minutes north of lat. 40° N., and is drawn in a southeasterly direction towards the Araxes, from which an

*133 additional amount of water is derived, since
312 the above-mentioned rivers are weak and seasonally dry.

*133 The natural southeast borders of the Kara-Yazy and the Shirak steppes are the valleys of Kura and Alazani. A few kilometers before it empties into the Kura, the Alazani receives the Iori or Iora from the right, i.e. northwest; this river flows through the valley separating the two flat, oblong, hilly ranges of the Kara-Yazy and the Shirak steppes. The Iora has its sources south of the Tebulos-Mt'a massif, and streams down the valley between the K'art'alinian and the Kakhet'ian ranges. On the latitude of Tiflis, it turns southeast and from there on continues in a direction roughly parallel to that of the Kura. In its upper course the Iori has a few small tributaries, but loses them as soon as it runs between the two steppes, i. e., roughly from the latitude of Tiflis on.

The Alazani has its sources on the southern slopes of the southern main range of the Caucasus in the immediate vicinity of the sources of the Andi-Koisu, whose largest source river, south of the Tebulos-Mt'a massif, is likewise called Alazani. Around lat. 42° N. it receives a few small tributaries from the west and southwest, coming from the Kakhet'ian range; where the latter subsides and goes over into the flat, hilly range of the Shirak steppe, the tributaries of the Alazani

*133 come almost exclusively from the southern slopes of the Great Caucasus. The majority of these numerous but short tributaries meet the Alazani at a right angle. The upper part of the Alazani is the country of Kakhet'ia, famous for its excellent wines, such as Napareuli, T'elavi, and Tsinandali. The Alazani streams in a southeasterly direction through a valley situated between the flat elevation of the Shirak steppe and the foothills of the Great Caucasus until it receives the Aghry-Chai (or Agiri-Chai), encountering it from exactly the opposite direction, since in this part of the valley there is a slight acclivity towards the southeast. Thus the Alazani turns in a southward direction through a subsidence in the flat range of the Shirak steppe, so that it unites with the Iori and the main river.

At the point of the Alazani-Iori-Kura confluent, the river is not more than 200 m. above the level of the Caspian Sea, at a straight distance of 300 km. from the estuary; thus, the river on this insignificant declivity has a tendency to form many curves and swamps
[312] and to change its course. Below the Alazani-Kura confluent near the town of Mingechaur the river has been dammed up into the Mingechaur water reservoir, which is to serve as
[377] a hydroelectric station and was put into operation in 1954. It may also be used for irrigation, as well as river regulation purposes.

*133 The river enters the Caspian Depression at lat. 40° 10' N. and long. 47° 40' E., but even before this it is accompanied by swamps and swampy lakes. Almost exactly on the intersection of lat. 40° N. it receives the Araxes from the south. Here the town of Sabirabad is situated. This area is rich in swamps and in lakes situated along the right bank of the Kura and prior to the Araxes confluent. After a curve towards the northeast through the southern portion of the steppe of Shirvan, the Kura turns south and southeast and empties into the Caspian north of the Kyzyl-Aghach Gulf, with a huge alluvial estuary projecting about 20 km. into the sea.

## The Araxes System

The Araxes drainage system borders in the west on that of the Persian Gulf through the system of the Euphrates (its northern main source river being the Kara-Su and the southern the Murad-Su); in the northwest with that of the Black Sea through the Chorokh system; and in the southwest and south, as well as, for a certain smaller area, in the north, with the three secluded systems of Lakes Van, Urmia, and Sevan. The Araxes, the national river of the Armenians, has its sources in eastern Anatolia on Turkish territory, on the western and southwestern slopes of the Bingöl

*133 massif ("The Thousand Lakes"; highest peak, Stieler: 3263 m., Russian Atlases of 1954: 3650 m.), on lat. 41° 20' N. and long. 41° 30' E., about 60 km. south-southeast of the city of Erzurum (or Erzerum), capital of the vilayet of the same name. With great difficulty the river wends its way first in a generally northeasterly direction between Murad-Su and Kara-Su. Then, from about long. 42° E. on, it keeps to an easterly direction south of the Kars plateau, famous for its many extinct volcanoes; and along the northern slopes of the Aghry-Dagh, on whose eastern end Mt. Ararat is located. At the place where it breaks through the mountain ridge which can be considered the eastern boundary of the Kars plateau and along which the Turkish-Soviet frontier runs, the Araxes takes on the Akhurian (also called Arpa-Chai or Upper Arpa-Chai) from the left, i. e., north, and soon enters the plain of central Armenia. It circumvents the Ararat massif in a large curve from the north, and follows the general declivity of the plateau southeast, until it breaks through the subsidence between the Zangezur range, the ridges of High Karabakh, and the Kara-Dagh-Savelan system of Persian Azerbaidjan. Here the Araxes makes another huge curve open to the north, and then turns northeast into the Caspian Depression, where it unites with the Kura.

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*133 The Araxes, in contra-distinction to the Kura, does not possess any tributaries which would essentially contribute to its volume. Most of the right tributaries of the Araxes within the central Armenian plains do not reach the river because they are exhausted for irrigation purposes in this agriculturally very important region, or because they are seasonally dry. The tributaries from the left, i.e., the Zangezur range, are more important since some of them are of greater volume and are not prevented from meeting the Araxes. In the northern part of the central Armenian plain there is the Abaran, which streams down in a valley between the Alagöz and the Pambak ranges, and constitutes the irrigation for the fertile plains around the ancient city which is the spiritual capital of Armenia - Vagharshapat or Echmiadzin. The Abaran is connected by a small eastern branch with the Zanga or Razdan, which has its sources on the southeastern slopes of the Pambak range, and constitutes the irrigation system of the present capital of Armenia—Erivan. Then further to the southeast, there are a few rivers which should be mentioned, as for example the Arpa-Chai, also called the Eastern Arpa-Chai, having a large irrigation fan near its confluent with the Araxes. Further to the southeast is the Nakhichevan river, having its estuary near the city of Nakhichevan, and it is in this region that the single tributary from

*133 the south, the Kyzyl-Chai ("Red River"), streams down from the border mountains between Turkey and Persian Azerbaidjan, northwest and north of the Lake of Urmia, into the Araxes.

There have been epochs, and those during times of human history, when the Araxes had a separate estuary south of that of the Kura in the Gulf of Kyzyl-Aghach. In Stieler's Handatlas a branch of the Araxes is indicated as diverting near the village of Agha-Khanly, where the Persian boundary line retreats from the Araxes river to cut in a southeasterly direction across the Mughan steppe towards the foothills of the Talysh Mountains, as the foothills of the Alburz are called here. This branch empties into a small delta in the Kyzyl-Aghach Gulf. The Russian Atlases of 1954 show this branch, as well as several others, and the upper branches, one of which is found at an elevation between zero and 100 m., the rest of them being within the Caspian Depression, i.e., below zero. Some of the lower branches finally take a northeasterly course and unite with the Kura about
*133 50 km. from the sea. The upper branches
312 have been used for the Azizbekov canal system, which can be considered the southeastern continuation of the Ordzhonikidze Canal and irrigation system situated before the eastern foothills of High Karabakh. This serves for

*133 312 the irrigation of the southwestern portion of the Mughan steppe as well as for purposes of river regulation to prevent inundations, swamp formation, and the unnecessary waste *133 of water. Partly as a result of this, the salty lakes of Ak-Chala, as well as the Gulf of Kyzyl-Aghach itself, have shrunk considerably. In the Russian Atlases of 1954 there are two smaller lakes now indicated, a southern one—Mahmud-Chala—and a northern one, given as Ak-Chala, and no branch of the Araxes is shown as flowing into the Kyzyl-Aghach Gulf. It would seem, moreover, that the Akusha, the old western estuary of the Kura, branching off near the town of Salyany and emptying into the Kyzyl-Aghach Gulf, is now receiving waters from the Bolghar-Chai, draining the northeastern valleys of the Talysh Mountains, and the Azizbekov Canal; and this is mainly being used for the irrigation of the southeastern extremity of the Trans-Caucasian part of the Caspian Depression. As a further consequence of the shrinking of the Kyzyl-Aghach Gulf, the formerly very small island of Sara, about 10 km. long, off the coast a few minutes south of lat. 39° N., is now seen as a long island extending for about 50 km. from south to north, taking up considerable space in the western portion of the former gulf (the new gulf is named after Kirov, Zaliv im. Kirova). This reduction of the Kyzyl-Aghach Gulf is probably not only due to the alluvial deposits of

*133 the Kura-Araxes system, but to the gradual recession of the Caspian coastline in general, caused not only by a greater loss of water through insufficient supply (Volga, Ural rivers, etc.) and evaporation, but also by the lifting-up process of the continental mass, which is so evident along the entire northern basin of the Caspian Sea. This process has led to an extreme reduction of the surface within the very short period of the last 25 years alone, as can be seen in the progressing coastline, the narrowing of the northern basin, and the complete disappearance of the Komsomolets Bay (the former Mertvyi Kul'tuk) in the northeast.

## The Chorokh System

The extreme southwestern corner of Trans-Caucasia belongs, south of the Adjaro-Imeret'ian range, to the drainage system of the Chorokh River. The Chorokh has its sources far to the southwest, in northeastern Anatolia, near the sources of the Kara-Su, about 50 km. north-northwest of the city of Erzurum. It constitutes the drainage system of the eastern portion of the valleys between the Pontic Range and the next parallel range to the southeast, a certain portion of which is known as the Shifakly-Dagh. It receives its larger tributaries, such as the Olty-Chai, from the right. The Olty-Chai has its

*133 sources near those of the Kura and unites with the Tortum-Su near the point where it falls into the main river. After the Chorokh breaks through the Pontic Range at lat. 41° 15' N. it also receives from the right, at a distance of only 15 km. from the seacoast, the Acharis-Tskhali. From this junction point on, the Chorokh is the frontier between Turkey and the Soviet Union. The Acharis-Tskhali runs for its entire course, however short, (80 km. long) on Soviet territory. It has its sources on the western slope of the ridge abutting in the north against the Adjaro-Imeret'ian range, and extending to the south in two branches, one southeast, the other southwest, thus enclosing the Ardahan-Kars plateaus from the north. This ridge and its southwestern branch are the watershed between the Black Sea and the Caspian Sea. From its eastern slopes the Pos-Khevi-Tskhali streams down and falls, as mentioned earlier, into the upper Kura near the town of Akhalts'ikhe. Another spur parallel to the first projects from the Arsiya massif (map of 1916: 2616 m.) northwestward, then west and west-southwestward, forming the southern boundary of the Acharis-Tskhali valley.

*133 505 None of the Caucasian rivers has any significance as lines of communication and transport, in sharp contrast to the two great rivers north of the area, the Don and the Volga. Navigation on a minor, insignificant

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505 scale is possible on the Kuban up to the Belaia estuary, east of Krasnodar, only about 220 km. from the Kuban estuary; and on the Kura up to the Mingechaur "water hub" near Yevlakh. The latter point is about 300 km. from the Caspian coast.

## CLIMATE

132 Since the Caucasus reaches with its highest massifs into the zone of permanent glaciation, all climatic zones are represented, from the sub-tropical to the Arctic. Aside from the peculiar features of the high mountain ranges which can be called simply alpine, the Caucasus is located in a sub-tropical zone dominated by two sharply contrasting varieties of climate: humid-subtropical and continental. Although the Black Sea is a rather independent part of the Mediterranean, having been connected with it only during more recent geological epochs, and although on the average it is much cooler than the Mediterranean and situated a few degrees farther north, a large portion of the Black Sea area constitutes the extreme northeastern area of the Mediterranean climate zone. Here in the south of the large Black Sea basin the arid, continental portion of Asia-Minor plays, on a lesser level, the same role as the huge, arid northern mass of the African continent, situated in the south of the entire Mediterranean and far beyond it. As the northern quarter of the Black Sea is open to the influences of the vast Eurasian plains, with their continental climate, the Black Sea Basin is seasonally exposed to the influences of that climate. But in the eastern quarter,

132 the western ranges of the Great Caucasus serve as a strong protective wall against continental influences. Thus, the entire western half of the Great Caucasus and the extreme northwest of the Anti-Caucasus are open to maritime influences and exhibit a pecular humid-subtropical climate which can also be called subtropical-maritime.

The divide between the Black Sea maritime and the contin ental climates runs along the main crest-line of the Shifakly-Dagh, the eastern parallel range of the Pontic Range in the southwest. It then goes over onto the crestline of the eastern part of the Adjaro-Imeret'ian range, and follows along that of the Meskhi-Surami Mountains abutting against the crest-line of the southern main range of the Great Caucasus; then it turns sharply northwest and follows the crest-line to the end of the chains. With decreasing altitude of the main chains, the climatic frontier tends to become increasingly expandable towards the northeast of that line; at the same time, under continuing pressure of northeasterly winds, it tends to recede considerably behind that boundary line.

## The Zone of Continental Climate

The entire territory south, southeast, east, and northeast of the divide belongs to the zone of continental climate, extending

132 from there and the central plains of Asia-Minor across most of the central and northern parts of the entire continent, as far east as the vicinity of the Pacific Ocean, in Southern Manchuria, and the Amur-Ussuri valleys.

In the area of the Caucasus, the continental climate can be characterized as subtropical, with the typical features of very low average precipitation and great vacillation between minimum and maximum temperatures during the day and night and in the course of the entire year. It should be noted that along with the rather high average temperatures which occur not only throughout the long summers, but during the daytime throughout the year, there are likewise, despite the latitude, rather low temperatures during the winter months and at night throughout the year. This holds true for the non-alpine territories of the area. It is self-evident that the average temperatures, which even on the plateaus of High Armenia are very high during the summer, descend during the winter, depressing the yearly average in proportion to the elevation.

The continental climatic features are mitigated to a certain degree by the basin of the Caspian, which, however, exerts an influence tending to increase humidity in some rather small areas along its southern and western coast. These areas therefore have the features of a humid sub-tropical climate.

132 This is true of the entire southern and southwestern Caspian coastal zone, which is a very narrow strip of land between the Alburz Mountains and the sea. Dagestan, again, has a typical semi-arid continental climate, and the central and northern parts of the Caspian Basin are exposed to northeast or southeast winds, of which the latter in particular have a humidity-resorbing power which in general far exceeds the evaporation from the sea.

The plains north of the Great Caucasus are under a stronger influence of the continental climate; they are the vast gateway for southeast winds, accompanied by semi-arid influences, up to the southeast, east, and at times the central parts of the East European plains. The large sheet of water represented by the Azov Sea is an area of Black Sea maritime influences, and easterly winds may also carry some humidity which is discharged along the northern foothills of the Great Caucasus; but beyond the mountainous region proper, i.e., in the North-Caucasian plains, the maritime influences are inferior to those of the continental climate. Precipitation of an annual average of 500 to 1000 mm. of rain (or snow) is observed all over the Great Caucasus, on altitudes from 2000 m. up in Dagestan, toward the northwestern extremity, Taman, and Kerch; its area includes that of the Stavropol' plateau which does not exceed the 1000 m. limit.

132 As a consequence of the great meteorological changes which have occurred during the past 30 to 50 years, the influences of continental climate from the southeast seem, at periods, to be strongly counteracted by those of the Atlantic maritime climate, which appears to be extending its power more and more across the East European plains in a southeasterly direction. But this does not mean that such influences make themselves felt in the climate of the area of the North-Caucasian (Black Sea-Caspian) plains.

## Transitional Zones

Between these two sharply opposed climatic types are a number of transitional ones. As a variety of the sub-tropical climate the narrow strip of humid sub-tropical climate along the Alburz Mountains has been mentioned. The dry sub-tropical subdivision of the continental climate is typical of the entire southeastern part of that area of the Caucasus which is situated at an elevation not exceeding 750 m.; above that line the sub-tropical features are absent. We can therefore say that a dry continental climate is typical of the plateaus and valleys of High Armenia (and Karabakh). This latter climate is characterized by dry, hot summers and cold, snowy winters (with a maximum of cloudless days, however), thus corresponding to the climate

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132 of northern and central Iran and Central Asia.

A more moderate form of this climate is found along the eastern section of the southern slopes of the Great Caucasus along the foot of the main ranges between the rivers Alazani and Aghry-Chai (the bottom of the valleys being slightly lower than 200 m.), and the mountains in the region between the cities of Nukha (about 500 m.) and Zakatali (540 m.). This more moderate climate is likewise predominant on the northeastern slopes of the Great Caucasus up to 1000 m. in the Kuba subsidence and in the Talysh Mountains at elevations up to 800 m. In this climate the number of hot months is smaller, a lower average annual temperature occurs, and there is a different precipitation cycle during the year. There are two periods of maximum precipitation, one in May-June and the other in September, an extremely valuable feature for plant growth; minimum precipitation occurs in January.

## The Maritime Zone

The entire area of the Black Sea maritime climate with its predominant southwest winds includes the entire eastern coastal curve of the Black Sea and the southwestern slopes of the western portion of the Great Caucasus, the entire triangle of Colchis-Imeret'ia, the western portion of the Adjaro-

132 Imeret'ian Mountains, and the northeastern range of the Pontic Mountains, including the valley of the Chorokh River. This area extends from about lat. 41° N. to lat. 44° N. However, as said above, the indirect influences of the maritime sub-tropical climate can be extended, during times of strong southwesterly winds, beyond the northwesternmost lower ranges of the Great Caucasus. An expansion of this climate beyond the Meskhi-Surami range is rare. There is relatively heavy precipitation along the southern slopes of the Great Caucasus from the northwestern end of the chain, near Novorossiysk, as far southeast as the region of Zakatali and Nukha, which have an annual average rainfall of 1000 to 2000 mm. (the farther southeast the lower the precipitation). This precipitation, east of the Meskhi-Surami divide, is due chiefly to southeast winds carrying Caspian humidity which is released at or near the crestline of the southern main range. While precipitation is seasonal in the continental climate zone, it is not limited to a particular season of the year in the Mediterranean-Black Sea area, although certain months in winter and summer have maximum precipitation.

17:Columbia U. S-4, 5 1956 RH1 Caucasia RH1

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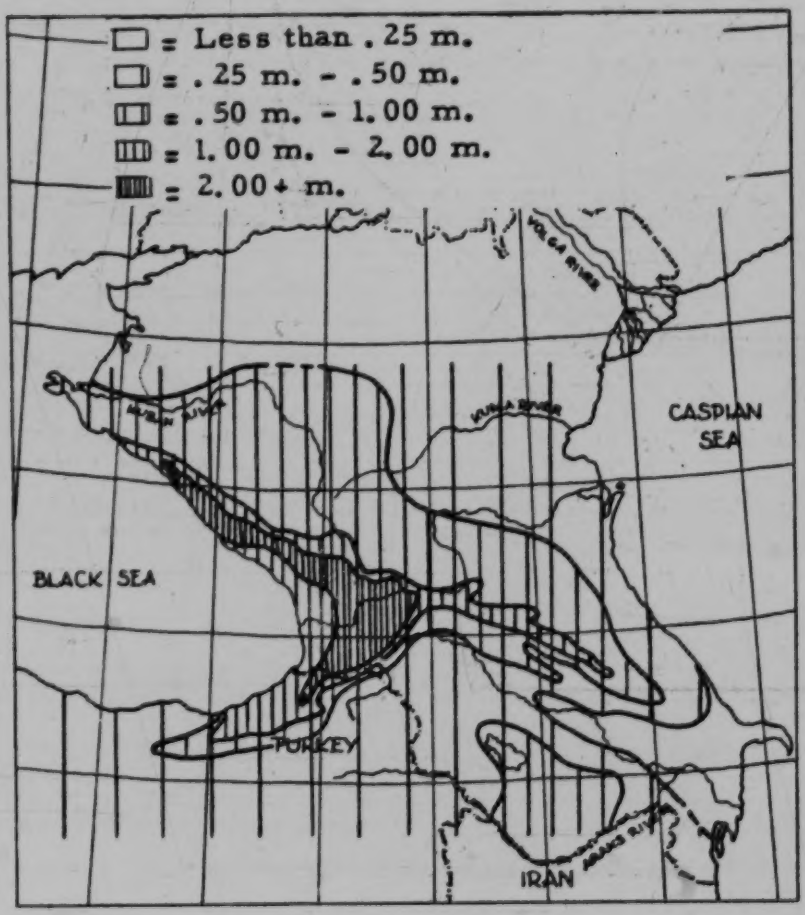
## Precipitation in the Caucasus



## Precipitation

132 The sketch map, page 114, shows the different areas with their respective density of average precipitation. It should be noted that the area of greatest density of precipitation does not include the westernmost part of Colchis, which is the Black Sea littoral proper, since the clouds release the greatest amount of water in the immediate vicinity of the higher ranges only. In addition, the area around Lake Sevan, within the dry continental area of Trans-Caucasia, has an annual average of 500-1000 mm. of precipitation; this is like the entire Great Caucasus from the 2000 m. contour line in the southeast to the end of the entire system in the northwest, with the inclusion of the Stavropol' plateau. This area, with its average precipitation of 500-1000 mm. per annum, may be considered a transitional one between Black Sea maritime and Central Asiatic continental climate. The greatest portion of Dagestan, with the exception of spurs and ridges at an elevation above the 2000 m. level, belongs to the continental climate. This gives Dagestan a unique appearance, so very different from that of the cen-
137 tral and northwestern Caucasus. The preponderant features of Dagestan are those of aridity and therefore a lack of higher vegetation, especially forests. Forests are absent in many regions of the Mediterranean and

137 Oriental world, not only because of natural conditions, but especially because of deforestation wrought by man throughout all historical periods down to the beginning of this century; this is particularly true of the South-European peninsulas, Anatolia, and Iran. Similarly, Dagestan, in the regions exposed to the dry southeast winds, is bare of the exuberant vegetation and forests which are so typical of the central and northwestern ranges. In Dagestan wide differences in vegetation are found between the sun-exposed and the sun-protected slopes of valleys or mountains, as is typical of most mountainous regions of Central Asia. This is mirrored even in the nomenclature, as for example the Küngöj-Ala-Tau ("Sunny side Ala-Tau ['Bluish Mountain'] ") and the Terskäj-Ala-Tau ("Shady side Ala-Tau"), the two main ranges of the central Tiän-shan, north and south respectively of the Issik-Kul. The sun-exposed slopes are often steppe-like, while only on the sun-protected side of a mountain is there higher vegetation.

## Cool and Cold Zones

132 137 Above the 1000 m. level, the temperatures begin to recede rapidly with increasing elevation, and the cooler climates begin. Up to 2000 m. we have a transitional, moderately cool climate with a preponderance of forest growth, mostly deciduous species of the European type such as beech, oak, hornbeam, etc., but without the evergreen brushwood and bushes found in the sub-tropical zones. Above

132 137 the 2000 m. limit the cold climate begins. Forests and higher vegetation disappear completely. It is the region of the sub-alpine and alpine meadows used by the people only as summer pastures since precipitation takes place for a great part of the year in the form of snow, and the snow cover lasts for a long period.

This area marks the transition to Arctic climate, which coincides with the extent of the region of permanent glaciation beyond the snow line between 3300 and 3800 m. altitude. Between the area of the alpine meadows and that of eternal snow, there is a region of lower vegetation, consisting for the most part of cryptogamic species, which may be likened to mountainous tundras.

## Exterior Aspect of the Various Zones

Thus the different climatic zones dominating the Caucasus give the sub-regions distinctive features sharply contrasting with each other. The northern slopes of the entire northwestern and central Caucasus are well-forested. The southeastern part, on the other hand, where Dagestan is located, is absolutely un-European and has the prevailing features of Anatolia, Iran, or Central Asia. The eastern portion of the southern slopes of the Great Caucasus resembles the alpine portion of the Riviera, but the western portion,

132 because of the great amount of precipitation
137 occurring in this area, is much richer in vegetation and increases the impression of subtropical conditions. The eastern portion of the southern declivity is in all respects more similar to the Riviera or the Lombardian slopes of the Alps, except for the absence of lakes. The opposite slopes of the Anti-Caucasus present essentially the same features - the sub-tropical portions of the Adjaro-Imeret'ian Mountains and, farther east, the northeastern boundary mountains of High Armenia, while the interior of High Armenia shares all typical features of the Anatolo-Iranian plains, of which it is the northeasternmost section. The peaks of High Armenia reach elevations as high as any in the Anatolo-Iranian system. The areas have the same latitudinal position. There is only one small area above the snow line; this is the volcanic massif of the Ararat. The Alagöz (Aragac) massif, on the other hand, is bare of snow during the summer. High Armenia differs from the rest of the Anatolo-Iranian plateaus by having a greater forested area, and thus more closely resembling the Great Caucasus in this respect.

## Snow Line: Glaciation

132 In the Great Caucasus, the snow boundary line starts in the northwest at a lower altitude than in the eastern part of the system. In general, the snow line, as in all alpine mountain systems, shows considerable variation due to the latitude, the exposure to sun and winds, the direction and force of the winds, the amount of precipitation, and the location of a given mountain or valley in relation to the main massif, etc. In the northwestern part of the Great Caucasus, the snow line starts at a level between 2900 and 3000 m. and steadily mounts, as the Caucasus stretches southeast, to a level between 3500 and 3600 m. Here, too, we must keep in mind that the snow line has been showing a tendency toward permanent recession during the past 50 years, as has been observed throughout the Eurasian continent. This gradual acclivity of the snow line from northwest to southeast is due only in part to the latitude (from lat. 44° N. to lat. 41° N.), the main reason being the greater amount of precipitation within the zone of the Black Sea-maritime climate all along the southern slopes of the main ranges, as mentioned above. An additional reason is the strong effect of the hot Caucasian summers coupled with a minimum of humidity in the air in the section east of the Meskhi-Surami range. For this reason, the snow line is dis-

132 proportionately higher along the southern slopes of the eastern portion of the Caucasus. Similarly, a considerably smaller amount of precipitation occurs on the northern slopes of the system, with the result that the snow line is higher all along that area, and this in spite of the fact that the sunrays hit the northern declivity at a much more oblique angle. There the snow line starts at an elevation of about 3300 to 3400 m. and ends at a level of 3900 to 4000 m. in Dagestan. (If we compare the elevation of the Caucasian snow line to that of the Pyrenees, we find the former to be 600 m. higher on the average, even though the Pyrenees are located on the same latitude as the Caucasus. The smaller continental portion of the Iberian Peninsula, in the immediate vicinity of the Atlantic Ocean, cannot absorb as much humidity as the plateaus of Asia-Minor and Iran, in the immediate vicinity of the Caucasus.) It is true that northeast winds carry a certain degree of humidity towards the Caucasus, but this humidity is discharged right in the foothills of the system. These circumstances account for a difference of about 400 m. between the northern and the southern snow lines. Proportionately higher still is the snow line in the Anti-Caucasus system, where it is found at an elevation of 4400 to 4500 m. on the northwestern, less steep slopes of the Great Ararat - due to the extremely dry climate and the high summer temperatures of the surrounding plateaus. A few

132 A few
*133 individual narrow, pointed ends of névés and glaciers reach far down into protected places for more than 1000 m. One mightly glacier descends in the north into the crevasse of St. James Valley to an elevation of about 2600 m. No other peaks of the various Anti-Caucasus systems, even that of the Alagoz, reach into the zone of Arctic climate, and it is therefore one of the distinctive features of the Anti-Caucasus that it is without glacier
132 formations. In early September 1950 while flying over the southern peaks of the range connecting the Anti-Caucasus with the Armenian Tauros and the Zagros between Lakes Urmia and Van, this writer found a minimum of snow even on such a massif as the Djilu-Dagh (4580 m.), while old snow on massifs of lesser elevation was preserved only in ravines and crevasses between spurs projecting in a northerly direction. Very similar was the aspect of the towering cone of Mt. Demavend (5604 m.) in the Alburz during the months of July and late August. However, since the flight was along its southern precipice only, at an altitude lower than the peak, the condition of its northern declivity could not be observed.

In the Great Caucasus the chains permanently covered with snow are those situated between Mts. Oshten and Fisht in the northwest, and Mt. Kazbek in the center, covering a distance of only 420 km., i.e., roughly one-third of the extent of the entire system. East

132 of Mt. Kazbek, only isolated snow-covered massifs are found; the southeasternmost is the Shah-Dagh and Bazar-düzü massif.

*133 There are proportionately fewer névés in the Caucasus than in the Alps, and moreover, the névés are less extensive and smaller in volume. This is the reason for the smaller number of glaciers in the Caucasus. The greatest homogeneous area of glaciation is that of the Elbrus massif, which is connected with that of the Adai-Khokh massif by an unbroken line of névés and glaciers. This part of the central ranges of the Caucasus, with its distribution of névés and glaciers, is well represented on a special map at the end of the second volume of Freshfield's work; all the names of peaks, passes (both with their elevations), and glaciers as well are given. (With regard to nomenclature, however, it is regrettable that the transcription used is not uniform, so that it is not possible to establish the correct form of a given name without knowing the language in question [which is often not sufficient, either, since we are dealing with proper names]; endless checking in other sources therefore becomes necessary.)

East of Mt. Elbrus is the névé and glacier system of the Ushba-Djailyk-Bashy-Tiktengen triangle, from which the northern rivers Baksan and Chegem, and the southern river Ingur, receive their source waters. Farther to the east is the smaller area

*133 between and around Mts. Koshtan-Tau, Dykh-Tau and Shkhara, from which the Bezengi-Cherek and Cherek stream down in the north, and the eastern source rivers of the Ingur in the south. In this area are found some of the largest glaciers of the Great Caucasus: the narrow Bezengi glacier, about 15 km. long, and the Dykh-Su glacier, located about 10 km. southeast of Mt. Dykh-Tau and slightly shorter than the Bezengi but more voluminous (according to the work edited by Professor Rikli of Switzerland, p. 3, 251, it has a length of 15 km, the Bezengi glacier being mentioned as the longest, with 20 km. - in that passage, Terek is erroneously given instead of Cherek!); 10 km. farther to the east, the Fytnargyn glacier, ca 10 km. long, descends northwards, like the Dykh-Su. From here on, the glaciation area thins out, and there is no coherence between the glaciers of the central ridges, those of the southern ridge with Mts. Pasis-Mt'a and Laboda, and those of the northern ridge with Mt. Sughan, from which latter the two mighty Sughan glaciers descend to the north. At the eastern end of this entire glaciation area, the massif of the Adai-Khokh and Kaltber is situated, a larger area of eternal ice and snow. From this massif several mighty glaciers descend northwards, such as the Karagom (or Kalchi-Don), 15 km. long, starting between the two northwestern peaks Burdjula-Khokh and Karagom-Khokh, and the

#133 Skatigom and Songuta glaciers, north of the Adai-Khokh peak; all these are the sources of the Urukh. South of the northeastern spur of the Adai-Khokh massif, the Tsei-Khokh ridge, the Tsei glacier descends between Adai-Khokh and Kaltber with three wonderful ice-falls in its central part. (It was about 11 km. long when this author visited it in August 1929; the Swiss work quoted above gives 12 km. as its extent.) The Tsei-Don is left (western) tributary of the Ardon. The Kassara Gorge interrupts the central Caucasus glacier area; the Tsmiakom-Khokh massif is rather poor in ice, and is separated from that of the Tsit'i-Khokh-Gimarai-Khokh-Kazbek massif. This massif has a glaciation area equal to that of the Adai-Khokh-Kaltber massif. However, the névés and glaciers are of considerably greater volume.

West of Mt. Gimarai-Khokh there extends, for about 8 km., the large and voluminous icy mass of the Midagravin glacier, to which Mt. Tsit'i-Khokh, or "glacier peak," probably owes its name; south of it the Suatisi glaciers are found; a little farther east is the Mnasi glacier. From the northwestern slopes descends the Genal glacier, after which follow eastward, all projecting from the same huge glaciation area, the Chach, Devdoraki, Gerget'i, and in the southeast, the Ortsveri glaciers. Of these, the Devdoraki is of particular interest because of its progress; the

*133 great majority of the glaciers of the Caucasus, as well as those of the Alps or Scandinavia, are slowly receding and diminishing. As stated above, the regression and diminution process of the glaciers, which was observed during the 19th century, has considerably increased during this century, along with a number of major meteorological and climatological changes. The Devdoraki, descending into the deep, narrow valley of the Amilishka River (on Freshfield's map given as Kadakhi; elsewhere as Kabachi, i.e., Kabakhi [Kabaxi]), joining the T'erek in the Darial Gorge, forms a huge natural barrier which retains a great volume of water. When it reaches a certain degree of pressure, the water breaks down the lower ice walls of the glacier in the Amilishka valley, producing a tremendous flood which carries water, ice, and rocky detritus down into the T'erek, thus blocking the gorge and damming up the T'erek until the river finally smashes all this mass of debris down the Darial Gorge; this is an inferno which can only be imagined, but which of course has not been witnessed by anyone who would have survived it. One of these periodic events--during the hundred years between 1776 and 1876 it occurred six times--has been vividly described as to its results by Julius Klaproth in his travel account on the Caucasus. During the proruption of the Devdoraki in 1832 the T'erek was dammed up for the length

*133 of 2 km. and the height of 100 m. The Devdoraki is the glacier which was and still is mostly used for the ascent to the summit of Mt. Kazbek. The névés and glaciers of the Kazbek-Gimarai-Khokh-Tsit'i-Khokh massif feed the T'erek and its upper tributaries.

East of the Kazbek massif we find only solitary glaciation islands on and around the massifs having an especially high elevation. These are the glaciation areas of the Tebulos-Mt'a massif, of the Komito and Diklos-Mt'a and the Addala-Shugkol. East of the latter, the Russian Atlases of 1954 do not indicate any glaciation areas, which is inaccurate, at least with respect to Mt. Bazar-düzü, 4480 m. and Mt. Shah-Dagh, 4250 m., a massif which reaches far beyond the snow line even in the southeastern part of the Caucasus system. However, Élysée Reclus, in his volume Asie Russe, page 74, refers to Russian geographical sources in mentioning the last glacier on the eastern portion of the Caucasus as a bifurcated ice stream descending from the slopes of Mt. Shah-Dagh; among modern sources, the article on Azerbaidjan in the Great Soviet Encyclopedia (vol. 1) speaks of this glacier as "a small area of glaciation in the Bazar-düzü-Shah-Dagh massif."

Some Caucasian glaciers descend into the forest zone, e.g., the Chalaat glacier east of the Ushba, and the southwesternmost tongue of the Leksur glacier, only 2-3 km.

*133 away from the Chalaat; both feed the Lavadash, one of the eastern source rivers of the Ingur. The glacier descending farthest is the Karagom in the Adai-Khokh massif, with its end amidst the coniferous forests of the valley. Élysée Reclus, referring to Abich, 1876, gives the lower limit of the Tsei glacier as 2004 m., and that of the Karagom as 1739 m.; the Guidebook on the Soviet Union (edited by Rado, Berlin, 1928, p. 492) gives 2000 m. for the latter, which figures seem to have been confused with that of the Tsei (cf. below). But the average elevation of the terminations of the Caucasian glaciers is between 2400 m. on the northern slopes and 2500 m. on the southern, much higher than the average glacier limit in the Alps, where it drops to 1400-1300 m. --the lowest glaciers reaching down to 1000 m. (whereas they reach in Norway to 200-100 m. and in Greenland to 0 m., i.e., to the sea).

In contrast to the snow line, the termination point of the glaciers is lower on the northern slope than on the southern. This is due to the stronger insolation and sharper declivity of the south, as compared to the smoother declivity of the northern slopes. Moraines, traces of moraines, and erratic blocks in and along the northern foothills of the Caucasus give evidence of considerably longer ice streams in the Caucasus in earlier epochs. In general, the movement of the Caucasian glaciers is slower than that observed in the

*133 Alps; the famous Devdoraki, northeast of Mt. Kazbek, moved 10 cm. per day in the 1870s. (For the same period the Mer de Glace in the Mt. Blanc massif moved 30 cm. per day; the giant Fedchenko glacier, in the northwestern Pamir system [length: 77 km.; width 2-5 km.; thickness 550 m.; starts at 5330 and ends at 2904 m.], 27 cm. per day, or 100 m. per year.) But the speed of the movement of a glacier depends chiefly on local conditions, so that it is impossible to declare a general speed to be typical of the Alps, Caucasus, or Central Asia; the Semënov glacier, for instance, moves three times as fast as the Fedchenko, i.e., one meter per day (365 m. per annum).

The most reliable figures on the elevation of the lower terminations of the glaciers, based upon the Russian one-versta maps (the best available) seems to have been found in Freshfield's work (op. cit., II, appendix D, pp. 284 ff.), for which I adduce those of some of the glaciers mentioned in the preceding, in spite of the fact that they date from the 1890s.

For the glaciers of the eastern massifs, Élysée Reclus gives 2659 m. for Mt. Addala-Shugkol (Boghos massif), and 3163 m. for Mt. Shah-Dagh.

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*133

| Glacier | Feet | Meters | Side (of crest-line) |
|---|---|---|---|
| Chalaat | 5180 | 1580 | south |
| Leksur | 5691 | 1736 | south |
| Bezingi | 6538 | 1994 | north |
| Dykh-Su | 6650 | 2028 | north |
| Fytnargyn | 7100 | 2165 | north |
| Shkhara glacier | 7833 | 2389 | south |
| Sughan* | 8330 | 2541 | north |
| Karagom | 5700 | 1798.5 | north |
| Skatik'om | 9832 | 2999 | north |
| Songuta | 6985 | 2130 | north |
| Tsei | 6735 | 2054 | north |
| Midagravin | 7700 | 2349 | north |
| Genal | 7644 | 2431 | north |
| Chach | 9579 | 2922 | north |
| Devdoraki | 7532 | 2297 | north |
| Ortsveri | 9520 | 2923 | south |
| Svatisi | 8610 | 2626 | south |

Minimal humidity of the air and very high temperatures in summer, and in general during the day, cause a strong ablation (melting off) of the glaciers; therefore, glaciation is insignificant in the entire eastern part of the Caucasus, which is within the continental climate zone, or at least under its preponderant influence. But in addition there is

* This is one of "at least six large nameless and unmeasured glaciers in this group" (Freshfield, op. cit.).

*133 another element leading to the ablation of glaciers, namely, the change in climate typical of the entire northern hemisphere observable during the past thirty to fifty years. Thus it is probable that the differences in figures cited above from various sources with regard to measurements made at different periods for elevations of the termination points of the Caucasian glaciers are actually due to the recession of the glaciers, and only in a few cases to error. Thus, Karagom, listed at 1739 m. by Reclus and 1798.5 m. by Freshfield; Tsei at 2004 by Reclus and 2054 by Freshfield, would be correct; on the other hand, Reclus' figure of 2130 for the Bezingi, as opposed to Freshfield's 1994 m. for that glacier, indicates an error (probably on the part of Reclus' or Freshfield's sources). A general melting-off tendency, although a less speedy one, has been observed during the past century: one of the Baksan glaciers (probably the Azau) in the south of the Elbrus massif, retreated during the years 1849-1873 from a height of 2240 m. to 2325 m.

Traces of ancient (Pleistocene) glaciation in the shape of terminations of ancient moraines, erratic blocks, etc., are to be found all over the area immediately adjacent to the northern foothills of the Caucasus, but, as has been said above, they are rare in comparison to identical parts along the northern and northwestern front of the Alps, where they can be found at considerable distances from the foothills of the system.

## CLIMATOLOGICAL CHART

| Place and Clime-Zone | Position (Lat. N. Long. E.) | Elevation in m. | Average Temperature (centigrade) Jan. | July | Annual | Precipitation (annual) in cm. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Novorossiysk (maritime) | 44°40' N 37°45' E | 4 | +1° | +24° | 13.4° | 76.2 |
| P'ot'i (maritime) | 42°40' N 41°40' E | 6 | +3.7° | +23° | 14.7° | 176.0 |
| K'ut'aisi (maritime) | 42°15' N 42°45' E | 147 | +2.8° | +24° | 14.8° | 240.0 |
| Vladikavkaz (N. Caucasian-Continental) | 43° 2' N 44°45' E | 678[1] | -5.7° | +19° | 9.0° | 92.0 |

1 Rad6: 747; Rikli: 715. The discrepancy in figures here, as in the cases indicated below, seems to stem from thechoice of different points as bases for measurement.

Climatological Chart.....continued

| Place | Position (Lat. N. Long. E.) | Elevation in m. | Average Temperature (centigrade) Jan. | July | Annual | Precipitation (annual) in cm. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Pyatigorsk (N. Caucasian-Continental) | 44° 2' N 43° 4' E | 516 [2] | -4.9° | +22° | 9.4° | 54.8 |
| Stavropol' (N. Caucasian-Continental) | 45° 2' N 42° E | 590 [3] | -4.4° | +20° | 8.6° | 67.7 |
| Makhach-Kala (N. Caucasian-Continental/Caspian) | 40° N 47°30' E | 32 | -1.3° | +24.6° | 11.7° | 45.8 |

2 Radó: 510. 3 Radó: 610.

Climatological Chart.....continued

| Place | Position (Lat. N. Long. E.) | Elevation in m. | Average Temperature (centigrade) Jan. | July | Annual | Precipitation (annual) in cm. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Tiflis I (Trans-Caucasian Continental) | 41°45' N 44°47' E | 458 [4] | -1.0° | +22° | 12.7° | 47.1 |
| Tiflis II [5] (Trans-Caucasian Continental) | | 409 | +0.1° | +24.2° | 12.6° | 49.6 |
| Baku I (Trans-Caucasian Continental) | 40°25' N 49°50' E | 18 | +2.4° [6] | 24.4° [6] | 15.3° [6] | 23.8 |

4 This is Stieler's figure. Map of 1916 indicates 658.

5 According to B. P. Alisov, et. al. "Kurs Klimatologii," III, pp. 46 ff; Leningrad, 1954.

6 Maximal and minimal temperatures taken at Cape Bailov, -8.24 m.

Climatological Chart.....continued

| Place | Position (Lat. N. Long. E.) | Elevation in m. | Average Temperature (centigrade) Jan. | July | Annual | Precipitation (annual) in cm. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Baku II [5] (Trans-Caucasian Continental) | 40°21' N 49°51' E | -13 | +3.4° | 25.2° | 13.9° | 20.8 |
| Kirovabad (Gandja) (Trans-Caucasian Continental) | 40°40' N 46°20' E | 442 [7] | ? | ? | 12.9° | 20.9 |
| Aralyq (near Ararat) (Trans-Caucasian Continental) | 39°53'N 44°30'E | 833 | ? | ? | 11.4° | 15.2 |

[7] Stieler: 458; Russian Geological Map of 1929: 368 m. at the station of Kirovabad (Gandja).

Climatological Chart.....continued

| | Position (Lat. N. Long. E.) | Elevation in m. | Average Temperature (centigrade) Jan. | July | Annual | Precipitation (annual) in cm. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Nor-Bayazet[5] (Trans-Caucasian Continental) | 40°20' N 45° 7' E | 1965 | - 7.8° | 16.7° | 5.0° | 45.3[5] |
| Shusha (Trans-Caucasian Continental) | 39°45' N 46°45' E | 1122 | ? | ? | 8.0° | 52.8 |
| Leninakan (Trans-Caucasian Continental) | 40°48' N 43°50' E | 1469[8] | -10.7°[5] | 18.6°[5] | 5.5°[5] | 42.7[5] |
| Abast'umani (Trans-Caucasian Continental) | 41°45' N 42°50' E | 1300[9] | - 4.6° | 18.1° | 6.5° | 61.8 |

Climatological Chart footnotes.....continued

8 Stieler: 1548; Map of 1916: 1300; Geological Map of 1929: 1534.

9 Great Soviet Encyclopedia; Radó: 1150; Stieler: 1345.

10 If not otherwise stated, figures are according to É. Reclus (op. cit., p. 73, no. 2), Freshfield, and Rikli.

## GEOLOGY

*133 By approaching the Great Caucasus from the northern plains and proceeding southward towards the central main chains, one sees the different geological layers of the system appear in an almost perfect chronological [137] order. One sees the foothills of the Cenozoic period covered with rich forest growth, behind which the different chains of Cretaceous and Jurassic formations rise; the anterior and lower ones still forested with deciduous species in the lower parts and coniferous ones in the higher--the highest, inner ones being covered, in their higher regions, by alpine meadows and therefore bare of higher vegetation. These exhibit the outward appearance typical of such formations of the Mesozoic, often flat on one side and rather precipitous on the other, with straight, abrupt, rocky slopes, light grey and white in color, typical of the Jura mountain forms. At some distance farther to the rear, the main ranges are seen towering above the Jurassic formations, and almost all of these peaks are covered with eternal snow and ice, strengthening the impression of color contrast with the dark, often blue-black, crystallinic rocks, of which the main chains chiefly consist. The closer one approaches to the mountains, the more he loses the large perspective; the Jurassic chains cover the view of the crystallinic, ice-clad central

*133 ranges, and for a long stretch only the Jurassic groups will remain visible above the forests of the cretaceous foothills.

On the southern slopes, the view differs, although the sequence of ranges there, at least in the western section, i.e., west of the Meskhi-Surami mountains, is exactly the same as described for the northern slopes. But the declivity is much steeper and therefore the sequence is much more immediate than in the north, often interrupted and sudden, without regular transition. East of Tiflis, the change is rather sharp, since Cretaceous formations are missing for the greatest portion of the system, and the vegetation features differ quite considerably from those of the northern slopes. As a result, one receives an impression of difference rather than of similarity.

## Algonquan, Pre-Cambrian Formations
## Paleozoic

The main chains of the Great Caucasus consist of pre-Cambrian, highly metamorphic and crystallinic schists, along with early intrusive gneiss, granite, syenite, and quartz-diorite rocks. These formations are clearly exhibited along the main chains between the mountains of the source system of the Belaia and Laba, approximately from the long. 40° E. (slightly east of Mt. Fisht) on to the Adai-

*133 Khokh massif. These archaic metamorphic and crystallinic schists, often superseded by the intrusive formations (gneiss, granite, etc.), extend over this length in an almost unbroken line. In its center, the giant extinct volcano of Mt. Elbrus is superimposed upon the chain, representing a point of perforation through which, during two periods of activity, at the end of the Tertiary and/or beginning of the Quaternary period, huge masses of basalt and trachyte-lava seem to have been ejected and to have accumulated above the crystallinic base. There are still other points of perforation, one of them being that of Mt. Kazbek, with its beautiful dome consisting of an accumulation of ejected andesite lava superimposed upon the foundation of Paleozoic schists and slates, which show strong intrusions of granite, diabases, and porphyrites. In the area of Mt. Elbrus, the archaic pre-Cambrian and crystallinic formations have the greatest width, and show a far-flung protrusion to the north, which points to the Stavropol' plateau. It is in this region that the archaic pre-Cambrian basis of this part of the continent, rising towards the south where it forms the foundation of the Armenian plateau and inclining towards the north, underlies the central part of the Caucasus as well as the Stavropol' plateau.

The foundation of the Meskhi-Surami mountains is the basic connection between the

*133 Armenian plateau, the Caucasus, and the Stavropol' plateau. The granite, syenite, and quartz-diorites of the mountains are found in the portion between the Kvirila and upper Kura valleys. In their upper, northern part, the mountains are covered by Jurassic formations.

The portion between Mt. Elbrus and the Adai-Khokh massif of the central chain with its high elevation and steep, narrow ranges, exhibits the effects of long-lasting, extremely intensive and violent folding processes, with many features of contortion and probable overthrust.

X

## Mesozoic

### Jurassic

About 10 km. east of the Kassara Gorge, the archaic formations of the main chains subside, and are superseded by Jurassic formations. The main chains, as well as the higher southern portions of the spurs projecting, are Lower Jurassic formations (lias); these fan out towards the southeast in southern Dagestan between lat. 41° 15' N. and lat. 42° 25' N., and long. 47° E. and long. 48° E. At both flanks these Lower Jurassic formations are followed in symmetrical sequence, however varied with regard to width, by Middle Jurassic formations. These formations in the south and east, as in the north, are almost twice as wide and again are framed in by a narrow strip of Upper Jurassic

*133 formation; in the east, this is interrupted and represented in insular form in Mt. Shalbuz-Dagh (4152 m.), about 15 km. north of Mt. Bazar-düzü, which latter belongs to the Lower Jurassic formations. In the south, the Upper Jura formation is very narrow but increases in width between long. 45° and 46° E.; south of the Adai-Khokh massif, Middle Jurassic recedes completely in favor of Upper Jurassic formations, protruding westwards as far as the vicinity of Mt. Ushba, about 35 km. south of Mt. Elbrus. In the east, where they accompany the central and western portion of the main chain, the Lower Jurassic formations remain a dominant feature; except that in the central portion, especially around Mt. Elbrus, they exhibit sharp curves and numerous interruptions chiefly due, apparently, to river erosion. From the sources of the Chegem on, between the crystallinic formations of the main chain and those of the Mesozoic, a strong formation of metamorphic schists, probably of the Lower Paleozoic, follows parallel to the archaic formations almost up to long. 40° E. These metamorphic schists attain their greatest width in the upper reaches of the Laba. The are interspersed, i.e., superseded, in certain areas by Carboniferous formations, mostly those of Middle Carboniferous from the northwest slopes of Mt. Elbrus to the source rivers of the Little Zelenchuk; there is a larger area of Upper Carboniferous in the Urup and Laba source systems. To the west, between the

*133 sources of the Laba and those of the Belaia, a disturbed area is found, the only one in the Caucasus in which Triassic formations of some though rather limited, size occur. The majority of these formations are Lower Triassic.

South of the Elbrus massif, the lower Jurassic formations are interrupted by the westernmost portion of the Upper Jurassic strip; and farther to the west, parallel to it, by a protrusion of Lower Carboniferous, extending from the eastern and central part of the Svanet'ian range up to the southernmost of the archaic formations south of the Klukhor Pass. In this area are the Lower Jurassic formations of the greatest width in the entire central and western Caucasus, although they do not attain the same size as those of the entire eastern part of the system. Near the intersection of long. 40° E. and lat. 45° N., the Lower Jurassic formations subside in favor of a larger, triangular, Upper Jurassic area, the southernmost point of which is Mt. Fisht; only in the upper valley of the Pshekha do Lower Jurassic formations reappear, for a short distance of about 25 km.

## Cretaceous

The Jurassic formations are in turn framed in by those of the end of the Mesozoic area, the Cretaceous or chalk formations. They are particularly strong in the western half of

*133 the system. From the Upper Jurassic triangle, with Mt. Fisht in its extreme south, up to long. 38° E., Lower Cretaceous formations dominate the main chain; these are flanked in the south by Upper Cretaceous formations which descend into the Black Sea. These latter extend to long. 37° 20' E. - about 40 km. west of Novorossiysk. While along the south Caucasian slopes the Cretaceous formations are often interrupted and disturbed, in the north outside of the Upper Jurassic formations, they follow in a steady, roughly parallel line, increasing in width toward the east. North of the Elbrus massif, the Lower Cretaceous spreads considerably. The Upper Cretaceous formation does not exhibit the same tendency. East of the Elbrus massif, along the central portion of the system, the Cretaceous formation becomes narrower; the Upper Cretaceous even disappears completely, due to erosion, at places where rivers break through into the plains. Only east of the T'erek valley does the Cretaceous formation become stronger, and spreads considerably in Central Dagestan and the Koisu river system. The lower northern and northeastern portions of the spurs projecting northeastwards from the main chain consist of Upper Cretaceous rock, while the higher portions exhibit in the main Lower Cretaceous formations, with occasional islands of Jurassic, even of Lower Jurassic rock. This predominance of features of the Mesozoic era

*133 gives Dagestan, and the eastern Caucasus in general, its particular appearance, so distinct from the central portions of the system.

In the south of the main ranges, Cretaceous formations diminish considerably along the eastern portion; between Nukha and Zakatali they are narrower and often interrupted. West of Zakatali, in a large area extending for about 35 km., they are completely absent, so that early Quaternary deposits are immediately bordering on Upper Jurassic foothills. Sometimes, as near Zakatali, they even lie immediately adjacent to Middle Jurassic formations.

The Cretaceous formations begin to show again around long. 46° E., increasing in width as they extend westward, and are interrupted again around long. 44° E., on the eastern slopes of the Meskhi-Surami range, which in this section is covered by Lower Tuffogeneous series. West of the range, the Cretaceous formations are again present, but the Lower Tuffogeneous series just mentioned is inserted between them and the Lower Jurassic formations; the latter are contained in a rather large strip westward, parallel to the Lower Jurassic, crystallinic, and archaic formations up to lat. 45° N. and long. 39° 40' E., about 12 km. west of Mt. Fisht. The Jurassic and Tuffogeneous-Jurassic formations are followed to the west by the Cretaceous, which increases in width towards the north-

*133 west in direct proportion to the decrease in the Jurassic. Disturbances are found west of the Meskhi-Surami mountains, where the Lower Cretaceous formations are split by a large area of Middle Tuffogeneous-Jurassic formations; this is roughly in a triangle between K'ut'aisi, Tkvibuli, and Tsageri, in the middle Rioni and Tskhenis-Tskhali valleys. The south of this triangle is characterized by at least a half-dozen areas with diabase and porphyrite rocks. North of this triangle, beyond a narrow strip of Upper Jurassic, first follows Lower, then Upper Cretaceous, just as if this Tuffogeneous-Jurassic triangle were a miniature alpine system of its own; and farther to the north, in the upper Rioni valley, in Svanet'ia, and in a short section of the upper Tskhenis-Tskhali valley near and south of Tsageri, smaller Oligocene formations and somewhat stronger Miocene formations are encountered. In this entire area the Mesozoic series shows numerous caves and funnels. Along the northern fringes of these recent formations runs a narrow strip of Lower Cretaceous, which borders on a branch of the Middle Tuffogeneous-Jurassic, separated from a northern branch by a larger strip of Lower Jurassic formations. On its farther extent, to the northwest, the Cretaceous strata bend repeatedly before they closely approach the Black Sea coast near Sukhumi, or reach it on long. 40°20' E., near Gagry. There they

*133 are repeatedly interspersed with Jurassic and even Oligocene formations, the latter north and northeast of Sukhumi, near Tsebelda. West of the Upper Jurassic triangle, with Mt. Fisht in the southern corner, the two Cretaceous festoons, from the northern and southern slopes of the Caucasus, unite and continue northwest as described.

## Intrusive Formations

All through the lower Jurassic formation, generally along the crest line in the upper reaches of the main chain of the system, smaller, isolated areas of rocks consisting of diabase and porphyrite are noticeable. In certain instances some of the higher peaks exhibit these diabase and porphyrite rocks. In the eastern Caucasus they are found along the watershed between the upper Samur and the upper Avar Koisu on one side, and the tributaries of the Alazani on the other. Further to the northwest there are a few such areas east and southeast of the Kazbek Massif, the southernmost of them being found partly within the zone of the Middle Jurassic; one of these extends from the Kazbek Massif westward along the crest-line towards Tepli-Khokh. In the eastern part, the diabase and porphyrite rocks are covered by the lava of Mt. Kazbek; Mt. Gimarai-Khokh belongs to this narrow strip which is interrupted in the Tepli-Tsmiakom-

*133 Khokh Massif, but continues westward within the Lower Jurassic zone, and disappears 7 km. south-southeast of Mt. Adai-Khokh, about 1 km. to the west of the Mamyson Pass. Some minor areas are found in the Lower Jurassic zone on the upper Cherek. The other ones occur 40 and 45 km. north-northwest of the Elbrus peak, and a larger one around the confluence of the Kuban and Teberda, about 60 km. from the Elbrus peak to the northwest. Farther northwest some smaller formations of this kind are found within the Lower Jurassic system of the watershed area between Belaia, Laba, and Mzymta; one is found to the south of this area in an Upper Jurassic zone, 20 km. due north of Gagry.

Similar occurrences will be mentioned further on with regard to the Zangezur range in the Anti-Caucasus.

## Cenozoic
## Earlier Tertiary

The earlier phases of the Cenozoic are represented by the different Tertiary formations; those running immediately parallel to the Upper Cretaceous are different layers of Paleogene, whose temporal sequence is:Paleocene, Eocene, and Oligocene (Earlier Tertiary), followed by Miocene and Pliocene (Later Tertiary). Along the northern slopes of the Great Caucasus, the picture is rather regular: in front of and parallel to the Upper Cretaceous formations, the older Lower Paleogenic ones are found, generally those of Paleocene and Eocene. In the northwest, towards the end of

*/33 the entire system, between Novorossiysk and Anapa, these strata cover a relatively large area; but with the increase in elevation of the mountain system, they constitute rather narrow strips which grow wider from the Belaia and Laba valleys. North and north-northeast of the Elbrus massif, they protrude northeastward in a huge triangle, interspersed in the Besh-Tau mountains north and northwest of Pyatigorsk, with a number of trachyte and liparite cones.* From there, a large Oligocene area extends far to the north and northwest, reaching to a few minutes north of lat. 45° N. west of the city of Stavropol'. The area of the Pliocene and Eocene thins out considerably towards the Baksan valley, in which region it is repeatedly interrupted, like the Upper Cretaceous formation, by volcanic tuffs. Therefore, in the Baksan, Chegem, Cherek and Urukh valleys at the foot of the mountains, due to glacier and river activity, early Quarternary deposits are found in the zones of the volcanic tuffs, or even the Lower Cretaceous formations. This is seen equally well along the T'erek and its closer upper tributaries. In the valley of the Lagz-don, which is the western source river of the Gizel-don at the foot of Gimarai-Khokh, the Quaternary deposits begin right in the zone of the Upper Jurassic

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* The so-called lakkoliths which are the intrusive rock formations of this area.

*133 formation. Farther east and southeast, the early Tertiary formations are rather narrow, but almost undisturbed. They disappear completely about long. 48° 10' E. and lat. 41° 50' N. in eastern Dagestan, where they are replaced or superseded respectively by a wide strip of Pliocene formations. Early Tertiary formations appear again at the southeastern extremity of the Caucasus south of the watershed in relatively large strips, from an area about 15 km. west of the city of Shemakha towards the northwestern vicinity of the city of Baku. These formations again recede from the Shemakha area westward to Upper Kakhet'ia, between the upper Alazani and Iora, which flow south along the reappearing Cretaceous formations. From the Iora valley on, due east of Tiflis, in a southwesterly and generally westerly direction, a wide area of Early Tertiary formations extends south along the Kura and Rioni rivers, reaching to within a few kilometers of the Black Sea coast. West of the Meskhi-Surami range, the formations are preponderantly Paleocene and Eocene. North of the Kura, the Early Tertiary formations follow the Cretaceous up to the Middle Jurassic Tuffogeneous series of the Meskhi-Surami mountains, undergoing from there on westward more violent disturbances than the Cretaceous, and found in narrow, contorted strips or isolated occurrences only. This continues northwestward along the Caucasian system. There

*133 is one large Paleocene and Eocene island-like area round the cities of Sochi and Adler on the Black Sea coast.

## Later Tertiary

To follow up the Later Tertiary formations, we must leave the mountainous zone proper and go further and further into the adjacent plains. The Oligocene formations which follow along those of Paleocene and Eocene origin are in turn followed, first by those of the Miocene, then by those of the Pliocene period. In the extreme northwestern part of the Caucasus, these two formations appear in very narrow strips only: they widen a little in the region of the Belaia river. The Pliocene subsides completely east of the river Pshish. East of the Belaia, the Miocene recedes again but becomes rather large between the rivers Laba and Urup, so that east of the Urup it extends up to lat. 45° N. There it is first interrupted by a large Oligocene strip extending to the southeast; and, beyond it, the Miocene strata cover the entire central, northern, and northeastern portion of the Stavropol' plateau, where they are characterized by maritime deposits. On the northwestern fringes of the Stavropol' plateau, there is a small area of Pliocene; but on the northeastern fringe, towards the Manych, and the eastern, towards the central course of the Kuma, larger areas of Pliocene are found. Northeast of Mt. Besh-Tau near Mineral'nye Vody ("mineral waters") the Miocene recedes completely in favor of

#133 the older Oligocene and the more recent Pliocene; it reappears, however, in a very narrow strip east of the volcanic tuffs situated east of the Chegem valley, while the Pliocene is represented by a mightier formation. Like the older formations inside the Cretaceous, both these formations are repeatedly interrupted by glacier and river erosion. In the Vladikavkaz "Bay", with the central T'erek and the Sundja and their numerous tributaries, the two Later Tertiary formations have been superseded by vast Early Quaternary deposits; so that north, northeast, and east of Vladikavkaz, they appear in three parallel, consecutive rows, each row being separated from the next by a strip of Quaternary deposits. The northernmost of these is along the central course of the T'erek, while the southernmost is found along the Sundja. The intermediary row is that of the riverless Alkham-Yurt valley, situated between two flat, anticlinal, hilly ranges consisting of Late Tertiary formations. East of the tributaries of the Sundja, the rows unite again and are mightier than the Earlier Tertiary formations; these often alternate with each other. In southeastern Dagestan and the Kusari-Kuba subsidence, Miocene recedes entirely in favor of Pliocene, which extends to the Aty-Chai valley near lat. 41° N. Here the Cretaceous formations approach the Caspain shore, leaving only a small strip of about 3 to 15 km. in width of late Quaternary deposits along the

*133 coast. They reappear south of the main crest-line; from the Apsheron Peninsula westward, the Pliocene is again very large, protruding in a huge triangle from Baku to lat. 40° N., and receding towards Shemakha. While the greatest portion of the lower Trans-Caucasian valley consists of Quaternary deposits, the Pliocene zone extends in a large strip far to the northwest, approaching to within about 15 km. of the Meskhi-Surami mountains. This strip covers most of the portions of the Trans-Caucasian valley situated at an elevation between 250 and 1700 m. above sea level. The central and lower parts of the valleys of the Kura, Iora, Alazani, Aghry-Chai, and Araxes rivers are characterized by Quaternary deposits. In the entire Alazani valley (along with that of the Aghry-Chai) and on the southern banks of the Kura valley, the zone of the Quaternary deposits touches immediately upon that of Cretaceous and earlier formations. A larger area of Miocene is found in the Kara-Yazy steppe, southeast of Tiflis. In the vicinity of the Meskhi-Surami range, the Late Tertiary formations are also disturbed. There is a small strip of Miocene in the southeast, south, and west around the system; further west it is again interrupted, reappearing in a wider strip in northern Colchis, and extending towards the lower Ingur valley. Northwest of this the Pliocene is represented by a larger strip ending very near the city of Sukhumi.

*133 From there on northwestwards, there is only one area along the Black Sea coast, 30 to 50 km. west of Sukhumi, and between the towns of Gudaut'y and Kaldakhvara, which exhibits Late Tertiary formations with a preponderance of Pliocene; afterwards, the formations disappear as they approach the northwestern extremity of the Caucasus, the Taman Peninsula.

## Quaternary

Surrounding these formations are the Quaternary deposits: Beyond the usual two layers, Early and Late Quaternary, a third one is found, that of the Caspian deposits.

On the Stavropol' plateau Tertiary formations extend far northward; however, all the plains are characterized by Quaternary deposits. As was the rule for all the preceding formations, the earlier Quaternary deposits cover the higher parts of the plains, i.e., those closer to the mountain system, and follow along the Pliocene formation; while the later Quaternary deposits are found in the lower parts of the plains, and in the area immediately contingent on the sea coast.

The Caspian deposits are to be dated between the era of the Pliocene and the Quaternary, when the level of the Caspian was considerably higher than it is today, and the isthmus between the basins of the Black Sea and the Caspian was still covered with water.

*133 At the same time, the continental mass of the area was situated at a lower level than it is now. The marks of several sea levels of quite different periods are clearly recognizable in various places along the Black Sea and Caspian coasts. Thus, we have a region of Caspian deposits extending from the southern portion of the Manych Depression at long. 41° 50' E. down southeast to the Kuma estuary but not reaching it, since along the Caspian coast a strip of late Quaternary (alluvial) deposits varying in width from 40 to 100 km. extends from north to south. The area of Caspian deposits is interrupted by the Kuma, and south of this river it extends to an arid area about 130 km. wide, the southern portion of which is an ordinary sand-dune desert. This area reaches to the banks of the T'erek, where it is interrupted. East of the T'erek it thins out considerably towards the Sulak and the coast, which it follows in a narrow strip to a point about 6 km. north of the city of Derbent (Därbänd). Farther to the south, there are only two more areas of Caspian deposits, both rather small: most of the central and eastern portion of the Apsheron Peninsula, and a small area on lat. 40° N., between the lower reaches of the Pirsagat River and Lake Adjykabul, east of the point where the lower Kura turns in a southerly direction around a Pliocene island represented by Mt. Kalmaz (or Bolshoi-Mishov, 296 m.).

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## GEOLOGICAL HISTORY

*133 Like the Alps, the Tian-shan, and some of the great marginal mountain chains along the fringes of the Central Asiatic plateau system, the Caucasus rose to its present elevation and shape during the interval between the Eocene and Miocene, after the initial thrusts had taken place during the Cretaceous period, at the end of the Mesozoic era. This is the time when the Caucasus emerged from the Tethys, the great Tertiary Sea. After a period of quiescence, the second period of major movements of the crust of the earth set in, probably taking place during most of the Pliocene epoch. Together with the folding process (or at least at a time geologically not too far distant), at the end of the Tertiary and the beginning of the Quaternary period, volcanic activity of tremendous power took place, bringing about ejections of lava and Tuffogeneous series in different parts of the Great Caucasus, as well as all over the central and southern portions of the Anti-Caucasus. At this period arose the lofty volcanic cones of Elbrus and Kazbek, consisting of andesite lava accumulated above the Paleozoic schists and crystallinic massifs. During the various epochs of the Tertiary foldings, undoubtedly, fissures occurred at these points in the lower (archaic and plastic) layers of the crust of the earth through which fluid, or at least plastic, material could be squeezed

*133 out to the surface. Besides these two huge volcanoes, there was another area of volcanic activity immediately south and southeast of Mt. Kazbek, the greatest portion of which is situated west of the Pass of the Holy Cross: this is the Keli plateau, with Lake Keli, in the source area of the K'sani and the Liakhvi rivers. Just as there are a few islands of Tertiary lava northwest and east of the Elbrus massif, so there are four such areas southwest of the Kazbek and Keli area, on the middle and upper course of the Liakhvi, in the South Oset'ian Autonomous District. A fourth area of lava ejection, larger than either that of Mt. Elbrus or Mt. Kazbek, is found in the Cretaceous ranges in the southeastern part of the Caucasus, along the southern slopes of the southern chain, south of Mt. Baba-Dagh. The eruptive activity of the Great Caucasus volcanoes took place both before and after the glacial period. The fluid and plastic masses of andesite lava streamed down in all directions, often far below the snow-line and covered in many places the Paleozoic schists as well as the ice moraines. The Tuffogeneous series extending from the northern portion of the Meskhi-Surami range all along the main chains into the immediate neighborhood of Mt. Fisht points to a certain volcanic activity during the middle of the Mesozoic era.

The occurrence of vulcanism is the most essential feature distinguishing the Caucasus from the Alps and the Pyrenees. This is

*133 an important point of relationship to its counterpart in the south, the Anti-Caucasus, from which it otherwise differs so essentially.

## THE ANTI-CAUCASUS

The most striking features of the northeastern portion of the Anatolo-Iranian plateau system are volcanic ones: the preponderance of lavas and Tuffogeneous series from the Jurassic as well as the Tertiary epochs.

### Archaic; Pre-Cambrian

Archaic and pre-Cambrian strata appear nowhere. However, there are a few areas exhibiting gneiss, granite, syenite, and similar intrusive series, the largest of them being constituted by the Zangezur range; similar ones occur north along the Shah-Dagh and Murov-Dagh ranges, within otherwise Jurassic formations.

### Paleozoic

As for Paleozoic formations, there appear only Devonian and Carboniferous ones in Central Armenia, or rather in the Nakhichevan autonomous district east of the Araxes River. The Devonian ones are between the rivers Vedi-Chai and Arpa-Chai, and west of Mt. Top-Dagh the Carboniferous are east of the Arpa-Chai, and extend in a line which gradually thins out towards the river Djaghry-Chai, in an area showing evidence of periods of disturbance in the north and east.

*133 Farther south, at a point immediately west of the city of Djulfa where the Araxes crosses the lat. 39° N. for the first time, very insignificant strips of Silurian, Carboniferous, and Permian formations occur in closest proximity to Triassic, Jurassic, and Cretaceous formations, which otherwise never appear in the Great Caucasus or the Anti-Caucasus.

## Mesozoic

Of the Mesozoic era, Triassic formations appear near Djulfa, along with the abovementioned rare series of the Paleozoic; and in a few larger, isolated areas, east of the Devonian and Carboniferous situated east of the Arpa-Chai. With the exception of two larger and some isolated Cretaceous areas, all the rest of the territory consists of Tuffogeneous series, basalt, and andesite lavas. The Tuffogeneous ones data from two different periods: they are Lower and Middle Jurassic-Tuffogeneous; the later ones date from the Tertiary epoch, while the lava masses were probably ejected at the two subsequent periods of violent volcanic activity described above in connection with the formation of the great volcanoes of the Caucasus. A large strip of Lower Jurassic-Tuffogeneous series extends along the central range of the Sevan mountains, from Mt. Shah-Dagh in the northwest, across Mt. Gämish in the southeast, down into the subsidence of the

*133 Terter valley and beyond, towards the lat. 40° N. Here it interrupts a strip of Middle Jurassic-Tuffogeneous formation running roughly parallel to it farther north and northwest, and continues south of the lat. 40° N. through Central Karabakh, towards and beyond the Araxes valley. Two more areas of Lower Jurassic-Tuffogeneous series are found in the northeastern spurs of the Sevan range, east of the Djegam River, and a small one along the Shamkhor River. These areas are situated in a strip of Middle Tuffogeneous series, about 50 km. wide on the average, which extends in a southeasterly direction from the Mashavera River, and forms the eastern border of the vast volcanic lava and basalt area with Lake Toporovan (Paravani) in its center; they become narrower towards Gämish and Murov-Dagh, and continue south of the lat. 40° N. in the aforementioned strip in Central Karabakh, and in a parallel strip which runs along the southeastern foothills between the rivers Karkara-Su and Araxes. In the same general direction, from northwest to southeast, the third Middle Jurassic-Tuffogeneous area is found; it is located in the extreme south of Soviet Trans-Caucasia, and runs parallel to the ancient intrusive crystallinic formations of the Zangezur range. This area is separated from the eastern, main strip by a smaller area of Upper Jurassic in the extreme south of Armenia, by a larger area of Tertiary-Tuffogeneous, and a rather extensive strip of Upper Cretaceous. Thus, in the

*133 southern part of Soviet Trans-Caucasia, parallel strips are found, running from northwest to southeast, which do not differ from each other much in width: in the southwest, the intrusive crystallinic formations of the Zangezur; followed, to the east, by a Middle Jurassic-Tuffogeneous, a Tertiary-Tuffogeneous with an Upper Jurassic area south of it; and farther east, still, an Upper Cretaceous, a Middle Jurassic-Tuffogeneous, and again an Upper Cretaceous with a Middle Jurassic-Tuffogeneous. Immediately east of this are the Early Quaternary deposits of the Trans-Caucasian lowlands, the Paighambar and Mughan steppes.

The Cretaceous is represented almost exclusively by Upper Cretaceous formations appearing in the two larger strips extending uninterruptedly from the Sevan range southeast, to and beyond the Araxes valley. A few isolated areas which may be considered the northwestern continuation of these two strips are found within a smaller Upper Jurassic area in the region of the western tributaries of the Akstafa River, west and southwest of the town of Kazakh, where there are also a few islands of Lower Cretaceous. West of the Zangezur range, within the bend of the Arpa-Chai, east of the Paleozoic area, Lower Cretaceous formations appear in isolated areas of varying size; these are covered by Paleocene and Eocene layers south and west of Lake Sevan, and

*133 by a huge effusion of andesite lava and basalt in the entire area of the Gegam range, out of which only a few trachyte peaks like the Akh-Dagh rise. Two narrow strips of Upper Cretaceous extend from southeast to northwest for about 20 km. each between the rivers Zanga and Abaran. North of the lava and basalt masses covering the western portion of the Pambak range, one smaller and another larger strip of Lower Cretaceous occur; the larger, northern one points from east to west in the direction of the isolated Cretaceous areas west and southwest of Kazakh. The last-mentioned Cretaceous formations are situated in a predominantly Tertiary-Tuffogeneous area between the basin of the Sevan and the huge lava and basalt area of the north, in the center of which Lake Toporovan is situated.

## Intrusive Formations

All over the area described thus far, ancient intrusive rock formations are found. In addition to crystallinic rocks (gneiss, granite, etc.), quartz porphyries and keratophyres occur, some in larger areas in the northern and northeastern spurs of the Sevan range; diabases and porphyrites are found in the southeastern portion of the Zangezur mountains, while west of them, relatively large areas of trachyte and liparite occur. The latter are found again in the

*133 Alagöz massif: in a larger area which lies to the east of the Akhuryan (or northern Arpa-Chai) river; in another large area on the eastern foot of the mountain along the western bank of the upper Abaran River; and also in a few smaller areas, one of them the crest-line of the Alagöz massif.

There are isolated areas exhibiting ancient intrusive series consisting of dioritic, gabbro, and ophitic rocks. In addition, there is an intermittent sequence of these rocks all along the inner (southwestern) chain of the Sevan range, and continuing beyond it into the range which separates the Upper Karabahkh plateau from the Akera River basin, and then along the more westerly of the two strips of Upper Cretaceous in the southeastern part of the Anti-Caucasus.

## Cenozoic

Two large areas of Paleocene and Eocene are found in the Anti-Caucasus, the more southern of which is mentioned above. The northern one comprises the entire area north of the large basalt and andesite lava region in the northern part of the entire plateau where Lake Paravani is situated. It extends far beyond this as well, reaching from the upper Iora River, due east of Tiflis, to the coast of the Black Sea, bordering on the Late-Tertiary and Quaternary deposits of the Rioni valley in the north, and the huge lava and basalt

*133 area in the south. Thus, the entire Adjaro-Imeret'ian range and the northern slopes of the Trialet'i mountains belong to this Early Tertiary area, interspersed in its eastern and western sections by a few isolated lava and basalt areas.

Besides the above-mentioned areas the Tertiary-Tuffogeneous formations, the entire southeastern part of Soviet Trans-Caucasia, the Talysh mountains and the adjacent ranges on the territory of Persian Azerbaidjan are of the same nature. Along the foothills of the Talysh mountains, in the south and the extreme northeast, a very narrow strip of Miocene, rarely exceeding 1 km. in width, is found following along the foot of the mountain. In the northeast, this Miocene strip is separated from the Tuffogeneous area by an equally narrow strip of Paleocene. The lowlands along the seacoast belong to the alluvial area, while in the northeastern and northern sections of the mountains a larger strip of the diluvial area protrudes in a northwest-southeast direction, between the narrow Miocene and the large alluvial areas.

Of the Late Tertiary, only a few Pliocene areas are worth mentioning. In the eastern part of the Anti-Caucasus, a small area of Pliocene is found along the eastern foothills of Mt. Murov-Dagh, between

133 the valleys of the Terter and the Kyurek-Chai rivers, 20 km. southeast of the city of Gandja (Kirovabad). Another is found on the opposite side of Soviet Trans-Caucasia, west of the Zangezur range, and south of the Paleozoic area of southwestern Armenia and Nakhichevan, to the northwest, north and east of the city of Nakhichevan. Still another is found in the extreme northwest, on the Supsa River, at a distance of 5 to 25 km. from the Black Sea coast. A small strip of Miocene also appears there, and is found again at the northeastern foot of the Adjaro-Imeret'ian mountains, extending east of the Meskhi-Surami mountains in a wider strip all along the Kura valley, then north of the Early-Tertiary area of Tiflis, into the upper valley of the Iora. There it is interrupted by the alluvium along the Iora, and it widens considerably over the Kara-Yazy steppe. South of the alluvium of the Kura, it continues down to lat. 41° N. along the Lower Jurassic-Tuffogeneous series of the marginal mountains.

Farther on, in the lowlands and in the valleys of the larger rivers and their tributaries, diluvial and alluvial areas are found. This is typical not only of the Rioni and Kura valleys, but also the wide central part of the Araxes, Ancient Armenia proper, and the southeastern and southern banks of the Sevan. The considerable extension of glaciers during

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*133 the glacial age was the reason for the huge masses of pebbles, gravel and sand found in the valleys of all Caucasian rivers, not only those of the northern slopes of the Great Caucasus, but those of Trans-Caucasia as well. The alluvial area along the central Araxes river has its greatest width of 15 to 25 km. north of the river in the upper part of the valley; here the ancient capital Vagharshapat and the monastery of Echmiadzin, as well as the modern capital, Erivan, are located. This alluvial zone thins out gradually towards Ordubad in the south of the great curve of the Araxes, where, for a distance of more than 100 km. in this narrow valley, no place is left for alluvial matter.

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## VULCANISM

*133 The Anti-Caucasus resembles in its present aspect most of the northeastern portion of the Anatolo-Iranian plateau. It is highly volcanic territory, with two large areas of recent volcanic activity, characterized by the ejection of andesite lavas and basalts. These outbursts took place at different periods in Late Tertiary and Early Quaternary times, as mentioned above in connection with the chief volcanoes of the Great Caucasus - Elbrus and Kazbek. Thus we see in the Anti-Caucasus a huge area of volcanic activity in the west and south of the basin of Lake Sevan. Although the area south of the Sevan is less homogeneous and shows basalt rocks and a number of lava streams extending into the valleys, the area west of the Sevan exhibits a huge basalt and lava cover upon the Gegam range, as well as upon its western spurs and foothills down to the Araxes valley, an area of about 1800 km. The Alagöz massif shows a relatively small area covered by basalt: There is one rather compact region along the northern foot of the massif, and otherwise only a few isolated areas including that on the top, around the trachyte peak. However, the plateau area adjacent in the north, south of the Adjaro-Imeret'ian and Trialet'ian border mountains constituting the northeasternmost

*133 portion of the East Anatolian plateaus, forms part of one of the largest volcanic areas of Continental Eurasia, of which a surface of about 10000 km.$^2$ is found on Soviet territory. The central part of this volcanic plateau is occupied by the Djavakhetian range and its volcanoes, such as the Samsar, with a huge elliptical crater 3 km. long; the Godorebi, the Great Abul, the Little Abul, and the Emlekli, south-southeast of Lake Toporovan, all of them exceeding the 3000 m. line. East of the Great Abul, Lake Toporovan is probably the result of water filling in a giant old crater. This vast volcanic area has three major projections: one of the north into the upper Kura valley between the Adjaro-Imeret'ian and Trialet'ian ranges; a second larger one of the east in the Mashavera valley, including the area of the source rivers of the Khrami, with some smaller Lower Cretaceous areas showing through; and the third, a far-flung projection to the southeast, into the valleys of the rivers Djalgha, Kamenka and Debeda Tskhali, (or Debet-Chai Borchala). This last projection has about 75 km. along the Kamenka and Debeda valleys, within the larger northwestern portion of the Middle Jurassic-Tuffogeneous system of the East Sevan range.

With only a few minor interruptions, this area reaches westward to the coast of

*133 the Black Sea. There the largest area of andesite lava and basalt effusions is situated, on the watershed between the rivers Poskhevi-Tskhali (Poshkhov-Chai), in the east and Acharis-tskhali in the west. A small isolated area is found 5 km. north of the Supsa river, on long. 42° E., 20 km. east of the coast.

## Earthquakes

As a natural phenomenon typical of volcanic areas, earthquakes now and then shake the lands of the Caucasus. Possible evidence of the relatively long-lasting volcanic quiescence in the areas around Mts. Elbrus and Kazbek is that there, even earthquakes are a relatively rare phenomenon, very much in contra-distinction of the volcanic zone in the southeastern part of the Caucasus and the entire area of Trans-Caucasia and the Anti-Caucasus. The ancient country of Shirvan, as the northeasternmost part of the lower Kura valley has been called since the days before the Islamic conquest, is an earthquake region of historical fame; the old city of Shemakha, its name meaning "the Proud One" in Arabic, was many times devastated or even completely destroyed -- in 1902, 1872, 1859, 1807. In 1669, at a time when this city was the most populous in Trans-Caucasia, it was completely destroyed

*133 in a few seconds, and 8000 people perished. Similar disasters have occured throughout earlier centuries.

Another area of great seismic disturbance is Armenia, with one epicenter often observed in Mt. Ararat, which had its last eruption in 1840. But the entire volcanic area of the Trans-Caucasus is, like the adjacent regions of the Anatolo-Armenian plateau, prone to disturbances of a seismic nature. One of the areas especially so characterized is that around the city of Erzerum.

Earthquakes during the Last 150 Years

[Places and years of occurrence of major earthquakes; years of particularly violent earthquakes are underlined.
Enumeration from NW to SE in the Great Caucasus area; points in the Anti-Caucasus and adjacent areas generally from E to W.]

| | |
|---|---|
| Novorossiysk | 1909 |
| Krasnodar | 1926 |
| Sochi | 1912 |
| Pyatigorsk | 1929 |
| Vladikavkaz (Ordzhonikidze) | 1915 |
| Mozdok | 1913 |
| Temir-Khan-Shura (Buinaksk) | 1830 |
| Kubachi | 1913 |

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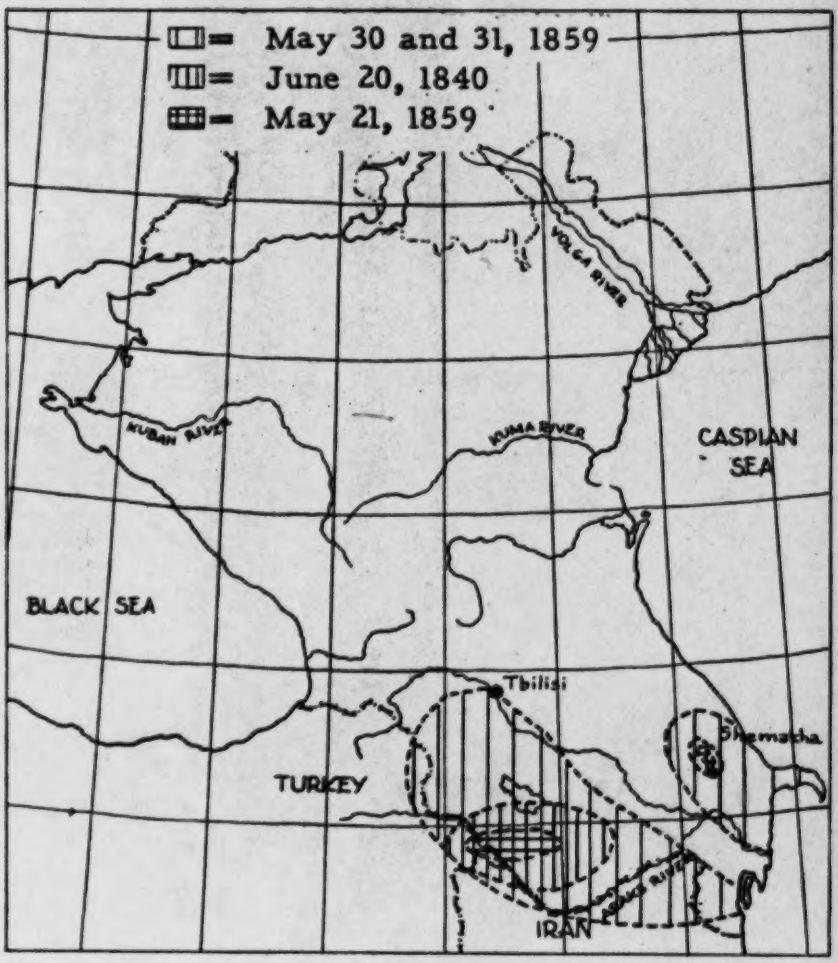
| | |
|---|---|
| Baku | 1842 |
| Shemakha | 1902, |
| | 1828 |
| Tiflis | 1920 |
| Poti | 1915 |
| Lenkoran | 1926 |
| Shusha | 1910 |
| Ararat-region | 1840 |
| Nakhichevan | 1931 |
| Leninakan | 1926 |
| Akhalts'ikhe | 1900 |
| Tabriz | 1883 |
| Van | 1881 |
| Erzindjan | 1939 |
| (Turk. Erzincan) | 1924 |
| | 1859 |

## Mud Volcanoes

Another feature of volcanic activity, though less dramatic in its consequences for man, is the mud volcano, some of which are found at both extremities of the Great Caucasus-- in eastern Shirvan, on and near the peninsula of Apsheron, and in the northwest on the Taman peninsula, in the region of the Kuban estuary; here the mud volcanoes are usually situated near the Azov or the Black Sea coast. Occasionally, just like any other

#133 Main Seismic Areas



*133 volcano, a mud volcano may rise out of the sea and form an island, as has been observed in the Azov near Temryuk. They are usually only a few meters high. At the time of the first eruption of one of these, in the winter of 1794, 12 km. north-northeast of the city of Tamań in the area of the Kuban estuary, flames were observed and pieces of frozen earth were thrown a distance of more than 1 km. The mud ejected is usually argilaceous. In the southeast and on the Apsheron Peninsula, the mud volcanoes are more numerous and bigger than on the Taman Peninsula; the highest ones, according to Elisée Reclus, are the Boz-Dagh, 360 m, and the Osman-Dagh, 398 m, both situated on the Apsheron Peninsula. Mud volcanoes are found all over the area southwest and south of Baku. The largest area is that on the western banks of the middle course of the Pirsaghat river, in the Pliocene zone north of Mt. Harāmī, 515 m.

The entire peninsula of Apsheron and the littoral extending south of Baku down to the estuary of the Kura is a most interesting area of permanent volcanic activity. The vicinity of Baku exhibits a considerably greater variety of volcanic features than, for instance, that of Naples with Vesuvius and the Campi Flegrei (Phlegraean Fields). Here,

*133 there are not only harmless mud volcanoes but also lava-ejecting volcanoes, and regions where gases, mineral water, and even mineral oil, come forth from the soil. In some places it is sufficient to strike a match to have flames burst from the ground. Some [315] gas wells are found south of Baku, within the bay; the majority of these are found in the northern part of Apsheron, along the coast. The gas and mineral oil sources have been industrially exploited for a long time; the naphtha sources on Apsheron were the first, those near the village of Balakhany from the 1870s on. The gas was not put to use until much later. Therefore, the city of Baku was for a long time the only Russian or Soviet city where gas, and in this case natural gas, was used for cooking and even heating.

Off the east coast of Apsheron, the Holy Island Sviatol (now Artëm) having the older name of Paralaghai, is situated. This island follows in its main form the folding lines of Apsheron; these were probably caused by lateral pressure. It is of volcanic origin, along with others which form a small archipelago southwest of Baku at a distance up to 20 km. along the coast.

The island of Kumani (long. 49° 35' E., lat. 39° 35' N.) emerged from the sea in 1864, and another one, Lozy, had three eruptions

*133 during the year 1876; at that time, rocks were thrown as far as Cape Alyat [Alet] on lat. 40° N. on the continent. In this region, the water is often disturbed by submarine volcanic activity, just as near the peninsula of Cheleken, on the opposite shore, south-southwest of Krasnovodsk; and now and then [315] the sea is polluted by naphtha. In the northern part of this region, closer to Baku, near the town of Bibi Eybat, a number of oil derricks stand in the sea. At a distance of 45 km. due east of the Shakhova Kosa (in Turkish, Cape Sarsy-Burun), the southernmost tip of Apsheron, a number of shallow naphtha-ejecting areas, the so-called naphtha banks, are situated under water. These are at present the most important oil wells, known as the Neftyanye Kamni.

## Mineral Springs

312 As a rule, volcanic areas are rich in sources of mineral water. One of the areas most abundant in mineral springs of various compositions is found in the Besh-Tau ("Five Mountains") area, north-northeast of the Elbrus massif. The mineral sources in this area are undoubtedly a consequence of the volcanic activity in this region and therefore probably connected with the origin of the famous Lakkoliths, with their liparitic cones. In the region of Mt. Besh-Tau, an almost

312 unlimited number of hot springs is found. As early as the first half of the 14th century, the Besh-Tau was visited as a summer resort as well as for medical purposes by Khans and Grandees of the Golden Horde; from the 18th century on it has been attracting Russian visitors. The springs well up from lines of fracture which exhibit an intricate system running across the area in a generally northeast-southwesterly direction, in part also parallel to the axis of the Caucasus system. The temperature of the springs differs according to local conditions. The hottest ones are the natro- and theio-thermal springs of Pyatigorsk, which arise at the foot of Mt. Mashuk at an elevation of 600 m., with a temperature of 45.4° C. At the foot of the Goriachaia gora ("hot mountain") warm sulphur springs are found which have a temperature of 24° C, with a mineral content of 7 °/oo, i.e., 7 g. per liter, and a particularly strong radioactivity (of more than 500 Mach units). The famous and unique Narzan spring (in Kabarda, "spring of the giants") of Kislovodsk, has a maximal content of carbonic acid, and has, as it leaves the soil at an elevation of 920 m, a temperature of only 14°C; while the springs at Yessentuki at an elevation of 650 m, are at 15.6° C. Having

312 their origin in different geological strata, these springs do not exhibit any interrelation between absolute elevation and temperature.

Among the springs of Mineral'nye Vody ("mineral waters"), there are three with a temperature above that of the body, two at 45° C. and one at 55° C. Among the northern group of cold springs there is one which has a very high degree of radioactivity. The situation in Pyatigorsk is similar: one of the most powerful springs has a temperature of 42.2° C and a mineralization of 4.34 g per l. of water (4.34 ‰). Another spring near Mt. Proval has a temperature of 48.5° C and a mineralization of 4.4 g. per l. (i.e., 4.4 ‰). In addition, there are sulphurous radioactive warm springs.

The springs of Yessentuki are chiefly of two kinds: alkaline springs containing carbonic acid and iron, and magnesium springs containing sulphurous calcium. One of these springs yields a mineralization of 9 g. of dry residue per l., or 9 ‰. The springs of Yessentuki are equivalent in composition and therapeutic value to those of Ems, Vichy, and Karlsbad, but they possess a greater salt content.

The waters of Zheleznovodsk ("iron waters"), situated 14 km. southwest of Mineral'nye Vody, on the northern slope of

312 Mt. Besh-Tau and the southern slope of a lower Lakkolith mountain, the Zheleznaya ("iron one"), spring from the intrusive rocky layers around the Zheleznaya. There are about 20 warm and cold springs, with temperatures ranging from 15.5° to 55° C, of alkaline-salino-tellurian composition, with a considerable content of carbonic acid, whereas their iron content is very small, not exceeding 5 mg. per 1. The springs of Zheleznovodsk combine the qualities of those of Karlsbad and Wildungen.

132 Apart from its wealth of mineral waters of the most various types the entire Besh-Tau area possesses an ideal climate. The average temperature is that of Switzerland and the central Alps but the insolation is more vigorous. The area is protected against northern winds and the humidity is low. It is therefore one of the most healthful spots in the world. The Besh-Tau area has a great number of clear days during the year, so that the higher peaks always afford a most magnificent view of Mt. Elbrus and neighboring peaks of the central Caucasus.

312 In the Groznyi area, well known for its oil wells and the corresponding industry, the hot springs of Goriachevodsk — "hot waters" — now Goriacheistochnenskaya — should be mentioned. They are situated at 212 m. above sea level, 15 km. north of Groznyi, near Staryi Yurt. The temperature of the springs approaches the boiling point, being 80° - 81° and 92° - 95° C. The springs contain only a small

12 percentage of sulphur and other minerals. They are very voluminous and are enveloped in clouds of steam as they fall in cascades from an elevation of 30 m. into artificial bathing pools, in which the water remains almost at body temperature. Goriachevodsk belongs to the zone of arid climate. 50 km. west of Groznyi on the railroad, the mineral water area of Sernovodsk ("sulphur waters") and Sleptsovsk (now Ordzhonikidzevskaia) is found. Near Sernovodsk, sulphurous warm springs with an average temperature of 56° C. are located, while the temperature of the Sleptsovsk group is around 30° C. South of these is an area of ferrous springs with a temperature of 28° C., and still farther south, one with cool alkaline springs.

In the vicinity of a naphtha area also are found the hot springs of the northwestern Caucasus. Among them should be mentioned those of Goriachi Klyuch ("hot well"), on the Psekups, on lat. 44° 37' N., in the foothills of the Caucasus. These are hot, sulphurous springs with temperatures ranging from 41-56° C., salt (sodium chloride) springs with a temperature of 18° C., and ferrous springs at 14° C.

About 6 km. east of Sochi on the Black Sea coast, Matsesta is located, famous for its sulphur springs. The waters of these springs are said to be the only ones in the world possessing so high a saturation of sulphurous hydrogen, and to exceed by 100 times the water of the famous ancient sulphurous springs of

312 Brusa (in Bithynia, Northwest Anatolia), or those of Aachen (Kaiserquelle). The temperature of the springs is 21.8° to 24.8° C.

Of the mineral springs of Trans-Caucasia, those of Elisu ("fifty waters") on the Kurmukh (or Kara-) Chai River, 30 km. north-northeast of the ancient town of Nukha, may be mentioned here; these are voluminous hot alkaline, sulphurous springs with temperatures from 38°-42° C.

The Talysh Mountains also have their mineral springs. The only ones used so far for medicinal purposes are those of Andja or Andjinsk resp., 12 km. west of Lenkoran. The latter is situated in a most insalubrious, fever-ridden area extending along the Caspian coast. Andja is located just on the borderline between the Tertiary-Tuffogeneous and the Miocene area; the mineral springs are of the same composition as those of Aachen and Pyatigorsk.

Another region rich in mineral waters is Georgia. About 100 springs of differing volume and composition are known in the territory of Georgia. The most remarkable areas are those of Borzhomi, Bakuriani, and Abast'umani, situated on the upper Kura river in the Adjaro-Imeret'ian and T'rialetian ranges. This is an area of exquisite natural beauty and ideal climate. The region of and around Abast'umani, situated on the southern slopes of the Adjaro-Imeret'ian range south of the Zekari Pass,

312 over which a road leads northward to Kutaisi, is protected against all cold winds and is on the latitude of 41° 40' at an elevation of 1250-1340 m. This region has natural endowments far superior to Davos and other health resorts of Switzerland. Abastumani has three acrothermal springs; their temperatures are 48.2° C., 43.2° C., and 40° C., for the anti-scrophulosis spring. There are a few sulphurous springs higher in the mountains and near the pass, 4 km. from the village of Zekari.

Borzhomi is situated at an elevation of 810 m. approximately in the center of the Kura valley, which is the subsidence between the Adjaro-Imeret'ian and the Trialet'ian ranges. The northernmost projection of the vast volcanic andesite and basalt area in the northern portion of the Anti-Caucasus reaches the Kura valley at Borzhomi, and extends a few kilometers further down the valley. As a health resort with mineral springs, Borzhomi was known as early as the 12th century, during the great flourishing of the Georgian kingdom. The alkaline springs rich in carbonic dioxide are of the same type as those of Vichy, with the possible difference that the Borzhomi water possesses a greater radioactivity.

At a distance of only 10 km. east-southeast of Borzhomi in the volcanic andesite and basalt area, mineral springs are found at the little health resort of Tsagveri (1032 m. above sea level); among them there is a cold,

3/2 calcareous, ferrous spring. About 7 km. farther to the southeast at an elevation of 1680 m., the health resort of Bakuriani is situated, with alkaline sulphurous mineral springs of a temperature of 32° C. located in the area near the town of Ts'ikhis-Djvari ("fortress hill"). Thirteen kilometers southwest of Bakuriani, the extinct volcano of Ts'khra-Tskharo, 2850 m., is situated.

At a distance of about 12 km. due northwest of K'ut'aisi, on the upper course of the stream Gubis-Tskhali, the town of Tskhaltubo is situated at an elevation of 270 m., famous for its radioactive mineral springs. These springs have a composition similar to those of Wiesbaden and Teplice (Czechoslovakia), with temperatures of 24-39° C. Tskhaltubo always has had a great number of visitors.

At this point, this very brief survey of the Caucasian mineral springs can be concluded. With regard to Armenia, the mineral springs there have not acquired any particular fame because of the climatic conditions of the country, preventing the establishment of major health resorts. It might be added that in 1840, during the volcanic activity of Mt. Ararat, a number of hot springs were seen erupting in big bubbles from the bottom of the Araxes river. Mention may be made here of Djermuk (Dzhermuk; Armen Džermuk', "Warm Springs") and Dilizhan (Delizhan; Deližan), the latter being a climatic health resort.

## Naphtha

135 Areas of natural oil or naphtha are often found in the neighborhood of those rich in mineral waters. In the entire Caucasus there are four major naphtha areas, two at each extremity of the Great Caucasus: in the northwest that of Krasnodar and Maikop; and in the southeast, that of Baku which has its natural continuation on the eastern shore of the Caspian in the Krasnovodsk area, on and around the peninsula (formerly the island) of Cheleken. There are two such areas in the center of the system, one north of the Great Caucasus, the area of Groznyi, and one in the south, that of the Shirak' and Kara-Yazy steppes, southeast of Tiflis. They are located at approximately the same longitude, but the southern one extends further west, into the Kvirila valley west of the Meskhi-Surami range. Here oil has been found near the town of Sachkheri in the neighborhood of the world-famous manganese deposits of Chiat'uri.

More detailed information on the naphtha sources as well as of mineral deposits will be given in the chapter on Economic Geography.

## Continent Lifting

*133 A gradual raising of the continental mass upon which the Caucasus rests can be observed throughout the ages. Aside from a

## Naphtha and Thermal Springs

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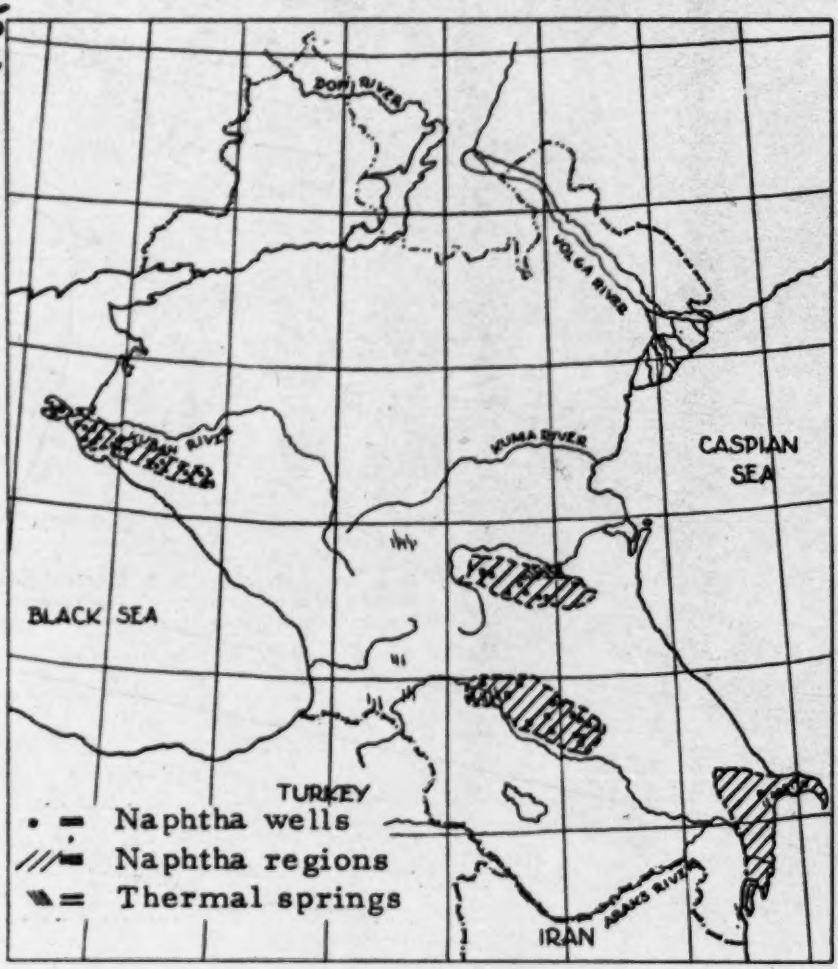

*133 few oscillations, the general tendency is that of a continous lifting up process which has not yet reached its end. Thus, for example, along the Abkhazian coast, ancient marine traces can be seen up to an elevation of 150 m.; and similarly, on the Caspian coast near Makhach-Kala, horizontal lines cut into the cliffs by the surf can be observed at different altitudes up to 90 m. above the present level of the Caspian. In both cases, the ancient beach lines date from different geological epochs, when the Caspian and the Black Seas still were one, but they are anterior by far to the Quaternary period. The occurrence of a semi-marine fauna in little Lake Abrau, near Novorossiysk, points to an ancient coherence of this basin with the ocean, broken during the gradual lifting-up process of the continental mass. During the last geological period, the alluvium in which we live, occasional counter-movements have taken place; this is proven by submarine ruins of edifices found, for example, near Sukhumi, where old fortifications can be seen at a depth of 5-6 m., and a big wall at a depth of about 10 m. After heavy storms, coins, rings, and other antique objects are often found washed ashore by the waves. Near the part of Baku, when the water is quiet, a structure can be seen on the floor of the sea at approximately a depth of 6-12 m. And the famous Sassano Byzantine Great Wall erected along the eastern part of the Caucasian chains, from Darial to the city of Derbent, ends

*133 today far into the Caspian at a point which during the 6th century A. D. may well have been dry. The Russian orientalist Khanykov came to the conclusion that in the 5th century A. D., the Caspian coast at the eastern extreme of the Caucasus at Baku was 18 m. higher, and in the 10th century 9 m. higher than at his time, i. e., about 100 years ago, when the level of the Caspian sea was about -25 m. Subsequently, in the 11th and 12th centuries A. D., it was 5 m. lower than in his time, and later on it rose and subsided again at two uneven intervals. According to the results of Russian geodetic measurements made during this century, the entire northern basin of the Caspian Sea and the adjacent areas are undergoing a vigorous lifting-up process, which is in line with the entire lifting-up tendency of the later geological ages, and possibly antedates the Mesozoic. A consequence of this lifting-up process has been a considerable narrowing of the entire northern basin of the Caspian. Therefore, the boot-like southern appendage of the Mërtvyi Kultuk, the Kaidak Bay, has dried out completely; and Mërtvyi Kultuk has become a sor, a salt desert into which an inlet of the Caspian, the Zaliv Komsomolets protrudes for about 30 km. only; and the former island of Cheleken has been connected with the continent, so that it now is a peninsula. This development is beginning to cause serious difficulty in navigation, since in the naturally very shallow northern basin the coastlines are progressing quickly. The obstacles to water communication with the Volga

*133 system are already considered serious. It is less the evaporation of the Caspian than the lifting-up of that part of the continent which causes the diminution of the northern Caspian basin. But besides this, a gradual general lowering of the Caspian Sea is noticeable, amounting in this century to 2 m., namely from -26 to -28.04 m. in 1952, or 3 m. in 100 years. This has nothing to do with continent lifting or sinking, but with changes in the volume of water as contained in the Caspian Sea which by ca. 80 o/o depends on that of the Volga. This has only been recognized after observations made during the very last decades. The water volume of the Volga discharged into the Caspian depends upon the climatological and meterological conditions of the Volga-Kama drainage system situated roughly between the lat. 55° and 60° N. and long. 33° and 60° E. Relatively warm winters in the Subarctic and Arctic regions of, or adjacent to, Eastern Europe are relatively poor in snowfall, so that, as a consequence, the Caspian Sea has a relatively low level at the time when, in the Arctic, the "Northern Sea Route" around the Asiatic Continent is open for a relatively long period of time. Thus, there is not only a movement in the crust of the Earth, but also a minor process of (cyclical?) changes in the volume of water in the Caspian which is of an ephemerous, but for human geography of considerable significance (cf. on this

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733 e.g. L. S. Berg, Klimat i Žizń ["Climate and Life"], Moscow, 1947; pp. 90 ff.)

The fact that the Volga has shifted its lower course between the present-day sites of Stalingrad and Astrakhan from an older bed which can still be recognized in the series of lakes extending roughly from north-northwest to south-southeast, under the collective name of Sarpinskiye Ozyora, is likewise due chiefly to continent lifting. Where this ancient Volga bed reaches the present-day zero contour, at Long. 45° E. and Lat. 47° 25' N., a bifurcation of the bed into a western and eastern branch is recognizable. In the western bed, Lake Liman-Baran (on older maps a Qalmyq name is given: Alcyn-Xut) is found, while in the eastern bed, Lake Sarpa (its Qalmyq name is on the older maps Caγān-Nūr: "White Lake") is found. Lacking more detailed data on this particular region, I cannot say whether this once was a delta of the Volga. The assumption that the western bed running along the zero contour in a south-southeast direction is the oldest lower course of the Volga, having led to an original estuary not very far from, or along with, that of the Kuma and possibly also the T'erek, has very much in its favor.

## The Caspian and the Black Sea; Typical Features

In the basins of both the Caspian and the Black Sea, the shallow parts are found in the

*133 north, adjacent to the Eurasian plains, while the deeper parts are located near the great folds of the Caucasus, the Pontic Range and the Alburz. In both instances the northern basins are very shallow. The Caspian does not exceed an average depth of about 10 m. north of a line connecting Makhach-Kala with the western tip of the peninsula of Mangyshlak; this coincides with the line of winter glaciation. The same holds true for the Azov Sea and the northwestern basin of the Black Sea, the Bay of Odessa, north of a line connecting the Danubian estuary with Cape Tarkhankut on the Crimean west coast. The deep central basin of the Black Sea extends from west to east, and occupies the greatest part of the southern portion of that sea; it approaches the shores very closely, thus indicating the continuation of the declivity of the mountainous slopes into submarine regions. The 2000 m. line is not more distant than 60 km. south of Novorossiysk. At long. 38° E., it approaches to within 40 km. of the western Caucasus coast, and continues to follow it at an average distance of 60 km. At long. 39° 40' E. it recedes southwestward to a point at lat. 41° 40' N. and long. 39 E., from where, as it continues west, it comes closer and closer to Cape Indjeburun (Turk. Inceburun), 15 km. west of Sinup (classical Sinōpē), the northernmost point of Anatolia. The deepest point of the entire basin (2245 m.) is located at a distance of about 225 km. due northwest of Indjeburun.

*133 The deeper central and southern basins of the Caspian, divided by the threshold of Apsheron-Krasnovodsk, are found in the neighborhood of the Caucasus and the Alburz; these, however, are not as deep as the Black Sea basins. East of Derbent, the 200 m. line approaches the coast from the northeast to a distance of 30 km., and follows it at approximately this distance towards the latitude of Kyzyl-Burun (lat. 41° 5' N.), where it recedes far to the east; it returns to about the same distance at a line 60-75 km. south of Baku, but follows the greatest portion of the southern coast north of the Alburz at a distance of only about 15 km. The 200 m. line is found at a distance of 150-200 km. from the eastern coast. The deepest point in the northern basin, 790 m., is located at a distance of about 120 km. northeast of Kyzyl-Burun, while that of the southern basin, 980 m., lies approximately 140 km. due east of the southern tip of the island of Sara.

## FLORA AND FAUNA

136 In both flora and fauna the Great Cau-
137 casus does not especially differ from Central and Mediterranean Europe, while Trans-Caucasia exhibits a number of specific features characteristic of the Anatolo-Iranian plateaus, of which it forms a part. Therefore, in this chapter only the more specific features will be given particular attention.

### Flora

137 In contra-distinction to the high mountain systems of the Near East, in which the Caucasus is an important link, the Caucasus presents the agreeable aspect of a well-forested mountainous area. Exceptions, however, are central, eastern, and southeastern Dagestan and the two vast volcanic areas of the Anti-Caucasus; the Gegam mountains west of Lake Sevan, and the north central part of the Anti-Caucasus around Lake Toporovan, south of the Trialet'ian range. The reason for the absence of forest vegetation in those areas is probably less the human factor, which in all countries of ancient culture has wrought an awful devastation, but the natural conditions -- the insufficiency of the soil in those areas, and climatic factors, especially the deficiency in precipitation.

Trees of natural growth and regular size are found in the Caucasus on higher latitudes

137 than in the Alps. They mount up to the regions between 2300-2400 m. elevation; on the northern slopes the forest zone extends higher up than on the southern, undoubtedly because the distribution of humidity is more constant and the irradiation of the sun less vigorous than on the southern side of the system. Higher up follows the zone where the azalea and rhododendron bushes grow. At the time of blossoming they furnish a wonderful adornment to the sub-Alpine landscape. On the northern slopes, they rarely grow higher than 1-1 1/2 m.; but on the southern, or rather the southwestern slopes, those of Colchis, they become much higher and often form real groves -- however, there are no forests as on the southern slopes of the Himalayas. In the same zone small daphnes and oxalis are found. Beyond this region comes the large zone of all the typical Alpine plants of the mountainous meadows, which borders on the narrow area of the Alpine tundras, and separates it from the highest regions of bare rock.

The forest consists, in general, of the same species as those of Central Europe, apart from many coniferous trees: beech, hornbeam, oak, ash, and maple. There are also linden and chestnut, rarely found in Central European forests, since they demand a slightly higher temperature than is found in Central Europe. The chestnut tree in all probability stems from the Black Sea and Caucasus area. In the mountainous and alpine areas of Europe coniferous

7; Columbia U. S-4, 5 1956 RHI Caucasus RHI

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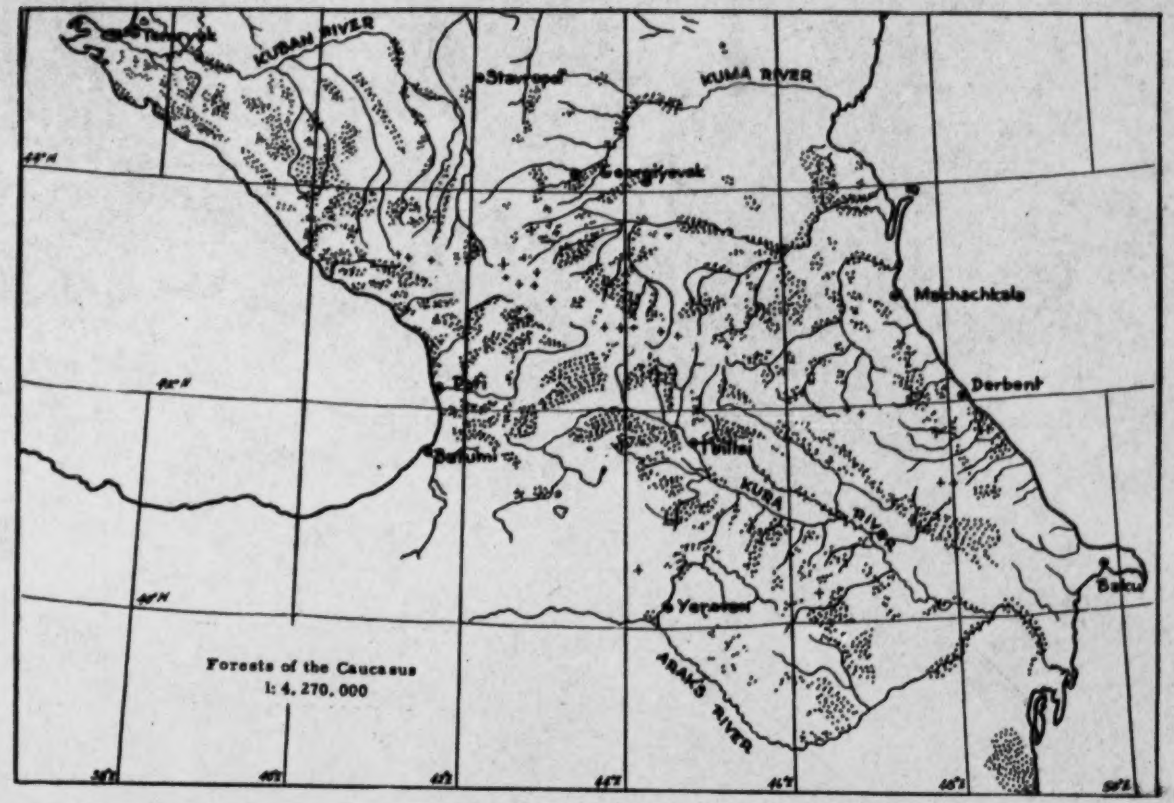


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137 trees are those which climb the highest. There is a species of pine, known as the dwarf fir, which occurs in a dwarfed shape, creeping along the slopes. However, in the Caucasus it is the birch which occurs on the upper limit of the forest zone, just as in the Arctic region the birch may now and then be found slightly farther north than its competitor, the larch; in general, the northernmost limits for both varieties are never too far apart, as they alternate in out-distancing each other.

Among the bushes, the box-tree (buxus) deserves special mention. It grows near P'ot'i around the estuary of the Rioni, along the Black Sea coast, in almost impenetrable jungles. Because of its precious wood, which prior to the First World War was being cut and exported chiefly to England, the boxwood tree probably has come to the verge of extinction.

The Caucasian rivers form marshes and swamps in their lower reaches; Colchis has marshy areas which for the last 25 years have been placed more and more under drainage and cultivation. Here were large areas covered by jungles of densely-growing ferns of impressive size--although not attaining that of the New Zealand species. This contributed to the unhealthy conditions of these moist tropical areas; the ferns have therefore been subjected to continuous reduction, with their ultimate extinction as the goal.

But returning to the phanerogamous growth, the azalea pontica and the rhododendron

/137 are the overwhelmingly predominant Caucasian bush growth. Both species are found in abundance on a very large strip within the forest zone and beyond it, over an absolute vertical [231] distance of 1800 m. Since bee-keeping is very common in the Caucasus, the azalea has in those regions a strong influence upon the composition of the honey. Strabon tells us of this [276] particular kind of honey, which seems to contain an inebriating, intoxicating, or narcotizing effect, at least upon certain individuals; people are said to become drunk, mad, furious, or even crazy. The present-day Turks in the areas along the Black Sea ranges, where the azalea is also found, call this honey däli bal ("crazy honey"), exactly the same expression used by Strabon, XII; 3, 18. A number of travelers reject these tales -- cf. the classical passage in Xenophon's "Anabasis", IV; 8, 20/21—as fables, probably because the azalea honey did not have any effect upon them.

The Caucasus is the original home of a number of fruit trees and other plants of great use to man. Thus, the walnut tree and hazelnut bush are natives of the Caucasus, where they are found in great groves or growing beside other trees in the forests. The valleys of Imeret'ia are generally considered to be the original home of the walnut tree. The hazelnut bush is abundant in the Caucasus as well as all over the Black Sea mountains in northern Anatolia.

But a small creeper, which with the ex-

137 pansion of the Roman Empire conquered the whole world--every area in which it can live--is the grapevine. The tradition of all ancient and classical peoples of the East and Europe states that the vine comes from the fabulous land of the Caucaus, and its name is undoubtedly of old Caucasian origin: Latin vinum, Greek oinos (from an older voinos), Arabic wajn, etc., going back to the same prototype as the Armenian and the Georgian γvino. Everywhere along the southwestern slopes of the Caucasus, the wild variety of vine can be found living in the forests along with other lianas, forming living garlands around the trees.

137 245 Fruit trees and fruit shrubs of all kinds grow abundantly in Caucasian lands in both wild and cultivated varieties. In all historical epochs, but especially during the last 50 to 75 years, much has been added to the natural riches of the Caucasian flora, since for experimental purposes a great number of foreign plants have been cultivated there. Many, if not most, of them have since become natives, as for example most of the citrus fruits, especially oranges, lemons, and tangerines--a special variety of the latter, the Unshiu tangerine, having been introduced from Japan. In a particularly suitable region of Adjaristan, at Chakva, tea has been raised since the end of the last century, and it seems to have acclimatized very well. However, the area suitable is very small, so that there is no possibility of real tea plantations.

000 that there is no possibility of real tea planta-
243 tions. Corn (or maize) has been cultivated in large areas south and north of the Great Caucasus for more than 100 years. A more recent experiment has been made with rice, which has been successfully grown in Colchis and the Talysh coastal strip.

As for the cultivated grains, it is barley which climbs highest in the mountainous areas. Thus barley is the only cereal which can be grown in the higher areas of permanent habitation, for instance, in Svanet'ia or Oset'ia. It has been seen in Oset'ian villages and on the slopes of Alagöz, Ararat, and other parts of Armenia, at elevations up to 2500 m. Rye is grown up to 2000 m., i.e., 1000 m. higher than in the Alps. Even corn ripens at an elevation
245 of 900 m. The vine is found in Oset'ian villages (near Kurta) up to 1090 m. The best wines are made from growths found at an elevation of 750 m., and around that line, in the Alazani valley in Kakhet'ia. These vines yield the excellent wines of T'elavi, Napareuli, Tsinandali, and other famous places.

137 As late as the 19th century, after the Russian conquest, senseless deforestation was practiced, often with the help of fire; so that entire areas were laid bare of woods. But in too many instances neither fruit trees, vines, nor cereals were planted afterwards. Only during this century has the century-old practice of deforestation in the Caucasian countries of ancient culture been brought to a halt.

137 In Trans-Caucasia, east of the Meskhi-Surami range, the abundance of vegetation diminishes gradually with the distance from the Black Sea climate zone; the farther to the east, the more steppe-like the country becomes, finally culminating in a typical dry steppe, interspersed with smaller or larger desert areas. A tree typical of the central and eastern Trans-Caucasian plains is the mulberry, which apparently has been cultivated there since the be-
[231] ginning of written history. The chief use of the mulberry has always been for sericulture, an ancient craft in Trans-Caucasian lands. The vegetation most characteristic of the sub-tropical steppe areas of the Near East is represented here, especially wormwood (artemisia), with its distinctive invigorating smell, various stipa species, etc. Artificial irrigation is becoming more and more widespread, but has been practiced on a more or less small scale since time immemorial. The small strip of land between the Talysh mountains and the Caspian coast has a humid, sub-tropical Caspian climate like that of the Persian provinces of Gilan and Mazandaran; it abounds, therefore, in the corresponding sub-tropical and tropical plant growth such as bamboo, rice and tea.

Of the above-enumerated plants, many of the useful ones are newcomers introduced by man, such as the orange and other citrus fruits, corn (maize), rice, tobacco, cotton, and tea. Corn is grown very widely also in the northern

137 part of the Great Caucasus (and not only there but also in the Ukraine and areas on the same latitude); this is also true of tobacco. But rice demands a definite type of humid, sub-tropical or tropical climate with abundant irrigation. Since cotton is somewhat less demanding, it is grown on the southern fringes of the Trans-Caucasian plains, chiefly on the northeastern foothills of the Little Caucasus and in the newly-irrigated southern portion of the Mughan steppe area; other areas include Central Armenia, in the Araxes valley, together with Nakhichevan.

[245] Before the First World War, tea was planted for experimental purposes, after the Ceylonese fashion. This was at Chakva in Adjaristan, 11 km. south of Kobulet'i on the Black Sea coast. On the same estate Japanese Unshiu tangerines and bamboo were also planted. The tea plantation amounted in 1928 to a mere 600 ha, but it may be larger now. In addition to the Chakva plantation, tea has also been planted during the last 25 years in Northwestern Colchis, in the neighborhood of Zugdidi and Ochamchire; also near Zakatali and to the southeast, near the city of Lenkoran in the Talysh area.

To the list of newcomers also belongs the date palm, planted at present in not very great quantities in this same humid sub-tropical Lenkoran area.

## Fauna

136 Wild life in the Caucasus is naturally richer than in the Alps or many Central European mountainous areas. The reasons are mainly to be sought in the considerably lesser degree of density of the population as found in the Caucasus. Thus, species long extinct in the Alps or Central Europe have been preserved down to this day.

The Caucasian bear lives in the lower altitudes and rarely goes higher than 1500 m. He stays in the zone of the fruit trees and shrubs. There in the regions of the nut forests he has strong competition from the wild boar which occasionally attacks a single bear and chases him away; sometimes when the bear climbs a tree the boar prevents him from coming down and picking up the nuts he has shaken from the tree. This has been observed in Abkhazian forests. The wild boars, which usually move in large groups, like the thickets and the reed jungles along the rivers. A dangerous beast of prey is the lynx which also is found in the forests of Abkhazia. There are also wolves, which, however, are not confined to Abkhazia but may be seen anywhere on Caucasian territory. In the higher regions of the Great Caucasus the chamois is as much at home as in the Alps, but here it is of course more frequent. A kind of wild goat, similar to the

136 ibex, is the tur; like the chamois, it is found in the higher regions of the mountains. The few families of bison which still existed around the last quarter of the nineteenth century in the forests along the tributaries of the upper Kuban, at the foot of the Elbrus Massif, have apparently died out, probably during the time of the revolutionary wars.

In the southeastern part of the entire area a very different type of fauna appears. Thus, the tiger prefers the thickets at the foot of the Talysh mountains, but rarely ventures into the plains of lower Trans-Caucasia; however, a smaller relative of his, the leopard, is quite frequently found in the plains of the lower Kura. In the same area, the hyena and jackal are found in fairly large numbers. The jackal occasionally crosses the crest-line of the Great Caucasus and penetrates the forests of the northern slopes; but this happens only in the eastern half of the entire system, and chiefly in Dagestan, where the jackal fits well into the ecology. The bezoar goat, living in the mountains of the Anti-Caucasus, should be mentioned; there is also a species of antelope called djeyran (Russian; which is simply the Turco-Mongolian term for gazelle or antelope), which lives in the steppe regions of the Trans-Caucasian plains. The porcupine is found in the sub-tropical Talysh region.

Bird life is rather insignificant and does not exhibit any specific features, with the

136 possible exception that the average number of birds appears to be very small. (I myself when in the area, did not see one big bird of prey such as the eagle or the berküt [aquila fulva or chrysaetos], a powerful and beautiful bird of prey which is richly represented in Turkestan and found in Anatolia as well, where it can occasionally be seen tracing circles in the air above the city of Ankara.) The pheasant should not be forgotten, especially since it is originally a native of Colchis, if it bears its name rightfully; the name has been linked to that of the Phasis river, the Rioni.

In the wintertime, however, a multitude of water birds, consisting of most Eurasian species from ducks to swans and cranes, lives in the Kyzyl-Aghach, and Lenkoran areas. Not long ago the Kyzyl-Aghach area was made a national park--the Kirov Park--for the preservation of wild water birds. It is a hexagon of about 1600 km. 2, and is the largest national park in the Soviet Union.

In the entire area of Trans-Caucasia both the lizards and snakes are frequently found, of varieties which are typical of the neighboring areas of Anatolia and Iran.

The Caspian fish periodically travel in huge numbers to the Kura river to spawn. They migrate a considerable distance from the sea up the lower course of the Kura and occasionally the Araxes river. The species chiefly represented are the sturgeon and its close relative

136 the sevryuga; the Caspian salmon, the shamai (also: chabai, chamai), which is a fat variety of herring; and many others. In the rivers, creeks, and lakes of the mountainous region, trout are commonly found.

Among the inferior animals mention should be made of two kinds typical of the semi-arid and arid zones: the locust, often known by its Turkic name saryncha or sarancha (also in Russian), and an arachnoid, the phalanga spider. The grasshopper is famous for the threat it constitutes to the crops whenever this insect appears in great masses. The phalanga, quite common in these areas, is a close relative of the scorpion, which is also not unknown here. The phalanga may also be found in or near human dwellings; its bite is very poisonous, even dangerous, during late spring, especially May.

## HUMAN GEOGRAPHY

### Distribution of Settlements

172 The primary inhabitants of the Caucasus, the Caucasians proper, are ancient. They have been there since time immemorial, and the Caucasus was known to the peoples of the Ancient Near East from the dawn of their history.

Human settlements in Caucasian lands go back well into prehistoric times. In those early epochs people were living not only in the larger Trans-Caucasian valley, but also in the northern part of the Great Caucasus. Since no systematic archeological research on a large scale has been done so far, almost all archeological discoveries have been made accidentally. It may well be imagined how rich the yield of systematic archeological research would be in countries whose history is connected with that
172 of the Ancient Near East. Of particular in-
171 terest are the Bronze Age finds; those of the T'rialet'i culture in Trans-Caucasia, and in the northwestern part of the Great Caucasus, those of the Maikop area. The objects of major interest are swords and daggers of the Caucasian type, the famous short-sword akinákes (Abkhaz-Cherkess aqama, which designates the present-day kinzhal, also a loan word in Russian), and ornamented standard-tops, usually in the shape of an animal. They exhibit a

172 highly developed metal culture and a refined
171 craftsmanship. Typical of the finds of the Maikop area is the representation of animals, often of animals fighting with each other: stags or elks attacked by tigers or leopards, etc. They exhibit a peculiar style or stylization which has led this genre of art to be called the animal style, also the style of animal fight (von Strzygowski); the style seems to have as its center, or at least one of its earliest centers, this part of the Caucasus. In the south of the Maikop area there is found another commonly represented motif, animal standards--representations of animals serving as an ornament on the top of (probably tribal) standards; these can be connected with earlier objects of the Urartu culture around Lake Van, often called Chaldean culture. The animal style is found all over eastern Europe and northern Asia, and is therefore called the Eurasian animal style. It seems to have spread from the Maikop area, or perhaps even from the Chaldean lands on Lake Van, to the middle course of the Kama, west of the Urals; and then to have migrated all across the West Siberian plains to the Altai mountains and the Minusinsk Basin--through which the upper Yenisei streams--north of the Sayan Mountains. There it shows a rich local development which is also typical of the Bronze Age in south-central Siberia. From there it has

172 continued its migration southeastward as far
171 as Noyon (Noyin)-Ola in Mongolia, and finally into northern China. Thus we see a pre-historic cultural connection between the Caucasus and north central Asia and the Far East; this connection took place in the Bronze Age, probably the later Bronze Age, and consisted at least in a cultural transmission over a distance rarely observed during any historical period down to the beginning of the modern
174 age. In mythical and legendary traditions,
101 peoples of the Caucasus were known to the ancient Mesopotamians, the Assyro-Babylonians, and the Hebrews of the Old Testament as the Gimirru or the Gomer. This name survives well into classical antiquity, when there are repeated mentions of the Kimmerioi as living on the northern and northeastern shores of the Black Sea, and after whom the Strait of Kerch and Taman' was called the Kimmerian (or Cimmerian) Bosporus. It is quite possible that this same name is found again in that of Crimea. Peoples living in or near the Caucasus were the Togarma and the Gog and Magog of the Old Testament.

174 The lands of the Caucasus in a larger sense remained without any literature or historiography of their own until Christian times, i.e., until the time of their own conversion to Christianity in the 4th and 5th centuries. But before this time they were in the immediate

174 sphere of interest of expanding political units in their vicinity. We do not know exactly how far the armies of the Assyrian and Babylonian empires penetrated the plateaus of the Van area to the north and northeast; but the later Assyrian empire, under Sargon II (721-705 B.C.), conquered the mighty realm of Urartu, which comprised all of Armenia, except for Lake Sevan. Later, the Medes and Persians were very much interested in the Caucasus, but only under the Akhaemenians did Trans-Caucasia become a part of their empire. But the conquest of the Akhaemenian empire by Alexander the Great included only Armenia. Although Armenia, as well as the other Trans-Caucasian lands, remained de facto independent, they were de jure provinces or vassal states of the Roman (and later the Byzantine) empire. The Caucasus was drawn into all subsequent political and cultural developments of the Mediterranean as well as of the Near and Middle Eastern world, in which it occupied a very important position in almost all respects.

While the Caucasus in late pre-historic and early historic times played only a marginal role, apparently remaining scriptless and thus deprived of a literary expression of its own, it seems to have always been a center of mining and metal work. The Caucasus may well be considered the oldest center of metallurgy in the entire Western civilization, i.e.,

174 the ancient Semitic and Caucaso-Anatolo-Mediterranean world. This is evidenced by data in classical literature as well as in the Old Testament; thus, the prophet Ezekiel speaks of the Yavan, Thubal and Meshekh (Mäšäk), who furnished the markets of Israel with metal (27:13). The Yavan are the Ionian Greeks, the Thubal are the Tibarenoi and the Meshekh the Mushku (Musku) of the Akkadians and the Moskhoi ( ) of classical antiquity (cf. e.g. Strabon, books XI and XII). The name of the latter survives in Georgia in that of the Meskhi-Surami range. Greek writers mention the peoples of the Khalybes ( : Xenophon: Anabasis, V, 5, 1) and Mossynoikoi ( : Xenophon, ibid., V, 4, 30-34, and Pseudo-Aristotle) as iron workers, and in Greek, metals are named after them: : "steel", and : "brass". German "Messing". In view of this, the fact that so far in Caucasian lands or in Eastern Anatolia no mines left by these ancient metal-working peoples have been found, can be explained only by the lack of systematic archeological research in that domain, as has been mentioned above. These mines are explicitly mentioned by the ancient writers. Thus, Strabon speaks of the mines of the Khaldaioi of his time who, as he states, were in ancient times called Khalybes; at the present, Strabon says, they are mining iron, but in former times it was

174 also silver (XII, 3, 19). In connection with the Iberes, the K'art'velians, he mentions gold mines, and thinks that because of the working of gold mines also by the Western Iberians (Iberes hesperioi) in the Iberian Peninsula, both nations, however far distant, had the same name (XI, 2, 19). Terms for metals and different types of metal work as found in the historical languages of the Semitic, Indo-European, and other groups in that entire area are not of homogeneous origin, but are, as a rule, loan words taken over at an earlier period from a language or languages of earlier inhabitants of the eastern parts of Anatolia and the Caucasus or regions immediately adjacent to Caucasian lands. So far, no historical traces of these ancient languages, which once had furnished the languages of their neighbors or conquerors with so many cultural expressions, have been found; but their relatives or descendants survive in a number of language families and languages which were spoken in that vast Mediterranean area from the Iron Gate in the Caucasus, on the Caspian Basin, to the Columns of Hercules, on the Iberian peninsula, and most of which were superseded at the dawn of history by the Semitic and Indo-European languages of the conquerors: languages such as Basque in the Pyrenees, Ligurian and Rhaetian in the Alps, Etruscan in Italy, the many pre-Greek languages in Greece, on the Aegean Islands, and

174 in Anatolia, and the Caucasian languages (and perhaps a few others too) are the remainders of these ancient cultural inhabitants of the Ancient West. It is not fortuitous that the two relic groups of that ancient language system survive to this day precisely in mountains, in the Pyrenees and the Caucasus.

Mountains have been chosen time and again by retreating peoples as a refuge in which to escape domination, absorption, or even annihilation. In historical times in the West this was the case with the Ligurians and Rhaetians, who survived longest in the Alps; and in the East, with all the peoples of the Caucasus whom we consider Caucasians proper, or the Caucasian aborigines. These peoples escaped absorption only to the extent that they lived in the mountains, or at least near them and under their immediate protection. Such movements to the mountains took place repeatedly at different intervals and different historical periods. One of those movements is that of the As or Oset'i, who were dispersed Alans from the north of the Black Sea-Caspian steppes; they did not participate in one of the great migratory movements of their people, which led them, along with their Germanic allies, to the Rhine, Gaul, Spain, and finally to North Africa. Another was that of the Avars, who may have received their name from the remainder of the Mongolian

174 Avars, who in the middle of the sixth century A. D. marched through the Iron Gate of Derbent, coming from Central Asia and heading westward with the goal of the conquest of the Roman Empire. In the Caucasus these Avars then assimilated with their neighbors, such as the Khaidak, west and northwest of Derbent, whose Mongolian or partly Mongolian ancestry shows in their vocabulary. We may also mention the Turkic Karachai and Balkarians, the only Turkic people all of whom actually live in the mountains, where they were compelled to retreat by force majeure; and similarly, the Kumyk in the northeast of Dagestan, only some of whom live in the mountains. The languages of the two latter groups have so far not been absorbed by any of the neighboring Caucasian languages.

But by no means all of those who had sought protection in or near the mountains survived; we need only think of the many peoples who were absorbed by the later Armenians --the Alarodians, the Khalybes, the Khaldaioi; or of the Caucasian Albanians, the Alvank' ( ), who lived in Karabakh and Shirvan, and disappeared shortly after the Arab conquest; or of the majority of the Northwest-Caucasian peoples who in the nineteenth or twentieth centuries had to yield to Russian pressure.

This accounts for the extraordinary, almost legendary richness and variety of

174 nationalities and languages in this small area, a variety further increased by the coexistence of ethnical traditions, religions, and other cultural features. Abu-'l-Feda calls the Caucasus the "Mountain of the languages." Strabon, whose mother was a Georgian, in describing the Black Sea coast of the Caucasus and its cities and towns, speaks of the cities of Dioskurias (its modern name being Sukhumi, an old Greek colony dating, like the neighboring Pityus*, from the early Ionian colonization phase of the 8th-7th century B.C.). Dioskurias, Strabon says, is located at the beginning of the isthmus between the Black Sea and the Caspian, and is an important port and market place for all the neighboring Caucasian peoples, seventy of whom meet here-some people say even 300, but Strabon adds that these are people who do not particularly care for reality. All these people speak different languages, since they live scattered and unblended in independence and ferocity (Strabon. Geography, Book 11, Chap. 16). A short time later, Pliny, in speaking of Pompey's campaigns (derogatorily called by Strabon a "robbery war," op. cit., Book 11, Chap. 6.), stated that Pompey needed 130 interpreters for his enterprise.

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* , Georgian Biciunta, Russified as Pitsunda, at the estuary of the Bzipi, south of Gagry.

361 But the numerically important groups which have developed a certain economic and political power live in the large valleys of the Caucasus, chiefly in those of Trans-Caucasia, where the natural conditions encourage such development. Thus, we shall find the great majority of the population living at low or even the lowest altitudes, under 750 m., not in the zone between 750 m. and 2000 m. which is most preferable from the point of view of health. The big industrial or otherwise economically important centers of the Caucasus, Maikop, Groznyi, Makhach-Kala, Baku, Kirovabad, Tiflis, K'ut'aisi, P'ot'i, Bat'umi, Tuapse, Novorossiysk, (six of them on the seashore) are situated at altitudes below 500 m., the only exceptions being the economic centers of Arménia, Erivan and the Gokcha power station. In addition the agricultural districts are in the main situated at low altitudes. Only viticulture and horticulture are in many cases beyond the 1000 m. line. The necessity for irrigation is another factor preventing larger populations from living in the more salubrious zones of the Caucasus.

## Density of Population

161 Apart from the big industrial centers, with their accumulation of huge populations in small areas, the regions with the greatest density of population are: first, Western

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RHI

161 Georgia (the Colchis of antiquity); and second, in the eastern Caucasus, the region around the city of Derbent and the lower valleys of the Gyulgeri-Chai and the Samur, and the many smaller rivers of the Kusarli-Kuba district, in southeastern Dagestan and northeastern Azerbaidjan. In these two areas, the density exceeds 50 persons per km. Local natural conditions render this density of population possible: there is either sufficient precipitation, as in Colchis, or a sufficient amount of water for irrigation, as in the Derbent-Kuba-Kusarli area. On the whole, the same holds true for all the rest of the Caucasian lands, since we are dealing with sedentary populations. Apart from the commercial and industrial districts, the climatological features controlling the distribution of water determine the density of the rural populations.

After the two above-mentioned areas with greatest population density follow those with about 40 persons per km.$^2$: in the eastern part of the Great Caucasus both north and south of the main ranges between the Kusarli Kuba district and Baku, and from Baku westward, a broad strip along the southern slopes of the Caucasian system, including the cities of Shemakha and Nukha in the Aghry-Chai valley; the entire Talysh area, Karabakh, and the Akera basin; the historically central part of Armenia, the wide Araxes valley surrounding the ancient and modern capitals, and the

161 central Akhuryan valley around Leninakan; then, marginal areas of Western Georgia (Colchis). In the North Caucasian area the population of thr rural districts is generally between 20 and 35 persons per $km^2$, with the greater density along the rivers, such as the Sulak and the T'erek in the east, and the central and lower Kuban in the west. In the northwest, a large strip of this density extends towards the Yeya, and in this entire area the influx of Russian and Ukranian settlers, always strong, is still increasing. These settlers have also occupied a considerable part of the Stavropol' plateau, all around Stavropol'; and farther to the northwest of the town, an area on the central course of the T'erek, around the town of Mozdok. North, northwest, and west of the T'erek the population is exclusively Russian in the area of greatest density; only south and southeast of the T'erek does it become mixed - Russian, Turkic, and Caucasian. All the remaining Caucasian territory has populations of less than 20 $km^2$, depending upon the natural conditions: arid zones, deserts, or the alpine parts of the mountains have practically no inhabitants.

## Communication Lines

491 High mountain areas are naturally inaccessible. Thus, the communication lines connecting Caucasian lands with each other and the outside world are few and difficult. Down to the time of the Russian conquest

Density of Population (from: Reclus, 1875)

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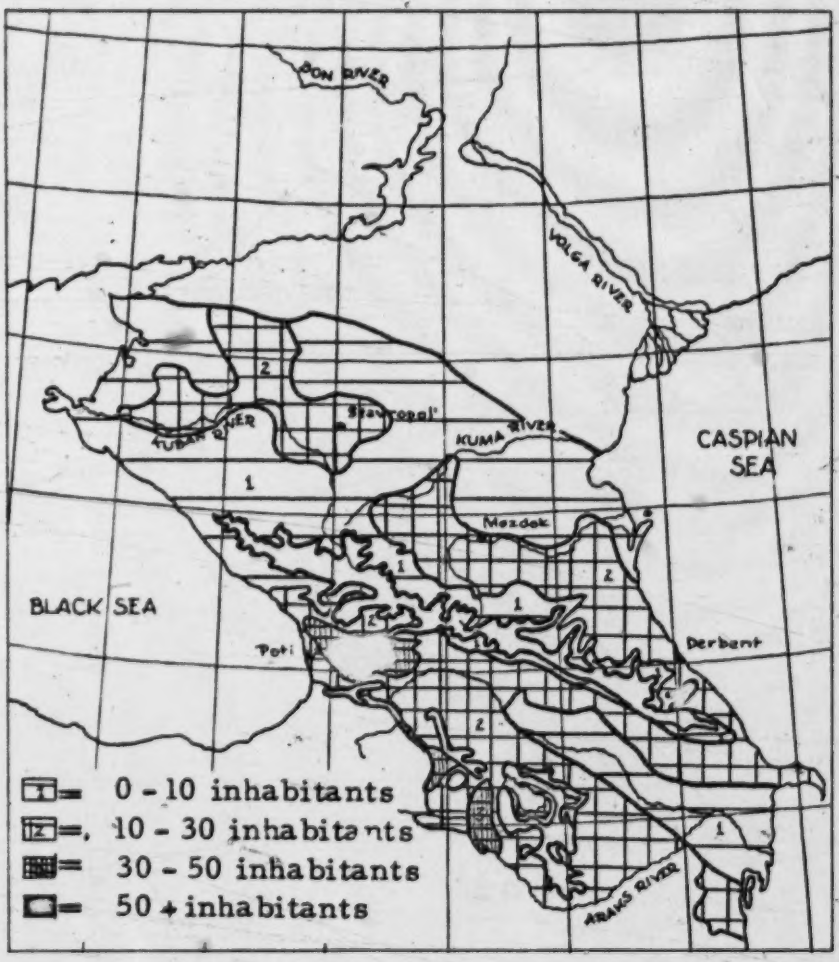

491 nothing like roads or highways existed (even today the means of communication are few and, so far as we know, far from modern). Prior to the Russian conquest there existed caravan routes and paths across the mountain ridges. One of the oldest roads was that leading from coast to coast along the Trans-Caucasian valley, on which such glorious old cities as K'ut'aisi, Mts'kheta--the old capital of Georgia --Kirovabad (Gandja), and Shemakha are situated. This road bifurcates near Tiflis, and has a branch leading through Kakhet'ia via T'elavi, and through the Alazani valley along the slopes of the Caucasus, via Zakatali and Nukha. From there it turns southward toward the Kura, where in the vicinity of the present-day railroad it joins the straight east-west road connecting Kirovabad with Shemakha. At Yevlakh it crosses the Kura along with the railroad, and continues southward to Barda'a, the ancient Part'av, capital of the realm of Alvank or Albania. From there it continues to Shusha and Karabakh, then further into Nakhichevan and Persian Azerbaidjan. The eastern branch of the old Trans-Caucasian valley road continues from Shemakha to Baku, while another old line leads from Shemakha southward to Lenkoran and all along the Caspian littoral--being another old communication line in northern Persia, in this case with the Caspian provinces of Gīlān and Māzandarān; and finally,

491 in the southeastern part of the Caspian basin, via Astrabad or Gurgan, it leads to Khorasan (Khurasan) and Central Asia. West of Tiflis, which is the capital of Georgia and the most important intersection point of Caucasian roads, one road follows the Kura valley upward, using it as a very convenient way across the northern boundary mountains of High Armenia, and the whole Irano-Anatolian plateau to Akhalts'ikhe. From this point one road leads westward, south of the Adjaro-Imeret'ian range, to the estuary of the Chorokh and the city of Bat'umi; one to the north-northwest across that range to K'ut'aisi; and a third one to the south-east going to Akhalk'alak'i. This third road divides at Akhalk'alak'i: one branch keeps generally to a south-southeast direction via Leninakan to Central Armenia; the other goes southwestward to the Chaldyr-göl and Kars--continuing on to Erzurum, Erzindjan (Erzingyan; Erzincan) and still deeper into the territory of Turkey. This latter road divides, north of the Chaldyr-göl, into sub-branches, one of which leads to Ardahan and further northwestward to the lower Chorokh valley on Turkish territory. The road which leaves the Kura valley and crosses the Surami pass, like the railroad, leads first to Shorapani -this is Strabon's Sarapaná, the place where the pass leading into the Kura Valley beings -, then to K'ut'aisi, west of which it divides, near

491 Samtredia, into a southwestern branch, leading to Bat'umi, and a northwestern one, reaching the Black Sea coast at Ochamchire, while two subsidiary lines lead to the coast at Kulevi, at the Khobi estuary, and from Zugdidi to Anakliya, at the estuary of the Ingur. Beyond Ochamchire this road follows all along the picturesque Black Sea coast via Sukhumi, Gagra, Sochi, and Tuap'se to Novorossiysk.

From Tiflis, two roads lead to Armenia; the older of them branches off the road to Kirovabad and Baku, at the famous little carpet-weaving town of Kazakh on the lower Akstafa river, which it then follows upward into the Anti-Caucasus. At Dilizhan (Delizhan), it divides into one branch going westward to Leninakan, and another going southward to the northwestern tip of the Sevan, from where it continues down the Zanga valley to Erivan and Central Armenia. These are the main roads from Tiflis southward; there exists a minor road using the Mashavera valley as access to the Armenian plateau. The railroad uses a third road, along the Borchala or Debet-Chai valley. The connection of Armenia with Azerbaidjan is made along the old road via Nakhichevan, Shusha, and Yevlakh (described above). There is none along the Araxes valley, through which, however, the railroad connection with Azerbaidjan has been established. The main road into Persian Azerbaidjan leads

491 via Nakhichevan and Djulfa southeastward to Tabrīz, Miāne, and then via Zendjān, and Qazvīn to Tehrān.

While the Anti-Caucasus, by its orographical nature, offers fewer obstacles to communication between the Anatolo-Iranian plains and the lands of Trans-Caucasia (and there the roads are older and relatively numerous), the Great Caucasus is an incomparably greater obstacle to direct traffic lines. Roads across the Great Caucasus are the work of most recent times, and it seems that since time immemorial there have been only dangerous, steep, narrow pathways leading across the Caucasus. Perhaps one exception was the Georgian Army road, enlarged by the Russians in the years 1811-14, which nonetheless has to pass the Darial Gorge. This is why migrations of entire tribal groups or peoples across the Caucasus are not possible; why such a great number of linguistically and ethnically distinct groups have survived in the Great Caucasus from pre-historical times; and why the Great Caucasus is a most useful defense line against aggressors from the north, a line which can be protected by relatively small numbers of people. There exists only one relatively open communication line or thoroughfare from Trans-Caucasia to the north: that along the Caspian coast used by the old road from Persian Azerbaidjan and Shirvan via Baku, or simply Apsheron, Kuba,

491 Derbent, and Makhach-Kala, or Temir-Khan Shura (Buynaksk): and even this road can be sealed off successfully at the narrow point where the city of Derbent ("the closing of the [912] doors") is situated. The Great Caucasus Wall began at Derbent. This wall is a counterpart of the limes romanus in Europe or the Great Chinese Wall, and was built in the 6th century by the Byzantine and Sassanian Empires at their joint, and not insignificant, expense, in order to create an unconquerable defense line against the dangerous nomad tribes of the vast northern plains. At Derbent, the eastern extremity of the wall can still be seen submerged in the Caspian waters; it extended as far west as the Darial Gorge. The western half of the Caucasus was evidently considered to be naturally safe. Surprisingly enough, the communication lines between Trans-Caucasia and the north are still very few in number today, and there exist only two railroad lines, along both coasts, and one major road across the Caucasian range -- the so-called Georgian Army Road from Tiflis to Ordzhonikidze (Vladikaukaz, Dzaudjyqau). The other roads across the Caucasus are not of the same quality as the Georgian Army Road, and are unsuitable for modern heavier traffic. [496] Not a single railroad line has been built across the Great Caucasus, even though as early as the 1870s a number of projects for a railroad crossing the Caucasus between Tiflis and Vladikavkaz were in preparation.

## The Georgian Army Road

491 Three cities hold key positions at the southern end of the communication lines across the Caucasus: Sukhumi, K'ut'aisi, and Tiflis. Of these, the last-mentioned is the most important, because the Georgian Army road crossing the mountain system from Vladikavkaz through the Darial Gorge ends here. A quarter of a century ago, this route was the only one suited for automobiles and heavier traffic, used by trucks up to three metric tons capacity, and it still seems to be the only road of relatively modern type. Even in the Darial Gorge and other narrow spots, the road was wide enough to permit two cars to pass each other. The general state of the road was good throughout, and traffic was rather lively. The air distance between Tiflis and Vladikavkaz being 150 km, the length of the Georgian Army road is 214 km. (as given by the Guidebook on the Soviet Union edited by Radó p. 796). The maximum elevation is 2388 m. at the pass of the Holy Cross. During the winter, the pass is usually kept clear of snow for traffic. Wooden and stone walls and fences, and in a few instances also tunnel-like wooden galleries, one of them about 500 m. long, protect the

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491 road from avalanches and falling rocks and debris. This road reaches the Kura river
[361] at the city of Mts'khet'a, 21 km. north-northwest of Tiflis. Mts'khet'a is the picturesque ancient capital of Georgia, with the Cathedral of Sveti Ts'khoveli and the Samt'auri monastery. On the spot where the cathedral now stands, there existed, prior to the 5th century, a wooden church said to have been erected in 328 during the time of Tsminda Nino (St. Nina), the Apostle of the Georgians. There were about 1500 inhabitants in Mts'khet'a in 1929. In Tiflis the road joins all the important communication lines of Trans-Caucasia. The Georgian Army road is not only the best but also the shortest connecting line between north and south.

## The Oset'ian Army Road

In K'ut'aisi the Oset'ian Army road has its southern end where it joins the west Trans-Caucasian communication system. This road is almost 300 km. long, since it crosses the Caucasus in a general northeast-southwest direction. It starts at one of the small railroad stations west of Ordzhonikidze (Dzaudjykau); in former times this was at the station of E'khotovo, 35 km. northwest of Beslan, the railroad hub from which the

491 subsidiary line to Ordzhonikidze branches off. At present, the Oset'ian Army road can be reached at the station of Darg-Kokh, 22 km. northwest of Beslan, on the same line; also from Ardon and Alagir, both along the Oset'ian Army road, by means of a new railroad branch connection with the main line at Darg-Kokh. This branch continues on as far as the lead and silver mines of Mizur (Russ Mizur') and Sadon, situated in a lateral valley joining that of the Ardon from the west, 2 km. south of Mizur, at a distance of about 32 km. southwest of Alagir. The distance from Darg-Kokh to K'ut'aisi along the Oset'ian Army road is 280 km. according to the source cited above (p. 489 f.)

The road follows the beautiful Ardon valley through the Kassara Gorge to the village of Zaromag (or Zaramag), where it turns to the southwest following the Mamyson-don upstream, and finally climbs up the Mamyson Pass (2829 m.; 9282 ft.). South of the Adai-Khokh massif, on the western side of the pass, it descends in serpentine fashion to the Khamkhakhi valley, and soon to that of the upper Rioni, which it follows until K'ut'aisi.

According to more recent data, only the sections of the Oset'ian Army road between Alagir and Ardon (20 km.), and between Oni (the center of the country of Racha on the

491 upper Rioni) and K'ut'aisi, at a distance of 119 km., seem to be first-class roads, i.e., of the quality of the Georgian Army road. The same holds true for the road connecting Alagir with Ordzhonikidze (40 km.).

The section from Alagir to Zaramag seems to have been widened and improved, but the greatest part of the alpine section still seems to be in the same condition in
[443] which I found it in 1929. At that time, above Alagir I saw nothing but the heavy horse- or mule-drawn two-wheeled carts of the Caucasian araba type, or the light, horse-drawn four-wheeled passenger vehicles called lineyka ("ruler") in Russian, because of their long, narrow shape. I travelled up to the village ("aul") of Lisri near the Mamyson Pass by lineyka or on foot, and on the way back to Zaramag by a one-horse araba, which I drove myself, followed at a distance by the Oset'ian from whom I had hired it, who was driving a similar conveyance. This alpine part of the road was narrow, so that very often two arabas could not pass each other - particularly disagreeable at turns and sharp curves which could not be seen in their entirety. The road was absolutely unprotected, not having any kind of rails or curbstones; in many places, usually the danger spots, the road was in rather bad

491 condition, with many bumps and holes. This latter fact showed that the sub-structure of the Oset'ian Army road was rather weak, and not at all suited for any kind of motor traffic. But on the whole, it would not be too difficult to overhaul and modernize the road (perhaps with the exception of certain more difficult spots on the western descent from the Mamyson Pass), since the Oset'ian Army road is well-planned and does not exhibit excessively steep acclivity. At that time I occasionally encountered single mountaineers travelling on arabas or on horseback, as well as entire araba caravans going in both directions, but the traffic was by no means as lively as on the Georgian Army road.

## The Sukhumi Army Road

The Sukhumi Army road, as its name implies, ends in Sukhumi. Like the Oset'ian Army road it crosses the high mountains in a generally northeast-southwest direction, but the angle it must make because of the Klukhor Pass is sharper than that of the Oset'ian Army road, which fact adds to its length. From its northern end at Nevinnomysskaia (long. 41°55' E. and lat 44° 37' N.) on the main railroad line, Rostov-Baku, to its termination point at Sukhumi, the road

491 measures 337 km. (according to the above-cited source, page 493). The road maintains a generally southern direction along the Kuban river into the mountains, and, during the summer months from May through September, can handle motor traffic as far as Teberda (156 km.) via Cherkessk. From Teberda on, cart or araba traffic is possible, during summer months, up to the barracks (elevation 1923 m., 6307 ft.) at the northwestern descent of the Klukhor Pass, itself in the upper Ganahkhir valley. From there across the main Caucasian range, only pedestrian traffic, including riding animals, is possible as far as the Klych barracks, 90 km. distant from Sukhumi, situated at the junction of the Klukhor-Klych and Gvandra valleys. However, in view of the absence of villages or major settlements in that region, carts or arabas can only be had at the Russian village of Adzhary, where the road also becomes better, or at the larger village of Chkhalty. As far down as Georgievskoye, about 40 km. from Sukhumi, the road is second-class, and joins the Black Sea coast highway at a distance of only 15 km. southeast of Sukhumi. The Klukhor Pass is 2816 m. (9240 ft.) above sea-level, and is free of snow for only two and a half months of the year, from early July to the end of September. (For details on its topography, I refer to the

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491 excellent map on the scale of 1:150,000 of the Klukhor in the above-quoted work by Freshfield: Explorations of the Caucasus, volume 2, pages 190-1).

The "Akhty Army Road"

487 The roads leading from Trans-Caucasia to Dagestan do not differ from the Sukhumi Army road; they are all paths. One of them has been given the title of an Army Road: the Akhty Army Road (Voyenno-Akhtinskaia Doroga), which connects Nukha in northwestern Azerbaidjan with the former fortress of Akhty, on the upper Samur river in the area of the Rutuls and Tsakhurs. The straight distance between Nukha and Akhty is only 55 km, and the Akhty Army Road uses the Salavat Pass, elevation 2896 m, due north of Nukha, which it reaches via the Shin Gorge. It descends from the pass in a northeasterly direction, and leads to the Tsakhur mountain village of Borch or Burzh, from where it goes in a generally easterly direction, following the Akhty-Chai valley, and reaches the confluence of the Akhty-Chai and the Samur. From Akhty down the Samur valley, the road is marked on the map of 1916 as a first-class communication line which ultimately leads to the Caspian coast highway, to Derbent or Kuba, etc. But the entire pathway between the highway Nukha-Zakatali, — from which it

487 branches off about 14 km. northwest of Nukha before the village of Gyuinuk -- and the Akhty road is marked on the maps at my disposal as a mountain path only, just like the Sukhumi Army Road across the Klukhor Pass, not as a suitable road for vehicles, such as the Oset'ian Army Road. (The Guidebook to the Soviet Union, edited by Radó, p. 792, calls it a road, not a path; however, no details are given.)

There are at least three more pathways leading into Dagestan. One of them goes through an unnamed pass at long. 46° 7' E. and lat. 42° N. connecting the Alazani valley with that of the upper Avar Koisu. The other two connect the upper Andi Koisu with the Alazani valley: the eastern one used the Kodor (or Gudur) Pass (2392 m, according to Stieler), north-northeast of Yeniseli, situated on the highway Zakatali-T elavi: and the other leads from Kakhet'ia to the upper Andi-Koisu, using the valley of the Kakhet'ia river (left unnamed on the map of 1916) and the T'ush-Alazani, one of the source rivers of the Andi-Koisu, south of the Komito or Diklos-Mt'a massif.

Similar pathways exist in the northwestern part of the Caucasus, leading from Abkhazia to valleys of some of the tributaries of the Kuban. The map of 1916 indicates five such pathways between the Klukhor Pass and the upper reaches of the Mzymta valley.

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## Railroads

496 The railroad system of the Caucasus is relatively simple, and will be dealt with here on a minor scale only, particularly since the chapter on economic geography will contain more detailed information as well as a railroad map of the Caucasus.[1]

Until World War II, the Caucasus was connected with the Russian railroad system by two railroad lines only, via Rostov-on-the-Don and Stalingrad. The latter, the Stalingrad line, runs from Stalingrad in a southwesterly direction as a lateral connection between Stalingrad and Novorossiysk, so that it crosses the original and primary connection between the Caucasus and Russia at Tikhoretskaia, only 150 km. due south-southeast of Rostov. During World War II, when the Soviet Union was hard-pressed by the German attack, a third connecting line was hastily built to bring the lend-lease material furnished to the Soviet Union by its Western allies from the Near Eastern bases to the Russian defense lines. This railroad connected the North Caucasian main line with Astrakhan and the Trans-Volga railroad, which was to become the railroad most important to the defense of Stalingrad.

As stated above, no railroad cuts through the Great Caucasus system. The system is circumvented by railroads: on

1 [cf. cat. 116, p. 220 -- Analyst]

496 the eastern side along the Caspian coast, and in the west along the coast between Colchis and Tuapse. At Tuapse the railroad turns northeastward using the deep incision of the Tuapse and Pshish valleys, and runs through the district of Maikop via Kurgannaia to Armavir, where it meets the North Caucasian main line. The railroad connection between Tuapse and Georgia along the Black Sea coast was not completed until after the war. As a third railroad line of first-rate significance, the Armenian railroad is to be mentioned. It runs from Tiflis southward through the Borchala (or Debet-Chai) valley via Kirovakan (the former Karaklis) to Leninakan, then along the western slopes of the Alagoz in Central Armenia; and further on all through the Araxes valley to the Caspian Depression, where it joins the Trans-Caucasian railroad near the coast of Cape Alyat (Alat).

From the Armenian railroad, two branches project beyond the territory of the Soviet Union. One branch goes into Turkey from Leninakan via Kars, Sarykamysh and Erzurum, at which point it reaches the connection with the Anatolian railroad system. This branch was built by the Russians before the First World War, when the two vilayets of Kars and Ardahan still formed part of the Trans-Caucasian territory. Thus, the railroad up to the former Russo-Turkish frontier at Sarykamysh was a wide-gauge railroad. Neither

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496 before nor after the First World War was there any through-traffic in operation. The other projection is that in Persian Azerbaidjan, starting at Djulfa on the Araxes, and connecting the Armenian railroad with the city of Tabriz, the capital of Persian Azerbaidjan. But Tabriz is not connected with the Persian railroad system, since between Tabriz and Qazvin (air distance 400 km.) no railroad exists as yet. About 30 km. northwest of Tabriz, at Zainabad, a subsidiary line branches off to the west-southwest, leading to Sharif-Khana, a small port on the northeastern bank of Lake Urmia.

While the Caucasus proper possesses only the bare framework for a railroad system serving the most urgent needs (and we must bear in mind that a considerable proportion of these railroads are only single track), the northwestern plain region and the Kuban area in a larger sense - i.e., the triangle between Stavropol', Rostov, and Novorossiysk - have a density of railroad lines almost equal to that of central Russia around Moscow. This is the area of the recent Russian and Ukrainian agricultural settlers, who have begun to occupy in ever-increasing numbers this portion of the North Caucasian plains. In a similar way, the Stavropol' plateau has a few railroad lines of its own, not, however, organically linked with the entire system, but protruding in a somewhat disconnected, haphazard fashion into the

496 steppes to the north and northeast of Stavropol. These lines must sooner or later be linked with the Kikhoretskaia-Stalingrad line at Salsk, from where there is a connection with Rostov, and perhaps eventually with the connecting link between Astrakhan and Kizlyar.

In the mountains proper, railroad construction meets certain difficulties or even limitation which prevent the extension of the single subsidiary lines of the mountain areas proper. This is particularly evident with regard to the side-lines of the Trans-Caucasian railroad, all along the southern slopes of the Caucasus.

315 The railroad system of the Caucasus, which has proven insufficient to handle with any efficiency the traffic demands made by the industrial centers, is somewhat compensated for by the oil pipelines. There is the double one across Trans-Caucasia, from Baku, via Tiflis and the Surami pass, to Batumi on the Black Sea, and the North Caucasian pipe line which connects the Groznyi and Maikop petroleum areas with the ports of Makhach-kala on the Caspian Sea and Tuapse on the Black Sea, after which it goes via Rostov directly to the Ukrainian heavy industries. These pipelines relieve the demands upon the railroads to a considerable extent.

497 The above-mentioned inadequacy of the railroad system is typical not only of the Caucasus but of the entire Soviet Union. This

447 is aggravated by a certain lack of planning and coordination, which is not only a heritage from the Tsarist past but can still be found today. For example, I need only mention Kazakhstan, particularly the area of Karaghanda. The inadequacy of the railroads is especially true with regard to passenger travel, where the needs of the passengers have been treated with complete neglect. A look at the railroad maps and timetables of the Soviet railroads shows immediately that in many cases, the simplest and most convenient (insofar as there is any convenience) connection is not always the one involving the shortest distance. Thus, when travelling from the Caucasus to West Siberia, it has always proved much easier to go via Moscow; many similar cases, as well as certain limitations on the capacity of Russian trains, always cause heavy passenger congestion in Moscow. Another demonstration of neglect of passenger needs is the fact that in many instances the railroads pass by major towns and even cities at a fair distance instead of entering them. This can be noted in many areas of the Soviet Union. In the Caucasus, this is the case with such cities as Kirovabad (Gandža) and K'ut'aisi, both of which are 5 kms away from the main line. K'ut'aisi can be reached by a subsidiary line leading up to Tkvibuli, but Kirovabad (Gandža) requires switching to another means of transportation. A similar situation prevails in Vladikavkaz (Dzaudžyqau), about 22 kms from Beslan, where the subsidiary line branches off from the main

497 railroad, which in the Vladikavkaz-Groznyi area is divided into two main lines. Those responsible for building the railroads were evidently "not willing" to lay the southern branch right through Vladikavkaz, or at least its northern suburbs. If a passenger has to travel from Vladikavkaz to Kizlyar, he must change at least three times; so that on this relatively short distance of not quite 300 kms., he loses more time than on a much longer trip--say to Rostov or Baku, for which he may board a direct train right at Vladikavkaz, or at least at Beslan. Many similar situations should be added here. This shows that the railroad system of the Caucasus is concerned chiefly with long-distance transportation and not at all with local needs; moreover, it is primarily concerned with the transport of goods, to the utter neglect of passengers. Apart from this, the strategical significance of this framework of railroads is not inconsiderable.

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## ETHNOLOGICAL AREAS

### Russians and Ukrainians; Cossacks; Turks

162 The different geographical landscapes which may be distinguished in the Caucasus--the North Caucasian plains, the high mountain regions of the Great Caucasus and its valleys, the large Trans-Caucasian valley, and the Anti-Caucasus with its high plateaus extending behind it--do not coincide with the ethnological provinces of the entire area. The watershed on the Stavropol' plateau, constituting a climatic borderline, has also become an ethnological frontier which, however, has been effaced in the south of the plateau; west of it, Russians and Ukrainians, east of it Turkic-speaking peoples, most of them being Noghai. The reason for this, as we saw, was the pattern of expansion of the Russian and Ukrainian peasant settlers, who have not gone far into the steppes east of the Stavropol' watershed. In this arid zone agriculture is not possible without irrigation, whereas peoples living in a nomadic state and having a pastoral economy find the steppes adequate living grounds, provided that there is enough space for their needs, and that the area is not undergoing increasing desiccation. The 162 167 Russian immigrants have taken possession of the entire northwestern part of the Great Caucasus, which is now under Russian occupation up to the upper course of the Kuban. The area of the source rivers of the Kuban was peopled

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167 by the Turkic Karachai until 1943 or 1944, when this land was given to the Svans and Mingrelians. From that point northwestward, the entire Great Caucasus is Russian and, in the lower regions approaching the Azov Sea, Ukrainian. Only a few remnants of the ancient inhabitants are left along the upper and central course of the Kuban: these are principally the Kabarda-Cherkess (Circassians) on the upper course, and the Adyghe-Cherkess farther down the river. On and near the upper Kuban, a few Noghai groups now live in villages. The above-mentioned Cherkess are the remnants of the Northwestern Cherkess, most of whose member-groups, the Bzhedukh, Ubykh, Abadzekh and Shapsug emigrated in 1865 and subsequent years to Turkey, for the most part. Many of those who remained have already been absorbed by the Russians. The Russian conquest started on a fairly large scale with the reign of Peter I, when the Russian Cossacks (kazaki, kozaki) began to appear in the North Caucasian plains at the same time as the campaigns were being waged against these far-flung outposts of the Osman Empire and its vassal state, the Khanate of the Crimea.

These Cossacks were coloni sui generis, who laid the foundations for the political and ethnical conquest and a not always

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167 peaceful agricultural penetration of these regions. They settled in stanitsy, "Cossack or warrior villages" (this term would better be translated by "posts"), a number of which, toward the end of the last century, often had 10,000-15,000 inhabitants each. These people had the peculiar double occupation of peasant and soldier.

The Great-Russian population has occupied the entire southern portion of the Stavropol plateau, the upper Kuma and its upper tributaries as far as the Malka and the T'erek, following the latter to the estuary from where it continues northward along the Caspian shore right to the Volga delta and Astrakhan. It has separated to a large extent the steppe peoples from the Caucasians proper, or the mountaineers (Russian: gortsy; Turkic: ta ly, taulu, or da lu), as they are often called. In the large "Bay of Vladikavkaz", the Russians have penetrated south of the T'erek line, and even across the Sundja river, driving a few wedges into the original population there; this expansion is carried out by occupying first the river banks. (The same method is seen, by the way, in the Russian conquest of Siberia; in the latter case geographical reasons were the motivation.) Thus, the Kabarda has been split up into two major regional groups, a larger, western and a smaller, eastern one; the Cherkess into three, a small western, a northern one along the southern banks of the

162 central T'erek, and a larger southern one
167 along the tributaries of the Sundja. Along the T'erek, below Vladikavkaz, the Oset'is have been split in a similar way, and many more examples could be adduced here. During the most hectic years of Stalin's absolutism, the bigger towns and cities having industrial enterprises were filled with Russians sent there as workers and specialists of all kinds, often only as specialists in national coercion in the event of war. In the Northwest and
[127] North Caucasian area, the people finally showed such an overwhelming enthusiasm for Hitler and his victorious "supermen" that entire nations, and not surprisingly quite a number of Russians with them, went over to the Nazi side, even before the spearheads of the German armies had reached them. Thus later on, after Hitler's defeat at Stalingrad, their defection had the well-known consequences: the "culprit nations" were punished in true Stalinist fashion, with the result that the ethnic map of the area was changed to a considerable degree.

Russian peasant villages were found even in the Anti-Caucasus; most of them are scattered all over the northern part of the area, mainly in valleys of the northern border mountains. But single Russian villages can be found as far as the two provinces of Kars and Ardahan, where the Russian population seems to have remained after their reannexation by Turkey, as suggested by a few place names.

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## The Caucasian Groups

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While the northwestern third of the Great Caucasus is completely peopled by Russians only, the central and southeastern thirds are exclusively the home of Caucasian peoples proper. This area begins at the source river system of the Kuban on the western slopes of the Elbrus massif, and extends without interruption down to the southeast, in the region of the Baba-dagh. At the northwestern end of this area, all around the Elbrus massif, the Turkic-speaking Karachai and Balkar lived until 1943 or 1944; in their stead, the area is now inhabited by a few Svans and Mingrelians. This is in the immediate vicinity of the Kabarda, along the western tributaries of the T'erek; the Kabarda are the easternmost people of the Northwestern Caucasians. Farther to the east is the large strip of Oset'is, who speak an East (or North) Iranian language and extend far into the area of the K'art'velian people of Trans-Caucasia, with a scattered group up in the valley of Tsagveri and Bakuriani, east of Borzhomi. East of the Darial gorge, chiefly along the central massifs and on the northern slopes, the Checheno-Ingush lived prior to their deportation to southern Kazakhstan in 1943-1944; further to the southeast follow the

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101 peoples of Dagestan, linguistically designated, like the Chechenians, as Northeast-Caucasians. These peoples reach the Caspian coast at only a few points around the Samur estuary and in the Kusari-Kuba district. The coastal zone is occupied as follows: from the area of Derbent southward, Turkic Azerbaidjanians; from approximately long. 48°E. northward, Turkic Kumyk; and approximately from Buinaki northward, live Russians. The entire southeastern part of the Caucasus, including the peninsula of Apsheron, is peopled by Azerbaidjanians and two nations already pushed back into the mountainous portions of that area: the Tat and the Talysh who speak a West Iranian language. (About half of the Tat are of Jewish religion and are often called "mountain Jews".)

Thus, in these two-thirds of the Caucasus, the extreme geographical variety is matched on the part of the population by an extreme variety of ethnological and linguistic aspects. Like the Kabarda and the Adyghe-Cherkess north of the Caucasus, there is another splinter of the ancient Northwestern Caucasians to the south, the Abkhazes. The majority of these people live south of the Caucasian ranges and along the Black Sea coast, northwest and southeast of ancient Dioskurias, the modern Sukhumi, mainly in the valleys of Bzipi and Kodor. The

162 main ranges of the Caucasus, to the north of
101 them, belong to the area of Russian population.

## Trans-Caucasia

In rather sharp contrast to the great multiplicity of the population of the alpine regions of the Caucasus, the wide Trans-Caucasian valley, as well as the Anti-Caucasus, are comparatively simple in their ethnological and linguistic composition. The eastern part of the area is preponderantly peopled by the Turkic Azerbaidjanians, deriving their name from the Caucasian land which they took over during the 11th century A. D. from Caucasian and Iranian peoples who at that time were under Arab overlordship. These Azerbaidjanians penetrated the valleys of the Kura and the Araxes, even beyond Tiflis and Erivan. Therefore, preponderantly non-Azerbaidjanian populations are found only in northern and central Armenia, the Armenians, and in Karabakh, where after the Armenians the Kurds are in the majority. In the region of Kars, the Azerbaidjanians and their closest relatives, the Osman Turks, the conquerors of Anatolia and thus of the Byzantine Empire, are found side by side.

## Armenians

162 The Armenians appear as strong minor-
563 ities all over Trans-Caucasia, along the Aghry-Chai and the southern slopes of the Great

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Caucasus, in and around the cities of Nukha and Shemakha and along the northeastern slopes of the northeastern border mountains of the Anti-Caucasus. These are in the rural districts, mainly Armenian peasants, while numerous Armenians are found in the diaspora of all bigger Caucasian and Trans-Caucasian cities. Some of these cities were founded by Armenians; for instance, Armavir, the important railroad hub in the Northwestern Caucasian area, which bears the name of one of the oldest known Armenian cities. It is interesting to note that the majority of the Armavir Armenians speak Cherkess as their everyday language. The Armenians who had received Christianity from the south, from Syria, before the rule of Constantine the Great, were exposed at various epochs of history to religious and political oppression and persecution, and are like the Jews, one of the oldest nations of refugees and emigres, whose members can be found all over the world. Their more compact diaspora groups live in Russia, Syria, Constantinople, Podolia (westernmost Ukraine), Vienna, Transylvania, Venice, Munich, Paris, and the United States.

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## The K'art'velians

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The central part of the Trans-Caucasian valley and the entire western part of Trans-

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C. 162 563 G. 105 Caucasia -- Colchis in a larger sense -- have for a long time been the home of one of the oldest nations of the Caucasus, the K'art'velians. This group has played a foremost role in the history of Caucasian culture. Their leading nationality is that of the Georgians, who call themselves K'art'veli. They were the first to be converted to Christianity, in the 4th century A. D., by Tsminda Nino, who came there from the south, from Armenia. With this event, Georgian history and literature begins. It may well be assumed that there was some culture in pre-Christian times which was dependent on that of Persia, as indicated by traces of an earlier K'art'velian fire cult as the expression of Zarathustrism. This was probably brought in by the Persians after their conquest of Trans-Caucasia, during the Akhaemenian dynasty.

C. G. [174]

C. 563 G. 105 Like Armenia, Georgia always resisted Islamic domination; although politically not always successful, it never became an Islamic country. This explains the old and intimate cultural, religious, and political ties with Byzantium and later with Russia as the substitute and continuation of the East-Roman theocracy. This guaranteed Georgia's cultural, religious, and political survival.

This region of Trans-Caucasia differs in many, if not all, respects from the vast

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plains of eastern Europe, the solitudes of Anatolia and Iran, or the deserts of Central Asia. Their exterior aspect reminds one of Southern France, Italy, Spain or even the valleys of the Rhine and its tributaries in Western Germany. The landscape and its cultivation -- small scale, individual agriculture, gardens, vineyards; the picturesque villages, townships, and cities along the rivers or embedded in the verdant foothills of the high mountains--with their cathedrals, churches, and fortifications; and the many castles or ruins from the time of feudalism on hilltops and mountain crests; all these seem to have taken forms very similar to the European. The people as well, although their many languages are completely different, remind one of Mediterranean Europeans in their appearance, vivacity, eloquence, pride, charm, and other facets of their behavior. Nevertheless, this is not Europe; even apart from customs and languages, the differences are immediately noticeable, e.g., in the utensils, the dress, the style in art and craftmanship, the tools with which the people work. There is an absence of many things which the capitalist age has produced, or some modern implements are superimposed upon an essentially pre-capitalist stage of development, often in

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a most crude way, which sometimes is found so obtrusive and shocking in many Oriental countries of the present epoch. The technical backwardness--actual or imagined--is thus often matched by a technocratic overemphasis which threatens to level out everything these countries have produced and contributed to their own and to common human culture.

## Georgians

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The K'art'velians or Georgians proper have been split into two groups, an eastern and western, by the intrusion of Oset'i from the north and the Azerbaidjanians from the southeast. The latter extend as far northwestward as the immediate vicinity of the modern capital of Georgia, Tiflis, (in Georgian: T'bilisi, "Hot Springs" from the stem tp'ili [Georgian] "warm;" common with Indo-European, cf. Slav. [Čech.] place-name Teplice, "Hot Springs," mentioned above; Lat. tepidus, "warm," etc.); and from Tiflis southeastward, the Azerbaidjanians hold the entire valley of the Kura (in Georgian: Mtkvari, Strabon's Kyros). The Georgians hold only the Aragvi valley (Strabon's Aragos), the upper Iora, almost the entire Alazani (Strabon's Alazonios) —this is Kakhet'ia, and the upper Kura valley. The Meskhi-Surami Range and the eastern and southern portion of Colchis, Imeret'ia (practically all the land at the left bank, i.e., south

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C. G. 162 101 and east of the Rioni) are Georgian, and Imeret'ian and other west Georgian dialects are spoken there. To the Georgian area belongs also Adjaristan (Adžaristan), the valley of the Acharis-Tskhali, which borders in the south and west on Azerbaidjanian and Osman speaking peoples, and in the west, with the Laz people. The Adjarians (Acharians), like their neighbors, are of Mohammedan faith.

## T'ushuri, Khevsuri and P'shaveli

The northeasternmost Georgians, living in the alpine parts of the central Caucasus, are an interesting and distinct people. Although they speak East-K'art'velian dialects and are Orthodox Christians, the Georgians do not consider them as the same nation. The reasons are not only their inaccessibility and age-long seclusion and independence, but also customs and manners which in this way have been preserved from by-gone times. These remote people make up three tribes: the T'ushuri, Khevsuri, and P'shaveli, who live in the high valleys of the source rivers of the Andi-Koisu, Aragvi, and Argun, and of the Iora. In sharp contrast to other Caucasian peoples, blue eyes are not rare with them. Shields, spears, straight long swords, iron or steel helmets, coats of mail and armor were worn by many of them (usually the Khevsurs) as late as the nineteenth century, and in a few instances, even after the Russian Revolution.

C. G. [142] 411 713

Georgia RI1
Khevsur, Pschv,
Tushin

C. G. [713] Some had the sign of the cross upon their shields, so that they looked exactly like medieval European knights and Crusaders.

C. G. 764 171 Up in the country of the Khevsurs a few very ancient churches can be found; near these, often isolated, stand some typically Khevsurian tomb structures or burial chapels unique in the Caucasus. Funeral ceremonies held by the Khevsurs are (or were ?) often accompanied by horse races, an ancient custom of horse-breeding nomads of the steppes. (This custom is reminiscent of the "dokhia" [δόχια] of some Turkic tribes in the plains near the Altai, described by the Byzantine envoy Menandros Protector, who was sent in 568 to the Great-Khan of the Türküt in the Altai region, a territory which is now part of northwestern Mongolia.) Perhaps the Khevsurs borrowed this custom from the Alans, the nomadic ancestors of the present-day Oset'i.

## S'vanet'ians

C. G. 162 101 Another K'art'velian group which in its mountainous seclusion has preserved numerous ancient customs and traditions is the Svans (or Shvan, Strabon's Soanes [Σοάνες]), who live in the high valleys of the Ingur and Ts'khenis-Tskhali, just south of the central high massifs of the Caucasus, between Gvandra and Shkhara. Their language is the most archaic of all the K'art'velian tongues. The Svans are

C. G. [141] outstanding for their height; two meters is not rare.

000 outstanding for their height; two meters is not rare.

C. G. 361 342 Svanet'ia is perhaps the only Caucasian country where every individual house is a real fortress. The mountain villages, usually known by the Turkic term aul all over the Caucasus, always consist of a certain number of houses fortified by defense towers. In some parts of the Caucasus every second or third house, or rather estate, has such a tower. In Dagestan, in general, about three-quarters of the houses of a village are fortified. In Svanet'ia, however, most houses are built of stone and have their own tower. It was known to classical antiquity that many, or at least some, Caucasian peoples dwelt in towers, and the Mossynoikoi, mentioned above as metal workers,[1] were accordingly called "tower dwellers" (mossyn meaning "tower"; Xenophon V, 5; Strabon XII, 3, 18). For lack of wood. brushwood, and clay, stone is the only building material in many auls; but in most auls the houses, usually called by the K'art'uli term sakhli, are built of stone for reasons of defense. When the auls are built up the slopes of mountains, the sakhlis are arranged in staircase fashion one above the other, so that it is possible to go through the larger part of an aul using the roofs as the only path, i.e., by climbing from one roof to another. The roofs are flat and consist of stamped clay spread out

C. G. [101]

[1] [cf. cat. 116, p. 207 -- Amolyst]

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Swan

C. G. 361 342 over the wooden lattice of the horizontal roof frame. These flat roofs are also much used for growing cereals, vegetables, curing meat, etc. The sakhli is also the common type of house in most parts of Anatolia and Iran, where we also find the staircase-like arrangement of the sakhlis on the mountain slopes.

C. G. 628 These are the lands where the kings of Sak'art'velo or the Emirs and Khans of Shirvan and Arran had no sa[illegible], nor did the Caliph in Baghdad or the Roman Emperor have any authority, with the result that feuds were fought right on the spot. Thus, there were times when not only one aul fought another, but even one clan or family fought another within the same aul. Hence the many small castles; hence a man always carried his kinzhal; hence such customs as the vendetta, the qan-alma (Turkic: "taking of blood"), which have been preserved C. G. 631 there down to the present time. Svanet'ia consists of three small lands: Free Svanet'ia, Svanet'ia of the Dadishkeliani, and Svanet'ia of the Dadiani, the latter two named after the C. G. 711 families of their former overlords. Many pagan elements are found in the Eastern Orthodox religion of these valiant mountaineers, although to a lesser degree than is true of the Oset'i, as mentioned above, or some of the Dagestanians, who were later converted to Islam.

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## Mingrelians

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In the northwestern. malaria-infested part of Colchis live the Mingrelians. In the region of Ochamchire, the area is interrupted by the southeastern strip of the Abkhaz, and another group of Mingrelians lives north and northwest of the city of Sukhumi. Occupationally, they do not differ from the Georgians. The charm and beauty of the Mingrelian women is always praised by Caucasians and foreigners alike.

## Laz

As their languages prove, the Mingrelians are the closest relatives of the Laz (or Chan, the Sannoi [ ] of Strabon). A very small minority of the Laz live on Soviet territory right at the frontier, near the estuary of the Chorokh; the vast majority live along the Black Sea coast, from the Chorokh estuary southwestward as far as the Turkish town of Pazar (or Atina) half-way from Batumi to Trapezunt (Turkic: Trabzon, Tarabzun).

## Minorities

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Each town and city of the Caucasus has a variety of minorities. The population of some towns seems to have consisted at certain

112 periods of minorities only, since none could be considered a majority. In most towns and cities, prior to the Russification period of the late Thirties and early Forties, no one nationality constituted a majority by itself; usually there were two or three. For example: Baku in 1929 had half a million inhabitants, 85% of whom were divided almost equally among Azerbaidjanians, Russians, and Armenians; the Azerbaidjanians were the most numerous, but exceeded the Russians and Armenians by an insignificant percentage only. The distribution of nationalities in Tiflis in 1929 was similar, the three major nationalities being the Georgians, Armenians, and Russians. On the other hand, a single group represented a strong majority in such places as Erivan, with a population of 62,000 in 1929, of whom 56,000 were Armenians, and 6,000 Turks and Azerbaidjanians. Vladikavkaz had a population of 74,000 some time before 1928, which was divided as follows: 57.8 % Russians, 10.5 % Armenians, 6.6 % Germans, 2.3 % Persians, 2 % Greeks, 1.5 % Jews, and 0.7 % Ingush. (cf. also the Tables.)

The following national minorities should be mentioned here: the Greeks, the Aisors, and the Germans.

## Greeks

113 The Greeks have been living on the west coast of the Caucasus since the time

53 when the Ionian colonists, starting out from Miletos, began to establish trading-posts all around the Black Sea, and to settle there. This occurred on that part of the Black Sea coast as early as the 8th and 7th centuries B. C. It was the Milesians who established the farthest-flung colonies: they reached not only the Black Sea basin, but also the western part of the Mediterranean, with Massalia (Marseille) as their greatest western emporium. These Milesians founded the cities of Trapezunt ( ), Phasis ( -P'ot'i), Dioskurias ( -Cxumi or Sukhum), and Pityus ( -Biciunta), Rus. Pitsunda, at the estuary of the Bzipi. They likewise established trading posts and ports on the Strait of Kerch, at Pantikapaion on the Crimean side, Phanagoreia on the Caucasian shore, the Taman peninsula, and the post of Tanais at the estuary of the Don, also called Tanais in Greek. The Greeks have maintained their nationality there, although not always exactly on the original spot, with an unbroken mercantile and cultural tradition, right down to the present. From these parts they have also spread out to other cities of the Caucasus.

## Aisors

In contrast to the Greeks, the two other groups are newcomers. The Aisors, who speak a New Syrian dialect and are Oriental

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563 Christians of Nestorian and Jacobite rites, came in the 19th century, after Trans-Caucasia was united with Russia. They fled from religious persecution in their homeland, upper Mesopotamia and the region around Lake Urmia. They live for the greater part near Erivan, but may be found in cities all over the Soviet Union. In the early years after the Revolution, they lived in every large city, where they usually conducted the shoe-shine business. Many of them were cobblers or practiced some other craft.

## Germans

The Germans migrated to the Caucasus at the same time, coming from their former Russian homes on the Volga or in the southern Ukraine; they had been living there since the middle of the 18th century, during the rule of Empress Catherine II. There are a number of German villages, some of them of as considerable a size as the stanitsy, scattered over the North-Caucasian plains and Trans-Caucasia. Prior to the collectivization period, they lived in well-to-do communities, engaging mainly in agriculture, horticulture, and viniculture (the latter in Trans-Caucasia). In Trans-Caucasia there were a few economically well developed communities south and southwest of Tiflis, some south of Kirovabad, and a few in Kakhet'ia, on the upper Iora. The products of these large German villages were well-known and esteemed

563 all over the Soviet Union. These communities, recognizable not only for their German names, were nationally very exclusive (this for economic considerations to a large degree), and had preserved many features of 18th century German peasant life. It is improbable that the German communities exist today.

## Multanis

778 177 On the peninsula of Apsheron, near Surakhany, 20 km. east of Baku, a small old fire temple is found, in the midst of a pentagon which once was a kind of monastery for the fire worshippers. This pentagon, with a little square grey temple, is usually called Ātashgāh ("Place of the Fire"), as the Persians designate the Zoroastrian sanctuaries. All around this Atashgah, the oil derricks rise to the sky, in the midst of surface piping and oil puddles. During the 18th century and the first half of the 19th, the Atashgah was a much-visited goal of pilgrims from western India, which for a long time—at least from the 16th century on—had maintained very close commercial relations with Azerbaidjan. Thus, the Parsis seem to have rediscovered the Sacred Spot where the Holy Fire leaps forth from the earth, as had been known from times immemorial. Hence the name Azerbaidjan, meaning in Pahlavi (in the form of Ādar-baδgān) "The home of the fire"; hence the erection of the little temple in which the Holy Flame could be venerated. Not long

778 after the oil industry had begun to exploit the
177 wells of Apsheron, natural gas was also made use of, with the result that after 1887, the regular religious services at the temple were discontinued. Above the entrance to the fire temple there is a Sanskrit inscription set into the wall, although upside down; however, the inscription does not contain any data as to the erection of the temple or of the particular place in India with which it was intimately connected.
101 The fire worshippers of Surakhany were called
177 Multani, and though no literary sources on this name have come to my attention, this is a hint as to the origin of these fire worshippers, who may have come from the city of Multan on the Chenab, a tributary of the Indus in present-day Pakistan. Evidently, this city was the home of the Parsi founders of that trading colony in or near Baku. These Multānī could hardly be called a national minority in the Caucasus; they are to be considered rather as temporary residents, unlike the Greeks of the ancient Ionian colonies.

## Conclusion. Ethnical History

174 Thus, we see the older inhabitants of the Caucasus living in the higher regions of the Great Caucasus and in Dagestan and the southern and southwestern parts of Trans-Caucasia. These peoples have been living in the Caucasus since pre-historic times. In many instances, we can distinguish among them early and more

174 recent layers of population. The older peoples all show an intimate connection with the south, the plateaus of Anatolia and Iran, and the adjacent plains of Mesopotamia. Somewhat more recent in this Trans-Caucasian world are the Iranians and the Armenians; however, they still are old as compared with the Turkic invaders of the recent past, as we must designate the Azerbaidjanians.

177 A foreign conquest in this region does not always result in the retreat or pushing back of the indigenous peoples into the high mountains. As a consequence of the Russian conquest, one hundred years ago, some of the Caucasian mountain peoples were forced, in varying proportions, to leave the mountains and descend into the lower valleys of their rivers, or even into the adjacent North Caucasian plains, and to become agricultural settlers. This was not easy, and was done in response to both persuasion and coercion. Finally, the majority of the Oset'i, a great number of the Chechens and Ingushes (the latter always much feared by the Russians), and last but not least, the Cherkess and Kabarda who did not emigrate, became peaceful peasants also. This was the only way in which the Tsarist government could stop the incessant guerrilla warfare in the mountains and the resistance of the Caucasians, which had continued even after the defeat of Shamil in 1855, in the form of continual robberies, and attacks on peasants, transports, or

177 even military convoys. By diverting these people to agriculture, order was finally established, resistance on any sort of wide or dangerous level was broken; thus the conditions for the ultimate incorporation of those national groups into the large Russian family were created.

167 174 Since Caucasian studies are still very much in an incipient stage, it is not possible to trace the different waves in which the historical and present-day Caucasian peoples came to their habitats. Where historical sources are missing, the chief help comes from linguistics.

The Eastern Slavs, coming from the north, were the last wave of immigrants and conquerors (18th to 20th centuries). They were preceded by the Turkic-speaking peoples (11th-14th centuries), who in turn came later than the Alanoi-Aorsoi, the forebears of the Oset'i (1st-3rd centuries A. D.). Events prior to that time are unclear. It is impossible to say whether groups of the Skythai, or Sauromatai (6th-1st centuries B. C.) went to the Caucasus, though this might be indicated by a remark of Strabon's (Book XI. chapter 3). And with this, we are in pre-Christian times.

In the south, history goes much farther back, but only insofar as it deals with one of the ancient Semitic or Anatolian (Hittite, etc.) cultures. Therefore, there are enormous gaps for the Caucasus proper, and the peoples who migrated there from the south. The campaigns of Alexander the Great bypassed the Caucasus,

so that direct historical information is lacking about this period as well as all the preceding centuries. But during those times, the present-day and historically-known Trans-Caucasian peoples had already been in the area for a long time. Thus, we can distinguish five historical waves: 1) the Russian; 2) the Turkic, coming from Turkestan and Central Asia via Iran; those were the so-called Oghuz Turks, from whom the Saldjuqs, the Osmans, and the Azerbaidjanians stem; 3) the Arabic, less an ethnic than a political wave, like the Mongolians in the 1220s; 4) the Iranian, probably consisting of different phases which, if named after political units, could be called Sasanian, Akhaemenian and pre-Akhaemenian; 5) that of the Indo-European Armenians (Hajk ), who superseded the Proto-Armenians, at least a strong group of whom descended from Urartu. This early fifth wave occurred at a time when the K'art'velians, or at least Proto-K'art'velians, had long since been at home in the regions they occupy today, the southwestern triangle of Trans-Caucasia, called by Strabon ("country of the Moskhoi," the Meshekh [Masak] of the Old Testament). At this early Proto-Armenian period, in the early centuries of the second millenium B. C., the ancestors of many of the northwestern and northeastern Caucasian peoples were already living in, or at least near, their present-day dwelling places--perhaps not in the inaccessible, high alpine valleys of the Caucasus, but in the

167 fertile plains at the foot of the mountains. But
174 the periods referred to above as those of the 4th and 5th waves, present us with an enormous number of riddles which can only be tackled (if they ever are) with the help of linguistics and archaeology.

## Note on Transcription

104 In rendering the foreign names, I considered it necessary to follow, in this version, common English usage. The only diacritical mark used is that of aspiration (ʼ), which means that in Caucasian names consonants not so marked are to be pronounced with laryngal occlusion (i.e. glottalized). Velar q and palatal k are unfortunately also not distinguished here — except in a few names which now have been adopted in that form, such as Iraq, Qazvin, and the like.

Where the Russian forms of native names show palatal features, these are left unmarked, even when occurring in final position, since the Caucasian forms do not have this feature, e.g. Taman, Kuban, etc., where the Russian forms have -ń (нь).

In the Soviet Union, the tendency to adopt the native forms in official and scholarly usage is observed, so that this facilitates objective presentation of many forms.

In English usage, differentiation of the sounds Russian (and Turkic) y (ы) and the yod (i consonans) is often effaced by the ambivalent sign y. Here too, the y is used in both capacities; if it is found in front of a vowel, it is to be read as a yod, but interconsonantically as Russian, Turkic y (=ы, velar i). Only in the case of the nom. sg. masc. of the Russian

104 adjective - very common in place names - the ending -yj (=ый) is rendered as -yi. Initial (word or syllable) Russian e is always given as ye.

In instances of -y in the Russian forms of Caucasian names in -i, I generally prefer the original -i (Zakatali, Kobulet'i), since the Russian -y developed here in order to render those names declinable (usually as f/pl).

In a few cases, however, I have preferred forms which may not always render that of the language of the ruling nationality and/or presently accepted usage, as e.g. Tiflis - a Perso-Arabicized form of Georgian Tp'ilisi or T'bilisi. Many more examples might be adduced here. In order to simplify matters, I have given preference the name of Vladikavkaz over Ordzhonikidze (Ordžonikidze) or the native Oset'i Dzaudjyqau Dzaudzhykau (Oset'i Dzaudžyqau), Gandja (Gandža) over Kirovabad, Karakilis (Karaklis) (Qarakilise, Qarakilis) over Kirovakan, etc.

The sound of the -dg- as in 'edge', is regularly rendered -dj- , even in cases when it comes from Oriental languages into Russian, whose alphabet has no letter for this sound because it does not form part of the Russian phonetic system. In a few cases, however, such as Ordzhonikidze, I leave -dzh-, following a widespread usage.

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The following maps have served as sources:

113 1) "Map of 1916"; this is the British edition of the maps of the Russian General Staff, Asia, 1: 1,000,000, and Europe, 1: 1,000,000, 9 sheets L 37 - J 39; Geographical Section, General Staff, No. 2555; published by the War Office 1916; communications and boundaries revised 1940. 4th edition 1942; 6th ed. 1944, reproduced by War Office, 1948. (The maps of the 3rd edition of this series are not to be recommended).

2). Stieler's Handatlas. Map No. 65; Armenien, Mesopotamien, Persien; 1: 3,700,000; 10th edition, 1939.

3) the same, map No. 67; Iran, Turan; 1: 7,500,000; 10th ed., 1940.

4) A Geological Map of the Caucasus, by Felix Ostwald (Nottingham); 1: 1,000,000. (1914).

5) USSR, Geological and Prospecting Service; Geological Survey. Geological Map of the Caucasus. January 1929. 1: 1,000,000. (Title in Russian and English. Excellent map; accurately drawn.)

6) The Great Soviet Atlas of the World ("Bol'shoi Sovetskii Atlas Mira") and the two Atlases of 1954, as quoted in the text.

The sketch maps in the text are drawn after the corresponding ones in É. Reclus' work.

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# II History

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1. Sociological

b. Historical Setting
With 46 maps

Tibor Halasi-Kun

## HISTORICAL SETTING

*175 Although the Caucasus is considered to be one of the ancient centers of the Eastern Hemisphere, its known history is relatively short and embraces hardly more than 3,000 years.

The history of the Caucasus as a whole shows several characteristics which are sometimes overlooked even by students of the area. This peculiar situation is due mostly to the fact that Caucasian history is complicated and seldom treated as a whole.

*175 648 Perhaps the most important characteristic of Caucasian history is the intertwining of the history of two distinct groups. In the first group we have the great powers concentrated sometimes in the Caucasian area, but in the majority of cases having their headquarters far away from the Caucasus. To this group belong the Byzantine Empire, the Sassanian Empire, the Kazar Empire, the Arab Caliphate, the Ottoman Empire, Russia, etc. The second group consists of the so-called small powers whose main concentration has always been in the area. This group includes the Georgians, the Armenians, the Circassians, the Mountain Tribes, and the Azeri-Turks (a small power only during the last centuries), etc. The small powers in general have lived under the domination of the great powers, and with remarkable regularity,

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*175 648 whenever the dominating great powers became weak or were seriously fighting with each other they entered into their independent periods, formed states with the attribute "Great", or lived in a "Golden Age."

*175 The second important characteristic of Caucasian history is that the South Caucasus and the North Caucasus did not in general form a unit. In the case of the small powers this is obvious. In the case of the great powers, however, it must be explained by the fact that the mountain chain of the Caucasus constituted a formidable dividing-line. It is very significant that the North and South Caucasus have formed a single unit only three times. The first case, or rather attempt, was the Mongolian one, in which both areas were subjugated by the Mongolians coming from the East. The second case was the Ottoman one when the North and South Caucasus were both occupied by them from the West. In other words, in both cases the expansion paralleled the Caucasian chain, which circumstance somewhat facilitated it. Yet only once, in the Russian case, did a great power succeed in dominating the whole area by a direct crossing of the chain of the Caucasus. This crossing was without doubt aided by a technology unknown to the previous periods. Even so it was a great achievement and gave the Russian occupation an outstanding and unique place in Caucasian history.

144 *175 Though it is generally regarded as axiomatic that the inhabitants of the Caucasus must be divided into an autochthonous and a newcomer group, it seems to me that this is a drastic oversimplification. Among the "newcomers", the Russians and the Turks have arrived most recently; among the so-called "autochthonous", the Ossetians and the Armenians are obviously not truly indigenous, for they are known to have come into the Caucasus from elsewhere. The Georgians were in all probability not autochthonous either. Only the North Paleocaucasians have an honorable antiquity, yet even in their case the antiquity is due rather to our lack of knowledge than to the actual facts, and there are no facts that would compel us to believe that their habitat had always been the Caucasus.

*175 The known history of the Caucasus begins in the 13th century B. C. That was approximately the century in which the empire of the Kimmerians in the north and the State of Urartu in the south came into existence. The Kimmerians, a people probably of Thracian origin, subjugated the whole area between the chain of the Caucasus and the countries of Danubian Europe. Their empire lasted many centuries and was partially destroyed only about 750 B. C. when the Scythians defeated the Eastern Kimmerians, who then crossed the Caucasus and settled in Asia Minor. The Western Kimmerians were not subjugated until two centuries later by these same Scythians.

*175 The state which appeared in the south at the same period as the Kimmerian in the north was that of Urartu, a state composed of an Asianic people. This state flourished until the 8th century B. C. and was repeatedly attacked during its history by the Assyrians. After the downfall of this state, which roughly occurred in the 7th century B. C., its people merged with the Armenians.

In 750 B. C. the North Caucasus and the whole region of the European Steppes were taken over by the Scythians, an Indo-European people belonging to the North-Iranian branch. It was from this date on that the North-Iranian peoples were the leading peoples of the area. From 750 B. C. on, an uninterrupted chain of North-Iranian peoples (the Scythians, the Sarmatians, the Alans, the Ass, the Ossetians) formed a constant component among the peoples of the North Caucasus. The Scythians and their North-Iranian successors (except the Ossetians) were nomadic. Their life is well known from the classic description of Herodotus.

It was only a short time after the foundation of the Scythian Empire that Greek commercial colonies appeared along the Caucasian Black Sea coast. These Greek colonies which were centered around some major cities (Tanais, Phanagoria, Gorgippia, Topsidas, Pitiunt, Dioskurias, Phasis) also formed an uninterrupted chain of Greek settlements in the Caucasus until after World War II when these Greeks and their traditions ceased to exist.

*175 During the 7th century a new Indo-European people, the Armenians, appeared in the South Caucasus. According to the results of studies in Armenian antiquities they originally lived in Thrace and came to the Armenian Highlands after a long journey through Asia Minor. On the Armenian plateau they became the successors of the Urartu State. However this Armenian State of the uplands did not remain independent. At the end of the 7th Century B. C. this state became a part of the Median Empire. Thus, fate singled out this interesting people and its state from the very beginning of its statehood to be dependent on neighboring great powers.

The Georgians, the other small power of the area, are in evidence as a people in the South Caucasus in the same period. Their state, in contrast to that of the Armenians, was not connected with the Median Empire. It seems that their geopolitical location gave them more freedom from the very beginning than their southern neighbors.

We have no data as to when, how, or from where the Circassians came to the Caucasus. If they are related to the southern branch of the Paleocaucasian peoples, then their history must be connected with that of the Georgians mentioned above. Whereas if they are not connected with the Georgians, in other words if their common linguistic and other features are merely borrowed from each

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*175 other, then one must accept the fact that their origin is unknown.

Whereas during the 6th century B. C. the North Caucasian history was uneventful, changes of considerable importance occurred in the South Caucasus. The Median Empire, which according to some authorities is connected with the Kurds, succumbed under the blows of the Achaemenids from South West Iran, who around the mid-sixth century founded a new Persian Empire. The Georgian and the Armenian peoples, in general the whole South Caucasus, belonged firmly to this state.

During the following century it is rather in the North Caucasus that we can record some events. At first, the Greek colonies increased their importance around the Sea of Azov, and in 438 B. C. the Spartocids, a Hellenized Thracian dynasty, formed the State of Bosporus with the present day Kerch as its capital. The state had a Greek character and was the granary of Hellas. It remained independent until Mithridates VI, King of Pontus seized it, at the very end of the 2nd century B. C.

A whole century after the foundation of the Bosporus State the South Caucasus was partially occupied by Alexander the Great. The boundaries of this huge empire did not enter deeply into the Caucasian area. The Armenian people completely belonged to it but the Georgians remained beyond its frontiers. Thus the difference between the fates of the Armenian

#175 and Georgian peoples, though slight, was again in evidence. It is at this time that the formation of Georgia as a kingdom in two units occurred. These two states were Kolkhis and Iberia (the capital of which was Mtskheta, in the vicinity of Tbilisi).

In the 3rd century there are many noteworthy events in the history of the North and South Caucasus. In the North Caucasus the important event was the replacing of the Scythians by the Sarmatians who remained from 250 B. C. until 250 A. D. the leading ethnic power of North Caucasus and of the European steppe regions. The Sarmatians, like their predecessors and closest relatives the Scythians, were nomads.

Due to the internal problems which existed in and among the successor states of the Macedonian Empire, the South Caucasus became more self-assertive during this period. Besides the already independent Georgian Kolkhis and Iberia, new independent units appeared on the scene. The Armenians made their first steps towards the "Great Armenia" of the 2nd and 1st century B. C., Albania, with an undefinable Iranian population, and Media Atropatanae (the source of the name Azerbaijan) also became almost independent, and both were only very loosely connected with the Seleucid Empire.

The 2nd and the 1st centuries B. C. saw quite a lot of changes in the area. That was the

*175 period in which the Mountain Tribes were mentioned for the first time which naturally does not mean that they had not arrived in the area until this date. The other important event in the North Caucasus was in 110 B. C. when the Bosporus State ceased to exist. It was attached to the Pontic State, which was formed in the 3rd century B. C. along the Black Sea coast of Asia Minor, and also conquered the Georgian Kolkhis. The Pontic State reached its apogee during the rule of Mithridates VI. Albania and the eastern Georgian unit of Iberia also shrank considerably as a result of the expansion of the new Armenia. The Armenian State was especially during the rule of Tigranes I strongly allied with the Pontic State, and the Armenian ruler with the help of Mithridates VI, his father-in-law, extended his realm across Asia Minor. However, Tigranes I, like Mithridates, was defeated in the third Mithridatic War (74 B. C. -63 B. C.). As a result of the campaigns of Lucullus and Pompey, Mithridates' state ceased to exist and Kolkhis, its South Caucasian part, was attached directly to Rome. Iberia, the Eastern Georgian state, independent until those times, together with Albania became a Roman vassal state. Due to the same campaigns, Great Armenia also ceased to exist and became a tributary of Rome. Media Atropatane, Armenia's Eastern province, and almost beyond the borderlines of the South Caucasus, was conquered by the nomadic

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*175 Parthian Empire, the dangerous rivals of the Roman power especially during the 1st century A. D. A little bit later, Armenia itself under the Arsacids, a cadet branch of the Parthian dynasty, became a buffer state between these two empires and was tributary to Rome and to the Parthians alternately. The life of Tiridates, the strongest Armenian ruler during the 1st century, best demonstrates the precarious position of this state.

From 62 A. D. until 226 A. D. which marks the ascent to the throne of the Sassanians, the last Persian dynasty in Iran, there was not any noteworthy change in the Caucasus itself. Yet it was during this period that a branch of the Turkic peoples, to wit the Western Turks, appeared along the Ural and Volga Rivers. It marks the first appearance around the Caucasus of those Turks who later played such a decisive role in the area.

The year 226 A. D. brought changes both in the North and in the South Caucasus.

In the North Caucasus the Alans took the place of the Sarmatians. Ethnically speaking, the change was of minor importance because both peoples belonged to the same North Iranian group. Their ethnic relations were quite similar to those existing between the Scythians and the Sarmatians. In other words, names rather than the actual people changed.

In the South Caucasus the situation of the small powers did not change at all. Among

*175 the great powers the change consisted in the fact that the Parthians were overthrown by the Sassanians. Those provinces, like Media Atropatanae, which belonged to the Parthians, belonged from this date on to the Sassanians, whereas Armenia, the Roman-Parthian tributary buffer state, continued under the same old Armenian Arsacid dynasty but became a Roman-Sassanian tributary buffer state. It is noteworthy that with the beginning of the 4th century Armenia embraced the Christian religion and thus became the oldest Christian state on the earth. The fact that this geopolitically unluckily located state had an independent Christian Church as early as that proved itself very useful in the maintenance of Armenian semi-independence among such great powers as the Roman, Sassanian, Byzantine, Arab, Seljukid, etc. Georgian Christianity also started in the same century.

Toward the end of the 4th century, to be exact around 387 A.D., the area underwent several important changes. In the North Caucasus the North Iranian Alans got a new nomadic rival. The Huns, the new masters of the Steppes, who belonged to the Altaic peoples, but whose Turkic origin is not certain, pushed the Alans, the old masters, southward while forcing the Western Turks toward the north.

In the South Caucasus one of the great powers during the same period became weaker. The successor of the Roman Empire, the

*175 Byzantine Empire, was unable to maintain its hold on all the Roman dependencies, and according to the agreement between Byzantium and the Sassanian Empire, the Sassanian Empire got such territories as had previously belonged to Rome. Iberia, the eastern Georgian unit, Albania, and Armenia became Sassanian provinces. The Byzantine Empire kept only Kolkhis, or under a more recent name: Lazika. The Armenians in particular entered on a difficult period. The Sassanians tried to uproot them, or rather their Christianity. Under the influence of the Sassanian persecutions the Armenians started to move westwards towards Byzantine Armenia until finally under the Maniguni dynasty they ceased their movement when they received local autonomy.

After 463 A.D. there were no noteworthy changes in the South Caucasus; but in the north the ethnic pattern changed considerably. At first the great Hun Empire, of which the area formed part, ceased to exist, and after the events which followed the death of Attila (453 A.D.) a new political unit, the Pontic Hun Empire, came into existence. This new entity was also ruled by the Attila dynasty. A less spectacular but more important event was the immigration into the area of the Western Turks, who, merging with the Pontic Huns formed a new mixed Turkic nation, that of the Bulgarians. The Western Turks, who had previously lived in Western Siberia and around the

*175 Ural River, settled down in the western parts of the North Caucasus and brought along with them also from Western Siberia the Hungarians, who established themselves along the Kuban River and the Sea of Azov in the vicinity of the Alans.

The above mentioned state of affairs lasted until approximately 550 A.D. when with the arrival of the Kök Turks the political status of the North Caucasus underwent new changes. The Kök Turks founded from their center in present day Outer Mongolia the greatest Turkic state in history, the only one which embraced the whole Turkic World, covering a huge area extending from the Kingan Mountains in Manchuria as far west as the Crimea. In the North Caucasus they appeared as the pursuers of the Avars, a people of Mongolian origin, who established themselves in Danubian Europe at the same period. With the arrival of the Kök Turks in the North Caucasus the Pontic Hun Empire disappeared and its component peoples like the Bulgars, Hungarians, etc. became parts of the Kök Turkic state.

In the South Caucasus the great power balance did not change during this period. The Byzantine Empire and the Sassanian Empire were continuously struggling with each other without being able to change the existing borderlines.

*175 In 591 A.D., however, according to a new agreement with the Sassanian Empire, Byzantium moved its borderlines eastward and not only Iberia, the Eastern Georgian unit, but even the greater part of Armenia changed its status, both of them becoming Byzantine provinces. In the North Caucasus, the changes were unimportant. The political situation remained as before. The only noteworthy change was the appearance of the Kazars, a Turkic people who settled down in the eastern part of the area and who later during the 7th-10th centuries played the prime role in the North Caucasus.

At the beginning of the 7th century the strong figure of Heraclius I (c. 575-641 A.D.), Byzantine emperor, brought considerable changes in the political scene of the whole Caucasus. During his reign (610-641 A.D.) the Avars threatened his Empire from the West, and the Sassanians in their turn took away Syria and Egypt in the East. To maintain the Byzantine realm and to reconquer the lost provinces, Heraclius I made use of the services of two Turkic peoples. The Pontic Bulgarians he used against his arch enemies the Avars. As a result of this Byzantine-Bulgarian cooperation, a new, and short-lived unit, the Onogur-Bulgar Empire with Kubrat as its ruler, appeared on the scene. The new unit embraced all the nomadic peoples of the Pontic area. The other Turkic people exploited by the

*175 Byzantine emperor were the Kazars who vigorously took part in the Byzantine campaigns against the Sassanians. The results of this campaign were: 1. the Byzantine reconquest of the lost provinces from the Persians; 2. the creation of those circumstances which some years later gave the Kazars the role of a great power.

After the death of Heraclius I at the middle of the 7th century, the political-ethnic picture of the Caucasus was as follows:

In the North Caucasus the Kazars took over the leading role. The Onogur-Bulgarian Empire ceased to exist. The Turkic Bulgarians were dispersed under the Kazar attacks. One part of them left their ancient habitat for Danubian Europe, creating there a strong Danubian Bulgarian Empire which was later Slavified. Another part of the Turkic Bulgarians migrated along the Volga River northward and created there the Volga-Bulgarian Empire existing as an independent unit until the Mongolian invasion. Finally, one part of the Pontic Bulgarians, with a majority of the Hungarians, became Kazar subjects. The Kazar Empire, a strong military and commercial unit, occupied, from the North Caucasus as a center (with capitals in Dagestan and in the vicinity of Astrakhan') the whole steppe region in Europe, and built her commercial - military colonies as far as Kiev, and Novgorod in the West, and North West,

*175 respectively. The same empire was the main bulwark against the Arab Caliphate which extended her realm during a very brief period as far as China and Spain, and was yet unable to cross the Caucasus lying so near Baghdad, and Samarra, the capitals of the Muslim world.

In the South Caucasus the Sassanian Empire was liquidated and the Arab Caliphate replaced the Sassanians as a great power. Even the Byzantine Empire was obliged to retreat westwards in front of the vigorous Arabic push. Kartlia, the new name of Iberia, Arran, the new name for Albania, and Armenia became as the result of the Habib ibn Maslamah campaign (644-652 A. D.) Arabic provinces. Lazika, the old Kolkhis, continued to remain in Byzantine hands. Dynasty changes in the Arab Caliphate itself did not have any repercussions in the South Caucasus. The Arabic part remained firmly in Arabic hands even during the reign of the first Umayyads, to be precise until 680 A. D.

Around 680 A. D., when the Arabs were conducting their most violent attacks against Byzantium itself, Byzantine supremacy in the South Caucasus disappeared completely. Lazika, being only in loose contact with Byzantium during the 7th century, was occupied by Armenian kings who were more or less tributary to the Caliph. Similarly, the other Georgian areas were also in Armenian hands. Yet, the majority

*175 of the Armenians themselves lived in the Arab Caliphate proper, and partially in the Eastern marches of the Byzantine Empire. In the North Caucasus there were not any noteworthy changes in this period.

In the 8th century, the North Caucasian situation remained unchanged. Violent Kazar-Arab clashes continued to occur. The Arabs were on the defensive, and the Kazars very often raided Iraq itself, the heart of the Arab Empire. At the same time Byzantine-Kazar relations became very friendly symbolized by several intermarriages between the Kazar and the Byzantine dynasties.

In the South Caucasus the autonomy of the Armenian kings disappeared completely (after 717 A.D.), and it was only Lazika, the western Georgian unit, the "Kingdom of Woodlands", which can be considered as an independent corner in the area. The Arab Caliphate was divided into various provinces. Some of them like Jurzan (= Iberia) corresponded to old political units, but in the majority of cases the pattern became more complicated than it was earlier. Albania was replaced by Arran, Shirvan, and Mughan, whereas Armenia was divided into Tarun and Arminiyah. Adharbaijan, the successor of Media Atropatanae, remained almost completely beyond the borders of the South Caucasus.

During the 9th century the situation in the South Caucasus, due to the Pax Arabica,

#175 was static. It was rather the North Caucasus which changed and which started to produce events indicating the internal problems of the Pax Kazarica. The Hungarians, one of the most important components of the Kazar Empire, left around 800 A. D. their ancient habitat along the Kuban River, crossed the Don and settled down in the great curve formed by this river. The Pechenegs, the first Kipchak-Turkic people of the area, appeared, during this period, on the eastern side of the Volga River.

Around 890 A. D. the whole Caucasian area underwent serious changes.

In the North Caucasus the Turkic pressure increased. The Hungarians, due to a Pecheneg push, left the curve of the Don River, and their habitat was occupied by the Pechenegs. The territory beyond the Volga River, which was previously in the hands of the Pechenegs, became an Oghuz-Turkic territory. This shift of peoples was very important because it deprived the Kazar Empire of its Hungarian, and partially of its Kazar components, and isolated the Kazar Empire from its northern areas and market places as well.

In the South Caucasus with the disintegration of the Arab Caliphate, though Jurzan and Arminiyah remained under a nominal 'Abbasid sovereignty, the eastern provinces were ruled by the Zaydids of Azerbaijan. Armenia, due to the Arabic disintegration,

*175 became stronger, and under its native dynasty, the Bagratids, prepared itself for independence and subsequent expansion. Ethnically speaking, Turkic infiltration was what characterized the South Caucasus during this period. The Arabic marches on the frontier of the Byzantine Empire had been Turkified since 850 A. D., and Azerbaijan became slowly the Oghuz-Turkic headquarters of the Near and Middle East. This Turkification process complemented the other one in the North Caucasus and created a basis for those very strong Turkic influences which were thereafter witnessed in the next ten centuries of Caucasian history.

In 930 A. D. the Arab Caliphate was completely eliminated from the South Caucasus. The Armenian Bagratid dynasty created in addition to the Bagratid Armenia a Bagratid Georgia as well. Yet, not all the Armenians were united under the Bagratids. Southern Armenia, i.e., Vashpurgan, was in the hands of another Armenian dynasty, the Ardzerunids, who were during the 10th century bitter rivals of the Bagratids. Lazika continued to be independent. In contrast to Christian Western South Caucasus the eastern part remained Muslim, despite the collapse of the Caliphate. Even Tbilisi was the center of a khanate. The Muslims were ethnically either Arabs or Iranians, or Oghuz Turks. The latter constituted especially in the Azeri emirates the majority.

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*175 In 966 A.D. the situation in the North Caucasus changed in as far as the Kazar Empire lost its great power position and became a secondary state. The Scandinavian Russians after having captured the most important Kazar market places, even attacked Itil, the capital of the empire. Despite the fact that the Kazars were saved by Khwarezmians, the Kazar Empire was unable after this blow to recapture its old holdings, and very soon even the Kazar State ceased to exist. The Scandinavian Russians at the same time occupied the commercially important Taman Peninsula.

In the South Caucasus the situation did not change very much. Beside the independent small Georgian states, the splitting of Armenian States continued. Beside Vashpurgan, and the Bagratid Armenia (with Ani, Lori, and Dvin provinces) Ashot III created for his grandchild a third political unit, i.e., the Armenian State of Kars. All these Armenian states were on very good terms with Byzantium. The Byzantine cultural influence increased, and Ani, the capital of the Bagratid Armenia, became an important cultural center of the period. The Muslim part of the South Caucasus witnessed the splitting of the area into very small units. At the same time this Muslim area slowly became overcrowded with Oghuz Turkic elements.

*175 In the first half of the 11th century, the North Caucasus witnessed the complete disappearance of the Kazar State. At the same time the westward migration of Turkic peoples continued. The Oghuz Turks occupied the Don curve, evacuated by the Pechenegs, whereas the former habitat of the Oghuz Turks had been occupied by Kipchak Turkic elements.

In the South Caucasus the Byzantine expansion was characteristic. The Armenian-Byzantine relations on one side, the Byzantine expansion in general on the other resulted in Byzantium's taking over step by step the Armenian kingdoms. At first Vashpurgan became Byzantine territory (1022 A.D.). Some years later Ani, the essential part of Bagratid Armenia was attached to Byzantium (1045 A.D.). Finally the Armenian State of Kars also became Byzantine. The Byzantines fitted these newly conquered areas into their military organizations maintained on the eastern frontiers against the Muslims who were mostly of Oghuz Turkic origin. The large proportion in which Armenians participated in the life of the Byzantine marches gave the whole system a very strong Armenian character. In other words, the Byzantine Christian and the Muslim World watched and fought each other with Armenian and with Oghuz Turkic forces. To the Armenians, even from the Armenian point

*175 of view, it was perhaps better that they were attached to Byzantium. As independent states they would not have had the ability to resist the Oghuz Turkic push whereas in this way they were at least able to move to the west later on and found Little Armenia. The Georgian States and the Muslim South Caucasus were not affected by the Byzantine expansion and the situation there remained more or less unchanged until the Seljukid period.

The years around 1064 A. D. opened a completely new era in the history of the South Caucasus. During these years, the Oghuz Turks under the domination of the Seljukid dynasty, but in opposition to its will, took over, from their headquarters in Azerbaijan, not only the South Caucasus, but politically and ethnically conquered the whole of Asia Minor except for some western fringes. The Byzantine Empire ceased to exist as a great power after the Manzikert battle (1071) not only in the South Caucasus but in general everywhere else as well. The Crusades which started in order to save Byzantium and the Holy Places from Oghuz Turkic hands had of course no effect whatsoever in such a distant area as the South Caucasus which was at the same time close to the center of the new Seljukid great power. The Turkification of the Northern Tier of the Near and Middle East

*175 was thus officially completed and the small powers of the South Caucasus were attached either directly to the Great Seljukid Empire or became vassals as in the case of Georgia. The majority of the Armenian people remained on the spot, whereas a smaller part under the conduct of the Rupenids left Armenia with the retreating Byzantium and founded Little Armenia, a new Armenian State on the Adana Lowland along the coast of the Mediterranean. Byzantium itself was able to save just a little strip around the city of Trebizond.

In the North Caucasus events also developed quite rapidly. The steppe was taken over completely by the Kipchak Turks who occupied the whole region from the Karpathian Mountains as far as the Altai. The Alans were in close relations with the Kipchak Turks and one can observe a certain Turkification even among them. The Russian State of Kiev seems to have still had a hold on the Taman Peninsula.

This was the situation until the disintegration of the Great Seljukid Empire which occurred in 1136 A.D. Through the political unity of the Oghuz Turks disappeared in this way this new situation did not mean that there were ethnical changes in the area. Ethnically, the South Caucasus remained Oghuz Turkic except in its Christian parts.

*175 As so often in South Caucasian history, the elimination of the great powers immediately resulted in one or even several of the small powers becoming stronger and having a "Golden Age." After the collapse of the Great Seljukid Empire it was Georgia's turn to profit from this opportunity. Georgia under King David II, and especially under Queen Thamar became completely independent and reached its greatest expansion and flowering. Not only the Georgian states were ruled by them, but North Armenia and some provinces of the Muslim South Caucasus also belonged to the Georgian State. The Armenians were less fortunate during this period. Not only were they divided between the Georgians and the Oghuz Turks; Southern Armenia, in the hands of the Emire of Khilat, became ethnically rather a Turkic territory. The rest of the Oghuz Turks lived in little emirates like that of Shirvan, Ganja, and Arran, and in Azerbaijan. The Byzantine State after the formidable Seljukid blow in the 11th century with the help of the Crusades and with the Great Seljukid disintegration was only able to enlarge its realm very slightly in the regions of Trebizond.

In the North Caucasus there was not any change during this period. The Kipchak Turks continued to be the leading element.

During the first half of the 13th century A.D. the political pattern of the whole

*175 Caucasian area changed once again. Ethnically there were not any serious changes. The great political changes were due to the Mongolian invasion which swept through the South and the North Caucasus alike. It was the first time in Caucasian history that the masters of the North and the South Caucasus were the same, i.e., the Mongols. However, the rule under the same master lasted only for a very short period (until 1256 A.D.) and even this short period was filled with military actions. As a result of the Mongolian invasion of the North Caucasus, the Kipchak Turks, the Alans, and the other smaller peoples came under Mongolian domination. The Mongols (Tatars) in their turn were almost from the very beginning Turkified, maintaining and giving to their new Kipchak Turkic subjects only the name of Tatar. This denomination started to be used from this period on as one of the names of the Kipchak Turks. Due to the same invasion the holdings of Kiev around the Taman Peninsula were lost and the lucrative trading harbors were occupied some years later by the Genoese.

In the South Caucasus Georgia lost considerable territory to the Mongolian attacks. She lost North Armenia. Thus, the Armenians and the Oghuz Turks became completely Mongolian subjects. The Turkification of the Mongolians here too started immediately. However, instead of Kipchak Turkic, they

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*175 here took over the Oghuz Turkic dialect. On the fringes of the South Caucasus a new Greek state was formed, i.e., the State of Trebizond. It became an independent state when Byzantium was occupied in 1204 A. D. by the Latins.

The united Mongolian domination of the Caucasus, lasted only for a short period. In 1256 A. D., with the new Mongol invasion in the Near and Middle East, two distinct Mongolian Empires came into existence; the Kipchak Empire in the north, and the Ilkhanid Empire in the south, with quite unfriendly relations between them. The North Caucasus belonged to the Kipchak Empire which was politically Mongolian, but ethnically Turkic. The coast of the Sea of Azov formed a Genoese colony, which was interested mostly in shipping of Kipchak Turkic slaves to Egypt and to Italy. The Circassians and the Mountain Tribes formed a no-man's-land between the Kipchak and the Ilkhanid Empires and lived relatively independently.

In the south, Georgia once again lost some territory, and the State of Trebizond also lost territory to the Ilkhanid push. The Armenians and the Oghuz Turks lived mostly in the Ilkhanid Empire.

This was the state of affairs until 1336 A. D., i.e., until the collapse of the Ilkhanid Empire. At this date whereas the situation in the North Caucasus remained unchanged, in the South Caucasus the Ilkhanid

*175 dynasty was replaced by the Jalayirids, another Turkified group of Mongolian origin. The Jalayirid period however did not last too long; only until 1378 A. D., when their place was taken by the Black Sheep dynasty. During the rule of both dynasties the ethnic stock of the Empire remained the same; that is, it was Oghuz Turkic, or more specifically, Azeri Turkic, due to the split occurring among the Oghuz Turks at that time. This Azeri Turkic group which occupied the major part of the South Caucasus, the whole of northern Iran and Iraq, and Asia Minor as far as Ankara later shrank considerably under the expansion of the Ottoman Turks (another Oghuz Turkic group), and under the influence of the Persian civilization. The fate of the small powers in the South Caucasus remained after 1336 A. D. the same as it was before. The Georgians, and the Greeks of Trebizond maintained their independence, whereas the Armenians lived in the Jalayirid and the Black Sheep empires.

With the year 1391 A. D. the whole Caucasus was stirred up by a new conqueror, whose name was Timur, a Turkified ruler of Mongolian ancestry, who extended the frontiers of his Central Asiatic Turkic Empire deep into the Near and Middle East, and who after 1391 conquered almost the whole of the South Caucasus. Georgia as an independent state

*175 almost disappeared, only the riverheads of the Rion river remained in Georgian hands. The Greek State of Trebizond shrank again and became a narrow strip along the Black Sea coast. All the Armenians, and the Azeri Turks fell into the Empire of Timur. The situation of the Azeri Turks in this empire was very interesting in as far as the Timurids and their Turkic Empire belonged to a Turkic group other than the Azeri Turks. The differences among the three main Turkic groups: the Oghuz, the Kipchak, and the Turki Turks sometimes were causes of great international problems. Yet, we have no indication that the relations between the Timurids and their Azeri Turkic subjects were particularly difficult.

In the North Caucasus the clashes were much stronger between the Timurids and the Kipchak Empire than they were in Azeri Turkic territory. Timur, who undertook several campaigns against the Kipchak Empire, was unable to defeat it. However, due to the Timurid campaigns on Kipchak territory, the Kipchak Empire very soon ran into various internal troubles which resulted in its splitting up into various khanates.

After the death of Timur (1405 A. D.), five different khanates emerged from the Kipchak Empire. Of these only two were located in the North Caucasus: the Khanate of Crimea,

*175 and the Khanate of Astrakhan'. In all of these khanates the population consisted as in the Kipchak Empire of Kipchak Turks. The khanates were completely independent at the beginning and were able, as the Crimean Khanate, even to extend the Kipchak Turkic area to the detriment of the Genoese Colony. The small powers of the no-man's-land, the Circassians, and the Mountain Tribes, remained more or less untouched by all these political earthquakes.

In the South Caucasus after the death of Timur, the Azeri Turkic Black Sheep dynasty took over control again. The Georgians exploiting the weakness of the great powers descended from the riverheads into the Rion and Kura valley whereas the Armenians continued under foreign rule, this time in the Empire of the Black Sheep. The Black Sheep themselves had a new rival, a new ascending great power. The Azeri Turks under the Black Sheep dynasty had hardly freed themselves from the Turki rule when they were confronted with a new expansion from the west on the part of their nearest kinsmen, the Oghuz Turkic Ottomans. The Ottoman Empire which from the 16th century on played a decisive role in the whole Caucasus did not at this early period extend, beyond the Erzerum line, which meant however that it held in its hand vast Azeri Turkic territories. The Greek

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#175 State of Trebizond was able to maintain its independence for a while, especially due to the fact that the Ottomans regarded the Empire of the Black Sheep as their number one enemy.

The years between 1461-1475 A. D. were once again full of movements. In the North Caucasus the Genoese Colony was completely liquidated by the Crimean Khanate (1475 A. D.). In the same year the Crimean Khanate signed a treaty with the Ottoman Empire which contained a stipulation making this khanate an Ottoman vassal state. The other two neighboring khanates, that of Astrakhan', and that of Kazan', also cooperated with the Ottomans, but as independent states. In no-man's-land, Dagestan and the Circassians remained as independent units.

In the South Caucasus the Empire of the Black Sheep was replaced by the Empire of the White Sheep (in 1467 A. D.). Like their predecessor, this new dynasty belonged to the Azeri Turkic group. The Greeks of the State of Trebizond were defeated by the Ottomans (1461 A. D.), and from this date on the fate of the Pontic Greeks was similar to that of the Armenians; both were minorities in various Turkic states.

Whereas at the beginning of the 16th century in the North Caucasus the situation did not change, in the South Caucasus it was as

*175 follows: In 1502 the Empire of White Sheep was replaced by that of the Safavids. The Safavid Empire is very often considered as a Persian state of a Persian dynasty. This concept is totally wrong. The difference between this new state and its predecessors is that whereas the previous units were Sunni Turkic units, the Safavids in order to maintain themselves between the advancing Ottoman Turkic power in the West, and the Uzbek Turkic power in the East, accepted the Shia of their nomadic Turkic tribesmen as the state religion. Iran, as a geographical concept, on this new basis recovered its unity which had been lost since the collapse of the Sassanian Empire. This new arrangement at the same time gave possibilities to the Persian component of the empire, culturally always very strong, to try to win back Iran at least ethnically. The borderlines between this new empire and the Ottoman state cut Trans-caucasia into two. The eastern 2/3 of the area belonged to the Safavids whereas the western 1/3 was in Ottoman hands. Georgia thus disappeared as an independent unit and was divided into two parts. Ethnically both Turkic dynasties based their rule in the South Caucasus on the same component, i.e., on the Azeri Turks. However, with the continuity of the Ottoman rule in the western Azeri Turkic territories the Azeri Turks started to become Ottomanized. This was all

*175 the more easy because at this date the linguistic differences between these two groups were still almost nonexistent.

Toward the mid 16th century a completely new force entered into the Caucasus, Russia. The first appearance of this new great power gave no hint of later developments. Yet it was a challenge from the very beginning to the Ottoman positions in the North Caucasus. The Ottomans at those times had a firm hold on the Khanate of Crimea. At the same time they directly ruled a base in the heart of this khanate, to wit Azov. In addition to these they had previously occupied the Circassian Black Sea coast which in fact turned the Black Sea into an Ottoman inland sea. Consequently, it was natural that Ottomans should view with mingled feelings the Russians' occupation of the Khanate of Kazan' (1552), of the heart of the Khanate of Astrakhan' (1556), and their appearance as a force on the Caspian Sea with a base at Tersk. The Russian conquest at the same time split the Kipchak Turks into several separate parts. This kind of development was the more disagreeable to the Ottomans because they were trying to make contact with the Sunni Uzbek state in Central Asia through the areas of the North Caucasus. In the following years the Ottomans, despite their failure to recapture Astrakhan' from the Russians or to build a Don-Volga canal nevertheless did succeed in extending their influence

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*175 into the Circassian area and, after a series of battles lasting until 1590, in eliminating the Safavid Empire from the South Caucasus, and attaining the Caspian Sea in the south and attaching Dagestan to their realm, thus bringing all the small powers of the Caucasus within the sphere of the Pax Ottomanica. This was the second attempt on the part of a great power to gain control of the entire Caucasus. From the ethnic point of view the Azeri Turks lost additional territories to the Ottomans, which reduced the area of the Azeri Turks to approximately its present boundaries.

Toward the middle of the 17th century the situation changed inasmuchas a new people, the Mongolian Kalmuks, settled down in the North Caucasus, in the steppes of the former Khanate of Astrakhan'. This new people formed a valuable component of the Russian army. They were used by the Russians against Ottoman territories much as the Ottomans had used the Crimean Turks and the Circassians against Russia.

In the South Caucasus the situation changed inasmuchas direct Ottoman rule in the eastern parts was replaced by several Muslim states tributary to the Ottomans. These tributary states formed a kind of safety belt against the Safavids.

The end of the 17th century can be characterized as a period of further Russian

*175 expansion in the north and of the maintenance of Ottoman power in the south.

In 1681 the Khanate of Crimea lost its northern holdings to Russia. Azov, once the Ottoman base in the heart of the khanate became by this Russian conquest an Ottoman frontier stronghold which was sometimes even captured by the Russians. The Don Cossacks moved into the vicinity of this stronghold and formed with the Kalmyks and the Cossacks of Tersk a solid Russian belt against the Ottoman frontiers.

In the South Caucasus there was not any change at this time.

In the second quarter of the 18th century changes were characteristic rather for the South Caucasus. The status of the North Caucasus remained the same.

After the ephemeral attempts of Peter the Great along the Caspian coasts in the first quarter of the century the real changes occurred after 1730 A. D. in the South Caucasus. This is the year in which Iran, after the Afghan Ghilzai interregnum received a new and strong Turkic ruling house, the Avshar dynasty, which took over after four years of fighting all the Ottoman tributary states (except Dagestan). Thus, the safety belt which existed between the Ottomans and the Safavids ceased to exist. The Empire of the Avshars so strongly liquidated the Ottoman holdings in

*175 the eastern South Caucasus that even after the downfall of the Avshars, which took place some years later, the Ottomans did not try to recapture these lost territories. The area remained under independent Turkic khans until the rise of a new Iranian Turkic dynasty, that of the Kajars toward the end of the 19th century.

Except for some Russian advances in the Tersk area, the North Caucasus was quiet during the period.

The next turning point in Caucasian history was in the years around 1783. These years and the decades thereafter show that the Russian expansion policy was getting stronger and, what is at least as important, that the Ottoman Empire was unable to meet the challenge.

The great events of the North Caucasus were forecast by the definite fall of Azov (1774). After this event the Russian occupation of the Crimean Khanate itself became imminent. In 1783 the Ottomans permanently lost the Crimean Khanate and the Eastern shores of the Sea of Azov were taken over by the Black Sea Cossacks. The collapse of Ottoman holdings on the northern shore of the Black Sea provoked even more changes. The Russians were able now to cut through, right in the middle, the North Caucasian belt composed of Circassians, Ossetians, and Mountain Tribes. Due to this, the eastern part of this belt, i.e., Dagestan,

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*175 which until then had been completely within the Ottoman orbit, became independent, and later on fell to the Kajars. The western, the Circassian part of the belt continued to cooperate directly with the Ottomans. The importance of the Russian corridor was tremendous. It gave Russia direct access to Georgia and made possible the conquest of the whole South Caucasus during the 19th century. Most appropriately, the stronghold that was built in the middle of this corridor received the name of Vladikavkaz ("Ruler of the Caucasus"). But the Russians strengthened their positions even in Dagestan. They crossed the Sulak River, and the Kumuks, a little Kipchak Turkic people, fell almost completely under Russian control. In the South Caucasus the area was divided between the Ottoman Empire and the State of the Kajars, the last state in Iran ruled by a Turkic dynasty. Due to the weakening of the Ottoman power, and to the fact that the Kajars did not represent a first-class force, and finally due to Russian activities, the Georgian independence movements started again. In Ottoman Georgia, Svanetia, along the Inguri River, became completely independent, whereas East Georgia was sometimes in the Kajar, sometimes in the Russian sphere of influence. Georgia under the rule of Irakli II (1760-1798) even gave an oath of allegiance to Russia. This close relation and

*175 the ensuing revolt was suppressed by the Kajars (1797). However, under the rule of Georgi XII, the successor of Irakli II, the Russians entered Georgia by their Vladikavkaz corridor, abolished the allied Kingdom of Georgia and annexed East Georgia as a province (1801). The great Russian advance in the South Caucasus had an impact in the North Caucasus as well. The eastern part of the Circassian territory, (the Kabardian area), became Russian, and only the western half remained connected with the Ottomans. At the same time Russian immigration started as well. This immigration, which has continued with increasing intensity throughout the 19th and 20th centuries completely changed the Turkic and Circassian ethnical patterns of the North Caucasus. As a result of these ethnical changes, this area which once had a Muslim and Turkic character now has a primarily Orthodox Christian and Russian appearance.

After the decisive year 1801, events followed each other in rapid sequence. In the South Caucasus, the Russians started using the Province of Georgia as a bridgehead toward the Caspian and the Black Seas. By 1813 they had succeeded in occupying the Khanates of Ganja, Karabagh, Shirvan, Sheki, Kuba, Baku, and Talish on the eastern side. All these khanates had belonged previously to

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RHI

*175 the Kajars, who ceded them to Russia in the Peace Treaty of Gulistan (1813). By the same date the Russians had on the western side taken away from the Ottomans Imeretia, Guria, Mingrelia, and Abkhazia. In addition to this they took away the little Shuragel area in the south. In other words, South Caucasia was conquered, using the word geographically, from inside and not from outside.

The years of 1828-1830 meant further Russian conquests in the South Caucasus. Two new khanates were taken from the Kajars, the Khanate of Erivan, and the Khanate of Nakhichevan. Both were ceded to Russia in the Turkmenchay peace treaty (1828). Similarly, the little state of Zakataly was also liquidated by the Russians (1830). The city of Poti, which had until then remained in Ottoman hands, became Russian (1829). Only Svanetia remained independent.

In the North Caucasus the Ottomans lost their last holdings. According to the Adrianople peace treaty (1829), the coastal strip between Abkhazia and the Taman Peninsula was given to Russia. This circumstance, though unpleasant to the Ottomans, had a more serious effect on the Circassians. In this way, like Chechnia and Dagestan, they became completely encircled and their independence was left to the mercy of the Russians.

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*175 The next important years in the history of the Caucasus were those connected with the Crimean War and with the struggle of Shamil and his associates.

In the North Caucasus the geographically encircled Mountain Tribes and the Circassians conducted under the leadership of Shamil a heroic struggle against Russia. The struggle had a chance of success during the Crimean War, whose conclusion in 1856, however, enabled the Russians to liquidate Shamil in 1859, and the Circassians in 1864. The defeat of the Circassians was followed by a mass emigration to Turkey. Hundreds of thousands perished during the journey. After the virtual liquidation of the Crimean Turks, the Circassians became the second Caucasian nation which was exterminated by the Russians. The Circassians of today's Russia must be considered as unimportant splinters of a nation which was once far more numerous.

In the year 1878, the Congress of Berlin gave the final political shape to the Russian Caucasus. This remained until the collapse of Czarist Russia. According to the agreement reached at the Conference, Russia received from the Ottoman Empire the provinces of Bakum and Kars. With these last acquisitions the number of the Caucasian provinces in Russian hands reached 16. Nine of them were in the South

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*175 Caucasus. The ethnic composition of the area also changed considerably. This was the period when the North Caucasus, due to railroad and other transportation facilities, became an overwhelmingly Slavic area. Whereas the western parts of the North Caucasus became rather Ukrainian, in the eastern parts the Great Russians were the dominant element.

The collapse of Czarist Russia gave new hope to those Caucasian peoples who did not live in overwhelmingly Slavic areas to try to regain possession of their lost independence. These attempts being in complete accordance with the Wilsonian principles, found support in the free world as well. In the South Caucasus the Georgian Menshevik, the Azeri Musavatist, and the Armenian Dashnak parties tried to form independent states. In the North Caucasus the Circassians, the Ossetians, the Mountain Tribes and the Kipchak Turkic peoples of the area attempted to build up their North Caucasian Mountaineer's Republic. Whereas the South Caucasian Republics are well known throughout the whole world the existence of this North Caucasian state has been forgotten. The Ottoman Empire being interested in the area at least in a passive way started to help Musavatist Azerbaijan and the

*175 Mountaineer's Republic. With its collapse, and with the withdrawal of interested Western powers, however, all these states remained on their own and in 1920 they ceased to exist one after the other.

*175 [631] The Bolshevik Russians after the difficulties of the first years reorganized the area along the Soviet Socialistic Republic principles. Whereas the Republics were set up on the nationality basis the oblast and kray divisions had been accepted rather along the lines of economic consideration. Materially the whole area has without doubt advanced. Spiritually, however, the Caucasus remained dissatisfied and with the German advances during World War II a whole series of problems popped up and showed the real state of *175 661 affairs. Ostensibly to punish collectively some Caucasian peoples for alleged crimes, in reality to further Russification, a whole series of peoples were exterminated by the Russians. The Czarist liquidation of Crimean Turks and Circassians was followed now by steps against the Paleocaucasian Chechen-Ingush people, and against the Balkars and Karachays of Turkic, and against the Kalmyks of Mongolian origin. There have even been accusations of Bolshevik genocide of the Crimean Turks, but this accusation is only partially justified. The overwhelming majority of the Crimean Turks

*175 had disappeared long before the Bolshevists
[661] who liquidated only those who were left them
by Czarist Russia.

In the South Caucasus the results of World War II were unimportant at least ethnically. In this relatively overpopulated area Russification proceeded at a much slower pace. These Republics, like the other densely populated borderlands of Soviet Russia may perhaps be able to maintain their ethnic character and survive.

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## Note on the Historical Setting of Russian Foreign Policy in the Caucasus

648 As I have already mentioned, the Russian occupation of the Caucasus started with the creation of the Vladikavkaz Corridor cutting through the North Caucasus and connecting Russia with Georgia.[1] The second phase of the Russian advance was the occupation of Georgia in the south; this was followed by the occupation of the adjacent South Caucasian areas from Georgia, and finally the occupation of the Dagestan and Circassian pockets in the North Caucasus. As a result of this occupation, Russia's drive toward the Eurasian coast gained a bridgehead in the Southern Caucasus similar in importance to that of Outer Mongolia, Afghanistan, the Balkans, or satellite East Germany.

The South Caucasian bridgehead is strikingly similar on a large scale to the Vladikavkaz Corridor. The South Caucasian bridgehead is to the Near and Middle East today what the Vladikavkaz Corridor was to the South Caucasus in the 18th and 19th centuries. Like the old one, the new corridor is located on the northern, or Russian side of a mountain range, in this case the Taurus-Zagros mountain system. Like the old one, the new corridor attempts to separate the two peoples which form the anti-Russian defense line of the Near and

1 [cf. cat. 116, pp. 299-300, also map 38, p. 348 -- Analyst]

648 Middle East. Today's "Circassians" and "Mountain Tribes" are the Turks and the Persians. The countries of these two peoples: Turkey and Iran are at the same time bordered by a western, and by an eastern Russian wedge (the Balkans and the area around Afghanistan) in the same way as the Circassians and the Mountain Tribes were bordered by the Russian strips along the Black and the Caspian Seas. Thus, the new Russian offensive makes these countries potential semi-pockets. At the southern end of the South Caucasian corridor, beyond the Taurus and the Zagros, is the Arabic World. This world with all its internal quarrels and over-emphasized issues like "Western Colonialism" or Israel, shows similar features to those which were characteristic of 18-19th century Georgia, and which made it ideal as a Russian sphere of interest.

The geopolitical structure of the Caucasus makes this area one of the favored "battlefields" of Russian foreign policy, and one of the key points in the Russian plan for "World Domination." Russia's present day Caucasian policy consists of the following three elements. First, to enlarge the width, depth and strength of the South Caucasian Corridor. (To this end Georgian, Armenian, Kurdish, Azeri Turkic, Talish, and Gilak would-be-nation movements are exploited. From time to time, a Georgian, Armenian, Kurdish irrendentist movement is put in motion

648 against Turkey, the bastion of the Near and Middle East, or a Gilaki People's Republic, a Kurdish Republic of Mahabad, or various South Azerbaijanian Republics are created in Iran.) The second element of the Russian South Caucasian foreign policy embraces the various attempts against Turkey's and Iran's ruling peoples themselves. Among the most recent attempts, the so-called "Battle of Azerbaijan" in 1946, which brought to the fore the military aspects of Russian foreign policy, was fought against Turkey. Synchronized with the concentration of Russian troops in the Balkan area, and reinforced with Russian demands for military bases in the Straits, and the cancellation of the Russian-Turkish Friendship Treaty, the "Battle of Azerbaijan" ushered in the "Cold War." After being defeated by Turkish firmness and a reorientation of United States foreign policy, the Russians began to concentrate on Iran. The newest phase of Russo-Persian relations is an attempt at "peaceful penetration" exploiting Persian socialistic, chauvinistic, or religious disruptive forces connected with or influenced by the Persian Communist Party, the Tudeh. The third aspect of Russian Caucasian policy has to do with the Arabic areas. The Russian infiltration which has a tradition especially in Iraq and Syria has started once again with revived impetus and larger objectives. The

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648 global results of this Russian "Arabic policy" are well known by everybody.

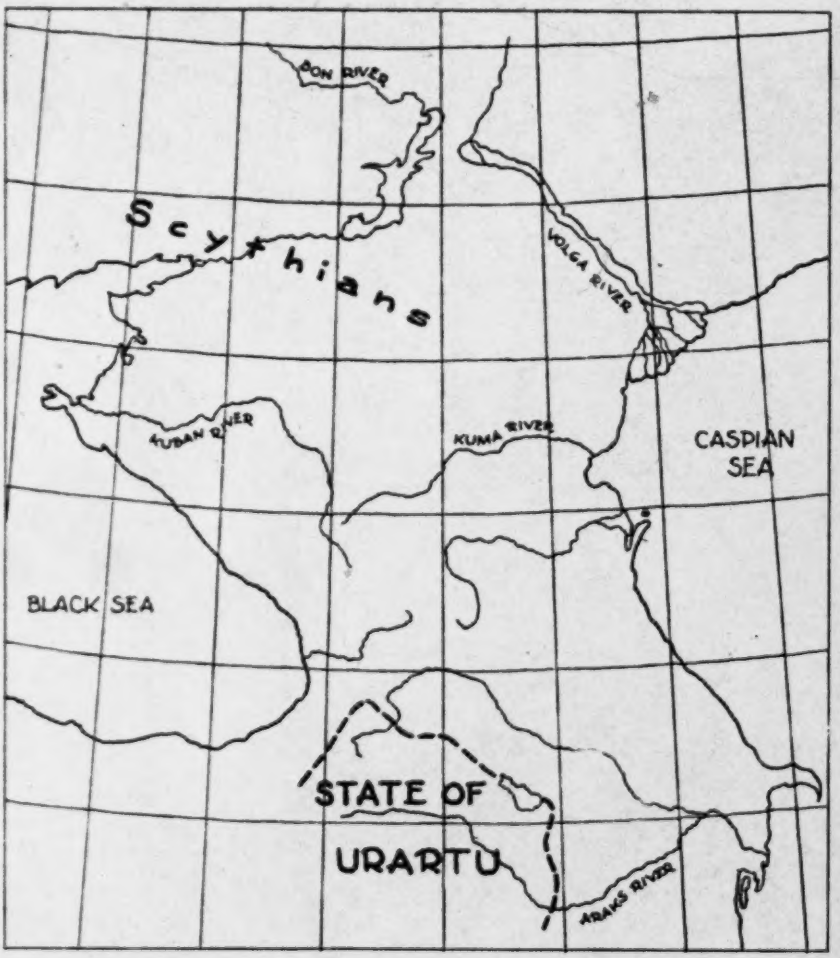
Though the geopolitical similarites between the South Caucasian and the Vladikavkaz Corridors are striking, it is to be hoped that Arabic-Russian cooperation will not yield Russia the same results as did Georgian-Russian cooperation a century and a half ago. Similarly, it is to be hoped that Turkey and Iran, the new pocket candidates, will be able to resist the Russian thrust with their own strength and the backing of their international alliances (NATO, Baghdad Pact) much more successfully than were the Circassians and the Mountain Tribes less than a century ago. Finally, it is to be hoped that the interested Northern Tier States will create for their own sake a solution that will take into consideration the would-be-nation movements of the area, and thus deprive Russian foreign policy of its chief tool in its attempt to enlarge its corridor in the South Caucasus.

1. 1200-750 B. C.

102

2. 750 B. C.

102

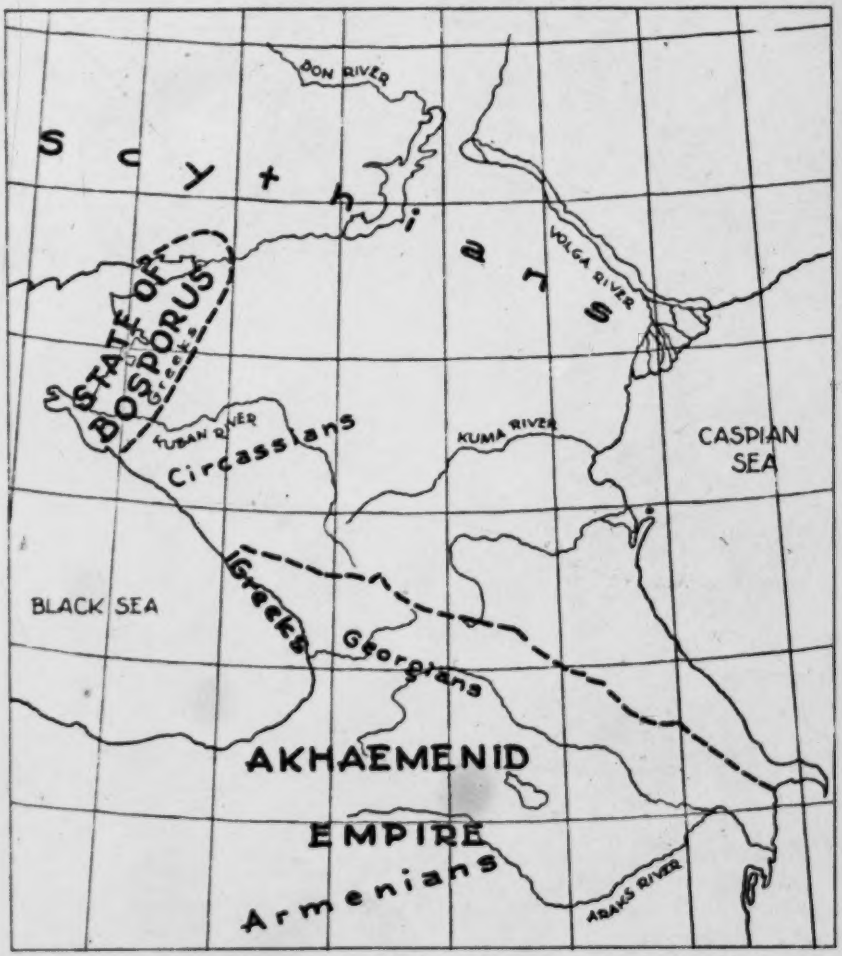

DON RIVER
Scythians
VOLGA RIVER
KUBAN RIVER
KUMA RIVER
CASPIAN SEA
BLACK SEA
STATE OF URARTU
ARAKS RIVER

3. 700 (600)-500 B. C.

102

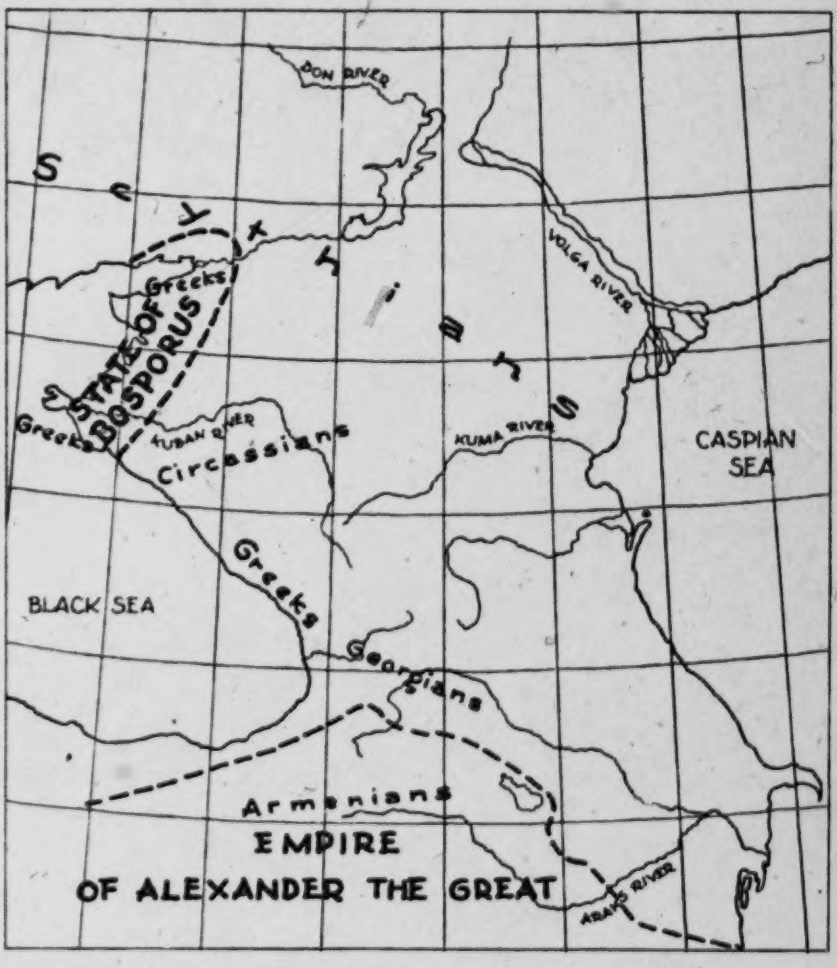
4. 5th Century B. C.

102



5. 323 B. C.

102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Scythians
VOLGA RIVER
Greeks
STATE OF BOSPORUS
Greeks
KUBAN RIVER
Circassians
KUMA RIVER
CASPIAN SEA
Greeks
BLACK SEA
Georgians
Armenians
EMPIRE
OF ALEXANDER THE GREAT
ARAXES RIVER

6. 250 B. C.

102

DON RIVER
Sarmatians
VOLGA RIVER
Greeks
STATE OF BOSPORUS
KUBAN RIVER
Circassians
KUMA RIVER
CASPIAN SEA
BLACK SEA
Greeks
KOLKHIS
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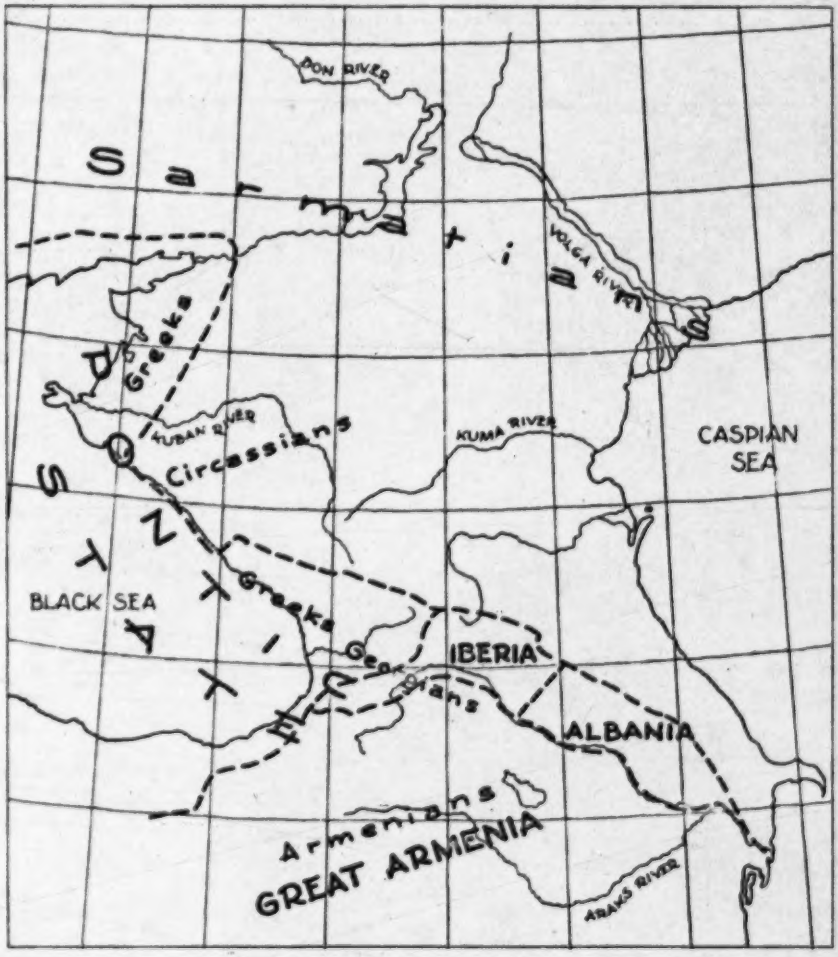
IBERIA
ALBANIA
Armenians
ARMENIA
ARAXES RIVER
MEDIA ATROPATANE

7. 120-66 B. C.

102



8. 66 B. C. -62 A. D.

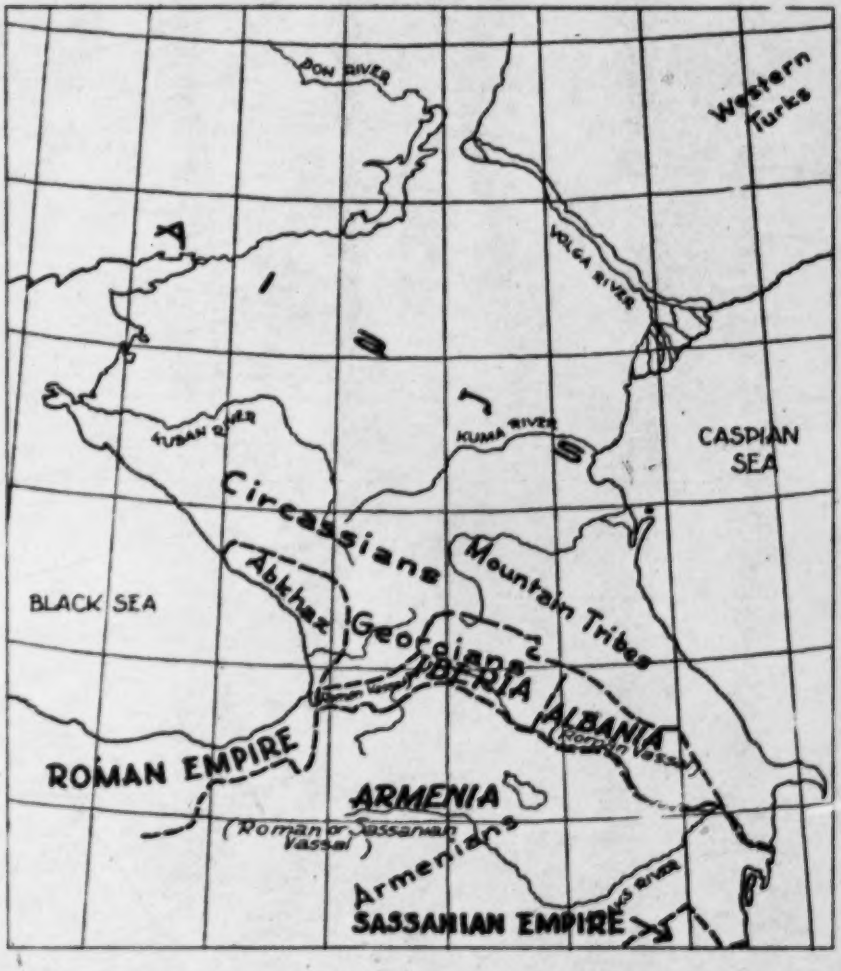
102

9. 62-226 A. D.

102

10. 226-387 A. D.

102



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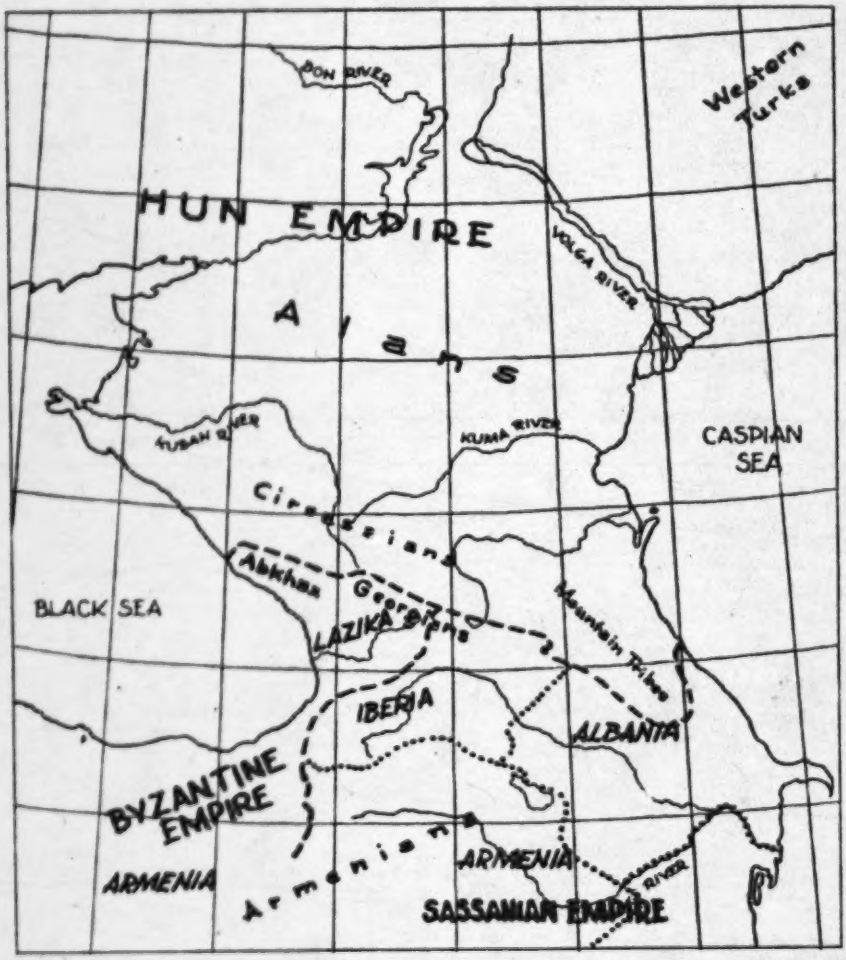
102



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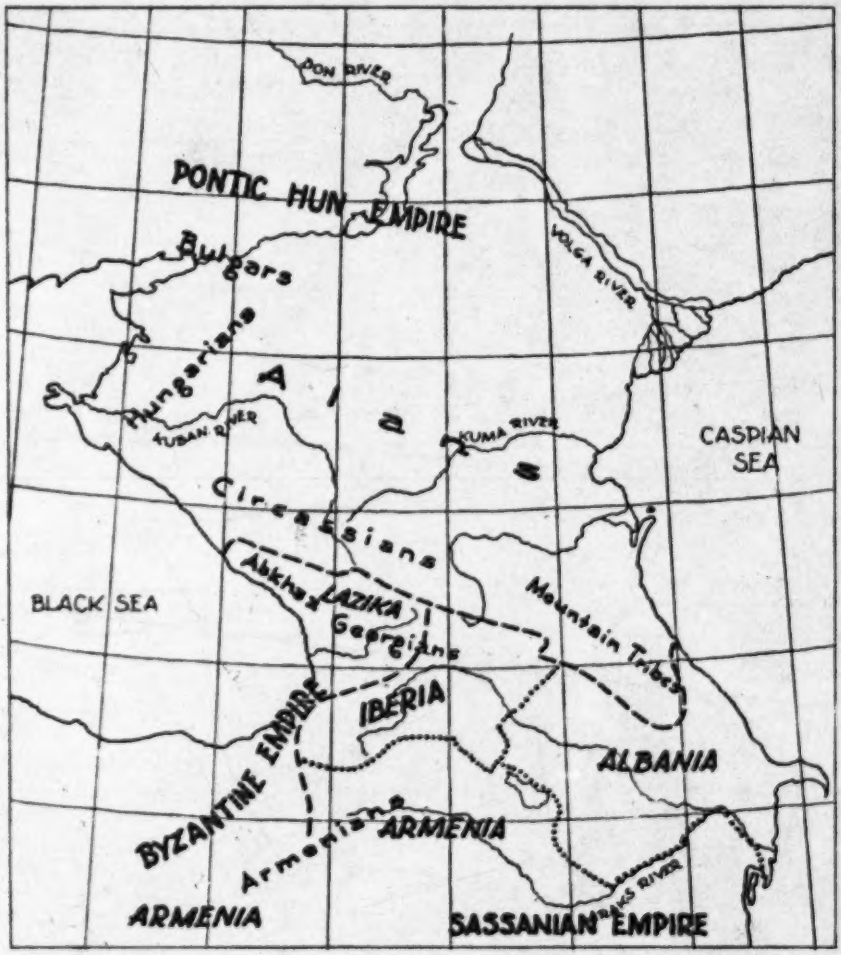

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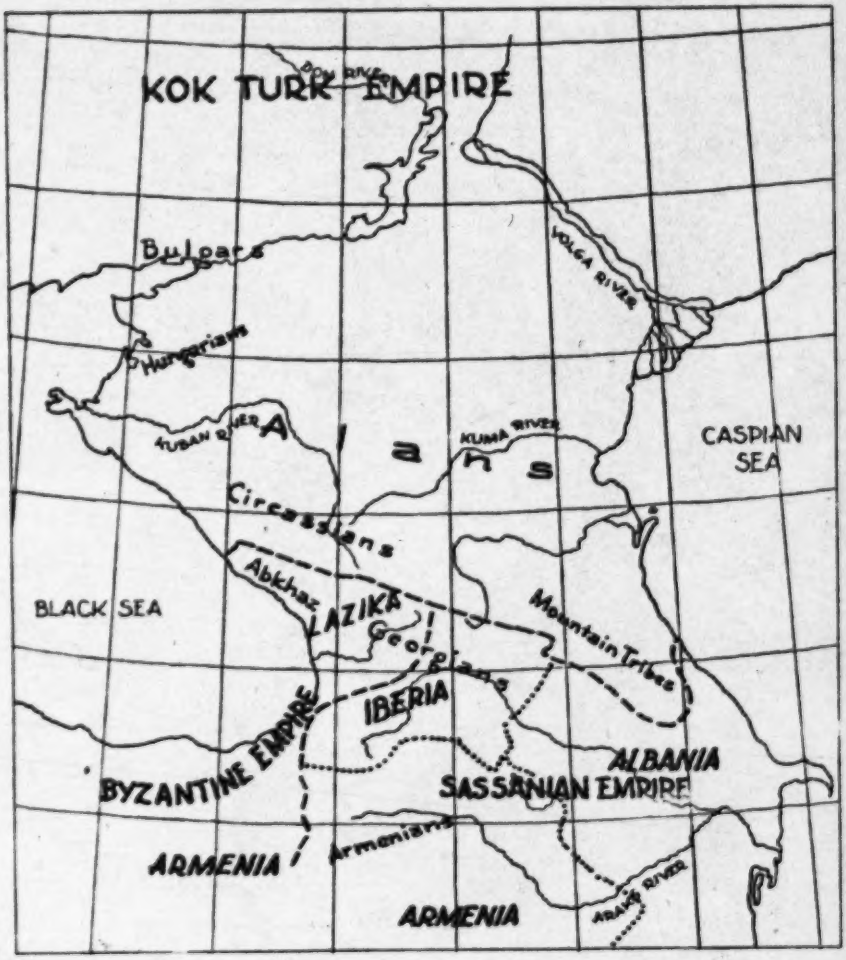

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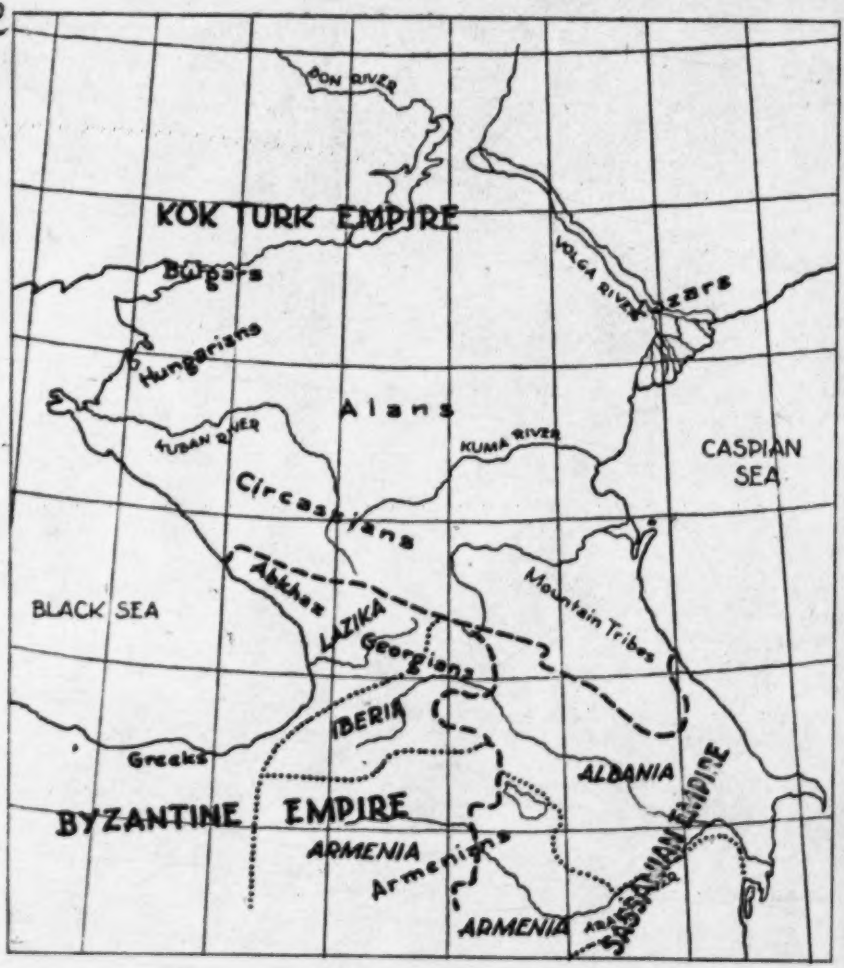

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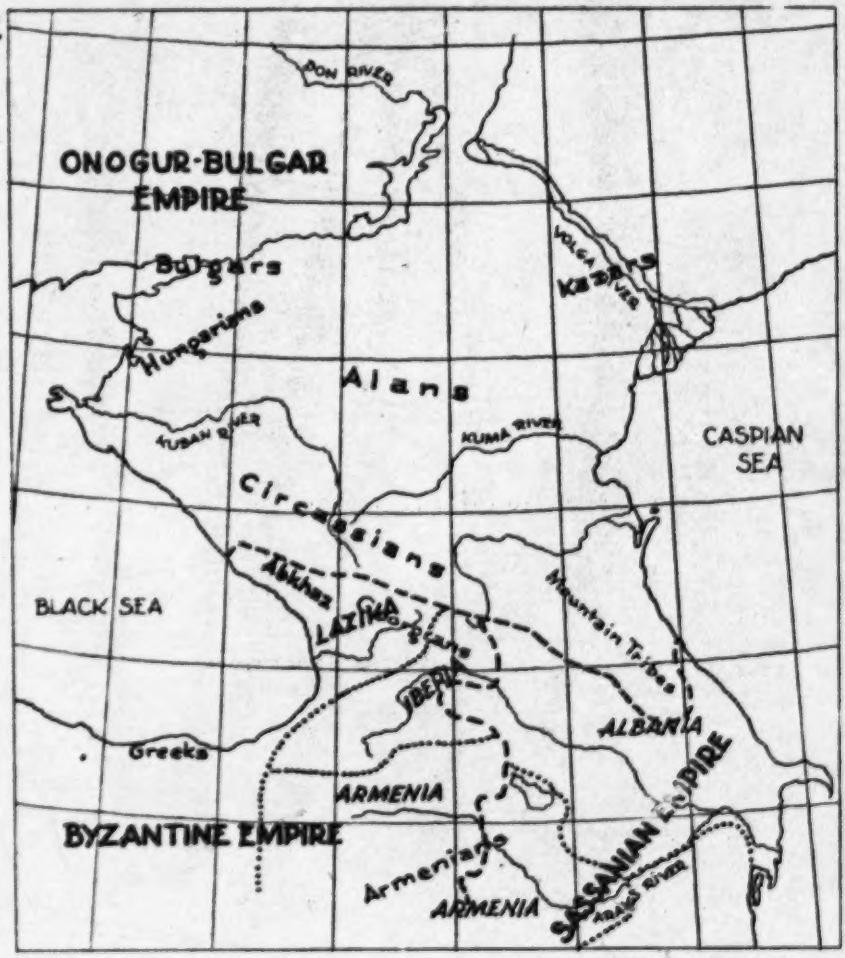

16. 644 (650)-680 A. D.

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17. 680-717 A. D.

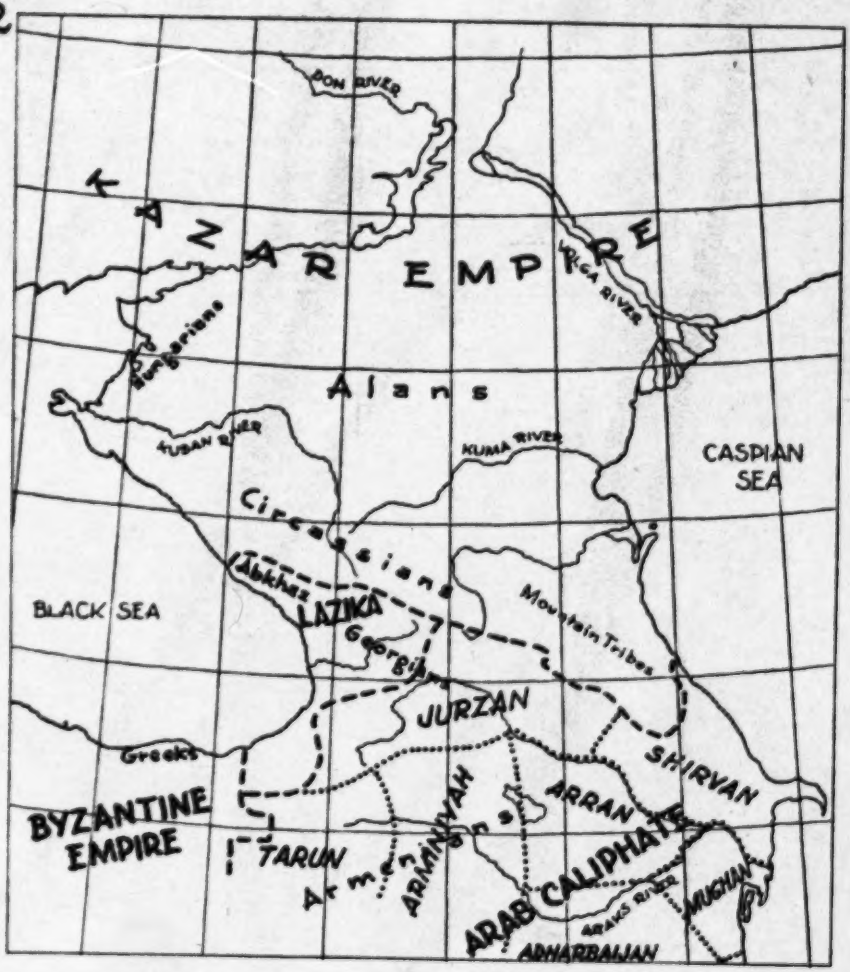
102

18. 717-750 A. D.

102

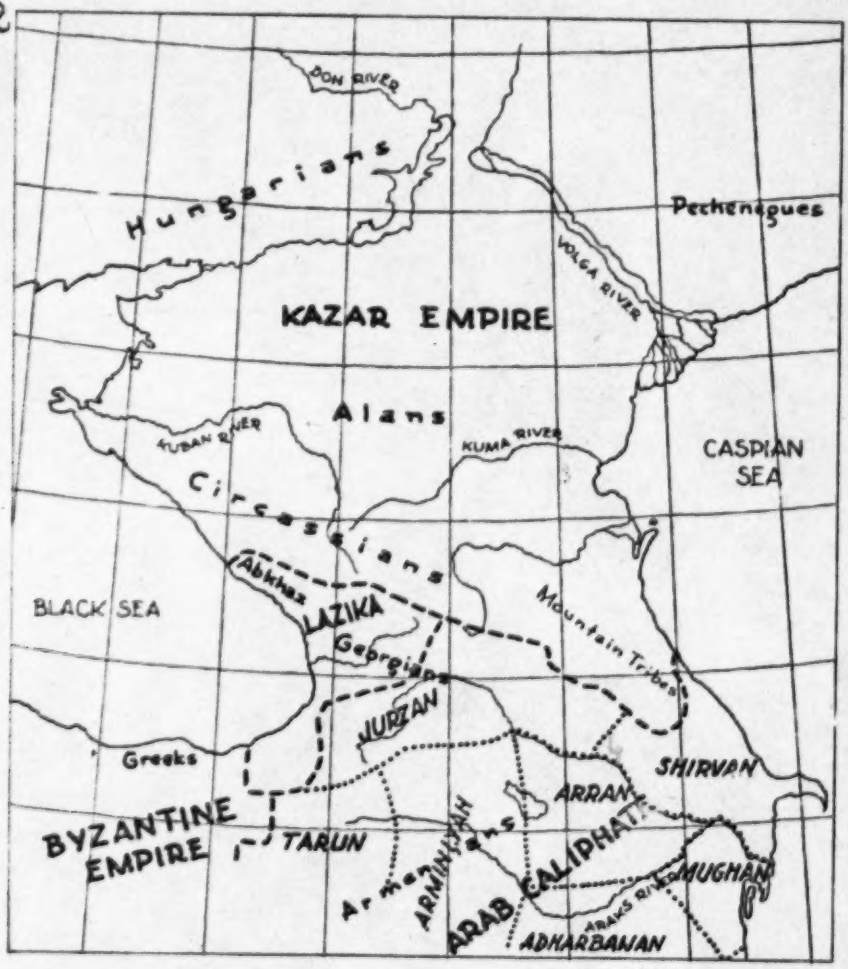
19. 750-800 A. D.

102



20. 800-890 A. D.

102



21. 890-930 A. D.

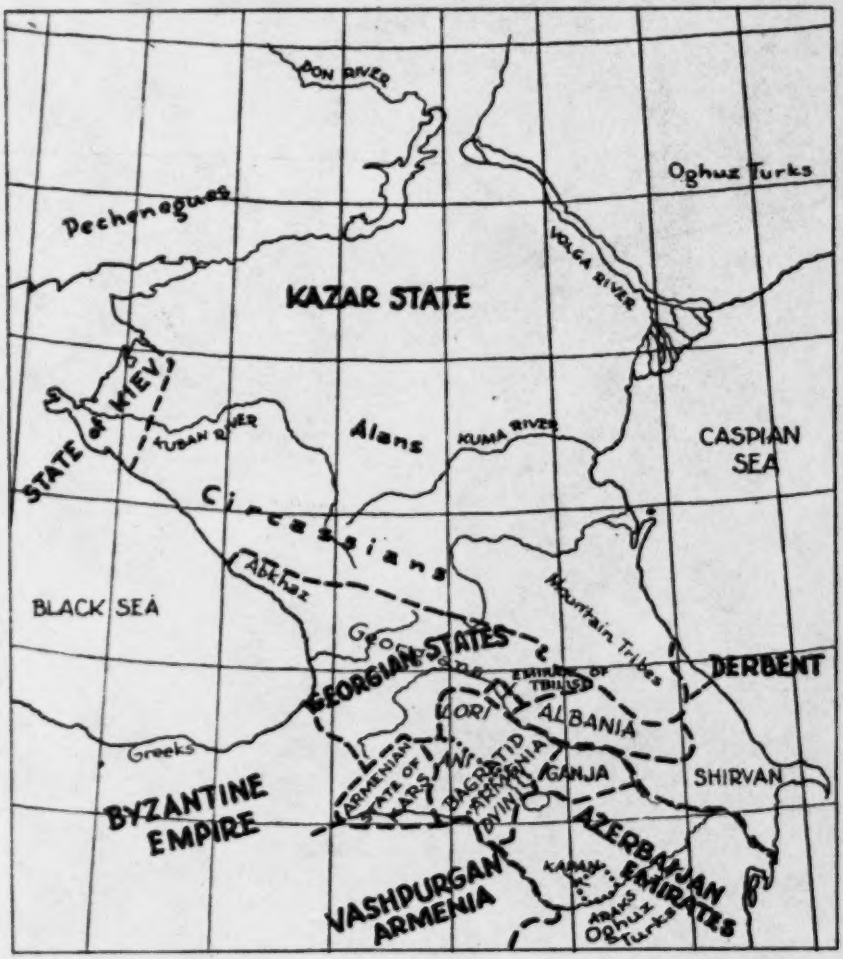
102

22. 930-966 A. D.

102

23. 966-1022 (1045) A. D.

102



24. 1022 (1045)-1064 A. D.

102

25. 1064-1136 A. D.

102

26. 1136-1204 (1220) A. D.

102

27. 1204 (1220) - 1256 A. D.

102

28. 1256 - 1336 A. D.

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29. 1336 - 1391 A. D.

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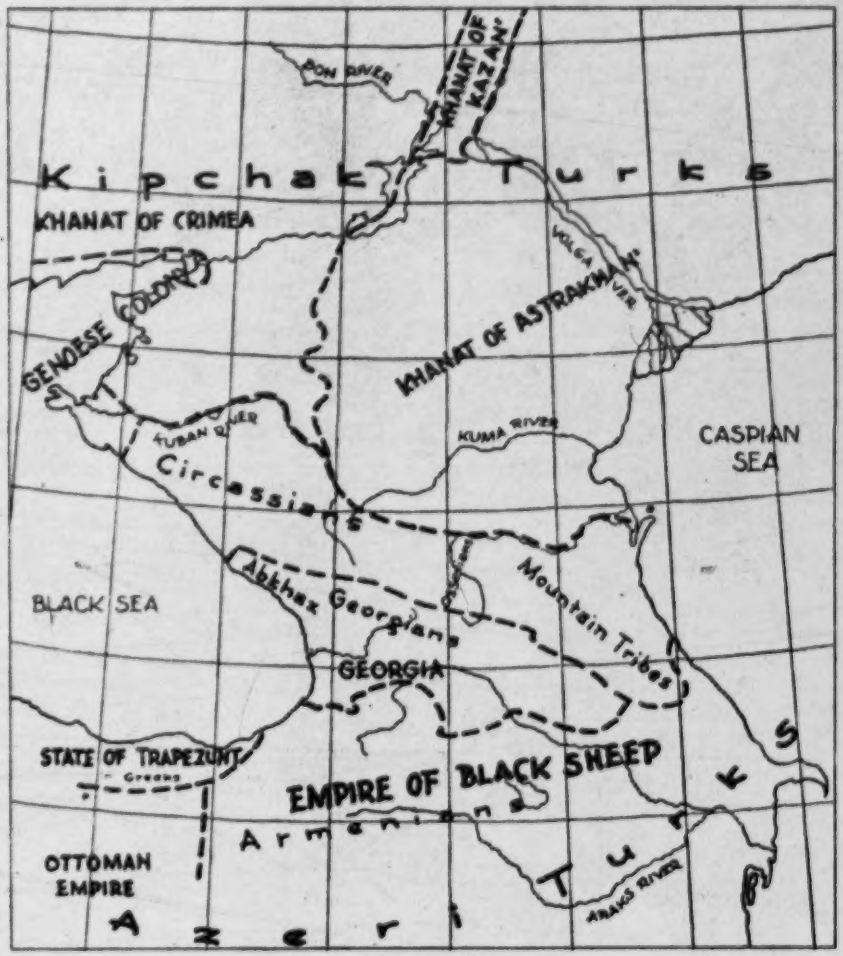
30. 1391-1405 A. D.

102

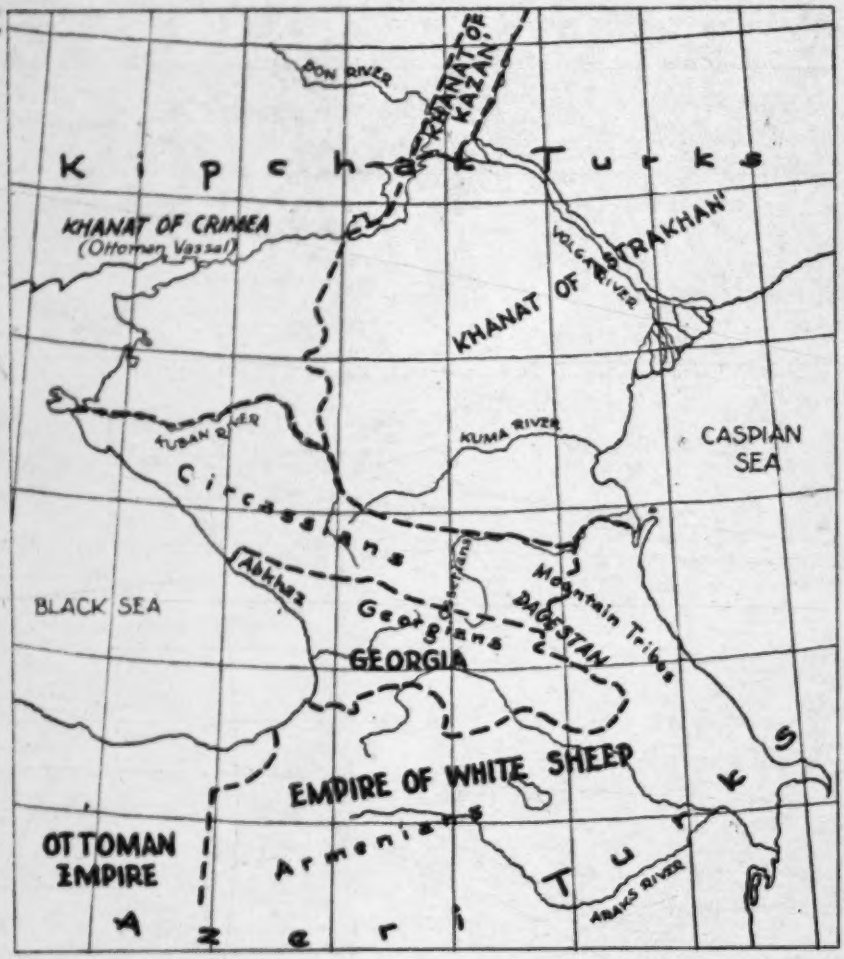
31. 1405-1467 (1475) A. D.

102



32. 1467 (1475)-1502 A. D.

102

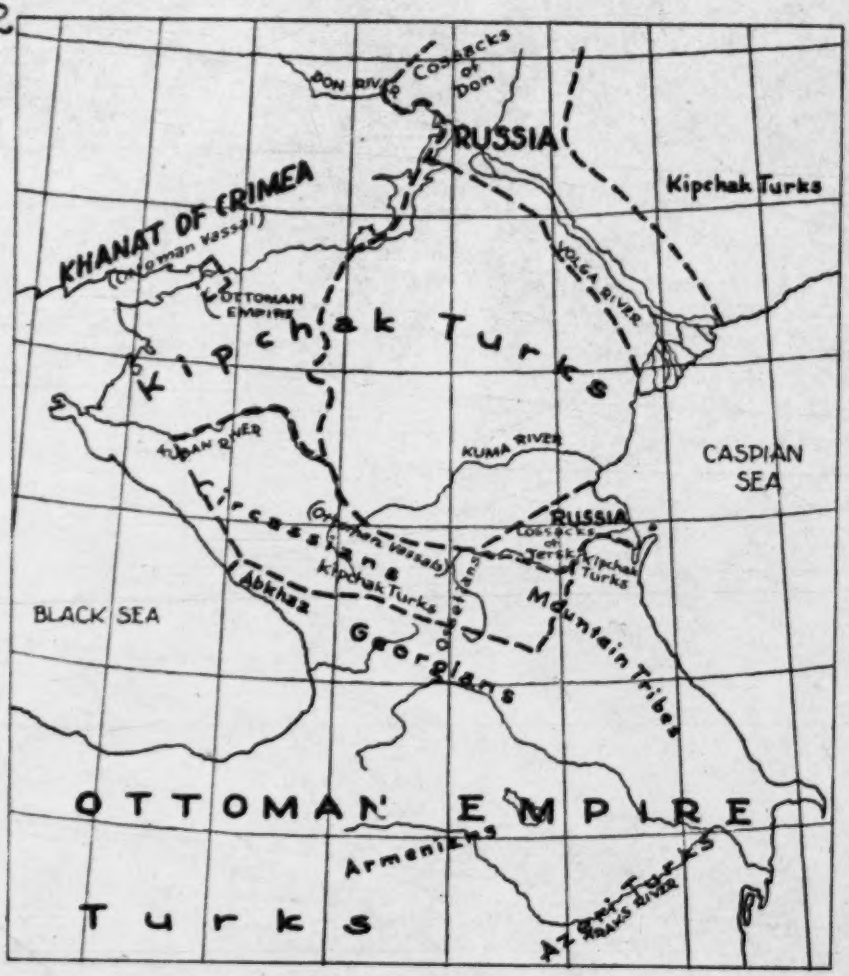


33. 1555-1556 A. D.

102

34. 1590 A. D.

102



35. 1645-1681 A. D.

102

36. 1681-1734 (1739) A. D.

102

37. 1734 (1739)-1783 A. D.

102

38. 1783-1801 A. D.

102

39. 1801 A. D.

102

40. 1813 A. D.

102

41. 1828-1830 A. D.

102

42. 1858-1864 A. D.

102

43. 1878-1918 A. D.

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43. Legend: Russian Provinces

1. Astrakhan'
2. Baku
3. Batum
4. Erivan
5. Kars
6. Kutais
7. Novocherkassk
8. Novorossiysk
9. Stavropol'
10. Sukhum
11. Temir-Khan-Shura
12. Tiflis
13. Vladikavkaz
14. Yekaterinodar
15. Yelisavetpol'
16. Zakataly

44. 1918-1920 A. D.

102

45. 1950 A. D.

631

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45. Legend: Political Divisions

631

I Armenian SSR
- a. Kirovakan Okrug
- b. Leninakan Okrug
- c. Yerevan Okrug

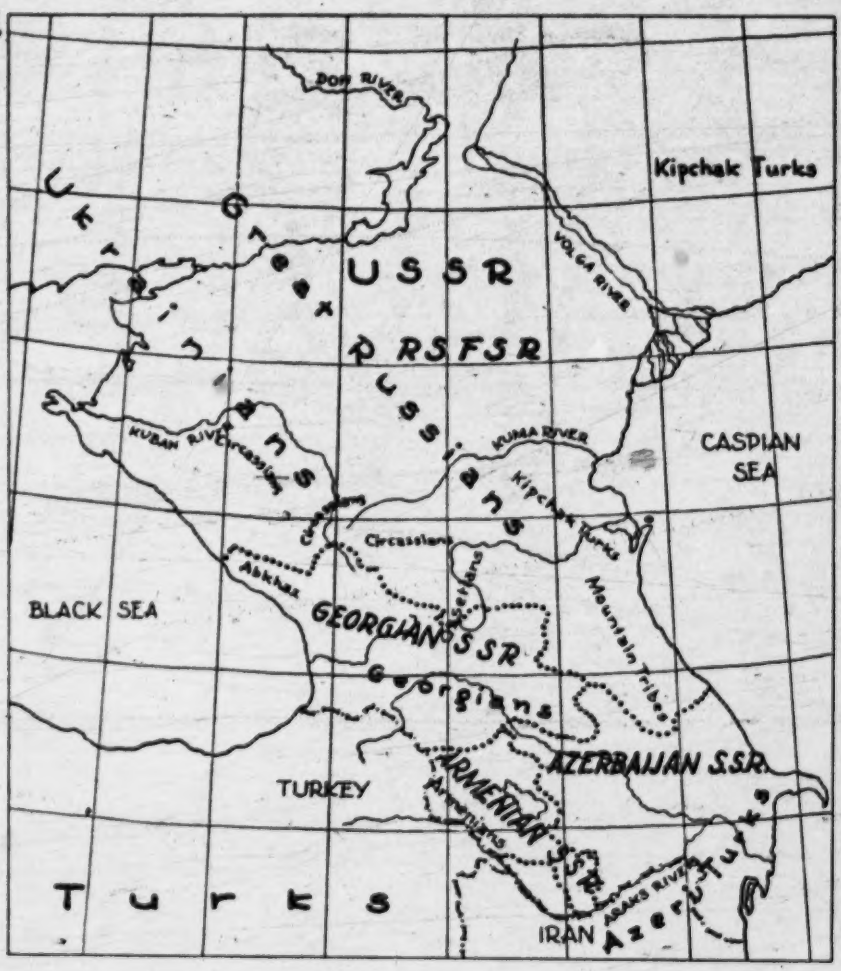
II Azerbaijan SSR
- 1. Baku Oblast
- 2. Cyanja Oblast
- 3. Nagorno-Karabakh AO
- 4. Nakhichevan' ASSR

III Georgian SSR
- 1. Abkhaz ASSR
- 2. Ajar ASSR
- 3. Kutaisi Oblast
- 4. South Ossetian AO
- 5. Tbilisi Oblast

IV RSFSR
- 1. Astrakhan' Oblast
- 2. Dagestan ASSR
  - a. Buynaksk Okrug
  - b. Derbent Okrug
  - c. Izberbash Okrug
  - d. Makhachkala Okrug
- 3. Groznyy Oblast
- 4. Krasnodar Kray
  - A. Adyge AO
- 5. Rostov Oblast
- 6. Stavropol' Kray
  - A. Cherkess AO
  - B. Kabardian ASSR
  - C. North Ossetian ASSR

46. January 5, 1955 A. D.

102



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Historical Setting

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# III Peoples and Languages

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1. Sociological

c. Size and Geographical Distribution of Population
With 3 charts

Theodore Shabad

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RHI
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## I. Area and Population of Chief Political Divisions

| Name of Division | Area in square kilometers | | Population estimate (based on 1954 election districts) | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Astrakhan Oblast | 76,900 | | 750,000 | |
| Rostóv Oblast | 62,500 | | 1,800,000 | |
| Krasnodar Krai | 85,000 | | 3,300,000 | |
| Adyge A | | 4,400 | | 300,000 |
| Stavropol' Krai | 99,100 | | 1,650,000 | |
| Cherkess AO | | 4,000 | | 150,000 |
| Kabardian ASSR | 11,800 | | 300,000 | |
| North Ossetian ASSR | 9,200 | | 450,000 | |
| Groznyi Oblast | 33,000 | | 600,000 | |
| Daghestan ASSR | 38,200 | | 900,000 | |
| Northern Caucasus | 415,700 | | 9,750,000 | |

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| Name of Division | Area in square kilometers | | Population estimate (based on 1954 election districts) | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Azerbaidzhan SSR | 85,700 | | 3,100,000 | |
| Nakhichevan' ASSR | | 5,200 | | 110,000 |
| Nagorno-Karabakh AO | | 4,500 | | 110,000 |
| Georgian SSR | 76,400 | | 3,550,000 | |
| Abkhaz ASSR | | 8,700 | | 330,000 |
| Adzhar ASSR | | 2,900 | | 200,000 |
| South Ossetian AO | | 3,900 | | 100,000 |
| Armenian SSR | 29,800 | | 1,500,000 | |
| Transcaucasia | 191,900 | | 8,150,000 | |

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## II. Per cent of Urban Population

| Name of Division | Urban Percentage |
|---|---|
| Astrakhan Oblast | no data |
| Rostov Oblast | no data |
| Krasnodar Krai | 24.1 (1939) |
| Adyge AO | 27.8 (1939) |
| Stavropol' Krai | no data |
| Cherkess AO | no data |
| Kabardian ASSR | 23 (1939) |
| North Ossetian ASSR | no data |
| Grozny i Oblast | 52 (year not given) |
| Daghestan ASSR | 25 (1950) |
| Azerbaidzhan SSR | 26.2 (1939) |
| Nakhichevan' ASSR | no data |
| Nagorno-Karabakh AO | no data |
| Georgian SSR | 30.1 (1939) |
| Abkhaz ASSR | 28.2 (1939) |
| Adzhar ASSR | 38 (1939) |
| South Ossetian AO | no data |
| Armenian SSR | 28.6 (1939) |

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## III. Population in Major Cities
(based on 1954 election districts)

ASTRAKHAN OBLAST

| | |
|---|---|
| Astrakhan | 300,000 |

ROSTOV OBLAST

| | |
|---|---|
| Rostov | 600,000 |
| Taganrog | 150,000 |
| Novocherkassk | 80,000 |
| Bataisk | 50,000 |

KRASNODAR KRAI

| | |
|---|---|
| Krasnodar | 250,000 |
| Novorossiisk | 125,000 |
| Armavir | 100,000 |
| Maikop | 70,000 |
| Kropotkin | 50,000 |
| Sochi | 50,000 |
| Tuapse | 50,000 |
| Yeysk | 40,000 |

STAVROPOL' KRAI

| | |
|---|---|
| Stavropol' | 100,000 |
| Piatigorsk | 75,000 |
| Kislovodsk | 50,000 |
| Cherkessk | 30,000 |
| Essentuki | 30,000 |
| Zheleznovodsk | 25,000 |
| Stepnoi | 25,000 |

Metropolitan area: Piatigorsk-Kislovodsk-Zheleznovodsk-Essentuki-Mineral'nye Vody-- 300,000

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162 GROZNYI OBLAST

| | |
|---|---|
| Groznyi | 200,000 |
| Kizliar | 25,000 |

DAGHESTAN ASSR

| | |
|---|---|
| Makhachkala | 100,000 |
| Derbent | 35,000 |
| Khasaviurt | 30,000 |
| Izberbash | 25,000 |
| Kaspiysk | 25,000 |

Metropolitan Area: Makhachkala-Kaspiysk-- 150,000

AZERBAIDZHAN SSR

Baku--City proper (Dzhaparidzevskii, Oktiabr'skii, Gorodskoi, Dzerzhinskii, Kishlinskii, Voroshilovskii, Shaumianskii raions)-- 530,000

Baku, including suburbs within city limits-- 890,000

Baku-Sumgait Metropolitan Area-- 1,000,000

| | |
|---|---|
| Kirovabad | 140,000 |
| Sumgait | 50,000 |
| Mingechaur | 30,000 |
| Nukha | 30,000 |
| Lenkoran' | 20,000 |
| Evlakh | 20,000 |

Metropolitan Area: Kirovabad-Dashkesan-- 200,000

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AZERBAIDZHAN ASSR (cont.)

Nakhichevan' ASSR

| | |
|---|---|
| Nakhichevan' | 20,000 |

Nagorno-Karabak AO

| | |
|---|---|
| Stepanakert | 10,000 |

GEORGIAN SSR

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Tbilisi | 580,000 | Metropolitan |
| Kutaisi | 100,000 | Area: Tbilisi- |
| Poti | 40,000 | Rustavi-- |
| Rustavi | 40,000 | 650,000 |
| Gori | 30,000 | |
| Chiatura | 20,000 | |
| Khashuri | 20,000 | |
| Telavi | 20,000 | |
| Tkibuli | 20,000 | |
| Zestafoni | 20,000 | |
| Zugdidi | 20,000 | |

Abkhaz ASSR

| | |
|---|---|
| Sukhumi | 50,000 |
| Tkvarcheli | 30,000 |
| Ochamchire | 20,000 |

Adzhar ASSR

| | |
|---|---|
| Batumi | 70,000 |

South Ossetian AO

| | |
|---|---|
| Staliniri | 20,000 |

ARMENIAN SSR

| | |
|---|---|
| Erevan | 340,000 |
| Leninakan | 115,000 |

162 ARMENIAN SSR (cont.)

| | |
|---|---|
| Kirovakan | 55,000 |
| Echmiadzin | 20,000 |
| Kafan | 15,000 |
| Alaverdi | 15,000 |

Metropolitan Area: Erevan-Zanga River-Sevan-- 500,000

Kafan-Kadzharan area: 25,000

Alaverdi-Shamlug area: 20,000

## Pattern of Settlement

162 In the Northern Caucasus, the boundary line between the indigenous peoples and the Russian and Ukrainian immigrants lies generally along the Kuban'-Terek river line, with the more recent arrivals settled in the lowlands and the indigenous population in the uplands. There are two exceptions to this general statement: (1) in the extreme west, the Slavic immigrants have penetrated into the mountains in addition to the lowlands; (2) in the extreme east, the lowlands between the Terek and the Kuma rivers are dry semi-desert steppes suitable only for extensive grazing and are therefore very sparsely populated.

161 The average density in the Northern Caucasus is 30 persons per square kilometer. It rises to 50 and more persons, on the one hand, in the more fertile lowland sections and the valleys of major rivers -- the Kuban' and the Terek (in Northern Ossetia), and on the other hand, in industrial areas, such as the Groznyi oilfields. Lower densities of 10 persons and less per square kilometer are found in the higher mountains sections of the Caucasus and the arid steppes of the northeast. Generally speaking, the population is therefore found predominantly in the foothills of the Caucasus.

361 Two sharply different types of rural settlements are found. The Russian and

361 Ukrainian population tends to be concentrated in large villages, known as stanitsas, with an average population of 5,000 or more, extending along low-lying river banks with large orchards and vegetable gardens attached to each home. The indigenous population in the mountains is found in small villages, known as auls, extending in bead-like fashion along the abrupt banks of mountain streams.

The cities nearly all arose before the Soviet regime. There are vitually no large new industrial centers, such as characterize many other parts of the Soviet Union. The cities arose as fortified points of the Russian and Ukrainian intruders (Vladikavkaz, later renamed Ordzhonikidze), resorts (Piatigorsk, Kislovodsk), or industrial and commercial centers (Krasnodar, Groznyi).

161 The density of population is quite uneven in Transcaucasia. While the upland areas of the Caucasus are often entirely devoid of settlement, river valleys may reach a density of 50 to 100 persons per square kilometer, while especially dense areas may go as high as 200. For the most part, however, the density varies from 25 to 50 persons per square kilometer, descending to 10 to 25 persons in the dry steppes and the upper foothills.

In Georgia, where the average density is 51 persons per square kilometer, 57 per cent of the population lives in areas below 500 meters elevation, while 27.6 per cent live in areas between 500 and 1,000 meters elevation.

166 The government has been promoting resettlement in areas newly won for cultivation, such as the drained sections of the Colchis marshes and the irrigated parts of the dry steppes, such as the Samgora irrigation district near Tbilisi.

161 In Azerbaidzhan, the average density is 37.3 persons per square kilometer. The densest population areas are the oil-producing Apsheron Peninsula with Baku, the growing Kirovabad industrial district, and the subtropical Lenkoran' lowland. The average density in these areas is between 50 to 100 persons per square kilometer. Sparse settlement characterizes the dry steppes (Mili, Shirvan, Mugan, Saliany). The Nakhichevan' ASSR has a density of 25 to 50 in the valley of the Araxes River and 1 to 10 in the northern uplands. Most of the population of the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast is concentrated in the area's northeast and southeast corners, i.e. the Terter River Valley and the lowland parts of the Oblast. The rest of Azerbaidzhan, in particular the valley of the Kura River, has an average density of 25 to 50.

The average density of Armenia is 42.7 persons per square kilometer, higher than in Azerbaidzhan, but lower than in Georgia. The population is largely concentrated in the valley of the Araxes River, with the Erevan basin and the Leninakan plateau. The sparsest settlement is found in the southeast -- the Karabakh plateau -- and other parts of the Armenian highlands.

361 The largest metropolitan centers are for the most part ancient cities, such as Tbilisi, Kirovabad, Kutaisi and Erevan. Baku arose before the Bolshevik Revolution as the world's best-known oil producer. Under the Soviet regime, industrial cities have grown rapidly in Transcaucasia and a number of new centers have been established. The most important of these recent creations are probably [438] Sumgait near Baku, and Rustavi near Tbilisi, both founded during the Second World War. Sumgait produces steel pipe, alumimum and synthetic rubber, and is due to get a superphosphate plant during the sixth Five-Year Plan. Rustavi has an integrated steel plant and produces cement and nitrate fertilizer.

7: Columbia U. S-4,5 1956 RH1 Caucasia RH1

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RHI

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# 1. Sociological

## d. Ethnic Groups

Aert H. Kuipers

Introductory

I Paleocaucasian Peoples

A. S. Caucasian Peoples
B. N. W. Caucasian Peoples
C. N. E. Caucasian Peoples

II Indo-European Peoples

III Altaic Peoples

See Also: 1. Sociological, a[1]. Geographical Setting; and e[1]. Survey of Peoples and Languages.

# ETHNIC GROUPS

## Introductory

162 From an ethnological point of view the Caucasus is one of the most complex areas in the world. Nowhere else are so many different peoples found in such a comparatively small area. This is due to geographical factors. The Caucasus is situated between the Eurasian steppe belt in the North and the fertile crescent in the South. The North is the scene of successive nomadic waves spreading from Asia to Europe; the South is the scene of ancient sedentary civilizations, time and again overrun by the same nomads. In historical times, one can observe how remnants of nomadic groups, replaced by new invaders, find refuge in the inaccessible mountain gorges of the Great Caucasus, and how sedentary groups survive in the lowlands and on the plateaus of Transcaucasia, not without admitting considerable numbers of foreign migrants into their area. Similar events may have taken place in prehistoric times, but in the present state of Caucasian archeology no definite statements can be made on this point.

In any case, the ethnic diversity of the Caucasus as such is not new. Already Strabo (1st cent. A. D.) mentions that in the town of

162 Dioskurias (the present Sukhumi) on the Black Sea coast, representatives of no less than 70 peoples, all speaking different languages, used to gather to carry on their trade; he also states that in Albania (i.e., Eastern Transcaucasia) twenty-six languages are spoken. Pliny the Elder (first cent. A.D.) relates that the Romans carried on their business in the Caucasus through eighty interpreters. The Arab geographers called the Caucasus jebel el-elsine, i.e., "Mountain of Languages." Nineteenth century Russian scholars have called the Caucasus a "gigantic ethnographical museum," and its linguistic diversity plays a role in the Soviet film "Oni vstretilis' v Moskve."

144 162 On the basis of historical facts combined with linguistic evidence the peoples of the Caucasus can be divided into two groups: indigenous and extragenous peoples. The former category includes the peoples that already lived in the Caucasus at the time of our earliest records and cannot on linguistic grounds (as can the Armenians) be shown to have come from outside. These peoples are referred to as Paleocaucasian, Ibero-Caucasian, or Caucasian proper. The second category includes the immigrant peoples, on the basis of linguistic affiliation subdivided into Indo-European, Altaic and Semitic. The present ethnic groupings and denominations in the Caucasus are in the main based on language divisions; these do not coincide with racial divisions as in many

144 cases populations have changed their language.
162 Again, the same cultural area may contain diverse ethnic groups.

101 Due to the fact that (1) many Caucasian peoples first became known under names given to them (or to part of them) by one or other of their neighbors, (2) several Caucasian peoples (in a linguistic sense) had no general self-designation but referred to themselves as "from such-and-such a village," and (3) in some cases the whole population of a larger area was referred to by a single name belonging to only one of the ethnic groups in it or by a descriptive term such as "mountaineers." Caucasian ethnic and linguistic nomenclature as found in the literature of the last 200 years is baffling to the unitiated. The list of "Peoples and Languages of the Caucasus" with its Index is intended to be a guide to this complex maze. 1

In the following, the peoples of the Caucasus are summed up. For details on each individual group, reference should be made to the list of "Peoples and Languages."

1. [cf. cat. 116, pp. 421-501 -- Analyst]

7:Columbia U. S-4, 5 1956 RHI . CaucasiaRHI
Georgia RI I
Grusians

# I. PALEOCAUCASIAN PEOPLES

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G.
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On the basis of linguistic criteria the Paleocaucasian peoples fall into three groups: A Southern group with ca. 2,250,000 speakers, a North-Western group with ca. 350,000 speakers and a North-Eastern group with ca. 1,300,000 speakers.

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## A. South Caucasian Peoples

The peoples belonging to the Southern (Kartvelian, Iberian) group occupy the western and central part of the territory between the Great and Little Caucasus, i.e. the basins of the rivers Chorokh, Rioni, Ingur, the upper Kura, Iora and Alazani; this is the territory of the Georgian SSR. The Kartvelian group comprises four peoples: the Svan, the Mingrelians, the Laz and the Georgians.

a. The more than 2 million Georgians are not only by far the most numerous of the Paleocaucasian peoples, but also the only one with an old political tradition and a literary language that goes back into the 5th century A.D. They call themselves Kartveli, pl. Kartvelni, and their language Kartuli ena; from this is derived the term Sakartvelo denoting since the Middle Ages the Georgian state and political territory, and the newly formed adjective kartveluri applied to the South Caucasian languages and peoples as a

C.
G.
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whole. The sense of the term Kartveli has expanded; it referred originally only to the inhabitants of the central and politically leading province of Kartli with the capitals Tiflis and in older times Mtskheta. The European designations: Italian Georgiano, French Géorgien, English Georgia and Georgian, German Georgien and Georgier, derive from the Persian name Gurdj (pl. Gurdjan, adj. Gurdji) heard by the crusaders and spelt by them so as to connect it with the name of Saint George. The Persian Gurdj adopted also by the Turks goes back to Sasanide Persian Waručan - Parthian Wirčan; the latter shows the stem wir - which appears in the Armenian designation of the Georgians Virk, sing. Vratsi; the connection with this stem of the Greek name of the forefathers of the Georgians, the Iberes, is very doubtful. From another Persian name-form Gurz, pl. Gurzan, found already in Syriac sources of the beginning of the 8th century, are derived the Russian terms Gruziya (country) and Gruziny (inhabitants).

C.
G.
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The Georgian dialects, which in the main do not show great differences, are divided by the range of the Surami mountains into two groups. To the Eastern group belong the dialects of Kartli, of K'akheti, the country between the river Iora and the mountains of Dagestan, of the Ingilo, islamized Georgians on the river Alazani, and of the mountain

C. G. 197 tribes: Tush on the upper course of the Andian Koisu, Khevsur on the upper course of the rivers (Eastern) Aragvi and Argun, Pshavs south of them on the Aragvi and the upper Iora, Mokhev and Mtiul on the upper Terek, Western Aragvi and Ksani. The Western group consists of the dialects of Upper and Lower Imereti with the center Kutaisi, of the mountainous regions of Rach'a on the Upper Rioni and Lechkhum in the west of Rach'a, and of Guria south of the Rioni, reaching the Black Sea between Poti and Kobuleti. The Ach'arians south of the Gurians and west of Batum do not differ from them in speech, but in culture, being Mohammedans, and therefore have received the status of an Autonomous Republic.

C. G. 101 b. The Mingrelians, numbering about 300,000 occupy the territory north of the lower Rioni and west of the Tskhenis-tskali extending on the coast of the Black Sea from the mouth of the Rioni up to the town of Ochemchire. They call their country Odishi and themselves Margali; this name is, somewhat distorted, already mentioned by Ptolemy. It corresponds to Georgian Megreli, a derivation from Egrisi, as Mingrelia is called in the Old Georgian documents and by the Armenian geographers. It is probable that Mingrelian in former times occupied a much larger territory, i.e., all Western Georgia, as it is now separated by Gurian from the closely related Laz, and the Western dialects of Georgian show a Mingrelian substrate.

7: Columbia U. S-4,5 1956 RH1 Caucasia RH1
Georgia RI1
Mingrel, Laz, Swan

000 Georgian show a Mingrelian substrate.
C Mingrelian has never been a literary language;
G in the schools, Georgian is the language
197 of teaching so that in the last decades Mingrelian has notably changed in favour of a closer resemblance to Georgian. Many of the modern Georgian authors are of Mingrelian origin.

C c. The Laz live on the seacoast and
G in the valleys of the small rivers falling into
101 the Black Sea between the towns of Khope and Atina. Only a very small part (730 persons according to the census of 1926) live in Soviet
C territory; the large majority live in Turkish
G territory (ca. 47,000 acc. to the Turkish
[191] census of 1945). All Laz speak Turkish in public and use their mother tongue only as a
[192] home language. Laz is full of Turkish loanwords; even the name Lazi which the Laz use for themselves is borrowed from Turkish. The Georgians call them Ch'ani which corresponds to Tzanoi used by Procopius. Lazike was in Roman and Byzantine times the designation not only of modern Lazistan, but also of all
C Western Georgia, having superseded the old
G
[197] Greek name of Colchis. The Laz language is in phonology almost identical with Mingrelian, but in grammar shows considerable peculiarities. It has never been written except for scientific recording.

d. The Svan (Svanetians) inhabit two valleys in the high mountain chains south of

Mt. Elbrus which in winter were nearly inaccessible before the building of modern roads. The southern valley formed by the upper course of the river Tskhenis-tskali and its tributary Kheledula, formerly belonged to Mingrelia and was called Svanetia of the Dadiani, Dadiani being the name of the ruling family of Mingrelia. The northern valley is that of the Upper Ingur; its lower part in the West was ruled by a family of Abkhaz princes and is known as Svanetia of the Dadishkeliani, the eastern part is called Free Svanetia. The number of the Svan amounts to 22,000 (the number 13,129 given by the census of 1926 is due to some misunderstanding). They call themselves Shwan, sing. Mushwän or Mushwni; the Georgians call them Svani (country: Svaneti), and under this name they were known to Strabo (Soanes) and Pliny (Suani). According to the latter, they were able to set up a military force of 40,000 men. The study of place-names reveals that their territory in former times extended farther south than now.

The Svan and the Georgian mountain tribes (Khevsur, Tush, Pshav, etc.) though they consider themselves to belong to the Georgian nation are culturally in many respects closer to the North Caucasian peoples than to their linguistic relatives in the south.

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Georgia RI 1
Abchas, Adige

## B. NORTH-WEST CAUCASIAN PEOPLES.

C. G. 101

The North-West Caucasian peoples include the Abkhaz and the Circassians. Up to 1865, the group included a third member, the Ubykh; these, however, emigrated to a man to Turkey after the Russian conquest.

a. The Abkhaz, numbering close to 60,000, live on the Black Sea coast south of the Great Caucasus between the rivers Psou and Ingur. They call themselves Apswa, their country Apsny. In classical antiquity, they were known by the names Absilae (Pliny the Elder, 1st cent. A. D.) and Abasgoi (Arrian, 2nd cent. A. D.). Though since the Middle Ages Abkhazia has been part of the Georgian political territory (and at present the Abkhaz ASSR is part of the Georgian SSR), the Abkhaz, like their Circassian and Ubykh neighbors, preserved a tribal organization and were only to a minor extent affected by the literate culture of Georgia. Small groups of Abkhaz speakers have at different times migrated across the Great Chain to the north; these Abkhaz are now living at the sources of the rivers Kuban and Zelenchuk, and form part of the population of the Cherkes AO. They are known by the name Abaza (R. Abazintsy) and numbered ca. 13,000 in 1926.

C. 101

b. The Circassians or -- as they call themselves -- Adyghe live in the basins of the

101 rivers Malka, Baksan, Cherek and Upper Terek (Kabardian ASSR); between the Upper Kuban and Zelenchuk rivers (Cherkes AO) and south of the middle course of the Kuban and in the basins of the Laba and Belaya. Smaller groups are scattered in the whole N. W. Caucasus, between and around these concentrations.

[167] The Circassians, now numbering a little over 250,000, were much more numerous before the Russian conquest which caused 3-500,000 of them to emigrate to Turkey. Their self-designation "Adyghe" was first recorded by the Genoese Georgio Interiano (first half of 16th cent.); the Kievan chronicle knows them as Kasogy (and in Ossete the Kabardians are still called Käsäg). Strabo knew in the N.W. Caucasus the Zygoi (other forms: Zikchoi, Zinchoi), a name which may reflect the Circassian word ts'ykhw meaning "human being." The connection of the name "Circassian" (from Ital. Circassi, cf. Turkish, Russian, etc. cherkes) with the ancient Kerketai known already to Hellanikos (5th cent. B.C.) is doubtful.

The Eastern (or Upper) Circassians (in the territory of the present Kabardian ASSR) are known as Kabardians; these were the most numerous and the most warlike of all the Circassian tribes. Of all the N. Caucasian peoples their society developed the most pronounced feudal traits; in the 15-18 centuries they

controlled the neighboring peoples (Chechen, Ossetes, some of the W. Circassians) and assumed cultural leadership in the whole N. Caucasus. The Western (or Lower) Circassians were divided into a number of tribes and preserved to a larger extent the older, patriarchal social structure. The Circassians living in the Cherkes AO speak the Kabardian dialect, but are culturally closer to the W. Circassians; they are the descendants of the so-called "fugitive Kabardians" who emigrated from Kabarda when this was subjugated by the Russians at the beginning of the 19th century.

C. D. 101 197

## C. NORTH-EAST CAUCASIAN PEOPLES.

The North-East Caucasian peoples, which show a much greater linguistic diversity than either the N. W. or the S. group, constitute six major linguistic branches: (a) Veinakh; (b) Avaro-Ando-Dido; (c) Lak-Dargwa; (d) Samurian; (e) Khinalug and (f) Udi. The representatives of groups (b) - (d), who constitute the Paleocaucasian population of the Dagestan ASSR were usually referred to as "Lezgians," though this name applies only to a member of group (d).

a. The Veinakh peoples comprise the Bats, a small pastoral tribe of ca. 2,500

C D 101 197 people living in the village Zemo Alvani on the Kakhetian Alazani, among the Georgian mountain tribe of the Tush (therefore they were formerly erroneously called Tsova-Tush), and a number of tribes whose dialects show common innovations as compared to C D Bats. Some are nearly extinct, e.g. that of [16] the Karabulak who by 1870 had almost all emigrated to Turkey. The remaining dialects fall into two groups, the Chechen and the Ingush, numbering respectively ca. 408,000 and 92,000 who until 1944 lived between the middle course of the Terek and the Great Caucasus in the Chechen-Ingush ASSR. All Chechen call themselves Nakhchuo (pl. Nokhchiy); the name Chechen came up in the 17th century among the Russians, who applied the name of one aul (Chachan) to the whole people. The older history of the Veinakh peoples is quite unknown; they lived in self-governing communities and had not developed any class distinctions when the Russians came into contact with them. In 1944, the Chechen-Ingush ASSR was abolished and its population deported to Kazakhstan, where it has since received some official recognition (1955) by the issuing of a Chechen language newspaper.

b. The peoples speaking Avaro-Ando-Didoic languages occupy the western part of

7 Columbia U. S-4, 5 1956 RH1 CaucasiaRH1
Dagestan RH8
Avar, Andi, Didol

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Dagestan. The Avar, who live in the basins of the Avar Koisu and the lower Andi-Koisu and also extend to the S. slope of the Great Caucasus, are the most numerous people of this group (1949 ca. 167,000), the peoples forming the Andi and Dido subgroups numbering ca. 35,000. The name Avar is not indigenous, the Avar have no general self-designation, but identify themselves by separate villages; their language they call mahàrul mats', i.e. "mountain language" or khunz mats', i.e. "language of Khunzakh." The name "Avar" seems to have originated with the Kumuk. The Avar never formed a nation in a political sense; they were divided in a number of independent units, the most important of which was the Avar Kharate between the Avar and Andi Koisu with its center Khunzakh. In the 17th century a number of Avar crossed the main chain into the present Zakataly district and subjugated the local Georgian and Azeri population; these Avar are known by the name Dzhartsy or Dzharskie Lezginy.

The Andi and Dido tribes, whose numerous languages are related to though not mutually intelligible with Avar, and who use the latter language as a lingua franca, live around the middle and upper Andi Koisu. The names of both groups are generalizations

C. D. 101 197

from that of a single representative of each, and even so are not self-designations. The Andi proper call themselves Qwannaw (pl. Quannal) after their principal aul Qwanni. The name "Andi" is the Avar designation of their country (Handi), and this name was already known to Pliny (Andacae). The Dido proper call themselves Tsezi (pl. Tsezebi). The name "Dido" is Georgian (didoeti for the country, didouri for inhabitants), as Didouroi, Diduri known to Ptolemy and Pliny.

c. The Lak-Dargwa languages are spoken in the mountains SE of the Avar area (the lowlands in the NE being occupied by the Kumuk). The more than 55,000 Lak inhabit the barren mountains at the upper reaches of the Tleuserakh, Khatar and Kazikumukh-skoe Koisu. They are also known by the name Kazikumukh (after their main aul Kumukh, the inhabitants of which, according to the tradition, in the 8th century willingly accepted and spread by fire and sword Islam, for which the Arabs gave them the name of honor kazi or gazi "fighter for the creed").

C. D. 101

Lak or Lakuchu is the self-designation of the people; the name may be connected with the root Lezg-. Strabo knew in their general area the Gelai and the Legai, which he places between the Albani and the Amazonae. Plutarch mentions the Leges in

C.
D.
101

Albania. The Georgians call all the Dagestan mountaineers Lek'i.

Since the times of the Arab conquest, the Lak formed a political unit, since the beginning of the 18th century known as the Kazikumukh Khanate, whose power spread well beyond the Lak area. It was Aslan-Khan, Khan of Kazikumukh and Kiure, who in the beginning of the 19th century united most of High Dagestan under his power and promoted the spread of Muridism, under whose banner the mountaineers offered their tough and protracted resistance against the Russian conquest.

As the country of the Lak is barren and the absence of winter pastures makes even sheep-raising difficult the Lak have always depended on richer regions for their subsistence, before the Russian conquest as raiders into Transcaucasia or as mercenaries, afterwards as tinkers, weapon-smiths or laborers. In 1944, a number of Lak were settled in the basin of the Yaryksu river, where the Novo-Lak rayon was created.

In the lower mountains, to the N. E. of the Lak, dwell the tribes speaking Dargwa languages, numbering ca. 125,000. "Dargwa" is not an ethnic term but refers originally to the more or less independent units in which these peoples were subdivided

CD 101 (and which also included a number of Kumuk, Lak and Avar). The "dargwa" of Akusha was the most numerous and powerful; the Utsumi-dargwa was also known as Kaitak or Khaidak (a name of Mongolian origin), its lower part as Kara-Kaitak. In Upper-Kaitak is situated the aul Kubachi, famed far beyond Dagestan for its artistic metal-work. Its inhabitants have been known to the Arabs since the ninth cent. as zirh-gerān "masters of armor" (Pers.); the Turkish name Kubachi (same meaning) has been in use since the 16th cent. The people of Kubachi, who call themselves Ughbug, were always independent of the rulers of Kaitak.

CD 197 Of the numerous Dargwa dialects, Uslar described that of the aul Khiurkila, and so the language became known by the name khiurkilinskii iazyk (Schiefier's Hūrkanisch); the present day literary language is based on the dialect of Akusha.

CD 101 197 d. The southern part of Dagestan, i.e. the basins of the rivers Samur, Kurakh-chai and Chirakh-chai, is occupied by peoples speaking cognate languages which form the Samur group of the N.E. Caucasian language family. The largest people (ca. 165,000) are the Lezgians on the lower and middle course of the Samur and extending in the southeast beyond the Samur into Azerbaidjan,

CD 101 197

where they live intermingled with Azeri. They originally had no general self-designation but borrowed the name Lezgi from the bordering Azeri. The central part of their territory, between the country of the Tabasaran and the Samur, was known under the name K'üre (Russ. Kiura, Kiure); it was for a long time a bone of contention between the Khans of Derbent, Kuba and Kazikumukh. In 1812, the Russians made it into a separate Khanate under the above-mentioned Aslan-Khan, who in 1820 also was appointed Khan of Kazikumukh. Uslar described one of the Kiure dialects; through his work, the Lezgian language became known as kiurinskii iazyk.

Farther upstream on the Samur, in the area of its confluence with the Kara-Samur, live the ca 10,000 Rutul, named after their principal village Rutul which they themselves call Mykhäd. On the uppermost Samur and its tributaries are situated the auls of the ca. 11,000 Tsakhur, who inhabit the region N. of Elisu in Azerbaidjan also. The area of the upper Kurakh-chai and Giulgeri-chai is occupied by the ca. 7,500 Agul. To the W. of Derbend, in the basin of the Upper Rubas-chai and Chirakh-chai live the ca. 30,000 Tabasaran. Finally there belong to the Samur group two languages spoken in the Mt. Shakhdag area, surrounded by Azeri speaking people:

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Bedukha, Khaput,
Khinalug, Udan

Budukh (ca. 2000) and Dzhek (or Kryz, Khaputl; ca. 4, 500).

e., f. Two small peoples outside Dagestan speak NE Caucasian languages which show no special affinities either to each other or with any other group. These are the ca. 1500 inhabitants of the aul Khinalug (W. of the habitat of the Dzhek), and the ca. 3000 Udi (in 1897 ca. 7000) who live in the villages Vartashen, Nizh and Oktomberi. The Udi are the only Christian people among the NE Caucasians; they were already known to Pliny (Udini) and Ptolemy (Oudai). In old Armenian sources they are regarded as part of Albania, and it is possible that in their language the old literary language of the Albani (no records of which remain) survives.

## II INDO-EUROPEAN PEOPLES

144 The Indo-European peoples whose
197 traditional territory is in the Caucasus belong to two branches of this family. The Armenians, the oldest non-indigenous people in the Caucasus, linguistically constitute an independent subdivision of Indo-European. The other Indo-European peoples in the Caucasus all belong to the Iranian branch of the Indo-Iranian subdivision: the Ossetes, Talysh, Tat and Kurds.

162 (a.) Of the ca. 2 million Armenians in the USSR not more than 60 per cent live in the Armenian political units in southern Trans-Caucasia, that is, in the area of the upper Kura river, Lake Sevan, the middle Araks river (Armenian SSR) and on the eastern slopes of the Karabakh Mts. (High Karabakh AO). Of the remainder, the large majority live scattered in the Caucasus, in areas adjoining their political territory, in the western spurs of the Great Caucasus, in Azerbaidjan south of Shemakha, and in the cities. At various times considerable numbers of Armenians living outside of the Caucasus have immigrated to "Russian" Armenia (most recently after the Second World War). The Armenians were living in the Caucasus as early as the sixth century B.C., but the exact date of their arrival there is unknown; it may have preceded the first records by one or
000 two centuries. The Armenians call themselves

7: Columbia U. S-4,5 1956 RH1 Caucasia RH1
Armenians
Osset

101 The Armenians call themselves Hai, pl. Haik, a name usually considered to have been that of their heros eponymos. The name "Armenia" goes back to Old Persian Armina which appears in the Behistun inscription of Darius I (sixth century B.C.) as the designation of one of the satrapies of the Achaemenian Empire. The Armenians, like the Georgians, are a people with an ancient literary culture. The Armenian-Gregorian Church is the oldest of the Christian churches; Armenian literature goes back to the fifth century A.D. Since the first centuries of our era the Armenians generally have not been independent; their policy has usually been to cooperate with Christian states against various Muslim empires.

162 (b.) The more than 350,000 Ossetes live in the Central Caucasus on both sides of the main chain, in the north along the upper Terek river and its tributaries the Gizel-don, Ardon and Urukh, in the south in the immediately adjoining part of Georgia along the Liakhvi, Ksani and Aragvi rivers, extending southward
101 beyond the Kura river. The name "Ossetes" is derived from the Georgian Oseti referring to the country, the people being called Osi (older forms: Owsi, Owseti); this name is identical with the Yasy of the Russian chronicles and the As of the Arabic geographers. The As were either identical with, or the western subdivision of, the Alans, the last of the Iranian nomadic tribes in the Ponto-Caspian

101 steppe, the successors of the Scythians (eighth to third centuries B.C.) and Sarmatians (third century B.C. to third century A.D.). They were partly eliminated and partly driven into the Caucasian mountains by the Tatars in the thirteenth century. The name of the Alans -- like that of Iran -- goes back to the genetive plural of the word arya: aryānām; the same root is found in the names of certain Ossetian tribes: Ir, Alagir. In the Caucasus, the Ossetes soon became vassals of the Kabardians, by whose culture they were strongly influenced. Since they lived in the area of the main passes of the Central Great Caucasus, the Ossetes were among the first of the Caucasian mountaineers to be affected by the Russian expansion into the Caucasus.

162 (c.) The Talysh, numbering ca. 90,000 in the Soviet Union, live along the Caspian coast south of the river Viliazh-chai, extending across the border into Iran up to Keprichal (their number in Persia is estimated at
101 50,000). The oldest mention of their name is found in the Armenian translation of the Romance of Alexander. Before the Russian-Persian wars, Talysh was a Persian province ruled by a special Khan; since the peace of Gulistan (1813) it has belonged to Russia.

101 (d.) The name Tat is applied both to the
162 Iranian-speaking Muslim population living on the eastern spurs of the Great Caucasus and on the Apsheron peninsula, and to the Jews

101
162 who speak the same language; the latter, also known as "Mountain Jews" (Turkish: Dagh Chufuti) or Judeo-Tat are concentrated in the area of Kuba, Derbent, and Buinaksk and are found in smaller settlements in the Groznyi and Nalchik area and on the Kuban river. The Russian census of 1926 lists as ethnic groups ca. 29,000 Muslim Tat and ca. 21,000 Judeo-Tat, but gives the number of speakers of Tat as 86,000. The name "Tat" was originally a Turkic denomination of non-Turkic sedentary elements living in their midst. The history of the Tat is obscure; their presence in the Caucasus may go back to Sassanian times (third to seventh centuries) when Persia tried to strengthen her natural line of defense in the Caucasus by bringing Iranian colonists to the gateway along the Caspian Sea in the Derbent area.

(e.) Of the nearly 5 million Kurds living scattered over various countries in the Near and Middle East, only ca. 60,000 live in Soviet territory, most of them in the Armenian SSR and the southwestern part of the Azerbaidjan SSR. Their name is probably identical with that of the Kyrtioi, Cyrtii mentioned by classical authors in Media and Persia. Throughout their history, the Kurds have contained both nomadic and sedentary elements; they never formed a state but were grouped into a large number of tribul unions.

## III ALTAIC PEOPLES

With the exception of the Mongolian
144 Kalmyk, who were deported during the Second World War, all the Altaic peoples of the Caucasus belong to the Turkic branch of this family. The Azeri and Turcoman belong to the Oghuz Turkic, and the Kumuk, Noghay, Karachay, and Balkar to the Kipchak Turkic subdivision.

162 (a.) The ca. 2,750,000 Azeri in Soviet territory live in eastern Transcaucasia and in the coastal region of Dagestan, northward as far as Derbent. In the south, Azeri territory extends into northwestern Persia, where their number is estimated at 3 million.
101 The name "Azeri" comes originally from the classic denomination of the country, (Media) Atropatanae, and has become the name of the Azeri people only recently. The Azeri have occupied their present habitat since Seljuk times (eleventh century); their literature goes back to the fourteenth century. The Azeri Turks were originally the most important branch of the Oghuz Turks; but because of their geopolitical position their importance decreased to the advantage of the Ottoman Turks and the Persians.

162 (b.) The Turcomans (Russ. Turkmeny,
101 Trukhmeny) in the Caucasus number ca. 8,000; these Turcomans live divided in small groups

Turcoman
Kumik
Karachai, Balkar

162
101 on the Stavropol' upland (southward from the Manych canal) and between the Kuma and Yegorlyk rivers. The main concentration of the Turcomans is in the southwestern part of Central Asia (Turkmen SSR ca. 800,000,
[167] Northern Iran over 500,000); the Turcomans immigrated to the Northern Caucasus comparatively recently from the Mangyshlak peninsula.

(c.) The Kumuk (ca. 95,000) live on the northeastern slopes of the Great Caucasus along the Aksai, Sulak, Shura and Cubden rivers and along the Caspian coast from Adzhi-su to Derbent. The date of their arrival in their present habitat is unknown; they have been there at least since the sixteenth century. The Kumuk have been vassals of Russia since the last quarter of the eighteenth century, but continued to be governed by their own rulers called shamkhals until 1867.

(d.) The more than 40,000 Noghay in the Northern Caucasus (their exact number is unknown) live mainly in the steppe between the lower Kuma and Terek rivers, south of the mouth of the Terek adjoining Kumuk territory, and on the right bank of the Kuban north of Cherkessk. They probably reached their habitat at the same time as the Kumuk.

(e, f.) Until 1943 the Karachay and Balkar (respectively ca. 76,000 and 43,000) lived on the northern slopes of the Great Caucasus, the former along the headwaters of the Kuban,

162
101 Teberda, Zelenchuk, Laba and Podkumok, the latter along those of the Baksan, Chegem and Cherek rivers. Culturally, they were largely identical with the Circassians and other North Caucasian mountaineers, and thus occupied a special place in the Turkic world. The name of the Balkar may be connected with that of the Turkic Bulgarians who formed a state in the Azov region in the sixth and seventh centuries.

(g.) Until 1943 the nearly 134,000 Kalmyk lived in the lower Volga area, where they migrated from Central Asia in the first half of the seventeenth century. In 1771 a large part of them migrated back to Chinese Turkes-
[619] tan. They are divided into a number of tribes, the most important of which are the Torghūt (Torgout). The Kalmyk are Buddhists; their literary tradition goes back to the sixteenth century. They were used by the Russians as a Cossack force against the Crimean Turks who represented Ottoman interests. In 1943 the Kalmyk ASSR was abrogated and the Kalmyk deported. Their present fate is unknown.

7: Columbia U. S-4, 5 1956 RHI Caucasia
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Ethnic Groups

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# 1. Sociological

## e. Languages

Aert H. Kuipers

I Paleocaucasian Languages

A. Internal and External Relationships

B. Structure of the Languages

II Non-Indigenous Languages

III Script and Literacy

See Also: 1. Sociological, a[1]. Geographical Setting; and e[1]. Survey of Peoples and Languages.

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# I PALEOCAUCASIAN LANGUAGES

## A. Internal and External Relationships

197 The Paleocaucasian languages are divided into three groups of related languages. The Southern group comprises Georgian, Mingrelo-Laz and Svan; the North-Western group: Circassian and Abkhaz; the North-Eastern group: the Veinakh languages of the Central Caucasus and the numerous languages of Dagestan.

The relationships among these three groups are not quite clear. There are certain phonetic traits and lexical elements which are common to two or to all three groups, but the problem of the extent to which these similarities are due to mutual influence and borrowing rather than to common ancestry has not been definitely solved. The N. E. Caucasian languages alone differ from each other at least as much as, for example, the older Indo-European languages. The N. W. and N. E. Caucasian languages seem to have an old lexical stratum in common, and if further investigation establishes a genetic relationship among all the Paleocaucasian languages it is probable that the Northern languages will prove to form a unit as opposed to S. Caucasian.

The possible relationships of the Paleocaucasian languages with languages or

197 language groups outside the Caucasus are quite uncertain. The Russian linguist Marr, among others, developed the theory that the Caucasian languages and Basque, spoken in and around the western Pyrenees, are the remnants of a language family spread throughout southern Europe before the Indo-European invasions; Marr gave this language family the name "Japhetic." According to him, this family also included Etruscan and a number of ancient languages of Asia Minor and Mesopotamia (Elamitic, Sumerian); the Japhetic languages were in his opinion related to the Semito-Hamitic language family. No sufficient evidence has been brought forward to support this theory. More detailed studies have been made particularly on the possible Basque-Caucasian relationship (by Lafon and Bouda, among others); the results still leave room for doubt. This is even more true of Bleichsteiner's attempt to show a relationship between Caucasian and Burushaski (spoken in the Hindukush).

The Paleocaucasian languages, grouped into related units, are summed up below. Those marked with an asterisk have the status of a literary language in the Soviet Union. The languages placed in parentheses are not spoken in the Caucasus at present, due to the emigration (Ubykh, 1865) or deportation (Chechen-Ingush, 1944) of the speakers.

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197 South Caucasian (2,250,000; plus 87,000 in Turkey)

* Georgian
  Mingrelo-Laz
  Svan

North-West Caucasian (325,000)

* Abkhaz (incl. *Abaza)
  (Ubykh)
  Circassian
    * Kyakh (W. Circ.)
    * Kabardian (E. Circ.)

North-East Caucasian (1,120,000)

Veinakh Group
  (*Chechen-Ingush)
  Bats
Avaro-Ando-Dido Group
  *Avar
    Andi Subgroup (Andi, Botlikh, Godoberi, Karata, Bagulal, Tindi, Chamalal, Akhvakh)
    Dido Subgroup (Khvarshi, Dido, Kapucha, Khunzal, Ginukh)
    Archi
Lak-Dargwa Group
  * Lak
    Dargwa Subgroup (*Dargwa, Kaitak, Kubachi)

197 North-East Caucasian (continued)

Samur Group
*Lezgian
Agul
Rutul
Tsakhur
*Tabasaran
Budukh
Dzhek

Khinalug

Udi

B. Structure of the Languages

194 A phonetic characteristic common to all the Caucasian languages is their richness in consonants. Georgian has 28 consonant phonemes, Avar has 44, the literary dialect of Abkhaz has 67 (cf. English with 23). The vowel systems, on the other hand, are simple and vowels rarely exceed 5. In addition to voiceless and voiced consonants, all the languages also have a series of glottalic consonants, pronounced with a "glottal catch." Speakers of Georgian identify the Russian voiceless consonants with their own glottalic ones (rather than with their own voiceless consonants, which, unlike the Russian, are aspirated), and this "glottalic" pronunciation

194 is the main characteristic of the Georgian's accent when speaking Russian. As further phonetic characteristics must be mentioned the ubiquitous presence of two series of k-sounds (one velar, as in English, and one unvular) with fricatives corresponding to one or both (as in German ich and ach). Some of the N. Caucasian languages (Circassian, Avar, etc.) have various types of lateral fricatives (cf. the Welsh ll); their richness in consonants is further due to the occurrence of series of emphatic, palatalized and labialized consonants in addition to the neutral ones.

193 In morphology and syntax, the three groups of Caucasian languages show considerable divergences. The N.E. languages have a rich declension (e.g., Avar has 19 cases, and Lak has as many as 40) and a simple conjugation (in most of them the very does not express person). The N.W. languages, on the other hand, have the exact opposite: their declension is poor (Circassian has 4 cases and Abkhaz, 3) but their conjugation is extremely complicated, the verb expressing the person of subject, direct and indirect object and even prepositional object ("with you," "for me," etc.). In this respect the S. Caucasian languages are in an intermediate position, nominal and verbal inflection being neither as complex nor as simple as the extremes found in the North. In most of the N.E.

193 languages morphology and syntax are dominated by the division of all nouns into a number of classes (rational, subdivided into male and female, and several non-rational genders); these classes are referred to by indicators in adjectives and verbs, in the latter for both subject and object. Outside the N.E. languages, only Abkhaz has a simple and probably secondarily developed system of classes (rational male and female, and irrational). All the Caucasian languages have one peculiarity in common which is variously referred to as "passive character of the transitive verb," "ergative structure," etc.: morphologically and syntactically the object of the transitive verb is treated in the same way as the subject of the intransitive verb (the sentences "He is standing." and "I advise him." being approximately expressed as "He is a standee." and "He is my advisee."). As to morphological technique, the Caucasian languages all employ both prefixes and suffixes. The N.W. languages are the most purely agglutinative (i.e., they string the significant elements, each with its own separate meaning and without much unpredictable variation, into words). The S. and especially the N.E. languages, although likewise of the agglutinative type, also exhibit symbolic change (as in "man" - "men" or "write" - "wrote") and suppletion (as in "go" - "went").

## VI NON-INDIGENOUS LANGUAGES

197 Armenian is a separate branch of Indo-European, belonging to the Eastern (satem) group ; its closest relatives were probably Phrygian and Thracian, known only from a few inscriptions. The language has been strongly influenced by its non-Indo-European substratum (Chaldic, the language of the Urartu state). Besides Ossetian, also spoken in the Caucasus, Armenian is the only I-E language with a series of glottalic consonants; its lexicon abounds with non-I-E elements, and its morphology and syntax show [192] Caucasian influence. The language has furthermore borrowed so many words from Persian that it was regarded as an Iranian dialect until Hübschmann showed in 1883 that it repre- [212] sented an independent branch of I-E. The oldest dated Armenian manuscript is from the ninth century; the literary tradition is four centuries older.

Ossetian is a member of the Eastern (in older terminology, Northern) subdivision of the Iranian languages, to which also belong the Pamir dialects and Yagnābī, a descendant of Soghdian. It is the only survival of the Scytho-Sarmatian dialects, once spread over a vast area in the Eurasian steppe belt. The influence of the surrounding Caucasian languages is apparent in the existence of glottalic consonants, in the agglutinative technique of the morphology and in the lexicon.

197 Tat and Talysh both belong to the Caspian dialect group of the North-Western subdivision of Iranian; their closest relations are Nazandarani and Ghilak, spoken in Iran in the Caspian coast region. The North-Western Iranian languages, themselves widely divergent, are not mutually intelligible with Persian, which belongs to the South-Western subdivision of Iranian.

The Kurdish dialects form a special group of the North-Western subdivision of the Iranian languages. The Kurds in Soviet territory speak a North Kurdish (Kurmanji) dialect.

Azeri belongs to the Western subdivision of Oghuz Turkic, together with Turkish and the Kashkay-Hamse languages. The difference between Azeri and Turkish on the one hand, and between Azeri and the Kashkay-Hamse languages on the other, is very small, and these three units can be considered dialects of the same language.

Turcoman constitutes the Eastern subdivision of Oghuz Turkic. The spoken language is not intelligible to speakers of Western Oghuz Turkic.

Kumuk, Noghay, and Karachay-Balkar belong to the Kipchak-Turkic language group. The three can be regarded as distant dialects of the same language.

Kalmyk constitutes the Western member of the Mongolian family of the Altaic languages.

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## III SCRIPT AND LITERACY

212 Georgian is the only Paleocaucasian language with an ancient literary tradition and a script of its own. This script is well adapted to the language, each letter always expressing the same sound, and each sound always expressed by the same letter. The alphabet exists in two forms: the khuts'uri or "ecclesiastic" script with angular characters and both capitals and small letters, and the mkhedruli or "warrior" script with rounded letters and no capitals. The latter is the script now in use. The other S. Caucasian languages are not used for literary purposes, Georgian being the language of culture and education, though in private correspondence Mingrelian is sometimes written, with Georgian letters. The Georgian alphabet, with some added characters, has been used for non-Georgian languages (Abkhaz, Udi) and is at present the official script of the South Ossete AO (the North Ossetes use the Russian alphabet).

Armenian also has an alphabet of its own; as in the case of Georgian, the alphabet is perfectly adapted to the language. Until 1922, Azeri was written with Arabic characters. Kalmyk had its own script, which was in use until 1927.

Though a number of the smaller Caucasian languages were recorded by scholars in the nineteenth century, and there

212 were some isolated instances of native use of the Arabic script in publications, none had an established literary tradition at the time of the Russian revolution. Under the auspices of the Soviet government, alphabets were established for the more important languages; in most cases they were based on the Arabic script. In the course of the 1920's they were replaced everywhere by adaptations of the Latin alphabet, usually along the lines worked out by the Committee for National Alphabets. From 1937 on, the latter alphabets were in turn replaced by the Russian alphabet, with the letter l added to render glottalic consonants (only Abkhaz adds certain other letters). The following list states for each language which alphabet was officially used at different times (-1924: until 1924; 1924-:from 1924 on; CNA: Committee for National Alphabets).

## Caucasian Languages

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Abazin | 1932-: | Latin; 1937-: Russian |
| Abkhaz | -1924: | Russian (Uslar's adaptation); 1924-: Marr's Japhetic transcription; 1929-: Latin CNA; 1937-: Georgian; 1954-: Russian |
| Adyge | -1926: | Arabic; 1926-: Latin; 1937-: Russian |
| Avar | -1928: | Arabic; 1928-: Latin; 1937-: Russian |

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## Caucasian Languages (continued)

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| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Chechen | -1925: | Arabic; 1925-: Latin (not CNA); 1937-: Russian |
| Dargwa | -1928: | Arabic; 1928-: Latin; 1937-: Russian |
| Georgian | | National alphabet |
| Ingush | -1923: | Arabic; 1923-: Latin (not CNA); 1937-: Russian |
| Kabardian | -1923: | Arabic; 1923-: Latin (not CNA); 1928-:Latin CNA;1937: Russian (first adaptation); 1938-:Russian (final adaptation) |
| Lak | -1928: | Arabic; 1928-:Latin; 1937-: Russian |
| Lezgin | -1928: | Arabic; 1928-: Latin; 1937-: Russian |
| Tabasaran | -1931: | Latin; 1937-: Russian |

## Non-Indigenous Languages

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Aisor | -1930: | Russian and Latin; 1930-: Latin |
| Armenian | | National alphabet |
| Azeri | -1922: | Arabic; 1922-:Latin (revised 1928); 1940-:Russian |
| Kalmyk | 1648-1927: | National alphabet; 1927-: Russian; 1930-: Latin; 1938-: Russian |
| Karachay-Balkar | -1924: | Arabic; 1924- Latin; 1937-: Russian |

212 Non-Indigenous Languages (continued)

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Kumuk | -1927: | Arabic; 1927-: Latin; 1937-: Russian |
| Kurdish | Occasional publications in Arabic and Latin script | |
| Noghay | -1928: | Arabic; 1928-: Latin; 1937-: Russian |
| Ossete | -1923: | Russian; 1923- Latin (not CNA); 1937-: Russian (in North Ossetian ASSR) and Georgian (in South Ossetian AO) |
| Tat | -1929: | Hebrew; 1929-: Latin; 1937-: Russian |

As a result of general compulsory education, the large majority of the speakers of Caucasian languages are literate in the official language of their district. It must be noted, however, that many persons have not kept up with the changes in alphabets and are literate only in the Arabic and/or Latin script.

191 As to the speakers of non-literary languages, the Ando-Dido peoples and the speakers of Archi and Tsakhur in Dagestan use Avar as a literary language. The Paleo-caucasian speakers in the Azerbaidjan SSR use Azeri as a literary language, as do the Talysh. In general, Russian is the lingua franca in the North-Western and Central Caucasus; in Dagestan this role is played in the West by Avar, in the East, north of Derbent by Kumuk, south of Derbent by Azeri.

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000

1. Sociological

e1. Survey of Peoples and Languages
With map

Bernhard Geiger
Tibor Halasi-Kun
Aert H. Kuipers
Karl H. Menges

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# 0:1 PREFACE

128 This presentation of data on the peoples and languages of the Caucasus[1] was prepared by the following:

| Section | Author |
|---|---|
| Caucasian | Dr. Aert H. Kuipers |
| Indo-European and Semitic | Dr. Bernhard Geiger and Dr. Aert H. Kuipers |
| Turkic | Dr. Tibor Halasi-Kun |
| Mongolian | Dr. Karl H. Menges |

The index was compiled by Miss Eloise Kerlin; the map was drawn by Miss Jane Gaitenby.

The data refer to the present-day linguistic-ethnic situation in the Caucasus, except that (1) peoples who were expelled from the Caucasus during the Second World War (Chechen, Ingush, Karachay, Balkar) are included; and (2) peoples of European orgin, not primarily associated with the Caucasus — on the one hand Russians and Ukrainians, on the other hand minor groups like the Greeks, Balts, Germans, etc. — are omitted.

The peoples are numbered consecutively without any further grouping; each of them is presented as a self-contained unit in which all information is given, even if repetitious. Each section includes the following: the proposed standard English designation, as heading; Name (Self-Designation; English variants, if any; Russian designations; Other Designations, where relevant); Number and Location (with references to related groups outside the Caucasus); Subdivisions (linguistic, tribal

1 [cf. cat. 11b, pp. 421 – 502 -- Analyst]

/28 religious, etc.); brief indications of Traditional Economy and Religion. The index is intended to be a guide to the renowned onomastic labyrinth of the Caucasus. The map shows the present geographical location of the peoples.

The principles followed in transcription and transliteration, which have been made to conform as much as possible with English usage, are explained in O:2.[1] Certain inconsistencies due to differences in scholarly tradition have not yet been removed.

Since the languages and peoples are presented without any further linguistic grouping, it has seemed useful to add a special survey of the genetic interrelationships of the languages spoken in the Caucasus. Only the fifty languages included in the main body of this text are given. It must be borne in mind that the exact genetic relationships of the Caucasian languages, both as to the three major branches and with regard to some of the internal grouping of the NE branch, are obscure.

[1] [cf. cat. 116, p. 420 -- Analyst]

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104 O:2 Note on Transcription and Transliteration

Turkish names are quoted in the official Turkish orthography.

Russian names are given in the transliteration of the Library of Congress. Contrary to Russian usage, ethnic names have been capitalized for greater clarity of presentation.

In quoting Caucasian names, English approximations rather than phonemic exactness have been aimed at.

A few addition comments on symbols used follow here:

| | |
|---|---|
| a, o, u | as in German |
| y | (not in contact with vowels) high-central or mid-central vowel |
| y | (in contact with vowels) semivowel |
| kh, gh | velar, uvular, or pharyngal fricative |
| q | postvelar stop or affricate |
| tl | lateral fricative or affricate |
| (x)' | glottalic consonant |
| (x) | palatalized consonant |
| (x) | stress |
| (x)' | geminate or emphatic consonant |

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O:3 Genetic-Linguistic Survey:

197 Caucasian (Paleaocaucasian, Ibero-Caucasian) languages: I. S Caucasian (Kartvelian, Iberian) branch: Georgian, Mingrelo-Laz, Svan; II. NW Caucasian (W C ucasian, Abasgo-Kerketian, Pontic) branch: Abkhaz, Ubykh, Circassian; III. NE Caucasian (E Caucasian, Checheno-Lezgian, Checheno-Dagestanian, Caspian) branch: (1) Veinakh (N Central Caucasian) Group: Chechen-Ingush, Bats; (2) Avaro-Ando-Dido group: (a) Avar; (b) Andi sub-group: Andi proper, Botlikh, Godoberi, Karata, Bagulal, Tindi, Chamalal, Akhvakh; (c) Dido sub-group: Khvarshi, Dido proper Kapucha, Khunzal, Ginukh; (d) Archi: (3) Lak-Dargwa group: Lak and the Dargwa languages: Dargwa proper, Kaitak, Kubachi; (4) Samurian group: Lezgian, Agul, Rutul, Tsakhur, Tabasaran, Budukh, Dzhek; (5) Khinalug; (6) Udi.

Indo-European (Indogermanic, Aryan) languages: I. Armenian; II. Iranian branch: (1) E Iranian: Ossetian; (2) NW Iranian: Talysh, Tat; (3) SW Iranian: Kurdish.

Altaic languages: I. Turkic Tatar, Muslim) branch: (1) Oghuz group: (a) W Oghuz: Azeri, Karapapak; (b) E Oghuz: Turkoman; (2) Kipchak group: Kumuk, Noghay, Karachay, Balkar; II. Mongolian branch, W group: Kalmyk.

Semitic languages, Aramaic branch: Aisor.

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## 1. GEORGIANS

C. G. 101 NAME: SELF-DESIGNATION: Kartveli, pl. Kartvelni. The name is applied to all the Kartvelian peoples (see below under "Language"); its derivate "Sakartvelo" denotes traditionally the Georgian state and political territory.

RUSSIAN DESIGNATION: Gruziny.

OTHER DESIGNATION: (Armenian:) Vratsi; (Turkish, Persian:) Gürdzhi; (Abkhaz:) Akhartwa.

C. G. 161 NUMBER: 1897 1,097,000 (Russian census)
1926 1,564,333 (Russian census, ethn.)
1,610,458 (Russian census, ling.)
1939 2,248,566 (Russian census)

The 1939 figure includes the Mingrelians, Laz, and Svan. The Turkish census of 1945 lists 40,076 speakers of Georgian.

C. G. 162 LOCATION: Western and central part of the territory between the mountains of the Great and Little Caucasus, with the lower Alazani river as E border. Of this area are excepted (1) the territory NW of the lower Rioni and Tskhenis-Tskali (which is inhabited by Mingrelians, Svan, and Abkhaz) and (2) the part of the country SW of the lower Chorokh (which is Laz territory). On the other hand, the Georgians extend beyond the Little Caucasus in the SW, where they live in the basins of the upper Kura and Araks. Politically, the main mass lives in the Georgian SSR, extending into the

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C. G. 162

adjoining districts of N Azerbaidzhan (Kakh rayon) and NE Turkey (districts of Artvin, Ardahan, Ardanuch, Olti). Isolated from the main body, speakers of Georgian (the Fereidan) constitute the population of 14 villages in the province of Isfahan, Iran.

C. G. 619 101

Tribal breakdown (with indication of Georgian names of tribes):

1. <u>East Georgians</u>: Kakhetians (K'akheli): easternmost part of Georgia, E of the Kura and Aragvi rivers. A special sub-dialect is spoken in the district of Kiziqi (Russ. Signakh) between the Yori and Alazani rivers; Kartlians (Kartleli): their area is that of Georgia minus those of the other tribes, it is subdivided into regions: Somkhiti, Dzhavakheti, Tao, Klardzheti, etc. ; Ingilo (Ingilo): between the Alazani and the main Caucasian chain; Tush (Tushi, Tushuri): on the upper course of the Andiiskoe Koisu; Khevsur (Khevsuri): on the upper course of the E Aragvi and Argun; Pshav (Pshaveli): S of the Khevsur on the Aragvi and upper Iora: Mokhev and Mtiul (Mokhevi, Mtiuli): on the upper Terek, W Aragvi and Ksani.

2. <u>West Georgians</u>: Imeretians (Imereli): between the main Caucasian chain, the Suram range, the Adzharo-Akhaltsikh range and the Tskhenis-Tskali river; Racha (Rach'a): on the upper Rioni; Lechkhum: W of Racha; Gurians (Guruli): S of the lower Rioni, attaining the Black Sea between Poti and Kobuleti; Adzhar (Ach'areli): S of the Gurians, E of Batumi. Speak the same dialect as the Gurians, but are Muslim.

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C. G. 197 LANGUAGE: Georgian (Kartuli ena) belongs with Mingrelian, Laz, and Svan, to the S Caucasian (or Kartvelian) language family. It has an old literary tradition going back to the 5th century A. D., and a script of its own.

SUBDIVISIONS: The Georgian dialects fall into two groups: E and W Georgian. E dialects: Kartluri (with sub-dialects Meskh and Dzhavakh), K'akhuri, Ingilouri, Tushuri, Khevsuruli, Pshauri, Mokhev, Mtiuli, (Fereidan in Iran). W dialects: Imeruli Rach'uli, Lechkhum, Guruli (including Adzhar), Imerkhev (in Turkey).

C. G. 241 231 TRADITIONAL ECONOMY: Agriculture, cattle-breeding; horticulture; viniculture; arts and crafts.

C. G. 795 RELIGION: Eastern Orthodox; Roman Catholic minority; only the Adzhar and part of the Ingilo are Muslim. There are a number of Georgian-speaking Jewish villages in different parts of the Georgian SSR, totaling 21,471 persons (1926, Russian census), in Russian referred to as Gruzinskie evrei (Georgian Jews).

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## 2. MINGRELIANS

C. G. 101 NAME: SELF-DESIGNATION: Margali; own name of country: Odishi.

RUSSIAN DESIGNATIONS: Megrely, Megrel'tsy, Mingrel'tsy.

OTHER DESIGNATIONS: (Georgian:) Megreli, the country: Samegrelo; (Abkhaz:) Aghrwa; (Svan:) Myzan, the country: Zan

C. G. 161 NUMBER: 1897 239,625 (Russian census)
1926 242,990 (Russian census, ethn.)
284,834 (Russian census, ling.)

C. G. 162 LOCATION: Territory N of lower Rioni river and W of the Tskhenis-Tskali, extending along the Black Sea Coast from the mouth of the Rioni up to Ochemchiri (rayons Zugdidi and Senaki in W of Georgian SSR). Also in and around the cities of the Abkhaz ASSR.

C. G. 197 LANGUAGE: Mingrelian (Megreli nina) and the very closely related Laz form the so-called Zan member of the S Caucasian (Kartvelian) language group, which also includes Georgian and Svan. The language is not written, Georgian being used as the literary language.

SUBDIVISIONS: Two groups of dialects, which differ very little: West (Samurzakan-Zugdidi) and East Mingrelian (Senaki).

C. G. 241 TRADITIONAL ECONOMY: Agriculture; horticulture; viniculture; sericulture.

C. G. 795 RELIGION: Eastern Orthodox.

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(Turkish:) Lazi;
(Georgian:) Ch'ani,
the country: Ch'aneti.)

## 3. LAZ

C G 101 NAME: SELF-DESIGNATION: Lazi
RUSSIAN DESIGNATIONS: Lazy; for the language also: Chanskii iazyk.
OTHER DESIGNATIONS: (Turkish:) Lazi; (Georgian:) Ch'ani, the country: Ch'aneti.)

C G 161 NUMBER: 1926 643 (Russian census, ethn.)
730 (Russian census, ling.)
The Turkish census of 1945 lists 46,987 speakers of Laz, so that the overwhelming majority of them live in Turkish territory.

C G 162 LOCATION: Between the Chorokh river and the Black Sea coast up to the area of Pazar (Atina) on Turkish territory; also in the Chkhala basin (left tributary of the Chorokh on Russian territory), (Adzhar ASSR, within Georgian SSR).

C G 197 LANGUAGE: Laz (Ch'anuri nena) and the very closely related Mingrelian form of the so-called Zan member of the S Caucasian (Kartvelian) language-group, which includes also Georgian and Svan. The language is not written, Georgian being used as literary language in the USSR, Turkish in Turkey.

SUBDIVISIONS: Two dialect-groups; West (Vitse-Arkhava and Atina) and East Laz (Hopa, Chkhala).

C G 241 226 TRADITIONAL ECONOMY: Agriculture, fishing, trade.

C G 795 RELIGION: Islam (Sunni)

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Georgia RI 1

## 4. SVAN

C. G. 101 NAME: SELF-DESIGNATION: Shwan, sing. Mushwän, Mushwni.

ENGLISH VARIANTS: Svan, Svanetians

RUSSIAN DESIGNATIONS: Svany, Svanety.

OTHER DESIGNATIONS: (Georgian:) Svani; the country: Svaneti

C. G. 161 NUMBER: 1897 15,756 (Russian census)
1926 13,218 (Russian census, ethn.)
13,142 (Russian census, ling.)

The 1926 numbers are very low and must be due to some misunderstanding. The Bol'shaia Sovetskaia Éntsiklopediia (1st ed.) Vol. 50 (1944), p. 371, gives the number of the Svan as over 23,000.

C. G. 162 LOCATION: Two valleys S of Mt. El'brus, one of the upper Tskhenis-Tskali and its tributary the Kheledula (Sv. of the Dadiani), the other of the upper Ingur (West: Sv. of the Dadishkeliani, East: Free Sv.) Georgian SSR)

C. G. 197 LANGUAGE: The Svan language is a member of the S Caucasian (Kartvelian) language-family, to which belong further Migrelo-Laz (Zan), and Georgian, the latter languages forming one group as against Svan. The language is not written, Georgian being used as the literary language.

C G 631 SUBDIVISIONS: Historically, Svanetia fell into three parts, Svanetia of the Dadiani, Svanetia of the Dadishkeliani, Free Svanetia.

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C.
G.
241 TRADITIONAL ECONOMY: Agriculture,
231 cattle-raising, hunting, apiculture.

C.
G.
795 RELIGION: Eastern Orthodox.

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Georgia RI I

## 5. ABKHAZ

C.
G.
101 NAME: SELF-DESIGNATION: Aàpswa.
ENGLISH VARIANTS: Abkhaz(ians); for the tribes N of the Cauc. ridge: Abazinians.
RUSSIAN DESIGNATIONS: Abkhazy, Abkhaztsy; for the tribes N of the Cauc. ridge; Abazintsy, Beshkesek-Abaza.
OTHER DESIGNATIONS: (Georgian:) Apkhazi; (Svan:) Mibkhaz; (Turkish:) Abaza.

C.
G.
161 NUMBER: 1897 72,103 (Russian census)
1926 56,957 (Russian census, ethn.)
48,130 (Russian census, ling.)
1939 58,969 (Russian census)
These numbers do not include the Abaza on Russian territory (see below under "Subdivisions"), whose number was in 1926: 13,825 (ethn.), 13,057 (ling.) (Russian census). The Turkish census of 1945 lists 8,602 speakers of "Abaza" (i.e. Abkhaz).

C.
162 LOCATION: Black Sea coast S of the main Cauc. chain between the rivers Psou and Ingur (Abkhaz ASSR, within Georgian SSR). The Bzyb'-Abkhaz live around the river Bzyb', the Abzhui-Abkhaz around the river Kodor, the Samurzakan'-Abkhaz in the SE, bordering on Mingrelia. The Abaza tribes live in 15 villages N of the Cauc. chain at the sources of the rivers Kuban' and Zelenchuk (Cherkes AO, within RSFSR).

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C. G. 197 LANGUAGE: Abkhaz belongs to NW Caucasian, together with Circassian and Ubykh (the latter no longer spoken in the Caucasus). Two dialects have been reduced to writing: in the Abkhaz ASSR that of the Abzhui, in the Cherkes AO that of the Tapanta. The speakers of the Abaza dialects are all bilingual and speak also the Kabardian dialect of Circassian. In the Abkhaz ASSR knowledge of Georgian is widespread.

SUBDIVISION: Abkhaz has five major dialects: Bzyb', Abzhui, Samurzakan', Ashkharwa and Tapanta. The speakers of the latter two dialects are known as Abaza (R. Abazintsy), though linguistically the first four dialects form one group, while Tapanta stands apart.

C. G. 101 Further tribal names (Russ. form): Tsebeldintsy, Dzhigety; (Abaza:) Beshilbei, Tam, Barakei.

C. G. 241 231 TRADITIONAL ECONOMY: Cattle-breeding; agriculture, viniculture; apiculture.

C. G. 795 RELIGION: Islam (Sunni); Eastern Orthodox.

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Adige, Kabardin
Cherkess

## 6. CIRCASSIANS

101 NAME: SELF-DESIGNATION: Adyghe.
ENGLISH VARIANTS: Circassians, Cherkes.
RUSSIAN DESIGNATIONS: Cherkesy (see also below under "Subdivisions").
OTHER DESIGNATIONS: (Abkhaz:) Azkhwa; (Ossete:) Käsgon, collective: Kasag (refers particularly to the Kabardians); (Georgian:) Cherkezi.

161 NUMBER:

Kabardians:

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 1897 | 98,561 | (Russian census) |
| 1926 | 139,925 | (Russ. cens. ethn.) |
| | 138,925 | (Russ. cens. ling.) |
| 1939 | 164,106 | (Russian census) |

Other Circassians:

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 1897 | 46,286 | (Russian census) |
| 1926 | 65,270 | (Russ. cens. ethn.) |
| | 64,195 | (Russ. cens. ling.) |
| 1939 | 87,973 | (Russian census) |

The Turkish census of 1945 lists 66,691 speakers of Circassian. A considerable number of Circassians live in Syria, Jordan and Iraq.

162 LOCATION: 1. Upper Circassians: (Kabardians:) basins of the rivers Malka, Baksan, Cherek, and Upper Terek in the central Caucasus ("Great Kabarda"), a strip of land E of the Terek ("Little Kabarda"): these constitute the Kabardian ASSR. Also between the upper Kuban' and Zelenchuk rivers, included in the Cherkes AO. Smaller groups around Mozdok and in the E part of the

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Adige, Kabardin, Cherkess

162 Adygei AO (Beslenei:) Two auls of the Cherkes AO: Beslenei and Bakozhile; two auls in the Uspenskii rayon (Krasnodar Krai): Kurgovskoe and Konovskoe; two auls in the Adygei AO: Khodzh'and Uliap.

2. Lower Circassians: S of the lower middle course of the Kuban'and in the basins of the Laba and Belaia; these in the Adygei AO (mixture of various tribes). Also SE of Tuapse and in the aul Suvorovo-Cherkesskii on the Taman' peninsula (Shapsug). Smaller groups scattered in the NW Cauc., among others near Armavir.

197 LANGUAGE: The Circassian language (Adyghèbze) belongs with Abkhaz and Ubykh (no longer spoken in the Caucasus) to the NW group of Caucasian languages. The two major dialects, Upper and Lower Circassian, both have the status of literary language, under the names "Kabardinskii" or "Kabardinocherkesskii", and "Adygeiskii iazyk" respectively (the last based on the Temirgoi dialect). A Lower Circassian dialect is spoken by the Armenians in the town of Armavir.

197 101 SUBDIVISIONS: Two main dialect-groups: Upper Circassian (Kabardian and Beslenei) and Lower Circassian (or Kiakh, with subdialects Bzhedukh-Temirgoi [the latter also called Chemgui], Shapsug, and Abadzekh). In Russian sources the Circassians in the Adygei AO are referred to as "Adygeitsy", those in the Cherkes AO as "Cherkesy", those in the Kabardian ASSR

197 as "Kabardintsy". The dialects follow old
101 tribal divisions. Other tribal names (Russ. form.): Natukhaevtsy, Gatiukai, Zhane(e)vtsy, Egerukaevtsy, Makhosh(ev)-tsy, Kiakhi, Khagak (Khegek, Shegek).

241
231 TRADITIONAL ECONOMY: Agriculture; horticulture; cattle-breeding; horse-breeding (esp. Kabardians); apiculture; home industry (Caucasian felt cloaks).

795 RELIGION: Islam (Sunni); only the Kabardians around Mozdok are Christians.

## 7. CHECHEN-INGUSH

101 NAME: SELF-DESIGNATION: (Chechen:) Nakhchuo, pl. Nokhchiy; (Ingush:) Ghalghai, Lamur ("mountaineers"); (Kist:) Veppie; (Karabulak:) Arshte.

RUSSIAN DESIGNATION: Chechen(ts)y, Ingushi, Mizdzhegi.

OTHER DESIGNATIONS: (Georgian:) Chachani, Kist'i, Kist'uri, for the Ingush in particular: Ghlighvi; (Circassian:) Sheshen; (Ossete:) Tsatsan; (Avar:) Burt'ichi, Burti'iyaw; (Kumyk:) Mychyghysh, (Michikish, Michigysh).

161 NUMBER:

| | Chechen: | Ingush: | Kist: |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1897 | 226,496 | 47,409 | 413 |
| | (Russian census) | | |
| 1926 | 318,522 | 74,097 | |
| | (Russian census ethn.) | | |
| | (all groups combined:) | | 393,713 |
| | (Russian census, ling.) | | |
| 1939 | 407,690 | 92,074 | |
| | (Russian census) | | |

162 LOCATION: Formerly between the middle course of the Terek and the main Cauc. ridge, in the now abolished Chechen-Ingush ASSR, most of which has become part of the krai Groznyi. Deported in 1943. Have since received some official recognition by the issuing of a Chechen language newspaper in the Kazakh SSR, where therefore a sizable group of them must be living now. Some representatives of the Kist tribe are left in the territory of the Georgian SSR, on the upper Assa, Argun, and Alazani rivers.

197 LANGUAGE: Chechen and Ingush are very closely related languages. Together with Bats.

197 they form the Veinakh group of the NE Caucasian language family.

SUBDIVISIONS: These were more of a geographical than of a linguistic nature. Chechen tribes: Ichkeri(ntsy), Aukh(ovtsy). etc.; Ingush tribes: Dzherakh(ovtsy), Nazran(ovtsy), etc. A special dialect was spoken by the Karabulak, who had all emigrated to Turkey by 1870. The Georgians knew the Chechen with whom they came in contact as Kist; this name was later extended to the whole group and adopted by the Russians as a name for the Veinakh languages(Kistinskie iazyki).

231
241 TRADITIONAL ECONOMY: Cattle-breeding, agriculture.

795 RELIGION: Islam (Sunni).

7: Columbia U. S-4, 5 1956 RHI Caucasia RHI
Tushin

## 8. BATS

101 NAME: SELF-DESIGNATION: Batsaw, pl. Batsbi.
RUSSIAN DESIGNATIONS: Batsbiitsy, Tsova-Tush, Tush (due to incorrect naming by Güldenstädt)

161 NUMBER: 1926 7 (Russian census, ethn.)
2,459 (Russian census, ling.)

162 LOCATION: In winter and spring in the village Zemo Alvani on the Kakhetian Alazan' (near Telavi), in summer in the mountain meadows on the upper Kakhetian Alazan' and Tush Alazan' (Akhmet rayon, Georgian SSR).

197 LANGUAGE: Bats (Batsbe mot') forms with Checheno-Ingush, the Veinakh group of the NE Caucasian languages. The language is not written, Georgian being used as literary language.

234 TRADITIONAL ECONOMY: Cattle-breeding.

795 RELIGION: Eastern Orthodox.

## 9. AVAR

C. D. 101 NAME: SELF-DESIGNATION: None for the people as a whole. Own designation of language: maharul mats'ᵃ ("mountain language") or Khᵊunz mats'ᵊ ("language of Khunzakh")

RUSSIAN DESIGNATIONS: Avartsy, Tavlintsy (the latter from Kumyk "Taulu" meaning "mountaineers" in general). The southern groups of Avar are also referred to as Dzhartsy.

OTHER DESIGNATIONS: (Lak:) Yaruchū, (Dargwa:) K'araqᵊan.

C. D. 161 NUMBER: 1926 158,769 (Russian census, ethn.)
158,922 (Russian census, ling.)

In the Bol'shaia Sovetskaia Éntsiklopediia (2nd ed.) Vol. 1 (1949), p. 62, the total number of Avar is given as ca. 167,000. The number of persons able to speak Avar is ca. 220,000 (estimate, Chikobava).

C. D. 162 LOCATION: Basins of lower Andi Koisu, and of the Avar Koisu; some groups isolated from the main body along the W tributaries of the Andi Koisu (rayons Gergebil', Gumbet, Gunib, Kazbek, Kakhib, Tliarata, Untsukul', Khunzakh, Charoda, all in the Dagestan ASSR). Also extending to the S slope of the main Caucasian chain (rayons Belokany and Zakataly, Azerb. SSR).

C. D. 197 LANGUAGE: The Avar language (mahárul mats'ᵃ Khᵊunz mats'ᵊ) forms with the Andi and Dido groups of languages one of the six main divisions of NE Caucasian (the

CD
197

others being Veinakh, Lak-Dargwa, Samurian, Khinalug, and Udi). Avar has the status of a literary language in the Dagestan ASSR. The literary language is based on the Khunzakh dialect which was also the basis of the old "bol mats'·" ("army language"), the common Avar lingua franca. Knowledge of Avar is spread well outside its own linguistic territory (Andi-Dido area, Tsakhur area, Archi, W part of Lak and Dargwa areas).

SUBDIVISIONS: There are four major dialects: Khunzakh, Gidatl′-- Andalaly-Karakh, Antsukh, and Char.

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438
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TRADITIONAL ECONOMY: Stockbreeding; home industry (Caucasian felt cloaks, leather goods, wooden objects, metal work, tapestry-weaving, embroidery); horticulture.

CD
795

RELIGION: Islam (Sunni).

7: Columbia U. S-4, 5 1956 RH1 Caucasia RH1
Dagestan RH 8
Andi

## 10. ANDI

C. D. 101 NAME: SELF-DESIGNATION: Qwannaw, pl. Qwannal

RUSSIAN DESIGNATIONS: Andii, Andiitsy (this name is also used to include, besides the Andi proper, the other peoples of the Andi group; cf. below under "Language").

OTHER DESIGNATIONS: (Avar:) Handísew, pl. Handál, the country: Handí.

C. D. 161 NUMBER: 1926 7,840 (Russian census, ethn.)
7,720 (Russian census, ling.)

C. D. 162 LOCATION: N of the Andiiskoe Koisu, at its bend eastward (auls Andi, Ghunkha, Ghaghatl, Rik'uan, Chankho, Zilo, Muni in rayon Botlikh and auls Kvankhidatl, and Khuset in rayon Vedeno, Dagestan ASSR).

C. D. 197 LANGUAGE: Andi (Qwannab mits·i) forms with Botlikh, Godoberi, Karata, Bagulal, Tindi, Chamalal, and Akhvakh, the so-called Andi subgroup of the Avaro-Ando-Dido group of the NE Caucasian languages. The language is not written, Avar being used as the literary language.

C. D. 231 438 TRADITIONAL ECONOMY: Sheep-raising, home industry (Caucasian felt cloaks, tapestries, goldsmithing).

C. D. 795 RELIGION: Islam (Sunni).

7: Columbia U. S-4, 5 1956 RH1 Caucasia RH1
Dagestan RH8

## 11. BOTLIKH

C.D. 101 NAME: SELF-DESIGNATION: Buykhatli (gen. of Buykhe "the village B.").
RUSSIAN DESIGNATIONS: Botlikhtsy, Buiukhad.

C.D. 161 NUMBER: 1926 3,354 (Russian census, ethn.)
2,789 (Russian census, ling.)

C.D. 162 LOCATION: Just N of the bend of the Andiiskoe Koisu, SW of the Andi area (rayon Botlikh, auls Botlikh and Miarso, Dagestan ASSR).

C.D. 197 LANGUAGE: Botlikh (Buykhatli mits') forms with Andi, Godoberi, Karata, Bagulal, Tindi, Chamalal, and Akhvakh, the Andi subgroup of the Avaro-Ando-Dido group of the NE Caucasian languages. The language is not written, Avar being used as the literary language.

C.D. 231 241 TRADITIONAL ECONOMY: Cattle-breeding, home industry, agriculture.

C.D. 745 RELIGION: Islam (Sunni).

7: Columbia U. S-4,5 1956 RH1 Caucasia RH1
Dagestan RH8

## 12. GODOBERI

CD
101 NAME: SELF-DESIGNATION: Ghibditl·i adami (i.e. "people of the village Ghidu (Godoberi").
RUSSIAN DESIGNATION: Godoberi-(ntsy).

CD
161 NUMBER: 1926 1,425 (Russian census, ethn.)
1,425 (Russian census, ling.)

CD
162 LOCATION: Just NW of the bend of the Andiiskoe Koisu, W of the Botlikh area (rayon Botlikh, aul Godoberi, Dagestan ASSR).

CD
197 LANGUAGE: Godoberi (Ghibditl·i mits·i) forms with Andi, Botlikh, Karata, Bagulal, Tindi, Chamalal, and Akhvakh, the Andi subgroup of the Avaro-Ando-Dido group of the NE Caucasian languages. The language is not written, Avar being used as the literary language.

CD
231 TRADITIONAL ECONOMY: Cattle-breeding;
241 home industry; agriculture.

CD
795 RELIGION: Islam (Sunni).

## 13. KARATA

C. D. 101 NAME: SELF-DESIGNATION: Kirtl•e, pl. Kirtl•ei.
RUSSIAN DESIGNATIONS: Karatintsy, Karatai, Kirdi.
OTHER DESIGNATIONS: (Avar:) K''alalal.

C. D. 161 NUMBER: 1926 5,303 (Russian census, ethn.)
5,303 (Russian census, ling.)

C. D. 162 LOCATION: Just S of the bend of the Andiis'koe Koisu (N part of rayon Akhvakh, also rayons Andalaly and Vedeno (Dagest. ASSR). (1)

C. D. 197 LANGUAGE: Karata (Kirtl•i mats'i) forms with Andi, Botlikh, Godoberi, Bagulal, Tindi, Chamalal, and Akhvakh, the Andi subgroup of the Avaro-Ando-Dido group of the NE Caucasian languages. The language is not written, Avar being used as the literary language.

SUBDIVISIONS: Dialects: Karata proper Anchikh and Tokita.

C. D. 231 241 TRADITIONAL ECONOMY: Cattle-breeding, home industry, agriculture.

C. D. 795 RELIGION: Islam (Sunni).

(1) aals Karata, Archo, Anchikh, Tokita, Mashtada, Rachabalda, Chabakoro.

## 14. BAGULAL

C.D. 101 NAME: SELF-DESIGNATION: Kwantl hekua, or Bagolal.

RUSSIAN DESIGNATION: Bagulaly; Bagvalal, Bogulal.

OTHER DESIGNATIONS: due to their dual self-designation, referred to both as Bagulal and Kvanada.

C.D. 161 NUMBER: 1926 3,054 (Russian census, ethn.)
3,053 (Russian census, ling.)

C.D. 162 LOCATION: S of the bend of the Andiiskoe Koisu, S of the Karata area (rayon Tsumada, auls Khushtada, Tlondoda, Kvanada; rayon Akhvakh, auls Gimerso, Tisi, Tlibisho, Dagestan ASSR).

C.D. 197 LANGUAGE: Bagulal (Bagulazul mits') forms with Andi, Botlikh, Godoberi, Karata, Tindi, Chamalal, and Akhvakh, the Andi subgroup of the Avaro-Ando-Dido group of the NE Caucasian languages. The language is not written, Avar being used as literary language.

SUBDIVISIONS: Dialects: Bagulal proper and Tlisi.

C.D. 231 241 TRADITIONAL ECONOMY: Cattle-breeding; agriculture; home industry.

C.D. 79 RELIGION: Islam (Sunni).

7: Columbia U. S-4,5 1956 RH1 Caucasia RH1
Dagestan RH8

## 15. TINDI

CD 101 NAME: SELF-DESIGNATION: Idaraw hekwa
RUSSIAN DESIGNATIONS: Tindii, Tindiitsy, Tindal', Inderi (ntsy), Idi.
OTHER DESIGNATIONS: (Dido:) Bogozi, pl. Bogozibi.

CD 161 NUMBER: 1926 3,812 (Russian census, ethn.)
3,704 (Russian census, ling.)
1952 5,000 (estimate Gudava)

CD 162 LOCATION: Aul Tindi, on the E tributary of the Andiiskoe Koisu which separates the Bagulal group from the Khvarshi area; (rayon Tsumada, Dagestan ASSR). (1)

CD 197 LANGUAGE: Tindi (Idara mits' ) forms with Andi, Botlikh, Godoberi, Karata, Bagulal, Chamalal and Akhvakh the Andi subgroup of the Avaro-Ando-Dido group of the NE Caucasian languages. The language is not written, Avar being used as the literary language.

CD 231 241 TRADITIONAL ECONOMY: Cattle-breeding; agriculture; home industry.

CD 795 RELIGION: Islam (Sunni)

(1) Also auls Tisi, Echeda and Akhnada (rayon Tsumada) and Qedi (rayon Vedeno)

7: Columbia U. S-4,5 1956 RH1 Caucasia RH1
Dagestan RH8

## 16. CHAMALAL

CD 101 NAME: SELF-DESIGNATION: according to separate villages; as opposed to other peoples: Ch'amalaldu, pl. Ch'amalaldube, collective: Ch'amalali.
RUSSIAN DESIGNATION: Chamalaly.

CD 161 NUMBER: 1926 3,438 (Russian census, ethn.)
3,438 (Russian census, ling.)

CD 162 LOCATION: On the E side of the Andiiskoe Koisu, just below the bend; auls Verkhnii Gakvari (with sub-villages), Nizhnii Gakvari (with sub-villages), Agvali, Tsumada, Tsumada-Urukh, Richaganik, Gadyri (with sub-villages), Gachitl', Gigatl' (with sub-villages), Kvankhi (Tsumada rayon, Dagestan ASSR).

CD 197 LANGUAGE: Chamalal (Ch'amalaldub mits'·) forms with Andi, Botlikh, Godoberi, Karata, Bagulal, Tindi, and Akhvakh, the Andi subgroup of the Avaro-Ando-Dido group of the NE Caucasian languages. The language is not written, Avar being used as the literary language.

SUBDIVISIONS: Dialects: 1a. Gakvari (incl. Gakvari, Agvali, Tsumada, Tsumada-Urukh, Richaganik); 1b. Gadyri (incl. Gachitl' ) and Kvankhi; 2. Gigatl' .

CD 231 438 241 TRADITIONAL ECONOMY: Cattle-breeding; home industry (Caucasian felt cloaks, goldsmithing); agriculture.

CD 795 RELIGION: Islam (Sunni).

7: Columbia U. S-4,5 1956 RH1 Caucasia RH1
Dagestan RH8

## 17. AKHVAKH

C D 101 NAME: SELF-DESIGNATION: Atluatl'i.
RUSSIAN DESIGNATION: Akhvakhtsy.

C D 161 NUMBER: 1926 3,683 (Russian census, ethn.)
3,683 (Russian census, ling.)

C D 162 LOCATION: Between Avarskoe Koisu and Andiiskoe Koisu, just at their bend to the E (rayon Akhvakh: auls Izani, Kudiiab-Roso, Tad-Magitl', Lologonitl'; rayon Kakhib: auls Tlenob, Tsekob; rayon Andalaly: aul Ratlub; all in Dagestan ASSR).

C D 197 LANGUAGE: Akhvakh (Atluatl·i mits·i) forms with Andi Batlikh, Godoberi, Karata, Bagulal, Tindi, and Chamaiai, the Andi subgroup of the Avaro-Ando-Dido group of the NE Caucasian languages. The language is not written, Avar being used as the literary language.

C D 231 241 TRADITIONAL ECONOMY: Cattle-breeding; agriculture; home industry.

C D 795 RELIGION: Islam (Sunni).

7:Columbia U. S-4, 5 1956 RHI Caucasia RHI
Dagestan RH8

## 18. KHVARSHI

C. D. 101 NAME: SELF-DESIGNATION: Kedaes hikwa. RUSSIAN DESIGNATIONS: Khvarshiny, Khvarshintsy.

C. D. 161 NUMBER: 1926 1,019 (Russian census, ethn.)
1,018 (Russian census, ling.)

C. D. 162 LOCATION: On a S tributary of the Andiiskoe Koisu, SW of the Bagulal area (auls Khvarshi, Inkhokari, etc., Vedeno rayon, Dagestan ASSR).

C. D. 197 LANGUAGE: Khvarshi (Kedaes mits°, Inkhies mits', depending on village) forms with Dido, Kapucha, Khunzal, and Ginukh, the Dido subgroup of the Avaro-Ando-Dido group of the NE Caucasian languages. The language is not written, Avar being used as the literary language.

C. D. 241 231 TRADITIONAL ECONOMY: Agriculture; cattle-breeding.

C. D. 795 RELIGION: Islam (Sunni).

7:Columbia U. S-4, 5 1956 RH1 Caucasia RH1
Dagestan RH8
Didoi

## 19. DIDO

C. D. 101 NAME: SELF-DESIGNATION: Ts'ezi, pl. Ts'ezibi

RUSSIAN DESIGNATIONS: Didoi, Didoitsy, Tsezy.

OTHER DESIGNATIONS: (Georgian:) Dido; (Kakhetian-Georgian:) Tsunt'a "ragamuffin", a name also used by the Avar and several peoples of the Andi group.

C. D. 161 NUMBER: 1926 3,276 (Russian census, ethn.)
3,198 (Russian census, ling.)

C. D. 162 LOCATION: S of the upper Andiiskoe Koisu.

C. D. 197 LANGUAGE: Dido (Ts'ezias mets') forms with Khvarshi, Kapucha, Khunzal, and Ginukh, the so-called Dido subgroup of the Avaro-Ando-Dido group of the NE Caucasian languages. The language is not written, Avar being used as the literary language.

C. D. 231 241 326 TRADITIONAL ECONOMY: Cattle-breeding; agriculture; home industry (goldsmithing).

C. D. 795 RELIGION: Islam (Sunni).

7:Columbia U. S-4,5 1956 RH1 Caucasia RH1
Dagestan RH8
Khaput

## 20. KAPUCHA

C.
D.
101 NAME: SELF-DESIGNATION: Kapuchias suko or Bezhtl· as suko, depending on the village.
RUSSIAN DESIGNATIONS: Kapuchiny, Bezhitiny.

C.
D.
161 NUMBER: 1926 1,448 (Russian census, ethn.)
1,448 (Russian census, ling.)

C.
D.
162 LOCATION: Upper basin of Avarskoe Koisu (rayon Tliarata, auls Bezhity, Khocharkhota, Tliadal' Dagestan ASSR).

C.
D.
197 LANGUAGE: Kapucha (Bezhtl· alas mits·) forms with Khvarshi, Dido, Khunzal, and Ginukh, the Dido subgroup of the Avaro-Ando-Dido group of the NE Caucasian languages. The language is not written, Avar being used as the literary language.

C.
D.
231
241
326 TRADITIONAL ECONOMY: Cattle-breeding; agriculture; home industry (goldsmithing).

C.
D.
795 RELIGION: Islam (Sunni).

7: Columbia U. S-4, 5 1956 RH1 Caucasia RH1
Dagestan RH8

## 21. KHUNZAL

C.D. 101 NAME: SELF-DESIGNATION: ------
RUSSIAN DESIGNATIONS: Khunzaly, Gun(d)zaly, Nakhada.

C.D. 161 NUMBER: 1926 106 (Russian census, ethn.)
129 (Russian census, ling.)

C.D. 162 LOCATION: Auls ~~Hunzlb~~ and Gharbutl (with former Nahada) (rayon Tlarata, Dagestan ASSR).

C.D. 197 LANGUAGE: Khunzal forms with Khvarshi, Dido, Kapucha, and Ginukh, the Dido subgroup of the Avaro-Ando-Dido group of the NE Caucasian languages. The language is not written, Avar being used as the literary language.

C.D. 231 241 TRADITIONAL ECONOMY: Cattle-breeding; agriculture; crafts.

C.D. 795 RELIGION: Islam (Sunni).

7:Columbia U. S-4, 5 1956 RH1 CaucasiaRH1
Dagestan RH8

## 22. GINUKH

C.D. 101

NAME: SELF-DESIGNATION: -----
RUSSIAN DESIGNATION: Ginukhtsy

C.D. 161 NUMBER: 200 (estimate, Bokarev)

C.D. 162 LOCATION: Aul Ginukh, rayon Tliarata, (Dagestan ASSR). Majority had moved to rayon Vedeno by 1949 (village Kidero).

C.D. 197 LANGUAGE: Ginukh forms with Khvarshi, Dido, Kapuchi, and Khunzal, the Dido subgroup of the Avaro-Ando-Dido group of the NE Caucasian languages. The language is not written, Avar being used as the literary language.

C.D. 231 TRADITIONAL ECONOMY: Cattle-breeding; home industry.

C.D. 795 RELIGION: Islam (Sunni).

## 23. ARCHI

C. D. 181 NAME: SELF-DESIGNATION: Arshishuw, Arshishtuw.
RUSSIAN DESIGNATION: Archintsy.
OTHER DESIGNATIONS: (Lak:) Roch.

C. D. 161 NUMBER: 1926 863 (Russian census, ethn.)
859 (Russian census, ling.)

C. D. 162 LOCATION: Aul Ruch-Archi on the Khatar river, rayon Charoda (Dagestan ASSR).

C. D. 197 LANGUAGE: Archi (Arshatten ch'at) belongs to the Avaro-Ando-Dido group of the NE Caucasian languages; its exact position in this group is uncertain. The language is not written, Avar being used as the literary language.

C. D. 231 286 TRADITIONAL ECONOMY: Cattle-breeding; home industry (cloth and tapestry weaving).

C. 795 RELIGION: Islam (Sunni).

7:Columbia U. S-4, 5 1956 RH1 ColumbiaRH1
DagestanRH8
Lak

## 24. LAK

C.D. 101 NAME: SELF-DESIGNATION: Lak; Lakuchū
RUSSIAN DESIGNATIONS: Laki, Kazikumukhtsy.
OTHER DESIGNATIONS: (Avar:) Tumaw, pl. Tumal; Lezgian: Yakholshu

C.D. 161 NUMBER: 1926 40,380 (Russian census, ethn.)
40,336 (Russian census, ling.)
1955 well over 55,000 (estimate, Zhirkov).

C.D. 162 LOCATION: Basin of the upper Tleuserakh, Khatar, and Kazikumukhskoe Koisu (rayons Lak and Kula, separate villages in rayons Tsudakhar, Akusha, Rutul, Kurakh, Charoda, and Dakhadaev). Since 1944 also in the valley of Yaryksu river (Novo-Lak rayon, Dagestan ASSR).

C.D. 197 LANGUAGE: Lak (lakū maz) forms with the Dargwa group of languages the Lak-Dargwa subdivision of the NE Caucasian languages, which include also Veinakh, Avaro-Ando-Dido, Samurian, Khinalug, and Udi. Lak has the status of a literary language in the Dagestan ASSR; the written language is based on the Kumukh dialect.

C.D. 231 241 438 TRADITIONAL ECONOMY: Cattle-breeding; production of leather goods and pottery; metal-work (weapons); agriculture.

C.D. 795 RELIGION: Islam (Sunni).

7: Columbia U. S-4,5 1956 RH1 Caucasia RH1
Dagestan RH8
Dargin

## 25. DARGWA

C
D
101 NAME: SELF-DESIGNATION: No general one (the term "Dargwa" refers originally to a type of political-administrative unit); according to villages: Ts'udq•ran, pl. Ts'udq•ur "person from Tsudakhar", Khurq•an, pl. Khuruq•"person from Khiurkila", etc.

RUSSIAN DESIGNATIONS: Darginy, Dargintsy; language also Khiurkilinskii iazyk.

OTHER DESIGNATIONS: (German:) for the language: Hürkanisch.

C
D
161 NUMBER: 1897 130,209 (Russian census)
108,963 (Russian census, ethn.)
107,645 (Russian census, ling.)

The 1897 figure probably includes Kubachi and Kaitak.

C
D
162 LOCATION: In the lower mountains between the rivers Kazikumukhskoe Koisu and Ullachai (rayons Sergokala, Akusha, Dakhadaev, Shuragat, Tsudakhar, most of Levashi; separate villages in rayons Karabudakhkent (Gubden, Gurbuki), Buinak (Kadar, Karamakhi, Chankurby), Gunib (Miamusi), Agul (Amukh, Chirakh), Dagestan ASSR).

C
D
197 LANGUAGE: Dargwa forms with the closely related Kubachi and Kaitak the so-called Dargwa subgroup of the Lak-Dargwa group of the NE Caucasian languages. It has the status of literary language in the Dagestan ASSR; the written language is based on the Akusha dialect (Aq•usha midz).

7: Columbia U. S-4 5 1956 RHI Caucasia RHI
Dagestan RH8
Dargin

C.D. 197 SUBDIVISIONS: Dialects: Akusha-(or Akkhusha-)Urakha and Tsudakhar, both with many sub-dialects.

C.S. 241 438 TRADITIONAL ECONOMY: Agriculture, home industry (pottery, leather work, tapestry-weaving, weapon-and tool-making).

C.S. 795 RELIGION: Islam (Sunni).

7:Columbia U. S-4, 5 1956 RH1 Caucasia RH1
Dagestan RH8

## 26. KAITAK

C.D. 101 NAME: SELF-DESIGNATION: Khaidaqlan, plur. Khaidaq.
RUSSIAN DESIGNATION: Khaidaki, Kaitagi, Kaitaki.

C.D. 161 NUMBER: 1926 14,430 (Russian census, ethn.)
14,469 (Russian census, ling.)

C.D. 162 LOCATION: Basin of Ulla-Chai, between the Dargwa and the Tabasaran areas (rayon Kaitak, S part of rayon Dakhadaev, Dagestan ASSR).

C.D. 197 LANGUAGE: Kaitak forms with the closely related Dargwa and Kubachi the so-called Dargwa subgroup of the Lak-Dargwa group of the NE Caucasian languages. The language is not written, Dargwa being used as the literary language.

C.D. 231 241 TRADITIONAL ECONOMY: Cattle-breeding; agriculture; home industry.

C.D. 795 RELIGION: Islam (Sunni).

7:Columbia U. S-4, 5 1956 RH1 Caucasia RH1
Dagestan RH8

## 27. KUBACHI

C. D. 101 NAME: SELF-DESIGNATION: Ughbug.
RUSSIAN DESIGNATION: Kubachintsy.

C. D. 161 NUMBER: 1926 2,322 (Russian cens., ethn.)
2,470 (Russian cens., ling.)

C. D. 162 LOCATION: Aul Kubachi (rayon Dakhadaev, Dagestan ASSR).

C. D. 197 LANGUAGE: Kubachi (Ughbughan hub) forms with the closely related Dargwa and Kaitak the Dargwa subgroup of the Lak-Dargwa group of the NE Caucasian languages. The language is not written, Dargwa being used as a literary language.

C. D. 231 326 TRADITIONAL ECONOMY: Cattle-breeding; goldsmithing; incrustation work.

C. D. 795 RELIGION: Islam (Sunni).

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Lezgin

## 28. LEZGIANS

C. D. 101 NAME: SELF-DESIGNATION: Lezgí, pl. Lezgiar.

ENGLISH VARIANTS: Lezg(h)i, Lezg(h)ians.

RUSSIAN DESIGNATIONS: Lezginy, Kiurintsy, for the language: Kiurinskii iazyk. (The name Lezginy has often been used to refer to the Dagestan mountaineers in general.)

OTHER DESIGNATIONS: (Georgian:) Lek'i (in a wider sense referring to the Dagestan mountaineers in general); (German:) for the language: Kürinisch.

C. D. 161 NUMBER: 1897 159,213 (Russian census)
1926 134,529 (Russian census, ethn.)
164,763 (Russian census, ling.)

C. D. 162 LOCATION: Basins of Gyulgeri-chai, middle and lower Samur and Shakh-Nabad rivers, i.e. the whole SE part of Dagestan and the adjoining part of N Azerbaidzhan. (Dagestan ASSR; Azerbaidzhan SSR).

C. D. 197 LANGUAGE: Lezgian (Lezgi ch'al) forms with Agul, Rutul, Tsakhur, Tabasarán, Budukh, and Dzhek, the Samurian subdivision of the NE Caucasian language group. It has the status of a literary language in the Dagestan ASSR; the written language is based on the Kiuri dialect.

SUBDIVISIONS: Three basic dialects: Kiuri, Akhty, Kuba.

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Dagestan RH8
Lezgin

C. D. 231 241 438 TRADITIONAL ECONOMY: Cattle-breeding; agriculture; horticulture; home industry (tapesty-weaving, smith's craft).

C. D. 775 RELIGION: Islam (Sunni).

## 29. AGUL

C.D. 101 NAME: SELF-DESIGNATION: Aghul, Aghulshuy
RUSSIAN DESIGNATION: Aguly

C.D. 161 NUMBER: 1926 7,653 (Russian census, ethn.)
7,653 (Russian census, ling.)

C.D. 162 LOCATION: Basin of upper Kurakh-chai and Gyulgeri-chai (Magudere), with affluents (rayons Agul and Kurakh, Dagestan ASSR).

C.D. 197 LANGUAGE: Agul (Aghul ch'al, Aghularin ch'al) forms with Lezgian, Rutul, Tsakhur, Tabasaran, Budukh, and Dzhek, the Samurian subdivision of the NE Caucasian language group. The language is not written, Lezgian being used as the literary language.

SUBDIVISIONS: Two dialects: Agul proper and Koshan.

C.D. 231 438 TRADITIONAL ECONOMY: Cattle breeding; home industry (production of cloth, tapestries, felt cloaks).

C.D. 795 RELIGION: Islam (Sunni).

## 30. RUTUL

C. D. 101 NAME: SELF-DESIGNATION: no general one; the inhabitants of the aul Rutul (Mykhád) call themselves Mykháshura.
RUSSIAN DESIGNATION: Rutuly, Rutul'tsy.

C. D. 161 NUMBER: 1926 10,495 (Russian census, ethn.)
10, 356 (Russian census, ling.)

C. D. 162 LOCATION: Area of confluence of Samur and Kara-Samur (18 villages) (Rutul rayon; vill. Khnov in Akhty rayon (Dagestan ASSR); Shin and Kainar in Nukha rayon, Azerbaidzhan SSR).

C. D. 197 LANGUAGE: Rutul (Mykhánidy ch'äl) forms with Lezghian, Agul, Tsakhur, Tabasaran, Budukh, and Dzhek, the Samurian subdivision of the NE Caucasian language-group. The language is not written, Lezgian being used as the literary language.

C. D. 231 438 TRADITIONAL ECONOMY: Cattle-breeding; home industry (production of cloth, tapestries, felt cloaks).

C. D. 795 RELIGION: Islam (Sunni).

## 31. TSAKHUR

C. D. 101 NAME: SELF-DESIGNATION: No general one; inhabitants of aul Tsakhur (Ts'akhur) call themselves Ts'akhighali, pl. Ts'akhby.
RUSSIAN DESIGNATION: Tsakhury.

C. D. 161 NUMBER: 1926 19,085 (Russian census, ethn.)
10,951 (Russian census, ling.)

C. D. 162 LOCATION: Samur basin W of its confluence with the Kara-Samur (Tsakhur rayon, Dagestan ASSR); also on the S slopes of the Caucasus in the area of Elisu (Azerbaidzhan SSR).

C. D. 197 LANGUAGE: Tsakhur (Tsakhbishda miz) forms with Lezgian, Agul, Rutul, Tabasaran, Budukh, and Dzhek, the Samurian subdivision of the NE Caucasian language-group. The language is not written, Avar being used as the literary language in the Daghestan ASSR, Azeri in the Azerbaidzhan SSR.

C. D. 231 438 TRADITIONAL ECONOMY: Cattle-breeding; home industry (production of cloth, tapestries, felt cloaks).

C. D. 795 RELIGION: Islam (Sunni).

## 32. TABASARAN

C. D. 101 NAME: SELF-DESIGNATION: Tabasaran zhvi, Tabarasan zhvi, Ghumghum zhvi.
RUSSIAN DESIGNATION: Tabasarantsy.

C. D. 161 NUMBER: 1926 31,983 (Russian census, ethn.)
29,726 (Russian census, ling.)

C. D. 162 LOCATION: Basin of Upper Rubas-chai and Upper Chirakh-chai (rayons Tabasaran and Khiv, Dagestan ASSR).

C. D. 197 LANGUAGE: Tabasaran (Tabasaran ch'al) forms with Lezgian, Agul, Rutul, Tsakhur, Budukh, and Dzhek, the Samurian subdivision of the NE Caucasian language-group. It has the status of a literary language in the Daghestan ASSR; the written language is based on the southern dialect.

SUBDIVISIONS: The language has two main dialects: North (Khanag) and South Tabasaran.

C. D. 241 438 TRADITIONAL ECONOMY: Agriculture; horticulture; home industry (weapon- and tool-making, silversmith's and coppersmith's work, tapestry-weaving).

C. D. 495 RELIGION: Islam (Sunni).

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## 33. BUDUKH

C.
D.
101 NAME: SELF-DESIGNATION: ----
RUSSIAN DESIGNATION: Budukhi, Budugi

C.
D.
161 NUMBER: 1926 1 (Russian census, ethn.)
1,995 (Russian census, ling.)

C.
D.
162 LOCATION: Mt. Shakhdag area, in the upper basin of the Kara-chai (Konakhkend rayon, Azerb. SSR).

C.
D.
197 LANGUAGE: Budukh forms, with Lezgian, Agul, Rutul, Tsakhur, Tabasaran, and Dzhek, the Samurian subdivision of the NE Caucasian language-group. The language is not written, Azeri being used as the literary language.

C.
D.
231
241 TRADITIONAL ECONOMY: Cattle-breeding; horticulture.

C.
D.
795 RELIGION: Islam (Sunni).

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## 34. DZHEK

C.D. 101 NAME: SELF-DESIGNATION: -----
RUSSIAN DESIGNATION: According to villages; Dzheki, Kryzy, Khaputtsy, (Gaputlintsy, Khaputlintsy).

C.D. 161 NUMBER: 1926 Dzhek 590 Kryz 5 Khaput 12 (Russian census, ethn.)
All three groups together: 4,348 (Russ. census, ling.)

C.D. 162 LOCATION: Mt. Shakhdag area, in the basin of the upper right arm of the Kudial-chai (Konakhkend rayon, Azerbaidzhan SSR). Also daughter-settlements near the Caspian coast in the Khachmas area (Azerbaidzhan SSR).

C.D. 197 LANGUAGE: The Dzhek language forms with Lezgian, Agul, Rutul, Tsakhur, Tabasaran, and Budukh, the Samurian subdivision of the NE Caucasian languages. The language is not written, Azeri being used as the literary language.

SUBDIVISIONS: According to villages: Dzhek, Kryz, Khaput.

C.D. 231 241 TRADITIONAL ECONOMY: Cattle-breeding; agriculture; horticulture.

C.D. 795 RELIGION: Islam (Sunni).

## 35. KHINALUG

C.D. 101 NAME: SELF-DESIGNATION: -----
RUSSIAN DESIGNATION: Khinalugi.

C.D. 161 NUMBER: 1926 105 (Russian census, ethn.)
1,540 (Russian census, ling.)

C.D. 162 LOCATION: Shakhdag area, aul Khinalug (Khynalyk) on the upper right arm of the Kudial-chai (rayon Konakhkend, Azerbaidzhan SSR).

C.A. 197 LANGUAGE: Khinalug (Kättidmits) is a member of the NE Caucasian language-group to which there belong further the Veinakh, Avaro-Ando-Dido, Lak-Dargwa, and Samurian groups, and the Udi language. Khinalug is not written, Azeri being used as the literary language.

C.D. 231 TRADITIONAL ECONOMY: Cattle-breeding.

C.S. 795 RELIGION: Islam (Sunni).

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## 36. UDI

C. D. 101 NAME: SELF-DESIGNATION: Udi, Uti.
RUSSIAN DESIGNATION: Udiny.

C. D. 161 NUMBER: 1897 7,100 (Russian census)
1926 2,455 (Russian census, ethn.)
2,762 (Russian census, ling.)

C. D. 162 LOCATION: Villages Vartashen and Nidzh (rayons Vartashen and Kutkashen, Azerbaidzhan SSR), Oktomberi (Georgian SSR).

C. D. 197 LANGUAGE: Udi (Udi muz) is a member of the NE Caucasian language-group, to which there belong further the Veinakh, Avaro-Ando-Dido, Lak-Dargwa, and Samurian groups, and the Khinalug language. Though Udi was written before the revolution, it does not have the status of literary language, this function being fulfilled by Azeri.

C. D. 241 231 TRADITIONAL ECONOMY: Agriculture; cattle-breeding.

C. D. 795 RELIGION: Eastern Orthodox, Armenian-Gregorian.

## 37. ARMENIANS

101 NAME: SELF-DESIGNATION: Hai, Pl. Haik.
RUSSIAN DESIGNATION: Armiane
OTHER DESIGNATIONS: (Georgian:) Somekhi; (Turkish:) Ermeni.

161 NUMBER: 1897 1,173,096 (Russian cersus)
1926 1,567,568 (Russian census, ethn.)
1,475,250 (Russian census, ling.)
1939 2,151,884 (Russian cenus)

162 Distribution: Main concentration in USSR (over 40 per cent of the Armenians in the USSR live outside the Armenian political units of the latter); Turkey: 61,000 (1950; Turkish census); Syria: 118,537 (1943; official estimate); Iran (number unknown); other countries of Near East (number unknown); People's Democracies: 80,000 (1949; estimate Bol'shaia Sovetskaia Éntsiklopediia); France: 70,000 (1952, estimate "Les langues du monde"); USA: 175,000 (1952, same source). Total number of Armenians 3,400,000 (estimate, same source).

LOCATION: S Transcaucasia, in the area of the upper Kura, Lake Sevan, the middle Araks and on the E slopes of the Karabakh Mts. (Armenian SSR; High Karabakh AO); scattered groups throughout the Caucasus and in S Russia, mainly in the cities. Outside USSR: Turkey (mainly Istanbul; Syria; Iran (mainly Teheran and Isfahan (Dzhulfa)); other countries of Near East; France; USA.

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Armenia

197 LANGUAGE: Armenian (Hai lezu) constitutes a separate branch of the Indoeuropean language family. The language has an old literary tradition going back to the 5th century A. D., and a script of its own. This literary language is based on the dialect of Ararat; there is now also a literary tradition for the Western dialect-group.

SUBDIVISIONS: The Armenian dialects are subdivided into an Eastern (Ararat, Karabakh, etc.) and a Western (Erzurum, Hemshin, Istanbul, etc.) group, to which Adjarian adds a third branch including the dialects of Maragha, Khoy, and Artvin.

241
231 TRADITIONAL ECONOMY: Agriculture;
438 viniculture; in the mountains: cattle-breeding; commerce and art crafts.

715 RELIGION: Armenian-Gregorian; there are a Roman Catholic (Uniate) and a Protestant minority. The Khemshin (Hemshin, Hemshili) on the Black Sea coast near the Turkish border (629 in 1926, Russian census) are Muslim.

## 38. OSSETES

101 NAME: SELF-DESIGNATION; no general one, according to tribes: Ir (collective), Iron (sing.), Irättä (pl.); Dygur, Digor (coll.), Dyguron, Digoron (sing.); Tuallag (sing.), Tuallägtä (pl.).
ENGLISH VARIANTS: Ossetes; for the language: Ossetian, Ossetic.
RUSSIAN DESIGNATIONS: Osety, Osetiny.
OTHER DESIGNATIONS: (Georgian:) Osi; (German:) Ossen, Osseten.

161 NUMBER: 1897 171,716 (Russian census)
1926 272,272 (Russian census, ethn.)
267,019 (Russian census, ling.)
1939 354,500 (Russian census)

162 LOCATION: In the central Caucasus on both sides of the main chain, in the N along the upper Terek and its affluents on the left (Gizel'don, Ardon, Urukh) (North-Ossetian ASSR), in the S in the immediately adjoining part of the Georgian SSR (South-Ossetian AO), smaller groups also farther to the S, extending beyond the Kura river.

197 LANGUAGE: Ossetian (Iron ävzag) is a member of the Eastern (in older terminology, Northern) subdivision of the Iranian branch of the Indo-European language-family, to which branch belong also Persian, and, in the Caucasus, Tat, Talysh, and Kurdish. Ossetian has the

197 status of a literary language; the written language is based on the E dialect. In the North-Ossetian ASSR the Cyrillic, in the South-Ossetian AO the Georgian alphabet is used.

SUBDIVISIONS: The Ossetian dialects, which follow tribal divisions, are subdivided into a Western (Digor) and an Eastern branch (Tagaur, Kurtat, and Allagir). The dialect of the S Ossetes (Tual) is a sub-dialect of Tagaur.

231
241 TRADITIONAL ECONOMY: Cattle-breeding; some agriculture.

715 RELIGION: Eastern Orthodox, except the Digor, who are Muslim (Sunni).

## 39. TALYSH

101 NAME: SELF-DESIGNATION: Tolysh.
ENGLISH VARIANTS: Talysh, Talish.
RUSSIAN DESIGNATIONS: Talyshi, Talyshintsy.

161 NUMBER: 1897 35,291 (Russian census)
1926 77,323 (Russian census, ethn.)
80,629 (Russian census, ling.)
1931 89,398 (Azerb. upravl. nar.-khoz. ucheta.)
In Iran: 50,000 (estimate, B. V. Miller)

162 LOCATION: Along Caspian coast S of the River Viliazh-chai (rayons Lenkoran', Zuvand, Astara, and part of Massala, Azerbaidzhan SSR), extending into Persian territory up to Kepri-chal.

197 LANGUAGE: Talysh (Tolysha zyvon), like Tat, is a member of the NW subdivision of the Iranian branch of the Indo-European language-family, to which branch also belong Persian, and, in the Caucasus, Ossetian and Kurdish. The Talysh in the USSR are all bilingual and speak also Azeri, which is used as the literary language.

241 231 TRADITIONAL ECONOMY: Agriculture; horticulture; stock-raising; home industry.

795 RELIGION: Islam (Shii).

## 40. TAT

101 NAME: SELF-DESIGNATION: Tat.
ENGLISH VARIANTS: Tat; for the Jewish Tat: Mountain Jews, Judeo-Tats.
RUSSIAN DESIGNATIONS: Taty; for the Jewish Tat: Gorskie evrei.
OTHER DESIGNATIONS: (Turkish, for the Jewish Tat:) Dagh Chufuti; (German, for the Jewish Tat:) Bergjuden.

161 NUMBER: 1897 95,056 (Russian census)
1926 28,705 (Muslim Tat)(Russian census, ethn.)
21,471 (Jewish Tat)(Russian census, ethn.)
86,088 (Russian census, ling.)

162 LOCATION: On both slopes of the Eastern extension of the main Caucasian chain and on the Apsheron peninsula, in the coastal zone of the Caspian Sea between Apsheron and Kuba, SE of Kuba and NW of Shemakha (Azerbaidzhan SSR; Dagestan ASSR). The Jewish Tat are concentrated in the Area of Kuba, Derbent and Buinaksk; other settlements in the Groznyi and Nal'chik area and on the Kuban'.

197 LANGUAGE: Tat(zuhun Tātī), like Talysh, is a member of the NW subdivision of the Iranian branch of the Indo-European language-family to which branch also

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Tat

197 belong Persian and, in the Caucasus, Ossetian and Kurdish.

SUBDIVISIONS: Two main dialects, that of the Muslim and that of the Jewish Tat, the former divided into a number of sub-dialects.

24 438 TRADITIONAL ECONOMY: Agriculture; horticulture; home crafts (tapestry-weaving, metal-work).

795 RELIGION: Part Muslim (Sunni), part Jewish.

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RH1

## 41. KURDS

101 NAME: SELF-DESIGNATION: Kurd
RUSSIAN DESIGNATION: Kurdy

161 NUMBER:

Kurd
1897 99,949 (Russian census)
1926 54,661 (Russ. cens., ethn.)
34,162 (Russ. cens., ling.)
1939 45,866 (Russian census)

Yezid (See under "Religion")
1897 14,726 (Russian census)
1926 14,523 (Russian census)

162 Distribution: Iran 1,500,000 to 2,000,000 (1950 estimate, Menges); Turkey 1,841,000 (1950 Turkish census); Iraq 800,000 (1947 estimate, Hourani); Syria 100,000 (1947 estimate, Hourani), 100,000 to 200,000 (estimate, Royal Inst. of Intern. Affairs); Afghanistan, Pakistan (numbers unknown); total 5,000,000 (estimate, Les langues du monde).

LOCATION: Southern Transcaucasia, in scattered groups, especially in the Armenian SSR and the SW part of the Azerbaidzhan SSR. There are also a small number of Kurds in the Turkmen SSR. (Scattered in Iran, especially the N frontier region; SE Turkey, NE Iraq.)

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Kurd

197 LANGUAGE: Kurdish (Kurmandzhi) is a member of the SW subdivision of the Iranian branch of the Indo-European language family, to which branch belong also Persian and in the Caucasus Ossetian, Tat, and Talysh.

SUBDIVISIONS: There are two main groups of dialects, a northern (Kurmandzhi) and a southern (Kurdi).

233 241 TRADITIONAL ECONOMY: Partly nomadic pastoralism, partly agriculture.

795 RELIGION: Islam (Sunni, with a Shii minority); Yezidi (concentrated near Leninakan and near Echmiadzin).

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## 42. AZERI TURKS

101 NAME: SELF-DESIGNATION: Türkler, Azerbayjanlilar; also tribal names (Shahsevenler, etc.).

ENGLISH VARIANTS: Turks, Azeri Tatars, Turks of Azerbaijan, Tatars of Azerbaijan, Azerbaijan Turks, Azerbaijanians.

RUSSIAN DESIGNATIONS: Tiurki, Azerbaidzhantsy, Azerbaidzhanskie Tiurki.

TURKISH DESIGNATIONS: Türkler, Azeri Türkleri, Azerbaycan Türkleri; also tribal names (Şahsevenler, etc.).

161 NUMBER: USSR

1897 1,506,540 (Russian census)
1926 1,706,605 (Russ. cens. ethn)
1,751,965 (Russ. cens. ling.)
1939 2,274,805 (Russian census)

Persia

Mid-thirties: 2,500,000 (estimate; Németh)
1950: 3,000,000 (estimate; Kazemzadeh)

Iraq

1950 over 100,000 (estimate; Halasi-Kun)

Distribution:

162 USSR: ca. 45 per cent
Persia: ca. 52 per cent
Iraq: ca. 3 per cent

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162 LOCATION: Geographical: Transcaucasia, Northern Caucasus along the Caspian Sea (northward as far as Derbent), northwestern Persia, southern Kurdistan (Iraq).

Political-Administrative: USSR: Azerbaidzhan SSR, Georgian SSR, Dagestan ASSR. Persia: Rizaiyeh, Azerbaijan, Khamseh, Kazvin, Ardelan provinces. Iraq: Erbil, Kirkuk, Sülaimaniya provinces.

197 LANGUAGE: Azeri Turkic; belongs to the Western Oghuz Turkic group and differs very little from Turkish and the Kashkay-Hamse languages; literary language since the 14th century; lingua franca in Transcaucasia, Dagestan ASSR, and northern Persia.

SUBDIVISIONS: Tribal: Settled Azeris; Nomadic Azeris (Iliyat). Dialectal: Northern (USSR); Southern (Persia).

244 231 438 TRADITIONAL ECONOMY: Agriculture; cattle-breeding; commerce; industry.

795 RELIGION: Islam (Shii, Sunni).

## 43. TURKOMANS

101 NAME: SELF-DESIGNATION: Türkmenler.

ENGLISH VARIANTS: Turkmens, Turkmans, Turkomans of Stavropol', Trukhmens.

RUSSIAN DESIGNATIONS: Trukhmeny, Turkmeny.

TURKISH DESIGNATION: Türkmenler.

161 NUMBER: USSR:
Northern Caucasus, 1926: 8,000, (estimate, Russ. cens.)

USSR:
(with Northern Caucasus:)
1897 281,351 (Russian census)
1926 763,940 (Russ. cens. ethn.)
745,859 (Russ. cens. ling.)
1939 811,769 (Russian census)

Afghanistan:
1939 200,000 (estimate, Jarring)

Persia:
1955 over 500,000 (estimate, Halasi-Kun)

162 Main concentration in Central Asia; only a small group in the Caucasus.

LOCATION: Geographical: Northern Caucasus: Stavropol' upland (southward from Manych Canal between the Kuma and Yegorlyk rivers); in SW Central Asia.

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Turcoman

162 (Location, continued)
Political-Administrative: Northern Caucasus: Stavropol' Krai (northern rayons), Rostov Oblast (southeastern rayons); Central Asia: Turkmen SSR, Kara-Kalpak ASSR, Afghanistan, Persia

197 LANGUAGE: Turkoman; constitutes Eastern Oghuz Turkic; most nearly related Turkic language group: Western Oghuz Turkic (Turkish, Azeri, Kashkay-Hamse); several dialects agreeing with tribal subdivisions; literary language based on the dialect of Yomuts; literary language since the 18th century.

SUBDIVISIONS: Tribal: Trukhmen (Northern Caucasus); Teke, Yomut, Ersari, Sarik (Turkmen SSR); Chaudur (Kara-Kalpak ASSR); Salir (Afghanistan); Göklen (Persia)

231 244 TRADITIONAL ECONOMY: Cattle-breeding; agriculture.

795 RELIGION: Islam (Sunni).

## 44. KARAPAPAK

101 NAME: SELF-DESIGNATION: ----
RUSSIAN DESIGNATION: Karapapakhi
TURKISH DESIGNATION: Karapapaklar

161 NUMBER: USSR
1926 6,316 (Russian cens., ethn.)
6,311 (Russian cens., ling.)

Persia
mid-twenties: 15,000 (estimate, Mirza Bala)

162 Distribution:
USSR ca. 30 per cent
Persia ca. 70 per cent

LOCATION: Geographical: Transcaucasia: the area between the Kura and Arpachai rivers. Persia: the area around Sulduz on Lake Urmia.

Political-Administrative: USSR: Akhalkalaki Uezd of the Georgian SSR, Leninakan Uezd of the Armenian SSR. Persia: Province of Azerbaijan.

197 LANGUAGE: Karapapak; belongs with Kipchak Turkic substrata to the Western Oghuz Turkic group, and differs very little from Azeri Turkic, Turkish, and Kashkay-Hamse (in the Georgian SSR it is often confused with Azeri Turkic (Azeri of Borchalino and Azeri of Akhalkalaki), whereas in Turkey it has been absorbed into Turkish and is no longer spoken)

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197 SUBDIVISIONS: Geographical: Karapapak of Akhalkalaki and Leninakan (USSR); Karapapak of Sulduz (Persia).

231 TRADITIONAL ECONOMY: Cattle-breeding and some agriculture.

795 RELIGION: Islam (Shii, Sunni)

## 45. KUMUK

101 NAME: SELF-DESIGNATION: Kumuklar
ENGLISH VARIANTS: Kumyk
RUSSIAN DESIGNATION: Kumyki
TURKISH DESIGNATION: Kumuklar

161 NUMBER: 1926 94,549 (Russian cens. ethn.)
94,909 (Russian cens. ling.)

162 LOCATION: Geographical: The northeastern slopes of the Greater Caucasus along the Aksai, Sulak, Shura, and Gubden rivers, and along the Caspian coast from Adzhi-Su to Derbent.

Political-Administrative: Dagestan ASSR (Makhachkala, Buynaksk, Izberbash, and Derbent okrugs), Groznyi Oblast (southern parts of the former Kizliar Okrug).

197 LANGUAGE: Kumuk; belongs to the Kipchak Turkic group, together with Crimean Turkic, Karachay, Balkar, Noghay, Kazan Turkic, Kazak, etc.); literary language since the 19th century; lingua franca in Dagestan ASSR northward from Derbent.

241 231 226 TRADITIONAL ECONOMY: Agriculture; cattle-breeding; fishing.

795 RELIGION: Islam (Sunni).

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## 46. NOGHAY

101 NAME: SELF-DESIGNATION: Noghaylar
RUSSIAN DESIGNATION: Nogaitsy
TURKISH DESIGNATION: Noğaylar

161 NUMBER:

USSR

Groznyi Oblast, 25,000 (1950 estimate, Jyrkänkallio)

Astrakhan Oblast (rayons along the Kuma) (unknown)

Cherkes Autonomous Oblast, 15,000 (1939 estimate, Shabad)

Astrakhan Oblast (rayons along the Volga) (unknown)

Crimean SSR (before 1945) (unknown)

Bulgaria

Dobruja 30,000 (1950 estimate, Jyrkänkallio)

162 Distribution: USSR: Groznyi Oblast, Astrakhan Oblast (rayons along the Kuma and Volga rivers), Cherkes AO; Crimean SSR (before 1945); Bulgaria: Dobruja.

LOCATION: Geographical: USSR: Northern Caucasus: between the Kuma and Terek rivers and northwards from the Kuma River; on the Zelenchuk River

162 between the upper Kuban' and Urup rivers. Crimean SSR (before 1945): Northern Crimea, Perekop. Bulgaria: Dobruja, Deli Orman area.

Political-Administrative: USSR: Groznyi Oblast (former Kizliar and Achikulak okrugs), Astrakhan Oblast (rayons along the Kuma and Volga rivers), Cherkes AO (Abazino-Nogai rayon), Crimean ASSR (before 1945). Bulgaria: former Shumen district.

197 LANGUAGE: Noghay; belongs to the Kipchak-Turkic language group, together with North Crimean Turkic, Karachay, Balkar, Kumuk, Kazan Turkic, Kazak, etc., literary language (since the Soviet period) based on the White Noghay, Black Noghay, and Central Noghay dialects; the other Noghay groups have given up the Noghay language.

SUBDIVISIONS: Dialectal: Black Noghay, Central Noghay (Groznyi Oblast, southern rayons of the Astrakhan Oblast); the Noghays of Crimea and those of Dobruja (Bulgaria) have given up their language in favor of South Crimean Turkic, whereas the Noghays around Astrakhan today speak Kazan Turkic.

231 241 TRADITIONAL ECONOMY: Cattle-breeding; agriculture (Bulgaria).

795 RELIGION: Islam (Sunni).

## 47. KARACHAY

101 NAME: SELF-DESIGNATION: Karachayla
RUSSIAN DESIGNATION: Karachaitsy,
TURKISH DESIGNATION: Karaçaylar

161 NUMBER: 1897 27,233 (Russian census)
1926 55,123 (Russian census, ethn.)
55,349 (Russian census, ling.)
1939 75,737 (Russian census)

162 Distribution: Deported from the Caucasus in 1943. Present location unknown.

LOCATION: Geographical: Before 1943, on the northern slopes of the Greater Caucasus along the headwaters of the Kuban', Teberda, Zelenchuk, Laba, and Podkumok rivers.

Political-Administrative: Before 1943: Karachai AO.

197 LANGUAGE: Karachay; belongs to the Kipchak Turkic language group (which includes Crimean Turkic, Kumuk, Noghay, Kazan Turkic, Kazak, etc.), and is almost identical with Balkar; as a literary language, a common Karachay-Balkar language was used which was created in the Soviet period.

231 241 TRADITIONAL ECONOMY: Cattle-breeding; agriculture; handicrafts.

795 RELIGION: Islam (Sunni).

## 48. BALKAR

101 NAME: SELF-DESIGNATION: Malkarla
RUSSIAN DESIGNATION: Balkary
TURKISH DESIGNATIONS: Malkarlar, Balkarlar.

161 NUMBER: 1897 34,232 (Russian census)
1926 33,307 (Russian census, ethn.)
33,276 (Russian census, ling.)
1939 42,666 (Russian census)

162 Distribution: Deported from the Caucasus in 1943, present location unknown.

LOCATION: Georgraphical: Before 1943, on the northern slopes of the Greater Caucasus along the upper course of the Baksan, Chegem, and Cherek rivers.
Political-Administrative: Before 1943: Kabardino-Balkar Autonomous SSR (Balkar rayon).

197 LANGUAGE: Balkar; belongs to the Kipchak Turkic language group, along with Crimean Turkic, Kumuk, Noghay, Kazan Turkic, Kazak etc.) and is almost identical with Karachay; as a literary language, a common Karachay-Balkar language was used, which was created in the Soviet period.

23/24 TRADITIONAL ECONOMY: Cattle-breeding and some agriculture.

79 RELIGION: Islam (Sunni).

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## 49. KALMYK

101 NAME: SELF-DESIGNATION: Kal'imaq, Oirot, Ōirŭt ("the Confederate"), Dŭrwŭn Ōirŭt ("The Four Oirot").
ENGLISH VARIANTS: Kalmuck, Kalmyk, Kalmack (also with initial C).
RUSSIAN DESIGNATION: Kalmyki, for the language: Kalmytskii iazyk.
OTHER DESIGNATIONS: (various Turkic languages:) Qalmaq, Qalmyq.

161 NUMBER: 1897 190,480 (Russian census)
1926 129,321 (Russian census, ethn.)
130,997 (Russian census, ling.)
1939 134,327 (Russian census)

162 Distribution: Deported from the Caucasus (1943), present location of this group unknown. Additional groups: the Sarat-Kalmyk in the Kirgiz SSR (2,773, Russian census, ethn., 1926); in the Mongolian People's Republic ca. 60,000 (estimate, Benzing); in China (number unknown); also emigrant groups elsewhere (USA ca. 3,000).

LOCATION: The largest group lived until 1943 in the Lower Volga area in the now abrogated Kalmyk ASSR. The Sart-Kalmyk live near Lake Issyk-kul' in the Tien Shan Mts. (Kirgiz SSR). Outside the USSR there are scattered groups of Kalmyk in a giant semicircle all around the E Mongolian area (Dzungaria, NW Tibet,

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162 Ala-shan area, Ch'ing Hai province, China).

197 LANGUAGE: Kalmyk (Oirot) constitutes the W group of the Mongolian family of Altaic. It has a literary tradition going back to the 16th century.

SUBDIVISIONS: Dialects: Dŏrwŏt, Torghūt (Torgout), and Buzāwa. Tribes: Torghūt, Khoshūt, Dŏrwŏt (Dŏrbŏt, Dürbät, divided by the Russian Administration into the Great and Little Dŏrwŏt), Khŏit (Khōt), Tsoros, Dzūn-ghar ("left-wing army", "eastern") The Torghūt have always been considered the leading tribe.

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233 231 226 TRADITIONAL ECONOMY: Nomadic pastoralism; sedentary stock-raising; (on the Volga:) fishing.

795 RELIGION: Lamaist Buddhism; (Sart-Kalmyk:) Islam (Sunni).

## 50. AISOR

101 NAME: SELF-DESIGNATION: Suraj
ENGLISH VARIANTS: Chald(a)eans, Syrochald(a)eans, Assyrians.
RUSSIAN DESIGNATIONS: Aisory, Assiriitsy, Assuriitsy.
OTHER DISIGNATIONS: (Georgian:) Kaldeveli.

161 NUMBER: 1897 5,353 (Russian census)
1926 9,808 (Russian census, ethn.)
15,476 (Russian census, ling.)
1939 20,200 (Russian census)

162 LOCATION: Concentrated near Erevan', also scattered in other regions of Transcaucasia. Outside USSR: Iraq (esp. in Tur Abdin) and NW Iran.

197 LANGUAGE: Aisor is a New-Syrian dialect, belonging to the Aramaic subdivision of the Semitic language-family. Aisor has the status of a literary language in the USSR.

241 231 TRADITIONAL ECONOMY: Agriculture; cattle-breeding; crafts.

795 RELIGION: Nestorian and Jacobite Christian.

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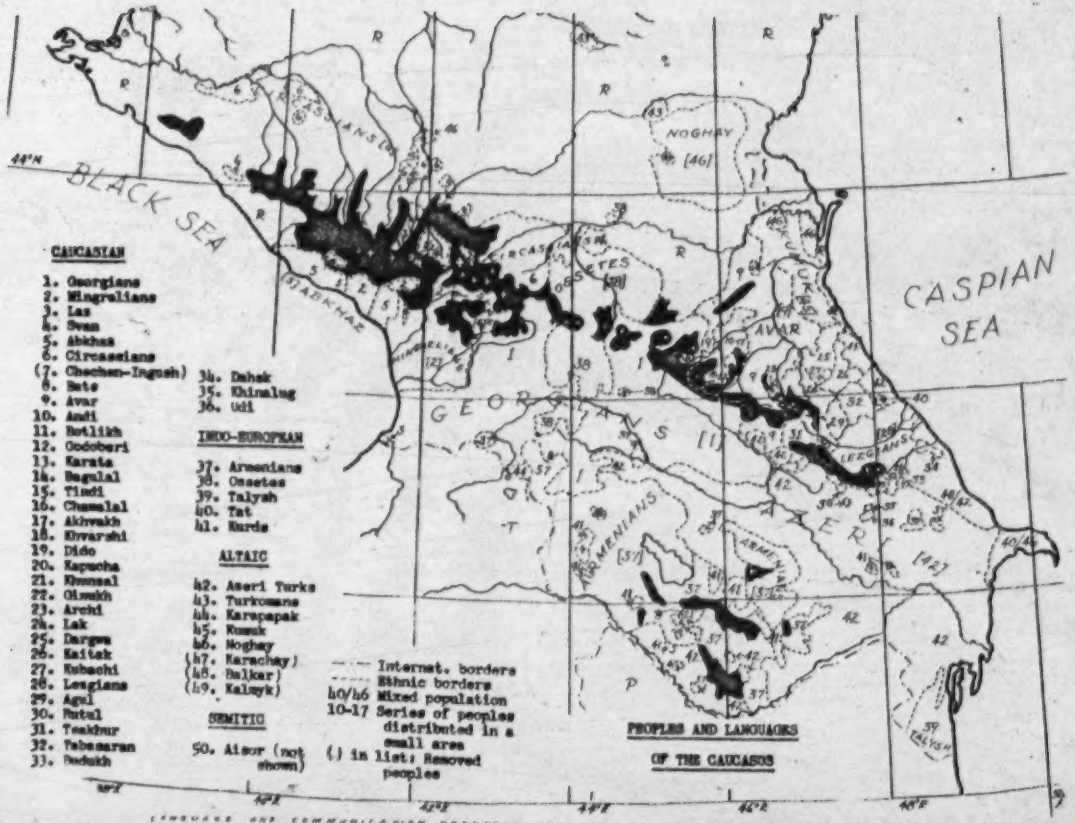
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# IV Ethnography and Religion

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1. Sociological

$e^2$. Material Culture
(Paleocaucasian Peoples)

Aert H. Kuipers

Clothing
Housing
Traditional Economy
Food

7:Columbia U. S-4, 5 1956 RH1 Caucasia RH1
Georgia RI1

## CLOTHING

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The All-Caucasian men's costume is the "cherkeska" (Georg. chokha), an upper garment made of homespun cloth, coatshaped and cut to the figure, with long sleeves which widen towards the lower end, without lapels or collar and leaving open an inverted triangular space on the breast. It varies from knee to ankle length. The color is usually black or grey but can also be brown, yellow or white. On both sides of the breast cartridge-holders are sewn; these are now a mere ornament and are filled with ivory, metal or wooden cylinders, often with one dark and one light end, so that the end sticking out on top can be made to contrast with the color of the cherkeska itself. The cherkeska is fastened in front and held by a tight belt from which, in front, is suspended the dagger, without which the Caucasian considers his attire incomplete. Under the cherkeska a long shirt (R. beshmet) is worn, which is buttoned up high and has a round stand-up collar. Narrow trousers, shoes or boots (originally heelless), leggings and a fur cap (R. papakha) of sheepskin complete the costume. (This costume was adopted by the Russian Cossacks in the Caucasus; through them it became known and it is now usually associated with them in the West.) In cold or rainy weather felt cloaks (R. burka) or sheepskin coats (R. tulup) and fur hoods (R. bashlyk) are worn.

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The Kartvelians in the western subtropical regions (Mingrelians, Imretians, Gurians, Laz) wear various types of head-cloths instead of the papkha; among those in the south-west the cherkeska is mostly replaced by the Turkish short jacket which is tucked into a silk sash around the waist. Local peculiarities in clothing are found especially among the Kartvelian mountaineers. The Svan wear cone-shaped wide-brimmed felt hats (worn also by the Ossetes, their eastern neighbors). The Khevsur and Tush have felt caps sewn together of four pieces, with a turned-up brim. Also characteristic of the Svan are sleeveless jackets of calf-, goat-, or sheep-skin; of the Khevsur, gloves and mittens which in summer are worn on the belt and serve as containers for small objects and tobacco. The Khevsur costume is the only one in the Caucasus that is adorned with many-colored ornamentation: embroidery, beads. glass and metal buttons, metal plates and colored pieces of cloth. Their cherkeska is cut so as to leave visible a large part of the shirt, richly decorated with patterns consisting of straight-lined figures. Other adornments are found on the edges of the cherkeska, on the gloves and leggings. Instead of two cartridge-holders sewn on both sides of the breast, the Khevsur carry a single one on the belt. The costume of the Tush, the eastern neighbors of the Khevsur, is in sharp contrast with that of the latter: it is distinguished by its exclusively dark color (dark brown or black); ornamentation

C. G. 291 is used sparingly and limited to patterns in white on shoes and boots, and silver mountings on the belt. The Pshav have adopted Georgian attire.

C. G. 411 Not only is the Caucasian sober in the use of embellishments on his clothing, which is in itself quite elegant; he also does not wear any ornaments or trinkets. His esthetic sense finds an outlet in the decoration of his arms, however. The sheaths and hilts of daggers and sabers and the grips of pistols were often made of gold or silver, and adorned with precious stones or with niello-work (the latter also on the barrels). The Caucasian dagger--considered as important a part of the attire as is a tie in the West--has a straight, broad, double-edged blade with a groove (blood trough) running down the middle. Formerly, the armature consisted of one or two pistols, tucked behind the belt, a rifle, which the mountaineers always carried in a cover, and a saber. On the belt, various accessories (powderhorn, grease container, flint, etc.) were worn. Only C. G. [713] the Khevsur preserved until quite recently full medieval armor: helmets, coats of mail, shields, swords, clubs and toothed thumb-C. G. [292] rings. The armor was worn on festive occasions and also whenever a man might expect to be attacked because he was involved in a blood-feud, which was usually the case.

C. G. 291 The costume of the Caucasian women shows much more local variation than that of

G. 291 the men. Its general make-up consists of a chemise, "Turkish" trousers (R. sharovary) fastened at the ankles, a beshmet, an upper garment, usually long and worn with a belt or sash, stockings or socks, shoes, often with high heels, and a kerchief or veil, often worn over or attached to some other headcover.

The Georgian women used to wear an embroidered bodice over the chemise, red cotton sharovary, sometimes an underskirt with flounces, and a long silk or cotton gown, with a silk sash around the waist, the broad ends of which hung down to the feet. Their headgear consisted of a large white scarf or of an embroidered velvet cap and attached to it a muslin scarf which hung loose over the shoulders or was passed from behind down under the chin and back over the shoulder. The Khevsur women decorate not only the bodice but also the edges of their clothes with embroidered strips, pearls, beads and metal buttons and plates. Their Tush neighbors dress in black; only the bodice and cuffs are decorated in red and silver. The classical Kabardian gala costume (which enjoyed prestige in the whole northern Caucasus due to the cultural leadership of the Kabardians in that region in the 15th - 18th cent.) consisted of a bright-colored silken beshmet, a bodice with horizontal gold or silver galloons in front, and an upper garment in the shape of a cherkeska reaching to the ground and with half-long

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291 sleeves and a decorated belt. To the sleeves large ellipsoid flaps were attached, embellished with embroidery in gold or silver thread. The patterns of the embroidery on this costume consisted usually of leaf and heart shapes. The headgear consisted of an originally cone-shaped, later truncated, bonnet with parallel galloons around it, and a white veil hanging down from the top. The female costume of Dagestan (and of Chechnia) consists of the basic garments mentioned above (except that instead of shoes, felt boots are often worn), plus a sheepskin coat in cold weather. The variety of the headgear almost matches that of the languages, certain types being limited to no more than a single village. The headgear is often decorated with rows of coins or metal plates, as are sometimes other parts of the clothing. The Kazan-Tatar hairsack, attached at the back of the head, was widespread in Chechnia and is also known in Dagestan. In the Zakataly district apron - like upper garments, worn under the belt, are common.

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301 The most common ornaments of the Caucasian women are headbands and frontlets, earrings, often with a half-moon-shaped widening at the bottom (Georgia), finger rings and mountings on the belt. The Khevsur women wear iron hoops on the arms and curious scythe-shaped eardrops decorated with hollow spheres. The Tush women wear necklaces with silver ornaments hanging down on the breast.

C. G. 301 In Chechnia and N. W. Dagestan head ornaments are found consisting of a band on top of the head with a concatenation of large metal or glass rings hanging down from it on both sides. As to the hairdo, the Georgian women have the hair hanging down loose over the back and shoulders or in braids around the head. Only on the Black Sea coast do they wear it hanging down in long braids. This is also the usual way in the Northern Caucasus. The Tush girls wear the hair in four braids which are cut off when they marry; the latter custom occurs also sporadically in Dagestan.

C. G. 302

C. G. 291 177 It must be emphasized that the traditional costume has in most cases partly or wholly given way to the general European type of dress, and is worn only on holidays and special occasions such as weddings and other celebrations.

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# HOUSING

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The oldest and now very rare type of Georgian house is a rectangular structure of rough stones without mortar and covered on the inside with clay, usually windowless and with a flat roof consisting of beams resting on cross-beams supported by posts. In flat country it is partly sunk into the ground; in the mountains it is dug into the slope so that the back ends of the roof beams rest on the slope itself. The roof sticks out in front, forming a penthouse, again supported by the poles on the outside. The flat roof is covered with earth; the occupants spend hot evenings and nights on it. The house consists of only one room (darbazi), sometimes with a partitioned area which serves as winter stable for the livestock. In the center is the hearth, with a smoke-vent and chimney above it.

The newer farm buildings have a walled-off stable with its own entrance, saddle-shaped roofs, small windows, and, according to the needs of the family, several rooms with hearths built in projecting parts of the outer walls. The roof often extends not only in front but all the way around the house; it is supported by posts, forming a covered gangway (derepani). The houses of the more well-to-do often have a raised floor with a space under it which is used as a stable. The building materials vary according to locality. In Kartlia the houses are built of stone and earth; in the western lowlands

C. G. 342 (Guria, Mingrelia, part of Imeretia) of wood; in the Imeretian mountains (Racha) of wattle; in Kakhetia all types occur. In eastern and southern Georgia there is also found the so-called "crown-shaped" roof (gvirgvini), which consists of beams over which other beams are placed diagonally, in successive layers narrowing upwards, so that a cupola is formed. Light enters through the spaces between the beams.

C. G. 361 In Kartlia the houses are irregularly grouped into villages, without enclosures and without streets. In the western subtropical region and in Kakhetia the farms are surrounded by fences; in Kakhetia they are situated farther C. G. 343 apart amidst the vineyards. Besides the living quarters, the farms have stables, hen-houses, barns and granaries--the latter made of wattle and raised from the ground on poles. There is usually a hut with a cover of ferns for newly-wed C. G. [354] couples, a well, etc. There is also a baking-oven consisting of a cylinder of wattle coated with clay; after heating the oven with charcoal, the dough is placed inside on the wall, after which the oven is closed with a wooden lid and C. G. 342 cloths. In wine-growing regions there is a wine cellar with a wine press, and large earthenware wine containers, sunk into the ground.

The Svan house is built of rough stones; the ground plan is rectangular. It usually has two stories. The ground floor contains a storeroom which at the same time serves as wine cellar, and the winter-quarters for humans and

G: 342 livestock, the latter being partitioned off by a wooden barrier with openings, in front of which is the manger. The cattle-room is itself divided into two or three floors, the sheep standing above the cows. A ramp leads up to the balcony of the second floor; the latter contains the summer living-quarters and a storeroom. The houses of the Khevsur are built on mountain slopes like those of Dagestan (see below). They are made of rough stones without mortar, sometimes of wattle, and usually have two stories, the lower one for the cattle and for the women and their weaving implements, the upper one for the men. The upper floor stands back from the front, leaving a kind of balcony under the roof. Often a partly open third story is added which serves as summer quarters or as a storeroom for cereals. The settlements of the Pshav and Tush are similar to those of the Khevsur but their houses have a better finish (mortar, whitewash).

C. 342 Before they were settled in the lowlands, the Circassians lived in villages (R. aul) which extended, often for miles, along the numerous rivers originating in the great Caucasian chain. The houses were built at some distances from each other, and always in or near a wooded place where the occupants could hide in case of attack. They were rectangular, made of wattle coated with clay on both sides, and contained several rooms, one being reserved for the lady of the house. The roof was covered with straw and formed a penthouse around the

C. 342 building; the floor consisted of packed earth and contained a firepit, above which was placed a high chimney of straw coated with clay. Outside the enclosure containing living quarters, horse-stable, and sheepfold, there was a special lodging for guests (R. kunatskaia). The C. G. 342 dwellings of the Abkhaz were the most primitive in the Caucasus: They were rectangular structures with walls of wattle, in cold weather sometimes covered with ferns. The thatched roof rested on a beam supported at the rear by a pole, and in front by two slanting poles which touched at the top. In the back there was a partition which served several purposes: storeroom, guest room, winter stable.

C. 342 361 In the mountains of Dagestan the houses are clustered close together into villages which rise terrace-like on inaccessible and easily defended mountain slopes. The houses stand in rows, so that the roofs of one row serve as the front yards of the houses in the row above. The most common building material is rough stone; the houses consist of two or more stories, the lower one being used as stable and storeroom, the upper one containing the rooms for men, for women and for guests.

C. G. 712 A typical feature of the Caucasian mountaineers' settlements are the defense towers, which in the Svan villages are built near almost every house and are also common in the settlements of the Khevsur, Tush and Pshav. On the northern slopes of the Caucasus mountains they are found in Ossete territory and also in the

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regions which belonged to the Karachai, Balkar and Chechen. These towers, in which the inhabitants with their cattle sought a refuge in case of an armed attack, have a square groundplan; they are built of rough stones and are from 30-60 ft. high. The wall contains loopholes on each floor, and a single entrance opening high above the ground. The Svan towers have perpendicular walls with a projection decorated with arches at the top, and a saddle-shaped roof; those of the Khevsur taper towards the top and have a pyramidal roof. In other areas both types are found. In Dagestan defense towers are not found, but many villages have watch towers.

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## TRADITIONAL ECONOMY

CG 241 Traditional Georgian economy is based on agriculture, horticulture and viniculture; in the mountainous regions cattle-breeding and dairy-farming are no less important than the cultivation of cereals. In the West (Guria, Mingrelia, Imeretia) corn and a variety of millet called ghomi are sown; in the lowlands of Kartlia, wheat; in higher regions, barley; CG [407] in the mountain valleys, oats and rye -- which are also used for baking bread. The ploughing implements differ according to the nature of the soil. In the West the plough is light and simple and drawn by a pair of oxen or buffaloes. In the eastern plains, where the soil becomes very dry and hard during the rainless summer, a large and heavy plough with fore-wheels (gutani), drawn by 4-8 pairs of oxen, is used; the soil is cut to a depth of 2-3 feet and thrown to the side by a shovel-shaped moldboard. Ploughing is done in the fall; sowing in fall (wheat) or spring (barley, corn). The soil is not harrowed, but the seed is covered by dragging bundles of brushwood CG [407] which are attached to a beam over the soil. For thrashing, an oblong or triangular wooden sledge (k'evri) set underneath with sharp stone splinters or pieces of iron is drawn by oxen over the threshing floor (k'alo); the driver stands on top. The grain is then winnowed by throwing it up in the wind with spades. The chaff is used as cattle-feed.

000 spades. The chaff is used as cattle-feed.

C. G. 245 In the plains, especially in Kakhetia, the production of wine plays an important part in the rural economy. Numerous sorts C G [192] of grapes are distinguished under locally varying names; the word for "wine," ghvino, seems to be a loan-word from pre-literary Armenian. In Western Georgia the vines are allowed to climb on trees, mostly poplars and beeches; they grow half wild and untended and may reach an age of 50 years or more before they are rooted out and replaced by young plants. The vines yielding the renowned Kakhetian wines grow low, in carefully tended vineyards, most of which are artifi- C. G. 273 cially irrigated. The grapes are gathered in September-October and poured into wine presses made of stone or wood (sac'nekheli), where the men tread them out by foot. The juice and skins are allowed to ferment to- C. G. [415] gether; in the West, in the pressing-trough itself, and in Kakhetia in large earthern jugs with a pointed bottom (ch'uri), which are sunk into the ground. These jugs are smeared with naphtha on the inside, which gives the wine a peculiar taste, similar to the Greek rezzinato. When the wine is ready, it is stored in similar jugs, up to eight feet high and five feet in diameter. For transportation the wine is scooped out and poured into cattle- or goat-skins also treated with naphtha.

C. G. 245 Fruits (apricots, peaches, cherries, figs, walnuts, almonds, sweet chestnuts,

C. G. 245 [251] pomegranates) are grown in abundance. They are preserved in sugar by a boiling-down process. C. G. 244 Important vegetables are lentils, beans, peas, onions, eggplants, celery, garlic, fennel, mustard and several kinds of cucurbitaceous plants. C. G. 231 The raising of silkworms is common, especially in the West. Beekeeping is widespread; hollwed-out logs are used as beehives; these are covered against the rain with pieces of bark or straw mats. Honey is also gathered from wild beees. C. G. 224 Hunting is of some importance in the highlands (deer, rabbits, fowl); it is traditionally engaged in by herdsmen, who take turns watching the herds. C. G. 226 Fishing is of importance only on the Black Sea coast and on the lower course of the rivers running into it.

C. G. 231 Because of the lack of pasture-land, cattle-breeding is less important in the Georgian lowlands than it is in the mountains. The Georgians keep buffaloes, oxen, pigs, horses, donkeys, mules, goats and sheep. The latter usually are of the fat-tail variety, except among the Svan. C. G. 233 221 In summer, the herds are taken to the mountain pastures by herdsmen. The herds are led by a billy-goat and are kept together by goats; dogs accompany the herds only as protectors against wolves. To keep the latter at a distance, fires are kept going during the night.

Cattle and sheep breeding have a greater relative importance for the Svan and especially the Pshav and Tush. The latter are predominantly seminomadic herdsmen; the men

E. G. 233 221 spend the winter in the steppes of the lower Alazani river with their herds of sheep. On the other hand, the Tush living on the Lower Alazani, and also the Bats, move with their families to the mountain pastures in summer, where they live in huts, sunk into the ground and covered with slates. The indigenous means of transportation is a clumsy two-wheeled cart (uremi) drawn by a pair of oxen or buffaloes. The large wooden disk wheels are firmly joined to the axle-tree. In the mountains, sledges are used to carry in the hay. In a peculiar vehicle called chochiala uremi rolling and sliding are combined: the ends of two long poles attached to the yoke, which slide on the ground, serve the purpose of a pair of front wheels.

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E. G. 231 241 The traditional economy of the North-West Caucasian peoples (Abkhaz and Circassians) was based on horse and cattle breeding, agriculture (millet, maize, wheat, rye) some horticulture, beekeeping and (Abkhaz) wine growing. The Abkhaz methods in these activities are the same as the Georgian. Formerly, their economy was largely pastoral, but in the second half of the nineteenth century they became more agricultural. The country is better suited to agriculture, though horse and sheep raising are still important. The Western Circassians, too, were more dependent on cattle-breeding before their forced migration from the mountains to the lowlands of the Kuban. The Kabardians are still mainly sheep-, cattle-, and especially horse-breeders: the Kabardian horses are famous for their

C. G. 231 241 beauty and stamina. Apiculture is also widespread among the Circassians; their beehives, contrary to those of the Georgians and Abkhaz, are similar to those found in Central Europe; they are made of bast or of plaited willow-twigs which are covered with clay or cow-dung.

C. D. 233 In Dagestan, stock-raising is preponderant (sheep, goats, cows, horses, donkeys, buffaloes). In winter, the herds are usually brought to the steppe-country in the South or to the Caspian coast area. C. D. 241 The southeast, i. e. the country of the Lezghi, is comparatively better suited for agriculture, but it is practiced even in the more elevated regions. Wheat, barley and millet are grown in small fields, situated on natural or artificial terraces, which often require artificial irrigation. C D [40] The ground is cultivated with a local kind of light plough called durats, puruts, etc. which only scrapes the soil superficially. As most of the fields require manuring, the constant removing of stones, and even restoring of the soil, which has to be carried up by hand, farming involves hard labor. C. D. 438 As the production of grain has never covered the needs of the population, home-industry is highly developed in Dagestan. C. D. [286] Everywhere the women do their own spinning and weaving. The spinning wheel is unknown; the looms for carpet-weaving differ from those for the weaving of coarse cloth out of homespun wool and of hemp-cloth used for sacks. Many crafts are practiced beyond the

C. D. 438 Many crafts are practiced beyond the requirements of the household for interchange [287] and even export, e. g. the production of black felt for the customary cloaks and of white felt for a local sort of foot-gear, of leather straps and belts, boots and saddles. Usually, a whole village specializes in a certain craft; at the end of the working season the products are loaded on horses, and a caravan of fifty or more men sets out into the plains to barter their C. D. goods for corn. Pottery making is practiced [323] mainly in the villages of Balkhar and Sulevkent; some villages specialize in blacksmithing, C. D. others in the production of grave-plates and [324] tombstones with chiselled ornaments and in- C. D. scriptions. The village of Kubachi is renowned [326] beyond Dagestan for its highly artistic metalwork (bronze founding and many kinds of inlay-work) which is based on ancient traditions.

# FOOD

C. G. 262

The basic food of the average Caucasian consists of various kinds of home-baked bread and cakes, milk (often used sour), diverse kinds of cheese, rice, onions and garlic, cucumbers, melons, etc. Very common is also the use of a thick gruel (R. mamalyga) prepared out of millet, corn or wheat. A common Georgian dish, which spread also to N. W. Caucasus, is the lobia, made out of cooked and mashed beans with shredded onions and aromatic herbs; the same is true of the Georgian kharcho, a meat-sauce with nuts. The Circassians prepare a special dish of chicken in a gravy of butter, aromatic herbs and pepper. The main warm dish in Dagestan consists of noodles (cut of various kinds of dough) cooked in water, drained, and flavored with cheese, garlic, or other condiments. Meat is eaten mostly on special occasions; an all-Caucasian dish is mutton roasted on the spit (R. shashlyk); the Persian pilaw, rice cooked with meat and flavored with spices, has also found widespread popularity in the Caucasus. The Georgians in the lowland drink wine, the Tush, Pshav and Khevsur brew beer (as do the Ossetes); the Circassians prepare a beverage out of millet to which, after fermentation, honey is added (R. buza).

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1. Sociological

f. Social Structure
(Paleocaucasian Peoples)

Aert H. Kuipers

Social Organization
Birth
Educational Practices
Marriage
Position of Women
Death

7: Columbia U. S-4,5 1956 RHl Caucasia RHl
Georgia RI1

## SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

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In older times, the smallest social unit in the Caucasus was the extended family (Georg. didi odzhakhi), consisting of several generations related in the male line who lived together in one house or in several houses located close together. Such families could reach the size of forty or fifty, sometimes even a hundred, persons.

The family was headed by a headman (Georg. uprosi k'atsi; the Circassian term thamada is also widespread) and a headwoman (Georg. deda sakhlisi), usually the oldest members, sometimes elected for a period or for life. The headman represented the family to the outside, directed the economic affairs, supervised the male labor, settled disputes between male members of the family and led the religious rites which were closely connected with the sib organization. The headwoman had the direction of domestic affairs and wielded the same authority over the female family-members as the headman over the male ones. Property was owned by the family as a whole; personal property existed only in the matter of clothing and arms for the men--and of some cattle, household utensils, etc., constituting the dowry (Georg. satavno), as far as the women were concerned. Originally, the extended family split up only with the death of the patriarch, each son setting up an independent household with his sons and grand-

C. G. 596 children; later, married sons with adult off-
spring would separate from the family even if
the father was still alive. The final stage was
that each married couple set up a household
of its own. The original joint family survived
until recently in some remote corners, partic-
C. G. 476 ularly among the Svan and the Pshav. There
is a tradition of mutual aid between families
with regard to tasks exceeding the forces of a
single unit (agricultural tasks, vintage, house
building, tapestry-weaving, etc.). These re-
C. G. 621 lations obtain even between unrelated families,
but often whole villages or sections of villages
consisted of groups of related families (clans).
Such family-settlements exist at the present
time; a kolkhoz or a brigade in a kolkhoz may
consist entirely of persons bearing the same
family name.

C. A. 608 In the whole N. Caucasus and also in
Armenia the institution of milk-relationship
existed. A child suckled by a woman belong-
ing to a certain family became related to that
family, as did all its relatives, and these ties
were considered as sacred as those of blood
relationship. In the N. Caucasus such a re-
lationship could also be established ritually in
the case of older persons, namely by mere
contact with a woman's breast; this was car-
ried so far that even a forcible performing of
this ritual could end a blood feud, as the act
made the injured family and that from which
"blood was sought" related "by milk." In this

C. A. 608 way, though all the members of a clan claim a common descent from the same ancestor, this descent is largely fictitious.

C. G. 565 642 Clans naturally differed in size and wealth, and this led in many parts of the Caucasus to a differentiation of classes and to a feudal structure of the society (Kabarda; lower regions of Dagestan). In Transcaucasia there was a further development into feudal C. G. 619 monarchies (Georgia, Armenia). The original tribal structure was best preserved among the Georgian highlanders, the Svan, some of the W. Circassian tribes, the Ossetes, the Chechen and Ingush, and the tribes in the higher parts of Dagestan. For instance, the Pshav tribe (dziri, lit. "root") is divided into eleven clans (temi); the members of each clan bear the same name, but in everyday life are known under a second family name (gvari) derived from the proper name of a grandfather or great-grandfather. If a family expanded, C. G. 565 new surnames were adopted. Where a differentiation of classes took place, the general pattern was the following. The upper class consisted of the nobility, in its turn subdivided into various ranks in the regions with more pronounced feudal traits (Georgia, Kabarda). The lower class consisted of the peasants; here too, a further stratification existed, depending on differences in degree of economic C. G. [567] and personal freedom. The lowest classes were the slaves; mostly prisoners of war. In

C. G. 565 Georgia the various grades of the clergy corresponded to the ranks of the nobility, the head of the church (Katholikos) being equal to the king. As to the functions of the different classes, Kabardian society may serve as an example. The function of the highest class, the princes, was to defend their subjects and to provide leadership in wars and predatory incursions into the territory of neighboring tribes (and in the nineteenth century, especially into that of the Russians); such raids were part of the everyday life of most N. Caucasian mountaineers. The representatives of the second class, the nobles, were always at the disposal of their prince, assisted him in his daily activities, accompanied him on his raids, and in general carried out his orders. They could also be called upon to provide the prince with cattle, corn, or other goods, and such a request could not be refused. When a prince died and left several sons, each of the nobles declared himself a subject of the one of his choice. Part of the production of the peasants belonged to the princes and nobles; the latter provided their subjects with draft animals, agricultural implements, and feed-corn. In case of discontentment the nobles and also the free peasants could leave the territory of their lords and settle elsewhere. The slaves had no rights and owned no property, they were employed in the cultivation of the soil or in the domestic service of the princes and nobles and could be sold at will.

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After the incorporation of the various parts of the Caucasus into the Russian empire, slavery and serfdom were gradually abolished (second half of the nineteenth century). Before the revolution, the Russian hold on the Caucasus depended to a large extent on the nobility (whose ranks, in Georgia as well as in the N. Caucasus, were put on a par with the Russian); after the revolution, of course, an appeal was made to the lower classes.

## BIRTH

842 847 Except in some of the economically poorest areas any increase of the family was a cause for joy- in the country not just for the immediate family, but for the whole village. However, boys were greatly preferred, especially among the mountaineers, the birth of a girl being something of a disappointment. Among the Kartvelian mountaineers, female infanticide still occurred in the nineteenth century; the Khevsur and Pshav practiced birth control mainly by abortion, no couple being allowed to have their first child until the third year of marriage, the second after seven years, while the third must be the last. During menstruation and childbirth the Khevsur women were considered unclean and were banished to special huts (called samrevlo) outside the village. 841 844

551 The names given to children are now mostly those usual in Christian and Islamic countries, though the older custom of giving animal names to boys and terms of affection to girls has not died out, especially among the highlanders.

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## EDUCATIONAL PRACTICES

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As everywhere, education in the Caucasus aimed at developing those traits in the children which were part of the national cultural ideal. In the whole N. Caucasus and in Georgia, great stress was laid on the development of character (courage, stamina, loyalty, modesty, but also self-assertion and vengefullness) and on good manners (especially in the N. W. Caucasus there was a complex and rigid code of behavior). The education consisted further in instruction in the use of arms and in horsemanship. Among the mountaineers it had definite Spartan characteristics, e. g. the Khevsur put burning wicks or glowing coals on the hands of their children to harden them against pain and to test their stamina. Stress was also laid on the ability to express oneself well and to the point, and to make speeches at various occasions. In Georgia, among the higher classes, there was a native tradition of training in the arts and sciences, the centers of which originally were the monasteries. In the N. Caucasus such a tradition did not exist, though there were Moslem schools (medrese) giving instruction in religion and some arithmetic, and also Russian schools, founded after the subjugation. Before the revolution, the higher classes sent their children to Russian cultural centers to complete their education. Many chose a

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C. G. 871 565 military career, as the qualities required there were most in conformity with the ideals handed down by native tradition.

C. G. 565 608 Among the higher classes in the N. W. Caucasus, the usage was to have their children brought up in a family of a lower class; this custom also existed among Western Georgian nobles in imitation of Circassian usage. Even before the birth of the child the aspirants vied with each other for the honor of being its atalyk (foster parent). The atalyk acquired all the rights of blood relationship; the ward upon completion of his education was naturally more attached to his foster parents than to his own, and could be counted on to avenge any harm done to his educators.

# MARRIAGE

C. G. 585 The marriage customs of the Georgians are regulated by Christianity. The wedding rites go back to the ceremony of the Byzantine court: crowns are held over the heads of bride and groom, who are addressed as "queen" and "king." After the ceremony in the church the wedding is celebrated publicly in the house of the bride; the feast may last several days. Then the bride is brought to the house of the groom in a noisy procession on horseback. She is welcomed by her mother-in-law, who puts a lump of sugar or other sweets into her mouth; then she is led around the hearth, and a male child is put on her knees to ensure fecundity. The Georgian mountaineers (especially the Khevsur) have to a certain extent preserved customs similar to those found among the N. Caucasian mountaineers.

C. 583 The marriage customs of the North-Caucasian peoples (including the Ossetes) were only to a minor extent influenced by Islam or Christianity, and preserved older traits. In the whole area from the N. W. to the Andi-Dido region in Dagestan, there are clear traces of a tradition of acquiring brides by capture and abduction. At the same time, in the whole N. Caucasus the custom of paying a bride C. 581 price (R. kalym) prevailed. Originally, the personal preference of the girl was not taken into account at all, the marriage being arranged by her family on the basis of social or

581 economic considerations. In more recent times, under the influence of Islam, Christianity, and also of the Soviet regime, it has become a more important factor.

583 The mixture of various traditions can be exemplified by the Circassian usages. It was customary for the suitor, with the help of his comrades, to abduct his bride from the house of her parents. Often the kalym had been agreed upon beforehand, but the family of the bride nevertheless put up a token of resistance against the abduction. In cases where the family was against the marriage, 582 elopement was not uncommon. A night spent by the girl with her abductor made her his lawful wife according to the Circassian adat; later, a marriage contract drawn up by the mullah gave the marriage its legal sanction; now, marriages are regulated by Soviet law.

In Dagestan, local endogamy is observed more or less strictly; in the rest of the N. Caucasus, and also among the Georgian mountaineers, exogamous rules prevail. [587] Formerly, the levirate and stepmother-inheritance were widespread among the Caucasian mountaineers; there was also a strong insistance upon marrying within one's social rank.

585 Among all the Caucasian mountaineers observing exogamy, there existed a variety of avoidance rules. E. g., the bridegroom would hide during the wedding feast and afterwards only secretly visit his wife, who after

585 the wedding returned home or stayed with strangers or in a special house for a period.
606 There were numerous taboos for the wife with regard to her in-laws, especially the older ones (prohibition to speak to them, or to address them by name, etc.), to a certain extent also for the husband with regard to his parents-in-law, until he was "reconciled"
576 with them. Very strict rules governed the behavior of the married couple in the presence of others; they could not call each other by name, and any show of affection was considered bad form.

# POSITION OF WOMEN

C. G. 562 The position of women in the Caucasus was in many respects subordinate to that of men: male children were preferred, descent was patrilineal, residence patrilocal, women were excluded from inheritance rights; in case the headwoman was unable to reconcile a quarrel among the female members of the family, the case was put before the headman; divorces C were in general more easily obtained by men G than by women, and in the case of adultery the [684] husband had the right to kill or disfigure his wife. The Circassian code of behavior forbade women to sit down while men were standing, and the husband was addressed in terms of re- C spect by his wife. In most areas the women G [462] led a life of hard work; besides doing the housework, they also assisted in the work in the field, though certain activities such as tending horses and in most cases ploughing were performed by men only. Among the Georgian mountaineers, women were regarded from a religious point of view as unclean, and were forbidden to enter the walled precincts C. of the sanctuaries; the Svan had sexual avoid- [834] ance rules to ensure success in hunting expeditions; in Mingrelia a woman may not kill a chicken or animal she is going to prepare, as this would spoil the food.

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In spite of these restrictions on her actions and rights, the Caucasian woman enjoyed more privileges than her sisters in other parts of the Near East, and she was held in higher esteem than in most societies. In Eastern Georgia, where Persian influence has been strong, and in general in the political and cultural centers, the women led a comparatively sheltered life. But where the indigenous Caucasian culture is better preserved, farther from the centers and especially in the mountain areas, women enjoyed a large degree of freedom. Besides playing an important role in the life of the family, they also engaged in public activities, could have their say in community gatherings, take the witness stand and even be mediators in judicial proceedings. Perhaps more important than legal status is the chivalrous respect for women which is characteristic of the Caucasian. No Circassian, however enraged, would start a fight in the presence of a woman, and the intercession of a woman during a fight or drunken brawl among the Khevsur - by throwing her head-cloth (mandili) before the feet of the combatants - would immediately separate them. The same respect is apparent in the customs relating to adoption, in folklore, and, curiously, in the Georgian language, where when male and female are mentioned together, the female always takes the first place: ded-mama "mother and father" (deda

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"mother," mama "father"!), tsol-kmari "wife and husband," da-dzma "sister and brother," kal-vazhi "daughter and son."

# DEATH

764 765 Throughout the Caucasus, the dead were held in high regard, and the funeral and memorial customs were quite elaborate. More or less ubiquitous features were wailing-women who wept not only over the deceased, but also over his clothing and arms, scratching their faces and tearing out their hair; further, funeral receptions, and a number of memorial repasts (among the Khevsur up to twelve) held at different intervals after the death, among the mountaineers usually accompanied by various contests on horseback. Among the mountaineers, in spite of the general spread of Christianity or Islam, many features of the pagan past survived, among others the [775] belief that the deceased had to make a long trip to the other world, that over there he needed food, his horse, the care of his wife, etc. The horse of the deceased played an important role in the funeral rites; among the Khevsur it was further cared for by a relative for the benefit of the deceased. Food and sometimes weapons were buried along with the dead; among the Circassians his wife would serve a portion for him at meals for a year; and the Ossetian widow for the same period would bring food to the grave of her husband every Friday, besides numerous other observances.

7: Columbia U. S-4, 5 1956 RHl Caucasia
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Social structure

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l. Sociological

g. Family

See l. Sociological, f. Social Structure.

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l. Sociological

h. Social Values and
Patterns of Living
(Paleocaucasian Peoples)

Aert H. Kuipers

Law and Custom

## LAW AND CUSTOM

671 Among the moutaineers the rights and duties of each individual and penalties for offences were regulated in detail by an unwritten body of rules (adat), which remained largely unchanged among the Christian Kartvelians, and which never quite yielded to
628 Muslim law (shariate). Among the North Caucasians, a killing - whether deliberate or accidental -- resulted in a blood feud, which could last for generations. The revenge had to be carried out by a close male relative, usually a brother or son. Friends of the blood-guilty could try to arrange a peace, and the injured family could then accept a "blood-price," which varied according to the social rank of the victim.
[608] Also, the milk-relationship[1] was considered so sacred that its establishment could end a feud. Thus among the Circassians a person guilty of blood could kidnap a young child from the injured family and bring it up; he thus became the child's atalyk and a milk-relationship was established between him and the family.

Besides manslaughter, blood feuds also resulted from abduction of married women, adultery, and from certain grave insults, e. g. throwing out of the house the kettle that was suspended over the hearth; among the Tush, who were seminomadic pastoralists, also from cattle-stealing.

681 For less serious injuries the adat prescribed in detail compensations in kind. E. g.

[1] [Cf. cat. 116, pp. 527-528 -- Analyst]

681 among the Khevsur, the loss of an arm or leg was valued at twenty-four cows, that of a finger, from five cows for the thumb down to one cow for the little finger. Face wounds were measured with grains of wheat, and the fine calculated accordingly. Theft (usually involving horses or cattle) inside one's own community was punished by the obligation to repay the value of the stolen property several times over, or to pay an indemnity to the ruling prince. Stealing from other groups was regarded as an accomplishment rather than a crime, and a young man who had never managed to steal a horse would not easily find a wife.

695 Justice was administered by community courts in which the oldest sat in judgment, or by specially elected mediators (Georg. shuak'atsi) who had the confidence of both plaintiff and defendant, and whose decision was always accepted as final. Witnesses were called and oaths were taken upon sacred objects (in the N. W. Caucasus, often a blacksmith's anvil, later replaced by the Koran), or in the name of ancestors, sanctuaries, etc. In difficult cases, various types of ordeals were resorted to.

577 As characteristic traits of a more general nature in Caucasian life, hospitality, respect for superior age, and--especially among the mountaineers--susceptibility to offence and vengefulness must be mentioned.

574 Hospitality is a national institution in the Caucasus. A guest is considered sacred; the host takes pride in receiving him and does his utmost to protect and honor him; if the host is poor, he can count on his neighbors to provide him with all the occasion requires. Most of the mountain peoples had special rooms or huts for guests (Russ. kunatskaia), and the right of hospitality was taken so seriously that in-injury caused to a guest could involve the host in a blood feud. There have been even instances in which communities were ruined by it, as for instance the Abadzekh settlement near Goriachii Kliuch, where the sick and wounded were taken during the Caucasian war; the inhabitants were obliged by custom to receive and support as guests the patients coming to the springs. When, during the famine of 1933, groups of Ukrainians came to the Circassian settlements in the N. W. Caucasus in search of food, considerable tension was caused by the Soviet government's prohibition to give them comfort, which ran counter to the Circassian customs of hospitality.

576 The homage due superior age finds expression in a number of rules of etiquette: one does not sit down unless older persons present are seated, and invite one to sit down also; one dismounts from horseback before addressing an older person; one offers one's horse to an old man going on foot to the same destination, etc.

577 The mountaineer's touchiness and vengefulness are connected with the stress laid on personal dignity and group-loyalty in Caucasian culture; they go back to the times of blood feuds, intertribal wars and the constant danger of armed attack. Formerly, in the mountaineers' conception of life, wars and predatory raids formed a more honorable way of existence than agriculture and cattle breeding. Only a life of danger and audacity could win a man public esteem, and during the Caucasian war a family that had not lost one or more members in the field was looked down upon with contempt. The inducement to wars and raids was furnished as much by the action itself as by the possible gains. The Circassian who had risked his life in a raid to seize a herd of horses was ready to part with his booty at the first request or even hint of a person who was in need; the "Circassian tradition" required compliance with any request for material help. Material possessions were not placed high in the scale of values; more important was public esteem, and loss of face was feared above all else. The mountaineer is proud, both of his people and their traditions, and in a personal way. He is easily offended, and in the old days offense easily led to bloodshed (a fistfight was considered a disgrace, so that violence was always committed with arms); and an unrevenged killing was the worst shame that could rest on a house.

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628 The vendetta flourished until well into the Soviet period, as is witnessed by official pamphlets of the twenties combating it.

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Law and Custom

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# 1. Sociological

## i. Artistic and Intellectual Expression (Paleocaucasian Peoples)

Aert H. Kuipers

Folklore
Music
Dance

See also 2. Political, h. Biographies of Key Personalities.

## FOLKLORE, MUSIC, AND DANCE

538 533 Due to the central position of the Caucasus between different and changing hearths of civilization, and to contacts with various nomadic peoples, Caucasian folklore has a wealth of themes. All possible types are represented: epics, historical songs, religious songs, war chants, riding, hunting, and pastoral songs, ballads, dance songs, lyrical and love songs, lullabies and mourning chants, satirical songs which often are partly or wholly improvised at celebrations; besides fairy tales, there are many legends, partly dealing with the same subjects as the epic and historical songs. Among the mountaineers, the lyrical songs often are accompanied by a story explaining their origin or background. Part of this material is indigenous to the Caucasus, continuing ancient mythical traditions or dealing with local events. But the oral literature that came to the Caucasus from outside has also received a typical Caucasian coloring by the addition or stressing of certain traits, such as the themes of blood vengeance, hospitality, and loyalty between friends, which has precedence ultimately over love for a wife or betrothed.

The Kartvelian peoples possess a large store of folk tales which usually begin with the words: "There was and there was not..."; the fairy princesses are called mzetunakhavi

538 533 "not seen by the sun." Some popular epic songs are derived from literary works such as the Georgian translation of the "Shahname" or Rustaveli's poem "The Knight in the Panther Skin" of the end of the twelfth century; these popular variants show considerable divergences. In the legend of the valiant and beneficent hero Amirani--who dares, however, to measure his strength against God and in punishment is chained to a mountain--a literary subject is curiously blended with ancient mythical traditions: the name of the hero as well as some other names and certain incidents of the story are taken from the heroic epic "Amirandare-djiani," probably translated from Persian in the eleventh century; but the main substance is a myth which is known also to other Caucasian peoples, and which is connected with the Greek myth of Prometheus chained to a rock in the Caucasus. The Georgian historical songs relate particularly skirmishes with the N. Caucasian mountain tribes, and the exploits of famous brigands and outlaws.

The oldest layer of the North-Caucasian folklore consists of the epopee of the Narts. In Dagestan the latter are simply synonymous with "giants," in the Central and Western Caucasus they have individual names and personalities: Uryzmag (Ozermeg, etc.), the oldest and wisest of the Narts; Batraz (Peterez, etc.), the young valiant hero; Sozruko (Sesrkvaj, etc.), also rich in adventures, who

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533 dies the death of Achilles; Satana, the protectoress of the hearth, the dominant female figure in the epic. The Nart epic contains no historical references; the Narts fight one-eyed giants, descend to the country of the dead, have supernatural qualities and powers. The historical songs of the North Caucasian peoples preserve the memory of intertribal clashes, of wars with invaders, of raids into Russian or Georgian territory, of famous abreks (outlaws). Both songs and tales exhibit typical features of the mountaineer culture. There is the young fatherless boy whose mother keeps secret from him that his father was killed by a giant, as she fears for her son's life. When his playmates inform him that his father was killed and that his mother knows by whom, he pretends to be sick. She prepares a hot honey drink for him, and he grabs her hand and holds it in the hot beverage until she tells him the name of the killer. He finds the giant, who defeats him in battle, but does not want to kill the child. The giant treats him kindly, which gives the boy a chance to kill him in his sleep and to "fulfill the law of his fathers." There is the young man who falls in love with the girl who is secretly engaged to his best friend. The friend, taken in confidence, without a word makes all the preparations for his comrade's wedding. The latter finds out at the last moment, when he notices that his bride is distressed, and inquires as to the cause.

538 He cuts off the fingers with which he has
533 touched her dress and takes her back to his friend. Another recurrent theme is that of the mother who suckles the man whose blood is sought by her son, thus establishing a milk relationship, and ending the feud, "sparing the lives of two sons rather than losing her only one." In the genre of humoristic tales, Nasreddin Hoja stories enjoy wide popularity in the Caucasus.

533 Formerly the epical and historical songs were recited by bards, usually liberated serfs, who found employment in the houses of princes and nobles. They accompanied themselves on string instruments.

The characteristic feature in W. Georgian music is part-singing of men's choirs, the second voice, called k'rimanch'uli, executing improvised wordless flourishes in the highest falsetto. In the N. W. Caucasus a solo voice sings the words of the song, the choir accompaning it unisono in long-drawn tones as a kind of organ point, or with an independent melody. Dances are accompanied
535 by musical instruments: in Georgia, bagpipes
[534] (zazandari), lute (ch'onguri), violin with spherical body (ch'ianuri), several kinds of flutes (duduki, zurna, salamuri) and drums (dali, diplipito); in the N. Caucasus, a two-stringed violin, flutes and castanets. The most popular Caucasian dance is the so-called

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535 Lezginka (Georg. lek'uri), performed by a man holding one hand on his breast and the other stretched sideways, and a woman who gracefully moves her arms up and down; both move in a circle keeping the upper part of the body as quiet as possible and moving only the legs. Now they dance together, then again the woman escapes and the man pursues her; the pair are never in contact.

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Folklore, Music, and Dance

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## l. Sociological

### j. Education

See Handbook on the U. S. S. R.
For traditional education among the Paleocaucasian peoples, see section l. Sociological, f. Social Structure.

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## l. Sociological

## k. Religion

Folk Religion (Paleocaucasian Peoples)
Aert H. Kuipers
The Religion of the Ossetes
Bernhard Geiger
The Armenian Church
A. O. Sarkissian
A Note on the Georgian Church
Aert H. Kuipers
A Note on Islam
Tibor Halasi-Kun

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# FOLK RELIGION

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The major religions in the Caucasus are Christianity (Georgians except Adzhar and Ingilo; Armenians except Hemshily; Ossetes except Digor; Udi) and Islam (all the rest, except the Mountain Jews and Yezid). But many traces of the older pagan religious view remain. Among the mountaineers in the N. W. Caucasus Islam was introduced comparatively recently (seventeenth century), and in many cases reached only the upper classes. In Dagestan, with its stronger Islamic tradition, the ancient beliefs have disappeared to a much larger extent. In Georgia, Christianity has absorbed many pagan features, and among the Kartvelian mountaineers it was rather paganism that adopted certain outward characteristics of Christianity. In the N. W. Caucasus, the pre-Islamic pagan religion preserved curious vestiges of Christianity which had been introduced from Georgia in the time of queen Tamar, and perhaps even earlier. Here and there in the Caucasus there are remains of the influence of Zoroastrianism.

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The old Caucasian religion was closely connected with family and sib organization. It centered around the house-hearth, above which hung the cooking pot, suspended from an iron chain (Georg. sak'ide(be)li), which had a symbolic value and was believed to be endowed with supernatural powers. It could not

C. G. 778 be sold; touching chain or kettle gave one the status of a guest; to throw the kettle out of the hut was a supreme insult which could even require blood vengeance.

Besides the cult of the hearth, the veneration of trees was widespread in the Caucasus. The pagan cult had its rites and community prayers and offerings, and these were usually performed near a sacred grove or tree. In all Georgia there are sacred groves and trees near the Christian churches and sanctuaries. No one was allowed to cut down these trees, or to cut off a single branch, even in areas where wood was scarce, as this would entail the wrath of God.

C. G. 776 In Georgia there are traces of the worship of a Mother-god; under the name "mother of the soil" (adgilis deda) a female deity of the earth is worshipped. In the many legends about Queen Tamar, who has a place in the pantheon of the Pshav, elements of the same cult have been preserved. A deity of the woods, protector of wild animals, is called T'q'ashi mapa ("king of the woods") by the Mingrelians, Apsat (borrowed from Osset Awsati) by the Svan, Ochop'int'e by the Khevsur, Azhvepsha by the Abkhaz, Mezith ("forest-god") by the Circassians. The latter two peoples also knew a patron of the smiths, fire and iron (Abkh. Shoshu, Circ. Tlepsh). There were numerous other deities: of natural phenomena (sun, moon,

C. G. 776 thunder), often identified with Christian saints (e.g. the god of thunder with St. Elias or St. George); patrons of agriculture, of cattle breeding, of horsemen, of thieves, etc.; and also a large array of spirits, angels, witches, and wood-giants; and finally a variety C. G. of superstitions, of which may be mentioned [754] the fear of the "evil eye."

The religious worship of the Georgian C G mountain tribes has reverted to their ancient tribal religion, veiled by Christian terminology. [778] Their places of worship, called khat'i "icon" or dzhvari "cross," are small huts of rough stones, mostly standing in sacred groves. Their only adornment are pieces of cloth or horns of the Caucasian capricorn as votive offerings. The same words denote also the supernatural power residing in these huts; it is conceived as a sort of mediator between mankind and the supreme god called Morige "he who allots, distributes." Each village and each clan have their khat'i, and each tribe, too, had a common khat'i; e.g., that of the Pshav is called Lashris dzhvari, that of the Mtiul Lomisas dzhvari. Every member of the clan considers himself a "serf" (q'ma) of the khat'i, which may send him success, or disease and death. Each khat'i possessed pastures, arable land and woods where it was C. forbidden to fell a single tree. Attached to G. it was a body of functionaries who were 793 appointed temporarily or held their office by

C. G. 793 hereditary rights. The priest, called khevis beri "elder of the valley," khutsi "priest" or dek'anozi "dean," pronounced the ceremonial C. G. [782] prayers and sacrificed the sheep and cows offered as victims. The kadagi or dzhvaris C. G. [791] meene "interpreter," "tongue of the dzhvari," a kind of shaman, pronounced the will of the khat'i. The medroshe "standard bearer" or khat'is pekhi "foot of the khat'i" carried the sacred banner (drosha) on festive days. A special functionary attended to the brewing of the sacred beer, a custom borrowed from the C. G. [796] Ossetes. The beer was drunk at the annual festivals which were attended by all the "serfs" of the khat'i.

In Svanetia the functions of the Khevsur khevis beri were performed by priests not regularly ordained and without any theological training; they were called bap (from Greek C. G. [771] pappas). The numerous ancient churches were neglected and were only used for storing the vessels, vestments and books relating to the divine service; these were jealously C. G. 796 guarded from alienation. Many originally Christian feasts and Saint's days were celebrated with prayers, drinking of home-made brandy and eating of sacrificed animals and C. G. [769] fancy bread of different traditional shapes. Similar rites were observed on the commemoration days of the dead which were performed at fixed intervals.

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C. G. 771 [783] Traces of Zoroastrianism are preserved in the idea of the uncleanness of women, especially when menstruating or with child, and of corpses, as found among the Georgian mountaineers; further in some Georgian words, e. g. dzhodzhokheti "hell" (cf. M. Pers. dushakhw). C. G. [778] Remnants of Christianity in the N. W. Caucasus were the custom of planting a cross in the ground near a sacred grove, or hanging it in a sacred tree before a ceremony; C. G. [805] further the seven-day week and the names of the days, which are partly translations or mutilations of Greek names. In Abkhazia a number of Byzantine churches have been preserved.

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Religion

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# THE RELIGION OF THE OSSETS

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The majority of the Ossets profess the orthodox Christian religion. Only a small minority, the Digors, in the western part of the country, are Mohammedans. However, both religions appear mixed to a large extent with old pagan conceptions, rites and customs. The Christians know the names of Christ (Digor Kiriste, Iran Tshysysti), the "Mother Mary" and some of the Christian saints; they go to church and observe certain Christian rites, holidays and fasts; but at the same time they worship and pray to their pagan gods and spirits, sacrificing oxen, goats and sheep, and keep their old pagan holidays.

In a similar way the Mohammedans have a very superficial connection with the Mohammedan religion. They know the name of the prophet, perform the prescribed ablutions, keep Friday as a holiday and Ramazan, the month of fasting. However, like the Christians, they also worship their old pagan gods and celebrate their own traditional festivals.

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Both Christian and Mohammedan Ossets believe in the existence of a high God, an invisible Supreme Being, ruling the world from heaven. His name is Khutsau, and he is often called "the God of the Gods." But the Ossets have only a very vague idea of his nature. They are primarily devoted to the cult of deities which are closer to their hearts and to their

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c. o. 776 naive and primitive way of thinking. These are popular creations, mainly tutelary deities and spirits of various realms of nature, such as Fälwära, the guardian of domestic animals; Buduri-Usad, the god of the fields; Khualar-Dar, the god of the harvest: Äysati, the protector of the deer, the ibex and other game; Donbettyr (Donbettär), the guardian spirit of the waters, the fish and fishermen; Safa, the tutelary spirit of the chain which hangs about the hearth and is so holy an object in an Osset's house, that its removal can bring about the death of the inhabitants of the house and its c. o. theft can lead to a blood feud; Runibari, a god [753] of health (who brings disease and wards it off); c. o. the Geniata or Fazbadata, the guardian spirits [769] of families and the spirits (ghosts) of deceased souls, who are supposed to watch over, and further the well-being of, their families on earth. It is characteristic of the mentality of the Ossets that one of their guardian spirits, Saureg-Gsua by name, protects even thieves and robbers.

However, functions of guardianship are also attributed to some of the Christian saints who have become prominent figures in the religion of the Ossets. Vastyrdzhi (Digor Vasgergi), Saint George, protects travelers, controls military roads and mountain paths, and in contrast to the spirit Saurge-Gsua mentioned above, persecutes thieves and robbers and punishes perjurers and murderers. Vatsilla,

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Saint Elijah, (Surrian Il'ia), is the lord of thunder and lightning. Anyone who has been struck by lightning, is thought to have offended this saint and therefore to have been hit by his bullet. Here Elijah has taken the place of the original pagan god of the thunderstorm who hurls his thunderbolt, the lightning, against the dragon which is the cloud, and releases the waters which the demon had kept imprisoned. This is proved by the fact that the same function has been assigned to Elijah and especially to the angel Gabriel in the popular belief of Armenia, where this old Indo-Iranian myth of the slaying of the dragon by the god of the thunderstorm is preserved in a form that is still more complete than that of the rather simplified and less colorful Ossetic version. (Cf. Manuk Abeghian, Der armenische Volksglaube, [Leipsig, 1890], pp. 78ff., and B. Geiger, Die Amesha Spentas, Sitzungsberichte der Wiener Akad. d. Wiss., Vol. 176 [1916], pp. 65ff.) The relatives and friends of a person killed by a lightning express joy and sing and dance, suppressing all tears and sadness over the death of the person, from fear of making Vatsilla angry; this strange custom is obviously the result of a later development of this version of the myth. Like this attitude towards the deceased, the manner in which he is buried also belongs to the sphere of pagan popular belief. The body is either buried at the place of the accident, or it is placed on a

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C. O. 766 two-wheeled carriage drawn by two goats, and the place where the animals stop is thought to have been chosen by Vatsilla. At the grave a black male goat is slaughtered and his skin is hung up on a long pole.

C. O. 776 It is noteworthy that there exists a strange discrepancy between these two saints and the Vastyrdzhi and Vatsilla of the legends of the Narti.[1] Apart from the fact that these legends tell of groups of seven Vastyrdzhi and seven Vatsilla, we are confronted here not only with a difference of numbers, but also with an essential contrast between the characters and functions of the saints and their namesakes in the legends. There appears in the legends, in addition to the groups of seven, two single Vastyrdzhi who is involved in a very un holy affair. He attempts to seduce the mother of one of the Narti families and having been rejected, he waits until her death, visits her grave together with a stallion and a dog, and she gives birth to a girl, a col' and a dog's whelp. The behavior which is ascribed to the Vastyrdzhi in this story is fantastic and repelling. However, the role which the groups of seven Vastyrdzhi and seven Vatsilla play in the legends of the Narti, is no less surprising, though it is free from actions of obscene character. Some of the mightiest heroes of the Narti show an extremely hostile attitude towards these two groups and kill some of them at accidental encounters. They act in the same way against the Zäd (Izäd) and Daväg (Idaväg), who

1 [i.e. a tribe of mythical heroes, cf. cat. 11b, pp. 576-582-- Analyst]

C. O. 776 seem to be the same sort of angel. Strangely enough, God hesitated for some time before granting the requests of these groups to punish the brutal attackers.

It seems evident that the original conception of the Vastyrdzhi and Vatsilla in the popular religion of the Ossets was that of two members of the host of tutelary spirits and this conception is still distinctly recognizable, although they have been elevated to the rank of Christian saints. There is very little doubt that the relation between the Narti heroes and these two tutelary spirits, as it appears in the Narti legends, is the result of an arbitrary distortion of the original conception.

The Ossets worship two other saints: Tutyr, the protector and ruler of wolves, who obviously is identical with Saint Theodore, and the wonderworking, miraculous killer Nikkola who corresponds to Saint Nicholas.

C. O. 796 Besides their Christian and Mohammedan holidays, the Ossets celebrate a number of festivals of pagan character which are dedicated to their popular gods, or rather, spirits. They make the distinction between "male" and "female" C. O. festivals. The male festivals are attended only [782] by men offering bloody sacrifices, whereas at the female festivals, which are celebrated only by women, the sacrificial gifts consist of milk C. O. and cheese. Some of the feasts are celebrated at 796 home, others at or near places considered 778 sacred, such as mountain plateaus, caves, groves, or trees. Among the sacred places and

c. o. 796 778 objects the dzuar enjoys the highest degree of reverence. The word dzuar is of Georgian origin and means "the cross," then "the saint," and further "a sanctuary." Churches are often built at the side of, or in the place of, such old sanctuaries, the most famous of which, Rekom, is situated between the village Zai and the Zai glacier. It is described as a very small, low, square room with two tiny windows. The roof is covered with straw, the walls and ceilings are adorned with old rugs and priestly garments. There are all kinds of things on the floor, such as images of saints, candles, jewelry, arrows, etc., and similar things are also to be seen outside of the sanctuary. In the immediate neighborhood there are numerous stone houses covered with plank roofs serving as shelters for the pilgrims who stay there for two weeks from the first Saturday in May, sacrificing, eating, dancing and singing.

c. o. 796 782 At the Ossets' festivals the killing of animals is accompanied by appropriate sacrificial hymns. The sacrifice is performed by the eldest member of the assembly who, before the slaughtering, burns the sign of the cross on the animal's muzzle and behind its right ear with a glowing coal. c. o. [273] A special feature of festivals is the drinking of K'umäl, the native beverage of millet, araq, brandy, and bägäny, beer. The flesh of the animal is eaten, the bones piled up in a heap, the blood is collected in a vessel and buried, and the animal's head is hung on a tree. The sacrifice in honor of

c. o. 796 782 Fälwära, the guardian spirit of domestic animals is performed in stables and sheds, not in the fields.

c. o. 796 All the festivals which are dedicated to guardian spirits, are characterized by old popular customs and special rituals which have no bearing whatsoever upon the two religions adopted later. At the celebration in autumn of the harvest festival in honor of Khualar-Dar, the god of the harvest, the master of the house ties together and carries home a sheaf of different grains (wheat, rye, millet, barley, etc.), which weighs more than 200 pounds. At home, in the midst of his family, he thanks the god of the harvest for the rich crop, prays for a similar cop in the coming years, and then after this prayer he rejoices in his family in the god's honor. The sheaf is taken apart, the single stalks of the different kinds of grain are carefully laid together and different beverages are brewed from the seeds. At one time of the day the mistress of the house walks up and down with a wooden vessel containing several kinds of grain, and prays to the god to send more millet and other kinds of grain to the house and to drive away the rats and all other noxious rodents.

c. o. 796 785 In honor of Tutyr, the guardian spirit of the wolves (and sheep), a day of fasting is observed on a Monday by the whole family. In the evening, after they break their fast, a shepherd appears and recites a prayer in which he invokes the spirit to bestow, as a reward for the strict

c. o. 796 fasting, the favor that the wolves be deaf and
785 voiceless, immova ble and weak, and that the sheep of the worshippers be the ghosts of the spirit and enjoy his mercy. (From the wording of the prayer we may conclude that in his capacity as ruler of the wolves, Tutyr is also thought to possess the power of keeping the wolves from the sheep.)

c. o. 796 The festival devoted to the guardian spirit of the family is usually celebrated at night. After a goat has been slaughtered at midnight, the member of the family walk to the barn where they pray to the spirit, thanking him for the blessings of the past year and imploring him to grant new blessings in the year to come. Then they drink the millet beverage and eat a dish of goat's liver wrapped in the intestines and roasted on the grill, keeping completely silent during the ceremony. Afterwards, the men return home and eat their festival meal.

c. o. 796 It is of special interest that the worship of the god of health, Kuni-Bara, is exclusively
782 reserved for the women. After a sick person
562 has recovered, the woman of the house and those of neighboring families go to a tree which is considered sacred. They take cheese cakes and a jug of milk along and a dried sturgeon (Käf), which had been hanging above the head of the sick person, with a silver coin fastened to the fish. The oldest of the women, followed by the others, puts the cheese cakes down under the tree, which she sprinkles with milk while

C. O. 796 782 562 while singing sacred songs. After this ceremony they sit down under the tree, eat the cheese cake and the fish and hang on a few perforated coins on the tree as a votive offering to Kuni-Bara. Any person daring to steal these coins, would be affected with the disease of the former patient.

C. O. 796 562 Another festival with which only women are concerned, is the "feast of the virgins," which is celebrated at the end of autumn in the house of some old woman. It is only superficially linked with the Christian religion, insofar as it is celebrated in honor of Mary (Mairäm), "the Mother of God." The girls bake cakes with different fillings in the house of the old woman. The oldest girls takes one and prays first to Mary and then to the guardian spirit of the house and to other spirits for a bridegroom and for protection against sickness and wicked women. Afterwards, each girl takes one of the cakes and looks at its filling. When the filling is cheese, it means that her husband will be a rich owner of cattle, when it is a corn filling, the girl is destined to marry a rich farmer, and so on.

C O 796 On New Year's eve, the last, or next to the last, Friday of December, the Ossets start celebrating the New Year. For the holiday the housewife prepares beverages, a large cake and a number of small cakes formed in the shapes of ploughs, harrows, wheels and other utensils which give expression to their hope for a good harvest. At the approach of dusk the whole family sits down around the

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796 hearth-fire, and the master of the house recites a long prayer in which he gives thanks to God and asks for blessings for the coming year. During the night the young people go from house to house, throwing corn into the houses, singing and expressing good wishes for prosperity and happiness. At daybreak of New Year's day the master of the house kindles a fire of straw in the courtyard in honor of his deceased parents, who thereby are provided with the necessary fire for the whole year. The day is spent in much merry making. eating and drinking.

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796 Only one day, the Wednesday between
782 Christmas and New Year, is dedicated to the worship of an evil spirit, the Devil. The
776 ceremony starts in the evening with the killing of a lamb in front of the door of the house. The spirit is invoked not to do any harm to the cattle and to the other property of the master of the house and to accept an offering of a piece of roasted meat of a lamb and a glass of brandy. During that night one should strictly avoid mentioning the name of the Supreme God, lest the wrath of the evil spirit be provoked. The Devil proper of the Ossets, who is called Khairag is like the well-known figure of the devil of other countries, a good-natured foolish fellow who can easily be duped (der dumme Teufel in German).

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771 This survey* of the most characteristic
177 features of the religion of the Ossets,

*[cf. cat. 116, pp. 565-574 -- Analyst]

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771 their deities, their ways of worship and their
177 festivals, shows clearly that it is a rather sober and primitive pagan religion with a thin surface of a few superficially adopted features of Christianity and Islam. It is most significant, that it is almost entirely devoid of the conception and the worship of God as a Supreme Being, and that only guardian spirits are invoked to grant protection, happiness and prosperity. It is moreover noteworthy that in this religion of tribes of Iranian origin, who have preserved a richly developed Iranian language partly archaic in character, there are to be found scarcely any distinct traits of an older form of Iranian religion. On the other hand, it can be stated that some of the characteristic conceptions of the Ossetic religion are similar to those of the religions of neighboring Caucasian tribes.

8: An essential part of any religious belief
769 is represented by the conception of death and
775 the fate of the soul in the life to come. We have already mentioned that the soul of the deceased continues its existence as the guardian spirit of its former family. He takes care of the well-being of the family, and according to an old custom, the Ossets twice a year arrange a feast in the woods in honor of the spirit, which is accompanied by the offering of food and
8: drink. They believe that at the time when a
761 person is sick, a tribunal of six men is formed in Heaven to decide whether this person should die. If the decision is in the affirmative, death

C. O. [761] 775 appears in the shape of a wolf, and the sick person dies. As long as the body lies in the house, the soul hovers over it. But immediately after burial, it re-enters the body, which then rises up three times in the grave. Thereafter, the soul flies up to Heaven, and there is has to fly through seven circles, until it is received by the Barastyr, the lord of the realm of the dead, who sends it either to Paradise (dzänät) or to Hell (zyndon). In the world of the dead, souls again assume the shape of human beings, live and grow old like human beings. But when they reach old age, they are rejuvenated by eating the flesh of the dragon Ruimon who was born blind on the earth and frightens human beings by roaring and makes them die. It is Vatsilla, Saint Elijah, who saves them by letting down a chain, binding him and pulling him up, whereupon the spirits in Heaven hack pieces of flesh from his body and distribute them among the dead.

There is a judge functioning in the world of the dead, whose name issaid to be Aminon. At the bridge where its fate is decided, he asks the soul about the good and evil deeds it has done and shows the good soul the way to Paradise, whereas the evil soul is sent to Hell.

C. O. 773 It seems appropriate in this context to mention the Ossetic legends which describe and extol the wonderful deeds of the Narti, a tribe of mighty heroes, who fight innumerable

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battles with supernatural strength and wild cruelty. Although these legends are more mythological than strictly religious in character, they sometimes contain details which belong to the sphere of religion in the proper sense of the word. It would not be feasible here to give a detailed or even an abridged account of the great variety of stories, events, adventures and fabulous deeds, with which we are confronted in these legends. The following brief remarks will be sufficient to provide an insight into the character and the spirit of these legends, though these remarks refer only to one of the Narti heroes, the most powerful of them. His name is Batraz. He was born in a miraculous way from a tumor between the shoulders of his father after the time required for a normal human pregnancy. The tumor had been produced when his mother had breathed upon the place between his father's shoulders. After his birth, Batraz was thrown into the sea where he appeared as huge as a mountain. When he had mounted his father's horse in order to go home, he broke the horse's ribs by the pressure of his knees, and it died. After he had been carried home by another horse, he asked the heavenly blacksmith Kurdalagon to expose him to the fire of the forge, so that he would become as hard as steel and be better fit for combating enemies. When after two weeks his body had been thoroughly heated by the fire without having suffered any harm, Batraz asked the blacksmith to throw him into the ocean. The blacksmith complied with his

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request, and as soon as the hot body reached the sea, the water began to seethe and dried out completely for two weeks. The water came back after Bertraz had left the sea: he had become steel.

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There are many more similar fantastic stories, which extoll the deeds of, and to a large extent mirror the life and way of thinking, of the rough-mannered inhabitants of one of the wild rugged mountain regions of the Caucasus. However, it is very uncertain whether those legends of the Narti which have been transmitted in the Ossetic language represent, as has been asserted, the original version and the source of the essentially coincident versions transmitted in some of the non-Iranian languages of the Caucasus. As a matter of fact, neither the names of the heroes nor the character of the stories seem to point to an Iranian origin. (The attempt made by Georges Dumézil in "Légendes sur les Nartes" [Bibliothèque de l'Institut Français de Leningrad, Tome XI] to identify Batraz and another figure of the legends with two figures of the Indo-Iranian mythology is far from convincing.)

There is only one rather loose and obviously not original connection of the cycle of Narti legends with a genuine Iranian motif. It is the figure of the mighty bird Sīmurgh, the Eagle, well-known from the Shāhnāma of the Persian poet Firdousī, which has been attached to the story of the extermination of the Narti.

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After God had destroyed them by fire because of their disobedience and arrogance, the earth was populated by small human beings, and the bird Sīmurgh looks down upon them from his lofty throne which stands on the immeasurably high Mt. Elburz. In one of the most famous episodes of the Persian epic poem, Simurgh's nest on the peak of the Elburz plays an important role.

Even more conspicuous is the Iranian element in certain other stories handed down in non-Iranian languages, such as the two stories presented in German translation by A. Dirr in Kaukasische Märchen, (Jena, 1920, pp. 210ff. No. 58 [in the Udin language], and pp. 219ff. No. 59 [in Tater],) in which we meet the figure of Rustam, the most celebrated hero of the Shāhnāma. It is true that the whole setting of the stories, the kind of deeds performed by the hero and the circumstances under which he acts are largely different from those of the Persian epic, by far more fantastic and often out of all proportion. But the Iranian influence is nevertheless striking. For the two non-Iranian narratives do not have only the name and the supernatural strength of the hero in common with the Persian epic poem. We also find in them a very characteristic and essential feature of the Iranian Rustam legend, i.e. the important part which Sīmurgh, the eagle, plays in the life of the hero. In the Shāhnāma, Rustam's father, Zāl, who had been exposed on Mt. Elburz as a baby, was brought up by Sīmurgh together with his young ones in a nest

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on the top of the mountain. When he had grown up and had to return to his family, the eagle gave him one of his feathers, with the advice to set fire to it in case of imminent danger. Then the eagle would appear at once and bring help. In fact, this need for help arose, when the birth of Rustam caused great difficulties and danger to his mother's life. As soon as his father had kindled the feather, the eagle appeared, foretold the birth of a huge heavy child, a future hero, and declared the necessity of performing a Caesarian operation. Among the instructions for treating the mother's wound, rubbing it with the feather of the eagle is mentioned. The appearance of the eagle immediately after one of his feathers has been set on fire at a time of peril, and the magical healing power of the feather when a wound is rubbed with it, are distinctly reflected in the two stories handed down in non-Iranian languages. It is noteworthy that this motif of the eagle and his magical feather also occurs in a story of an Iranian tribe, the Bakhtiyaris. But it is also found in a passage of the Avesta, the holy stripctures of the Zoroastrians, and it has been previously stated by the present author that this conception played an important part in the ritual of ancient India and is also widespread in the folklore of modern India. (See Bernhard Geiger, Die Amesha Spentas, pp. 73f.)

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The legend of Prometheus also deserves our special attention. It is transmitted in Ossetic and in some of the Caucasian languages.

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(See the German translations in A. Dirr's Kaukasische Märchen, [Jena 1920], pp. 236-248.) According to the Ossetic version, a godless oppressor by the name of Amiran was punished by God, who ordered him placed in chains and closed up in a cave. A shepherd who was wandering around in the mountains heard the cried of pain uttered by the titan Amiran who was trying deparately, but in vain, to free himself from the fetters. After some time, the shepherd suddenly found an opening leading into the inside of the cave. He made futile attempts to hand to the titan the extremely heavy sword which was lying at his side. Then the shepherd was asked by Amiran to fetch from his own house the hearth chain by which the kettle hangs over the fire, and he is warned not to speak a single word on his way back to the mountain; for otherwise his help would be in vain. However, the shepherd's wife, plagued by curiosity, urged him incessantly to tell her the purpose of carrying the hearth chain to the mountains. (For a chain above the hearth and the sinfulness of its removal, see above.[1] He remained silent, but at last could not refrain from telling her to keep quiet; he would tell her the reason later. Because he broke the proscribed silence, the entrance of the cave in which he had found the titan, closed up, and the titan could no longer be freed. He remained chained to the rock. Food and water were brought to him by a raven. Whenever

[1] [Cf. cat. 116, p. 566 -- Analyst]

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Prometheus attempts to break his fetters, groaning and wailing, the mountains shake, the earth shivers, thunder rumbles and rocks fall down into the valleys. He will remain imprisoned and suffering until God delivers him.

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The Religion of the Ossets

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# THE ARMENIAN CHURCH

## Its Beginnings and Its Place in Armenian History

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The beginning of the Christian Church in Armenia is dated at least as early as the second century. Though there is insufficient evidence to document this early period of the history of the Armenian Church, there is enough corroborative information on hand, considered trustworthy and authoritative, to place its beginning near the middle of the second century. Thus the Christian Church was established in various parts of Armenia more than a hundred years before Christianity was accepted as the state religion throughout the land in about the year 290 A. D. The Armenian authority on the subject, the late Patriarch Malachia Ormanian of Constantinople, carries this date even farther back, stating in his comprehensive standard work on the subject, that even during the first century Christianity was a powerful force in Armenia. He states that the activities of St. Bartholomew and of St. Thaddeus in Armenia during the fifth and sixth decades of the first century establish once and for all the apostolic origin of the Armenian church. Be that as it may, from about the middle of the second century the evidence seems more certain, and on the unrivalled

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authority of the late Adolph Harnack one feels confident in stating that there was more than one great center of Christian activity in Armenia prior to the year 200.

The earliest known direct reference to an organized church in Armenia is found in the Ecclesiastical History of Eusebius, in which the father of church historians states that in about the year 250 Bishop Dionysius of Alexandria sent a letter to Meruzanes (Mehruzhan), a bishop in Armenia. Harnach in his most substantial work on the subject (The Expansion of Christianity during the First Three Centuries, English translation 1904-1905), states that "one of the great notable facts in all the history of the spread of Christianity is that Armenia Major was officially a Christian country by the beginning of the fourth century."

This fact, the acceptance of Christianity as the state religion by the Armenian people, as well as by the king, Tiridates, stands out as perhaps the most important landmark in the history of the Armenian people. It assumes even greater importance in the claim of the Armenians that theirs was the first state in which Christianity became the established religion. And St. Gregory, who brought about this conversion, became the Patron Saint of the Church as St. Gregory the Illuminator. The official conversion, and St. Gregory's very

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important role in it, introduced into the history of the Armenian Church an element that was at least a partial cause of the centuries-old break between the Armenian Church and the Greek Orthodox Church.

St. Gregory was a missionary from Caesarea in Cappadocia, and was of course subject to the jurisdiction of Bishop Leontius of that city. Upon the establishment of Christianity as the state religion in Armenia, but not until his consecration as bishop by Leontius, St. Gregory was raised to the new rank catholicos, or supreme head of the Armenian Church. The Greek Church, in declaring its supremacy over the Armenian Church, interpreted this fact as an indisputable sign of subservience and dependence. Moreover, by considering the conversion of King Tiridates and the establishment of Christianity as the state religion in Armenia to be the date of the beginning of Christianity there, and thus ignoring the rather widespread Christian activity as well as the existence of a traditional line of bishops (probably consecrated by the bishops of Dessa) in various parts of Armenia prior to the official conversion, the Greek Church categorically denied the apostolic origin of the Armenian Church. To the Armenians such reasoning was, and still remains, definitely inadmissible. Armenian Church leaders, from those early days on, have never wavered in their belief that their Church is of

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apostolic origin, and therefore the Church of Armenia is the Armenian Apostolic Church (sometimes referred to as the Armenian Gregorian Church.)

The practice of consecrating the heads of the Armenian Church by the bishops of Caesarea continued for about 100 years. Towards the end of the fourth century, however, the completely autocephalic (or autonomous) character of the Armenian Church "was thoroughly established." Thenceforth Armenians consecrated their own catholicos; the ties with "official Greek Christendom were snapped forever." And, in the considered opinion of one writer, "in subsequent ages the doctrinal preferences of the Armenians were usually determined more by antagonism to the Greeks [the Greek Church] than by reflection." In this manner the Armenian Apostolic Church became the national church, an institution of prime importance. In 428 when the reigning dynasty (the Arsacids or Artashes dynasty) fell and the Armenian kingdom seemed to be at an end, the head of the Church at once became the symbol of national unity and and the rallying point of patriotism.

Tradition has it that in about the year 301 St. Gregory built the Echmiadzin Monastery (the seat of the head of the Armenian Church, a few miles from Erivan, the present capital of the Armenian Soviet Socialist Republic) and

C. thus founded the historic seat of the Church.
A. But history informs us that while the head of
795 the Armenian Church has had his seat at the Echmiadzin Monastery since 1441 without interruption, the story prior to that date is very uneven and different. During the more than eleven centuries between the traditional date of the founding of Echmiadzin and the return of the Catholicate in 1441, the heads of the Church were there for a total of less than two hundred years. In the fifth century the seat was moved to Tvin (or Dwin, south of Erivan), and in the ninth century to Ani, the famous capital city of Armenia during the middle three centuries (ninth, tenth and eleventh) of the Middle Ages. From late in the eleventh century to 1441 the heads of the Church were without a permanently designated seat. They followed their faithful flock in Diaspora and, like itinerant justices of yore, held their own and ministered to the spiritual, and sometimes temporal, needs of their faithful in distress for more than three centuries.

During this enforced exodus from their historic seat several new seats were founded. Of these, the one showing most vitality was the Catholicate of Sis (or that of Cilicia, south of the Taurus mountains) in Armenia Minor under the Rhoopenian dynasty, founded in the late eleventh century. At the time when the titular heads of the Echmiadzin See were without head-

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quarters, and even in dire need of mere physical shelter, the heads of the Catholicate in Sis held sway over a large part of the Armenians in Asia Minor. They were also instrumental in maintaining spiritual bonds among the Armenians, bonds which at times were alone in preserving the Armenian people as a national entity.

The history of the Armenian Church in Armenia in recent and contemporary times is inevitably, and to a considerable degree, connected with the eventful history of the Armenians under the Ottoman Empire. For a long time after 1441 the preponderant majority of the people lived in countries governed by Mohammedan rulers. Until 1829 the seat of the Church was within the Persian domain. In that year that part of Armenia was conquered by Russia, and since then there has been no perceptible change in the juridical status of the area. Today communist Russians cling to it as jealously as did the imperialist officials of the tsars.

The status of the Armenian Church remained practically intact under the tsarist regime and its autonomous standing was safeguarded in the statutory rules issued in 1836. These rules did not interfere with the internal organization of the Church; nor were they meant to tamper with the doctrinal and ritual aspect of Church affairs. The same may be said of

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the Armenian Church under the Ottoman rule. Its affairs and its relations with the Ottoman authorities, were regulated in the statutory regulations enacted in 1862. The Armenian Apostolic Church retained its autonomy under the head of its Patriarch. And in spiritual matters the allegiance of the Patriarch as well as of his flock to the supreme head of the Church in Echmiadzin was never in question. Thus while only a fraction (no more than a fourth) of the total number of Armenians were the tsar's subjects and therefore under the direct rule of the Catholicos in Echmiadzin, all Armenians owed spiritual allegiance to the See of Echmiadzin. Even the world-shaking events of two world wars and the Russian Revolution has not brought about much change in this respect. And today, even though the supreme head of the Church is shorn of a large number of his perquisites and prerogatives, and in many respects is not much more than a mere shadow of his predecessors, he still has his seat at the historic place and is the elected spiritual head of all Armenians everywhere in communion with the Church.

## The Church and Other Religious Institutions in the Armenian Soviet Socialist Republic

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All religious institutions in Soviet Armenia, such as churches, mosques, monastic establishments and the like, under the

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provisions of her Constitution , are free and unhampered in their work of ministering to the spiritual needs of the people. The ambiguous Article 99 of the 1936 Constitution (as amended in 1947) reads: "Freedom of religious worship and freedom of anti-religious propaganda is recognized for all citizens." While this Article seems innocuous and fair, actually its interpretation has been decidedly detrimental to all religious institutions and establishments. The Constitution provides for the separation of the Church from the State, and also for the separation of schools from the Church. This latter provision has hit the church harder than we of the West can imagine. In a land where the official slogan "religion is the opium of the people" is brazenly publicized, and where anti-religious propaganda has been deliberately and officially encouraged while clerical education as well as the preparation for religious calling has been practically proscribed, one can hardly expect to find much religious freedom. This seems to be the impression of such travellers to Armenia as Supreme Court Justice William O. Douglas and Harry Schwartz of the New York Times, whose candid views have been seriously questioned by certain Armenians of New York. Nevertheless, there are in Soviet Armenia at least the semblance of certain religious institutions which, at times covertly, try to minister to the needs of the faithful.

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The population of Soviet Armenia is estimated to be close to 1,500,000 (1939 census, 1,280,000; 1947 estimate, 1,345,000). Of this total a little more than 85 per cent are Armenians, nearly all presumably in communion with the Armenian Apostolic Church. There are some 130,000 Azerbaijani Turks of the Shiite sect, and about 50,000 Kurds of the Shafiite sect. In addition, there are several thousand Yezidis (devil-worshippers), Nestorians, Russians and Georgians. No information is available concerning these minor groups and their religious institutions. Whatever places of worship the Russians, Nestorians, Georgians and Yezidis might have had prior to the Russian Revolution, they certainly are not in existence now.

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The more numerous Kurds perhaps did have certain places of worship but none seem to remain today; at least there is nothing to indicate that they have such places. For the Azerbaijani Turks there was an old imposing and historic mosque in Erivan, a landmark in the city for centuries. It was still there twenty years ago, a relic of the old era. If still intact, it may be used by the several thousand Azerbaijanis of that city as well as by the Turks. Judging by the old order or organization, the titular spiritual head of the Azerbaijani Turks in Soviet Armenia and his followers there owe allegiance to the Grand Mufty (or the Chief Imam) in Baku. The Grand Mufty probably has his

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793 deputy in Erivan, and the latter in turn has imams under him in communities where Azer-
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874 no medressehs (religious schools), and these communities must depend on the recently reopened medresseh in Baku for their future spiritual leaders. Thus even the largest and the most numerous minority group in Soviet Armenia probably does not have freedom to attend to its spiritual needs.

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A: The case of the Armenian Church is
795 naturally quite different. As was stated earlier,
659 the Church had been the principal national institutions from the very beginning, and continued as such throughout the checkered history of the Armenian people. It served the people supremely well in dispersion, and in their dire need of spiritual sustenance. Before its authority was undermined and practically shattered by the Soviet regime the Church was a most powerful force in the life of Armenian communities. It has become the beneficiary of considerable wealth, largely through bequests and gifts, and had used that wealth for the education of religious and lay leaders. In this respect the Church was practically the sole organizer and supervisor of the educational system prevailing in Armenian communities. With the advent of the new regime, and the separation of schools from the Church, the whole fabric of the old educational system crumbled. And by confiscating all Church property and thus depriving the

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Church of nearly all of its source of income, the State placed the clergy at its mercy.

Even under these unprecedented hardships the supreme head of the Church tried to exercise his spiritual authority. He assumed, and the Government did not dispute this assumption, that his spiritual leadership over all Armenian communities in Soviet Armenia, in other parts of the Soviet Union, and in all Armenian communities everywhere was unimpaired. He tried to keep the organization of dioceses intact wherever possible, and of course retained the right to approve the prelates or locum tenens in all dioceses. A tragic change had taken place under the Ottoman Empire. Instead of the large Armenian communities numbering close to 2,000,000 before the first World War, they numbered only 50,000. Still the Holy Father sitting in Echmiadzin must have been consoled by the fact that new and large Armenian communities were established in other countries, and in other parts of the Western hemisphere, even though some three-fourths of all Armenians (that is, more than 2,000,000) were still in the Soviet Union.

For more than three decades the supreme head of the Church must have lived in "captivity." During all that time there were no schools for the training of the clergy and there was an acute shortage of priests and bishops. Many dioceses in various parts of Soviet Armenia, as well as in nearby Azerbaijan and

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Georgia (where there are large Armenian communities), were without religious leadership for many years. Since the early 1950's, however, there have been certain changes. It seems that there has been some relaxation on the part of the Government in respect to religious affairs. It has allowed the opening of a seminary in Echmiadzin where studies for the priesthood are pursued, apparently without hindrance, and probably with some aid from the Government. Last October a new Catholicos was elected, and on that occasion a number of Armenians from abroad were allowed to visit Soviet Armenia. The general impression of these observers from the West seems to be somewhat favorable, though they admit that the Government still does not allow the erection of new churches, nor permit the repair of old ones. One exception seems to have been made. The historic cathedral of Echmiadzin is reported to have been repaired recently at Government cost. Still this does not mean that the policy of the Government has changed radically towards religion and towards the Church.

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Armenians have always been profoundly religious. They have associated the Church so closely with the nation that without the one they can hardly think of the other. For them, as well as for most peoples of the Middle East, religious affinities run parallel to ethnic similarities. Not many Armenians think of their religion without thinking of their nationality. That perhaps is the reason why the supreme head of

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the Armenian Apostolic Church, although his seat is in Soviet Armenia, can lay claim to the spiritual allegiance of all Armenians everywhere, and all Armenians feel that such allegiance is their duty to the incumbent of that office.

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The Armenian Church

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## NOTE ON THE GEORGIAN CHURCH

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Christianity spread into Georgia by two routes: into Western Georgia from Greece, and into Eastern Georgia, i.e. ancient Iberia, from Syria and Armenia; this dualism is still apparent in the religious terminology of Georgian. The new religion was opposed not only by indigenous paganism--as everywhere--but also by Zoroastrianism, which was widespread in the Caucasus. According to legend, in the 4th century, the Iberian king Mirian was converted to Christianity by a woman prisoner from Armenia, St. Nino, who is worshipped as Illuminatrix of Georgia. The primate of the Georgian church, who bore the title of Katholikos, was at first subordinated to Antiochia, though ritual and dogma were more closely influenced by the Armenian church. After the council of Chalkedon (451) the Georgians broke with the Monophysite churches of the Orient and attached themselves to Byzantine Orthodoxy; the Armenians remained in the other camp, which led to a long and often politically disastrous feud with the latter. By the 11th century the autocephalous patriarch of the Georgian church, residing in Mtskheta, was completely independent.

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In Georgian monasteries, including those founded by Georgian monks in Jerusalem, on Mt. Sinai, Mt. Athos and elsewhere, much ecclesiastical literature was translated, and some works are preserved only in the Georgian translation. Original hagiography is considered to begin with

E. G. 779 the life of St. Shushanik (+ 474). The Georgian text of the gospels as it is used until today in divine worship goes back to a revision after the Greek by the Hagiorite Euthymius (+ 1028); a copy of an older text shows that the Georgian gospels originally were translated from Armenian and afterwards were revised according to the Greek.

E. G. 795 659 The Georgian Orthodox church, which always represented the influence of Byzance and of the West as opposed to that of Persia and the East, has not known serious conflicts with the State, due to the continuous menace of Islam to both. The autocephaly of the Georgian Church was violated by the Russians in 1810, the office of Katholikos being abolished. It was restored in 1917; since then, the fate of the Georgian church has been the same as that of other religious organizations in the USSR.

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# The Georgian Church

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## Note on Islam

795 Islam entered the Caucasus at two lifferent periods.

In the eastern part of South Caucasia Islam became the ruling religion as early as the 7th Century, conducting a continuous struggle from there against the Armenian and Georgian Churches. Though propagated under orthodox Caliphs, the Islam of South Caucasia contained many heterodox features from the very beginning. With the dissolution of the Caliphate the Muslim orthodoxy of South Caucasia found its protectors in the Seljukid and other Turkic dynasties, whereas the Muslim heterodoxy was professed rather by the common people, mostly nomads and of Turkic origin. This Muslim heterodoxy was furthered with the anti-Seljukid Shia propaganda centered from the 11th Century on in Alamut in the vicinity of Southern Caucasus. With the rise of the Turkish Safavids the Shia heterodoxy became a state religion. As the result of ensuing Ottoman-Safavid religious warfare and the changing Ottoman and Safavid sovereignties in the area, the Muslims of contemporary South Caucasia are mixed, and besides the Shii majority one finds a strong Sunni minority as well. Due to the spread of linguistic nationalism the differences between the Shii

and Sunni Muslims lost their strength. Still these religious differences explain for instance the slight disinterestedness of Sunni Turkey in this area.

In North Caucasia Islam entered relatively late. In the period of the Kazar Empire (until the 11th Century) North Caucasia was the strongest bulwark against Islam. The Turkic nations of North Caucasia began to embrace Islam in the 13th Century, whereas the Circassians and the majority of the moutain tribes embraced it as late as the 16th and 17th Centuries. Because North Caucasus as a whole was connected directly or indirectly with the Sunni-Ottoman Empire, Islam in North Caucasia is professed in its Sunni form only. This strong religious tie with Turkey explains why Turkic, Circassian and other peoples of the area preferred Ottoman sovereignty to that of Russia, and why they migrated to Turkey.

The Islam of the Caucasus is in general even today one of those few forces which maintains its strength. Yet, it is losing ground to Russification (Communization), and to the linguistic nationalism of the Caucasian peoples themselves.

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Note on Islam

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# V Current Politics

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1. Sociological

1. Public Information

An extensive bibliography of journals, newspapers and periodicals, prepared by Elizabeth Beyerley, will appear in the Bibliography on the Caucasus.

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l. Sociological

m. Labor Force

See Handbook on the U. S. S. R.

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l. Sociological

n. Forced Labor

See Handbook on the U. S. S. R.

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l. Sociological

000 o. Labor Relations and Organization

See Handbook on the U. S. S. R.

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000 1. Sociological

p. Health and Sanitation

See Handbook on the U. S. S. R.
See also 3. Economic, b[3].
Health Resorts.[1]

[1] [Ct. category 116, pp. 1002-1003 --Analyst]

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q. Public Welfare

See Handbook on the U. S. S. R.

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r. Attitudes and Reactions of the People

See Handbook on the U. S. S. R.

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## 2. Political

### a. The Constitutional System

A. O. Sarkissian

Constitutions of the Armenian, Azerbaidzhan and Georgian Soviet Republics.

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642 CONSTITUTIONS OF THE ARMENIAN, AZERBAIDZHAN AND GEORGIAN SOVIET SOCIALIST REPUBLICS

Brief Statement on their Peculiarities

All these Soviet constitutions, including that of the U. S. S. R., seem to have been neatly fitted into one matrix, cast in the same foundry. Their lengths, their chapter headings, and even the order of their subdivisions as well as their contents do not vary much. Even so and notwithstanding the paramountcy of the Union's unrelenting administrative, legislative and judicial control of the activities of these republics, and the unchallenged dictatorial rule of the authorities in Moscow, there are certain variations, perhaps meant to be in form only, in some of these constitutions, These variations do not in any sense constitute deviations from the much publicized "socialist in content and nationalist in form" slogan. Some of these are, of course, variations merely in phraseology, while others seem to imply something more. These variations or peculiarities as found in the constitutions of the three Caucasian republics are herein noted in their context, and then they are compared with those found in the constitutions of other Soviet Socialist republics.

In one particular respect all 16 of these constitutions may be divided into two large

642 categories: the constitutions of unitary republics, and those of non-unitary or multiple-unit republics. In the first category are:

the Armenian SSR
the Belorussian SSR
the Estonian SSR
the Karelo-Finnish SSR
the Kazakh SSR
the Kirghiz SSR
the Latvian SSR
the Lithuanian SSR
the Moldavian SSR
the Turkmen SSR
the Ukrainian SSR

These unitary republics do not have any autonomous SSR, or autonomous region, or area within their boundaries, and their constitutions are not burdened with the enumeration of governmental officials for the administration of these component parts. For that reason they are shorter, having no more and no less than 11 chapters.

In the second category, or the non-unitary or multiple-unit class, are the following:

the Russian SFSR
the Azerbaidzhan SSR
the Georgian SSR
the Tadzhik SSR
the Uzbek SSR

All of these republics have, within their own boundaries, at least an autonomous SSR, or an autonomous region or area. And the rather detailed description of their governmental machinery in the respective constitutions add considerably to their lengths. That is why the RSFSR, the Azerbaidzhan and the Georgian constitutions are 14 chapters each, and the

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642 Tadzhik and Uzbek constitutions have 12 and 13 chapters respectively.

## Chapter I: the Social Structure

Article 2 of the Georgian Constitution states that the Georgian SSR is "firmly established as a result of the overthrow of the power of the landlords and the capitalists and the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat." This is almost verbatim from the Union Constitution. But the Armenian and the Azerbaidzhan versions of this Article are longer and somewhat different. Therein we have the Armenian SSR grow and become strong

> as the result of the overthrow of the power of the landlords and capitalists, the liberation of the Armenian people from the national oppression of tsarism and of the Russian imperialist bourgeoisie, the defeat of the Dashnak nationalist counter-revolution ... .

In the Azerbaidzhan Constitution the version is practically the same except that the "nationalist counter-revolution" is not identified with any one group as it is done in the Armenian Constitution.

## Chapter II: the State Structure

In the Azerbaidzhan Constitution Article 13 deals with the constituent units in the republic, merely mentioning the autonomous republic and the region within its jurisdiction. In the

642 Georgian Constitution Article 14 describes in detail the duties and functions of officials in the social, political and cultural spheres in such units in the Georgian SSR. The Armenian Constitution, for reasons given above, has nothing under this head. What is included in the Georgian Constitution under Article 14 on the functions and duties of the government, is covered under Article 18 of the Armenian Constitution, and under Article 19 of the Azerbaidzhan Constitution.

Chapter III: the Higher Organs of State Power

642 646 Article 21 of the Armenian Constitution provides that the members of the Armenian Supreme Soviet be elected for a term of four years, on the basis of one deputy for "every 5,000 of the population". In the Azerbaidzhan Constitution (Article 25) this provision calls for one deputy for every 10,000 inhabitants, while according to the Georgian Constitution (Article 29) there is to be one deputy for every 642 15,000 inhabitants. The Presidium of the 643 Supreme Soviet of the Armenian SSR is made up of 13 members (Article 28); the same number holds for the Azerbaidzhan SSR (Article 31), but the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Georgian SSR is composed of 17 members (Article 34).

642 Chapter IV: the Organs of State Administration

645 All three constitutions enumerate the ministries in the Council of Ministers of

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the respective republics. The list of the Azerbaidzhan SSR is longest with 32 ministries, including the chairman and two vice chairmen; the Armenian SSR has 29 ministries (there are no ministries for forestry, fish industry, and state farms), while the Georgian SSR has 30 (no ministries for fish industry, and for state farms). There are in all three constitutions two categories of ministries: Union-Republic ministries, and Republic ministries. The number of the first group varies, but that of the second group remains more or less constant; there are 6 of these in nearly all republics. The Armenian SSR has (according to Article 53) 18 Union-Republic ministries; the Grorgian SSR (Article 55 of its Constitution) has 19, while the Azerbaidzhan SSR has 21 (Article 55).

Chapter V of the Armenian Constitution (Articles 55-76 as well as Chapters VIII of the Azerbaidzhan (Articles 86-105) and of the Georgian Constitution (Articles 84-111) are devoted to the "local organs of state power". In both the Azerbaidzhan and Georgian Constitutions these chapters are more detailed and longer than what is found in the Armenian Constitution. It is interesting to note that by Article 71 of the Armenian Constitution the Ministry of Internal Affairs is empowered to set up "its own administration under the district Soviets of Working People's Deputies in

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642 accordance with the conditions of the district
645 ..." The same is found in the Georgian Constitution (Article 103), while according to the Azerbaidzhan Constitution (Article 101) this work devolves upon the Ministry of Internal Affairs and the Ministry of State Security.

642 692 Chapter VII of the Armenian Constitution (Articles 81-92) as well as Chapters X of the Azerbaidzhan (Articles 110-124) and of the Georgian (Articles 117-130) Constitutions deal with the courts and the procurator's office. Article 86 of the Armenian Constitution states that court proceedings are to be conducted in Armenian, and when necessary in the Russian and Azerbaidzhan languages. The Azerbaidzhan Constitution (Article 117) is just as explicit on this matter: proceedings are to be conducted in Azerbaidzhan, and when necessary in the Russian and Armenian languages. But the provision under this head in the Georgian Constitution (Article 124) is not set forth as explicitly. Therein the said Article reads:

> Judicial proceedings in the Georgian SSR are conducted in the Georgian language, or in the languages of the Autonomous Republics or of the Autonomous Region, persons not knowing these languages being guaranteed the opportunity of fully acquainting themselves with the material in the case through an interpreter and likewise the right to use their own language in court.

000 This is rather striking in the Constitution of Stalin's native land.

642 Chapter VIII of the Armenian Constitu-
641 tion (Articles 93-108) as well as Chapters XI of Azerbaidzhan (Articles 125-140) and of the Georgian (Articles 131-146) Constitutions deal with the fundamental rights and duties of citizens. There appears, in all three constitutions, the following striking statement: "Freedom of religious worship and freedom of anti-religious propaganda is recognized for all citizens." The separation of church and state is also mentioned, but no mention is made of mosques in the Azerbaidzhan Constitution.

642 Chapter X of the Armenian Constitution (Articles 119-122) and Chapter XIII of the Georgian Constitution (Articles 156-161) deal with the official language, the coat of arms, flags, etc. of the respective republics, and the corresponding chapter in the Azerbaidzhan Constitution (Articles 151-153) does the same but the official language is not mentioned at all.

In attempting to set forth certain peculiarities found in the three Caucasian Constitutions against those found in other Soviet Socialist republic constitutions, only striking, important peculiarities will be noted.

On the attainment of their Soviet socialist goals, both the Armenian and the Azerbaidzhan Constitutions, as stated above, refer to the "national oppression of tsarism and of the Russian imperialist bourgeoisie,

642 and the defeat of the nationalist counter-revolution..." The Georgian Constitution, on the other hand, as well as that of RSFSR, Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania and Moldavia, makes no reference to tsarist oppression and the Russian imperialist bourgeoisie, while all others do, including the Karelo-Finnish Constitution. The omission of any such reference from the Constitutions of Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania and Moldavia seems valid enough (they all were created in 1940), but its absence in the Constitutions of RSFSR and Georgia is difficult to understand and interpret. Here one encounters an anomaly based on unreality. Under this head, and with reference to nationalist counter-revolutionaries, in all of these Constitutions except where no reference to them occurs, these counter-revolutionaries are denominated as "nationalist." But in the Armenian and Kirghiz Constitutions they are specifically named as "Dashnaks" and "feudal bai". This is, in some sense, unusual.

The three Caucasian Constitutions make no reference to small peasant holdings and private trade; nor do any of the Constitutions of the other 11 original republics, but in these of the 4 post-World War II republics (Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania and Moldavia) small private industry and trade, as well as small land holdings by the peasants were permitted, at least on paper. No reference is made to such matters in the Karelo-Finnish SSR Constitution.

642 With reference to official languages, it was observed that only the Armenian and Georgian Constitutions stated that Armenian and Georgian were the official languages in these respective republics. These two seem to be the instances where this matter is specifically dealt with by constitutional provision; all other Constitutions are silent on this matter. As to the language or languages in which laws and decrees may be published, or the languages in use in court proceedings, peculiarities exist. The Armenian and Azerbaidzhan Constitutions call for the publication of laws in the Armenian, Azerbaidzhan and Russian languages. In the Constitutions of the Belorussian, Estonian, Karelo-Finnish, Kazakh, Latvian, Lithuanian, Kirghiz, Moldavian, Tadzhik, Turkmen, Ukrainian and Uzbek republics their publication in Russian, in addition to the language of the given republic, is made mandatory. These same Constitutions also call for the use of the Russian language as an alternative language in court proceedings. But the story told in the Constitutions of Georgia and of RSFSR is different. In these republics laws are to be published only in Georgian and in Russian and court proceedings are also conducted in Georgian and in Russian. This is another startling peculiarity, especially in the case of Georgia.

642 646 The most common and varying peculiarity is, of course, the basis of the number of deputies each SSR republic is to have in its Supreme Soviet. Here the number varies from one for each 150,000 inhabitants (in RSFSR) to one for each 5,000 inhabitants (in the Armenian, Karelo-Finnish, Kirghiz, Tadzhik and Turkmen republics). In the Azerbaidzhan SSR the ratio is one for each 10,000, and in the Georgian SSR, one for every 15,000 inhabitants.

642 There are also such minor peculiarities as in the distinctive features in coats of arm, flags, etc., and of course the fact that each has its own principal city as its capital. It is also worth noting that in the Constitutions of the three Central Asian republics (Kazakh, Turkmen and Uzbek) the separation of schools from mosques and other religious institutions is mentioned. In the Azerbaidzhan Constitution (Article 131), however, the word "church" in place of "mosque" is used.

Article 16 of the USSR Constitution (English translation published in Moscow, 1954) states that the constitution of the republics "takes account of the specific features of the Republic andis drawn up in full conformity with the Constitution of the U.S.S.R." This general but rigid conformity with the USSR Constitution is most striking throughout all the constitutions examined, and the few peculiarities allowed to creep into them have been enumerated above.

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Constitutional System

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## 2. Political

### a[1]. Political Administrative Divisions
With 2 maps

Theodore Shabad

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## POLITICAL-ADMINISTRATIVE DIVISIONS

631 The Caucasus region forms part of four of the sixteen constituent republics that make up the Soviet Union. The Northern Caucasus is essentially within the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic (RSFSR) while Trans-caucasia is divided into three union republics of Azerbaidzhan, Georgia and Armenia.

The Northern Caucasus is divided into Rostov Oblast, Astrakhan' Oblast, Krasnodar Krai, Stavropol' Krai, Groznyi Oblast and three autonomous republics -- Kabardian ASSR, North Ossetian ASSR and Daghestan ASSR. In addition, there are two autonomous oblasts contained in the krais: the Adyge Autonomous Oblast in Krasnodar Krai and the Cherkess Autonomous Oblast in Stavropol' Krai. The city of Rostov = on = Don and the Black Sea resort of Sochi are jurisdictionally directly under the central RSFSR Government on the same basis as the krais, oblasts and autonomous republics.

The Azerbaidzhan SSR contains two autonomous units. They are the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast, inhabited chiefly by Armenians, and the Nakhichevan' ASSR, inhabited by Azerbaidzhan Turks, but separated physically from the Azerbaidzhan SSR proper.

631 The Georgian SSR contains three autonomous units. They are the Abkhaz ASSR, the Adzhar ASSR and the South Ossetian Autonomous Oblast. The Armenian SSR contains no autonomous units.

All the major territorial units, in turn, are divided into independent cities and raions directly under the administration of the krai, oblast, or autonomous republic government.

A list of all these units as of March, 1956, follows:

ROSTOV-ON-DON (city under RSFSR jurisdiction)

ROSTOV OBLAST (Capital: Rostov on Don)

Independent cities:

Bataysk
Novocherkassk
Taganrog

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631 Raions and Raion Centers:

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| Aksaiskii | Aksaiskaia |
| Aleksandrovskii | Aleksandrovka |
| Anastasievskii | Anastasievka |
| Azovskii | Azov |
| Bagaevskii | Bagaevskaia |
| Dubovskii | Dubovskoe |
| Kagal'nitskii | Kagal'nitskaia |
| Kuybyshevskii | Kuybyshevo |
| Martynovskii | Bol'shaia Martynovka |
| Matveevo - Kurganskii | Matveev-Kurgan |
| Mechetinskii | Mechetinskaia |
| Miasnikovskii | Chaltyr' |
| Neklinovskii | Pokrovskoe |
| Novocherkasskii | Novocherkassk |
| Orlovskii | Orlovskaia |
| Peschanokopskii | Peschanokopskoe |
| Proletarskii | Proletarskaia |
| Razvilenskii | Razvil'noe |
| Remontnenskii | Remontnoe |
| Rodionovo-Nesvetaiskii | Rodinovo-Nesvetaiskoe |
| Romanovskii | Romanovskaia |
| Sal'skii | Sal'sk |
| Samarskii | Samarskoe |
| Semikarakorskii | Semikarakorskaia |
| Stepnovskii | Stepnoe |
| Taganrogskii | Taganrog |
| Tselinskii | Tselina |

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RHl

631 Raions and Raion Centers (cont.)

| | |
|---|---|
| Veselovskii | Veselyi |
| Egorlykskii | Egorlykskaia |
| Zapadnyi | Bashanta |
| Zavetinskii | Zavetnoe |
| Zimovnikovskii | Zimovniki |

ASTRAKHAN' OBLAST (Capital: Astrakhan')
Independent city: Astrakhan'

Raions:

| | |
|---|---|
| Chernoiarskii | Chernyi Iar |
| Ikrianinskii | Ikrianoe |
| Kamyziakskii | Kamyziak |
| Kapustinoiarskii | Kapustin Iar |
| Kaspiiskii | Kaspiiskii |
| Kharabalinskii | Kharabali |
| Krasnoiarskii | Krasnyi Iar |
| Limanskii | Liman |
| Marfinskii | Marfino |
| Narimanovskii | Zatsarevo |
| Nikol'skii | Nikol'skoe |
| Privolzhskii | Privolzhskii |
| Sasykol'skii | Sasykoli |
| Travinskii | Obraztsovo-Travino |
| Vladimirovskii | Vladimirovka |
| Enotaevskii | Enotaevka |
| Zelenginskii | Zelenga |

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631 SOCHI ( city under RSFSR jurisdiction)

KRASNODAR KRAI (Capital: Krasnodar)

Independent cities:

Krasnodar
Armavir
Kropotkin
Novorossiysk
Tuapse
Eysk

Raions:

| | |
|---|---|
| Abinskii | Abinskaia |
| Adlerskii | Adler |
| Anapskii | Anapa |
| Apsheronskii | Apsheronsk |
| Beloglinskii | Belaia Glina |
| Belorechenskii | Belorechenskaia |
| Briukhovetskii | Briukhovetskaia |
| Gelendzhikskii | Gelendzhik |
| Goriache-Kliuchevskii | Goriachii Kliuch |
| Gul'kevichskii | Gul'kevichi |
| Kaganovichskii | Popovichevskaia |
| Kanevskii | Kanevskaia |
| Kavkazskii | Kavkazskaia |
| Korenovskii | Korenovskaia |
| Krasnoarmeiskii | Krasnoarmeiskaia |
| Krylovskii | Ekaterinovskaia |
| Krymskii | Krymskaia |
| Kurganinskii | Kurgannaia |
| Kushchevskii | Kushchevskaia |
| Labinskii | Labinsk |
| Lazarevskii | Lazarevskoe |

63 KRASNODAR KRAI -- Raions (cont.)

| | |
|---|---|
| Neftegorskii | Khadyzhensk |
| Novo-Kubanskii | Novo-Kubanskaia |
| Novo-Pokrovskii | Nov-Pokrovskaia |
| Novo-Titarovskii | Novo-Titarovskaia |
| Otradnenskii | Otradnaia |
| Pavlovskii | Pavlovskaia |
| Plastunovskii | Dinskaia |
| Primorsko-Akhtarskii | Primorsko- Akhtarsk |
| Psebayskii | Psebay |
| Severskii | Severskaia |
| Shcherbinovskii | Staro-Shcherbinovskaia |
| Slavianskii | Slavianskaia |
| Sovetskii | Sovetskaia |
| Spokoynenskii | Spokoynaia |
| Stalinskii | Leningradskaia |
| Staro-Minskii | Staro-Minskaia |
| Tbilisskii | Tbilisskaia |
| Temriukskii | Temriuk |
| Tikhoretskii | Tikhoretsk |
| Timashevskii | Timashevskaia |
| Tuapsinskii | Tuapse |
| Tul'skii | Tul'skaia |
| Uspenskii | Uspenskaia |
| Ust'-Labinskii | Ust'-Labinskaia |
| Vyselkovskii | Vyselki |
| Iaroslavskii | Iaroslavskaia |
| Eyskii | Eysk |

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631 Adyge Autonomous Oblast (Capital: Maykop)

Independent city: Maykop

Raions:

| | |
|---|---|
| Giaginskii | Giaginskaia |
| Koshekhabl'skii | Koshekhabl' |
| Krasnogvardeyskii | Nikolaevskoe |
| Maykopskii | Maykop |
| Shovgenovskii | Khakurinokhabl' |
| Takhtamukaiskii | Takhtamukay |
| Teuchezhskii | Ponezhukay |

STAVROPOL' KRAI (Capital: Stavropol')

Independent cities:

Stavropol'
Kislovodsk
Piatigorsk
Stepnoy
Essentuki
Zheleznovodsk

Raions:

| | |
|---|---|
| Aleksandrovskii | Aleksandrovskoe |
| Apanasenkovskii | Divnoe |
| Apollonskii | Novo-Pavlovskaia |
| Arzgirskii | Arzgir |
| Blagodarnenskii | Blagodarnoe |
| Budennovskii | Budennovsk |
| Chernozemel'skii | Krasnyi Kamyshanik |
| Dmitrievskii | Takhta |
| Georgievskii | Georgievsk |

STAVROPOL' KRAI -- Raions (cont.)

631

| | |
|---|---|
| Ipatovskii | Ipatovo |
| Izobil'nenskii | Izobil'noe |
| Klukhorskii | Kluhkori |
| Kursavskii | Kursavka |
| Kurskii | Kurskaia |
| Levokumskii | Levokumskaia |
| Libknekhtovskii | Ol'ginskoe |
| Mineralovodskii | Mineral'nye Vody |
| Molotovskii | Molotovskoe |
| Nevinnomysskii | Nevinnomyssk |
| Novo-Aleksandrovskii | Novo-Aleksandrovskaia |
| Novoselitskii | Novoselitskoe |
| Petrovskii | Petrovskoe |
| Shpakovskii | Kugul'ta |
| Spitsevskii | Spitsevka |
| Stepnovskii | Stepnoe |
| Stepnoi | Stepnoi |
| Suvorovskii | Suvorovskaia |
| Trunovskii | Trunovskoe |
| Turkmenskii | Letniaia Stavka |
| Ust'-Dzhegutinskii | Ust'-Dzhegutinskaia |
| Vorontsovo-Aleksandrovskii | Vorontsovo-Aleksandrovskoe |
| Voroshilovskii | Mikhaylovskoe |
| Zelenchukskii | Zelenchukskaia |

631 Cherkess Autonomous Oblast

Independent city: Cherkessk

Raions:

| | |
|---|---|
| Ikon-Khalkovskii | Adyge-Khabl' |
| Kirovskii | Ispravnaia |
| Khabezskii | Khabez |

KABARDIAN ASSR (Capital: Nal'chik)

Independent city: Nal'chik

Raions:

| | |
|---|---|
| Baksanskii | Baksan |
| Chegemskii | Chegem |
| El'brusskii | Zayukovo |
| Kubinskii | Kuba |
| Leskenskii | Staryi Lesken |
| Mayskii | Mayskii |
| Nagornyi | Sarmakovo |
| Nal'chikskii | Nartan |
| Primalkinskii | Soldatskaia |
| Prokhladnenskii | Prokhladnyi |
| Sovetskii | Sovetskoe |
| Terskii | Terek |
| Urozhaynenskii | Urozhainoe |
| Urvanskii | Dokshukino |
| Zol'skii | Zalukokoazhe |

63 NORTH OSSETIAN ASSR
(Capital: Ordzhonikidze)

Independent cities: Ordzhonikidze. Malgobek

Raions:

| | |
|---|---|
| Alagirskii | Alagir |
| Alanskii | Alanskoe |
| Ardonskii | Ardon |
| Dargkokhskii | Khumalag |
| Digorskii | Digora |
| Gizel'donskii | Gizel' |
| Irafskii | Chikola |
| Kirovskii | El'khotovo |
| Kosta-Khetagurovski | Kosta-Khetagurovo |
| Kurpskii | Vinogradnoe |
| Makhcheskii | Matsuta |
| Mozdokskii | Mozdok |
| Nartovskii | Nartovskoe |
| Ordzhonikidzevskii | Arkhonskaia |
| Pravoberezhnyi | Beslan |
| Prigorodnyi | Verkhne-Kambileevskoe |
| Sadonskii | Mizur |

GROZNYI OBLAST (Capital: Groznyi)

Independent cities: Groznyi. Kizliar

Raions:

| | |
|---|---|
| Achikulakskii | Achikulak |

631 GROZNYI OBLAST -- Raions (cont.)

| | |
|---|---|
| Goriacheistochnenskii | Goriacheistochnenskaia |
| Groznenskii | Grozny |
| Gudermesskii | Gudermes |
| Kargalinskii | Kargalinskaia |
| Karanogayskii | Terekli-Mekteb |
| Kaiasulinskii | Kaiasula |
| Kizliarskii | Kizliar |
| Krainovskii | Krainovka |
| Krasnoarmeiskii | Krasnoarmeiskoe |
| Mezhdurechenskii | Mezhdurechie |
| Nadterechnyi | Nadterechnaia |
| Naurskii | Naurskaia |
| Novosel'skii | Novosel'skoe |
| Pervomaiskii | Pervomaiskoe |
| Predgornyi | Predgornoe |
| Shelkovskii | Shelkovskaia |
| Sovetskii | Sovetskoe |
| Sunzhenskii | Ordzhonikidzevskoe |
| Tarumovskii | Tarumovka |

DAGHESTAN ASSR (Capital: Makhachkala)

Independent cities: Makhachkala
Buinaksk
Derbent
Izberbash
Kaspiisk
Khasaviurt

Raions:

| | |
|---|---|
| Agul'skii | Tpig |

631 DAGHESTAN ASSR -----Raions (cont.)

| | |
|---|---|
| Akhtynskii | Akhty |
| Akhvakhskii | Karata |
| Akushinskii | Akusha |
| Andalalskii | Andalaly |
| Babaiurtovskii | Babaiurt |
| Botlikhskii | Botlikh |
| Buinakskii | Buinaksk |
| Charodinskii | Tsurib |
| Dakhadaevskii | Urkarakh |
| Derbentskii | Derbent |
| Dokuzparinskii | Usukh-Chay |
| Gerbebil'skii | Gergebil' |
| Gumbetovskii | Mekhel'ta |
| Gunibskii | Gunib |
| Kaitagskii | Madzhalis |
| Kakhibskii | Kakhib |
| Karabudakhkentskii | Karabudakhkent |
| Kasumkentskii | Kasumkent |
| Kaiakentskii | Kaiakent |
| Kazbekovskii | Dylym |
| Khasaviurtovskii | Khasaviurt |
| Khivskii | Khiv |
| Khunzakhskii | Khunzakh |
| Kizil-Iurtovskii | Kizil-Iurt |
| Kulinskii | Vachi |
| Kurakhskii | Kurakh |
| Lakskii | Kumukh |
| Levashinskii | Levashi |
| Magaramkentskii | Magaramkent |
| Novo-Lakskii | Novo-Lakskoe |
| Ritliabskii | Ritliab |

631 DAGHESTAN ASSR--------Raions (cont.)

| | |
|---|---|
| Rutul'skii | Rutul |
| Sergokalinskii | Sergokala |
| Shuragatskii | Shuragat |
| Tabasaranskii | Khuchni |
| Tliaratinskii | Tliarata |
| Tsudakharskii | Tsudakhar |
| Tsumadinskii | Agvali |
| Tsuntinskii | Bezhta |
| Untsukul'skii | Untsukul' |
| Vedenskii | Vedeno |

AZERBAIDZHAN ASSR (Capital: Baku)

Independent cities: Baku
Kirovabad
Mingechaur
Sumgait

Raions:

| | |
|---|---|
| Agdamskii | Agdam |
| Agdashki | Agdash |
| Agdzhabedinskii | Agdzhabedy |
| Akhsuinskii | Akhsu |
| Akstafinskiy | Akstafa |
| Ali-Bairamlinskii | Ali-Bayramly |
| Astarinskii | Astara |
| Astrakhan-Bazarskii | Astrakhan-Bazar |
| Bardinskii | Barda |
| Belokanskii | Belokany |
| Dastafiurskii | Dashkesan |
| Divichinskii | Divichi |

631 AZERBAIDZHAN ASSR-----Raions (cont.)

| | |
|---|---|
| Dzhebrail'skii | Dzhebrail |
| Geokchaiskii | Geokchai |
| Imishlinskii | Imishly |
| Ismaillinskii | Ismailly |
| Kakhskii | Kakhi |
| Kariaginskii | Kariagino |
| Kasum-Ismailovskii | Kasum-Ismailovo |
| Kazakhskii | Kazakh |
| Kazi-Magomedskii | Kazi-Magomed |
| Kedabekskii | Kedabek |
| Kel'badzharskii | Kel'badzhar |
| Khachmasskii | Khachmas |
| Khaldanskii | Khaldan |
| Khanlarskii | Khanlar |
| Khillinskii | Khilly |
| Khizinskii | Altiagach |
| Khudatskii | Khudat |
| Konakhkendskii | Konakhkend |
| Kubatlinskii | Kubatly |
| Kubinskii | Kuba |
| Kusarskii | Kusary |
| Kutkashenskii | Kutkashen |
| Kiurdamirskii | Kiurdamir |
| Lachinskii | Lachin |
| Lenkoranskii | Lenkoran' |
| Lerikskii | Lerik |
| Marazinskii | Maraza |
| Masallinskii | Masally |
| Mir-Bashirskii | Mir-Bashir |
| Neftechalinskii | Neftechala |
| Nukhinskii | Nukha |

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| | |
|---|---|
| Pushkinskii | Pushkino |
| Saatlinskii | Saatly |
| Sabirabadskii | Sabirabad |
| Safaralievskii | Safaralievo |
| Sal'ianskii | Sal'iany |
| Samukhskii | Samukh |
| Shamkhorskii | Shamkhor |
| Shaumianovskii | Shaumianovsk |
| Shemakhinskii | Shemakha |
| Siazanskii | Siazan' |
| Tauzskii | Tauz |
| Udzharskii | Udzhary |
| Vartashenskii | Vartashen |
| Iardymlinskii | Iardymly |
| Ievlakhskii | Ievlakh |
| Zakatal'skii | Zakataly |
| Zangelanskii | Pirchevan' |
| Zardobskii | Zardob |
| Zhdanovskii | Zhdanovsk |

Nakhichevan' ASSR (Capital: Nakhichevan')

Independent city: Nakhichevan'

Raions:

| | |
|---|---|
| Dzhul'finskii | Dzhul'fa |
| Nakhichevanskii | Nakhichevan' |
| Norashenskii | Norashen |
| Ordubadskii | Ordubad |
| Shakhbuzskii | Shakhbuz |

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63 Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast
(Capital: Stepanakert)

Independent city: Stepanakert

Raions:

| | |
|---|---|
| Gadrutskii | Gadrut |
| Mardakertskii | Mardakert |
| Martuninskii | Martuni |
| Shushinskii | Shusha |
| Stepanakertskii | Stepanakert |

GEORGIAN SSR (Capital: Tbilisi)

Independent cities: Tbilisi
Chiatura
Gori
Kutaisi
Poti
Rustavi

Raions:

| | |
|---|---|
| Abashskii | Abasha |
| Adigenskii | Adigeni |
| Akhalkalakskii | Akhalkalaki |
| Akhmetskii | Akhmeta |
| Ambrolaurskii | Ambrolauri |
| Aspindzskii | Aspindza |
| Bogdanovskii | Bogdanovka |
| Bolnisskii | Bolnisi |

63 GEORGIAN SSR----------Raions (cont.)

| | |
|---|---|
| Borzhomskii | Borzhomi |
| Chiaturskii | Chiatura |
| Chkhorotskuskii | Chkhorotsku |
| Chokhataurskii | Chokhatauri |
| Dmanisskii | Dmanisi |
| Dushetskii | Dusheti |
| Gardabanskii | Gardabani |
| Gegechkorskii | Gegechkori |
| Goriskii | Gori |
| Gurdzhaanskii | Gurdzhaani |
| Kachretskii | Kachreti |
| Karel'skii | Kareli |
| Kaspskii | Kaspi |
| Kazbegskii | Kazbegi |
| Khashurskii | Khashuri |
| Khobskii | Khobi |
| Kutaisskii | Kutaisi |
| Kvarel'skii | Kvareli |
| Lagodekhskii | Lagodekhi |
| Lanchkhutskii. | Lanchkhuti |
| Lentekhskii | Lentekhi |
| Makharadzevskii | Makharadze |
| Maneul'skii | Marneuli |
| Maiakovskii | Maiakovski |
| Mestiiskii | Mestia |
| Mtskhetskii | Mtskheta |
| Onskii | Oni |
| Ordzhonikidzevskii | Ordzhonikidze |
| Sachkherskii | Sachkhere |
| Sagaredzhoiskii | Sagaredzho |
| Samtredskii | Samtredia |
| Signakhskii | Signakhi |
| Telavskii | Telavi |

631 GEORGIAN SSR----------Raions (cont.)

| | |
|---|---|
| Terzhol'skii | Terzhola |
| Tetrit'karoiskii | Tetritskaro |
| Tianetskii | Tianeti |
| Tkibul'skii | Tkibuli |
| Tsagerskii | Tsageri |
| Tsalendzhikhskii | Tsalendzhikha |
| Tsalkinskii | Tsalka |
| Tsitelitskaro'skii | Tsitelitskaro |
| Tskhakaevskii | Mikha Tskhakaia |
| Tskhaltubskii | Tskhaltubo |
| Tsulukidzevskii | Tsulukidze |
| Vanskii | Vani |
| Zestafonskii | Zestafoni |
| Zugdidskii | Zugdidi |

Abkhaz ASSR (Capital: Sukhumi)

Indepdendent cities: Sukhumi
Tkvarcheli

Raions:

| | |
|---|---|
| Akhaliafonskii | Akhali-Afoni |
| Gal'skii | Gali |
| Gagrinskii | Gagra |
| Gudautskii | Gudauta |
| Gul'ripshskii | Dranda |
| Ochamchirskii | Ochamchire |
| Sukhumskii | Sukhumi |

Adzhar ASSR (Capital: Batumi)

Independent city: Batumi

631 Adzhar ASSR------cont.

Raions:

| | |
|---|---|
| Batumskii | Batumi |
| Kedskii | Keda |
| Khuloiskii | Khulo |
| Kobuletskii | Kobuleti |
| Shuakhevskii | Shuakhevi |

South Ossetian Autonomous Oblast
(Capital: Staliniri)

Independent city: Staliniri

Raions:

| | |
|---|---|
| Dzhavskii | Dzhava |
| Leningorskii | Leningori |
| Stalinirskii | Staliniri |
| Znaurskii | Znauri |

ARMENIAN SSR (Capital: Erevan)

Independent cities: Erevan
Kirovakan
Leninakan

Raions:

| | |
|---|---|
| Akhtinskii | Akhta |
| Akhurianskii | Leninakan |
| Alaverdskii | Alaverdi |
| Aparanskii | Aparan |
| Artashatskii | Artashat |
| Artikskii | Artik |

631 ARMENIAN SSR----------Raions (cont.)

| | |
|---|---|
| Ashtarakskii | Ashtarak |
| Azizbekovskii | Mikoyan |
| Basargecharskii | Basargechar |
| Echmiadzinskii | Echmiadzin |
| Gorisskii | Goris |
| Gukasianskii | Gukasian |
| Idzhevanskii | Idzhevan |
| Kafanskii | Kafan |
| Kirovakanskii | Kirovakan |
| Kotaikskii | Kanaker |
| Krasnosel'skii | Krasnosel'sk |
| Martuninskii | Martuni |
| Megrinskii | Megri |
| Nor-Baiazetskii | Nor-Baiazet |
| Oktemberianskii | Oktemberian |
| Sevanskii | Sevan |
| Sisianskii | Sisian |
| Shamshadinskii | Berd |
| Shaumianskii | Shaumian |
| Stepanavanskii | Stepanavan |
| Talinskii | Verin Talin |
| Vedinskii | Vedi |

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# Major Boundary Changes in the Caucasus Region since 1950

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## Rostov Oblast

On January 6, 1954, Rostov Oblast was greatly reduced in area with the creation of a separate Kamensk Oblast, which was carved out of the northern part of Rostov Oblast. The reduced Rostov Oblast extends as far north as the Don River, but includes the industrial Rostov-Novocherkassk-Taganrog area north of the Don.

## Stavropol'Krai -- Astrakhan' Oblast

On February 28, 1951, Stavropol'Krai annexed the newly created Chernozemel'skii Raion, carved out of the Stepnoi Raion of Astrakhan' Oblast. On January 14, 1952, Stavropol'Krai annexed the rest of Stepnoi Raion of Astrakhan' Oblast. The total area thus transferred from Astrakhan' Oblast to Stavropol' Krai is 22,500 square kilometers.

## Georgian SSR -- RSFSR

On March 14, 1955, the Georgian SSR returned to the RSFSR the Klukhorskii Raion. This raion was set up within Georgia in September, 1944, out of the former Karachai Autonomous Oblast of Stavropol'Krai and the southwest corner of the Kabardian ASSR. The entire raion was returned in March, 1955,

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631 to Stavropol'Krai. On May 26, 1955, the
131 Ialbuzi sel'sovet (village council), corresponding to the former southwest corner of the Kabardian ASSR, was transferred from Stavropol'Krai to the Kabardian ASSR.

Temporary Oblasts and Okrugs in Georgia, Azerbaizhan, Armenia and Daghestan

The periods of these areas are as follows:

1. Tbilisi and Kutaisi Oblasts of Georgia: Nov. 5, 1951 to April 23, 1953

2. Baku and Giandzha Oblasts of Azerbaidzhan: March 14, 1952 to April 23, 1953

3. Okrugs in Armenia: January 17, 1952 to April 18, 1953

4. Okrugs in Daghestan: early 1952 to April 28, 1953.

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[This page was devoted to a map entitled "Political-Administrative Divisions of the Caucasus" in the original manuscript. For technical reasons and in order to preserve all its detail this map has been placed in the pocket in the inside of the back cover.]

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Political- Administrative Divisions
of the Caucasus

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## Major Cities of the Caucasus

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## SOURCE

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Author's personal file of political - administrative divisions of the U. S. S. R.

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## 2. Political

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### b. Structure of Government

See Handbook on the U. S. S. R.

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## 2. Political

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### c. Political Dynamics

See Handbook on the U. S. S. R.

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2. Political

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d. Public Order and Safety

See Handbook on the U. S. S. R.

7: Columbia U. S-4, 5 1956 RH1 Caucasia
RH1

2. Political

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e. Foreign Policies

See Handbook on the U. S. S. R.

See also 1. Sociological,
b. Historical Setting. 1/1

1/1 [cf. cat. 116, pp. 266 — 359 — Analyst]

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2. Political

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f. Subversive Potentialities

See Handbook on the U. S. S. R.

7: Columbia U. S-4, 5 1956 RH1 Caucasia
RH1

2. Political

000 g. Propaganda

See Handbook on the U. S. S. R.

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2. Political

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h. Biographies of Key Personalities

Elizabeth Beyerly

7:Columbia U. S-4, 5 1956 RH1 CaucasiaRH1
Biographies of Key Personalities

## INTRODUCTORY REMARKS

128 1) Entries are arranged alphabetically, according to the English alphabet. Cross references are given between pseudonyms and original names.

2) Numbers before the names indicate nationalities with reference to the present-day political-administrative divisions.

1 Georgians, Abkhaz, Adzhar, Nakhichevan Autonomous Oblast.

2 Armenians

3 Azeri

4 Dagestani, North (Sev.) and South (Iugo-) Ossetes

5 Kabardians, Cherkes, Adygei, Chechen

6 Russian members from Krasnodarskii and Stavropol'skii krai

The assigning of nationality is sometimes open to question; a problem arises when a person has lived in several areas. Special difficulties were encountered with persons born in the Russian F. S. S. R. who lived in the Caucasus. In some instances a name suggesting a Caucasian origin was included when information on the place of birth was not available. About 650 names have been listed: ca. 171 Armenians, 128 Azeri, 49

7: Columbia U. S-4,5 1956 RHl Caucasia RHl

128 Kabardians, etc., 37 Dagestani, etc., and 257 Georgians.

3) The most common abbreviations are:

CP - Communist Party (followed by the name of the state)

CC - Central Committee

VS - Verkhovnyi sovet (followed by the name of the state)

sozyv (of VS) - convocation of Supreme Soviet

s'ezd (of CC CP) - congress of party

4) In the main, persons still alive are listed; however, a few persons of former generations whose influence is still felt are included - most of these are artists.

Included are: (a) all members of CC CP SSSR of 20th congress, 1956; (b) all members of CC CP Armenian SSR 17-18th congress, 1954, 1956; (c) the deputies to US SSSR 4. sozyv, from Krasnodarskii krai and Stavropol'skii krai; (d) all members of CC CP Azerbaidzhani SSR, 20-21st congress, 1954, 1956; (e) all deputies of VS SSSR 4. sozyv, 1954 (another sozyv should be held in 1958). (No information on CC CP Gruzinskaia SSR could be ob-

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128 tained because issues of Zaria Vostoka unavailable). (f) all the Stalin prize winners of 1950; (g) names found throughout the Bolshaiá entsiklopediia 1.-2. eds.) and other sources available.

5) Source from which information was obtained is given after each entry. The abbreviations used for the sources are explained at the end of the biographical section.

538 3 Abashidze, Grigol (Grigorii Grigor'evich)
Stalin prize 2. class, 1950 for poetry collection: Lenin y Samgori Na iuzhnoi granitse.

Laur. Stalin prem. 1950
BE I 1:67

646 1 Abashidze, Iraklii Vissarionovich
1st sect. Soiuz sovet. pisatelei Gruz. SSR, 1954 Abkhaz. deputy Sov. Nats. VS SSSR, 4. sozyv, 1954

Zar. Vost. 2/17/54
Bak. Rab. 3/19/54

533 3 Abbasov, A.
Azerbaidzhani musician, 20th c.

BE II 1:478

646 3
665 Abbasov, Kurban Abas Kuli ogly
Nakhichev. deputy Sov. Nats. VS SSSR 4. sozyv, 1954. Member of CC CP Azerb. SSR, 20-21 s'ezd, 1954, 1956

Bak. Rab. 3/18/54
Bak. Rab. 1/26/56

7:Columbia U. S-4,5 1956 RHl Caucasia RHl

645 3 Abdullaev, Abutalyb Miragaevich
Minister of kommunal'noel Khoziaistvo Azerb. 1954

Bak. Rab. 3/10/54

645 665 3 Abdullaev, Il'ias Kerim ogly
Born in Akstaf, 1913-
Member of CC CP Azerb. SSR, 20-21 s'ezd 1954, 1956. Specialist in silk production. 1950-1954 minister of agriculture in Azerb. Nakhichevan. deputy to Sov. Nats., VS SSSR, 4. sozyv, 1954

Bak. Rab. 3/2/54, 3/18/54, 1/26/56

665 3 Abdullaev, F. A.
Member of presidium CC CP Azerb. SSR, 21. s'ezd, 1956

Bak. Rab. 1/26/56

646 2(3?) Abdullaeva, Raziia Gasan kyzy
Deputy to Sov. Nats. VS SSSR, 4. sozyv, 1954

Kom. Er. 3/19/54

665 3 Abdulragimov, A. I.
CC CP Azerb. SSR, 20. s'ezd, 1954

212 3
645

Abdulragimov, Tagi Abragim ogly
Stalin prize 2. class, 1950 for new ways of producing agricultural plants, mainly cotton. Deputy Minister of vodnoe khoziaistvo Azerb. SSR, 1950

Laur. Stalin prem. 1950
p. 55

532 3

Abdurakhman, Fuad Gason ogly
Stalin prize 3. class, 1950 for his sculpture "Chaban." Born 1915-
Among famous statues are: Nizami in Baku; also portraits of Bagirov, Azi Aslanov. Corresp. member of Akad. khudozh. SSSR.

Laur. Stalin prem. 1950
p. 76
BE II 1:14

814 2

Abegian, Manuk Khachaturovich
1865-1944. Armenian folklorist, linguist; Professor of Erevan univ. Wrote: Armianskie narodnye mify, 1899; Armianskii narodnyi epos, 1908; Russko-armianskii voennyi slovar' 1925; Metrika armianskogo stikha, 1933; 2 vols. of Armenian literature from V-XVIII c. (1944-46).

BE II 1:15-16

532 2 Abegian, Mger Manukovich
1909- Armenian painter; studied in Erevan and Moscow. Famous works "Makravanskii peizazh, "1939; "V sadakh Armenii," 1945; "Vstuplenie I. V. Stalina na rabochem sobranii v Tiflise 18. okt. 1905 g."

BE II 1:16
v. 3, p. 90 (picture)

536 2 Abelian, Ovanes Artem'evich
1865-1936. Armenian actor; people's artist of Armenia and Azerbaidzhan; portrayed about 52 different roles in the famed Sundukian theater of Erevan (Oedipus rex; Egor Bulichev; Dr. Stockman, etc.).

BE II 1:16

646 5 Abidokova, Mar'ian Magometovna
Cherkes. deputy Sov. Nats. VS SSSR 4. sozyv, 1954

Pravda, 3/18/54

701 646 3 Abilov, Makhmud Abdul-Rza ogly
Deputy to Sov. Nats. VS SSSR (4. sozyv, 1954). Born in Ukur, 1898- Rose from ordinary private to general of Red Army. Fought at Smolensk, Berlin. Rec'd Orders of Krasnoe znamia, Surorov, Kutuzov and foreign decorations.

Bak. Rab. 3/19/54. 2/20/54

665 2 Abramian, R. T.
645 Member CC CP Arm. SSR. 17.-18. s'ezd, 1954, 1956. Minister of Agriculture Arm. SSR, 1956

Kom. Er. 1/22/56, 1/21/56

646 1 Abuladze, Eteri Baratalovna
Adzhar. deputy Sov. Nats. VS SSSR 4. sozyv, 1954. Born Vashlovani, 1926- No party affiliation.

Bak. Rab. 3/18/54
Zar. Vost. 2/13/54

242 3 Adibekov, Ogan Aleksandrovich
Stalin prize, 2. class, 1950 for new ways of producing agricultural plants, mainly cotton. Head of trust "Azvodstroi." (1950)

Laur. Stalin. prem. 1950
p. 55

536 2 Adzhemian, Vartan Mkrtichevich
Stalin prize, 3. class, 1950. Artist; for participation in Stepanian's opera "Geroinia."

Laur. Stalin. prem. 1950
p. 80

242 2 Agababian, Shavarsh Mnetsakonovich
Stalin prize, 2. class, 1950 for his work on Kormovye rasteniia senokosov i pastbishch SSR, v. I, 1950. Armenian agronomist.

Laur. Stalin. prem. 1950
p. 11

665 2 Agadzhanian, E. M.
Member CC CP Arm. SSR, 17-18. s'ezd, 1954, 1956.

Kom. Er. 1/22/56

532 2 Agadzhanian, Stepan Meliksetovich
1863-1940. Armenian landscape painter; people's artist of Armenia. "Portret matery" "Portret ottsa," both in 1900; "Portret Spandariana," 1936. Lives and teaches in Erevan.

BE II 1:286

646 3 Agaev, Sabir Bala Ali ogly (Azerbaidzhani). Deputy to Sov. Soiuz VS SSR (4. s'ezd, 1954) Born in Sarai, 1927- Began as shepherd, then became metallurgical worker.

Bak. Rab. 3/18/54, 2/18/54

665 3 Agaeva, G. I.
Member of presidium CC CP Azerb. SSR, 21. s'ezd, 1956.

Bak. Rab. 1/26/56

3 Agamali, B. A.
CC CP Azerb. SSR, 20. s'ezd, 1954

646 4 Agkatsev, Vladimir Mikhailovich
Sev.-Osset. deputy Sov. Soiuz VS SSSR, 4. sozyv, 1954.

Pravda 3/18/54

665 3 Agsev, N. K.
CC CP Azerb. SSR, 20. s'ezd, 1954

2 Airian, G. A.
Member of CC CP Arm. SSR, 17.-18. s'ezd, 1954, 1956; head of propaganda bureau of CC CP Arm. SSR.

Kom. Er. 1/22/56

2 Aivazian, A. R.
Member CC CP Arm. SSR, 17.-18. s'ezd, 1954, 1956

Kom. Er. 1/22/56

532 2 Akhikian, Vrtanes Galustovich 1872-1936. Armenian landscape painter. "Ataka krasnoi konnitsy," 1933.

BE II 3:565

665 3 Akhmedov, A. M. Member of presidium CC CP Azerb. SSR. 21. s'ezd, 1956

Bak. Rab. 1/26/56

533 3 Akhmedova, Frangiz Iusuf kyzy Born in Baku, 1928- Soloist of Azerb. state theatre and opera; sings arias from classical opera, as well as Azerb. folk-songs. Deputy of Bakinskii gorod. sovet. Unsuccessful candidate to Sov. Nats. VS SSSR in 1954.

Bak. Rab. 2/21/54

646 5 Akhokhov, Aslambi Nakhovich Kab. deputy Sov. Nats. VS SSSR 4. sozyv, 1954

Pravda 3/18/54

532 3 Akhundov, Ismail Gusein ogly, 1907- Azerb artist. Rec'd Stalin

532 prize in 1950 for illustrating a work devoted to the 70. birthday of Stalin.

BE II 3:570

536 3 Akhundov, Sigdi Rukhulla Fatulla ogly 1886- Azerb. actor; people's artist of SSR; played in 300 roles (Revizor, King Lear, Othello, etc.) Stalin prize in 1948.

BE II 3:572

3 Akhundov, Suleiman Sani 1875-1939. Azerb. writer, dramatist Sokolinoe gnezdo, 1921 (drama); Zvezda svobody, 1905; Liubov'i mest', 1922

BE II 1:469
v. 3:572

533 2 Akhverdian, G. Armenian folk-song singer; gusan of 20. c.

BE II 3:97

536 3 Akhverdov, Abduragim 1870-1933 Azerb. dramatist, influenced by Ostrovskii. Wrote: Razorennoe gnezdo; and Neschastnyi iunosha

BE II 1:563

532 1 Akhvlediani, Elena Dmitrievna
1901- Georgian landscape painter; Studied in Paris; her themes are on World War II.

BE II 3:564

814 1 Akhvlediani, Georgii Saridanovich
1887- Georgian linguist; member of Akad. nauk Gruz. SSR. Writes on general phonetics, especially in Caucasian languages. Voprosy obshchei i gruzinskoi fonetiki, 1938

BE II 3:563

692 2 Akopian, A. A.
Member of Armenian Supreme Court Collegium

538 2 Akopian, Akop
1866-1937 in Kirovabad. Founder of Armenian proletarian lit. Collection of poems appeared in 1899. Party member since 1904. In 1923 was named: people's poet of Armenia and Georgia. Wrote: Novoeutro, Shirkanal (praising Bolshevik electrification).

BE I 2:19
II 1:607

532 2 Akopian, Amaiak Stepanovich
1871-1939. Armenian painter; his favorite subjects are scenes from old Tiflis; in Soviet period did many charcoal drawings. Studied in Munich.

BE II 1:607

665 2 Akopian, S. S.
Member of CC CP Arm. SSR, 18. s'ezd, 1956.

Kom. Er. 1/22/56

3 Alekperov, M. G
CC CP Azer. SSSR, 20. s'ezd, 1954

646 3 Alekperova, Shukhiufa Alekser kyzy
Deputy to Sov. Nats. VS SSSR (4. sozyv, 1954)

Bak. Rab. 3/19/54

535 1 Aleksidze, Irina Aleksandrovna
Stalin prize 2. class for ballet performances in 1950

Laur. Stalin prem. 1950
p. 81

7 :Columbia U. S-4,5 1956 RHl Caucasia

RHl

665 3 Aliev, Firidun Ali ogly
646 Deputy to Sov. Nats. VS SSSR (4. sozyv, 1954) Born in Baladzhary 1921- Machinist. Member of presidium CC CP Azerb. SSR. 21. s'ezd 1956.

Bak. Rab. 3/19/54, 1/26/56

646 4 Aliev, Gadzhi-Kasum Shikhmurzaevich
Dag. deputy Sov. Nats. VS SSSR, (4. sozyv, 1954)

Pravda 3/18/54

646 3 Aliev, Musa Mirzoevich
665 Deputy to Sov. Nats. VS SSSR (4. sozyv, 1954) Born in Shemakha, 1908- ;geologist; 1941- member of CP; 1947-1950 president of Gosplan and deputy president of Azerb. SSR. 1950- member and president of Akad. nauk. Azerb. SSR. Member of CC CP Azerb. SSR. Deputy to VS SSSR 2.-3. sozyv.

Bak. Rab. 3/19/54, 2/25/54

815 2 Alikhanov, Artemie I.
1908- and brother Alikhanian, Abram Isaakovich, 1904-. Members of Akad. nauk SSSR since 1934; both worked on cosmic ray theory and rec'd Stalin prizes in 1941 and 1948 (for discovery of varitrons).

BE II 2:111 3:68 -671-

665 3 Alikhanov, E.N.
CC CP Azerb. SSR, 20. s'ezd, 1954

645 3 Alikperov, Aga Mekhti Salman ogly
Minister of industrial building material (1954)- Azerb.

Bak. Rab. 3/10/54

646 3 Alikulieva, Rubaba Alikuli kyzy
Nakhichev. deputy Sov. Nats. VS SSSR, 4. sozyv, 1954. Born in Garachuk, 1929 - cotton picker.

Bak. Rab. 3/18/54, 2/21/54

536 5 Alili, Mamed
Chechen 20. c. theater producer influenced by Meyerhold, Tairov.

BE I 61:535

645 4 Alimov, Tair
Deputy to Sov. Soiuz VS SSSR, 4. sozyv, 1954

Kom. Er. 3/18/54

665 2
646 Allakherian, Karapet Navasardovich
Deputy to Sov. Nats. VS SSSR, 4. sozyv, 1954. Member of CC CP Armen. SSR, 18. s'ezd, 1956

Kom. Er. 3/19/54
1/22/56

7: Columbia U. S-4, 5 1956 RHl Caucasia
RHl

646 3
665 Allakhiarly, Ismail Babaiar ogly
Deputy to Sov. Soiuz VS SSSR
(4. s'ezd, 1954) Born in Shemakha,
1905- Member of CC CP Azerb. SSR

Bak. Rab. 3/18/54, 2/25/54

665 3 Allakhverdiev, T. A.
Member of presidium CC CP Azerb.
SSR, 21. S'ezd, 1956.

Bak. Rab. 1/26/56

759 2 Ambartsumian, Sarkis, 1880- in
Nagornyi Karabakh. Physician; since
1926 president of Armenian Sovnarkom.

BE I 2:384

815 2
665 Ambartsumian, Viktor Amazospovich
Born in 1908- ; astrophysicist
(specialized in intrastellar light
absorption) Stalin prize in 1950
Deputy Sov. Soiuz VS SSSR (4. sozyv,
1954) Member of CC CP Arm. SSR
17-18. s'ezd 1954 and 1956)

Kom. Er. 3/2/54 & 1/22/56
BE II 1:566, 2:217 (bibliography of works)
Vest. Akad. nauk SSSR, 1947, No. 10

7: Columbia U. S-4, 5 1956 RHl Caucasia
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5331 Amiranashvili, Petr Varlamovich, 1907— Georgian baritone singer; people's artist of Georgia; since 1936 soloist with Palishvili theater and opera in Tiflis; sang Onegin, Rigoletto, Iago, as well as parts in Georgian operas: Absalom i Eteri, Daisi, Kako Kachagi; Stalin prize in 1947 for singing in Mshevelidze opera: Skazanie o Tariele.

BE 2:279

814 1 Amiranashvili, Shalva Laronovich, 1899-- Georgian art historian; corresp. member of Akad. nauk SSSR; wrote: History of Georgian Art, 1944, v. 1, Iranskaia zhivopis' 18-19 vekov.

BE II 2:219

325 665 3 Amiraslanov, Meibali Fridun ogly Born in Balagasanlu, 1902- Member of CC CP Azerb. SSR. Metallurgical engineer. Deputy VS Azerb. SSR Nakhichevan deputy to Sov. Nats. VS SSSR 4. sozyv in 1954.

Bak. Rab. 3/2/54. 3/18/54

7: Columbia U. S-4, 5 1956 RHl Caucasia
RHl

538 5 Anchby-Shervanize (no initials) Published in Paris, 1923: Abkhazskie legendy; acc. to inform. in encyclopedia: the work is without literary merit.

BE I 1:118

646 6 Andrianovia, Mariia Fedorovna Member of Sov. Soiuz VS SSSR, 4. sozyv, Stavropol. krai.

Bak. Rab. 3/18/54

1 Antonov, Aleksei Innokent'evich Deputy to Sov. Soiuz VS SSSR (4. s'ezd) 1954

Bak. Rab. 2/18/54

536 1 Apkhaidze, Emanuil Eliseevich Stalin prize 3. class, 1950 for acting in "Potoplennye kamni". People's artist of Georgia.

Laur. Stalin. prem. 1950 p. 78

646 6 Apollova, Valentina Fedorovna Member of Sov. Soiuz, VS SSSR, 4. sozyv, 1954; Krasnodar. krai

Bak. Rab. 3/18/54

7: Columbia U. S -4, 5 1956 RHl Caucasia
RHI

538 1 Aragvispireli, Shio Zakhar'evich (Now: Dedobrishvili) 1876-1926 Georgian writer, wrote: Vot nasha zhizn', Uzhas

BE II 2:604

646 2 Arakelian, Astkhik Sarkisovna Deputy Sov. Soiuz VS SSSR (4. sozyv, 1954)

Kom. Er. 3/18/54

665 2 Arakelian, S. V. Member of CC CP Arm. SSR, 17-18. s'ezd, 1954, 1956.

Kom. Er. 1/22/56

532 2 Arakelian, Sedrak Arakelovich, 1884-1942. Armenian landscape painter. During Civil War painted many inflammatory posters; among first to glorify socialism. Painted: "Artiktuk", 1930. "Kal'liura v gory", 1936. Influenced by impressionist style.

BE II 2:607

7: Columbia U. S-4, 5 1956 RHl Caucasia
RHI

533 1 Arakishvili (Arakchiev) Dmitrii Ignat'evich, 1873- Georgian composer; people's artist of Georgia. Studied in Moscow. Wrote: Gruz narodnoe muzik, tvorchestvo, 1916. Composed first Georgian opera: Skazanie o Shota Rustaveli, 1914; with slight changes the opera appeared first in 1919 and them with Shanshiashvili libretto in 1947.

BE II 2:607-8;13:91

538 2 Arzai (pseud. of Movses Arutiunian) 1878 - Founder of proletarian prose in pre revolutionary Armenia. Wrote: Solntse, 1913. Skazka, Nedostroennyi dom, 1913. Good short-story writer: Ogni, Tovarishch Mukuch Tysiachegolov

BE II 2:606

875 1 646 Ardzinba, Grigorii Shagovich Abkhaz. deputy to Sov. Nats. VS SSSR, 4. sozyv, 1954. Born in Duripsh, 1919- Teacher; deputy to VS SSSR 1-3. sozyv.

Bak. Rab. 3/18/54

532 2 Artsatbanian, V. G. Armenian painter 20th c.

BE II 3:90

646 665 2 Arushaniian, Shmavon Minasovich
Deputy Sov. Nats. VS SSSR, 4. sozyv, 1954. Member of CC CP Armen. SSR, 17-18. s'ezd, 1954, 1956.

Kom. Er. 3/19/54
1/22/56

665 3 Arushanov, P. A.
CC CP Azerb. SSR, 20. s'ezd, 1954

532 2 Arutch'ian, Mikhail Avetovich, 1897-
Armenian theater artist; studied in Paris. Worked on Armenian pavilion for Soviet exhibit in 1939. Designed sets for operas: Lusabatsin, Otello

BE II 3:150

665 646 2 Arutinov, Griogorii Artem'evich, 1900-
Born in Telavi, Georgia. 1st sect. CC CP Arm. SSR. Rec'd three Stalin prizes. Deputy VS SSSR 1-3 sozyv; CP member 1919- ; deputy people's commissar RKI Gruzii; 1931-member of secretariat CC CP Gruz. SSR.

BE II 3:150

533 2 Arutiunian, Aleksandr Grigor'evich,
1920- Armenian composer; Stalin prize in 1948 for his Kantata o Staline. His is a well-known piano concerto.

BE II 3:150
3:99

538 2 Arutiunian, Movses
see
Arazi

665 2 Arzumanian, G. A.
Member of CC CP Arm. SSR, 18. s'ezd, 1956.

Kom. Er. 1/22/56

2 Asaturian, A. T.
Member of CC CP Arm. SSR, 18. s'ezd, 1956

Kom. Er. 1/22/56

814 5 Ashkamaf, D. A.
Grammarian; wrote on Adygei language.

BE II 1:427

536 3 Ashumov, Mageram Kiazim ogly
Azerb. actor. Stalin prize 3. class, 1950 for role in Zaria nad Kaspiem presented in Azerb. gos. teatr russkoi dramy.

Laur. Stalin prem. 1950
p. 79

[cf. cat. 116, p. 677 -- Analyst]

7: Columbia U. S-4, 5 1956 RHl Caucasia
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536 5 Askerkhanov,
Chechen 20. c. actor of comic roles.

BE I 61:535

646 665 3 Askerov, Ismail Nasrulla, ogly
Deputy to Sov.Soiuz VS SSSR (4. s'ezd, 1954) Member of CC CP Azerb. SSR. Born in Ordubad, 1914- ; head of Dom propagandista i agitatora im S. M. Kirova (in Moscow?) Since 1943 sect. of propaganda in Azerbaidzhan; 1945 1st sect. CC Komsomol Azerb. SSR. 1950- president of Azerb. Sov. Profsoiuzov; 1952-1st sect. Nakhichevan. oblast. komitet. CP Azerb. SSR.

Bak. Rab. 3/18/54, 2/21/54

665 2 Aslanian, S.K.
Member of CC CP Arm. SSR, 18. s'ezd, 1956.

Kom. Er. 1/22/56

646 665 3 Aslanova, Chimnaz Abdul Ali kyzy
Nakhichev. deputy Sov. Nats. VS SSSR, 4. sozyv, 1954. Member CC CP Azerb. SSR. Born in Mardakian, 1914- Deputy to ov. Nats. VS SSSR since 1937-

Bak. Rab.3/18/54 2/25/54

665 2 Astsatrian E. T.
Member of CC CP Arm. SSR, 17-18. s'ezd, 1954, 1956.

Kom. Er. 1/22/56

815 2 Atalian, Arfeniia Arkad'evna
Stalin prize 3. class, for work in chemistry (on lubricating fats)

Laur. Stalin prem. 1950
p. 39

2 Avakian, Artavazd Arshakovich
Stalin prize 2. degree, 1950 for the theory on development of plant organisms. *Corresp. member of* Akad. nauk SSSR.

Laur. Stalin. prem. 1950
p. 10

536 2 Avetisian, Avet Markosovich, 1897-
Armenian actor; portrayed about 200 roles in Sundukian theater of Erevan; Stalin prize in 1941 for movie role in Zangezur.

BE II 1:70

701 2 Avetisian, Unan Makichevich, (1914-1943) Geroi Sovet. Soiuz.; sergeant; took part and died in battle of Krasnodarskii krai.

BE II 1:70

5335 Avraamov, A. (1886-1944) Aul Batyr ouverture (first Kabardian instrumental composition) written by him. Collected folk songs (Kabardian) He is Soviet musician.

BE I 19:218
BE II

665 3 Azaeva, Ch. A. Member of presidium CC CP Azerb. SSR, 21. s'ezd, 1956.

Bak. Rab. 1/26/56

5323 Azim-Zade, A. (1880-1943) Caricaturist, journalist; contributed to paper Molla Nasredin; drew many posters. Did the famous sketches: 100 tipov starogo Baku. Was director of Azerb. art inst.

BE II 1:490, 474.

7: Columbia U. S-4, 5 1956 RHl Caucasia RHl

533 2 Babadzhanian, Arno Arutiunovich
Stalin prize 3. class, 1950 for musical composition: Georgicheskaia ballada.

Laur. Stalin prem. 1950
p. 72

381 646 2 Babadzhanian, Mariia Arakelovna
Deputy to Sov. Nats. VS SSSR, 4. sozyv, 1954. Party member; chemical engineer; rec'd Stalin prize in 1949 for perfecting glass making via electronics.

Bak. Rab. 3/18/54 & 2/19/54

646 6 Babaevskii, Semen Petrovich
Member of Sov. Soiuz VS SSSR 4. sozyv, Stavropol. krai

Bak. Rab. 3/18/54

665 2 Babaian, L. O.
Member CC CP Arm. SSR, 17-18. s'ezd, 1954, 1956

Kom. Er. 1/22/56

3 Baba-Zade, B. K.
CC CP Azerb. SSR, 20. s'ezd. 1954.

646 5 Babich, Vasilii Ivanovich (Kabardian)
Deputy to Sov. Soiuz VS SSSR
4. sozyv, 1954

Kom. Er. 3/18/54

665 2 Badamiants, G. A.
Member CC CP Arm. SSR, 18. s'ezd, 1956

Kom. Er. 1/22/56

536 5 Baduev, Said
Chief Chechen dramatist; wrote Krasnaia krepost', 1930.

BE I 61:535

665 3 Bagabova, S. G.
Member of presidium CC CP Azerb. SSR, 21. s'ezd, 1956

Bak. Rab. 1/26/56

646 2 Bagdasarian, Grant Bakhshievich
Deputy to Sov. Nats. VS SSSR
4. sozyv, 1954. Born in Egvard, 1925- oil-driller

Kom. Er. 3/19/54
2/19/54

7: Columbia U. S-4, 5 1956 RHI Caucasia RHI

665 2 Bagdasarian, O. M.
Member of CC CP Arm. SSR, 17.-18. s'ezd, 1954, 1956
Editor of Sovetakan Aiastan

Kom. Er. 1/22/56, 1/21/56

2 Bagdasarian, S. B.
Member CC CP Arm. SSR, 18. s'ezd, 1956

Kom. Er. 1/22/56

665 643 3 Bagirov, Mir Dzhafar Abbasovich, 17. Sept. 1896- in Kuba (Baku province) 1st sect. CC CP Azerb.; deputy VS SSSR 1.-3. sozyv; member of presidium of VS SSSR. Wrote Iz istorii bol'shevistskoi organizatsii Baku i Azerbaidzhana. In 1946 was awarded Lenin order.

BE II 4:24

665 646 3 Bagirova, Basti Masim kyzy, 1906- Azerb. master cotton-picker. In 1946 became Geroi sotsialistich truda. Deputy to VS SSSR 1.-3. sozyv. Member of presidium CC CP Azerb. SSR, 21. s'ezd, 1956

BE II 4:25
Bak. Rab. 1/26/56

7: Columbia U. S-4,5 1956 RH1 CaucasiaRH1

538 4 Bagraev, Sozur Kurmanovich
1888-1928. Poet of Sev. Oset. oblast'. Wrote in Digor dialect Dver' serdtsa, lyric poems, 1908

BE II 4:25

701 646 2 Bagramian, Ivan Khristoforovich
1897- in Kirovabad. Began as squadron commander in Ararat valley, 1922. Finished Frunze acad. mil. in Moscow. 1941 col. in Ukraine; 1943 cracked Bryansk front; became asst. chief of Timoshenko; fought at Khar'kov. Order of Kutuzov; commander of Baltic army (the only non-Russian to command a Red Army front-Curr. Biogr.) Won victory at Vitebsk, January 27, 1944. Deputy to VS SSSR 1-3 sozyv. Deputy chief of staff 1941 1945.

BE II 4:25
Curr. Biogr. 1944, p. 27-28
Curr. Digest news 9'55, 8-10

232 645 2 Bagratian, Malkhas Galustovich
Stalin prize 3. class, 1950 for new breed of rabbits. Minister of Agriculture Arm. SSR, 1950

Laur. Stalin prem. 1950
p. 59

536 5 Bagrimanov
Chechen actor of tragic roles 20. c.

BE I 61:535

665 3 Baibakov, A. S
Member of presidium CC CP Azerb. SSR, 21. s'ezd, 1956

Bak. Rab. 1/26/56

646 3 Baibakov, Nikolai Konstantinovich
665 Deputy to Sov. Soiuz VS SSSR
315 (4. s'ezd, 1954) Born in Sabunchi (near Baku) 1911- oil engineer. Was member of CC CP SSSR (before 1956) Deputy to VS SSSR 2. sozyv. Member of presidium CC CP Azerb. SSR, 21. s'ezd, 1956

Bak. Rab. 3/18/54,3/2/54 ,1/26/56

646 3 Bairamov, Musa Khuda Kerim ogly
665 Deputy to Sov. Soiuz VS SSSR (4. s'ezd, 1954) Member of CC CP Azerb. SSR.

Bak. Rab. 3/18/54

7: Columbia U. S-4, 5 1956 RHl CaucasiaRHl

815 1 Bakhtadze, Kseniia Ermolaevna
Adzhar Deputy Sov. Nats. VS SSSR 4. sozyv, 1954. Born 1899- in Tiflis; seed specialist. Wrote: Morfologicheskii sostav chaia v Gruzii

Bak. Rab. 3/18/54
Zar. Vost. 2/27/54

533 1 Bakhutashvili, Ol'ga Aleksandrovna, 1876-1950 Georgian coloratura singer. People's artist of Georgia; was first to sing in Paliashvili operas. Taught at Tiflis conservatory.

BE II 4:331

692 2 Bakoev, U. B.
Chairman of criminal collegium of the Armenian Supreme Court

Curr. digest 1956

533 1 Balanchivadze, Andrei Melitonovich 1905- Rec'd three Stalin prizes for his musical compositions. Wrote: Zhizn', comic opera

BE II 4:115

7: Columbia U. S-4, 5 1956 RHl Caucasia
RHl

533 1 Balanchivadze, Meliton Antonovich 1862-1937 Georgian composer of romances. People's artist of Georgia. Father of composer Andrei Melit. Balanchivadze. Wrote opera: Kovarnaia Daredzhan, 1937

BE II 4:115

793 2 Baldzhian, Vazgen I, Catholicos, formerly BISHOP BALDZHIAN Elected Sept. 30, 1955. Born in 1908, Bucharest, Rumania. Graduate of philosophical and theological faculties of Bucharest Univ. Headed Arm. diocese in Rumania while the country was allied to Germany and continued to do so after Soviet occupation of Rumania. Had visited Soviet Armenia in 1945, 1948, 1951, 1954 and in his book: Under the Sun of the Motherland, he strictly conformed to Soviet propaganda. Head of Armenian Church in SSSR. For the first time in 1956 Catholicos Edzhmiazin came to Jerusalem with the intention of anointing a new Patriarch of Cilicia (Bishop Sareh of Aleppo, supported by the Dashnag Natl. party appeared certain to win election)

NYT 2/20/56
Bull. Inst. Munich, 3, No. 2, Feb. 1956, 42-46

538 1
646

Baratashvili, Mariia Gervasevna
Deputy to Sov. Nats. VS SSSR
(4. s'ezd, 1954) Born in Chiatura, 1908- Graduated from Tiflis univ. fac. philology in 1945; since 1936 a writer of lyric poetry; Wrote comedy "Strekoza" (Marine)

Bak. Rab. 2/19/54
Zar. Vost. 2/13/54

533 2

Barkhudarian, Sergei (Sarkis) Vasil'evich, 1887-
Armenian composer; 1923-- professor at Tiflis conservatory. Wrote: Narine, ballet, 1938; Keri-Kuchi, children's opera. Anush, symphonic poem. Uses Armenian themes in his works.

BE II 4:276

538 1

Barnovi, Vasilii Zakhar'evich, 1856-1934 Georgian realist writer. Wrote: Torzhestvo zmeia; Nevesta Tebery; Muchenitsa liubvy; Zaria Isani His early works are concerned with historial themes; language a bit archaic.

BE II 4:252

646 1

Basistyi, Nikolai Efremovich
Deputy to Sov. Nats. VS SSSR
(4. s'ezd, 1954)

Bak. Rab. 2/19/54

7:Columbia U. S-4,5 1956 RH1 Caucasia
RH1

646 4 Baskaev, Dzambolat Timofeevich
Sev. Osset. deputy Sov. Nats. VS SSSR,
4. sozyv, 1954

Pravda 3/18/54

535 1 Bauer, Maria Veniaminovna
Stalin prize 2. class, 1950 ballerina

Laur. Stalin prem. 1950
p. 81

646 1 Bazhunaishvili, Suleiman Dzhemalovich
Adzhar. deputy Sov. Nats. VS SSSR
4. sozyv, 1954
Born in Kveda-Sameba, 1922-
kolkhoz worker, member of CP

Bak. Rab. 3/18/54
Zar. Vost. 2/13/54

665 3 Begrambekov, B. L.
CC CP Azerb. SSR, 20 s'ezd, 1954

546 2 Bek-Nazarov, Amo Ivanovich
1892- Armenian film-producer;
director of Tiflis Goskinprom.
Directed films: Pepo, Zangezur, for
which he was awarded Stalin prize in
1941. People's artist of Armenia.

BE II 4:405

7:Columbia U. S-4,5 1956 RH1 Caucasia
RH1

646 1 Beridze, Archil Mikhailovich
643 Adzhar. deputy Sov. Nats. VS SSSR 4. sozyv, 1954. Born in Tunadzubi, 1922- Party worker; president of presidium VS Adzhar. SSR

Bak. Rab. 3/18/54
Zar. Vost. 2/13/54

645 1 Beriia, Lavrentii Pavlovich
665 March 29, 1899-Dec. 23, 1953; born in Merkheuli, Sukhumi province. CP member since 1917. Graduated from politechn. inst. Baku in 1919. Chief of intelligence service of the Red Army in 1922. In 1931 1st sect. CC CP Gruz. SSR. 1938--people's commissar of internal affairs. Since 1945 commissar of NKVD; since July 9, 1945, called Marshal of Sovet. Soiuz. Purged Stalin's enemies in the 30-s and so rose to power. Was executed for treason himself Dec. 1953.

Wrote: K voprosu ob istorii bol'shevistskikh organizatsii v Zakavkaz'e. 7 ed. appeared in 1948.

BE II 5:22
Curr. Biogr. 1954, p. 80
NYT 1953, Dec. 24. p. 1 (obituary)

815 1 Beritashvili, Ivan Solomonovich
1884- in Vedzhin (Georgia).
Founder of physiology school of Georgia. Professor at Tiflis Univ. His works are on role of central nervous system, on theory of electric shock in treatment, etc. Wrote: Obshchaia fiziologiia myshechnoi i nervnoi systemy, for which he received Stalin prize in 1941. Had committed grave errors against Pavlov's teachings but recanted later.

BE II 5:21
Problemy nervnoi fiziologii i povedeniia, 1936, p. 8

1 Beritov, I. S.
SEE Beritashvili, I. S.

646 5 Bliagoz, Khimsad Makhmudovna
Adyg. deputy Sov. Nats. VS SSSR
4. sozyv, 1954

Pravda 3/18/54

4 Bocharov, Ivan Lazarevich
Sev. Os. deputy Sov. Nats. VS SSSR
4. sozyv, 1954

Pravda 3/18/54

665 2 Boiakhchev, S. G.
Member of CC CP Arm. SSR, 18. s'ezd, 1956.
Kom. Er. 1/22/56

7:Columbia U. S-4, 5 1956 RH1 Caucasia
RH1

646 6 Boitsov, Ivan Pavlovich
Member of Sov. Soiuz VS SSSR, 4. sozyv, 1954; Stavropol. krai

Bak. Rab. 3/18/54

5 Bondarchuk, Tat'iana Nikolaevna
Kab. deputy Sov. Nats. VS SSSR 4. sozyv, 1954

Pravda, 3/18/54

535 1 (?) Bregvadze, Boris Iakovlevich
Stalin prize 2. class, 1950; ballet dancer; for role in Ali-Batyr, performed in Leningr. gos. akad. teatr opery i baleta im. S.M. Kirova.

Laur. Stalin. prem. 1950
p. 81

665 3 Bulyga, A. E.
CC CP Azerb. SSR, 20. s'ezd, 1954.

646 665 2 Buniatian, Artavazd Avakovich
Deputy to Sov. Nats. VS SSSR, 4. sozyv, 1954. Member CC CP Arm. SSR, 17-18. s'ezd, 1954, 1956

Kom. Er. 3/19/54, 1/22/56

7:Columbia U. S-4,5 1956 RHl Caucasia
RHl

875 1 Burchuladze, E. E.
Rector of Tiflis Univ. im. Stalina, 1954.

Zar. Vost. 2/18/54

646 1 Burchuladze, Mariia Ivlianovna
Adzhar. deputy Sov. Nats. VS SSSR 4. sozyv, 1954

Bak. Rab. 3/18/54

1 Burdzhanadze, Magdana Davidovna
Deputy to Sov. Nats. VS SSSR (4. s'ezd) 1954

Bak. Rab. 2/19/54

535 1 Chabukiani, Vakhtang Mikhailovich
Stalin prize 2. class, 1950
Choreographer of ballet Gorda, performed in Gruz. gos. teatr opery i baleta im. Paliashvili.

Laur. Stalin. prem. 1950
p. 81

759 1 Chachava, Mikhail Konstantinovich
646 Adzhar. deputy Sov. Nats. VS SSSR 4. sozyv, 1954. Born in Lanchkhuti 1902- Military physician; since 1930 surgeon in Tiflis. No party affiliation

Bak. Rab. 3/18/54
Zar. Vost. 2/13/54

377 2 Chakharch'ian, Iosif Nazarovich
Stalin prize 2. class, 1950 for production of special asynchronic electric motors.

Laur. Stalin.prem. 1950
p. 41

536 1 Chakhava, Medea Vasil'evan
Stalin prize 3. class for acting in Vasadze's Potoplennye kamni

Laur. Stalin. prem. 1950
p. 78

331 1 (?) Chankotadze, Vakhtang Lavrent'evich
Stalin prize 2. class, 1950
Construction engineer; director of trust Khramgesstroi.

Laur. Stalin. prem. 1950
p. 44

665 2 Charchian, Z. V.
Member CC CP Arm. SSR, 17.-18. s'ezd, 1954, 1956

Kom. Er. 1/22/56

538 1 (2?) Charents
-1937. Armenian poet killed by Bolsheviks. See Kocharian for more information.

7:Columbia U. S-4,5 1956 RH1 Caucasia
RH1

538 1 Cheishvili, Aleksandr Nikolaevich
Stalin prize 2. class, 1950, for novel Lelo.

Laur. Stalin. prem. 1950
p. 66

646 5 Chekmenev, Dmitrii Rodionovich
Kab. deputy Sov. Nats. VS SSSR
4. sozyv, 1954

Pravda, 3/18/54

546 1 Chiaureli, Mikhail Edisherovich
1894-. Film script writer; best films: Saba, Khabarda, etc. Rec'd Stalin prize in 1947. Also sculptor; did Lenin's statue in Tiflis. In his writings shows satirical bent. Acted in first Georgian film: Arsen Dzhordiiashvili, 1921. In 1946 directed film: Kliatva Stalina po mogile Lenina.

BE I 61:571
Soviet Calendar 1917-1947

646 4 Chibirov, Khristofor Tadiozovich
Sev. Os. deputy Sov. Nats. VS SSSR
4. sozyv, 1954.

Pravda, 3/18/54

646 1 Chichinadze, David Alekseevich
Deputy to Sov. Nats. VS SSSR (4. s'ezd, 1954). Born in Tiflis, 1902- . Blacksmith; head of locomotive concern. Deputy VS SSSR 1.-3. sozyv.

Bak. Rab. 3/19/54
Zar. Vost. 2/14/54

325 Chikashua, David Semenovich
Stalin prize 3. class, 1950
Head of metallurgical laboratory, Zestafonskii zavod.

Laur. Stalin. prem. 1950
p. 32

814 1 Chikobava, Arn. S.
1898- Philologian; follower of Stalin's dicta on linguistics; one of group that studied Caucasian languages. Opened discussion on Marr's theories in Pravda (1950).

BE II 13:70

646 1 Chikovani, Mikhail Gerasimovich
Abkhaz. deputy Sov. Nats. VS SSSR 4. sozyv, 1954. Born in Kazandzhik (Turkmenia), 1911- .

Bak. Rab. 3/18/54
Zar. Vost. 2/13/54

538 1 Chikovani, Simon
1901-. Georgian writer; began as a futurist, now representative of proletarian ideology in literature. While he is against glorification of past, he defends revolutionary romanticism in his works. Wrote: Makholod Leksebi, Bedi respublika, Ot Kavkaza do Taganroga (poem)

BE I 61:579
BE II 13:78

815 1 Chitaia, Trofim Levonovich
Stalin prize 3. class for directing certain Georgian geological undertaking.

Laur. Stalin. prem. 1950
p. 35

532 1 Chkheidze, Konstantin Viacheslavovich
Stalin prize 2. class, 1950 for architectural decorations in the theater in Chiaturi (?).

Laur. Stalin. prem. 1950
p. 76

665 1 Chkheidze, Nikolai Semenovich
1864-1926. Menshevik; after annexation of Georgia to USSR, went abroad, and shortly thereafter committed suicide.

BE I 61:782

204 1 Chkhikvishvili, I.
Editor of Zaria vostoka (1955)

815 1 Chkhikvishvili, Zebed Iraklievich
Stalin prize 3. class, 1950
for geological works.

Laur. Stalin. prem. 1950
p. 35

538 1 Chkhivadze, Panteleimon
1903- . Georgian, proletarian writer. Member of CP SSSR. In his works he extolls possibilities of tomorrow. Wrote: Tov. Butkhuzi, Etazhi. Both are translated into Russian.

BE I 61:782

646 1 Chochua, Andrei Maksimovich
Abkhaz. deputy Sov. Nats. VS SSSR
4. sozyv, 1954

Bak. Rab. 3/18/54

665 2 Cholakchian, G. T.
Member CC CP Arm. SSR, 18. s'ezd, 1956.

Kom. Er. 1/22/56

793 2 Chorekchian, Georg VI
Only asst. until 1938. 1945 he was elected Catholicos of all Armenians. Under his era much propaganda was made to induce Armenians from abroad to come back to Armenia. He was looked on by Soviet regime with tolerance for his activities in the cause of peace.

Armenian Catholicos 1955?
Khoren 1938
Bull. Inst. Munich v. 3, No. 2, Feb. 1956, 42-46.

814 1 Chubinashvili, Georgii Nikolaevich
1885- . Prof. at Tiflis univ.; historian of Georgian architecture. Protagonist of idea that Georgian architecture developed independently from Armenian influence. Wrote: Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der georgischen Baukunst, 1921.

BE I 61:698

646 1
643 Chubinidze, Miron Dmitrievich
Deputy to Sov. Nats. VS SSSR (4. s'ezd, 1954). President of Presidium VS Gruz. SSR.

Bak. Rab. 3/19/54
Internatl. Yearbk. 1955:538

7: Columbia U. S-4, 5 1956 RHl Caucasia
RHl

401 2 Chuian, Mikhail Mikhailovich
Stalin prize 1st class, 1950 for mechanical engineering works.

Laur. Stalin. prem. 1950
p. 16.

64 6 Chukhno, Andrei Vasil'evich
Member of Sov. Soiuz VS SSSR
4. sozyv, 1954 Stavropol. krai.

Bak. Rab. 3/18/54

5 Chundukov, Ibragim Saidovich
Adyg. deputy Sov. Nats. VS SSSR
4. sozyv, 1954

Pravda 3/18/54

341 3 Dadashev, Sadykh Alekper ogly, 1905-1946. Architect; artist of Azerb. Built many buildings in Baku, e. g. conservatory, Nizami museum; also statue of Nizami in Baku and Kirovabad. Did the Azerb. pavillion at the Moscow Soviet exposition in 1939. Has written many treatises on Azerb. architecture.

BE II 13:297

7: Columbia U. S-4, 5 1956 RHI Caucasia
RHI

538 1 Dadiani, Shalva Nikolaevich, 1874-
Georgian writer. Member of CP SSSR since 1945. People's artist of Georgia. Representative of critical realism in Georgian lit. Wrote: Iz iskry (1937) which was translated into Russian in 1940. Wrote 37 plays. Deputy to VS SSSR 1. -2. sozyv. Rec'd Lenin order.

BE II 13:299

646 4 Dagirov, Nabi Sadykovich
Dag. deputy Sov. Nats. VS SSSR, 4. soz., 1954

Pravda 3/18/54

646 815 2 Daian, Viktoriia Ovanesovna
Deputy Sov. Nats. VS SSSR, 4. sozyv, 1954. Born 1904- in Nor Baiazet. Economist; teacher

Kom. Er. 3/19/54
2/17/54

815 1 Dalakishvili, Mikhail Semenovich
Stalin prize 3. class. Director of Inst. polevodstva Akad. nauk. Gruz. SSR. Prize rec'd for work: Vozdelyvanie pshenitsy v nizmennoi zone Zapadnoi Gruzii, publ. in Trudy Adzhametskoi opytnoi stantsii polevodstva Akad. nauk Gruz. SSR, 1949/50

Laur. Stalin. prem. 1950
p. 11

665 4
646 Danialov, Abdurakhmin Daniialovich
1st sect. CC CP Dagestan
Member CC CP SSSR 1956- (20. s'ezd). Member Sov. Soiuz VS SSSR 1954- (4. s'ezd)

NYT 2/27/56
Bak. Rab. 3/18/54

533 2
646 Danielian, Aikanush Bagdasarovna, 1893- Armenian singer. Born in Tiflis. Made debut in St. Petersburg. Now soloist with Erevan opera im. Spendiarov since 1932. Sings in Armenian operas mostly, but occasionally in Glinka and Meyerbeer operas also. Deputy to VS SSSR 2. sozyv.

BE II 13:338

7: Columbia U. S-4, 5 1956 RHl Caucasia
RHl

815 1 Daraseliia, Mikhail Konstantinovich
Stalin prize 3. class, 1950 for his: Krasnozemnye i podzolistye pochvy Gruzii i ikh ispol'zovanie pod subtropicheskie kul'tury, 1949. Geologist; head of Vsesoiuz. nauchn. issled. inst. chaia i subtropich. kul'tur.

Laur. Stalin. prem. 1950
p. 11

536 5 Daud, Tsei, 1900-
Cherkessian dramatist

BE I 61:254

665 3 Davidian, O. G.
CC CP Azerb. SSR, 20. s'ezd, 1954

7:Columbia U. S-4, 5 1956 RHl Caucasia
RHl

815 1 Davitshvili, Leo Shioevich, 1895-
Paleontologist; member of Akad. nauk. Gruz. SSR since 1944. Wrote: Razvitie idei i metodov v paleontologii posle Darvina, 1940 and and Istoriia evoliutsionnoi paleontologii ot Darvina do nashikh dnei, 1948. Rec'd Stalin prize for the latter.

BE II 13:260
19:279

665 2 Davtian, G.S.
Member CC CP Arm. SSR, 18. s'ezd, 1956. Editor of Doklady Akad. nauk Arm. SSR.

Kom. Er. 1/22/56

53 3 Davudova, Marziia Iusif kyzy, 1901-
Actress; member of CP SSSR since 1942. Deputy VS Azerb. SSR 2. -3. sozyv. Acted in Azizbekov theater in Baku. Stalin prize in 1948 for role Giul'zar in play Utro Vostoka E. Mamedkhanlyi.

BE II 13:266

538 1 Dedobrishvili
see Aragvispireli, S. Z. 1/1

1/1 [cf. cat. 116, p. 676 -- Analyst]

538 2 Demirchian, Derenik Karapetovich
1877- Armenian writer; born in Akhalkalaki in Georgia. Began as poet in 1893, later influenced by Gorkii. Wrote short story Sato in 1929, comedy Khrabryi Nazar in 1942, historical novel Vartanidy (2 vols. 1943/44)

BE II 3:87
13:652

646 1 Dgebuadze, Nina Kalistratovna
Deputy to Sov. Nats. VS SSSR (4. s'ezd, 1954)

Bak. Rab. 2/19/54

665 2 Dilanian, A. O.
Member CC CP Arm. SSR, 17.-18. s'ezd, 1954, 1956

Kom. Er. 1/22/56

3 Dmitriev, A. P.
CC CP Azerb. SSR, 20. s'ezd, 1954

7: Columbia U. S-4, 5 1956 RHI Caucasia

RHI

546 1 Dolidze, Semen Vissarionovich, 1903-
Georgian artist; CP member since 1942; film-producer. Films: Poslednye krestonostsy 1933, in 1936 historical film: Dariko, and in 1944 Shchit Dzhurgaia. He rec'd Stalin prize for latter in 1950. Film proclaims brotherhood of peoples of USSR.

BE II 15:25

533 1 Dolidze, Viktor Isidorovich, 1890-1933
Born in Ozurgetash (now Makharadze in Georgia) Composer and mandolin player. Wrote opera Leila in 1922, Tsisana in 1929. His is the unfinished Ossetian opera Zamira.

BE II 13:91
15:25

536 3 (?) Dolidze, Vladimir Sergeevich
Stalin prize for acting in Vasadz's Potoplennye kamni

Laur. Stalin prem. 1950
p. 78

814 2 Drzhbashian, M. M.
Corresp. member of Akad. nauk Arm. SSR and deputy chief editor of Doklady Akad. nauk Srm. SSR

665 3 Dun'iamaliev, K. G.
CC CP Azerb. SSR, 20. s'ezd, 1954

536 3 Dzhabarly, Dzafar, 1899-1934
Azerb. dramatist. His best known drama is V 1905 godu; Aidyn, 1922 Iashar, 1932, Almas, 1930. Stands for emancipation of women in Azerb. Born in Khizy near Baku

BE II 14:197

665 3 Dzhafarov, A. A.
CC CP Azerb. SSR, 20. s'ezd, 1954.

643 3
665 Dzhafarov, S. M
Sect. of presidium VS SSR Azerb. (5. s'ezd, 1954) Member CC CP Azerb.

Bak. Rab. 3/10/54

814 1 Dzhanashia, Simon Nikolaevich, 1900-1947. Historian of Georgia. Deputy to VS SSSR 2. sozyv. Member of CP SSSR since 1940. Wrote dissertation on: feudalism in Georgia. Since 1943 director of Inst. istorii Akad. nauk Gruz. SSR. Wrote on genetic resemblance between Georgians and Orientals. Twice rec'd Stalin prize, 1942, 1947.

BE II 14:211

7:Columbia U. S-4, 5 1956 RH1 Caucasia
RH1

815 1
646

Dzhanelidze, Aleksandr Illainovich 1888-. Georgian geologist; member of Akad. nauk Gruz. SSR; deputy to VS Gruz. SSR 1.-3. sozyv. Writes on paleontology. 1951- vice president of Akad. nauk Gruz. SSR; professor at Tiflis univ. Head of Inst. geol. Akad. nauk Gruz. SSR. Specialist in regional tectonics of Georgia.

BE II 13:70
14:212

759 1 (3?)

Dzhanelidze, Justin Ivlianovich 1883-1950. Surgeon; member of Akad. med. nauk SSR; editor of Vestnik khirugriiim. Grekova, 1937-1941. Stalin prize in 1949. Specialist on heart wound surgery. Pres. of 25. Vsesoiuz. s'ezd khirurgov. Encycl. does not mention that he is Azerb. or Georgian in origin.

BE II 14:212

816 1
646

Dzhanelidze, Tamaz Vissarionovich Adzhar. deputy Sov. Nats. VS SSSR 4. sozyv, 1954. Born in Tiflis, 1926- Engineer, party official of Komsomol. 1st sect. CC LKSM of Georgia (Zar. Vost. 29. Dec. 1955, p. 4)

Bak. Rab. 3/18/54
Zar. Vost. 2/13/54

7:Columbia U. S-4, 5 1956 RHl Caucasia
RHl

532 646 1 Dzhaparidze, Ucha Malakievich 1906- in Tiflis. Painter; member CP SSSR 1944- Painted portraits of Shota Rustaveli, Chavchavadze (1937), Paliashvili (1941). Beriia (1950). Most known painting: "l. maiskaia demonstratsiia v Tbilise." Deputy VS Gruz. SSR l. 3. sozyv; people's artist of Georgia. Studied under Toidze, Lansere.

BE II 14:214

815 1 Dzhavakhishvili, Aleksandr Nikolaevich, 1875-
Geographer and anthropologist; member of Akad. nauk Gruz. SSR. Organized cartography inst. Wrote Antropologiia Gruzii, 1908-1914, in 2 vols. Also: Geografiia Gruzii in 1926.

BE II 14:198

643 665 1 Dzhavakhishvili, Givi Dmitrievich Premier of Georgia. Member CC CP SSSR 1956 - (20. s'ezd) Member Sov. Soiuz, VS SSSR 1954- (4. s'ezd)

NYT 2/27/56
Bak. Rab. 3/18/54
Zar. Vost. 2/17/54

7: Columbia U. S-4, 5 1956 RHl Caucasia
RHI

814 1
646 Dzhavakhishvili, Ivan Aleksandrovich, 1876-1940
Georgian historian. Wrote on Armenian-Georgian philology in his dissertation. Was among organizers Georgian university. Deputy to VS SSSR. Wrote also: Osnovnye voprosy istorii gruzinsk. iazyka.

BE II 14:198

645 1 Dzhibladze, G. N.
Minister of education Gruz. SSR, 1954

Zar. Vost. 2/18/54

377 1 Dzhigaur, Georgii Mikhailovich
Stalin prize 2. class, 1950 chief specialist of hydrotechnical research of Tiflis Gidroenergoproekt.

Laur. Stalin. prem. 1950
p. 44

646 1 Dzhokhadze, Mariia Nikolaevich
Deputy to Sov. Soiuz VS SSSR (4. s'ezd, 1954)

Bak. Rab. 2/18/54

643 1 Dzhugashvili*
see Stalin, Iosif Vissarionovich
* [cf. cat. 116, pp. 804-805 -- Analyst]

7:Columbia U. S-4, 5 1956 RH1 Caucasia
RH1

3773 (?) Ebralidze, Mirian Silovanovich
Stalin prize 2. class, 1950 for collaborating in the building of hydroelectrical plant.

Laur. Stalin. prem. 1950

665 3 Efendiev, A. O.
Member of presidium CC CP Azerb. SSR, 21. s'ezd, 1956

Bak. Rab. 1/26/56

3 Efendiev, G. Sh.
Member of presidium CC CP Azerb. SSR, 21. s'ezd, 1956

Bak. Rab. 1/26/56

3 Efendiev, Kh. S
CC CP Azerb. SSR, 20. s'ezd, 1954.

538 1 Eristavi-Khoshtariia, Anastasii
1868-1951. Belonged to realist school; wrote long novels in which he portrayed the decadence of aristocracy, and the coming up of the bourgeoisie. Best novel: Na skol'zkom puti (in the original: Molipul gzaze, 1897). Also Vokrug tserkvi, against imperalist aim of orthodox church.

BE I 64:595

7: Columbia U. S-4, 5 1956 RHI Caucasia RHI

646 2 Eslian, Ruben Osipovich
Deputy Sov. Nats. VS SSSR,
4. sozyv, 1954.

Kom. Er. 3/19/54

665 2 Erzinkian, A. G.
Member CC CP Arm. SSR, 18. s'ezd,
1956.

Kom. Er. 1/22/56

331 2 Etmekdzhiian, Ashot Arutiunovich
Stalin prize 1950 for certain iron-
work construction. Head of
Glaviugstroi.

Laur. Stalin.prem. 1950
p. 49

646 4 Farzinova, Zareta Baloevna
Sev. Os. deputy Sov. Nats. VS SSSR
4. sozyv, 1954

Pravda 3/18/54

665 3 Fediuninskii, I. I.
Member of presidium CC CP Azerb.
SSR, 21. s'ezd, 1956

Bak. Rab. 1/26/56

665 3 Filiashkin, K. I.
CC CP Azerb. SSR, 20. sezd, 1954

669 3 Fioletov, Ivan Timofeevich (Vania)
1884-1918. Azerb. revolutionary. One of the 26 Bakinskie komissary, organizer of Bakinskaia kommuna. Bol'shevik since 1903. After February revolution elected to Ispol. komit. sovet. Fought against Mensheviks, dashnaky and mussavisty. Komissar and president of Sovet narod. khoziaist. in Baku; member of Kavkazskii krai. kometet bol'shevikov. Executed in 1918.

BE I 57:630

64 5 Firsov, Vasilii Nikiforovich
Cherkes. deputy Sov. Nats. VS SSSR 4. sozyv, 1954

Pravda 3/18/54

4 Fomicheva, Efrosin'ia Alekseevna
Dag. deputy Sov. Nats. VS SSSR 4. sozyv, 1954
Pravda 3/18/54

538 1 Gabashvili, Ekaterina Revazovna
1851-1938. Born in Gori. Wrote on peasant themes and stood for feminist movements.
BE II 13:77

532 1 Gabashvili, Georgii Ivanovich, 1862-1936.
Georgian realist painter, influenced by Repin. Paintings: Posle dozhda, Prodavets chaia, Khramovoi prazdnik. Prefers to paint scenes from present and past local Georgian life. Organized art academy in Tiflis.

BE II 9:590

538 5 Gabiev, Said, 1877-
Lak poet; wrote; zvuki lakskoi chengury, 1928.

BE II 13:288

644 5 Gabitov, Abdulla Gismotullovich
Kab. deputy Sov. Nats. VS SSSR 4. sozyv, 1954

Pravda, 3/18/54

533 2 Gabrielian, Avet Karpovich, 1899-
Violinist; people's artist of Armenia; teaches at Moscow conservatory; member of Komitats chamber orchestra group, awarded Stalin prize in 1946.

BE II 9:595

7: Columbia U, S-4, 5 1956 RHI Caucasia RHI

538 2 Gabrielian, Rachii Kocharovich
see
Rachii Kochar (pseud.) 1

815 1 Gabuniia, Evtikhii Bagratovich
Stalin prize 3. class, 1950 geologist.

Laur. Stalin.prem. 1950
p. 35

538 4(1?) Gadiev, Tsomak, Mikhail Iur'evich,
1883-1931
Ossetian revolutionary poet;
son of Osset. revolutionary Seka
Gadiev. The poems lash against
czarist regime. Narod, Nabat;
Glorification of socialism Chest'
predkov, 1931, about Osset. peasants
becoming collectivized. Unfinished
trilogy: Idushchie k schast'iu, 1929-

BE II 9:613

646 1 Gadliia, Mariia Vladimirovna
Abkhaz. deputy Sov. Nats. VS SSSR,
4. sozyv, 1954.

Bak. Rab. 3/18/54

1 [cf. cat. 116, p. 788 -- Analyst]

533 3 Gadzhibabekov, Gusein Aga Sultan ogly, 1898- ; tenor; people's artist of Azerb. Sang in chorus 'Nidzhat' of Baku. Since 1917 in Azerb. opera. Has rather high voice, andin pre-revolutionary times when women were not allowed to sing on stage, sang many feminine roles; Since 1920 soloist of Akhundov opera in Baku. Sings many roles of Gadzhibekov and Magomaev operas.

BE II 9:611

533 3
646 Gadzhibekov, Uzeir Abdul Gusein ogly, 1885-1948 (born in Agdzhabed) Composer, founder of Azerb. opera; people's artist of SSSR. Rec'd Stalin prize twice. Member of Akad. nauk Azerb. SSR since 1945; deputy to VS SSSR 1-2 sozyv, CP member since 1938. Studied in teachers seminary of Gori. Wrote: Leila i Medzhun 1908, Sheikh Senan, Rustam i Zokhrab; 1936 heroic opera: Ker-Ogly, produced in Moscow in 1938. In 1939 cantata for Stalin's 60. birthday. Rec'd Stalin prize for film made after his musical comedy Arshin mal alan. Wrote unfinished opera: Firuza. Wrote on folk themes of Azerb. opera in Osnovy azerb. narodnoi muzyki. 1945.

BE II 9:611-3

665 3 Gadzhiev, N. M.
Member of presidium CC CP Azerb. SSR, 20.-21. s'ezd, 1954, 1956.

Bak. Rab. 1/26/56

641 759 3 Gadzhi-Kasumov, Mustafa
Makhmud ogly. Nakhichev. deputy Sov. Nats. VS SSSR, 4. sozyv, 1954. Finished med. faculty of Kharkov in 1910; professor of gynecology of Azerb. inst. of medicine since 1938. Was member of Zakavkaz. ispolnit. kom. Deputy to VS Azerb. SSR.

Bak. Rab. 3/18/54
2/20/54

538 4 Gafurov, Abutalid, 1883-
Dagestani poet; at 18. s'ezd of CP SSSR read poem about Stalin Reki stremiatsia k moriu.

BE II 13:288

646 1 Gagiev, Aleksei Davidovich
Iugo-Os. deputy Sov. Nats. VS SSSR 4. sozyv, 1954

Pravda 3/18/54

538 2
204

Gaidar (pseud. of Golikov, Arkadii) 1904-1941. Armenian writer, born in L'gov. Wrote: Shkola, Chuk i Gek, Timur i ego komanda; was military correspondent in World War II, and died in war.

Kom. Er. 2/21/54

401 2

Galfaian, Markar Karapetovich
Stalin prize 3. class, 1950 for work on a three-phase generator.

Laur. Stalin.prem. 1950
p. 43

646 2

Galoian, Aslan Akopovich
Deputy to Sov. Nats. VS SSSR, 4. sozyv, 1954

Kom. Er. 3/19/54

665 2

Galstian, N. S
Member CC CP Arm. SSR, 17.-18. s'ezd, 1954, 1956.

Kom. Er. 1/22/56

538 1 Gamsakhurdia, Konstantin Semenovich, 1891- Georgian writer; member of Akad. nauk Gruz. SSR. Wrote: Vstrecha s mertvetsom, 1924 Ulybka Dionisa, 1933; in both he portrays decadent bourgeois trends. David Stroitel' in 3 vols, 1945-9. Language is archaic. Translated Dante's Divina Commedia into Georgian.

BE II 10:195-6

4 Gamzat, Tsadasa, 1877-1951 Dagestani satirical poet.

BE II 13:287

1 Gaprindashvili, Valerian Ivanovich, 1889-1941. Georgian symbolist poet; his poems are filled with mysticism, individualistic, decadent traits. After revolution he stopped his symbolism and turned to "true lyricism" glorifying Lenin and Stalin.

BE II 10:216

533 4 Gasanov, Gotfrid Alievich, 1900- Dagestani musicologist Lezgian by nationality. Deputy to VS SSSR 1.-3. sozyv. Wrote opera Khochbar 1937 and Dagestankaia kantata o Staline for which he rec'd Stalin prize in 1950.

BE II 10:257 Laur. Stalin prem 1950 p. 71

7: Columbia U. S-4, 5 1956 RHl Caucasia RHl

646 3 Gasanova, Gyzgaid Salman kyzy
Deputy to Sov. Nats. VS SSSR
(4. sozyv, 1954)

Bak. Rab. 3/19/54

3 Gasanova, Shamama Makhmudali kyzy
Deputy to Sov. Soiuz VS SSSR.
(4. s'ezd, 1954) Born in 1923-
Cotton-worker; Geroi sotsial. truda.

BE II 10:257
Bak. Rab. 3/18/54

665 2 Gasparian, D. A
Member CC CP Arm. SSR, 17.-18.
s'ezed, 1954, 1956.

Kom. Er. 1/22/56

5332 Gasparian, Goar Mikaelovna
Stalin prize 3. class, 1950 for operatic
role in Stepanian's Geroinia.

Laur. Stalin.prem. 1950
p. 80

665 2 Gazarian, V. R.
Member of CC CP Arm. SSR, 18. s'ezd,
1956

Kom. Er. 1/22/56

646 1 Gegeshidze, Georgii Andreevich
Deputy to Sov. Soiuz VS SSSR
(4. s'ezd, 1954)

Bak. Rab. 2/18/54

646 1
533 Georgadze, Leila Mikhailovna
Deputy to Sov. Nats. VS SSSR
(4. s'ezd, 1954) Born in Tiflis,
1924- ; singer; graduated from
Saradzhishvili conservatorium;
presently with the Tiflis Paliashvili
opera & theater.

Bak. Rab. 2/19/54
Zar. Vost. 2/13/54

646 1
643 Georgadze, Mikhail Porfi'evich
Deputy to Sov. Nats. VS SSSR
(4. s'ezd, 1954) 1st deputy president
of Georgia. Minister of agriculture
of Georgia.

Bak. Rab. 2/19/54
Zar. Vost. 2/17/54

646 5 Gerasimov, Sergei Appolinarievich
Adyg. deputy Sov. Nats. VS SSSR
4. sozyv, 1954

Pravda 3/18/54

7: Columbia U. S-4, 5 1956 RH1 Caucasia RH1

665 2 Gevondian, S. A.
Member CC CP Arm. SSR, 17.-18. s'ezd, 1954, 1956

Kom. Er. 1/22/56

3 Gidaiatov, E. I.
CC CP Azerb. SSR, 20. s'ezd, 1954.

816 645 3 Giulmamedov, Ibragim Alekper ogly
Stalin prize 2. class, 1950 for new ways of agricultural plant production. Minister of vodnoe khoziaistvo Azerb. SSR.

Luar. Stalin.prem. 1950
p. 55

532 646 2 Giurdzhian, Gabriel Mikhailovich, 1892- Armenian painter; deputy to VS SSSR 1st and 3rd sozyv. Professor of Erevan art academy.
Zavodskii peizazh, 1949.
Ukladka kolkhoznogo sena v stoga, 1944, Vesna v Armenii, 1945

BE II 3:390
13:252

646 1 Gogitidze, Naziko Khasanovna
Adzhar, deputy Sov. Nats. VS SSSR 4. sozyv, 1954.

Bak. Rab. 3/18/54

7: Columbia U. S-4, 5 1956 RHI Caucasia RHI

538 2 Golikov, Arkadii
see
Gaidar (pseud) 1/1

646 6 Golovchenko, Vasilii Ivanovich
Member of Sov. Soiuz Krasnodar. krai, VS SSSR, 4. sozyv, 1954.

Bak. Rab. 3/18/54

2 Gorbatov, Aleksandr Vasil'evich
Deputy Sov. Nats. VS SSSR
4. sozyv, 1954

Kom. Er. 3/19/54

536 1 Gotsiridze, N. S.
1872-1949; Georgian actor.

BE II 13:95

646 1 Gotsiridze, Otar Davidovich
Deputy to Sov. Nats. VS SSSR
(4. s'ezd, 1954)

Bak. Rab. 2/19/54

1 [cf. cat. 116, p. 720 -- Analyst]

7: Columbia U, S -4, 5 1956 RHI Caucasia RHI

665 646 3 Grigorian, Egishe Petrosovich
Born in Magavuz, 1902-
Member of CC CP Azerb. SSR, 20.-21. s'ezd, 1954, 1956. 1942-1952 1st sect. Nagorno-Karabakhskii obkom CP Azerb. SSR. Deputy VS SSSR 2. sozyv; Deputy VS Azerb. SSR. Unsuccessful candidate to Sov. Nats. VS SSSR 4. sozyv in 1954.

Bak. Rab. 2/24/54
1/26/56

341 2 Grigorian, Mark Vladimirovich, 1900-
Armenian architect; built the offices of CC CP Arm. SSR in Erevan. Member of CP since 1945. 1938-1950 chief architect of Erevan. Builds in traditional Armenian style, but shows traces of Italian renaissance, too. Stalin prize, 3. class, 1950.

BE II 12:608
Laur. Stalin prem. 1950
p. 76

665 2 Grigorian, V. KH.
Member CC CP Arm. SSR, 18.s'ezd, 1956.

Kom. Er. 1/22/56

7: Columbia U, S-4, 5 RHl Caucasia
RHl

533 2 Grigorian, Vagram Mkrtichevich
Stalin prize 3. class, 1950 opera artist

Laur. Stalin, prem. 1950
p. 80

538 1 Grishashvili (pseud. Iosif Grigor'evich Mamulaishvili) 1899-
Georgian poet; member of Akad. nauk Gruz. SSR. Born in Tiflis. First lyric poems: Buket roz, 1906 Proshchanie so starym Tbilisi, 1925. Stalin prize in 1950. Wrote also: Lermontov i gruzin. lit, and Ostrovskii i gruzin. teatr. Translated many Armenian works into Georgian.

BE II 12:624

815 3 Grossgein, Aleksandr Al'fonsovich, 1888-1948. Azerb. botanist; member of Azerb. Akad. nauk; taught in Tiflis 1917- Director of botanical inst. of Azerb. Akad. nauk; at the Azerb. Kirov univ. created chair of morphology and systematology of higher plants. Wrote Flora Kavkaza, 1928 in 4 vols. Analiz flory Kavkaza 1936 and Rastitel'nye resursy Kavkaza, 1946. The bibliography of his works appears in Botanicheskii zhurnal, 1949, No. 3

BE II 13:17-18

669 2 Gukasian, Gukas Ogasenovich, 1899-1920 Armenian revolutionary; born in Kalara, near Erevan. Since 1917 Bol'shevik. Fought Mensheviks and dashnaks. His monument in Erevan.

BE II 13:189

665 2 Gukasian, Z.O.
Member CC CP Arm. SSR, 17.-18. s'ezd, 1954, 1956

Kom. Er. 1/22/56

536 2 Gulakian, Armen Karapetovich, 1899- Armenian producer and dramatist. People's artist of Armenia. Deputy to VS SSSR 2.-3. sozyv. Member of CP since 1941. Born in Tiflis. Chief producer of Sundukian theater in Erevan. Produced there: Lermontov's Maskarad, Gorkii's Na dne. Stalin prize in 1946 and 1950.

BE II 13:190

792 2 Gulian, M. T.
Member of Collegium of Armenian Supreme Court.

401 2 Guliants, Enovk Airapetovich
Stalin prize, 3. degree 1950 machine engineer.

Laur. Stalin prem. 1950 p. 25

815 1 Guliashvili, Vasilii Zakhar'evich, 1903- Soviet forestry expert; member of Akad. nauk Gruz. SSR; writes on biology, ecology. Director of Forestry inst. of Akad. nauk Gruz. SSR in 1954.

BE II 13:192
Zar. Vost. 2/17/54

538 1 Gulia, Dmitrii Iosifovich Abkhaz. deputy Sov. Nats. VS SSSR, 4. sozyv. 1954. Born in 1874-Varch; national poet of Abkaziia; founder of Abkhaz art and lit. Taught Abkhazian at Tiflis univ. Translates into Abkhaz. language Pushkin, Krylov, Nekrasov.

Bak. Rab. 3/18/54 & Zar. Vost 2/23/54
BE II 13:191-2
I 19:785

1 Gulia, Georgii Dmitrievich, 1913- Abkhaz. artist, writer; member of CP SSR since 1940. Writes in Russian. Born in Sukhumi. Son of writer D. I. Gulia. For Vesna v Sakene rec'd Stalin prize in 1948. Wrote first Abkhazian grammar, and edited first Abkhazian periodical Apsny, (Abkhazia). Translated the "International" into Abkhazian. Member of VS Abkhaz. SSR. His first works: Abrakil and Kamachich. After revolution dedicates many of his poems to Lenin, Stalin and Beriia, and extol the wisdom of CP, the new Soviet man, etc. Wrote the first Abkhaz. short story: Pod chuzhim nebom.

BE: II 13:191

646 1 Gulieva, Ol'ga Maksimovna
Iugo-Os. deputy Sov. Nats.
VS SSR 4. sozyv, 1954
Born in Tbeti, 1923-
Ossetian language instructor; no
party affiliation.

Pravda 3/18/54
Zar. Vost. 2/13/54

1 Guniia, Avtandil Levanovich
Deputy to Sov. Nats. VS SSSR
(4. s'ezd, 1954) Minister of
culture of Georgia.

Bak. Rab. 2/19/54
Zar. Vost. 2/17/54

814 3 Guseinov, G.
Russko-azerbaidzhanskii slovar',
v. 1-4, Baku, 1940-1946
Stat'i po istorii razvitiia filosofskoi
i obshchestvennoi mysli v Azer-
baidzhane. Baku, 1948

BE II 1:486 & 452

665 3 Guseinov, K. A.
Member of presidium CC CP Azerb.
SSR, 20.-21. s'ezd, 1954, 1956

Bak. Rab. 1/26/56

646 665 3 Gus'kov, Anatolii Mikhailovich
Deputy to Sov. Soiuz. VS SSSR
(4. s'ezd, 1954)
Member of CC CP Azerb. SSR.,
20.-21. s'ezd, 1954, 1956
Born in Moscow, 1914-
Member of Internal Affairs Azerb.
SSR since 1953.

Bak. Rab. 3/18/54, 2/25/54, 1/26/56

538 1 Gvetadze, Razhden Matveevich
1897- . Georgian writer, symbolist.
Belonged to group Golubye rogi,
Georgian symbolist poets. Translated Chanson de Roland and Ramayana into Georgian.

BE II 10:290

665 3 Iakovlev, D. D.
Member of presidium CC CP Azerb.
SSR, 21. s'ezd, 1956

Bak. Rab. 1/26/56

3 Ibragimov, A. I.
CC CP Azerb. SSR, 20. s'ezd, 1954

646 4 Ibragimov, Davud
Dag. deputy Sov. Nats. VS SSR
4. sozyv, 1954

Pravda, 3/18/54

646 643 538 3 Ibragimov, Mirza Azhdar ogly (born in 1911- no place found) Deputy to Sov. Nats. VS SSSR (4. sozyv, 1954) President of Presidium VS Azerb. SSR since 1954- President of Soiuz sovet. pisat. Azerb. Member of CC CP Azerb. SSR 20-21 s'ezd 1954, 1956. Philologian, writer; member of Akad. nauk Azerb. SSR. Dramas: Khaiat (1937), Madrid (1938), Nastupit den' (1948; rec'd Stalin prize for it in 1951).

Bak. Rab. 3/19/54 and 3/10/54; 2/28/54, 1/26/56, 12/28/55

Laur. Stalin. prem. 1950 p. 66

646 1 Ignitian, Sergei Mezovich Deputy to Sov. Nats. VS SSSR (4. s'ezd, 1954)

Bak. Rab. 2/19/54

665 3 Ignatov, I. P. Member of presidium CC CP Azerb. SSR, 21. s'ezd, 1956

Bak. Rab. 1/26/56

646 1 Inauri, Aleksei Nikolaevich
Deputy to Sov. Soiuz VS SSSR
(4. s'ezd, 1954)

Bak. Rab. 2/18/54

665 2 Ioannesian, K. I.
693 Member of CC CP Arm. SSR 17.-18. s'ezd, 1954, 1956. Public prosecutor of Armenian Supreme Court.

Kom. Er. 1/22/56

538 2 Isaakian, Avetik Saakovich
646 1875-, Aleksandropol (now Leninakan). President of writers' union of Armenia. Since 1946 member of Akad. nauk Arm. SSR. Deputy to VS SSR 3. sozyv. Studied in Leipzig. Stalin prize 1946. Lyric poet; studied in ecclesiastic. seminary. Famous poem: Abu-Lala-Maari translated into many European languages. 1930-36 lived in Paris where he worked against enemies of Armenian dashnaky. Very nationalistically inclined.

BE II 3:86 18:471-2
I 29:280-1

7:Columbia U. S-4,5 1956 RH1 Caucasia
RH1

532 2 Isabekian, E. A.
20th century painter; most famous statue is Abovian Khachatur.

BE II 1:20

646 4 Isaev, Magomed Isaevich
Dag. deputy Sov. Nats. VS SSSR 4. soz. 1954

Pravda 3/18/54

536 5 Isaeva, Asai
20. c. Chechen actress

BE 1 61:535

377 2 Isagulian, Amasii Vasakovich
Stalin prize 3. class, 1954. Chief constructor of Erevanskii mashinostroi. zavod. Prize for collaborating on a three-phase synchronic generator.

Laur. Stalin. prem. 1950
p. 43

646 2 Ishkhanian, Ashkhen Tigranovna
Deputy to Sov. Nats. VS SSSR, 4. sozyv, 1954

Kom. Er. 3/19/54

706 1 Iskaov, Admiral Ivan Stepanovich 1894-, Tiflis. Naval officer, educated in technol. institute. Taught Soviet mil. acad. till 1937. Commander of Baltic fleet; flag officer 2nd rank; 2nd vice-commissar of Navy. Admiral in 1939. Same year visited USA as member of commission placing an order. Navy chief of staff in 1941; admiral of fleet since 1944. Deputy to VS SSSR (1936). Head of editorial board: Marine Atlas. Wrote: The Navy in the Patriotic War, 1944.

World biogr. 1954, p. 577

645 665 3 Iskenderov, Gusein Nadzhaf Minister of automobile transportation (1954) - Azerb. Member of CC CP Azerb. SSR, 20. s'ezd, 1954.

Bak. Rab. 3/10/54

665 3 Iskenderov, M. S. CC CP Azerb. SSR, 20. s'ezd, 1954

815 665 646 3 Iskenderov, Mamed Abdul ogly Deputy to Sov. Soiuz VS SSSR 4. s'ezd, 1954. Born in Eivazlar, 1915-. Geologist; 1953- 1st. sect. Bakinskii gorodskoi komitet; 1954, 1956, member of CC CP Azerb. SSR 20.-21. s'ezd. Deputy to VS Azerb. SSR.

Bak. Rab. 3/18/54, 1/26/54

646 3
816

Islam-Zade, Islam Mamedovich
Deputy to Sov. Nats. VS SSSR (4. sozyv, 1954). Born in Baku, 1910-; Engineer; deputy to VS Azerb. SSR

Bak. Rab. 3/19/54

665 3

Ismailov, K. G.
CC CP Azerb. SSR, 20. s'ezd, 1954

646 5

Kade, Khalid Batkerievich
Adyg. deputy Sov. Nats. VS SSSR 4. sozyv, 1954

Pravda 3/18/54

532 3
(1?)

Kakabadze, Silovan Iakimovich
1895-. Azerb. sculptor; studied under Nikoladze. Did busts of Geladze, a socialist worker and Dzhanashi, academician. Stalin prize in 1941 for his Stalin monument in Tiflis.

BE II 19:392

646 1

Kakhadze, Rusudana Davidovna
Deputy to Sov. Soiuz VS SSSR (4. s'ezd, 1954)

Bak. Rab. 2/18/54

815 3 Kalandzade, Antifor Dmitrievich
Stalin prize 3. class, engineer, geologist

Laur. Stalin. prem. 1950
p. 35

232 2 Kalantar, Avetis Airapetovich
1859-1937. Agriculture expert; educated in Moscow; instrumental in creating dairy business in Vologda. Since 1930 head of dairy industry of Erevan zooveterinary inst.

BE II 19:393

546 1 Kalatozov, Mikhail Konstantinovich
1903-. Georgian movie producer; wrote: Litso Golivuda. Stalin prize in 1951.

BE II, 19:394

341 1 Kal'gin, Anatolii Nikolaevich
1875-1943. Lived in Georgia since 1907. Architect interested in Georgian style; built Tiflis public library along traditional Georgian forms.

BE II 19:460

7:Columbia U. S-4,5 1956 RH1 Caucasia

RH1

316 3(?) Kamladze, Aleksandr Artem'evich
Stalin prize 1. class
Mining engineer

Laur. Stalin. prem. 1950
p. 34

669 3(?) Kamo (pseud.) Party-pseudonym of Ter-Petrosian, Semën Arshakovich Born in Gori, 1882-1922. Prof. revolutionary. Died in car accident. Collaborated with Stalin.

BE II 19:543

242 1 Kanchaveli, L.
Director of the Institute of plant protection of Akad. nauk, SSR Gruz., 1954

Zar. Vost. 2/17/54

538 2 Kaputikian, Sil'va Barunakovna 1919- . Armenian poetess, born in Erevan. Stalin prize in 1952. Wrote Vera, Esli vdrug pozuvut menia, etc.

BE II 20:90

646 2 Karapetian, Sashibek Airapetovich
Deputy Sov. Nats. VS SSSR, 4. sozyv, 1954.

Kom. Er. 3/19/54

646 665 3 Karasev, Aleksandr Petrovich
Deputy to Sov. Nats. VS SSSR (4. sozyv, 1954). Member of CC CP Azerb. SSSR

Bak. Rab. 3/19/54

533 1 Karashvili, Andrei Nikolaevich
1857-1925. Georgian composer; wrote 1st Georgian quartet based on folk melody.

BE II 20:144

646 5 Kardanov, Adam Aisovich
Cherkes. deputy Sov. Nats. VS SSSR 4. sozyv, 1954.

Pravda 3/18/54

645 665 3 Kasim-Zade, Enver Ali ogly
Minister of civilian housing, Azerb. 1954. Member of CC CP Azerb. SSR.

Bak. Rab. 3/10/54

665 646 643 3 Kasumov, Mir Bashir Fattakh ogly
1879-1949. Born in Tebriz. Party organizer; revolutionary member of CP Azerb. SSR. 1920-21 head of Baku worker-peasant inspection.

665
646
643

1935-7 people's commissar of Azerb. social security. Deputy to VS SSSR 1.-2. sozyv. 1938-1948 president of VS Azerb. SSR presidium.

BE II 20:346

645 3

Kasumov, Salim Kasumovich
Minister of local industry, Azerb. 1954.

Bak. Rab. 3/10/54

669 2

Katanian, R. P.
One of the signers of a letter to Pravda. One of the old members of the 1905 revolution, formerly described in Soviet propaganda as the chief of "nationalist opposition" group in Armenia. For almost a generation his name had not appeared in the official press.

NYT 3/12/56

669 3(1?)
645
648

Kavtaradze, S. I.
(no dates, place) Order of Lenin, of Red Labor flag. Educated in Leningr. Univ. (law degree). Engaged in revolutionary work in Baku 1903. On editorial staff of Pravda 1913-14. Return to Caucasus in 1918. Chairman of the Council of People's Commissars of Georgia, 1921-22. Legal

669
645
648

counselor to Turkey 1923-4; chief of Middle East Dept. of Ministry of Foreign Affairs 1941-3; deputy of Ministry of Foreign Affairs 1943-5; ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary to Rumania since 1945.

World Dipl. Dir. 1950, page 853

665 2 Kazarian, V. A.
Member CC CP Arm. SSR, 18.s'ezd 1956.

Kom. Er. 1/22/56

538 1 Kediashvili, D.
1862-1931. Georgian writer. Wrote: Solomon Morbeladze, 1894; Machekha Samanishvili, 1897; Nevzgody Kamushadze, 1900.

BE II 13:78

325 3(?) Kekelidze, Ivan Grigor'evich
Stalin prize 3. class, for work in metallurgy (1950).

Laur. Stalin. prem. 1950
p. 32

814 1 Kekelidze, Konrelii Samsonovich
1879-. Georgian academician, philologian. Wrote: Istoriia

814 drevnegruzinskoi literatury. 2 vols. 1923-24. 3. ed. 1951-52. Did some work on Byzantine literature as reflected in Georgian translation, and unavailable in the original.

BE II 20:491

646 1 Kemoklidze, Parten Georgevich
Deputy to Sov. Soiuz VS SSSR (4. s'ezd, 1954).

Bak. Rab. 2/18/54

538 5 Kerashev, Tembot Magometovich 1903- . Adygeian prose-writer. Translated "International" into Adygeian. Novel Shambul about collectivization of Adygeia. Rec'd Stalin prize in 1948 for Doroga k schast'iu.

BE II 20:551, I 61:254

316 3(?) Kereselidze, Konstantin Georgievich
Stalin prize 3. class, 1950. Mining engineer.

Laur. Stalin. prem. 1950
p. 35

665 3 Kerimov, A. G.
CC CP Azerb. SSR, 20. s'ezd, 1954.

665 3 Kerimova, Z. A.
CC CP Azerb. SSR, 20. s'ezd, 1954

538 5 Keshokov, A.
1914-
Kabardian author; wrote poem
U podnozh'ia gor, 1941

BE II 19:216

815 1
875
646 Ketskhoveli, Nikolai Nikolaevich
1897-. Botanist; member of Akad. nauk Gruz. SSR since 1941; rector of Tiflis univ. since 1945. Collected material on Georgian forests. Published: Atlas kul'turnoi flory Gruzii, Flora Gruzii. Deputy to VS SSR I. 3. sozyv. Head of agricult. div. Akad. nauk Gruz. SSR.

BE II 20:578
Zar. Vost. 2/17/54

645 1 Ketsoveli, Z. N.
Minister of food industry Gruz. SSR, 1954.

Zar. Vost. 2/17/54

533 2 Khachaturian, Aram Il'ich
1904-, Tiflis. Finished conservatory in Moscow 1934. Began with

RHl

533 cello studies; then worked under Gnessin; influenced by Armenian poet minstrels: ashugs. Wrote his piano concerto in 1935 (1st British performance in 1940). His 2nd symphony was performed in USSR in 1943, for which he rec'd Stalin prize. Authority on oriental music. In Feb. 1948 along with Shostakovich and Prokofiev was accused by CC CP SSSR of "... formalistic distortions and anti-democratic tendencies... passion for muddled neuropathic combinations.." He admitted to charges (published in Daily Worker, Mar. 24, 1948). In Feb. 1956 he seems to be back in favor. His wife, Nina Makarova, writes songs. Wrote Dance of the Rose Maidens, ballet Schast'e. President of Union of Soviet composers since 1948. For further refs. see: Mod. Music, Ja./Fe. 1936, 13:21; International Who's Who, 1955, p. 502. Thompsen's: Internat'l Cycl. Music & Musicians, 1943.

BE I 59:474, II 3:73, 99
Current Biogr. 1948, p. 344-46
World Biogr. 1954, p. 633

665 2 Khachaturian, R. G.
Member of CC CP Arm. SSR, 17.-18. s'ezd, 1954, 1956.

Kom. Er. 1/22/56

232 3 Khachaturovna, Mosesian Margo
Born in Nagorno-Karabakhskaia oblast, 1925. Veterinarian; since 1953 in kolkhoz im. Stalin in Martuninskii raion. Unsuccessful candidate Sov. Nats. VS SSSR 4. sozyv, 1954.

Bak. Rab. 2/18/54.

536 5 Khadzhieva, Tashu
20. c. Chechen actress

BE II 61:535

538 5 Chakurate, S.
Famous Cherkessian author; head of Gorskii ispolkom 1921.

BE I 61:254

759 5
815 Khanene, Filipp Semenovich
Stalin prize 3. class, 1950, for combatting bacillary dysentery. Head of laboratory of Vsesoiuz, nauch. issled. khimiko-farmatseut. inst. im. S. Ordzhonikidze.

Laur. Stalin. prem. 1950
p. 65

538 5 Khatkov, Akhmet, 1902-
Rec'd prizes at the North-Caucasian Olympics of national arts; writes poems, stories of con-

7:Columbia U. S-4,5 1956 RH1 Caucasia
RH1

538 temporary life - Cherkessian.

BE I 61:254

5 Khavpachev, Amirkhan
1882-. Kabardian poet; wrote: Partizany Kabardy, My pobeditel', Slava Stalinu.

BE II 19:216

647 1 Khazan, A. S.
Former investigator of Georgian Commissariat of Int. Aff. Executed Nov. 1955.

NYT
Zar. Vost.

646 4 Khetagurova, Tamara Soltanovna
Sev. Os. deputy Sov. Nats. VS SSSR 4. sozyv, 1954.

Pravda, 3/18/54

6 Khoruzhenko, Ol'ga Petrovna
Member of Sov. Soiuz VS SSSR, 4. sozyv, 1954; Krasnodar. krai

Bak. Rab. 3/18/54

538 1 Kiacheli, Leo
(presently called:Shengelaia, Leon Mikhailovich). 1884-. Georgian writer; born in Obudzhi. Wrote Krov', Gvadi Bigva, 1938, for which he rec'd Stalin prize in 1941.

BE II 20:582

535 1 Kikaleishvili, Zurabu Malakievich.
People's artist of Georgia; Stalin prize winner for dance choreography. (Collaborated with Chabukiani on ballet Gorda.)

Zar. Vost. 2/30/55
Laur. Stalin. prem. 1950, p. 81

646 5 Khmelev, Ivan Fedorovich
Cherkes. deputy Sov. Nats. VS SSSR 4. sozyv, 1954.

Pravda 3/18/54

536 1 Khorava, Akakii Alekseevich
Deputy to Sov. Nats. VS SSSR (4. s'ezd, 1954). Born Ochkhomuri, 1895-. Actor (classical roles); director of Tiflis Rustaveli theatre (1949-); member of committee awarding Stalin prizes on lit. and drama. Won 5 Stalin prizes.

Bak. Rab. 3/19/54
Zar. Vost 2/13/54

6922 Khurshudian, A. A.
Member of Collegium of Armenian Supreme Court.

5331 Kiladze, Grigorii Varfolomeevich, 1902- Composer; artist of Georgia; prof. since 1941, director since 1945 of Tiflis conservatory im. Saradzhishvili. 1940- CP member; Composes mainly symphonies; Wrote: Gandegili, bases on poem by Chavchavadze, for which he rec'd Stalin prize in 1941. Wrote opera Bakhtrioni and ballet Sinatle (Stalin prize in 1948.) Wrote music to films: Poslednyi maskarad, Arsen.

BE II 20:617

6652 Kirakosian, A. M.
Member CC CP Arm. SSR, 17.-18. s'ezd, 1954, 1956

Kom. Er. 1/22/56

3 Kislin, S. I.
Member of presidium CC CP Azerb. SSR, 21. s'ezd, 1956

Bak. Rab. 1/26/56

815 2 Knuniants, Ivan Liudvigovich, 1906-
Stalin prizes in 1943, 1948, and 1950 for his achievements in chemistry. Member of Akad. nauk SSSR since 1946. Synthesized pyrimidine analogs of dyes.

BE II 21:482

538 5 Koble, Bitlestan, 1902
Cherkessian author of historical drama Khimsad; written both in Adygei and Russian

BE I 61:254

5321 Kobuladze, Sergei Solomonovich, 1909- Stalin prize in 1947 for sets to Mshvelidze's opera: Skazanie o Tarieli, and prize in 1948 for sets to Kiladze's ballet Sinatle. CP member since 1947. Studied art, drawing at univ. Tiflis. Illustrated Slovo o polku Igoreve (1939-1942); also illustrated Rustaveli's Vitiaz' v tigrovoi shkure.

BE II 21:496

6652 Kocharian, L. M.
Member CC CP Arm. SSR, 17.-18. s'ezd, 1954, 1956

Kom. Er. 1/22/56

7: Columbia U. S-4, 5 1956 RHl Caucasia RHl

533 2(3?) Kocharian, A. Armianskaia Narodnaia muzyka-obshchii obzov. M. 1939

BE I 3:99

2 Kocharian, Suren Akimovich
People's artist of Armenia; member of Moscow's philharmonia orchestra. Stalin prize 3. class, 1950

Laur. Stalin.prem. 1950
p. 73

646 6 Kochergov, Vasilii Nikitovich
Member of Sov. Soiuz VS SSSR, Krasnodar. krai, 4. sozyv, 1954

Bak. Rab. 3/18/54

646 2
665 Kochinian, Anton Ervandovich
Deputy to Sov. Soiuz VS SSSR 4. sozyv, 1954. Member CC CP Arm. SSR, 18. s'ezd, 1956. Might be the chairman of the Council of Ministers of Armenia, 1955

Kom. Er. 3/18/54, 1/22/54

532 2 (3?) Kodzhoian, A. G.
"Prazdnik urozhaia" Armenian painting 1947.

BE II 3:90

646 5 Komarov, Pavel Timofeevich
Kab. deputy Sov. Nats VS SSSR
4. sozyv, 1954.

Pravda 3/18/54

533 2 Komitas
1869-1935 (real name: Sogomonian, Sogomon Gevorkovich) Born in Kuti, Turkey. Armenian composer; studied at Echmiadzin seminary. In 1910 went to Constantinople and finally died in Paris. Buried in Soviet Armenia. Wrote down over 3000 Armenian folk songs.

BE II 20:159-160

665 3 Kremleva, E. A.
CC CP Azerb. SSR, 20.s'ezd, 1954

647 1 Krimian, N. A. --Nov. 1955
Executed as possible Beriia accomplice. Former investigator in Georgian Commissariat of Internal Affairs.

NYT

Zaria Vostoka

646 1 Kuchava, Mitrofan Ionovich
Deputy to Sov. Nats. VS SSSR
(4. s'ezd, 1954)

Bak. Rab. 2/19/54

646 1 Kudzhiashvili, Ivan Petrovich
Iugo-Os. deputy Sov. Nats. VS SSSR
4. sozyv, 1954

Pravda 3/18/54

646 665 3 Kuliev, Makhmud Kuli ogly
Deputy to Sov. Nats. VS SSSR
(4. s'ezd, 1954) Member CC CP
Azer. SSR, 20.s'ezd, 1954

Bak. Rab. 2/19/54

646 5 Kulik, Georgii Tarasovich
Kab. deputy Sov. Nats. VS SSSR
4. sozyv, 1954

Pravda 3/18/54

647 3 Kuloshvili, Irodion Semenovich
Stalin prize 2. class, 1950 for better
production of cotton. Head of a
division in the ministry of water
transport.

Laur. Stalin prem. 1950
p. 55

665 3 Kurbanov, M. K.
CC CP Azer. SSR, 20.s'ezd, 1954.

341/646 1 Kurdiani, Archil Grigor'evich
1903 - Georgian architect; 1936-1944 chief architect of Tiflis; rec'd Stalin prize for the Georgia pavilion at the All-Union agricultural exhibit in Moscow, 1941. Deputy to VS SSSR.

BE II 24:90

538 1 (2?) Kurginian, Shushanik Arutiunovna
1875-1927. Armenian poetess; proletarian themes.

BE II 24:89-90

646 4 Kurmagomedova, Patimat
Dag. deputy Sov. Nats. VS SSSR 4. sozyv, 1954.

Pravda 3/18/54

665 3 Kuz'min, A. V
CC CP Azerb. SSR, 20. s'ezd, 1954.

3 Kuzovenkov, I. E.
CC CP Azerb. SSR, 20. s'ezd, 1954.

546 1 Labakhua, Ketevana Vissarionovna
Abkhaz. deputy Sov. Nats. VS SSSR 4. sozyv, 1954.

Bak. Rab. 3/18/54

532 1 Lansere, Evgenii Evgen'evich 1875-1946. Member of "mir iskusstva" school of painting; began painting with historical portraits. Painted: Zangezur 1926, Krasnye partizany Dagestana, 1931. Illustrated L. Tolstoy's Kazaky and Khadzhi Murat.

BE II 24: 283-4

535 1 Lapiashvili, Parnaoz Georgevich Stalin prize 2. class, for ballet performance in Gorda.

Laur. Stalin prem. 1950 p. 81

645 1 Leleshvili, M. M. Minister of transportation, Gruz. SSR, 1954.

Zar. Vost. 2/17/54

538 1
646 Leonidze, Georgii Nikolaevich, born in Patardzeuli 1889-. Georgian writer; depicts socialism. CP member since 1945. Deputy VS Gruz. SSR 3.sozyv. Started career as symbolist poet of "Golubye rogi" group. Later wrote: Leninu, 1936, Rodinu poiu, 1936. Stalin prize in 1941, 1952. Now works on history of Georgian lit. 17-19th c.

BE II 24-578

814 1
646

Lomtatidze, Ketevana Vissarionovna
Born in Khidistavi, 1911- philologian; editor of v. 7 Tolkovyi slovar' gruzinskogo iazyka; Director of Inst. iazykoznaniia Akad. nauk Gruz. SSR CP member since 1952. Abkhaz. deputy Sov. Nats. VS SSSR, 4.sozyv, 1954.

Zar. Vost 2/13/54
Bak. Rab. 3/18/54

325 1

Lordkipanidze, Iraklii Semenovich
Stalin prize 3. class 1950 for work in metallurgy.

Laur. Stalin. prem. 1950
p. 32

538 1

Lordkipanidze, Konstantin Aleksandrovich 1904 - Didi-Dzhikhanti
Georgian writer. Wrote: Novye krest'iane, 1930. Doloi kukuruznuiu respubliku, 1934. Zaria Kolkhidy, 1949 (extols CP of Georgia in this)

BE II 25:412

538 1 Lordkipanidze, Nikolai Merabovich, 1880-1944, born in Chuneshi. Wrote: Razorennye gnezda, 1916; Groznyi vlastelin, 1912; Nepreklonnye, 1938-44. Writes about disintegrating society of landowners, and extols virtues of peasants.

BE II 25:412

446 6 Lyskin, Nikolai Fadeevich
Member of Sov. Soiuz. VS SSSR, 4. sozyv, 1954, Stavropol. krai

Bak. Rab 3/18/54

1 Machavariani, Tamara Akakievna
Deputy to Sov. Nats. VS SSSR (4. s'ezd, 1954)

Bak. Rab. 3/19/54

325 1 Maglakelidze, Lavrentii Sofromovich
Stalin prize 3. class, 1950 metallurgical engineer.

Laur. Stalin.prem. 1950
p. 32

7: Columbia U.S-4.5 1956 RHI CaucasiaRHI

646
645 3 Magomaev, Dzamal Eddin Muslimovich Deputy to Sov. Nats. VS SSSR (4. sozyv, 1954) Deputy president of VS Azerb. SSR. 1948- Born in Lenkorani, 1910- 1952-2nd sect. Bakinskii oblast. komitet, 1953 minister of local industry Azerb Member of CC CP Azerb. SSSR.

Bak. Rab. 3/19/54
3/10/54
2/24/54

646 4 Magomedov, Dzhamaludin Makhmudovich, Dag. deputy Sov. Nats. VS SSSR 4.sozyv, 1954.

Pravda 3/18/54

533 1(3?) Magomaev, Muslim Magometovich, 1885-1937, Operatic composer; wrote Shakh Ismail, 1916. Lived in Baku, where he conducted most of his operas. Wrote opera Negriz, 1935 extolling in it the Soviet power in Azerbaidzhan.

BE II 26:43

646 4 Magomedova, Aishat Gamzatovna Dag. deputy Sov. Nats. VS SSSR 4. sozyv, 1954.

Pravda 3/18/54

643 1 Makharadze, Filipp Ceseevich, 1868-1941. Born in Karis-Kure. Since 1903 active among Caucasian proletariat. Translated Lenin's K derevenskoi bednote. Delegate to 2. congress of Komintern. 1921- president of Revkom of Georgia. 1938 deputy president of VS SSSR, and president of VS Gruz. SSR.

BE II 26: 545

693 2 Maksudian, E. E.
State prosecutor, deputy republic prosecutor and senior legal adviser to Collegium of Armenian Supreme Court.

696 5 Mal'bakov, Timbora Kubatievich
Deputy (Kabardian) Sov. Nats. VS SSSR 4. sozyv, 1954

Pravda 3/18/54

665 3 Maliutin, A. M.
CC CP Azerb. SSR, 20. s'ezd, 1954. Editor: Bakinskii rabochii organ tsentral'nogo i Bakinskogo komitetov kompartii Azerbaidzhana.

814 2 Malkhasian, S.
Worked on Tolkovyi slovar' armianskogo iazyka, in 4 vol.
Stalin prize.

BE II 3:80

65 2 Maltsev, E. E.
Member CC CP Arm. SSR, 18.s'ezd, 1956.

Kom. Er. 1/22/56

815 665 3 Mamedaliev, Iu. G.
President of Azerb. Akad. nauk; Member of presidium CC CP Azerb. SSR 21.s'ezd, 1956.

BE II 26:189
Bak. Rab. 1/26/56

669 3 Mamed'iarov, Mamed, 1875-1933.
Professional revolutionary born near Baku. Took part in Baku strikes in 1903, organized Baku proletarians. 1922-27 narodnyi komissar of social security of Azerb. 1922-29 head of propaganda bureau of Azerb. oil industry.

BE II 26:190

538
3 Mamedkulidze, Dzhalil, 1869-1932. Azerb. realist school writer; born in Nakhichevan. Studied at Gori seminary. Edited satirical journal Molla Nasredin since 1906. On the pattern of Revizor, he wrote comedy Mertvetsy.

BE II 26:189

645
3 Mamedli, R. I.
Member of presidium CC CP Azerb. SSR, 21. s'ezd, 1956.

Bak. Rab. 1/26/56

646
3 Mamedov, Gusein Kurban ogly
Born in Dyrnis, 1900-
1951-sect. Nakhichevanskii oblast. komitet partii. 1952-president of presidium VS Nakhichevan. ASSR Deputy VS Azerb. SSR of all 3 sozyv. In 1954 was candidate for Sov. Nats. VS SSSR, and got elected as Nakhichevan deputy.

Bak. Rab. 3/10/54 & 3/18/54
2/24/54

665
3 Mamedov, Kh. B
Member of CC CP Azerb. SSR, 20.-21. s'ezd, 1954, 1956.

Bak. Rab. 1/26/56

401 1 (?) Mamedzade, Ali Geidar Aga Usein
Stalin prize 2. class, 1950 for better cotton production; Head of machine-building inst. im. Beriia.

Laur. Stalin. prem. 1950
p. 55

646 1 Mamuladze, David Mikhailovich
Adzhar. deputy Sov. Nats. VS SSSR 4. sozyv, 1954.

Bak. Rab. 3/18/54

538 1 Mamulaishvili, I. G.
see
Grishashvili 1

84 2 Manandian, Iakov Amazaspovich, 1873-1951. Armenian academician since 1939. Historian; teaches ancient history of Armenia. Wrote: Kriticheskii obzor istorii armianskogo naroda, v. 1, 1945.

BE II 26: 194-5

665 2 Manasarian, A. B.
Member CC CP Arm. SSR, 17.-18. s'ezd, 1954, 1956.

Kom. Er. 1/22/56

1 [cf. cat. 116, p. 727 -- Analyst]

7: Columbia U. S-4, 5 1956 RHI Caucasia RHI

331
2 Mardanian, Mardan Efremovich
Stalin prize 3. class, 1950 for construction work.

Laur. Stalin. prem. 1950
p. 22

536
1 Mardzhanishvili, Konstantin Aleksandrovich (Mardzhanov Kote) 1872-1933. Born in Kvareli; people's artist of Georgia; theater producer; director of Kutaisi theater. Produced Chekhov's Uncle Vania, and Gorkii's Na dne. His producing reflects the style of the Moscow art theater. Directed plays all over Europe until 1922. Director of Rustaveli theater in Tiflis 1922-6. There he produced plays by Molière, Lope de Vega, Shakespeare. His last production was that of Don Carlos by Schiller, done at Moscow's Malyi theater.

BE II 26:265

1 Mardzhanov Kote
see
Mardzhanishvili, Konstantin Aleksandrovich.

815 1 Margalitadze, Apollon Vladimirovich
Stalin prize 3. class, 1950 geologist.

Laur. Stalin. prem. 1950
p. 35

646
665 2 Margarian, Grach Khachaturovich
Deputy Sov. Nats. VS SSSR
4. sozyv, 1954. Member CC CP
Arm. SSR, 17.-18. s'ezd 1954,
1956.

Kom. Er. 3/19/54
1/22/56

646 4 Margiev, Nester Amzorovich
Sev. Os. deputy Sov. Nats. VS SSSR
4. sozyv, 1954.

Pravda 3/18/54

692 2 Markarian, M. S.
Member of criminal collegium of
Armenian supreme court.

Curr. digest 1956

665 2 Martirosian, B. G.
Member CC CP Arm. SSR, 17.-18.
s'ezd, 1954, 1956.

Kom. Er. 1/22/56

7: Columbia U.S-4, 5 1956 RH1 Caucasia RH1

646

2 Matnishian, Suren Khachaturovich
Deputy Sov. Nats. VS SSSR,
4. sozyv, 1954.

Kom. Er. 3/19/54

4 Medzhidov, Magomed Medzhidovich
Deputy to Sov. Soiuz VS SSSR
4. sozyv, 1954.

Kom. Er. 3/18/54

646
665 1 Megrelishvili, Mamiia Amberkovich
Deputy to Sov. Nats. VS SSSR
(4.s'ezd, 1954) Born in Shua-
Partskhma, 1922- Essentially party
official; 1st sect. Batumskii Gorkom
CP Gruzii; was deputy to VS SSSR
3. sozyv.

Bak. Rab. 3/19/54
Zar. Vost. 2/13/54

3 Mekhtiev, Magerram Rukhullaevich
Deputy to Sov. Nats. VS SSSR
(4. sozyv, 1954) Born in Baku, 1919- ;
oil worker. 1949-sect. Bakinskii
komitet Komsomola. Member of CC
CP Azerb. SSR, 20-21 s'ezd, 1954,
1956.

Bak. Rab. 3/19/54
2/21/54
1/26/56

7:Columbia U. S-4, 5 1956 RHl Caucasia
RHl

665 3 Mekhi - Zade, M. M.
CC CP Azerb. SSR, 20. s'ezd, 1954

325 1 Meladze, Vladimir Aleksandrovich
Stalin prize 3. class, 1950
metallurgical engineer

Laur. Stalin. prem. 1950
p. 32

533 2 Melikian, Romanos
1882-1935. Armenian composer, brother of Spiridon Melikian. Wrote down many folk songs. Composed Armenian romance Roza, Osennie dni and set to music songs of Isaakian, Tumanian. 1921- director of what later became Erevan conservatory by the name of Komitas.

BE II 27:100

2 Melikian, Spiridon
1881-1933. Armenian composer; in 1912 organized Armianskoe muzykal'noe obshchestvo in Tiflis. Wrote down about 1000 folk songs, dances. Wrote: Cammy armianskoi narodnoi muzyki, 1935. 1930-31 director of Erevan conservatory.

BE II 27:100

7: Columbia U.S-4, 5 1956 RHI Caucasia RHI

875
1 Melikishvili, P. G. 1850-1927
1st rector of Tbilisi university.

BE II 13:70

665
2 Melkonian, G.O.
Member of CC CP Arm. SSR, 17.-18. s'ezd, 1954, 1956.

Kom. Er. 1/22/56

2 Melkumian, S. A.
Member CC CP Arm. SSR, 17.-18. s'ezd, 1954, 1956.

Kom. Er. 1/22/56

2 Meloian, A. M.
Member CC CP Arm. SSR, 17.-18. s'ezd, 1954, 1956.

Kom. Er. 1/22/56

532
1 Merabishvili, Konstantin Mikhailovich, 1906-sculptor; in 1930 finished Tiflis art academy, studied under Nikoladze. Did bust of Stalin in 1936, also the Rustaveli moument in Tiflis, for which he rec'd Stalin prize in 1943. Did monuments to Eristavi in Gori 1950. Teaches now.

BE II 27:164

7: Columbia U.S-4, 5 1956 RHl CaucasiaRHl

646 1 Mertrveli, Ivan Alekseevich
Deputy to Sov. Nats. VS SSSR
(4. s'ezd, 1954)

Bak. Rab. 3/19/54

536 3(?) Miakishev, Konstantin Mikhailovich
Stalin prize 3. class, 1950 for
theatrical performance in Zaria
nad Kaspiem.

Laur. Stalin. prem. 1950
p. 79

331 3(?) Mikaberidze, Aleksandr Sergeevich
Stalin prize 2. degree, 1950
for construction work.

Laur. Stalin.prem.1950
p. 45

532 2 Mikaelian, Mikhail Ivanovich,
1879-1941. Armenian sculptor
born in Shusha, Azerb. Since
1900 lives in Tiflis. Did: Zvonar'
Sakan, Devushka s razbitym
kuvshinom.

BE II 27:416

7: Columbia U. S-4, 5 1956 RHI Caucasia RHI

643
665
645

2. Mikoian, Anastas Ivanovich

Nov. 25, 1895- in Sanain (Armenian village near Georgian border. 1st deputy premier (March 1955-) one of 5 in council of ministers. Member CC CP SSSR. Member Sov. Nats. VS SSSR (represents the Stalin district of Erevan) One of 9 members of the Presidium of CC CP SSSR. Graduated from Tiflis eccles. seminary in 1915. In same year joined CP. After revolution member of Baku party committee; ed. of Bakinskii Rabochii; 1926- People's Commissar of Trade of SSSR. 1930-People's Commissar of Food Supply Industry. Was in USA in 1936 where for 3 months he studied American methods of food production: subsequently introduced corn flakes, tomato juice, eskimo pie, frozen corn-on-the-cob, etc. to SSSR. 1938- People's Commissar of Foreign Trade. 1943- awarded title: Hero of Socialist labor for war efforts. After 1945 clashed with Malenkov over German reparations. Bid unsuccessfully for a $6. billion reconstruction loan from USA and led unsuccessfully effort for Russia to participate in Marshall plan (cf. Curr. Biogr.). After Stalin's death in 1953 named head of combined Ministry of Domestic & Foreign Trade. Stood for increased consumer goods production.

643
665
645

Jan. 24, 1955 resigned as minister of domestic trade (construed as consequence to Russia's orientation toward heavy industry). An ice cream factory, bread-factory, and village in Armenia named after Mikoian (cf. Curr. Biogr.). Mr. Mikoian called for new textbooks of early Bolshevik history that would no longer attempt to explain some "complex and contradictory events by the allegedly subversive activity of some former party leaders who many years after the events described were wrongly declared enemies of the people." In this connection Mr. Mikoian referred particularly to Vladimir Antonov-Ovseyenko, who supervised military affairs in Lenin's first Government, and Stanislav Kosier, veteran Politburo member and former leader of the Ukrainian Bolsheviks.

NYT 2/27/56, 2/20/56
Pravda 2/18/56
Bak. Rab. 3/18/54
Current Biogr. 1955, p. 419-21
World Biogr. 1954 (5. ed) p.808
BE I 39:343-7
BE II 27:430-1

7:Columbia U. S-4, 5 1956 RHl Caucasia RHl

507 2 Mikoian, Artem, 1905-
Aircraft designer; studied in Tiflis; graduated from Zhukovskii air academy. Designed under Polikarpov; built the first fighter plane, MIK-I, 1939, and built many new types of speed planes. Designed jet plane in 1947. Stalin prizes in 1941, 1947, 1952. Now with ministry of Air Craft Industry in Erevan.

BE II 27:431
World Biogr. 1954, p. 808

645
665 3 Mirzoev, Sultan Abas ogly
Minister of sovkhozy (Azerb., 1954). Member CC CP Azerb. SSR.

Bak. Rab. 3/10/54

538 3 Mir-Dzhalal (pseud of Pashaev, Mir-Dzhalal Ali ogly), 1908-. Azerb. writer. Wrote: Voskresshii chelovek, 1935, Manifest molodogo cheloveka, 1939.

BE II 27:565

759
646 3 Mir-Kasimov, Mir Asadulla Mir Alekper ogly, 1883- . surgeon; president of Azerb. Akad. nauk, 1945-7. Deputy of VS SSSR 1.-3. sozyv. 1931- prof. of Azerb. Med. inst.

BE II 27:571

7: Columbia U. S-4, 5 1956 RH1 Caucasia
RH1

535
1 Mirtskhulave, Didim Lavrent'evich
Stalin prize 2. class, 1950. Conductor of Gorda ballet.

Laur. Stalin. prem. 1950
p. 81

538
1 Mitskhulava, Alio Andreevich, 1903-
(his literary pseud. Mashashvili). Georgian poet influenced by Maiakovskii. Gimn rodine, Enguri, etc.

BE II 27:588

535
1 Mirzoian, Ashot Oganesovich
Armenian ballet artist; Stalin prize 3. class, 1950.

Laur. Stalin. prem. 1950
p. 80

533
2 Mirzoian, M. 1888
Armenian composer

BE I 1:478

401
2 Mkrtchian, Derenik Petrovich
Stalin prize 3. class, 1950 for tool building methods.

Laur. Stalin. prem. 1950
p. 28

815
1 Modebadze, Tamara Razhdenovna
Deputy to Sov. Soiuz VS SSSR (4. s'ezd, 1954). Born in Chiatura 1912- chemist; no party affiliation.

Bak. Rab. 2/18/54
Zar. Vost. 2/13/54

538
1 Mosashvili, Il'o Onisimovich, 1896-1954. Georgian poet, dramatist Deputy VS SSSR 1.-3. sozyv. Born in Chargali. Since 1926 worked on various Georgian newspapers. Paid tribute to Michurin adherents in poem: Ego zvezda, 1950. Won Stalin prize in 1950 for his drama Potoplennye kamni.

Laur. Stalin prem. 1950, p. 68
BE II 28:360

665
2 Movsesian, K. M.
Member CC CP Arm. SSR, 18. s'ezd, 1956.

Kom. Er. 1/22/56

2 Movsesian, S. A.
Member CC CP Arm. SSR, 17.-18. s'ezd, 1954, 1956.

Kom. Er. 1/22/56

7: Columbia U. S-4,5 1956 RHl Caucasia

RHl

532

1 Mrevlishvili, Aleksandr Romanovich 1866-1933. Georgian realist school painter. In his works he lashes at bureaucratic officials of czarist era.
I éto nazyvaetsia svoboda
U kantselarii, etc.

BE II 28:485

533

2 Mshvelidze, Shalva Mikhailovich, 1904- Georgian composer; deputy VS Gruz. SSR 3. sozyv. Member of CP 1947- Collected Georgian songs; developed rhythmic polyphonic qualities of Georgian music. Wrote: Gost'i khoziain, 1940 (Stalin prize) Skazanie o Tariele, Stalin prize in 1947. Now teaches at Tiflis univ.

BE II 28:614

646

3 Mukhin, Nikolai Pavlovich
Deputy to Sov. Nats. VS SSSR (4. sozyv, 1954)

Bak. Rab. 3/19/54

7: Columbia U. S-4, 5 1956 RHl Caucasia
RHl

665
3 Muliavko, A. D.
Member of presidium CC CP Azerb. SSR, 21. s'ezd, 1956.

Bak. Rab. 1/26/56

533
5 Muradeli, Vano Il'ich, 1908-
Kabardian composer; studied in Tiflis. Wrote: Gimn Mezhdunarodnogo soiuza studentov, 1949.

BE II 28: 564

665
2 Muradian, B. A.
Member CC CP Arm. SSR, 18. s'ezd, 1956

Kom. Er. 1/22/56

646
803 1 Muskhelishvili, Nikolai Ivanovich, 1891- Deputy to Sov. Soiuz VS SSSR (4. s'ezd, 1954) President of Akad. nauk Gruz. SSR, 1941-; mathematician; Stalin prizes in 1941, 1947. Since 1922 professor of polytech. inst. Tiflis. Expert on theory of resilience. Instrumental in creating Tiflis math inst. in 1935. His chief works: Matematika SSSR za let 1917-1947. Mekhanika v SSSR za let 1917-1947. Uspekhi matemat. nauk, 1951, 4.6 vyp. 2 contains his works.

7: Columbia U. S-4, 5 1956 RHI Caucasia
RHI

646
803

Bak. Rab. 2/18/54
Zar. Vost. 2/17/54
BE II 13:70
BE I 28:568

665
646 3
242

Mustafaev, Imam Dashdemir ogly (1910-Kakhi) 1st sect. CC CP Azerb. 1954- (20. s'ezd). Member CC CP SSSR 1956- (20.s'ezd). Member Sov. Soiuz VS SSSR 1954- (4. s'ezd). Agronomist; Michurin follower; introduced new type of wheat; 1947- min. agriculture of Azerb. Member presidium CC CP Azerb. SSR, 21. s'ezd, 1956.

NYT 2/27/56 & 1/26/56
Bak. Rab. 3/18/54
Bak. Rab. 3/2/54

665
646 1

Mzhavanadze, Vasilii Pavlovich 1st. sect. CC CP Georgia 1954- (16. s'ezd). Member CC CP SSSR 1956 - (20. s'ezd). Member Sov. Soiuz VS SSSR 1954 -(4. s'ezd)

NYT 2/27/56 also 12/29/55
Pravda 2/18/56
Bak. Rab. 3/18/54
Internatl. Yearb. 1955:538

7: Columbia U. S-4,5 1956 RHl Caucasia
RHl

532
2 Nalbandian, Dmitrii Arkad'evich, 1906- Born in Tiflis; painter of landscapes. During World War II depicted war themes. Vlast' sovetam-mir narodam, Stalin prize in 1951. The picture of Stalin in 1945, got him Stalin prize in 1946. Nakanune Batumskoi demonstratsii v 1902, painted in 1950-2.

BE II 29:75

465
2 Nalbandian, V.S.
Member CC CP Arm. SSR, 17.-18. s'ezd, 1954, 1956.

Kom. Er. 1/22/56

3 Namazov, R.A.
CC CP Azerb. SSR, 20. s'ezd, 1954.

538
2 Nar-Dos (pseud. of Ovanisiian, Mikael) 1867-1933. Born in Tiflis. Portrays decadence of bourgeois class, Smert', Ubityi golub, etc. Was influenced by Turgenev, Tolstoy, Goncharov.

BE II 29:123

7: Columbia U. S-4, 5 1956 RHl Caucasia
RHl

815
1 Natishvili, Aleksandr Nikolaevich, 1878- Anatomist; member of Akad. nauk. Gruz. SSR since 1944. Member of CP since 1945. Teaches at med. faculty of Tiflis univ. Wrote anatomical nomenclature, and anatomy textbooks in Georgian.

BE II 29:229

646
232 1 Natroshvili, Archil Georgievich Deputy to Sov. Nats. VS SSSR (4. s'ezd, 1954) Born in Zemo-Machkhaani, 1905- Agricultural specialist; since 1949 director of Gruz. nauch. issled. inst. zhivotnovodstva; in 1952 introduced new breed of sheep for which he rec'd Stalin prize.

Bak. Rab. 3/19/54
Zar. Vost. 2/13/54

646
3 Nazirova, Mina Bashir kyzy Deputy to Sov. Nats. VS SSSR (4. sozyv, 1954.)

Bak. Rab. 3/19/54

7: Columbia U. S-4, 5 1956 RHl Caucasia

RHl

533

3 Niiazi (Tagi-Zade, Niiazi Zul'fugarovich) Stalin prize 2. class, 1950 conductor.

Laur. Stalin. prem. 1950
p. 73

532

1 Nikoladze, Iakov Ivanovich, 1876-1951. Georgian realist school sculptor. His are the historical monuments to Rustaveli, Abashidze, Gaprindashvili, Chavchavadze, etc. Studied under Rodin. For portrayal of 12th c. Georgian poet Chakhrukhadze rec'd Stalin prize in 1946. Stalin prize in 1948 for his V. I. Lenin v epokhu sozdaniia "Iskry". As art teacher educated sculptors: S. Ia. Kakabadze, K. M. Merabishvili, etc.

BE II 29:626

401

1 Nikolashvili, Iradion Aleksandrovich Mechanic. Stalin prize 3. class, 1950, for new stakhanovite methods in light industry.

Laur. Stalin. prem. 1950
p. 63

816
465
645
643

3 Novruzov, Neimat Guseinovich
Born in Nakhichevani, 1908-
Engineer, cotton-expert; 1950 - minister of Azerb. cotton industry. Member of CC CCP Azerb. SSR. 1952 - deputy-minister of goskontrol Azerb. SSR. 1953- president of Council of Minister Nakhichevanskaia ASSR. Unsuccessful candidate in 1954 for Sov. Nats. VS SSSR.

Bak. Rab. 2/25/54

331

3(?) Oboladze, Iraklii Onisimovich
Stalin prize 2. class, 1950, construction engineer.

Laur. Stalin. prem. 1950
p. 44

665

2 Oganesian, G. V.
Member CC CP Arm. SSR, 17. - 18. s'ezd, 1954, 1956.

Kom. Er. 1/22/56

759

2 Oganesian, L. A., 1885-
Physician, Armenian scientist.

Kom. Er. 12/20/55

7: Columbia U. S-4, 5, 1956 RHl Caucasia

RHl

467

2 Oganesian, O.
Stalin prize winner, profsoiuz innovator.

BE II 3:73

665

3 Oleinik, G. G.
Member of presidium CC CP Azerb. SSR, 21. s'ezd, 1956.

Bak. Rab. 1/26/56

814

1 Orbeli, Iosif Abragovich, 1887-
Member of Akad. nauk Arm. SSR 1943- Director of Ermitazh 1934-1951. 1943-47 president of Akad. nauk Arm. SSR. Edited text: David Sasunskii. Orientalist of Georgia.

BE II 31:134

815

1 Orbeli, Leon Agarovich, 1882-
Physiologist, member of Akad nauk Arm. SSR and of Akad. nauk SSSR; col. general in medical military service. Stalin prize in 1941, pupil of Pavlov. Director of physiological inst. of Akad. nauk SSSR; 1942-46 vice-president of Akad. nauk SSSR. For his overemphasizing of the sympathetic nervous system, was criticized by Akad. med. nauk in 1950

BE II 31:134

7: Columbia U. S-4, 5, 1956 RHl Caucasia
RHl

538 3 Ordubady, Mamed Said, 1872-1950. Azerb. novelist, born in Ordubad. Collaborated on paper Molla Nasredin. Translated Pushkin's Bakhchisaraiskii fontan, Boris Godunov. Wrote: Tebriz tumannyi, 1933-48 4 vols. Early work: Neschastnyi millioner in 1914.

BE II 31:177

645 1 Ordzhonikidze, Grigorii Konstantinovich, 1886-1937. Born in Goresha. Member of Bolshevik party since 1903. Carried out Stalin plan to defeat Denikin. 1926-30 people's commissar of the workers and peasants' inspection of USSR. 1930- chairman of Supreme council of national economy of USSR. Later people's commissar of heavy industry. 1930- member of Politbureau. His obituary appears in Pravda, Feb. 17, 1937.

Soviet Calendar, Feb. 18
BE II 31:171-3

665 3 Orudzhev, M. B.
Member of presidium CC CP Azerb. SSR, 20.-21.s'ezd, 1954, 1956.

Bak. Rab. 1/26/56

7: Columbia U. S-4, 5 1956 RH1 Caucasia

RH1

6A6 1 Osin, Nikolai Lavrent'evich
Adzhar. deputy Sov. Nats. VS SSSR 4. sozyv, 1954.

Bak. Rab. 3/18/54

377 2 Ovanesian, Levon Tigranovich
Stalin prize 3. class, 1950 for new type of three-phase synchronic generator.

Laur. Stalin. prem. 1950
p. 43

538 2 Ovanisiian, Mikael
see
Nar-Dos (pseud.) 1

692 2 Ovsepian, Melik R.M.
Member of the criminal collegium of the Armenian Supreme Court

Curr. Digest 1956.

538 5 Pachev, Bekmurza, 1854-1936.
Kabardian poet, born in Nartan. Wrote: Pesnia o Lenine, Pesn' ob Alikhane Kashirgove, Kabarda, Stalin, etc.

BE II 32:251

1 [cf. ost. 116, p. 776 -- Analyst]

7: Columbia U. S-4,5 1956 RHl Caucasia

RHl

665 2 Pakhlevanian, G.A.
Member CC CP Arm. SSR, 17.-18. s'ezd, 1954, 1956

Kom. Er. 1/22/56

814 3 Pakhomov, Evgenii Aleksandrovich, 1880- Historian; member of Inst. istorii Akad. nauk Azerb. SSR.

Bak. Rab. 12/28/55

533 1 Paliashvili, Ivan Petrovich, 1868-1934. Brother of Zakharii Paliashvili. Produced opera in Kiev, Kharkov, Tiflis; taught opera courses at Tiflis conservatory.

BE II 31:606

1 Paliashvili, Zakharii Petrovich, 1871-1933, born in Kutaisi. Classical music composer. Taught in Tiflis; director of Georgian philharmonic orchestra 1908-1917. Romance: Iunoi poliubiv dushoi. Opera: Abesalom i Eteri, Daisi. The opera and ballet theater of Tiflis is named after him.

BE II 31:604-6

7: Columbia U. S-4, 5 1956 RH1 Caucasia

RH1

759 1 Pantsulaia, Zinaida Illarionovich
Abkhaz. deputy Sov. Nats. VS SSSR 4. sozyv, 1954. Born in Sukhumi 1920. Physician; no party affiliation.

Bak. Rab. 3/18/54
Zar. Vost. 2/14/54

536 2 Papazian, Vagram Kamerovich, 1888-
Born in Istambul; people's artist of Armenia, Georgia. Finished Armenial lyceum in Venice, Italy. Actor in various Caucasian theaters. Protagonist of many tragic roles chiefly in dramas of Armenian Adamian.

BE II 32:18

646 2 Papian, Matsak Petrosovich
Deputy Sov. Nats. VS SSSR 4. sozyv, 1954.

Kom. Er. 3/19/54

625 1 Paramonov, G. I., -1955
Executed for treason; was investigator of NKVD of Georgia.

NYT

7: Columbia U. S-4, 5 1956 RHl Caucasia
RHl

538

3 Pashaev, Mir-Dzhalal ogly
see
Mir- Dzhalal (pseud.) 1/1

665

2 Pavlovskii, I. G.
Member CC CP Arm. SSR, 18. s'ezd, 1956

Kom. Er. 1/22/56

?

? Peiko, Nikolai Ivanovich, 1916-
Kab. composer. 1940 finished Moscow conservatory where he now teaches. Composes themes from nationalities like "Prazdnichnaia uvertiura na kabardinskie temy" (1951). "Moldavskaia suita" (Stalin prize 1947, 1951)

BE I 19:218; BE II 32:283

646

1 Pervukhin, Mikhail Georgevich
Deputy to Sov. Soiuz VS SSSR (4. s'ezd, 1954)

Bak. Rab. 2/18/54

6 Petukhov, Boris Fedorovich
Member of Sov. Soiuz Krasnodar. krai, VS SSSR, 4. sozyv, 1954.

Bak. Rab. 3/18/54

7: Columbia U. S-4, 5 1956 RHl Caucasia
RHl

533 2 Petrosian, Avak Gegamovich
Stalin prize 3. class, 1950 for performing in opera Geroinia.

Laur. Stalin. prem. 1950
p. 80

646
665 2
815
875 Petrosian, Garegin Bakhshievich
Deputy Sov. Nats. VS SSSR, 4 sozyv, 1954. Member CC CP Arm. SSR, 17.-18. s'ezd, 1954, 1956. Rector of Erevan univ. since 1949. Physicist-mathematician; wrote Matematika v drevnei i srednevekov. Armenii.

Kom. Er. 3/19/54, 1/22/56, 2/27/54

815 2 Piotrovskii, Boris Borisovich, 1908-
Chlen-korrespondent Akad. nauk. Arm. SSSR (1945). Archeologist. Specialist on Zakavkaze. 1930 Archeological research in Teishebiani on hill Karmir-Blur near Erevan, and contributes source material on history of Urartu state 6-8c. BC. 1946 Stalin prize. Interested in Scythian problem and origin of Armenians.

BE I 3:80, BE II 33:58

RHl

646
665 2 Piskunov, Petr Vasilievich
Deputy Sov. Nats. VS SSSR, 4. sozyv, 1954. Member CC CP Arm. SSR, 17.-18. s'ezd, 1954, 1956

Kom. Er. 3/19/54, 1/22/56

646
665
701 3 Pliev, Issa Aleksandrovich
Deputy to Sov. Soiuz VS SSSR (4. s'ezd, 1954) Born in Sev. Ost. ASSR, 1902- Col. gen., fought in Hungary, Austria, Japan, in World War II; deputy VS SSSR 2.-3. sozyv. Member CC CP Azerb. SSR.

Bak. Rab. 3/18/54

665
3 Plotnikov, A. K.
CC CP Azerb. SSR, 20. s'ezd, 1954.

646
4 Podvarko, Aleksei Grigor'evich
Dag. deputy Sov. Nats. VS SSSR 4. sozyv, 1954

Pravda 3/18/54

665
2 Poladian, A. K.
Member CC CP Arm. SSR, 18. s'ezd, 1956

Kom. Er. 1/22/56

7: Columbia U. S-4,5 1956 RH1 Caucasia
RH1

64L
6 Proshunin, Nikolai Emmanuilovich
Member of Sov. Soiuz VS SSSR, 1954, 4. sozyv, Stavropol. krai

Bak. Rab. 3/18/54

665
3 Prusskii, A. L.
Member of presidium CC CP Azerb. SSR, 21. s'ezd, 1956

Bak. Rab. 1/26/56

646
1 Purtskhvanidze, Shalva Estatievich
Deputy to Sov. Nats. VS SSSR (4. s'ezd, 1954)

Bak. Rab. 3/19/54

538
2 Rachiia Kochar (pseud. of Gabrielian, Rachiia Kocharovich) 1910-
Armenian writer; member of CP 1939- Wrote humorous novels: Puteshestviia Ogesena Vaspura, 1937; Deti bol'shogo doma, 1952.

BE II 36:133

3 Ragim, Mamed
Azerb. poet; rec'd Stalin prize in 1949 for poem: Nad Leningradom

BE II 1:471

7: Columbia U. S-4, 5 1956 RHl Caucasia

RHl

646
242 3 Ragimov, Iunus Iskender ogly
Deputy to Sov. Nats. VS SSSR (4. sozyv, 1954) Born in Agdash, 1907-. 1938 - chief agronomist of Bardinskaia mashino-traktornaia stantsiia; 1950 - director of Agzhabedinsk.lesozashchitnaia stantsiia. On record for overfulfilling the work quota, especially in clearing of lands.

Bak. Rab. 3/19/54, 2/18/54

646
665 3 Ragimov, Makhmud Dzafar Kuli ogly
Deputy to Sov. Nats. VS SSSR (4. sozyv, 1954) Born in Baku, 1905- Commander of "Kasptanker" (oil-transport boat); member of CC CP Azerb. SSR.

Bak. Rab. 3/19/54 and 3/2/54

665
3 Ragimov, R. K.
Member of CC CP Azerb. SSR, 21. s'ezd, 1956

Bak. Rab. 1/26/56

RH1

643
665 3
645

Ragimov, Sadykh Gadzhi Iaralievich (1914-Balakhany); engineer Premier of Azerb. Member CC CP Azerb. 1954-1956 (20.-21. s'ezd). Member CC CP SSSR 1956- (20. s'ezd). Member Sov. Nats. VS SSSR 1954- (4. s'ezd) 1953 - min. promyshlennykh tovarov shirokogo potrebleniia Azerb.

NYT 2/27/56
Zar. Vost. 12/28/55
Bak. Rab. 3/2/54, 2/17/54, 3/19/54, 1/26/56

646
4

Ramonov, Boris Grigor'evich Sev. Os. deputy Sov. Nats. VS SSSR 4. sozyv, 1954

Pravda 3/18/54

645
625 1

Rapava, A. N., - Nov. 22 ? 1955 Former deputy and later head People's Commissar for Int Affairs in Georgia. Executed for having conducted "terroristic annihilation of honest Soviet citizens."

NYT
Zaria Vostoka

665
1

Rigvava, S.S. 2nd sect. of 1st plenum CC LKSM Gruz. SSR

Zar. Vost. 12/27/55

7: Columbia U. S-4, 5 1956 RHl Caucasia

RHl

646
1 Romelashvili, David Zakhar'evich
Deputy to Sov. Nats. VS SSSR (4. s'ezd, 1954); sect. CC CP Gruz. SSR.

Bak. Rab. 3/19/54
Zar. Vost. 2/18/54

546
1 Rondeli-Tsagareishvili, D.E.
Georgian film producer; received Stalin prize in 1950 for collaboration with Dolidze, S.V. on film Shchit Dzhurgaia

BEII 15:25

645
625 1 Rukhadze, N.M. -Nov. 1955
Former investigation chief in the Georgian Internal Affairs Commissariat and later Georgian Minister of State Security. Helped oust Rapava in 1951. Tried and executed under Article 58 (Crimes connected with protection of Beria acc. to Soviets).

NYT
Zaria Vost.

7: Columbia U. S-4, 5 1956 RHI Caucasia

RHI

538

3 Rustamo, Suleiman Aliabbas ogly
1906- Azerb. poet; deputy to VS Azerb. SSR. In 1927 published collection of poems: K radosti. Translated from Georgian Rustaveli's Vitiaz' v tigrovoi shkure.

BE I 49:906

665

2 Saakian, S.M.
Member of CC CP Arm. SSR, 17.-18. s'ezd, 1954, 1956

Kom. Er. 1/22/56

815

1 Sabashvili, M.
Director of soil science institute of Akad. nauk Gruz. SSR, 1954

Zar. Vost 2/17/54

532

3 Sabsaem, P.
Azerb. sculptor; member of Akad. nauk. Azerb. SSR; Stalin prize for S.M. Kirov statue in Baku park.

BE II 1:475

665

3 Sadykov, R.N.
CC CP Azerb. SSR, 20. s'ezd, 1954

3 Safaraliev, R.K.
CC CP Azerb. SSR, 20. s'ezd, 1954

RHI

377
2 Safrazbekian, Gurgen Sadatovich
Stalin prize 2. class, 1950, for telemechanization of Mosenergosistem.

Laur. Stalin. prem. 1950
p. 41

646
4 Safronov, Arsenii Mikhailovich
Sev. Os. deputy Sov. Nats. VS SSSR 4. sozyv, 1954

Pravda 3/18/54

536
1 Sagaradze, Georgii Illarionovich
People's artist of Georgia. Stalin prize 3. class, 1950, for role in drama Potoplennye kamni.

Laur. Stalin. Prem. 1950
p. 78

665
3 Samedov, K. A.
Member of presidium CC CP Azerb. SSR, 21. s'ezd, 1956

Bak. Rab. 1/26/56

646
8123 Samedov, Vitalii Iunusovich
Deputy to Sov. Nats. VS SSSR (4. sozyv, 1954). Born 1919- Went to party schools; holds doctorate in philosophy; 1950-director of Institut istorii i filosofii Akad. nauk

7: Columbia U. S-4, 5 1956 RHl Caucasia

RHl

646
812

Azerb. SSR. Member of CC CP Azerb. SSR.

Bak. Rab. 3/19/54, 2/28/54

646

4 Sanakoev, Grigorii Georgievich
Iugo-Os. deputy Sov. Nats. VS SSSR 4. sozyv, 1954

Pravda, 3/18/54

4 Sarakaev, Vladimir Basaevich
Sev. Os. deputy Sov. Nats. VS SSSR 4. sozyv, 1954

Pravda 3/18/54

538

2 Sarian, Gegam, 1902-
Armenian poet born in Iran; wrote: Strana sovetskaia, 1930; Polden', 1935. Glorifies Civil War themes, success of socialism. His works are translated into Russian. Was one of the authors who composed Pis'ma tov. Stalinu.

BE I 50: 307

7: Columbia U. S-4, 5 1956 RHI Caucasia

RHI

532 2 Sar'ian, Martiros Sergeevich, 1880-
Armenian painter born in Nakhichevan. Worked under Serov and Korovin. In the beginning painted themes from fables; middle period is devoted to landscapes with oriental coloring; 1911- post-impressionistic. Did portrait of Simonov. Received Stalin prize for sets of opera Almast. Deputy to Sov. Soiuz VS ~~SSSR 4.~~ sozyv, 1954.

BE I 50:307
Kom. Er. 3/18/54

665 2 Sarkisov, B. E.
Member CC CP Arm. SSR, 18. s'ezd, 1956

Kom. Er. 1/22/56

625 1 Savitskii, K. S.
Former investigator for Georgian Commissariat of Int. Aff. Executed Nov. 1955.

NYT
Zaria Vostoka

RHI

646
665 2

Savoian, Andranik Israelovich
Deputy Sov. Nats. VS SSSR, 4. sozyv, 1954. Member CC CP Arm. SSR, 17.-18. s'ezd 1954, 1956

Kom. Er. 3/19/54 and 1/22/56

536 2

Sazandarian, Tatevik Tigranovna
Stalin prize 3. class for performance in opera Geroinia.

Laur. Stalin. prem. 1950
p. 80

646
665
647 3

Seidov, Gasan ogly
Deputy to Sov. Nats. VS SSSR (4. sozyv, 1954) Born in 1906- . 1937- head of Azerb. nauchno-issled. inst. khlopkovodstva in Kirovabad. 1946-2nd. sect. CC CP Azerb. SSSR; 1953- president of Gosplan Azerb. SSR. Member of CC CP Azerb. SSR, 20.-21. s'ezd, 1954, 1956

Bak. Rab. 3/19/54, 3/2/54, 1/26/56

242
643 3
645

Seidov, Mamed Mir Aziz ogly
Born in Sadarak, 1907- . Agriculture expert, partly official; deputy-president of Council of Ministers. 1954-minister of agriculture Azerb. SSR; Deputy VS Nakhichevanskaia ASSR; Unsuccessful candidate to VS SSSR (Sov. Nats., 1954)

Bak. Rab. 2/25/54

7:Columbia U. S-4,5 1956 RHI Caucasia
RHI

646
1 Sekhniashvili, Emil Alekseevich
Deputy to Sov. Nats. VS SSSR
(4. s'ezd, 1954)

Bak. Rab. 3/19/54

4 Sevast'ianov, Mikhail Mikhailovich
Sev. Os. Deputy Sov. Nats. VS
SSSR 4. sozyv, 1954

Pravda, 3/18/54

242
2 Sevumian, Grigorii Ivanovich
Stalin prize 2. class, 1950 for new
ways to produce cotton

Laur. Stalin. prem. 1950
p. 55

665
2 Shaginian, A. Kh.
Member CC CP Arm. SSR, 17.-18.
s'ezd, 1954, 1956

Kom. Er. 1/22/56

815
2 Shaginian, Marietta Sergeevna, 1888-
Stalin prize 3. class, 1950 for work
Puteshestvie po sovetskoi Armenii
Wrote also: Svoia sud'ba peremena.
Studied mineralogy in Moscow.

Laur. Stalin. prem. 1950, p. 67
BE I 61:788-90

7: Columbia U. S-4, 5 1956 RHI Caucasia

RHI

665

2 Shakhbazian, L. T.
Member CC CP Arm. SSR, 17.-18. s'ezd, 1954, 1956

Kom. Er. 1/22/56

3 Shakhramanian, R. T.
Member of presidium CC CP Azerb. SSR, 21. s'ezd, 1956

Bak. Rab. 1/26/56

536

1 Shanshiashvili, Sandro, 1888-
Georgian dramatist, symbolist poet. Dramas: Nekoronovannye tsari, Berdo Zmaniia, Anzor. His work Zakavkazskie narody shows sketchiness (rather than profoundness?)

BE I 61:832-3

146

4 Shaposhnikova, Aleksandra Andreevna
Sev. Os. deputy Sov. Nats. VS SSSR 4. sozyv, 1954

Pravda 3/18/54

4 Sharifov, Nazhmutdin Sharifovich
Dag. deputy Sov. Nats. VS SSSR 4. sozyv, 1954

Pravda 3/18/54

536
3 Sharlakhov, Boris Mikhailovich
People's artist of Azerb. Stalin prize 3. class, 1950 for dramatic role in Zaria nad Kaspiem

Laur. Stalin. prem. 1950
p. 79

581
1 Sharmazanashvili, Luarsab Kharitonovich. Stalin prize 3. class, 1950 chemical engineer.

Laur. Stalin. prem. 1950
p. 33

325
1 Shatirishvili, Georgii Afans'evich
Stalin prize 3. class 1950 for work in metallurgy.

Laur. Stalin. prem. 1950
p. 32

646
6 Shatskii, Ivan Petrovich
Member of VS SSSR, Sov. Soiuz, 4. sozyv, 1954. Krasnodar. krai

Bak. Rab. 3/18/54

204
6452 Shaumian, Stepan Grigor'evich, 1878-1918. One of the most outstanding of the 26 Bakinskii komissary. Editor of various newspapers, also

204
645 of Bakinskii rabochii. Translated into Armenian: Manifest kommunist. partii. Knew Lenin, Plekhanov. In 1918 was komissar of foreign affairs.

BE I 61:878-9

646
5 Shebzukhova, Natal'ia Danilovna
Kab. deputy Sov. Nats. VS SSSR 4. sozyv, 1954

Pravda 3/18/54

533
3 Sheibler, T. K
Wrote 1. Kantata o Staline dlia khora; 2. Fortepiannaia rapsodiia na Kab. iaz.

BE I 19:218

536
5 Shekikhachev,
Kabardian dramatist who with Naloev wrote: Korigat, a historical tragedy, presented in Kabardian in 1934.

BE I 30:419

RHl

316
646 1 Sheklashvili, Shalva Spiridonovich
Deputy to Sov. Nats. VS SSSR (4. s'ezd, 1954). Born in Gorisa, 1908- ; mining engineer; since 1949 head of "Chiaturmarganets" trust. Deputy of VS Gruz. SSR since 1951.

Bak. Rab. 3/19/54

445
2 Shekoian, A. A.
Member CC CP Arm. SSR, 17.-18. s'ezd, 1954, 1956

Kom. Er. 1/22/56

538
1 Shengelaia, Demma, 1896-
Georgian writer, symbolist; His big work is Sanavardo, 1924-5 (on how capitalism replaced feudalism). Put' portrays counter-revolutionary heroes. 1927 he wrote Tiflis in which he shows affinity to proletarian ideology.

BE I 62:288

1 Shengelaia, Leon Mikhailovich
see
Kiacheli, Leo 1/1

1/1 [cf. cat. 116, p. 747 -- Analyst]

7: Columbia U. S-4, 5 1956 RHI Caucasia

RHI

546

1 Shengelaia, Nikolai Mikhailovich, 1903-
Georgian film-producer; 1928 -
film: Eliso, 26 komissarov.
Portrays the working class in realist manner.

BE I 62:288

646

6 Shipilov, Boris Semenovich
Member of Sov. Soiuz VS SSSR, 4. sozyv, 1954. Krasnodar. krai

Bak. Rab. 3/18/54

533

2 Sheram, 1857-1936
One of the most famous Armenian wandering minstrels (gusan).

BE II 3:97

536

3 Shirvanadze, Aleksandr, 1856-1935
Drama critic, of the critical realist school. Wrote dramas: Namus, Zloi dukh, Iz-za chesti, Khaos (chief work). Influenced by Balzac.

BE I 62:422-3

646

5 Shkakhov, Khamid Makhmudovich
Kab. Deputy Sov. Nats. VS SSSR 4. sozyv, 1954

Pravda 3/18/54

7: Columbia U. S-4, 5 1956 RHI Caucasia
RHI

538
5 Shogentsukov, Ali, 1900-1942
Kabardian poet; introduced classic metric system into Kabardian poetry. Wrote novel: Kambot i Liatsa, 1932-6

BE I 30:419

5 Shortanov, A., 1916-
Kabardian novelist

BE II 19:216

665
2 Simonian, Sh. S.
Member CC CP Arm. SSR, 18. s'ezd, 1956

Kom. Er. 1/22/56

2 Sochinskii, I. I.
Member CC CP Arm. SSR, 17.-18. s'ezd, 1954, 1956

Kom. Er. 1/22/56

533
2 Sogomonian, Sogomon Gevorkovich
see
Komitas (pseud.) 1/A

816
3 Spanaki, Evgenii Akhillesovich
Stalin prize 2. class, engineer

Laur. Stalin. prem. 1950
p. 55

1/A [cf. cat. 116, 751 -- Analyst]

533 2 Spendiarov, Aleksandr Afanas'evich 1871-1928. Armenian composer born in Kakhovka. Studied under Rimskii-Korsakov, Glazunov. Used Armenian themes in his compositions. Almast his best opera on poem by Tumanian. First shown in Moscow in 1930, now in repertory of Erevan opera house.

BE I 52:392

643
645 1 Stalin (Dzhugashvili) Iosif Vissarionovich. Dec. 21, 1879 in Gori-March 5, 1953. Studied in Gori ecclesiastic seminary, 1888-1894. 1898 joined Rossiisk. sots. demokr. raboch. partiia of Tiflis. Met Lenin at Tammersfors in 1905; frequently imprisoned during 1903-7.

Founded Pravda in 1911, worked on revolutionary paper Brdzola (Bor'ba) with Ketskhoveli, as well as on Lenin's Iskra. 1917- Commissar of nationalities; 1922- gen. sect. CC CP SSSR; Lenin's successor as chairman of Politbureau in 1924; exiled Trotskii in 1928; purge trial of enemies in 1934-38; Marshal of SSSR in 1943; initiated the first 5 year plan; member of supreme Soviet; people's commissar for the defense of SSSR until

7: Columbia U. S-4,5 1956 RHI Caucasia
RHI

643
665

Feb. 1947. Generalissimo in 1945; took part in Teheran (1943), Yalta (1945) Potsdam (1945) conferences. Wrote: October Revolution, Marxism and the National and Colonial Question, Leninism, Problems of Leninism, etc. Attacked at the 1956 Party congress by Krushchev.

BE I 52:535-622
BE II only X-ref. from Dzhugashvili to yet unpublished volume
Curr. Biogr. 1953, p. 584 & 1942, p. 790-7
Obituary NYT 3/6/53
International Who's Who, 1948/49, p. 1615

538
6654

Stal'skii, Suleiman ashug, 1869-1937 Lezgin poet; people's artist of Dagestan. Member of CC CP Dag. SSR. Born in Ashaga-Stal'. Was not educated and transmitted his songs orally, telling about the difficult life of the peasants. 1934- deputy to 1. vsesoiuz. s'ezd sovet. pisateli. Best work: Poema o Sergo. Buried in Makhachkala. His Pesnia o Staline, Krasnaia Armiia set to music.

BE I 52:670-1
BE II 13:288

7: Columbia U. S-4, 5 1956 RHl Caucasia
RHI

533
2 Stepanian, Aro Leonovich, 1897-
Born in Kirovabad. 1940- president of Soiuz sovet. kompozitorov Armenii. For opera Geroinia Stalin prize 3. class in 1950. Wrote: operas, Khrabryi Nazar, David Sasunskii, Lusabatin; also Simfonia pamiati 26. komissarov. Deputy of VS SSSR 1. -2. sozyv.

BE I 52:840-1
Laur. Stalin. prem. 1950, p. 80

665
2 Stepanian, L. A.
Member CC CP Arm. SSR, 18. s'ezd, 1956

Kom. Er. 1/22/56

707
2(?) Stepanian, Nel'son
Geroi Sov. soiuza (flyer), fought in battle of Moscow, Sevastopol

BE I 3:68

532
2 Stepanian, Suren L., 1895-
Armenian sculptor; did famous monument to Gukas Gukasian, 1935, also Azizbekov's statue in Tiflis, 1933

BE I 52:851

646
1 Sukhin, Gavriil Petrovich
Deputy to Sov. Soiuz VS SSSR (4. s'ezd) 1954

Bak. Rab. 2/18/54

665
2 Sukiasian, G. Kh.
Member CC CP Arm. SSR, 17.-18. s'ezd, 1954, 1956

Kom. Er. 1/22/56

3 Suleimanov, G. A.
CC CP Azerb. SSR, 20. s'ezd, 1954

3 Suleimanov, M. I.
Member of presidium CC CP Azerb. SSR, 21. s'ezd, 1956

Bak. Rab. 1/26/56

3 Suleimanov, S. S.
CC CP Azerb. SSR, 20. s'ezd, 1954

3 Sultanova, A. I.
CC CP Azerb, SSR, 20. s'ezd, 1954

7: Columbia U. S-4,5 1956 RHl Caucasia
RHI

645
3 Sultanov, Shamsadin Kurbanovich
Minister of commerce Azerb., 1954

Bak. Rab. 3/10/54

536
2 Sundukian, G., 1825-1912
Armenian playwright; wrote: Pepo, Razrushennyi ochag, Khatabala. Represents critical realism; depicts themes about workers against bourgeoisie. Many younger Armenian dramatists were influenced by him.

BE II 3:86

646
5 Suprunov, Valentin Kuz'mich
Adyg. deputy Sov. Nats. VS SSSR 4. sozyv, 1954

Pravda, 3/18/54

6 Suslov, Victor Maksimovich
Member of Sov. Soiuz VS SSSR, 4. sozyv, 1954. Krasnodar. krai.

Bak. Rab. 3/18/54

7: Columbia U. S-4, 5 1956 RHl Caucasia
RHl

646 6 Svechnikov, Petr Nikolaevich
Member of Sov. Soiuz, VS SSSR, Krasnodar. krai, 4. sozyv, 1954

Bak. Rab. 3/18/54

6 Svinareva, Natal'ia Ivanovna
Member of Sov. Soiuz VS SSSR, 4. sozyv, 1954, Krasnodar. krai.

Bak. Rab. 3/18/54

665
2042 Syrtsev, V.A.
Member CC CP Arm. SSR, 17.-18. s'ezd, 1954, 1956. Editor of Kommunist; organ tsentral'nogo i erevanskogo komitetov KP Armenii.

Kom. Er. 1/22/56

538
1 Tabidze, Galaktion, 1892-
Georgian symbolist poet. Wrote: Ia i noch', Veter; later poems extoll proletarian way of life Epokha, Patsifism; Revoliutsionnaia Gruziia. 1944- member of Akad. nauk Gruz. SSR. His novels are: Rodnaia moia zemlia, Rodina-zhiz'n moia. Since 1933 people's poet of Georgia.

BE I 53:391

7: Columbia U. S-4, 5 1956 RHl Caucasia
RHl

533
3 **Tagi-Zade, Niiazi Zul'fugarovich**
see
Niiazi (pseud.) 1

6HL
3 **Tagiev, Imran Abdulla ogly**
**Deputy** to Sov. Nats. VS SSSR (4. sozyv, 1954)

Bak. Rab. 3/19/54

2HL
3153 Tairova, Taira Akper ogly
Deputy to Sov. Nats. VS SSSR (4. sozyv, 1954). Born in 1913- oil expert; 1942- director of neftano-nauchn. issled. inst. in Kuibyshev; subsequently head of various oil enterprises in Azerb. Member of Bakinskii gorodskii komitet. Deputy to Bakinskii gorod. sovet. Deputy VS Azerb. SSR. Member of CC CP Azerb. SSR, 21. s'ezd, 1956

Bak. Rab. 3/19/54, 2/25/54, 1/26/56

533
1 Taktakishvili, Otar Vasil'evich (Tiflis in 1924-) Deputy to Sov. Nats. VS SSSR (4. s'ezd, 1954) composer; wrote state hymn of Georgia for which he was awarded Stalin prize 2. degree; member of CP Gruz. SSR.

Bak. Rab. 3/19/54
Zar. Vost. 2/13/54, 3/11/54

1 [cf. cat. 116, p. 778 -- Analyst]

7: Columbia U. S-4, 5 1956 RH1 Caucasia

RH1

533
2 Tal'ian, V. G., 1896-1947
Armenian composer

BE II 3:99

344
2 Tamanian, Aleksandr Ivanovich, 1880-1936. Architect. Partially rebuilt Erevan in 1924. Built Narkomles building, the medic-institute, agriculture school. Posthumously awarded Stalin prize in 1942. His pupil is Grigorian, M. V. Was president of Armenian art academy 1917-18.

BE I 53:519

646
204 1
645
Tarba, Ivan Konstantinovich
Abkhaz. deputy Sov. Nats. VS SSSR, 4. sozyv, 1954. Born in Beslakhuba, 1921- co-editor of Apsny Kapsh; correspondent to Sov. Abkhaziia; since 1943 party official sect. of Abkhazian division of Soiuz Sovet. pisatelei Gruz. SSR. 1953 - minister of education Abkhaz.

Bak. Rab. 3/18/54
Zar. Vost. 2/13/54

7: Columbia U. S-4,5 1956 RHl Caucasia

RHl

532
2 Tatevosian, Egishe, 1870-1936
Born in Vagarshapat; landscape painter. Painted: Aragats (view) Komitas, Tumanian, Akopian (portraits)

BE I 53:666
Kom. Er. 1/28/56

536
1 Tavadze, Dimitrii Matveevich
for acting role in Potoplennye kamni, Stalin prize, 3. class, 1950

Laur. Stalin. prem.
p. 78

533
646 2 Tavrizian, Mikhail Arsen'evich
for operatic role in Geroinia, Stalin prize 3. class, 1950. Deputy Sov. Nats. VS SSSR 4. sozyv, 1954

Laur. Stalin. prem. 1950
p. 80
Kom. Er. 3/19/54

646
4 Tekhova, Mariia Iordanovna
Iugo-Os. deputy Sov. Nats. VS SSSR 4. sozyv. 1954

Pravda 3/18/54

533
2 Ter-Gevondian, Anushavan Grigor'-evich, 1887- . Composer; wrote opera: Seda; ballet: Anait, Nevasta ogna; symphonies: Akhtamar, Rozhdenie, Vaagna, etc.

BE I 54:99

532
2 Terlemezian, Fanas Pavlovich, 1865-1941. Armenian painter of landscapes. Did "Tov. Stalin, Molotov i Voroshilov na aerodrome" in 1939. "Zimnii den' v Erevane", 1933. People's artist of Armenia.

BE I 54:106

538
5 Teuchezh, Tsug, 1855-1944
Adygei poet. Struggled against oppression, spoke of the better Soviet life to come; glorified Stalin

BE II 1:427

5 Teunov, Kh., 1912-
Kabardian author. Wrote Novyi potok, poem, 1946

BE II 19:216

7: Columbia U. S-4,5 1956 RH1 Caucasia RH1

533 2 Tigranian, Armen Tigranovich, 1879-
Armenian composer: pioneer of national Armenian opera. Wrote: Anush, Turk opera based on poem by Tumanian. It was played in Moscow in 1937, and received Lenin prize.

BE I 54: 242

2 Tigranian, Nikolai Fadeevich, 1856-
Armenian composer; blind since 9. year. Studied in St. Petersburg, Vienna. Concentrated on folk-songs of Armenia, Turkey, 1939 received order trudovogo krasnogo znameni.

BE I 54: 242

665 3 Titarenko, A. I.
CC CP Azerb. SSR, 20. s'ezd, 1954

645 1 Tkhilaishvili, Aleksandr Dursunovich
Adzhar, deputy Sov. Nats. VS SSSR 4. sozyv, 1954

Bak. Rab. 3/18/54

5 Tlostanov, Kalimet Tutovich
Kab. deputy Sov. Nats. VS SSSR 4. sozyv, 1954

Pravda 3/18/54

532 1 Toidze, Iraklii Mosevich, 1902-
Finished Tiflis art academy in 1930. Revolutionary paintings: Podarok k oktiabriu, 1930; Stalin na Riongese, 1935; did illustrations to Rustaveli's Vitiaz' v tigrovoi shkure, for which he received Stalin prize in 1941; Stalin prize 3. class in 1950 for illustration to Istoriia Gruzii.

BE I 54: 410
Laur. Stalin. prem. 1950, p. 75

646
665 3 Tolstikov, Oleg Viktorovich
Deputy to Sov. Nats. VS SSR (4. sozyv, 1954). Member of CC CP Azerb. SSR.

Bak. Rab. 3/19/54

66 2 Topchian, E.S.
Member CC CP Arm. SSR, 18. s'ezd, 1956

Kom. Er. 1/22/56

643
204 3 Toptsibashev, M.A.
President of VS Azerb. SSR (5. s'ezd, 1954). Editor in chief of Dokl. Akad. Nauk. Azerb. SSR

Bak. Rab. 3/10/54

7: Columbia U. S-4, 5 1956 RHI Caucasia

RHI

693

1 Topuridze, M. E.
Prokuror Gruz. SSR, 1954

Zar. Vost. 2/18/54

533

1 Toradze, David Aleksandrovich
Georgian composer; Stalin prize 2. class in 1950 for his ballet Gorda

Laur. Stalin. prem. 1950
p. 81
Zar. Vost. 2/18/54

646
665 2 Tovmasian, Suren Akopovich
Member Sov. Soiuz VS SSSR 1954- (4. s'ezd). Member CC CP SSSR 1956- . 1st Sect. CC CP Armeniia 1954- (17. s'ezd)

NYT 2/27/56
Kom. Er. 3/18/54, 2/17/54, 1/22/56

665

3 Tret'iakova, A. N.
Member of presidium CC CP Azerb. SSR, 21. s'ezd, 1956.

Bak. Rab. 1/26/56

7: Columbia U. S-4, 5 1956 RHI Caucasia

RHI

646
6 Trofimenkov, Nikolai Ivanovich
Member of Sov. Soiuz, VS SSSR, 4. sozyv, 1954, Krasnodar. krai.

Bak. Rab. 3/18/54

538
4 Tsadasa, no initials
Dagestani post-war (1945-) poet. Wrote: Skazanie o Chabanakh; he rec'd Stalin prize in 1950 for collection: Izbrannoe.

BE II 13:289

4 Tsagalov, Georgii, 1871-
Ossetian poet; since 1890 wrote in Russian, rebelling against tsarist absolutism. Wrote: Osetinskie motivy, Tembolat.

BE I 60:305

538
536 5 Tsei, Ibragim, 1895-
Cherkessian poet, dramatist; contributed to the development of the Cherkessian Theater. Wrote: Khodzhas, on battle of peasants against princes. Drama: Uzyshko, Kharach, etc.

BE I 61:254

7: Columbia U. S-4, 5 1956 RHl Caucasia

RHl

645
625 1 Tsereteli, S.S.
Former deputy People's Commissar and deputy Minister for Internal Affairs. Executed Nov. 1955, for alleged treason, counter-revolutionary crimes, for bringing false accusations ("slanderous evidence" against Ordzhonikidze); tried under Soviet criminal code 58 (high treason) in Sept. 1955 in Tiflis by military collegium of Soviet Supreme Court, headed by Lieut. Gen. A.A Cheptsov.

NYT
Zaria Vost.

535
1 Tsignadze, Vera Varlamovna
Stalin prize 2. class, 1950 for ballet role in Gorda ballet.

Laur. Stalin. prem. 1950
p. 81

646
645 1
665 Tsimakuridze, Kondratii Sokratovich
Deputy to Sov. Nats. VS SSSR (4. s'ezd, 1954). Born in Tlukhi, 1904-1937-1947 narodnyi komissar finansov Gruz. SSR. 1953- minister finansov Gruz. SSR. Member CC CP Gruz. SSR.

Bak. Rab. 2/19/54
Zar. Vost. 2/13/54

7: Columbia U. S-4,5 1956 RHl Caucasia
RHl

815
759 1 Tsinamzgvarishvili, M.D., 1884-
Member of Akad. nauk Gruz. SSR; cardiologist.

Knizh. Let. 1955, No. 5:59

646
1 Tsitlidze, Givi Akakievich
Deputy to Sov. Nats. VS SSSR (4. s'ezd, 1954)

Bak. Rab. 3/19/54

665
204 1
647 Tsivtsivadze, Il'ia Venediktovich, 1881-. Soviet party official; organized illegal typography in Batum and Tiflis during revolution. Edited Bolshevik paper Dro. 1917-1920 member of Moskovskii komitet. 1930-31 president of Mosmiasoprom.

BE I 60:675

665
204 1 Tskhakaia, Mikhail Grigor'evich (also, Mikha, Barsov, Leonov, Gurgen), 1865- Party member since 1898. 1917-1920 member of Tiflis komitet CP. Member of Tsentre. ispol. komitet of Transcaucasus; Member of 11, 13, 15-16 party congresses. Was one of the editors of Kavkazskii rabochii, in 1917-8.

BE I 60:779-781

7: Columbia U. S-4, 5 1956 RHl Caucasia

RHl

331
3(1?) Tsuleiskir, Georgii Vasil'evich
Stalin prize 2. class, 1950 for certain type of construction work.

Laur. Stalin. prem. 1950
p. 44

536
5 Tubaev, M.
20. c. Kabardian playwright.

BE II 19:218

646
6652 Tukhikian, Nunik Mesropovna
Deputy Sov. Nats. VS SSSR, 4. sozyv, 1954. Member CC CP Arm. SSR, 18 s'ezd, 1956.

Kom. Er. 3/19/54
1/22/56

552
5 Tukhuzhev, A.
20. c. Kabardian artist.

BE II 19:218

538
2 Tumanian, Ovannes, 1869-1923.
Armenian poet, humanist, dramatist. Wrote poem: Anush, Gikor, etc. Many of his songs were used in operatic themes.

BE I 55:146

7: Columbia U. S-4, 5 1956 RHI Caucasia
RHI

242
1 Ugrekhelidze, Petr Pavlovich
Stalin prize 2. class, 1950 for better cotton production.

Laur. Stalin. prem. 1950
p. 55

665
3 Unanov, B. T.
CC CP Azerb. SSR, 20. s'ezd, 1954.

646
341 3 Useinov, Mikhael Aleskerovich
Deputy to Sov. Nats. VS SSSR (4. sozyv, 1954). Born in Baku, 1905-; architect, representative of Azerb. intelligentsiia (sic!); member of Akad. nauk SSSR and Akad. nauk Azerb. SSR.; since 1940 professor of architect. design. Built movie-house "Nizami", museum, state conservatorium, etc. in Baku. Stalin prize winner. Now building Akad. nauk Azerb. SSSR bldgs. in Baku; director of art and architect. inst. of Akad. nauk Azerb. SSR.

Bak. Rab. 3/19/54
2/18/54

7: Columbia U. S-4, 5 1956 RHl Caucasia

RHl

815

1 Uznadzem, Dmitrii Nikolaevich, 1886-. Psychology professor at Tiflis univ. Member of Akad. nauk Gruz. SSR. Wrote on "Psychologie der Einstellung", his thesis being: "Ustanovka - eto izmenenie lichnosti kotoroe voznikaet v rezul'tate vozdeistviia vneshnego mira na aktivno deistvuiushchii organism."

BE I 55:706

536

1 Vachnadze, Nataliia Georgievna, 1904- . People's artist of Georgia. Acted in "Arsen-Razboinik" in 1923; rec'd Stalin prize in 1941 for film role in Zolotistaia dolina.

BE II 7:67

5 Vakhtangov, Evgenii Bagrationovich, 1883-1922. Born in Dzaudzhikau, of Russian Armenian family. Famous producer; follower of Stanislavskii theories in theater. Produced Chekhov's Svad'ba in 1920. There is theater by his name in Moscow.

BE II 7:63

7: Columbia U. S-4,5 1956 RH1 Caucasia
RH1

538
2 Vardanian, Anushavan, 1879- .
Armenian writer, dramatist. Wrote: Signal, Krasnye partizany, about effects of Civil War on Armenia. Na beregu Araksa, 1940, Patrioty about collectivization in Soviet Armenia.

BE II 6:627

536
2 Vardanian, Ruzana Tigranovna, 1896-
Actress, people's artist of Armenia. Made debut in Sundukian theatre of Erevan; played roles of Ostrovskii, Gorkii, Sundukian. Delegate to 2. vsesoiuznaia konferentsiia storonnikov mira.

BE II 6:627

536
6462 Vardanian, Vavik (Anushavan) Tigranovich, 1901 - . Actor; deputy to VS Arm. SSR 2.-3. sozyv, member of CP since 1945. Producer of Sundukian theatre in Erevan since 1937. Follower of the Moscow Art Theater style of producing. Put on plays by Gorkii, Pogodin, Simonov. Since 1944 head of theater inst. in Erevan.

BE II 6:627

7:Columbia U. S-4, 5 1956 RHl Caucasia
RHl

316 2 Vartanian, Konstantin Tigranovich
Stalin prize 3. class, 1950 mining engineer.

Laur. Stalin. prem. 1950
p. 35

536
646 1 Vasadze, Akakii Alekseevich
1899-. Actor; CP member since 1939, deputy to VS Gruz, SSR 1.-2. sozyv. Since 1935 director of Rustaveli theatre in Tiflis; he also acted as Iago, Franz, Vasilli Shuiskii, etc. Worked under influence of Mardzhanishvili. For roles in Kidivdze by Daraseli in 1941, Velikii gosudar' by Solov'ev in 1945 and Potoplennye kamni by Mosashvili rec'd. Stalin prizes.

Laur. Stalin. prem. 1950 p. 78
BE II 7:24

646 5 Vas'kov, Aleksei Ivanovich
Cherkes, Deputy Sov. Nats. VS SSSR 4. sozyv. 1954

Pravda 3/18/54

793 2 Vazgen, I
see under
Baldzhian, Armenian Catholicos. 1/1

1/1 [cf. cat. 116, p. 689 -- Analyst]

7: Columbia U.S-4, 5 1956 RHI Caucasia

RHI

538 3 Vekilov (pseud)
see
Vurgun, Samed Iosif (Vekilov) 1/1

665 2 Velibekov, D. M.
Member CC CP Arm. SSR, 17.-18. s'ezd, 1954, 1956.

Kom. Er. 1/22/56

2 Velibekov, R. Kh.
Member CC CP Arm. SSR, 17.-18. s'ezd, 1954, 1956.

Kom. Er. 1/22/56

646 3 Veli-Zade, Almas Gusein kyzy
Deputy to Sov. Nats. VS SSSR (4 sozyv, 1954)

Bak. Rab. 3/19/54

538 1 Vepkhvadze, Aleksei Ivanovich, 1921-
Georgian landscape painter. Rec'd Stalin prize in 1950 for Vysylka I. V. Stalina iz Batuma v 1903 goda.

Laur. Stalin. prem. 1950, p. 74
BE II 7:472

1/1 [Cf. cat. 116, p. 828 -- Analyst]

7: Columbia U. S-4, 5 1956 RHl Caucasia

RH1

532
1 Vepkhvadze, Ivan Alekseevich, 1888-
Landscape painter. Did:
Na tammerforsskoi konferentsii, 1936; I. V. Stalin sredi zheleznodorozhnikov, 1949; painted many portraits (Kirov, Beriia, etc.)

BE II 7:472

646
665 3 Verdieva, Gilas Shamil kyzy
Deputy to Sov. Soiuz VS SSSR (4. s'ezd, 1954) Born in Salakhly, 1930- Cotton-picker with high quota; Member of CP since 1953. Member of presidium CC CP Azerb SSR, 21. s'ezd, 1956.

Bak. Rab. 3/18/54
2/18/54
1/26/56

665
3 Vezirov, Kh. G.
CC CP Azerb. SSR, 20. s'ezd, 1954.

3 Vezirov, S. A.
Member of presidium CC CP Azerb. SSR, 21. s'ezd, 1956.

Bak. Rab. 1/26/56

7: Columbia U. S-4, 5 1956 RHI Caucasia
RHI

646
2422 Virabian, Ninel' Avetisovna
Deputy to Sov. Nats. VS SSSR
4. sozyv, 1954. In 1948 completed
Erevan agriculture inst.; increased
vegetable production in kolkhoz im.
Stalina where she is employed.

Kom Er. 3/19/54
2/19/54

535 3(?) Virsaladze, Simon Bagratovich, 1909-
Choreographer of various ballets.
Stalin prize in 1949 for staging
Glazunov's Raimonda, and also in
1951 for Kabalevskii's Sem'ia
Tarasa. Did sets to operas W.
Tell. E. Onegin.

BE II 8:152-3
Laur. Stalin. prem. 1950, p. 79

665
3 Vorob'ev, P. F.
CC CP Azerb. SSR, 20.s'ezd, 1954

2 Voskanian, S. A.
Member CC CP Arm. SSR, 18.s'ezd,
1956.

Kom. Er. 1/22/56

7: Columbia U. S-4,5 1956 RHl Caucasia

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538
646 3
665

Vurgun, Samed Iosif (Vekilov)

Born at Salakhli (Azerb), 1906- Poet; Gek Gel, collection of poetry in 1926; play Vagif (1939); drama Farkhad i Shirin (based on lines by old poet Nizami) won him Stalin prize in 1942. Translated Pushkin, Gorkii into Azerb. Deputy to 1.-3. sozyv VS SSSR and in 1954 again to Sov. Nats. VS SSSR (4.sozyv); Member of CC CP SSSR (before 1956); member of Akad. nauk Azerb. SSR. Member of presidium CC CP Azerb. SSR, 21.s'ezd, 1956.

Bak. Rab. 3/19/54
BE II 1:470 9:406-7
Bak. Rab. 1/26/56

665 2

Zakharian, V. S.

Member CC CP Arm. SSR, 17.-18. s'ezd, 1954, 1956.

Kom. Er. 1/22/56

538 2

Zarian, Nairi Egiazarovich, 1900

Armenian poet. Member of CP since 1930. Born in Turkish Armenia. Studied at Erevan univ. Wrote: V goluboi strane kanalov, 1926; Stalin, 1935; Armeniia 1937. His themes are world peace, socialism. Influenced by Maiakovskii. Comedy: Priusadebnyi uchastok, about the return home of Armenians.

BE II 16:477

7: Columbia U. S-4,5 1956 RHI Caucasia

RHI

646
665 2 Zarobian, Iakov Nikich

Deputy Sov. Nats. VS SSSR, 4. sozyv, 1954. Member CC CP Arm.SSR, 17.-18. s'ezd, 1954,1956.

Kom. Er. 3/19/54
1/22/56

646
5 Zashakueva, Shaimat Zalimgerivan

Kab. deputy Sov. Nats. VS SSSR 4. sozyv, 1954.

Pravda 3/18/54

665
3 Zevin, C. Ia.

CC CP Azerb. SSR, 20.s'ezd, 1954.

646
2 Zhiba, Zabet Mustafovich

Abkhaz, deputy Sov. Nats. VS SSSR, 4. sozyv, 1954. Born in Lidzava, 1914-kolkhoz worker; CP member since 1943.

Bak. Rab. 3/18/54

7: Columbia U.S -4, 5 1956 RHI Caucasia

RHI

646
538 2

Zorian, Stefan Egiiaevich
Deputy to Sov. Nats. VS SSSR, 4. sozyv, 1954. Born in Kirovakan, 1890. Writer, influenced by Chekhov; Translated Tolstoi, Turgenev into Armenian. Wrote:
Predsedatel' revkoma, 1926
Devushka iz biblioteki, 1926
and autobiographical novel in 1934–1937 Istoriia odnoi zhizni.

Kom. Er. 3/19/54
BE II 3:87 17:210

7:Columbia U. S-4, 5 1956 RHl Caucasia
Biographies of Key Personalities RHl

## SOURCES

| Title | Abbreviation |
|---|---|
| 113 | |
| 1. Bol'shaia entsiklopediia, 1st, 2nd ed. | BE I, BE II |
| 2. Current Biography | Curr. Biogr. |
| 3. Laureaty Stalinskikh premiiza 1950 god. Moskva, Iskusstvo, 1951 | Laur. Stalin prem. 1950 |
| 4. Soviet Calendar 1917-1947: Thirty Years of the Soviet State. Moscow, Foreign lang. publ. house, 1947. | Soviet Calendar 1917-1947. |
| 5. Newspapers: | |
| Kommunist Erevan | Kom. Er. |
| Zaria Vostoka | Zar. Vost. |
| Pravda | --------- |
| Bakinskii Rabochii | Bak. Rab. |
| New York Times | NYT |
| 6. Bulletin of the Institute for the Study of the USSR, Munich | Munich Inst. Bull. |
| 7. International Yearbook | Internatl. Yearbk. |

7:Columbia U. S-4, 5 1956 RHl Caucasia
RHl

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113

| Title | Abbreviation |
|---|---|
| 8. World Biography 5th ed., 1954 | World biogr. |
| 9. World Diplomatic Directory, 1950 | World Dipl. Dir. |
| 10. Knizhnaia letopis' | Knizh. let. |
| 11. Current Digest of Soviet Press 1956. | Curr. Digest |

7: Columbia U. S-4, 5 1956 RHl Caucasia
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# VI ECONOMICS

7: Columbia U. S-4, 5 1956 RHl Caucasia
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3. Economic

a$^{-1}$. Survey
a. Agricultural Potential
a$^{1}$. Stock-Raising
a$^{2}$. Forestry
b. Industrial Potential
b$^{1}$. Transportation
b$^{2}$. Commerce
b$^{3}$. Health Resorts
c. Taxation
d. Banking and Currency System
e. Domestic Trade

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$a^{-1}$. Survey

Tibor Halasi-Kun

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## Survey

000 Beyond the basic fact that the Soviet economy is a Marxist one, one of its main characteristics is its dynamic nature. In order to modernize the backward economy inherited from Czarist Russia, the new regime is trying to condense centuries into decades. Since it has at its disposal a huge geographical area, natural resources, manpower, and a highly centralized political-administrative apparatus, the present regime is in a position to carry out its economic policy at the expense of the population, and at whatever cost in mistakes and setbacks.

In order to realize its economic goals, the Soviet Union is emphasizing the principle of state-planning, as expressed in the series of five-year plans, the sixth of which was initiated this year. The value of these plans based on a rigid centralized system was considered open to question. More recent Western appraisals, however, have found some positive features in them, and, although rejecting the Russian methods, seem to agree in a positive assessment of their positive results.

Whereas in Czarist Russia the administrative units were unplanned historical units, in the Soviet Union today, state planning has been carried so far that even political-administrative organization is guided by economic considerations. The new subdivisions, the

oblasts (krays), and the rayons of the various Soviet republics, except when ethnic considerations have intervened, are primarily economic units. The economic character of the administrative units and the dynamic nature of the economy explain the rapid changes in the boundaries of these units. The economic goal today in these units is regional self-sufficiency. In earlier periods, however, interdependence rather than self-sufficiency was stressed. Economic links with Moscow were emphasized. Tele-kombinats were common, sometimes connecting areas as distant as the Altai and the Ural Mountains.

Another feature characteristic of the Soviet economy is its intensive drive toward industrialization, which on the one hand parallels the analogous efforts of any economically backward country striving to create a modern economy, but which on the other hand has a social aspect as well. The Soviet Union is based on the industrial worker class, a class which was very small at the beginning of the Russian Revolution, but which progressive industrialization has strengthened until it is now the strongest. The other important social groups, the anti-Soviet peasants, were very strong at the time of the Revolution, but lost much of their numerical strength during the process of industrialization, and have finally been industrialized so that today, the agricultural workers form a sub-branch of the

industrial workers in general. The policy of collectivization, the formation of Sovkhozes and Kolkhozes, was designed to secure the manpower necessary for Soviet industry, and to industrialize Soviet agriculture. Another result of this industrialization policy has been the increase of urban population. Cities, towns, worker colonies and other urban settlements have spread throughout the country and, in addition to the achievement of economic and class goals, have given the regime an opportunity for extensive large-scale Russification.

Soviet economic policy (for obvious reasons) laid the emphasis upon heavy industry and in general on all those fields which are directly or indirectly related to the Soviet military potential, while consumer goods and agricultural industry were neglected. It would be foolish to deny the brilliance of the Soviet achievements in steel or coal output, electricity production, or railroad building; similarly, the paucity of their results in other fields is obvious. It is after all an economic impossibility to create a heavy industry starting from nothing and supply extensive consumer goods, both at the same time. Yet, when evaluating these brilliant, if one-sided results, one must always bear in mind the manner in which they were obtained. One should not overlook the use of political pressure, or the Soviet standard of living which is unbelievably low, nor the large proportion of forced labor in the economy in addition to the "free" industrial laborers.

ccc As a consequence of state planning and of the lack of free enterprise, the importance of trade centers is less than it is in free economies. Old trade centers, unless backed by the industrialization policy of the regime, remain stagnant, whereas new industrial centers have spectacular success. Foreign trade was virtually non-existent during the Stalinist period.

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433 178 Economic dynamism, state-planning, and industrialization are also characteristic of the economy of the Caucasus. [1]

Economic dynamism reveals itself for instance in agriculture. As in the whole SSSR, the area under cultivation shows an increase, and one can witness a sharp rise in the acreage under industrial crops. Similarly, the introduction and acclimatization of new crops, the redistribution of old crops, and a rise in productivity, are also characteristic features of this dynamism. In the South Caucasus the introduction of subtropical crops is especially noteworthy. Another important field of activity of this dynamism is in irrigation and drainage works. The Eastern Caucasus in general, is poor in precipitation, and agriculture only exists when based on irrigation. As a result, in the region of Aras-Kura, upper Kuma rivers, or in Dagestan one finds great and new irrigation systems. (Azerbaijan SSR: Divichi, Lenin,

[1] [For a summary statement of Soviet economy, see cat. 116, pp. 836-839 -- Analyst]

433
178 Azizbek, and Ordzhonikidze Canals; Dagestan ASSR: October Revolution, and Dzerzhinskiy Canals; Groznyy Oblast: Lenin, and Alkhanchurtovskiy Canals; Stavropol' Oblast: Nevinnomysk Canal). In the West Caucasus the problem is rather that of high precipitation, so that there the trend has been towards drainage systems (in the delta of the Rion and Kuban Rivers). In addition to this, several huge reservoirs have been created (Lake Mingechaur), in connection with hydroelectric plants. Dynamism also shows itself in stock raising in the introduction of cross-breeding of various Merino, Karakul, Mutton and Mutton-dairy varieties of sheep. Yet, it shows itself even more clearly in the various industries and connected fields, as within the new mining areas (for instance around Dashkesan), new oil fields (for instance in the Neftegorsk area), a whole series of hydroelectric power plants (at Yerevan, etc.), a brand-new steel mill (Rustavi), or industrial centers (Sumgait, Kirovabad), a new center of the chemical industry (in the Armenian SSR), railroad-building (such as the Black Sea coast and the Caspian Sea coast lines), and many other items, which all prove that this dynamism is a reality.

471 State planning also shows its effects in
178 the Caucasian area. Everything is planned well ahead, and in Moscow; independent Caucasian economy-planning does not exist. Although

471 since the death of Stalin there are some indi-
178 cations, for instance, in the case of the Azerbaijan oil ministry, that the central government will foster local rule in the future.

631 In the realm of state planning, the Cau-
178 casian administrative units represent a solution partly on economic and partly on nationalistic lines. The fact that nationalistic features are more emphasized in this area than elsewhere in Soviet Russia, is due to the ethnic complexity, not to say confusions of the Caucasus. In the Northern Caucasus administrative units like the Rostov, Astrakhan', Groznyy Oblasts, and the Krasnodar, Stavropol' Krays are basically economic units. Those units which are essentially ethnic, though numerous (Adyge AO, Cherkess AO, Kabardian ASSR, North Ossetian ASSR, Dagestan ASSR) are not very important, and their population forms roughly only 10 per cent of that of the whole North Caucasus. The Soviet South Caucasus on the other hand, has only ethnic units. The South Caucasus, a relatively small area, is inhabited by three different non-Russian nations (Armenian, Azeri, Georgia), each of them with the status of a Soviet Socialistic Republic. The territory of these republics was handled during the Czarist regime as a single political and economic unit. This resulted in these republics being even today more interdependent than other Soviet units of a similar grade. The stock-raising of Armenia and

631
178 Azerbaijan, for instance, is handled as a whole. The stock is driven from the winter pastures of Azerbaijan (used as a cotton growing area during the summer) and spends the summer months in Armenia. In the field of industry the Baku oilfields and oil industry are connected through pipelines with the oil industry of Batumi, in Georgia. Similarly, the Rustavi steel mills of the Georgian SSR depend on the iron ore of Dashkesan which is in Azerbaijan.

178 Industrialization in agriculture, stock-
438 raising, and forestry follows the general Soviet patterns. The Kolkhozes and Sovkhozes are predominant, some of them covering large areas like the Gigant (in Rostov Oblast). This centralization makes it easy for the central government to introduce new industrial crops, like tea or various rubber plants, into the South Caucasus, or spread the cultivation of rice or cotton in the North Caucasus. At the same time it presents the opportunity to transform the nomadic features of eastern Caucasian stock-raising into a more sedentary one. In the field of industry proper and related fields, industrialization went ahead with great strides when compared with the 1913 status. In the Czarist period the Caucasus had an oil industry (Baku, Groznyy, Maykop), a mining industry (Chiatura, Sadon and Kedabek), some copper smelters (in Alaverdi and Kafan), and some manufacturing industries (like the food industry in western North Caucasus, the fishing industry

178 along the Caspian coast, the cognac and wine
438 industry around Yerevan). Soviet industrialization has added the coal mines at Tkvarcheli and Akhaltsikhe (in Georgia), all the thermoelectric and hydroelectric plants, the iron mines at Dashkesan, the molybdenum mines at Kadzharan, and the large centers of heavy metallurgy. The most important centers of ferrous metallurgy are Rustavi, and the ferramanganese works of Zestafoni (both in the Georgian Republic). Similarly the aluminum industry of Yerevan, based on the electric power of the area, is due to Soviet industrialization efforts. Construction of machinery (in the Czarist period mostly at Taganrog and Baku) also got a new impetus. Nowadays almost every city in the Caucasus is equipped with plants producing various kinds of machinery. Armavir, Maykop, Novorossiysk, Taganrog, and especially Rostov, produce agricultural machinery. The Rossel'mash plant in Rostov is the largest one in the USSR. Automobiles are produced in new plants in Kutaisi and Rostov, aircraft in Makhachkala, Rostov, Taganrog; electric locomotives in Novocherkassk. In shipbuilding the changes during the Soviet period have been less striking. Czarist Russia already had a traditional shipbuilding industry. The chemical industry, almost nonexistent in pre-Soviet periods (except around the Lake Baskunchak), has also received a new impetus. Armenia has a whole series of

178
438 chemical centers (Alaverdi, Kirovakan, Amamlu, Leninakan, Yerevan), and Yerevan and Baku are producing synthetic rubber. The textile industry and related fields, except for some silk industry and traditional nomadic rug weaving, were also almost non-existent in the Czarist period. Nowadays, one finds cotton ginning establishments along the Kura and Aras rivers and in or around the cotton growing areas of the North Caucasus (Khasavyurt, Budennovsk, Georgiyevsk, etc.). Cotton mills in Armenia, Azerbaijan, Dagestan, woolen mills along the southern and northern slopes of the Greater Caucasus, and some of the silk filatories and mills were established in recent periods. Textile and clothing mills, almost unknown during the Czarist period, have appeared in such centers as Leninakan. New industries are the large-scale leather, boot, and shoe factories, and the alunite mines at Zaglik, producing the necessary raw material for the tanning trade. Lumbering, sawmilling, woodworking and furniture plants represent also, at least in their present day form, a completely new industry in the Caucasus, as is the paper mill at Zugdidi. In the food industry the results of the Soviet industrialization policy are less striking. The North Caucasus even in the pre-Soviet period had a relatively well-developed food industry. Similarly the salt mines (Baskunchak, Nakhichevan'), producing one of the most important raw

178
438 materials of the food industry, were well exploited under the earlier regime. As a whole, however, one cannot compare the present day variety in food industry with that of Czarist Russia. The giant corn kombinat of Beslan producing starches, molasses, etc. symbolizes the results of the Soviet efforts in this field. The large number of oil presses in the North Caucasus, the sugar refineries in the South Caucasus, the fruit canning centers especially along the slopes of eastern North Caucasus, and the milk industry, centered mostly around the health resorts, were founded in general during the Soviet period. The fishing industry and fish-canning along the Caspian Sea coast and along the shores of the Sea of Azov reached their present size during the recent periods. The wine industry is an old industry in the Caucasus, but the tea industry is a Soviet creation. This new industry is centered in the subtropical western and eastern corners of the South Caucasus.

178
489 Of the related fields, transportation also shows the impact of the new Russian industrialization policy. On the eve of World War I, the Russian railroad system was inadequate. Of the present main lines, only the Baku-Rostov, the Novorossiysk-Tsaritsyn, and the Baku-Batum were in existence. There was also a trunk line connecting Dzhul'fa with Tiflis, and Astrakhan' with Saratov, and Stavropol' with Yekaterinodar. As against this,

178
789 the present Soviet regime has created the aforementioned Black Sea and Caspian Sea lines, the line along the Aras River, and, which is very important, a dense network of trunk lines. In navigation the changes during the Soviet period have been less important. This is due partially to the non-existence of foreign trade, to the relative unimportance of coastal shipping, and especially to the fact that in the Caucasus the rivers are unsuited for navigation (the Don and the Volga Rivers do not belong to the Caucasus, but rather mark its northern limits). Similarly, the network of primary roads is extremely skimpy. From this point of view there is no difference between the old and the new regimes. The famous military roads through the Caucasus have more historical, than practical value. According to some recent data, the building of a super-highway has started which will link the Caucasus to Moscow. Completely new is the aviation service which is of great value in a huge country such as Russia. The more important centers like Baku, Yerevan, Kirovabad, Makhachkala, Astrakhan', and Rostov have several airfields or landing grounds.

178
529 Finally, the network of the health resorts which partially existed even in the Czarist period made the Caucasus the most important center of the hotel and catering trade in the whole USSR.

44 The manpower necessary to run these new industries[1] is mostly secured from the local population. The North Caucasus, strongly Russified, easily meets its needs. In those industrial areas from which the autochtonous population has been removed in recent periods, as around Groznyy, several hundred thousand new Russian colonists have been brought in and a new economic-administrative unit, the Groznyy Oblast, was formed. The South Caucasus, a densely populated area (at several places over 300 persons per square mile) has even less need of immigrant manpower. Baku has since Czarist times been overfilled with Russians, and to a smaller extent with Armenian workers, who with the local Azeri population are able to run the oilfields, the oil and other industries located around the city. The speedy development of Armenian industry is also connected with the fact that the Armenian SSR has a large number of skilled workers, a circumstance which, in conjunction with the cheap power available, makes this state ideal for industrial development. The fact that the Armenian SSR is on the border is not important with so powerful a country as the USSR.

[697] In addition to "free" labor, there is a presumably large forced labor component in the area; its size is unknown. According to the available data there are three concentration camps in the North Caucasus (Astrakhan', Makhachkala, Nal'chik), and four (Baku, Sal'yany, Sukhumi, Tbilisi) in the South Caucasus.

[1] [cf. cat. 116, pp 842-846 -- Analyst]

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[This page was devoted to a map entitled "Administrative Boundaries as of January 5, 1955" in the original manuscript. For technical reasons and in order to preserve all its detail this map has been placed in the pocket in the inside of the back cover.]

631

a-1.1 Administrative Boundaries as of January 5, 1955

848-A

631

ROSTOV OBLAST
ASTRAKHAN OBLAST
KRAY
STAVROPOL KRAY
Stavropol
GROZNYY OBLAST
KABARDIAN ASSR
ABKHAZ ASSR
NORTH OSSETIAN ASSR
SOUTH OSSETIAN AO
DAGESTAN ASSR
GEORGIAN SSR
Tbilisi
AZERBAIDZHAN SSR
ARMENIAN SSR
Yerevan
NAGORNO-KARABAKH AO
Stepanakert
ndaries as of January 5, 1955



848-B

7:Columbia U. S-4, 5 1956 RHl Caucasia RHl

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[This page was devoted to a map entitled "Number of Inhabitants of Cities and Towns" in the original manuscript. For technical reasons and in order to preserve all its detail this map has been placed in the pocket in the inside of the back cover.]

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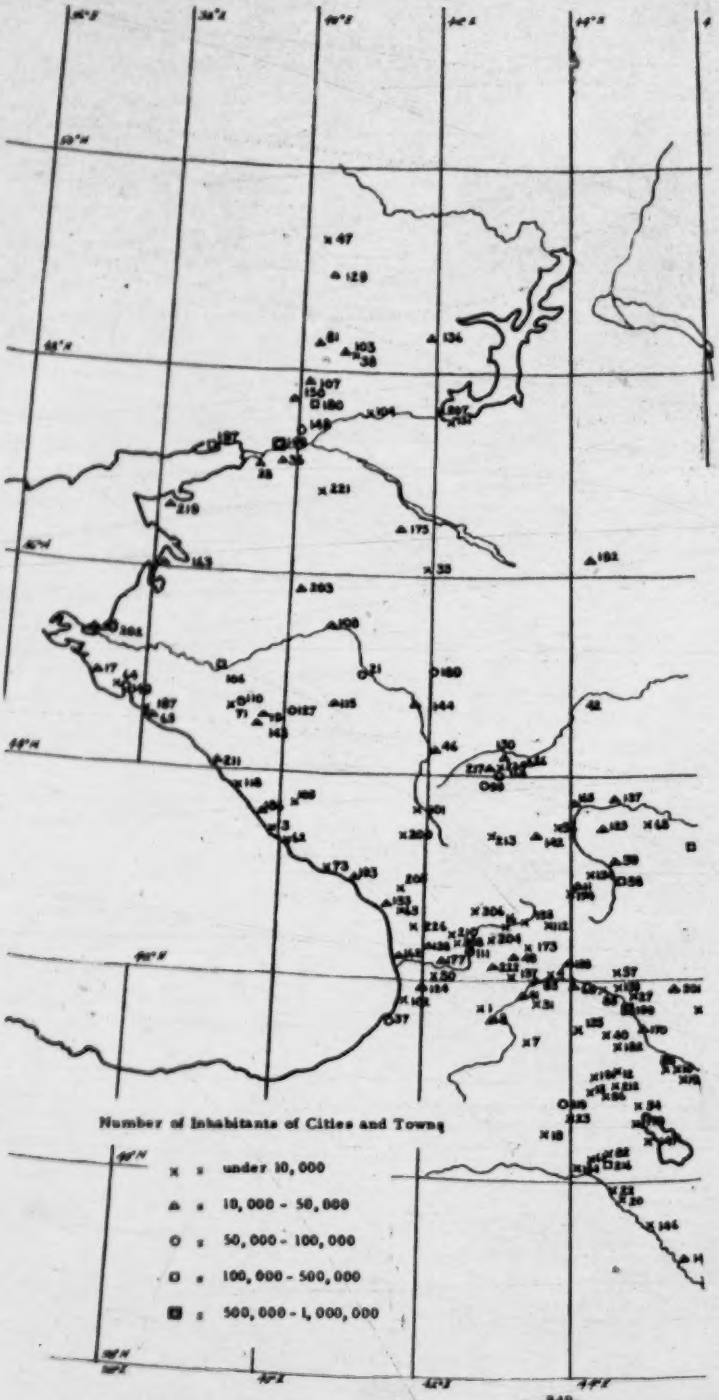
162






849—A1

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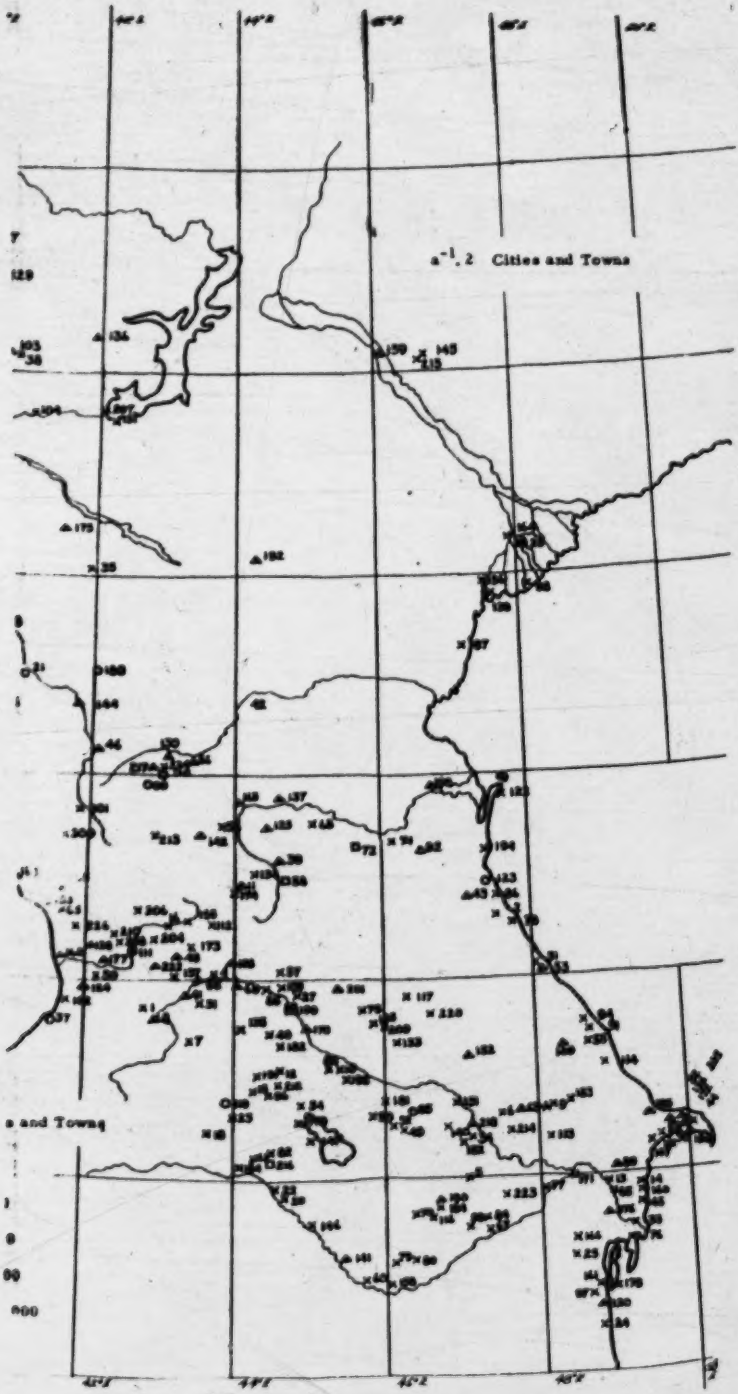
162






849-A2

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## Cities and Towns

103

1. Abastumani
2. Achi-Su
3. Adler
4. Agara
5. Agdam
6. Agdash
7. Akhalkalaki
8. Akhaltsikhe
9. Akhsu
10. Akstafa
11. Alagir
12. Alaverdi
13. Ali-Bayramly
14. Alyaty-Pristan'
15. Amamlu
16. Ambrolauri
17. Anapa
18. Anipemza
19. Apsheronsk
20. Ararat
21. Armavir
22. Artashat
23. Artik
24. Astara
25. Astrakhan-Bazar
26. Astrakhan'
27. Avchala
28. Azov
30. Baku
31. Bakuryani
32. Balandzhary
33. Bank
34. Barda
35. Bashanta
36. Bataysk
37. Batumi
38. Belaya Kalitva
39. Beslan
40. Bolnisi
41. Borzhomi
42. Budennovsk
43. Buynaksk
44. Buzovny
45. Byandovan
46. Cherkessk
47. Chertkovo
48. Chiatura
49. Chiragidzor
50. Chokhatauri
51. Dagestanskiye Ogni
52. Dashkesan
53. Derbent
54. Dilizhan
55. Divichi
56. Dokhshukino
57. Dusheti

103 58. Dzaudzhikau
59. Dzhebrail
60. Dzhul'fa
61. Echmiadzin
62. Gagra
63. Gali
64. Gayduk
65. Gelendzhik
65A Geokchay
66. Georgiyevsk
67. Goradiz
68. Goragorskiy
69. Gori
70. Goris
71. Goryachiy Klyuch
72. Groznyy
73. Gudauty
74. Gudermes
75. Gurdzhaani
76. Im. 26 Bakinskikh Komissarov
77. Imishli
78. Izberbash
79. Kadzharan
80. Kafan
81. Kamensk-Shakhtinskiy
82. Kanaker
83. Karachala
84. Karyagino
85. Kaspi
86. Kaspiysk
87. Kaspiyskiy
88. Kazakh
89. Kazi-Magomed
90. Kedabek
91. Khachmas
92. Khasavyurt
93. Khashuri
94. Khudat
95. Kirovabad
96. Kirovakan
97. Kirovsk
98. Kirovskiy
99. Kislovodsk
100. Kizlyar
101. Klukhori
102. Kobuleti
103. Koksovyy
104. Konstantinovskiy
105. Krasnaya Polyana
106. Krasnodar
107. Krasny Sulin
108. Kropotkin
109. Kuba
110. Kutais
111. Kutaisi
112. Kvaisi
113. Kyurdamir
114. Kyzyl-Burun

103 115. Labinsk
116. Lachin
117. Lagodekhi
118. Lazarevskoye
119. Leninakan
120. Lenkoran
121. Lokbatan
122. Lopatin
123. Makhachkala
124. Makharadze
125. Malgobek
126. Mashtagi
127. Maykop
128. Mikha-Tskhakaya
129. Millerovo
130. Mineral'nye Vody
131. Mingechaur
132. Mir-Bashir
133. Mirzaani
134. Mizur
135. Molotovo
136. Morozovsk
137. Mozdok
138. Mumra
139. Mtskheta
140. Naftalan
141. Nakhichevan'
142. Nal'chik
143. Neftegorsk
144. Nevinnomyssk
145. Nizhniy Baskunchak
146. Norashen
147. Nor-Bayazet
148. Novocherkassk
149. Novorossivsk
150. Novoshakhtinsk
151. Novosolenovskiy
152. Nukha
153. Ochemchiri
154. Oktemberyan
155. Oni
156. Oranzherei
157. Ordzhonikidze
158. Ordubad
159. Petropavlovskiy
160. Pirsagat
161. Port Il'icha
162. Poti
163. Primorsko-Akhtarsk
164. Privolzhskiy
165. Prokhladnyy
166. Pushkino
167. Puta
168. Pyatigorsk
169. Rostov
170. Rustavi
171. Sabirabad
172. Sabunchi
173. Sachkere
174. Sadon
175. Sal'sk
176. Sal'yany
177. Samtredia

103178. Sara-Ostrov
179. Sevan
180. Shakhty
181. Shamkhor
182. Shaumyani
183. Shemakha
184. Shusha
185. Signakhi
186. Sochi
187. Solntsedar
188. Staliniri
189. Stavropol'
190. Stepanakert
191. Stepanavan
192. Stepnoy
193. Sukhumi
194. Sulak
195. Sumgait
196. Surakhani
197. Taganrog
198. Tauz
199. Tbilisi
200. Teberda
201. Telavi
202. Temryuk
203. Tikhoretsk
204. Tkibuli
205. Tkvarcheli
206. Tsageri
207. Tsimlyanskiy
208. Tskhaltubo
209. Tsnori
210. Tsulukidze
211. Tuapse
212. Tumanyan
213. Tyrny-Auz
214. Udzhary
215. Verkhniy Baskunchak
216. Yerevan
217. Yessentuki
218. Yevlakh
219. Yeysk
220. Zakataly
221. Zernovoy
222. Zestafoni
223. Zhdanovsk
224. Zhelesnovodsk
225. Zhiloy
226. Zugdidi

## $a^{-1}.3$ Concentration Camps

697

a$^{-1}$.4 Irrigation Canals

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[This page was devoted to a map entitled "Caucasian Industry in Czarist Russia as of 1913" in the original manuscript. For technical reasons and in order to preserve all its detail this map has been placed in the pocket in the inside of the back cover.]

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a-1. 5 Caucasian Industry in Czarist Russia as of 1913

- X : Centers of fuel industry
- △ : Mines
- □ : Centers of metallurgy
- O : Machinery and metal-working plants
- ♀ : Silicate and porcelain works
- ● : Chemical industry centers
- T : Textile industry centers
- ♀ : Food industry centers
- V : Centers of various industries



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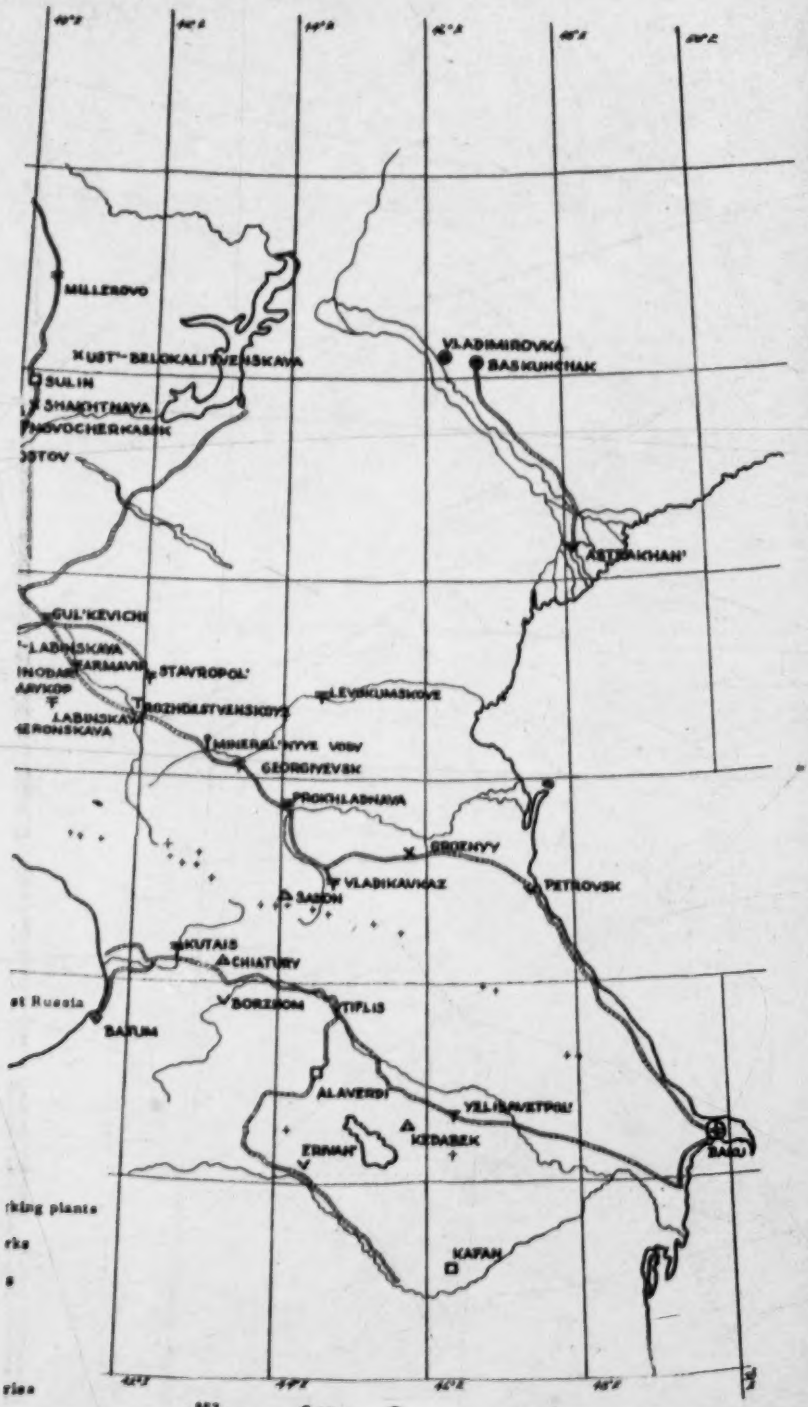


852-B

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Economic Survey

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a. Agricultural Potential

Tibor Halasi-Kun

## Agricultural Potential

311 In the Caucasus all forms of rural economy are represented. In the South Caucasus 1/4, in the North Caucasus roughly 4/5 of the area is under cultivation. The main characteristics of the various economic (and political-administrative) units can be summarized as follows:

Azerbaijan SSR: Farming concentrated on foothills, and more recently in the valleys; agriculture requires irrigation; same features are characteristic for High-Karabakh AO, and for Nakhichevan' ASSR, which is especially dry; Lenkoran' Lowland excels in subtropical crops.

Armenian SSR: The volcanic soil combined with irrigation assures a great productivity to the area; agriculture is concentrated in mid-Aras valley, especially around Yerevan, and in the north in Lori steppe.

Georgian SSR: Though the major part of the republic is still covered by forests, pastures, and arid mountains, the agricultural importance of the area is great; subtropical crops, industrial crops: tobacco, and wine are the chief products of Georgian economy; the agricultural areas are: the Black Sea littoral, the Kura valley, especially between Gori and Tbilisi, and Kakhetia; of the subunits both the Adzhar ASSR, and the Abkhaz ASSR are rich in tobacco and in subtropical crops.

311 Astrakahan' Oblast: Because the oblast has concentrated on fisheries and the fishing industry, the importance of agriculture and even of stock-raising is minor; since the transfer to the predominantly agricultural Stavropol' Oblast of its western rayons, where most of its agriculture and stock-raising was situated, the fishing character of the oblast has been further accentuated; agriculture is concentrated in the irrigated Volga-Akhtuba lowland, completely surrounded by a semi-desert area.

Groznyy Oblast: The importance of agriculture due to the oilfields and oil industry is only secondary; agriculture is concentrated along the Sundzha River and produces cotton among other crops.

Dagestan ASSR: Due to climatic conditions agriculture needs irrigation; it is concentrated especially on the foothills and produces fruits and subtropical crops.

Stavropol' Kray: Chiefly agricultural area; its extreme western part is humid, whereas the bulk of the kray, the eastern part, is dry; this difference in climate explains a certain disparity in the agriculture; the main agricultural activity is grain farming; of the sub-units the Cherkess AO is in the humid zone, whereas the Kabardian ASSR and the North Ossetian ASSR are in the dry zone; the North Ossetian Republic excels especially in corn.

311 Krasnodar Kray: The geographical structure of the kray secures to it a great agricultural variety; the sea coast is subtropical, the mountains along this seacoast are covered by forests, whereas the steppe beyond the forests with its black soil is one of the most fertile regions of the USSR; the only sub-unit of the kray, the Adyge AO belongs to the steppe zone.

Rostov Oblast: This oblast formerly included two quite distinct regions; a very dry south-eastern part with agricultural features similar to the eastern Stavropol' Kray, and a more humid northern part which is a kind of continuation of Ukraine; this oblast has recently been broken up, with the northern part forming a new unit, and only the more homogeneous south-eastern part around Sal'sk and the lower-Don valley remaining in the Rostov Oblast; in the remaining part grain farming and sunflowers are especially characteristic.

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311 243 A clear picture of the agricultural potential of the area, is best given in the form of a list:

Wheat: The main areas are the North Caucasus, in Azerbaijan the northern side of the Kura valley, and in the south the region along the state boundaries. In Trans-caucasia, grain is in general subordinated to industrial and subtropical crops. Wheat is obtained

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243 mostly by dry farming methods, though in Azerbaijan and Dagestan it is cultivated in irrigated lowlands as well. It is winter wheat which is commonly cultivated. Spring wheat occurs in the Steppe region of the Krasnodar Kray, where there is a very low snow precipitation, and in the irrigated parts of Dagestan. As to the quality, the best wheat is produced along the Kuban River, especially in the Cherkess AO.

Rice: This crop was grown originally only in the South Caucasus. Nowadays it is cultivated in the North Caucasus as well. In the North Caucasus especially the area along the lower Kuban, between Krasnodar and the delta, then the flooded area along the Terek River, and especially the region around Kizlyar are the main rice areas.

Rye: Cultivation area mainly in the Astrakhan' Oblast on both sides of the Volga and Akhtuba Rivers.

Oats: Cultivated mainly in the Stavropol' Kray, in Groznyy Oblast, in the steppe areas of the Krasnodar Kray, and in the northern corner of Dagestan.

Corn: Cultivation area mainly in the North Caucasus. In the South Caucasus (Abkhaz ASSR, Imeretia) it is gradually giving place to subtropical crops. In the North Caucasus, a belt embracing the north and northeastern parts of the Krasnodar Kray, the Cherkes AO, the North Ossetian ASSR, Groznyy Oblast, and the

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243 Dagestan ASSR is the most important corn producing area. In the belt itself the Cherkess AO, and the North Ossetian ASSR, the corn republic, are the chief producers. In Dagestan, corn is very often cultivated in irrigated areas.

Barley: Almost universal in the Caucasus. In the South Caucasus especially the higher parts of Armenia produce barley. In the North Caucasus the south eastern parts of the Rostov Oblast, and the region in the northern parts of the Krasnodar Kray are important. In Dagestan it is cultivated with dry farming methods.

Millet: Cultivated only in the North Caucasus.

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244 Potatoes: Important areas both in South and North Caucasus. In the South Caucasus the region around Yerevan is the most important. In addition to this important region are the areas around Tbilisi, and Baku. In the North Caucasus the Kabardian ASSR, the North Ossetian ASSR, the southern parts of the Groznyy Oblast, the north-western part of Dagestan, and the northern areas of the Rostov Oblast are important.

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245 Horticulture and fruit-gardening: Truck-gardening is characteristic for suburban areas, or those which are in the vicinity of big health resorts. One should mention as main truck-gardening centers the Baku, Yerevan, Rostov and Pyatigorsk areas. Fruit-gardening is widespread in the whole Caucasus. In the

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245 South Caucasus the Armenian SSR, and the Nakhichevan' ASSR, along the irrigated Aras valley, Kolkhida, Imeretia, northern parts of Kakhetia, in Azerbaijan the High Karabakh AO, and the Kuba region are especially important. In the North Caucasus almost the whole Krasnodar Kray, in the Stavropol' Kray the Kuban, and the upper and middle Kuma valley, the North Ossetian ASSR, and the Groznyy Oblast along the Terek and Sundzha Rivers, Dagestan, and the Akhtuba region of the Astrakhan' Oblast are the chief producers of fruit. One of the characteristic features of Caucasian fruit-gardening is the extensive use of irrigation (Aras, Kura, Kuban, Kuma, Terek, Sundzha, and Akhtuba valleys).

Vineyards: The Caucasus is a famous wine-growing area; soil conditions and climate make it ideal for viniculture. In the South Caucasus the vineyards of Armenia, Nakhichevan', Karabakh, and north Azerbaijan are well known. Yet the most important wine producing area in the South Caucasus is Georgia. Imeretia and Kakhetia are world-famous for their wine. In addition to these places one also finds wine in the Bolnisi area. In the North Caucasus the main wine producing areas are: the littoral parts of the Krasnodar Kray, the area northward from Krasnodar, in the Stavropol' Kray the valley along the Kuma River, the Cherkess AO, the middle Terek valley, the region around Kizlyar, and

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245 the Caspian littoral in Dagestan. In the north, along the northern shores of the Don River, there extend the vineyards of the former Cossacks of Don. In this area Tsimlyanskaya, and Razdorskaya are the most important wine-growing centers. One part of the vineyards, those along the Kuma and Terek Rivers, and those in Dagestan are irrigated.

Citrus: Tangerines, oranges, lemons, grapefruit were introduced into the Caucasus on an industrial scale during the Soviet period. In the South Caucasus the Lenkoran' Lowland, the Georgian Black Sea littoral, the Abkhaz ASSR and the Adzhar ASSR are the citrus-growing areas. The Adzhar Republic is the most important citrus center of the USSR. In the North Caucasus the Black Sea coast of the Krasnodar Kray is the only citrus-growing area.

311 Sugar beets: The main sugar-beet area
249 is the Kuban valley, northward from Krasnodar. In the South Caucasus this crop was recently introduced to Imeretia (Georgian SSR), and to Armenia.

Tobacco: Especially the Turkish kind is cultivated both in the South and in the North Caucasus. In the South Caucasus the tobacco fields are concentrated in three different areas. One is in Azerbaijan between Zakataly and Kuba. The second is in Armenia and in Nakhichevan' ASSR along the Aras River. The third is in Kolkhida and in the Adzhar and

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249 Abkhaz republics. In the Adzhar Republic the fields are located around Batumi and in the higher part of the republic. The Abkhaz area, which produces the best quality, is one of the major tobacco-growing areas of the USSR. The center is Sukhumi. In the North Caucasus the main tobacco-growing areas are in the Krasnodar Kray. The fields there are mostly concentrated in the Adyge AO and along the Black Sea littoral.

311 Tea: It is one of the recently introduced
246 subtropical plants, and is cultivated mostly in the South Caucasus. The chief tea-growing areas are the Abkhaz and Adzhar republics and Kolkhida. The Adzhar ASSR is the most important tea-growing area in the USSR. In eastern Trans-caucasia an important tea-growing area is the Lowland of Lenkoran'. In addition to these there are some less important tea-growing areas in the interior of Georgia and Azerbaijan as well. In the North Caucasus tea is cultivated only on the Black Sea coast of the Krasnodar Kray, an area adjacent to the tea-growing districts of the Abkhaz Republic.

311 Cotton: The most important fiber plant
248 under cultivation in the Caucasus. It came originally from Central Asia to the South Caucasus. During the Soviet period its cultivation crossed the 43rd parallel and was pushed as far as 47° N. Though the Caucasian crops is the second largest in the USSR, production

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248 is low and cannot be compared with that of Central Asia. In the South Caucasus it is cultivated in irrigated areas. The most important cotton fields are along the Kura and Aras Rivers (Azerbaijan, Nakhichevan' ASSR, Armenia) in which cotton is rotated mostly with alfalfa. Eastern Azerbaijan cultivates especially the long-staple cotton. In other areas of the South Caucasus Kakhetia is trying to introduce cotton. In the North Caucasus cotton cultivation is centered in three distinct areas. One is the coastal area along the Sea of Azov. This area reaches almost to Krasnodar and Rostov and cultivates cotton with dry methods. The second area is in eastern parts of the Stavropol' Oblast, in the middle belt of the Groznyy Oblast and in the northern parts of Dagestan. Cultivation here too is based mostly on dry methods, only the fields around Kizlyar and Khasavyurt being irrigated. The third cotton-growing area of the North Caucasus is the Akhtuba region and the Volga Delta.

Northern Hemp: Occurs in the Kabardian and North Ossetian republics.

Kendyr': A domesticated fiber plant from Central Asia cultivated mostly in the northern parts of the Krasnodar Kray and in the western parts of the Stavropol' Kray. The plant is used in the manufacture of a very resistant cloth.

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231 Maulberry: The trees necessary for silk culture are cultivated especially in the

1/1 [Sic. Mulberry?-- Analyst]

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231 South Caucasus: in Middle Azerbaijan; around the cities and town like Zakataly, Nukha, Yevlakh, Kirovabad, Barda, Udzhary, Mir Bashir, Shusha. One also finds a very important center of silk culture in Kolkhida and Imeretia along the Tbilisi-Sukhumi railroad line.

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242 Kenaf: A recently introduced fiber plant from India and used as a substitute for jute is cultivated on a commercial scale only in the North Caucasus. The main area of cultivation is Krasnodar Kray around the Adyge AO where it was first cultivated. In addition to this it occurs in the western parts of the Stavropol' Kray, in Dagestan along the Caspian coast, and in the vicinity of Kuba (Azerbaijan). Less important are the kenaf fields in the North Ossetian Republic and along the Akhtuba River.

Ramie or Chinese Nettle: Another recently introduced fiber plant, cultivated nowadays on commercial scale in Kolkhida, north and southward of Mikha-Tskhakaya. To a smaller extent it is well known in the Lenkoran' Lowland as well.

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249 Castor bean: This plant is cultivated in the North Caucasus, especially in the steppes of the Krasnodar Kray, in the southern parts of Rostov Oblast, in the northern parts of Stavropol' Kray, in Dagestan around Derbent, and in the northeastern corner of Azerbaijan around the town of Kuba.

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245 Olives: Olive trees are grown in Azerbaijan around Baku and Sal'yany, in Armenia in the Yerevan basin, and in Dagestan along the sea coast.

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244 Peanuts: The plant grows in two distinct areas in industrial amounts. One is the western steppe region of the Krasnodar Kray, the other is in the dry East Azerbaijan.

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249 Perilla: A plant the oil of which is used especially in the painting industry. The centers of production are the areas north and westwards from Tbilisi, and in the vicinity of Yevlakh (Azerbaijan).

Tung tree: This tree, which comes from China, furnishes an important ingredient of varnishes and lacquers. It is cultivated in Kolkhida, in the Abkhaz ASSR, and in the Lowland of Lenkoran'.

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244 Sunflower: A favorite plant especially in the North Caucasus. It likes the dry and sunny steppes and is produced mostly in the Rostov Oblast, in the Krasnodar Kray (in the steppe region), and in the western parts of the Stavropol' Kray. The sunflower of the Cherkess AO is of excellent quality.

Soybeans: Introduced originally from Manchuria. In the Caucasus soybeans are cultivated in the Kuban valley northwest from Krasnodar, and in the Groznyy Oblast.

Linseed-oil Flax: The product of the plant, linseed oil, is used in the painting industry, in medicine, etc. This flax is

311 cultivated in Rostov Oblast, in Stavropol'
249 Kray (Kabardian ASSR, North Ossetian ASSR), and in Dagestan.

Volatile oil yielding plants: The essential oils used in perfumes, flavoring, or medicine are extracted by various methods from various plants cultivated almost everywhere in the Caucasus.

Kok-sagyz: An important rubber-bearing industrial plant coming originally from Central Asia now is cultivated around the Volga River.

Krym-sagyz: Another imported rubber-bearing plant, is cultivated chiefly in the north western corner of the Krasnodar Kray, and in the Kabardian and North Ossetian autonomous republics (tau-sagyz).

Guayule: The rubber-bearing plant of the South Caucasus. This shrubby plant is native to arid regions of Mexico and the southwestern United States; in the South Caucasus it is cultivated in the arid regions of the Azerbaijan SSR.

Saffron: The flower, the stigmas of which are used as a coloring matter, flavoring, perfume, and medicine, is well known in the North Caucasus. It is cultivated chiefly in the southern parts of the Rostov Oblast, and in the northwestern parts of the Stavropol' Kray.

Bay: One of the evergreen trees cultivated in the South Caucasus. The tree is cultivated especially along the Rion River, and

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249 around the headwaters of the Kura River.

Cinchona: This subtropical tree, which is the source of quinine, was imported from South America. It is cultivated in the Kura valley westwards from Gori.

Eucalyptus: Occurs in Kolkhida, along the Rion River, then around the headwaters of the Kuban River, and on the Lowland of Lenkoran'. The tree is used as building material, and as a source of oil used in medicine and perfumery.

137 Bamboo: Occurs only in Kolkhida.

Of the other tropical, or subtropical trees, shrubs, or plants the palms, the cactus, and the magnolia are those which occur in significant amounts in the South Caucasus.

a.1 Wheat, Rice

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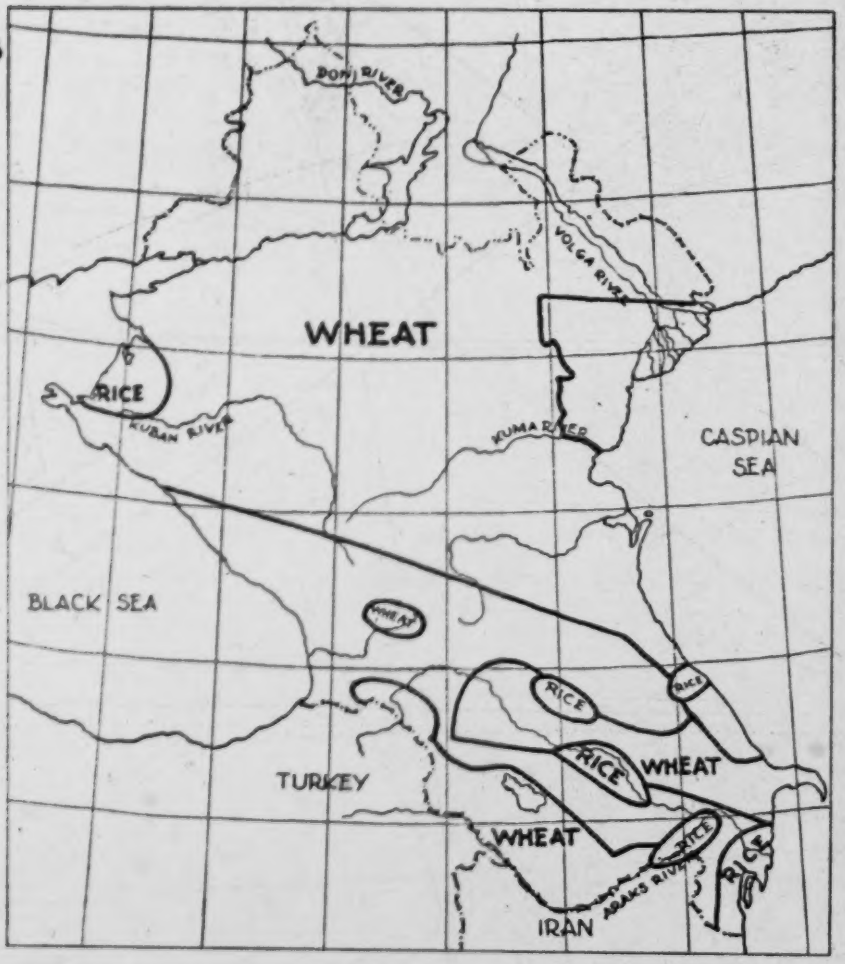

a. 2 Rye, Oats

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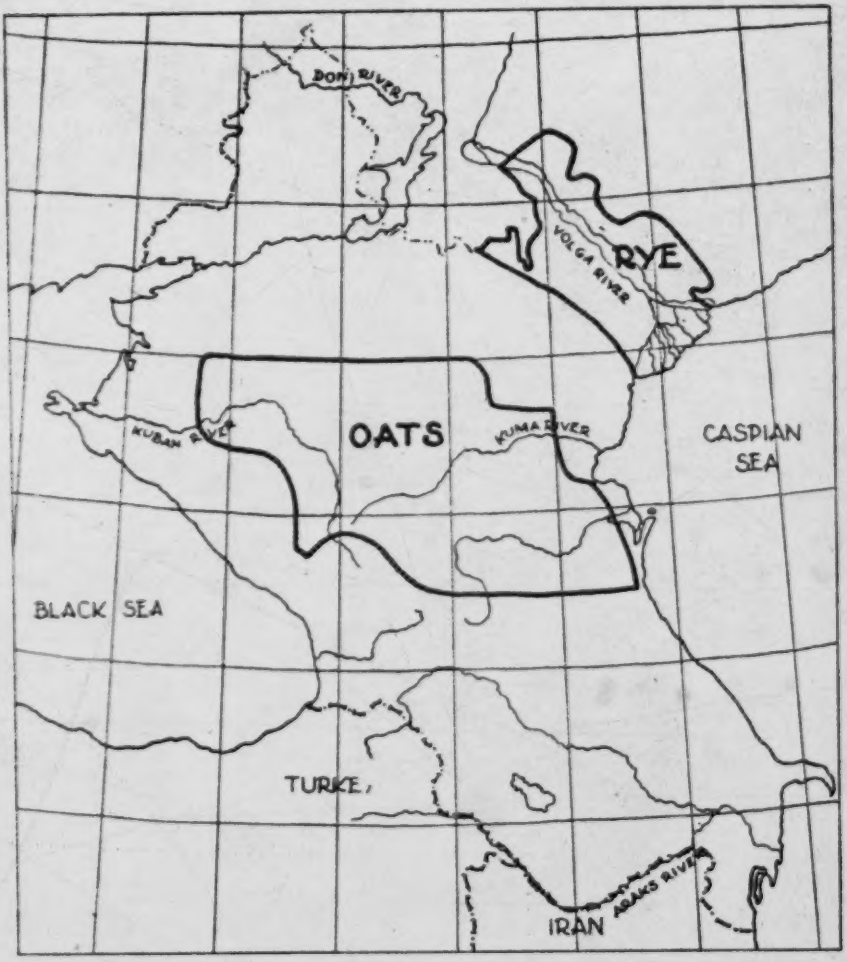

a. 3 Corn

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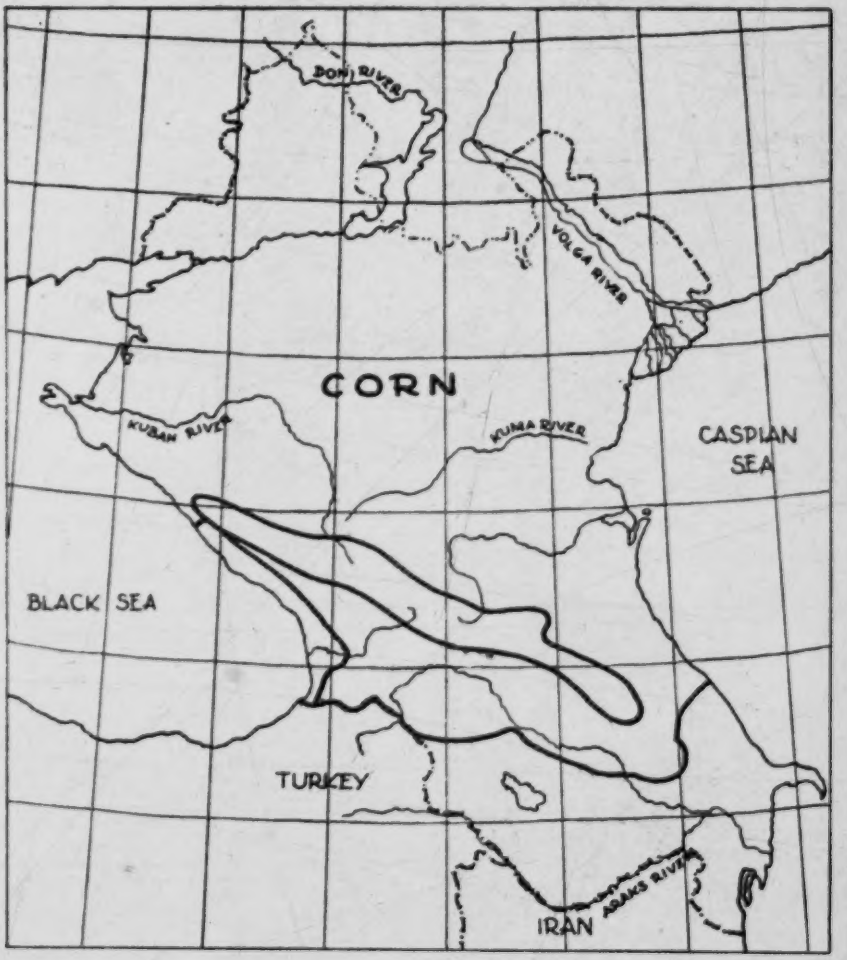

a.4 Barley

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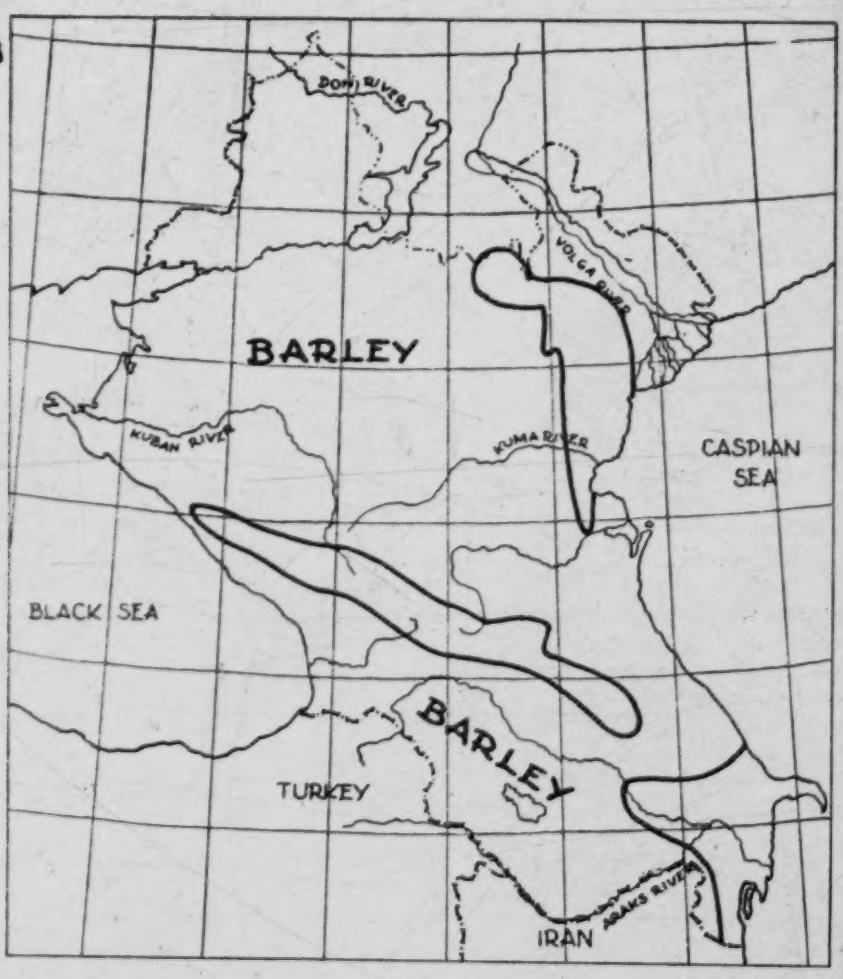

a. 5 Millet

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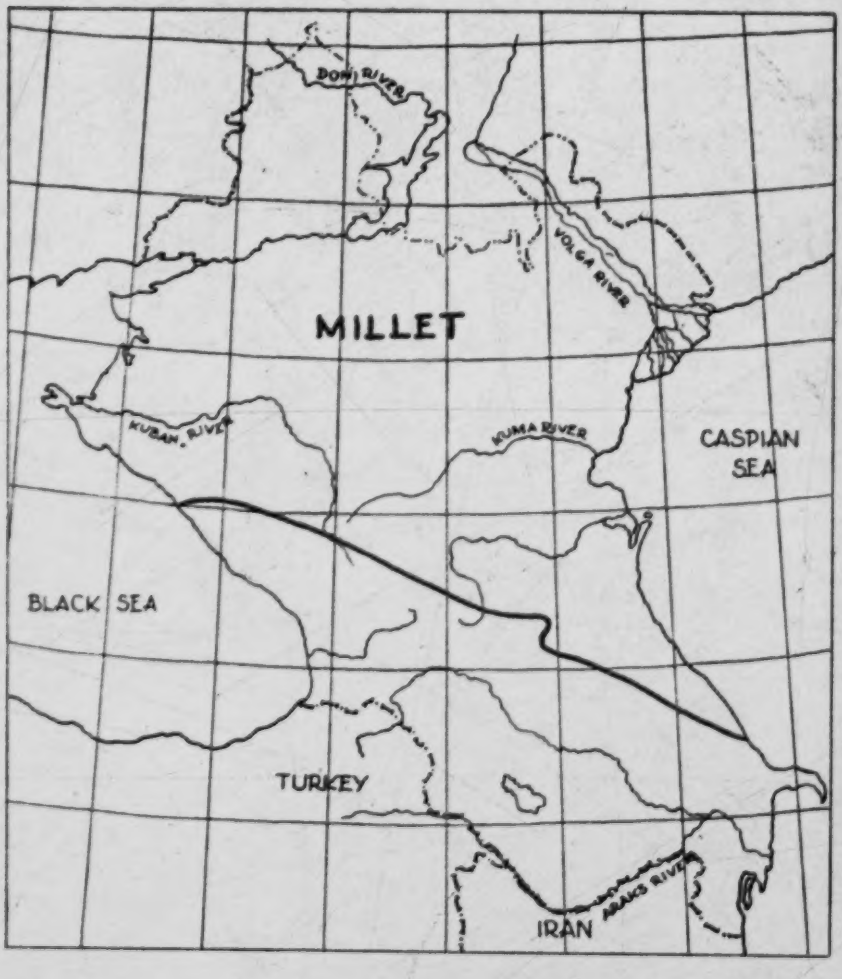

a. 6 · Potatoes

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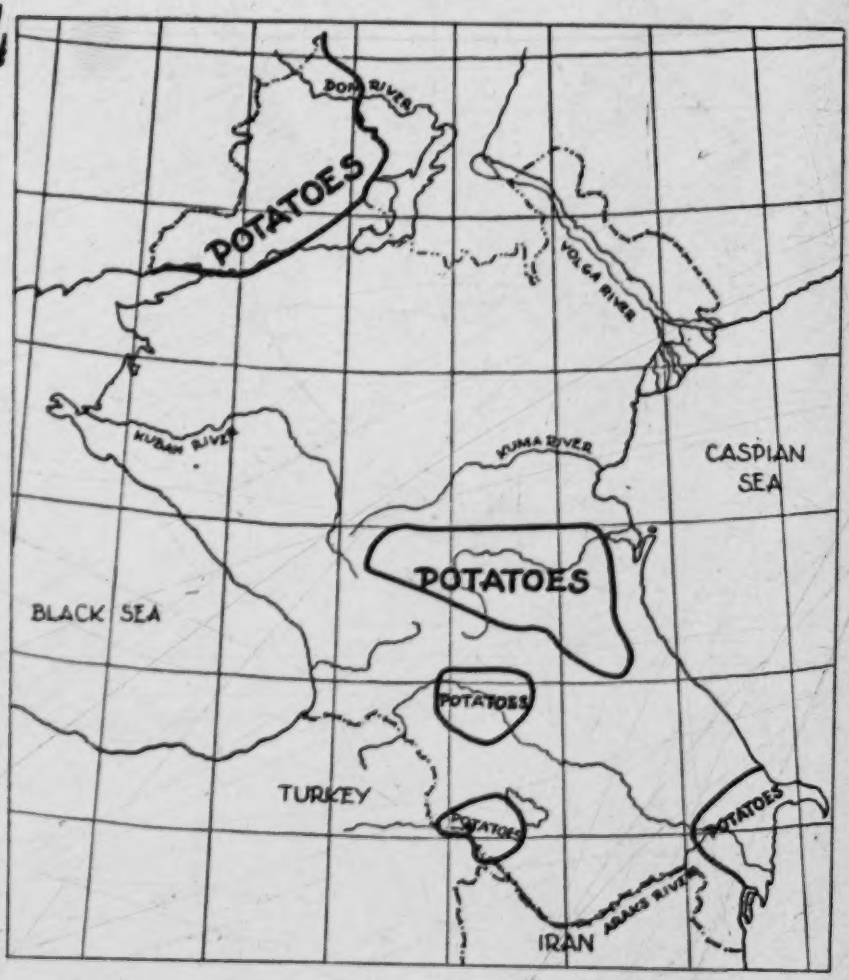

## a. 7 Horticulture and Fruit-gardening

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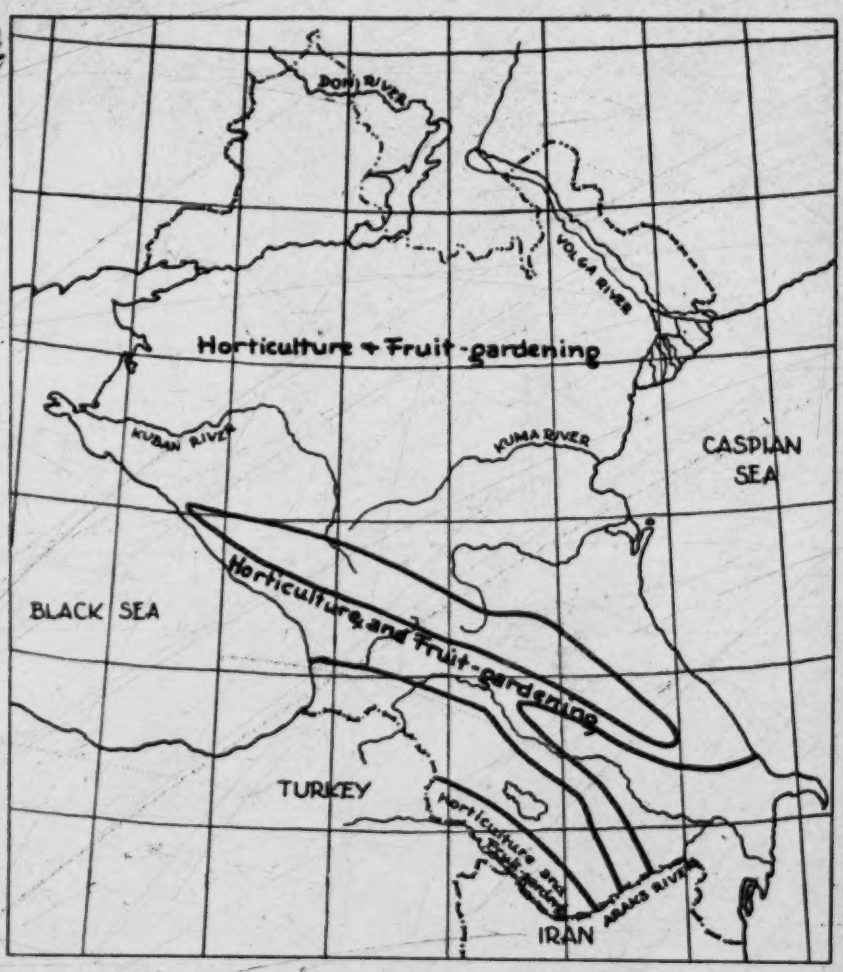

a, 8 Vineyards, Citrus

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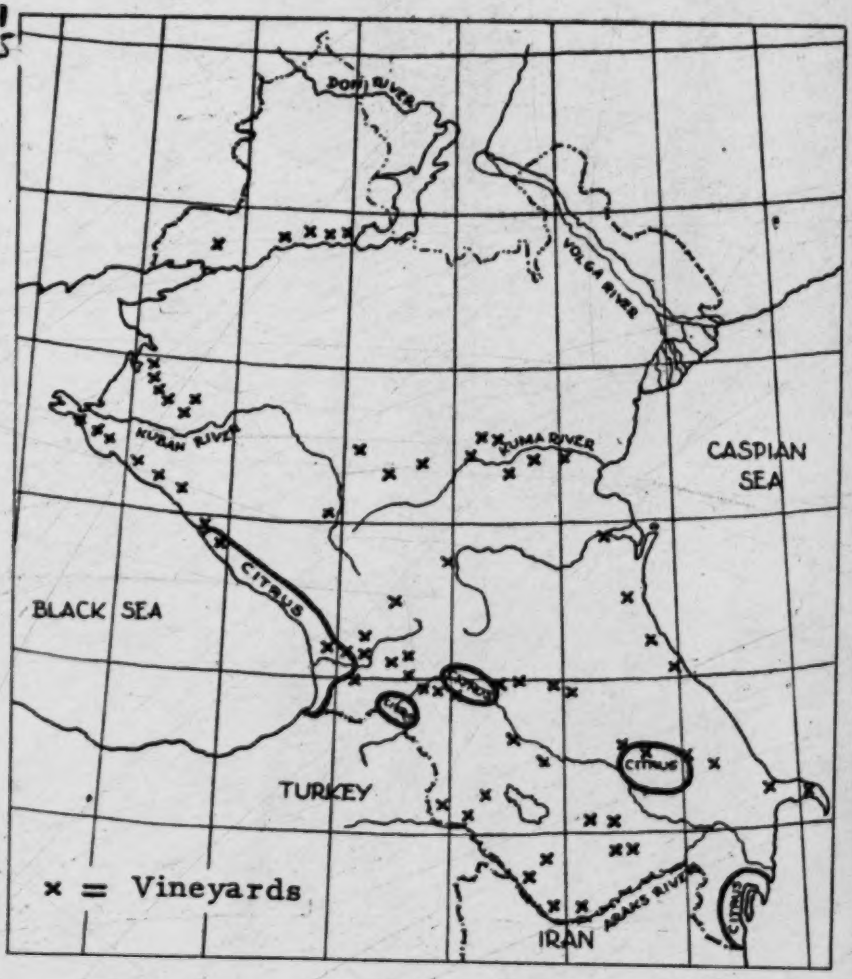

a. 9 Sugar Beets

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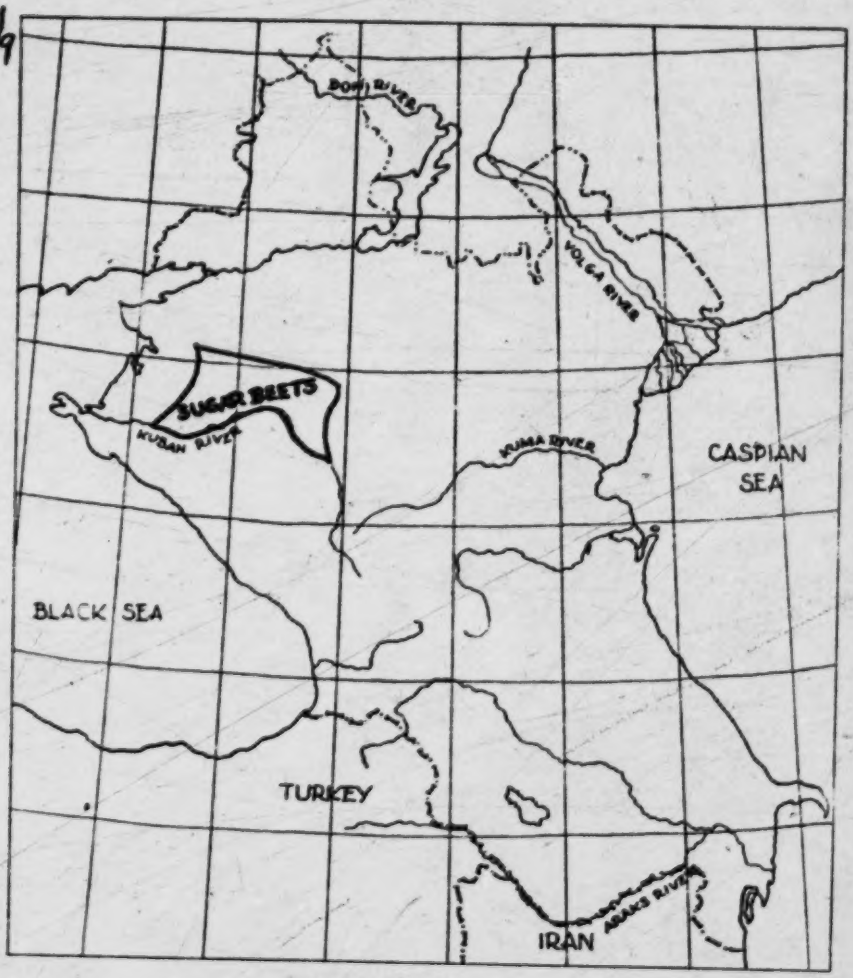

a. 10 Tobacco

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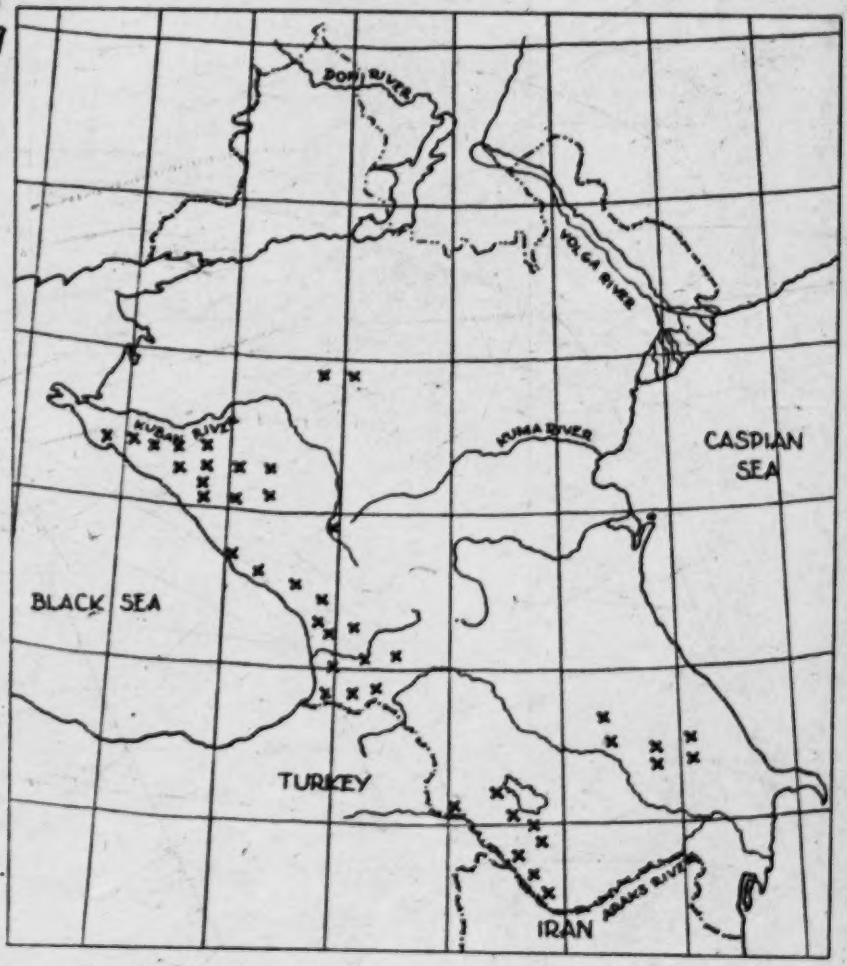

a. 11 Tea

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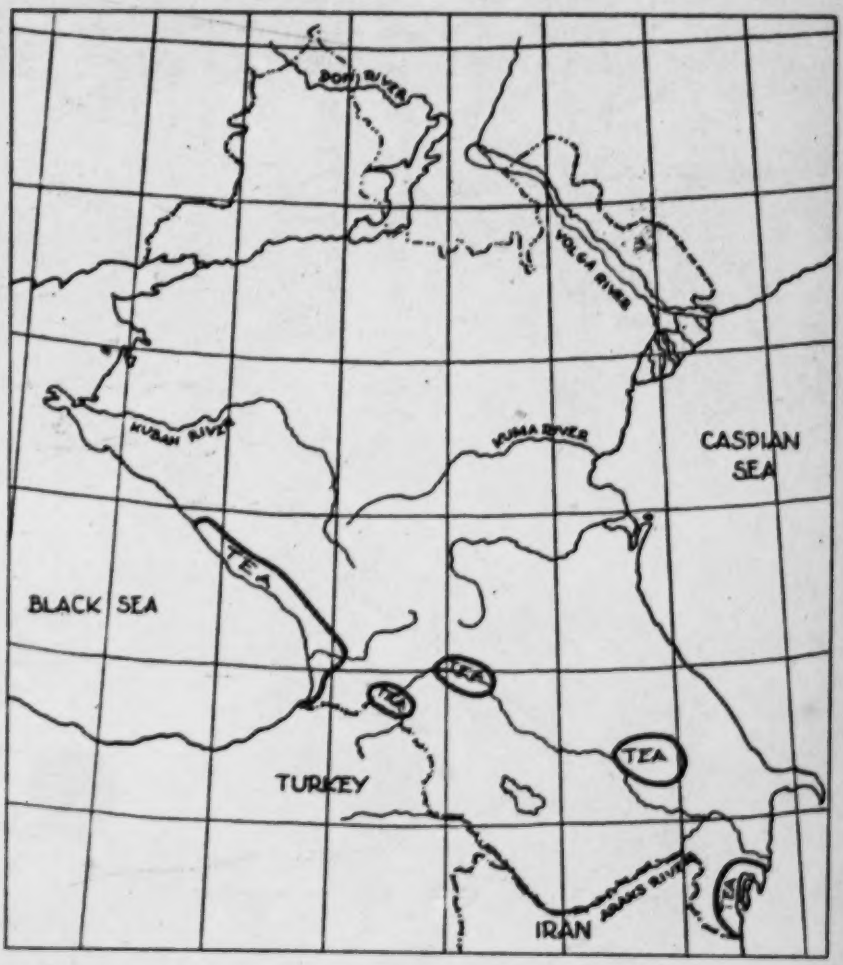

a. 12 Cotton

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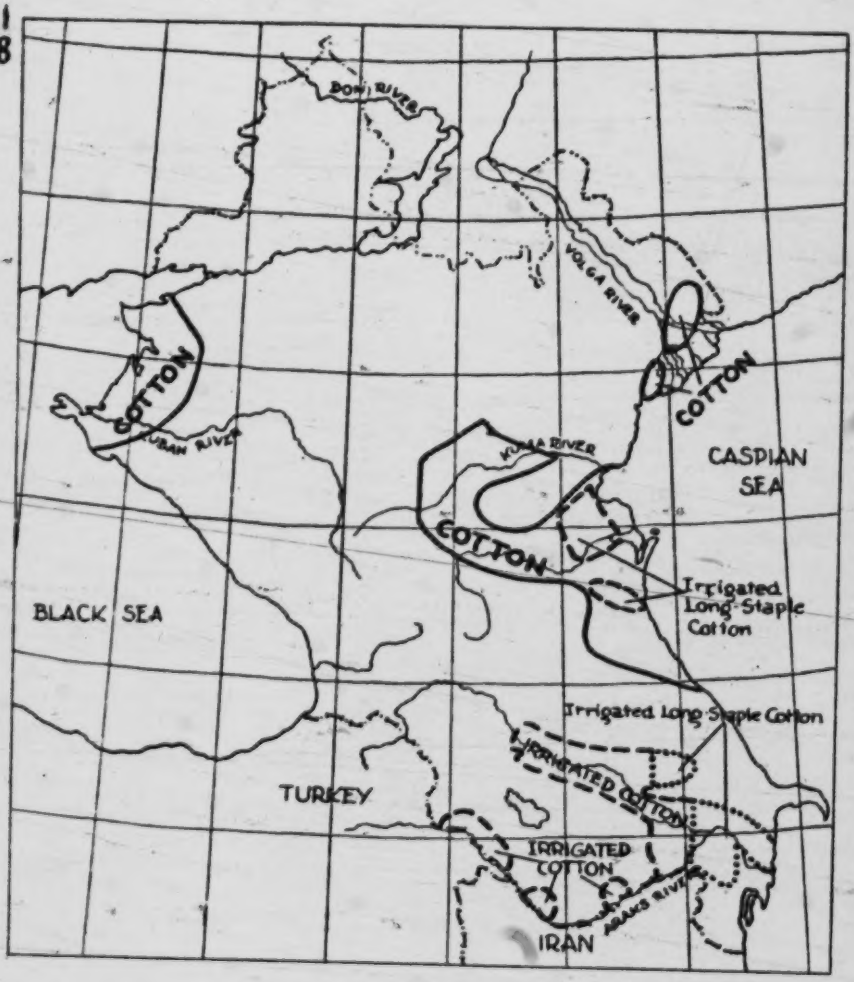

a. 13 Northern Hemp, Kendyr', Silk Culture

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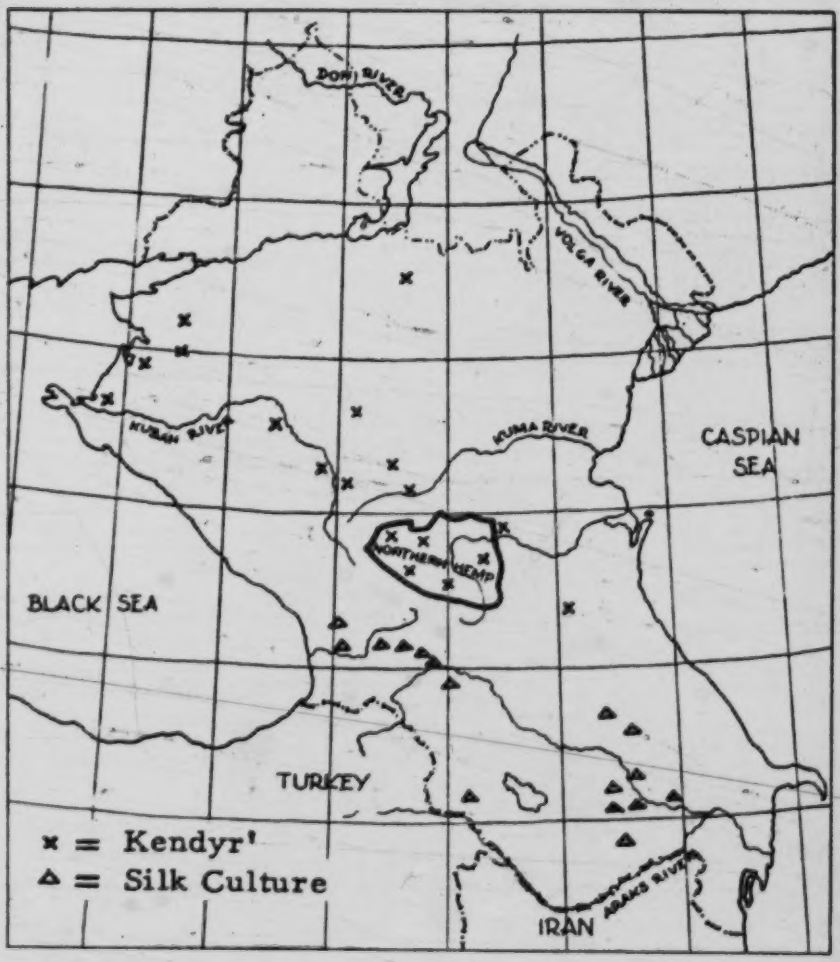

a. 14 Kenaf, Ramie

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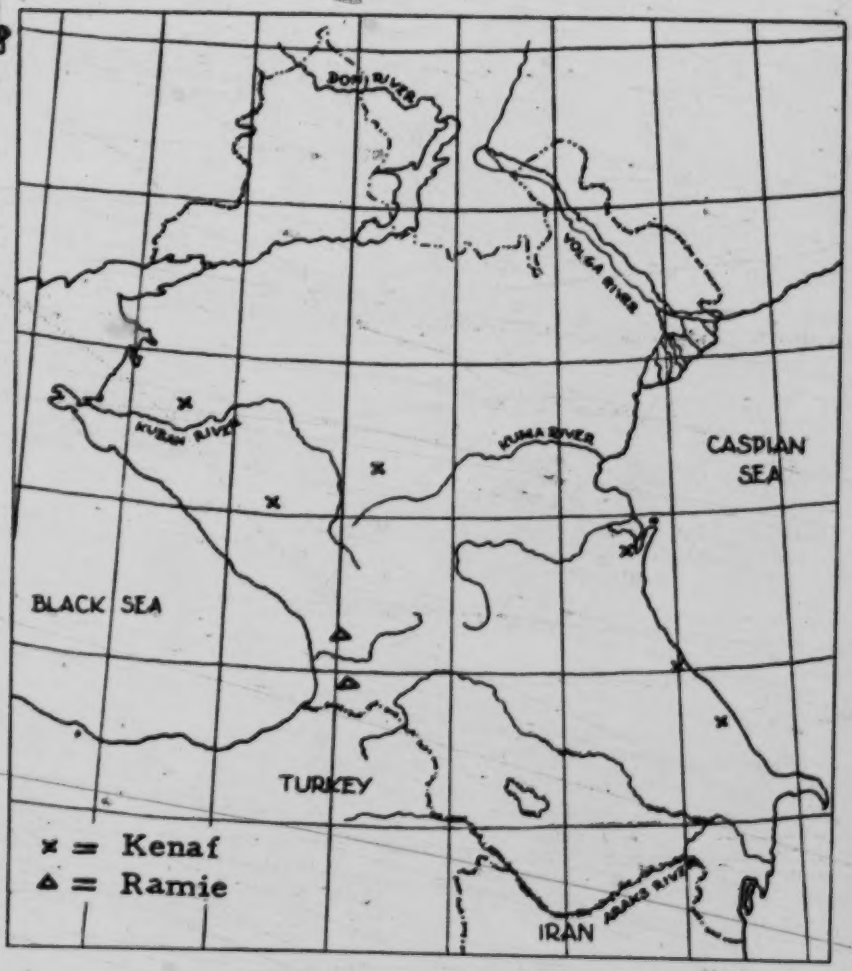

a. 15
Castor Oil Plants, Olive Trees, Peanuts, Perilla, Tung Trees

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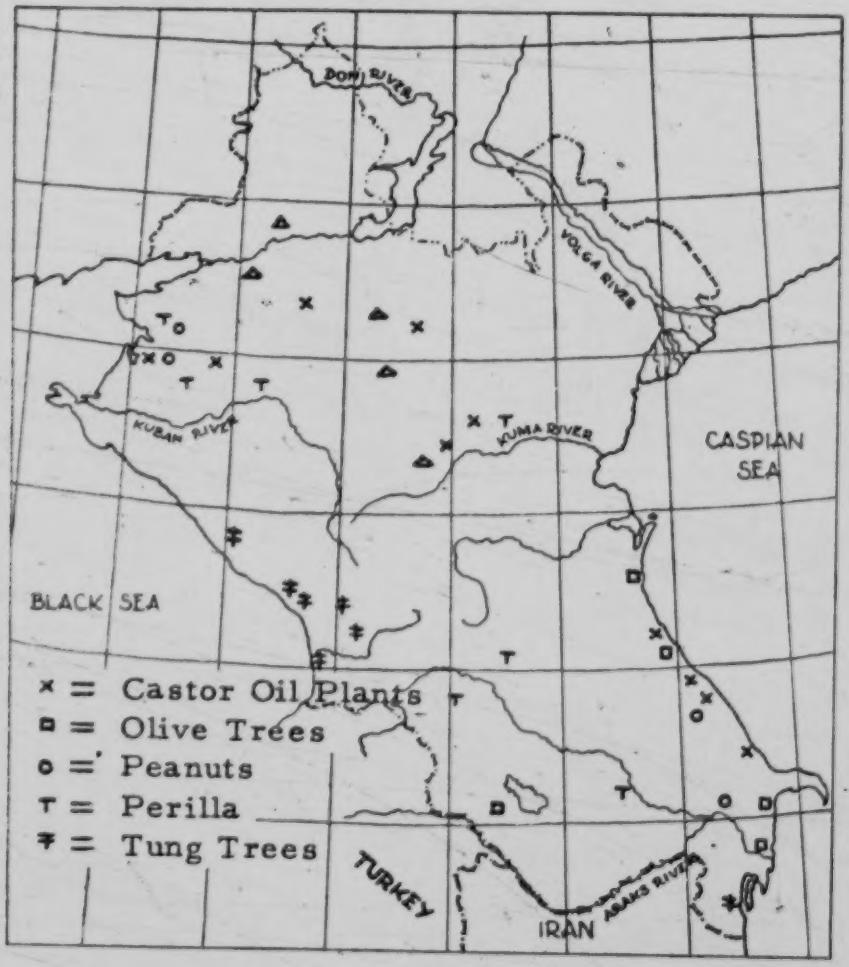

a. 16
Sunflowers, Soy Beans, Linseed Oil Flax

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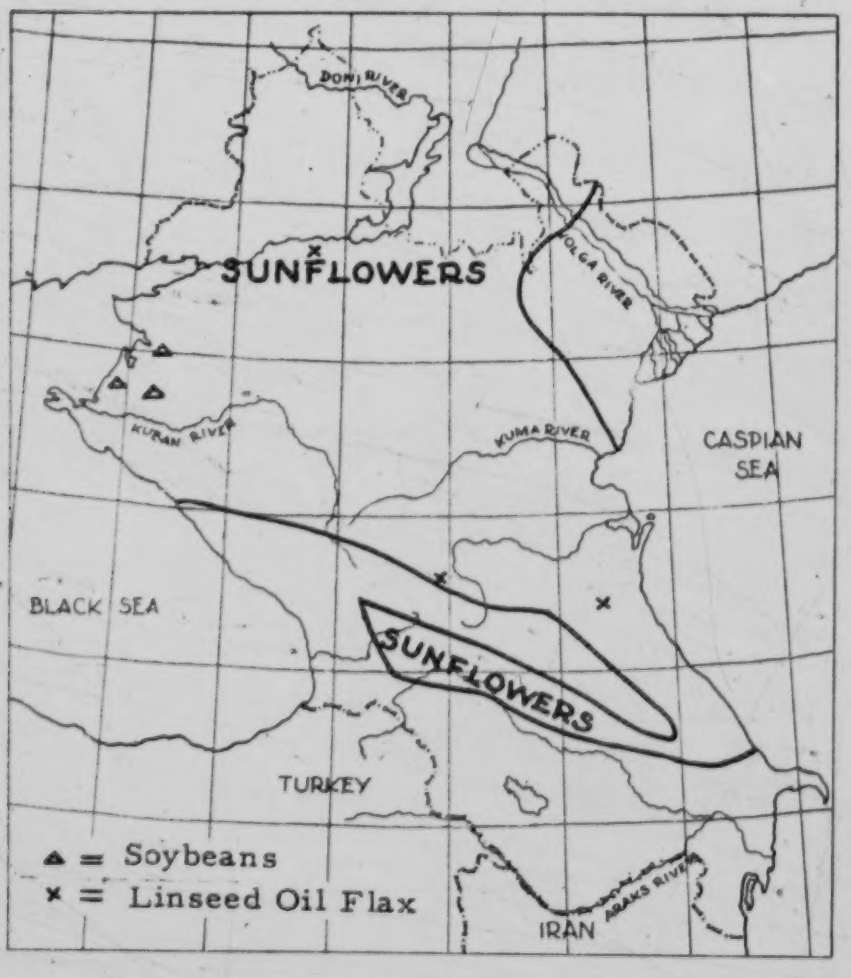

a. 17 Volatile Oil-yielding Plants, Saffron

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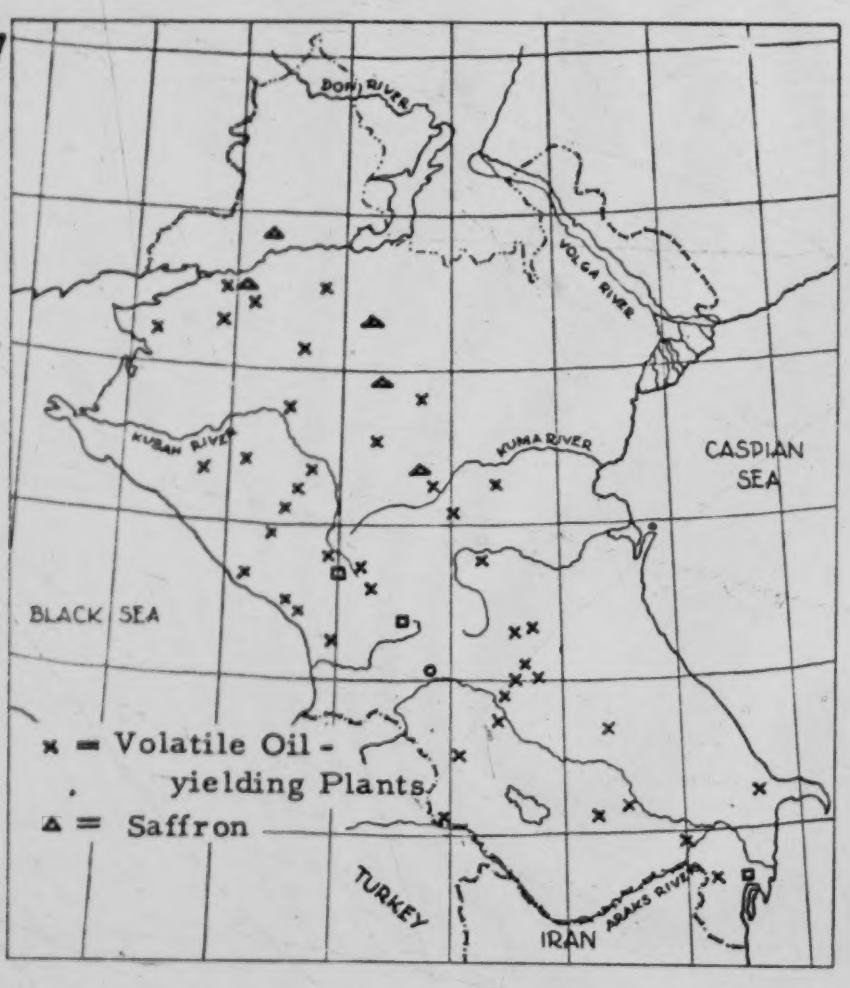

a. 18 Kok-sagyz, Krym-sagyz, Guayule

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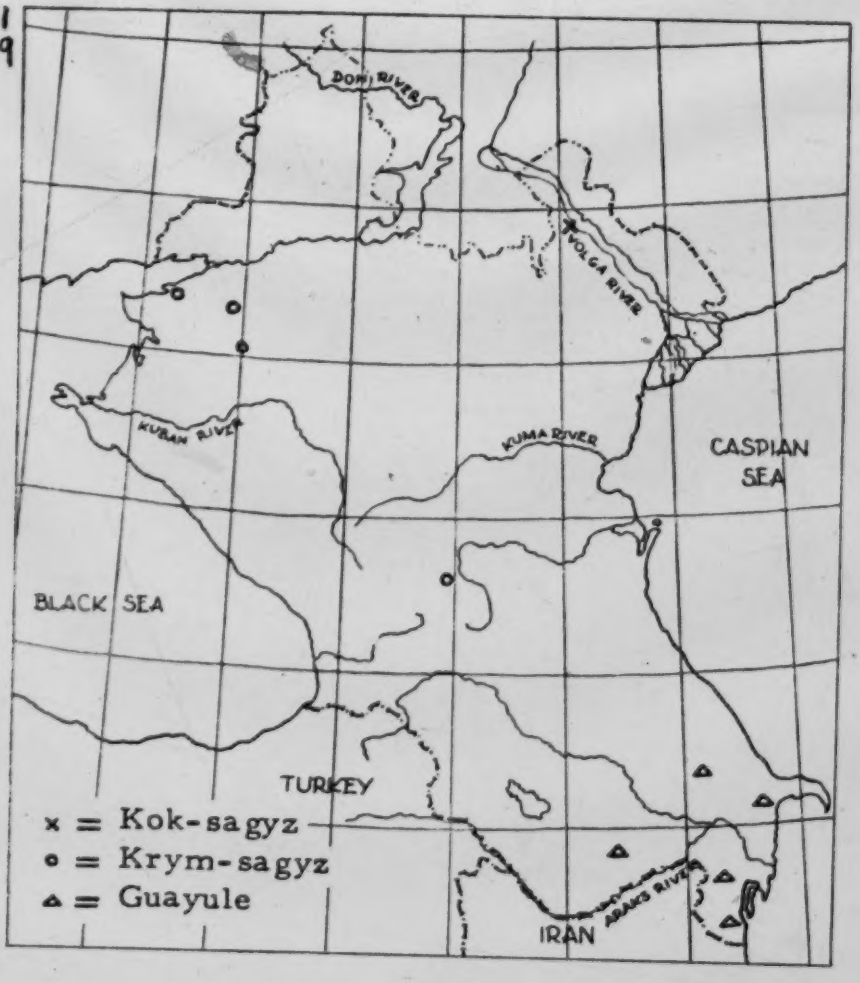

a. 19 Cinchona, Bay, Eucalyptus, Bamboo

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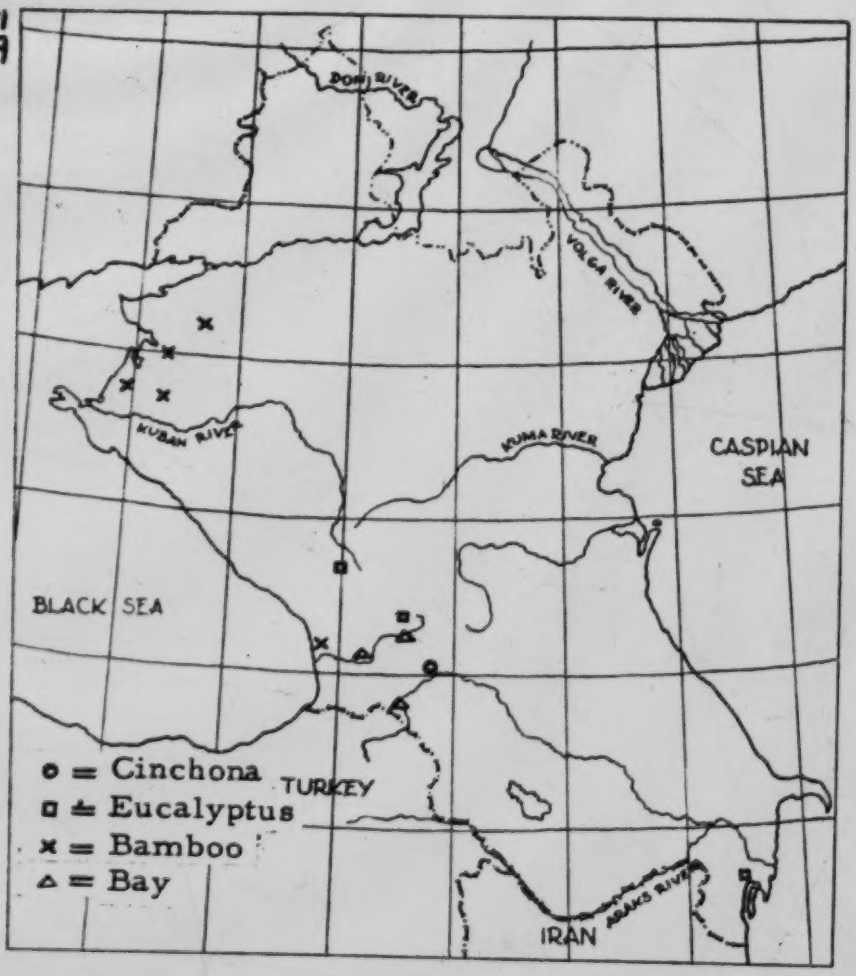

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Agricultural Potential

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a[1]. Stock-Raising

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## Stock-Raising

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231 Stock-raising is the principal economic activity in the dry eastern steppes of the North Caucasus, and in the mountain pastures, which are mostly located at high altitudes. In the lowlands of Azerbaijan on the other hand, stock-raising is seasonal and is combined with other rural activities. Caucasian stock-raising was formerly pretty much nomadic, but is now -- as a result of the introduction of fodder crops, irrigation and other agricultural improvements -- assuming a more sedentary character. The principal stocks raised are various types of dairy and beef cattle, and various kinds of sheep. Sheep are bred not only for wool and mutton, but also for dairy products. Caucasian cheese (of the Swiss type) is famous throughout the entire USSR. Horses are relatively few in number. As draft animals in the North Caucasus oxen are common, whereas in the South Caucasus buffaloes are used. Transportation depends on mule, donkey, and in certain areas on camel, rather than horses. The fodder used in stock-raising varies according to the area and includes grass, grain, rootcrops, waste products, etc. For hogs, corn is used throughout the whole Caucasus.

Taking the various economic and political-administrative units one by one, the distribution of stock-raising is as follows:

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231 Azerbaijan SSR: The lowlands along the Kura and Aras Rivers are the most important winter grazing grounds, not only for Azerbaijan, but for Armenia as well. Of the sub-units, North Karabakh specializes in cattle, sheep, and mules, whereas Nakhichevan' ASSR raises primarily sheep, for the most part in the mountains.

Armenian SSR: Important especially for its summer grazing grounds, on which the livestock of both Armenia and Azerbaijan depend. Armenia is famous for its cheese.

Georgian SSR: Mountain pastures are the basis of Georgian stock-raising, which is important in all the sub-units except the Abkhaz ASSR where, due to health resorts and extensive growing of subtropical crops, only dairy farming has survived.

Astrakhan' Oblast: This area is rich in herds of cattle and sheep, raised mostly for meat and mutton. Camels are used extensively as a means of transportation.

Groznyy Oblast: Stock-raising is concentrated in the mountains (cattle and goats) and in the northern steppe areas (sheep-raising).

Dagestan ASSR: Stock-raising constitutes the main economic activity only in the mountains which are rich in Alpine pastures.

Stavropol' Kray: Livestock-raising is typical for the bulk of the kray. In the southern and southwestern corner, in the health resort section, dairy-farming is practiced. Of

311 the sub-units the Cherkess AO especially is a
231 livestock-raising area. In the Kabardian ASSR, the principal stock raised is in the plain poultry, whereas the mountain pastures are devoted primarily to livestock, which latter also holds for the pastures of the North Ossetian ASSR.

Krasnodar Kray: The Kuban area and the steppe area are among the most active cattle-raising areas of the Caucasus. On the Black Sea coast dairy farming is common, centered especially around Gelendzhik. The Adyge AO is famous for good horses.

Rostov Oblast: Along the lower Don and in the Taganrog-Rostov-Shakhty area, the principal stock raised is dairy cattle. In the southern and southeastern parts of the oblast (i.e., in the Sal Steppe), beef cattle and horses are raised, whereas the eastern parts raise sheep.

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234 The distribution of the individual kinds of stock over the entire Caucasus is as follows:

Dairy cattle: Chiefly raised in the western third of the North Caucasus. In addition to this area, dairy-cattle raising is common in the mountains of the Stavropol' Kray (especially around the health resorts), and in the Groznyy Oblast.

311 Beef cattle: Typical especially for the
231 dry areas of the North Caucasus, and for the whole of Trans-Caucasia. Areas with the most

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231 extensive beef-cattle raising are: the Rostov Oblast, the Stavropol' Kray (in both cases the eastern parts), and the Astrakhan Oblast.

Goats: Goats are common in the South Caucasus, in the mountainous areas of the Armenian and Georgian republics. They are also bred in the mountains of the North Caucasus.

Horses: Relatively few and raised chiefly around the Lower Don, in the Kuban Lowland (Adyge AO) and in the mountainous parts of the Stavropol' Kray.

Mules, donkeys: These animals are chiefly bred in the South Caucasus, and along the slopes of the Greater Caucasus.

Camels: Are bred as transportation animals in Astrakhan' Oblast and adjacent areas.

Merino sheep: Several varieties of the Merino sheep are bred almost everywhere in the Caucasus. It is especially raised for its fine wool.

Karakul sheep: This breed of sheep native to Bukhara is bred in the Astrakhan' Oblast, in the southwestern parts of the Krasnodar Kray, and in the Armenian SSR, around Yerevan and Leninakan.

Mutton sheep: Sheep raised solely for mutton are rare in the Caucasus and are chiefly in the northern parts of the Astrakhan' Oblast.

Mutton-dairy sheep: Bred especially in the South Caucasus in the mountains of the Armenian, Georgian, Azerbaijan republics,

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231 in Nakhichevan' ASSR, and in the area around Baku; in the North Caucasus the Stavropol' Kray is the only noteworthy area. In the southwestern parts of the Stavropol' Kray, the Karachay sheep is raised, whereas the northeastern parts prefer the Volosh sheep.

Hogs: Are raised mostly in the Western Caucasus; and sporadically in the Eastern Caucasus, although this is primarily a Muslim area.

Silkworms: Raised only in the South Caucasus, to wit, in Azerbaijan, in High Karabakh AO and in Western Georgia.

a[1].1 Dairy Cattle, Beef Cattle, Camels

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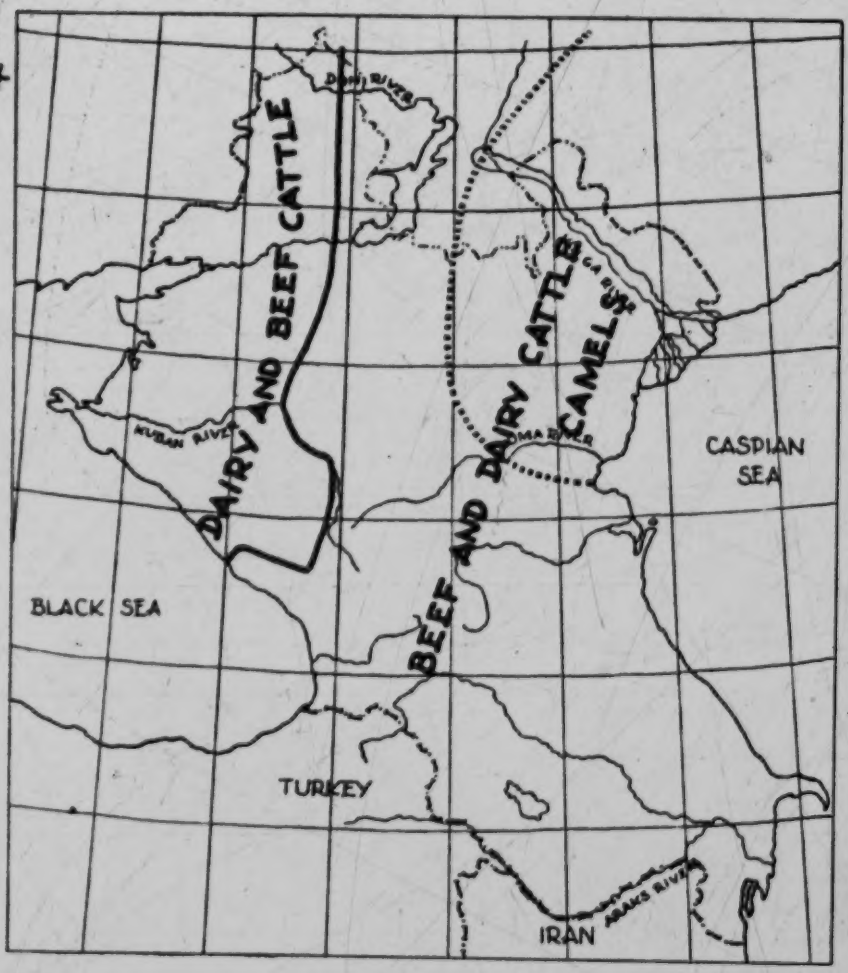

a[1]. 2 Merino Sheep, Karakul Sheep, Mutton Sheep, Mutton-Dairy Sheep

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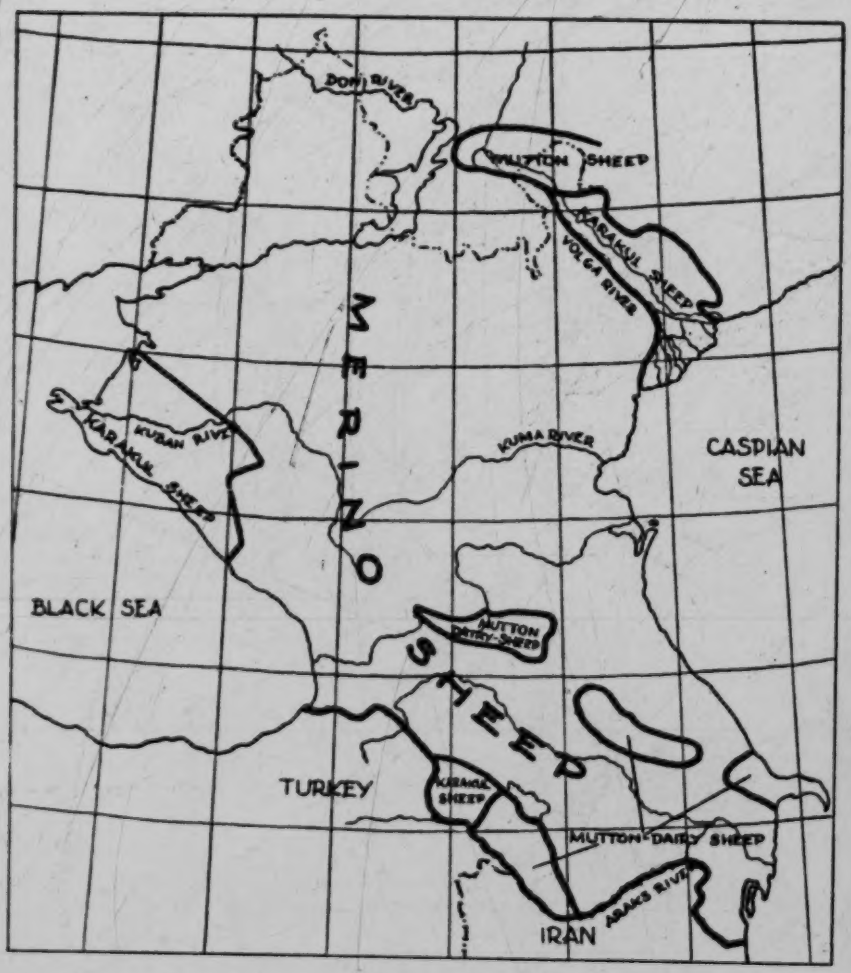

a[1], 3 Hogs

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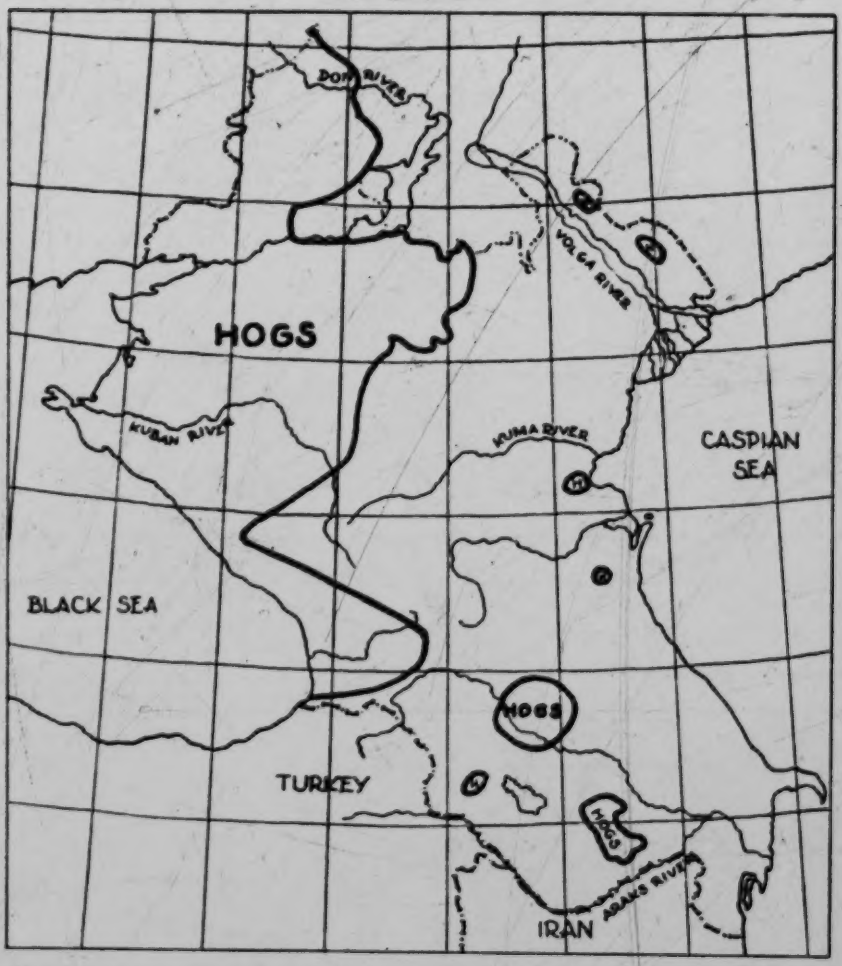

# a[1].4 Silkworms

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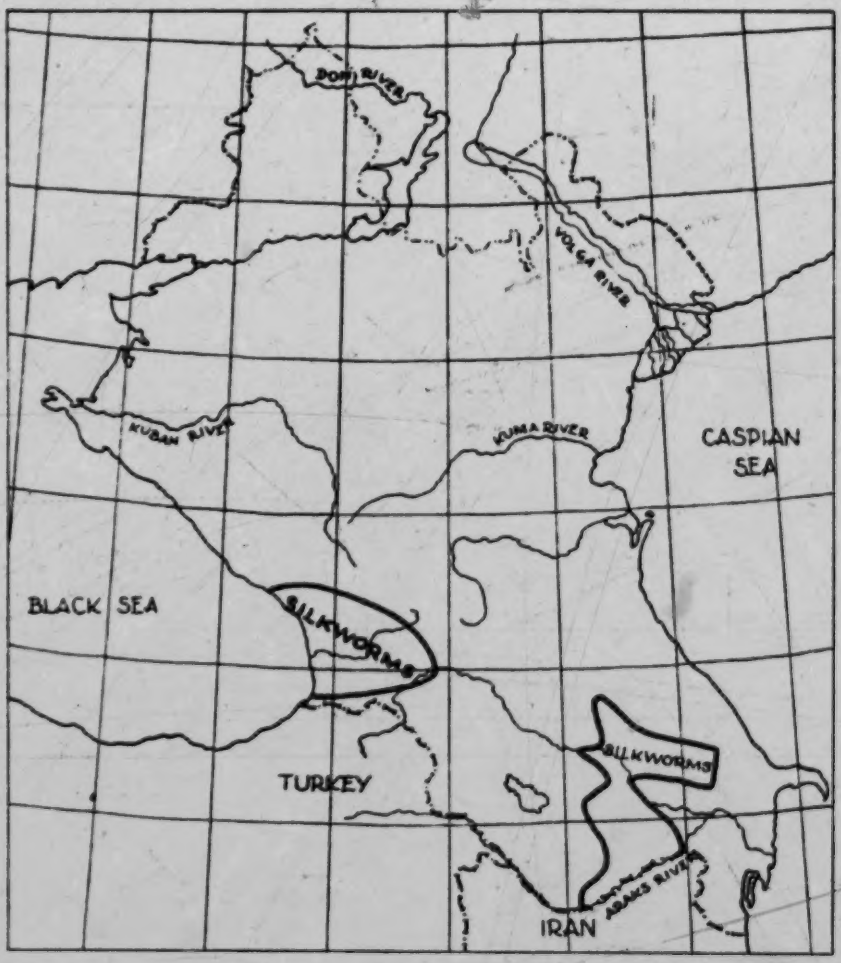

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Stock- Raising

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a[2]. Forestry

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## Forestry

311 137 313 The subtropical, deciduous (oak, beech, hornbeam) or coniferous (pine, juniper) forests constitute one of the many assets of the Caucasus. The Georgian Republic and the southern sections of the Krasnodar Kray are especially rich in forests. One finds many forests in North Armenia, in West Azerbaijan on the slopes of the Lesser Caucasus, and on the Lenkoran' Lowland, which last is famous for its subtropical forests. On the northern slopes of the Greater Caucasus, in the Stavropol' Kray, in the Groznyy Oblast, and in Dagestan the forests are less dense. Here the forest area is chiefly in the mountainous parts of the various administrative units like the North Ossetian ASSR, the Groznyy Oblast, and the Dagestan ASSR. The numerous lumbering, sawmilling, woodworking and furniture plants of this area indicate an extensive exploitation rather than great forest resources. Further to the north, north of the Kuban-Terek line, forests are virtually non-existent and the lumbering industry of Astrakhan', Rostov, etc. is based on imported timber floated or transported down the Volga and Don Rivers.

311 137 Area by area, the distribution of trees is as follows:

Azerbaijan SSR: Oak prevails in the sparse forests of the Lesser Caucasus and on the lower slopes of the Greater Caucasus,

at:

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137 while oak forests cover the western parts of the Lenkoran' Lowland. Subtropical forests (with chestnut and oak trees together) grow in the vicinity of Lenkoran'. Beech is the typical tree of the higher slopes of the Greater Caucasus.

Armenian SSR: Oak is the predominant tree in the forests of northeastern Armenia. Elsewhere, the forests are almost non-existent.

Georgian SSR: The most heavily forested area in the Caucasus. The forests of Georgia proper offer a great variety of trees. The lower parts of the Rion River valley are covered by subtropical forests (with chestnut and oak trees together), whereas in the lower part of the Kura Valley oak is the typical tree. The higher slopes of these valleys are covered with beech, whereas pine is dominant around the head waters of the Ingur and Rion Rivers. Of the sub-units the Adzhar Republic has, according to the altitude, a subtropical, a beech, and a pine zone; the Abkhaz Republic has similar zones. The forests of the South Ossetian AO are homogeneous, with beech predominating.

Astrakhan' Oblast: Almost completely treeless.

Groznyy Oblast: On the southern slopes of the Sundzha Valley oak, and at higher altitudes beech is common. The rest of the oblast is treeless.

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137 Dagestan ASSR: One finds forests only in the extreme western and eastern sections where the lower slopes are covered by oak, and the higher slopes by beech. The middle part (the valley of the Sulak River and its tributaries), and the northern sections are treeless.

Stavropol' Kray: This kray is almost treeless. Only in the southern part of the North Ossetian ASSR is there an oak zone, and at a higher altitude a beech zone.

Krasnodar Kray: The mountainous southern part and the Black Sea littoral are covered with huge forests which make the Krasnodar Kray the second most heavily forested area of the Caucasus. The northern section has oak, beech, and pine zones according to altitude. On the littoral, around Novorossiysk, oak and juniper, and around Sochi beech are predominant.

Rostov Oblast: Almost completely treeless.

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Caucasian forestry includes the following trees:

Subtropical trees: Chiefly in the Lenkoran' Lowland, on the Black Sea coast of Georgia, (from Sukhumi as far as Batumi) and around the Rion Valley.

Juniper: In the area around Novorossiysk, mostly together with oak.

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137 Chestnut: This tree is grown on a commercial scale in the subtropical forests of the South Caucasus. In addition to this, it is frequent in the oak forests of the Krasnodar Kray.

Oak: The oak is especially typical of the lower slopes of the Greater and Lesser Caucasus. It is the common tree of the eastern South Caucasus (Azerbaijan, Armenia). In the North Caucasus, except in the Kabardian ASSR, oak forests constitute a belt covering all the northernmost slopes of the Greater Caucasus.

Beech: This higher-altitude tree forms two belts of forests in the South Caucasus. One of them cuts through the whole South Caucasus and stretches from the Tuapse area as far as Kuba (in Azerbaijan). The other, in the Lesser Caucasus, covers the area between Batumi and Tbilisi. In the North Caucasus the beech also forms a forest belt (in three sections), which, however, is less impressive than the oak zone which it parallels.

Pine: This tree of the highest altitudes grows in the western parts of the Greater Caucasus and covers a crescent-shaped area. It occurs also at the highest points of the Adzhar Republic.

## $a^2$.2 Tree Varieties

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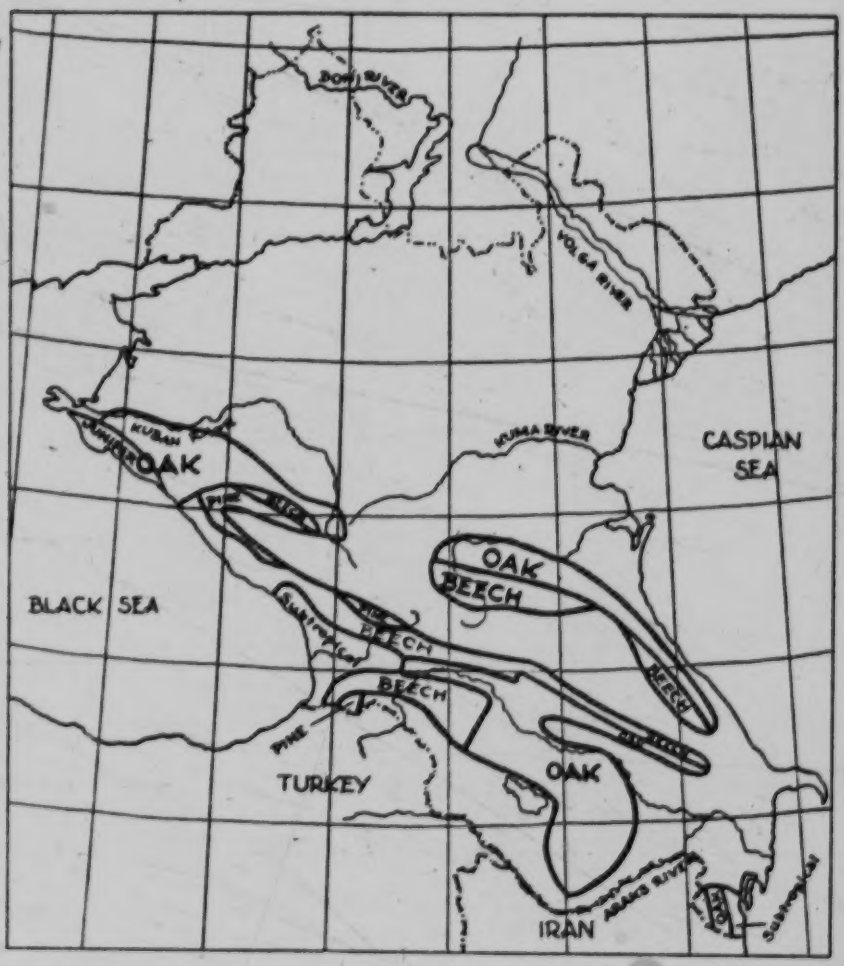

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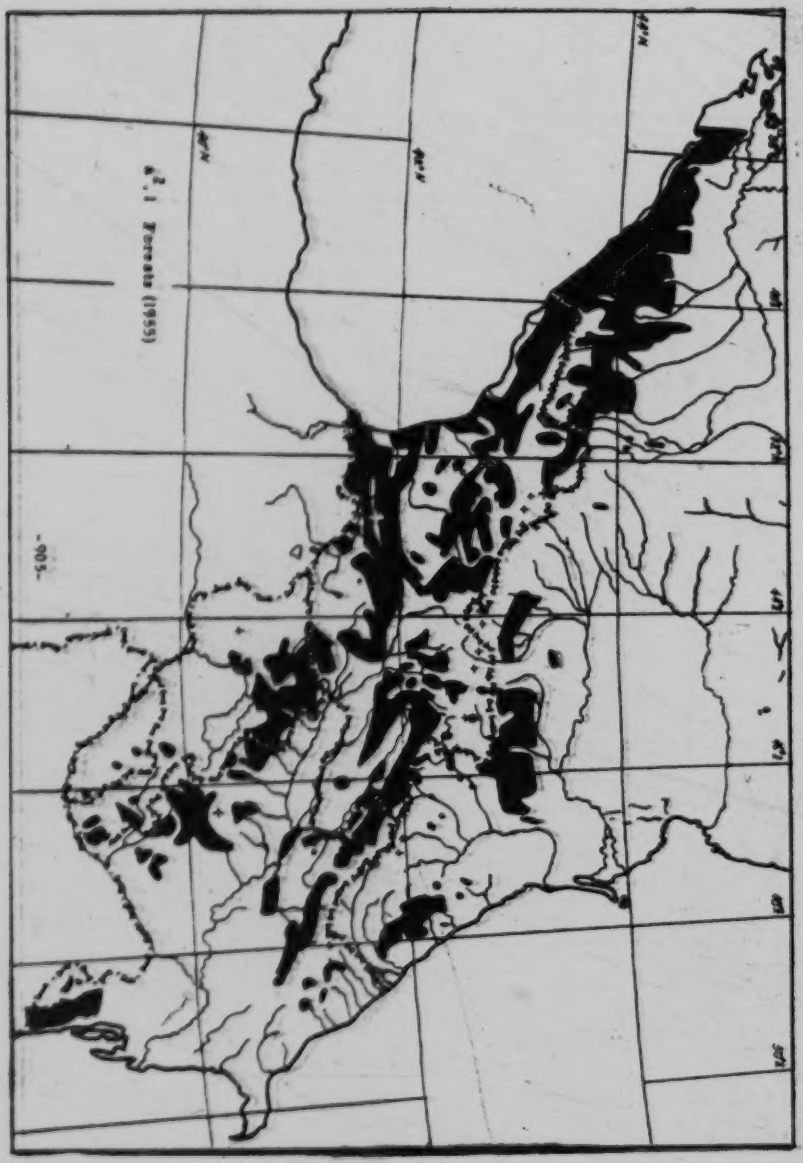


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Forestry

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b. Industrial Potential

Tibor Halasi-Kun

## Industrial Potential

433 The industries of the Caucasus present a complicated and uneven pattern. This is due mostly to the distribution of natural resources but partially also to historical factors. The area is rich in power resources concentrated mostly in the southern parts of the Caucasus; the oil resources and the oil industry are of unionwide significance. Of the mineral resources, manganese and copper are the great assets though the almost complete lack of iron ore (mined only at Dashkesan) constitutes a serious weakness. Also among the important assets are the various machinery plants, which occur almost everywhere, and the series of cement mills around Novorossiysk, the food industry o the North Caucasus, and finally the fishing and fish-canning industry along the coast of the Caspian Sea.

311 433 Taking the sub-areas of the Caucasus one by one, the distribution of the various industries is as follows:

Azerbaijan SSR: The Center of the Russian oil industry; in addition to this it has the only iron mine in the entire Caucasus. The textile industry is also well-developed. The industries in general are concentrated in the Baku and Kirovabad areas. The sub-units (Nakhichevan' ASSR, High-Karabakh AO) have no industries beyond processing agricultural goods.

Armenian SSR: An area rich in manpower, but poor in natural resources. Fuels are non-existent, hence the importance of the

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recently-built hydro-electric plants. Of the industries, copper-mining and smelting, the aluminum industry, and the chemical industry (including the synthetic rubber industry) are important. Among the rural industries are the sugar industry, and the world-famous wine and cognac industry.

Georgian SSR: Rich in coal. The important coal mines of the Caucasus are all in Georgia. In addition to this, the area is very rich in hydro-electric resources. Of the mineral resources, manganese is the most important. Heavy metallurgy is represented by the ferro-manganese works of Zestafoni, and by Rustavi, the latter utilizing Georgian coal and Azeri iron. Kolkhida, the western part of the area, has only rural industry. Of the sub-units the Adzhar Republic is important for its oil-cracking plants (Batumi), and for its tobacco plants. In the Abkhaz Republic, coal-mining, lumbering, and tea-processing constitute the chief industrial activities. The industry of the South Assetian AO is based on a rural economy and on the forest resources of the area.

Astrakhan' Oblast: The fishing center of the USSR. In addition to this the area has very important salt deposits (Baskunchak) providing 1/4 of the Russian output. Sawmilling and woodworking, another important industrial activity of the area, is based on imported lumber.

Groznyy Oblast: The second largest oilfields and oil industry of the USSR are in this area (centered around Groznyy). The capital of the Oblast is at the same time an important

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center of chemical, lumber, and food industries.

Dagestan ASSR: Area rich in various kinds of industry. The Makhachkala oilfields and oil industry, though less rich than those around Baku or Groznyy, are still of unionwide significance. Among the other industries, the metal handicrafts, the glass industry (Dagestanskie Ogni) are noteworthy. Of the food industries, fishing and fish-canning are important (centered around Makhachkala, Lopatin). The area can at the same time be considered the chief fruit-canning center of the Caucasus.

Stavropol' Kray: The industries are based chiefly on a rural economy. Flour-milling, meat-packing, and wine-producing are the most important industrial activities. Of the sub-units, the Kabardian ASSR has also rural industries and some lumbering. The two other units, the Cherkess AO and the North Ossetian ASSR, offer a greater variety of industrial activities. The Cherkess AO has besides the rural industries a chemical, a textile, and a lumbering industry. The North Ossetian ASSR is rich in hydro-electric power, disposes of considerable oil resources, and is the center of Caucasian non-ferrous metallurgy. The North Ossetian area has a developed lumbering industry as well, and its Beslan kombinat is one of the strongholds of the Caucasian food industry.

Krasnodar Kray: The chief industries of the area are oil, cement, and wine. The oil industry is connected with the oilfields of the Taman'-Belaya River area, and with the oil-refineries at Tuapse. The cement mills are

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433 located around Novorossiysk. The wine industry is also centered around Novorossiysk. The only sub-unit of the kray, the Adyge AO, is highly industrialized. The main industry is the oil industry. Of smaller importance are metallurgy and machinery, and the lumbering, food, and tobacco industries.

Rostov Oblast: Since the detachment from the oblast of the coal-mining areas, its industry consists mostly of various machinery plants concentrated at Rostov, Taganrog, and Novocherkassk.

The distribution of the various industries in the Caucasus is as follows:

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382 Oilfields, centers of oil industry: The oilfields and the oil industry arising from them are the main assets of the Caucasian economy. Of the five oilfields, two are in the South, and three in the North Caucasus. The greatest is the Baku oilfield. The importance of this oilfield is however declining; its output, which constituted 83% of the Russian output in 1913, had fallen to 48 in 1950. Due to the 85 years of exploitation, the wells are very deep and mostly on the bottom of the Caspian Sea. The output is refined mostly in the cracking plants of Baku or sent through two pipelines to Batumi. The second important oilfield of the Caucasus is located around Groznyy. The product of this oilfield furnishes mostly high-octane aviation gasoline. The Groznyy product is either processed in the cracking plants of Groznyy and Malgobek, or piped to the cracking plants of Tuapse, or to Trudovaya in the Donets Basin. The Makhachkala products, however, are refined mostly in Makhachkala itself. The fourth center

315 382 of Caucasian oil production, the oilfields around Maykop, are richer than those of Makhachkala, though they have not yet fully recovered from the German destruction. The main center of these fields is Maykop. The Maykop product is refined in Maykop, or sent by pipes to the Krasnodar, Tuapse, or Trudovaya refineries. The fifth oilfield is the Shirako oilfield (in eastern Georgia), whose exploitation began only recently. The Shiraki product is processed in the Mirzaani cracking plants. The oil of the Caucasian fields is sometimes used as fuel for thermo-electric plants.

315 Natural gas centers: Though gas occurs around the oilfields at various places, large-scale industrial exploitation is confined to the methane gas wells of Dagestanskie Ognie where it is used for fuel in the glassworks.

316 Coal mines: This very important fuel, if one disregards the mines located in the northern Rostov Oblast, is scarce in the Caucasus. Only Georgia has really important coal mines, of which the Tkibuli and Tkvarcheli mines produce coking coal, whereas the Akhaltsikhe mines produce brown coal. In the North Caucasus, the Rostov coal mines are a continuation of the Donets Basin coal-producing area; they contribute 10% of its output and contain roughly 20% of the Donets Basin reserves. Caucasian coal is very often used as fuel for thermo-electric plants, the most important of which is the Artemovskiy Plant (90,000kw).

377 Water resources and hydro-electric plants: The Caucasus is extremely rich in water resources. Half of the water resources of

377 European Russia are in the Caucasus. Of these water resources a large part is already being exploited. In Azerbaijan: Mingechaur and Terter; in Armenia: Yerevan, Kanaker, Gyumush, Sevan; in Georgia: Zemo-Avchala, Khram, Adzharis-Tskhali, and Rioni are the most important hydro-electric plants. The hydro-electric plants along the Zanga River form the basis of Armenian industry. The industry of Tbilisi is based upon the power coming from Zemo-Avchala, whereas the Rion station supplies power for the Chiatura mines, for the ferro-manganese works of Zestafoni, and for industry in and around Kutaisi. The water resources of the North Caucasus are less exploited, although even there one finds great hydro-electric plants. The Baksan station (in the Kabardian ASSR) furnishes power to the health resorts around Pyatigorsk, the Ardon, Gizel'don, and Dzaudzhikau stations are the basis of North Ossetian industry. Gergebil', in Dagestan, is also one of the important stations (65,000 kw).

316 Iron mines: The Caucasus is poor in iron ore and the only important iron mine is at Dashkesan (Azerbaijan).

Manganese mines: This ore, very important in steel production, is mined at Chiatura, the second largest manganese mine in the world.

327 Centers of ferrous metallurgy: The two most important metallurgical centers are Rustavi, and Zestafoni (both in Georgia). The Rustavi steel mills, based on Tkvarcheli coal and Dashkesan iron, have a complete pig-iron, ingot, and rolled steel cycle. There are important

327 metallurgical centers at Taganrog (with the largest boiler works in the USSR), and at Krasnyy Sulin.

316 Non-ferrous mineral resources: Of these, copper is the most important. It is mined mostly in Armenia (Alaverdi area, and Kafan) and in West Azerbaijan (Kedabek). Silver, lead, and zinc are mined only at Sadon (North Ossetian ASSR). It is noteworthy that the Caucasus (especially Dagestan), which has long been famous for its silver handicraft, has no other silver mine than this one. Molybdenum, one of the rare metals, is mined at Kadzharan (Azerbaijan SSR), and at Tyrny-Auz (Kabardian ASSR).

328 Centers of non-ferrous metallurgy: Located in Armenia and in the North Ossetian ASSR. Armenia has copper smelters at Alaverdi and Kafan, whereas the North Ossetian Republic is famous for its new metallurgical works at Dzaudzhikau which is of unionwide significance and is connected with the Sadon lead and zinc mines. In the same republic, Alagir has lead and zinc smelters and Minur has an ore-concentrating plant.

Centers of aluminum industry: The only plant, one of the important plants in the USSR, is at Yerevan. Production is based on cheap power from the stations on the Zanga River.

392 Machinery and metal-working plants: As the result of the Russian industrialization drive, nowadays almost every large city has machinery plants. Armavir, Maykop, Novorossiysk, Taganrog, and especially Rostov, specialize in

392 agricultural machinery. The Rossel'mash at Rostov is the largest agricultural machinery plant in the USSR. Baku, Groznyy, Tuapse, Tbilisi, produce machinery used in oil-drilling and in the oil industry, Kutaisi produced machinery for coal mining, Stavropol' for lumbering. [393] Krasnodar has a telephone plant, the area around Pyatigorsk several radio plants. Tbilisi uses machinery used in the textile industry, whereas the machines produced at Taganrog are important in the chemical industry. Taganrog also produces machinery used in the food industry. Batumi and Tbilisi produce machinery used in the tea industry. There are plants like the Dvigatel'stroy at Makahchkala that produce various kinds of machinery.

399 398 397 Transportation machinery: Aircraft is produced at Taganrog, Rostov, and Makhachkala. There is a large automobile plant at Kutaisi, and an auto-assembly plant at Rostov. Novocherkassk produces locomotives (steam), and Novorossiysk bicycles.

396 Shipyards: There are important shipyards at Rostov and Taganrog on the Sea of Azov, at Tuapse on the Black Sea, and at Astrakhan' on the Caspian.

317 Pumice, gypsum, tuff, and bentonite mines: Pumice is quarried chiefly in Armenia at Anipemza and Akhuryan. Gypsum occurs around the Baskunchak salt mines (Astrakhan' Oblast), whereas tuff, used especially in the building industry, is quarried at Artik (Armenia). Bentonite, a fire-proof clay used in foundry work, in the oil industry, etc., is mined at

317 Gumbra in the vicinity of Kutaisi.

Marl mines, cement mills: The greatest marl deposits are around Novorossiysk. These deposits form the basis of the Novorossi-
[339] ysk cement industry, the principal in the USSR. The cement mills are located both in Novorossiysk proper, and around the city in its various suburbs. There are important cement mills at Ararat (Armenia), at Kaspi (Georgia), at Prokhladnyy (Kabardian ASSR), and at Rostov.

Silicate and kaolin quarries, glass and
[323] porcelain works: The glass-works at Dagestanskie Ogni is the really important one. Porcelain works occur in the North and in the South Caucasus.

Obsidian mines; centers of jeweller's trade: Obsidian, a volcanic glass used especially in the jeweller's trade, occurs in Armen-
[306] ia at Tumanyan. The jewelry center of the Caucasus is Kubachi (in the vicinity of Derbent).

Pyrite mines: Quarried especially at Kedabek and Chiragidzor (West Azerbaijan). It is used in the manufacture of sulfuric acid.

Barite mines: This common mineral quarried or mined at Chovdar (Azerbaijan) and at Kutaisi is one of the basic materials for the paint industry.

38 Chemical industry centers: The most important center is Armenia, where chemical plants have been created at Alaverdi (superphosphate), Amamlu (carbide), Leninakan, Kirovakan, and Yerevan. The Baku area is another important chemical industry center. In addition to these, there are important

38 chemical industries at Kutaisi (sulfuric acid) and Rostov (paint).

384 Synthetic rubber plants: Located in Armenia at Yerevan, and in Baku. The Yerevan plant uses as raw material limestone (quarried at Amamlu), and also produces tires. The production of the Baku plant is based on petroleum.

288 Cotton-ginning establishments: The chief goal of the Soviet textile industry is to bring the establishments of the industry as close as possible to the raw materials (cotton, wool, etc.). The cotton-ginning centers are accordingly located in the cotton-growing areas. In the South Caucasus, the cotton-ginning centers are mostly along the Kura River, and along the Aras River (in Nakhichevan' ASSR). In the North Caucasus, Khasavyurt (Dagestan), and the various cities in the Stavropol' Kray have important cotton-ginning establishments.

Cotton mills: The most important cotton mills are in the South Caucasus and Dagestan.

Woolen mills: The important woolen mills are located in the Krasnodar and Stavropol' Krays, in Dagestan, and in the South Caucasus (Baku, Kirovabad, Yerevan, Tbilisi, Kutaisi).

Silk industry centers: Silk industry constitutes an industrial activity only in the South Caucasus. Silk filatories (for reeling and twisting threads) have been built mostly in Georgia. Silk mills on the other hand occur in all the important sericulture areas.

Centers of hemp industry: The hemp

288 industry is concentrated in the North Caucasus, chiefly at Astrakhan'.

Textile and clothing mills: The most important textile mills are at Baku (Azerbaijan), Leninakan (Armenia), Kutaisi (Georgia), Derbent (Dagestan), Budennovsk (Stavropol' Kray). Clothing mills are concentrated in Georgia
295 (Tbilisi, Batumi), in Armenia (Leninakan), and in the capitals of the Cherkess, Kabardian, and North Ossetian republics.

286 Rug-weaving centers: Rug-weaving is one of the traditional industries of the eastern South Caucasus. Originally it was a home industry of nomadic (mostly Turkic) peoples. The Caucasian rug-weaving industry produces three kinds of rugs: The Daghestani Rug, made in Dagestan and North Azerbaijan; the Shirvan Rug, made in East Azerbaijan; and the Karabagh Rug, made in Armenia and West Azerbaijan.

295 Alunite mines; leather, boot and shoe
282 factories: The most important leather factories are at Baku, Nakhichevan', Tbilisi, Kutaisi, Groznyy, and Stavropol'. Tbilisi, Cherkessk, Rostov, and Taganrog have boot and shoe fac-
317 tories. Alunite, the raw material important for tanning, is mined at Zaglik in Azerbaijan.

313 Lumbering, sawmilling, woodworking
322 plants: Concentrated in Georgia, in the most heavily forested area of the Caucasus. The other areas of concentration are Northern Armenia, and a whole series of cities, towns, and villages, located along the northern slopes of the Greater Caucasus. Important lumbering centers are also Astrakhan' and Rostov, processing imported lumber.

322 Furniture plants: Concentrated mostly in Novorossiysk, Maykop, Cherkessk, Rostov, and Kamensk-Shakhtinskiy.

289 Paper mills: There are only two important paper mills in the Caucasus. The large one is at Zugdidi in West Georgia, and the smaller one is at Rostov.

317 Salt mines: The Caucasus is very rich in salt. This mineral is mined both in the North and in the South Caucasus. The mine around Nakhichevan', and the salt fields of the Apsheron Peninsula supply Trans-caucasia. The salt mines of Baskunchak (Astrakhan' Oblast), representing 1/4 of the total salt production of the USSR, serve all Russia.

256 Food industry: This industry is represented everywhere in the Caucasus.

Flour-milling centers: These are located mostly in the Krasnodar and Stavropol' Krays, and in Rostov Oblast.

Centers of starch and molasses industry: The center of this industry is the North Ossetian ASSR with its huge Beslan corn kombinat.

258 Oil presses: Concentrated especially in the western parts of the North Caucasus (Krasnodar and Stavropol' Krays and Rostov Oblast).

257 Sugar refineries: The chief sugar refineries are in Armenia (Amamlu, Leninakan), in Georgia (Agara), and in the Krasnodar Kray (Tikhoretsk, Korenovskaya).

255 Fruit-canning centers: Concentrated mostly in the eastern section of the North Caucasus. Dagestan especially is an important fruit-canning area. Other noteworthy fruit-

255 canning areas are Georgia (the Kutaisi-Gori area), Armenia (around Yerevan and Megri), Azerbaijan (Zakataly, Kuba, Lenkoran'), and Nakhichevan' (Ordubad).

234 Milk industry centers: The most important centers are around the health resorts, especially Sochi and Mineral'nyye Vody.

253 Meat packing and canning centers: Con-
255 centrated mostly along the northern slopes of the Greater Caucasus. The other noteworthy meat-packing area is in Armenia (Leninakan, Yerevan).

228 Fisheries, centers of fishing industry:
255 The most important fisheries are along the shallow waters of the Caspian Sea, in the delta of the Volga River, and along the mouth of the Kura River. Its low salinity and its micro-organisms make the Caspian Sea the richest fishing ground of the USSR. The fisheries of the Caspian Sea provide 35% of the Russian output. The chief fishing centers are around Astrakhan', Lopatin, and Makhachkala. The second most important fishing area of the Caucasus is in the shallow waters of the Sea of Azov. These fishing grounds also abound in fish and the catch is four times as great as in the Black Sea. The center of the Azov area is Yeysk. The fishing grounds of the Black Sea coast are less important, while the fishing in Lake Sevan in only for local consumption. The centers of the fishing industry and of fish canning are located in the fishing areas. The foremost center of the fishing industry on the Caspian coast, and in the whole USSR, is Astrakhan'. Astrakhan' also

228 has the largest fishing canneries in the USSR.
255 The other centers follow the coast as far as Astara. The fishing industry and fish canning of the Azov area is centered in Azov, in Yeysk, and in other cities and towns along the coast.

274 Wine and cognac industry centers: The most important centers are located in Armenia, in Georgia, in Dagestan, in the littoral sections of the Krasnodar Kray, and finally around Novocherkassk. The Armenian wine industry, centered mostly around Yerevan, is centuries old. In Georgia, the Imeretian and Kakhetian wines are world-famous. In Dagestan: Buynaksk, Makhachkala, and Kizlyar (Groznyy Oblast) are the important centers of the wine industry. In the Novorossiysk area, the champagne of Abrau-Dyurso is noteworthy. The center for the famous Cossack wines is Novocherkassk.

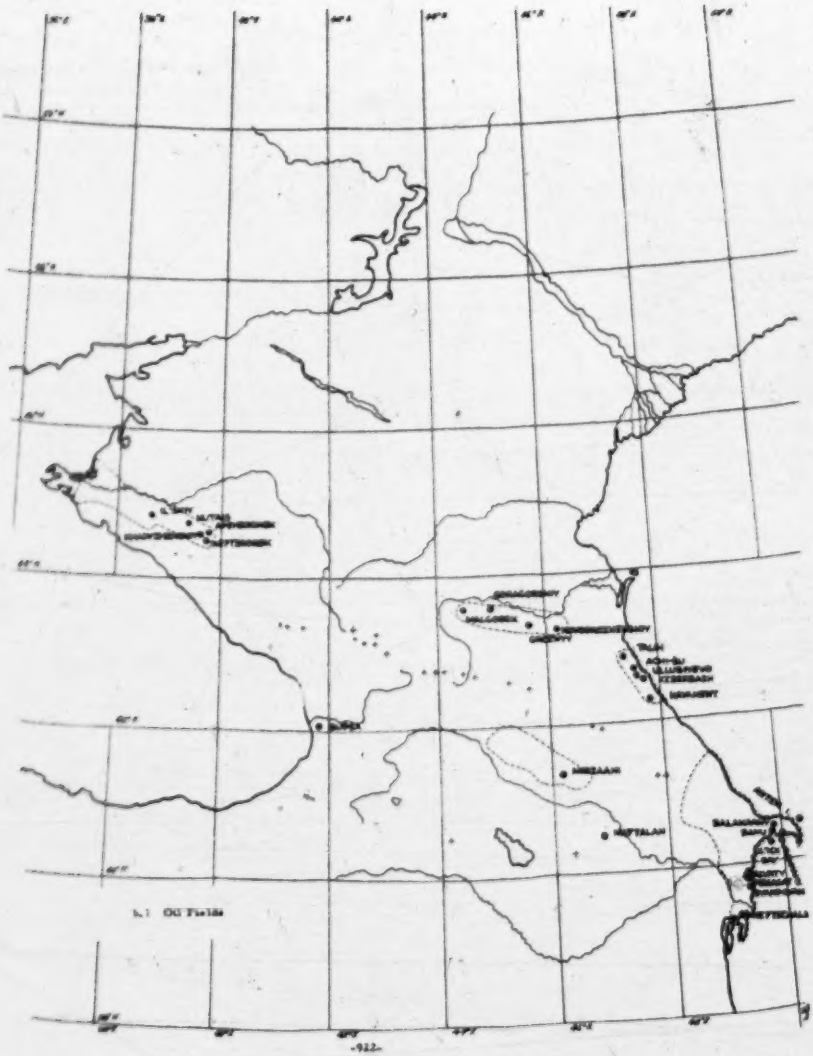
Tea industry centers: These are located in the tea-growing areas. One finds the most important tea-drying plants in Kolkhida, and in the Abkhaz and Adzhar Republics. The tea industry center of the Krasnodar Kray is Dagomys, the center of the Azeri tea industry is at Lenkoran'.

274 Mineral water bottling centers: The chief centers are Yessentuki in the North Caucasus and Borzhomi in the South Caucasus.

Tobacco factories: Centered mostly in
277 the western parts of the Caucasus. In the South Caucasus, the factories at Batumi, Sukhumi, and Yerevan are especially important. In the North Caucasus, the tobacco factories are centered around Krasnodar, Sal'sk, and Rostov.

7: Columbia U. S-4, 5 1956 RH1 Caucasia RH1

315

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382

b. 2 Centers of Oil Industry

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## b. 3 Pipelines

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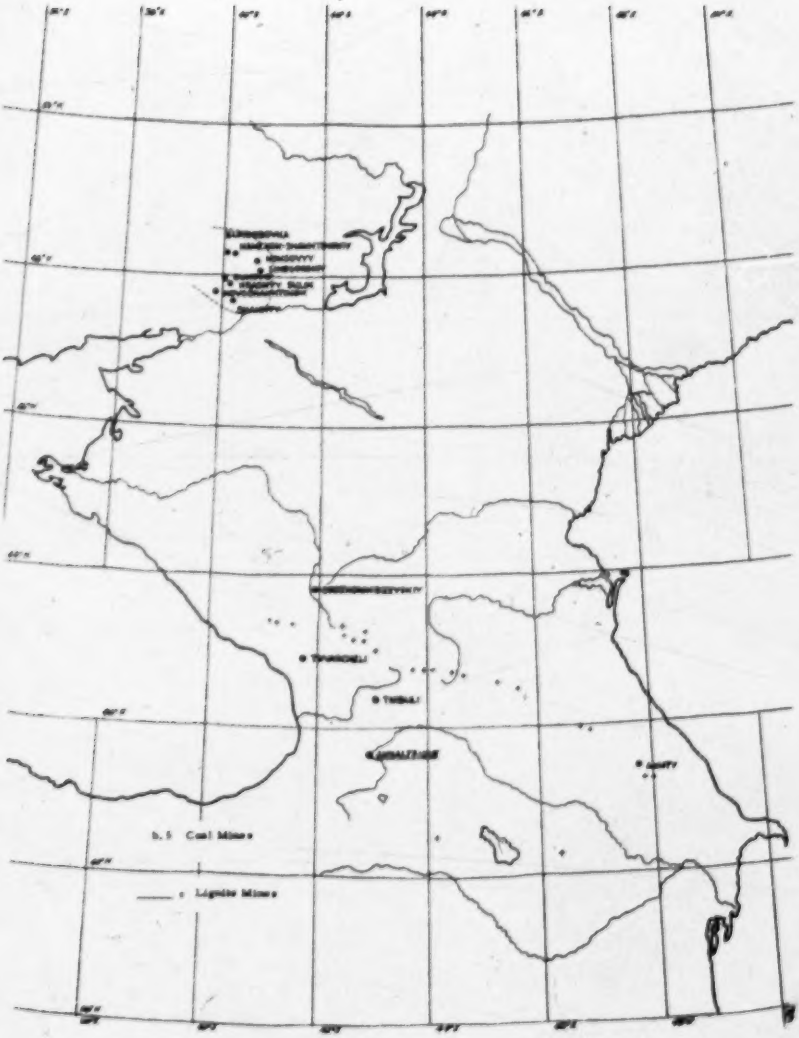
b. 4 Natural Gas Sources

316



377

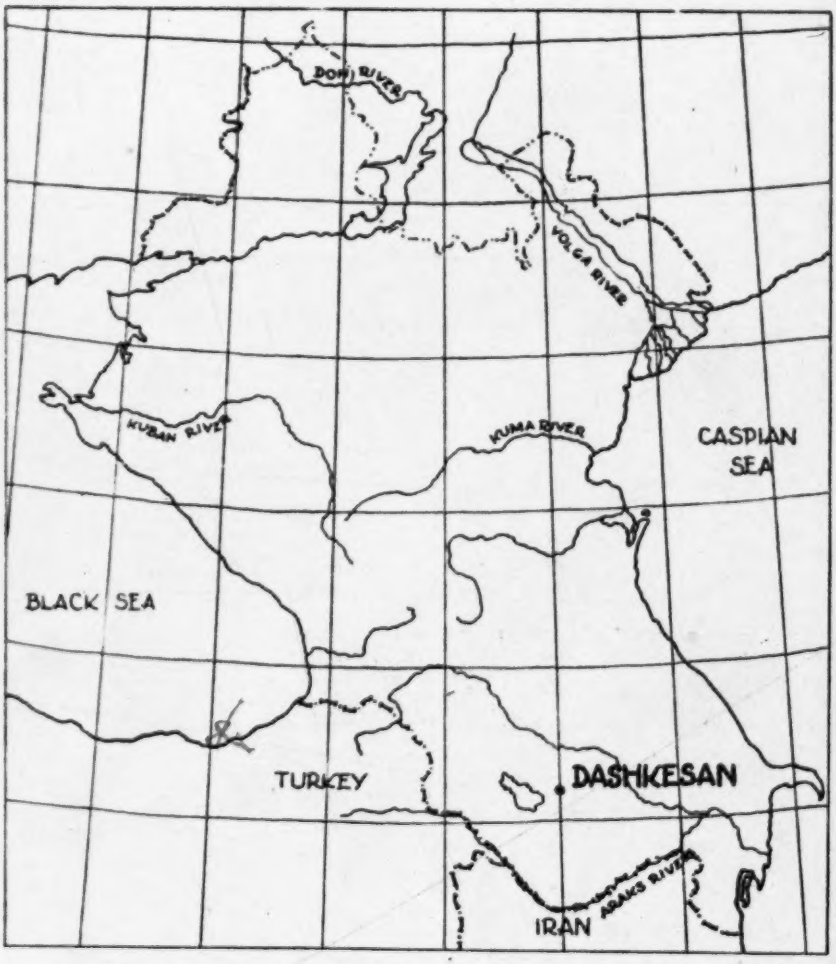
## b.6 Thermo-Electric Plants

377

b.7 Hydro-Electric Plants

316

b. 8 Iron Mines



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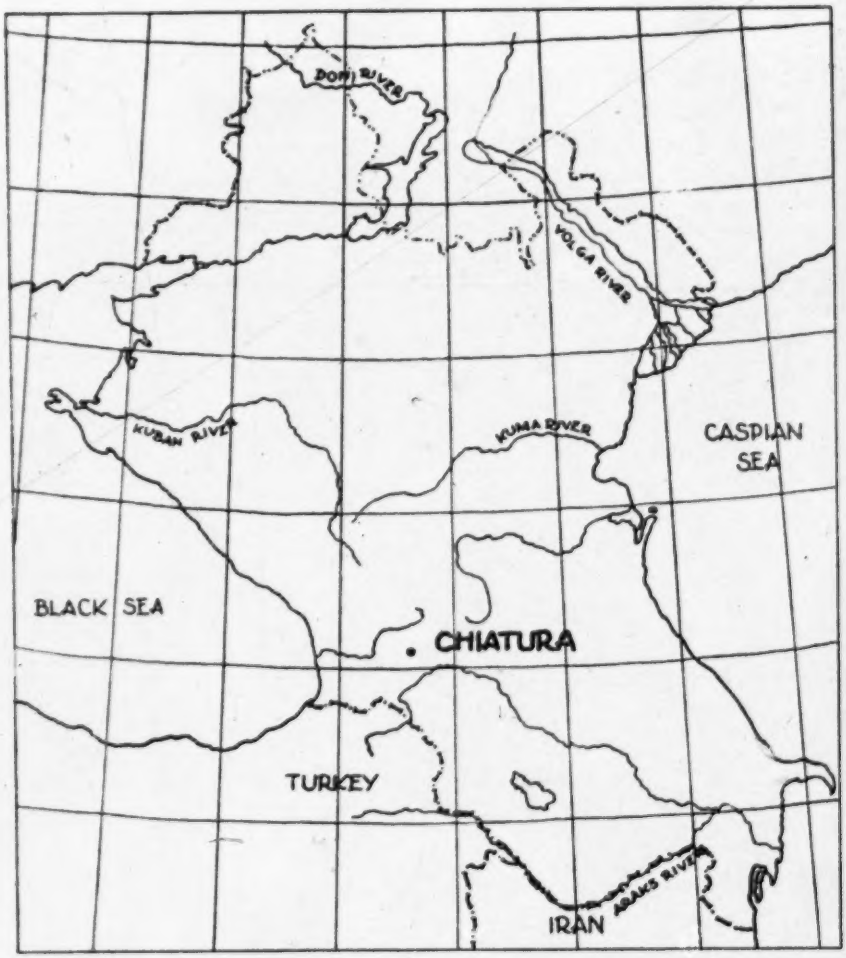
## b. 9 Manganese Mines



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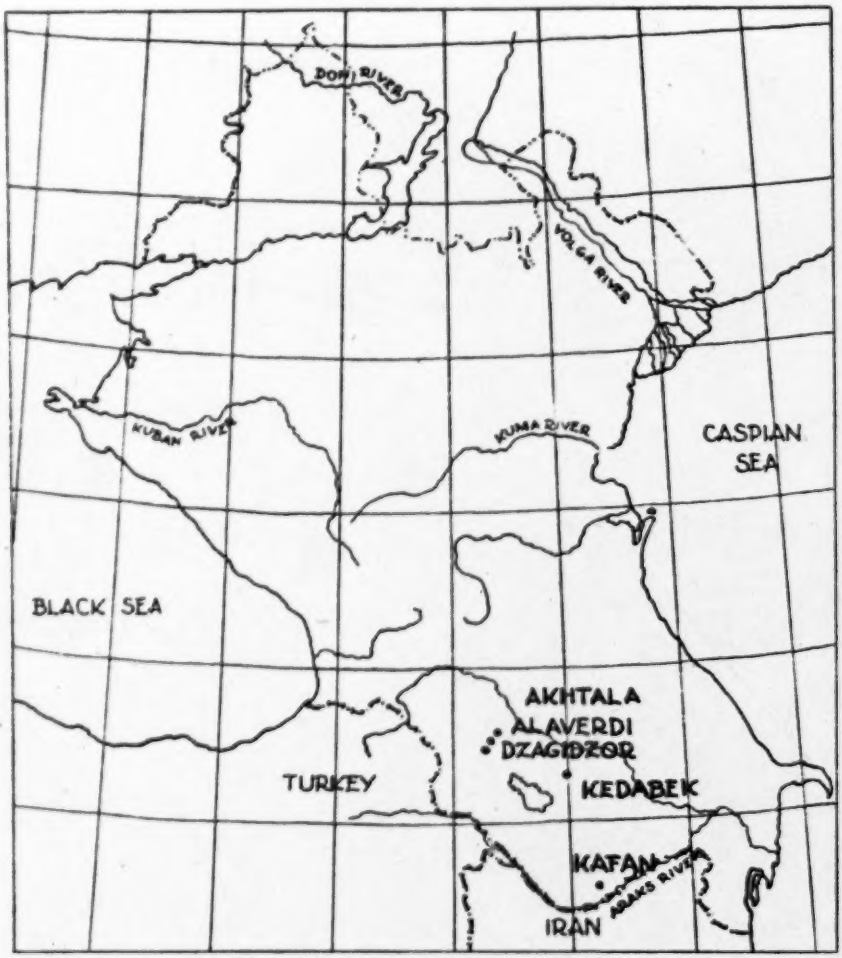
b.10 Centers of Ferrous Metallurgy

316

## b.11 Copper Mines



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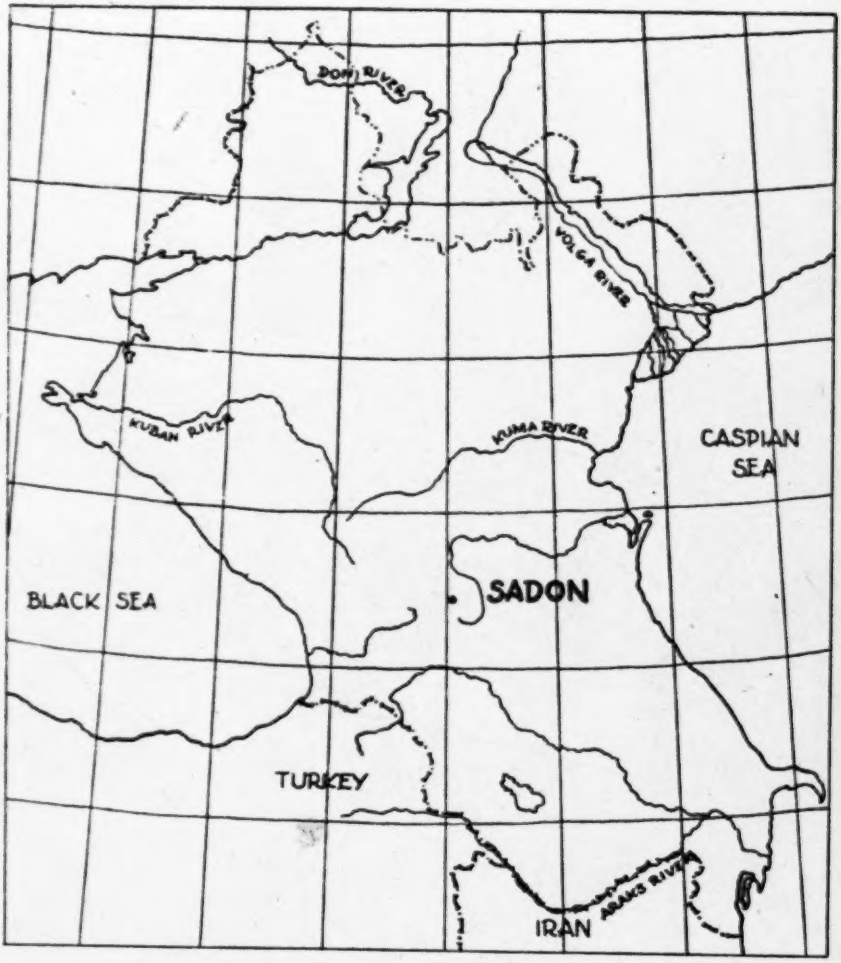
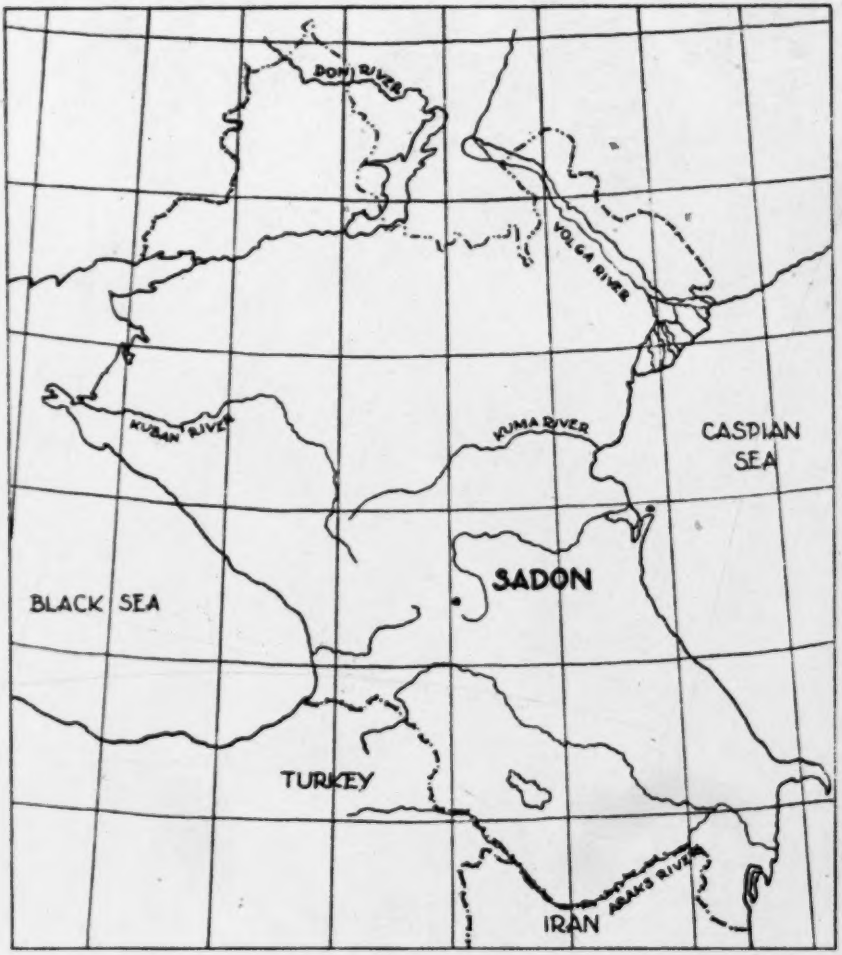
b.12 Silver Mines



316

b.13 Zinc Mines



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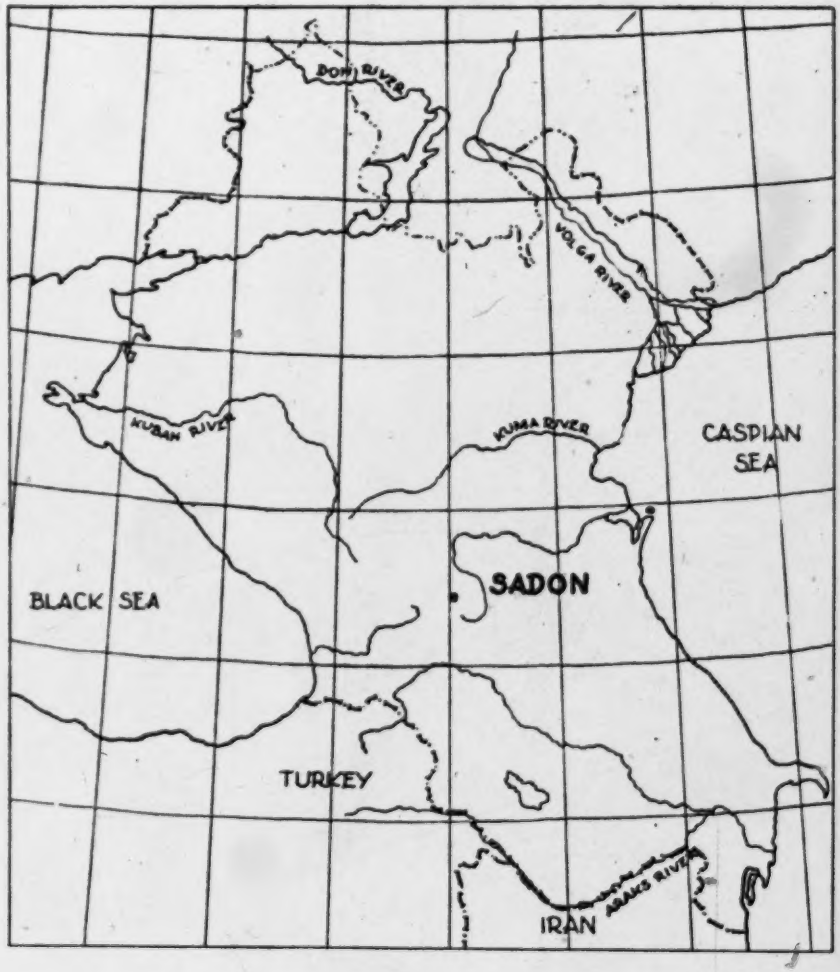
b.14 Lead Mines



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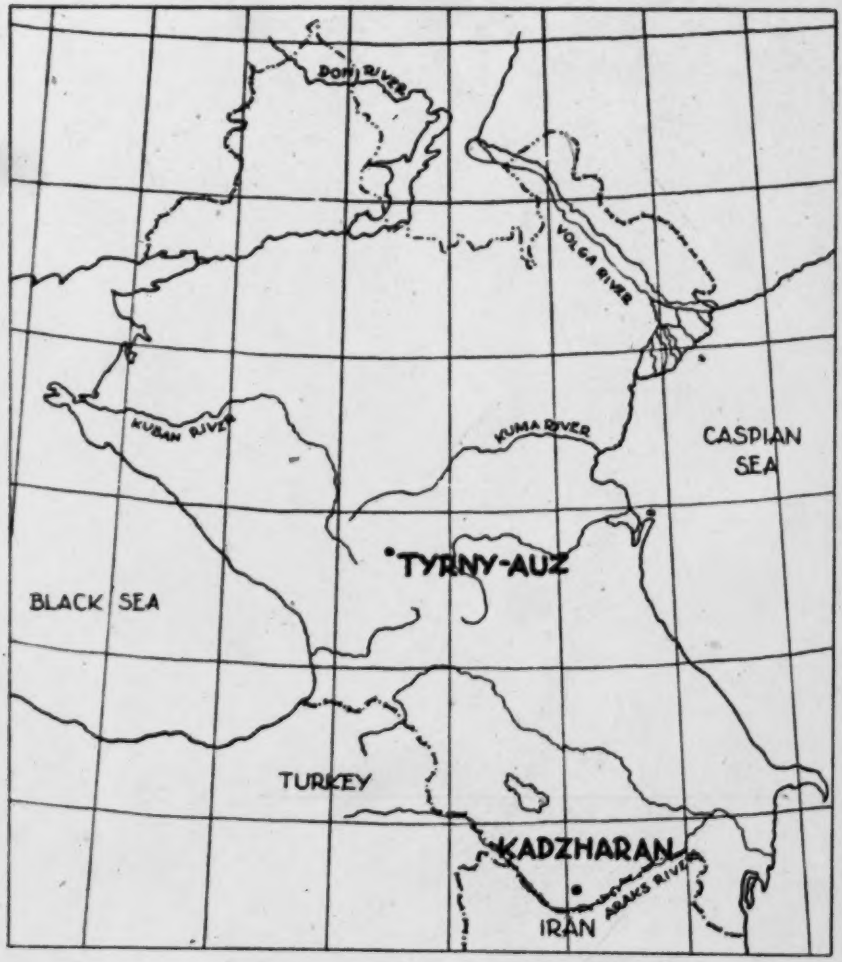
## b.15 Molybdenum Mines



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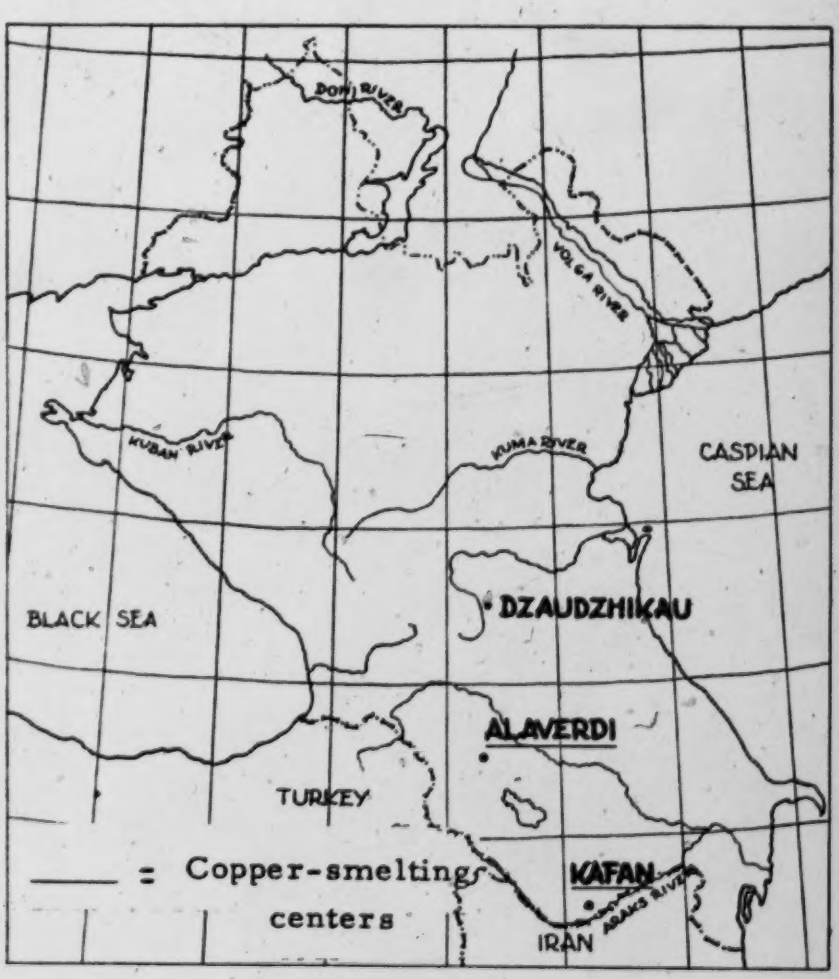
b. 16 Centers of Non-Ferrous Metallurgy



328

b. 17 Centers of Aluminum Industry

7: Columbia U. S-4, 5 1956 RH1 Caucasia RH1

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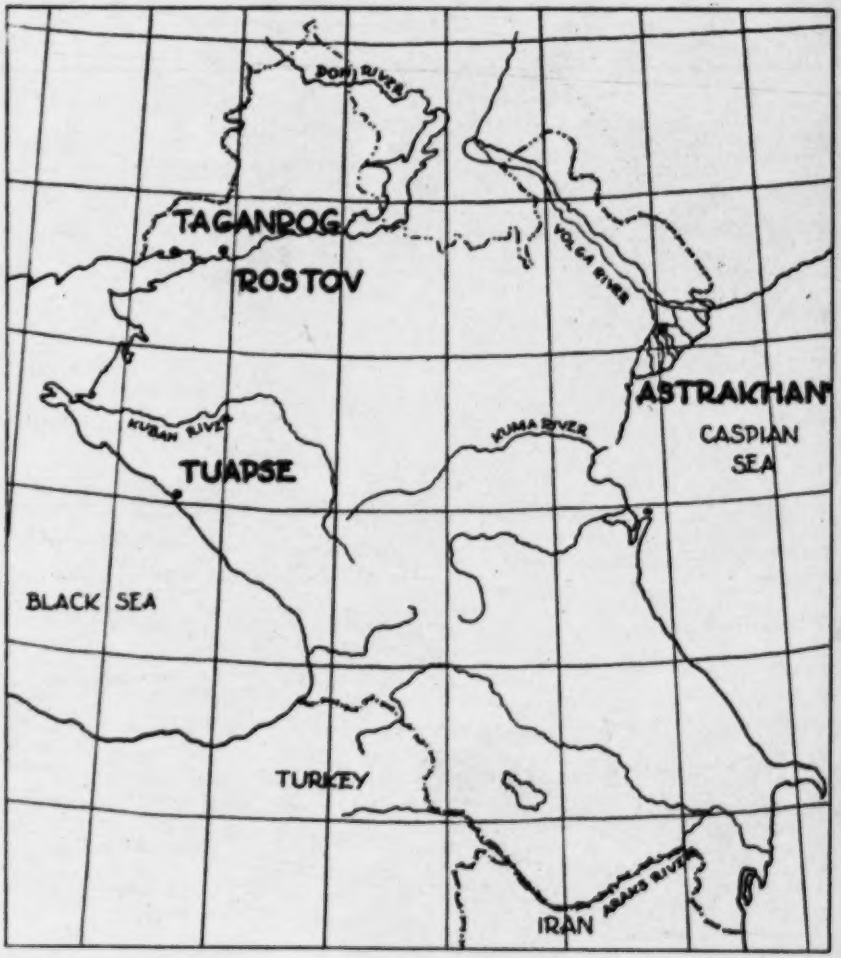
b.18 Machinery and Metal-working Plants

b.19 Transportation Machinery Plants

397
398
399

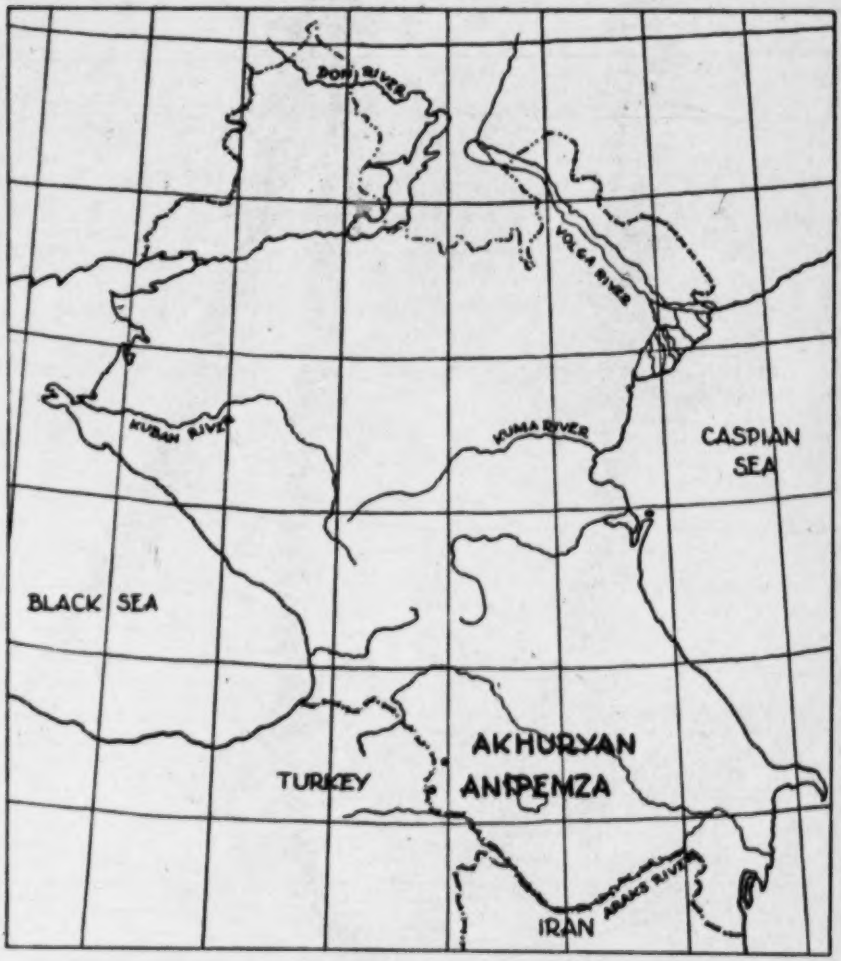
b. 20 Shipyards

396



b. 21 Pumice Mines

317

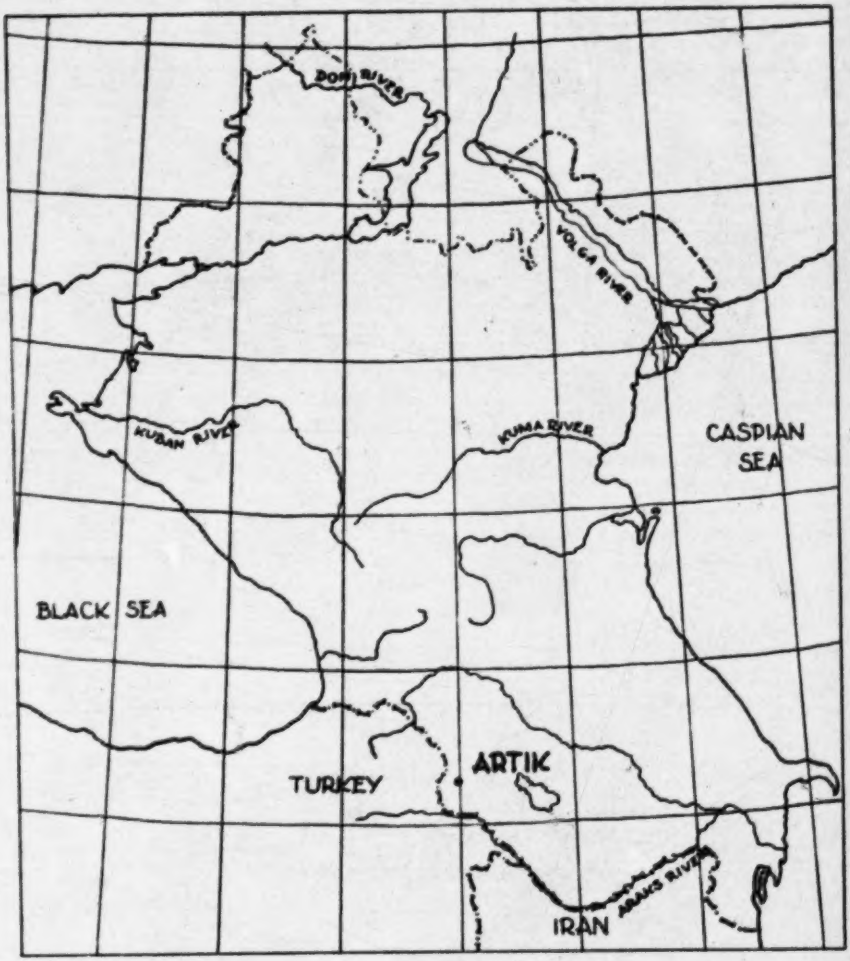


b. 22 Gypsum Mines

317

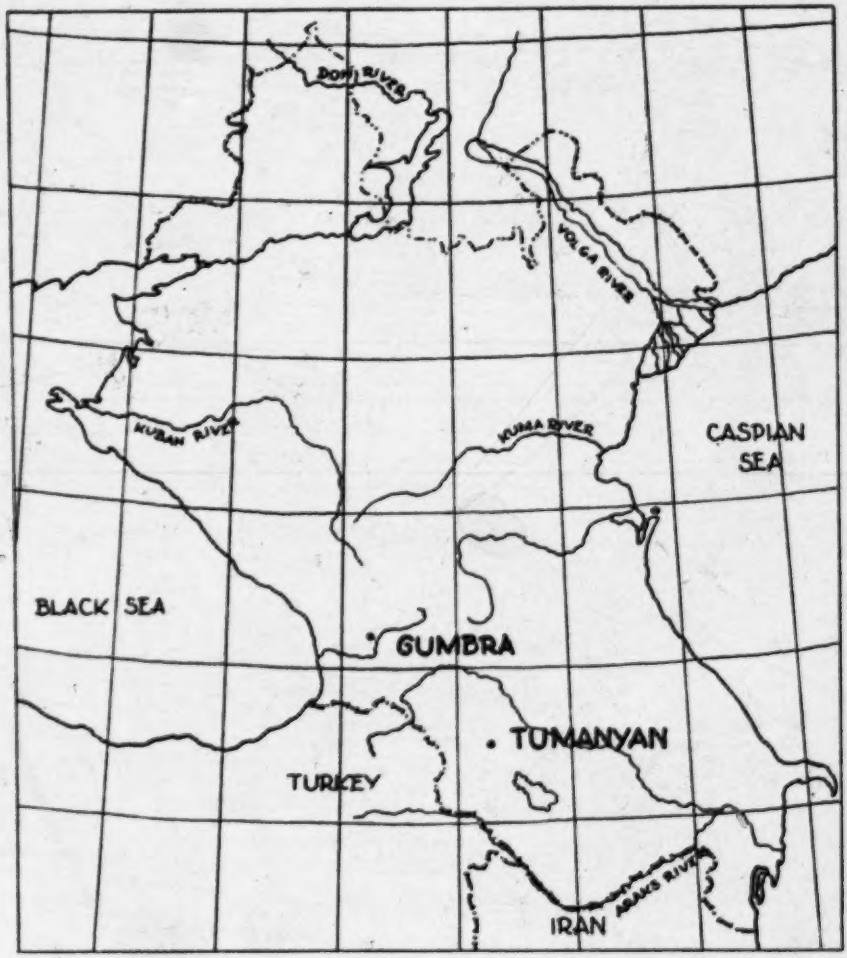
b. 23 Tuff Mines

317



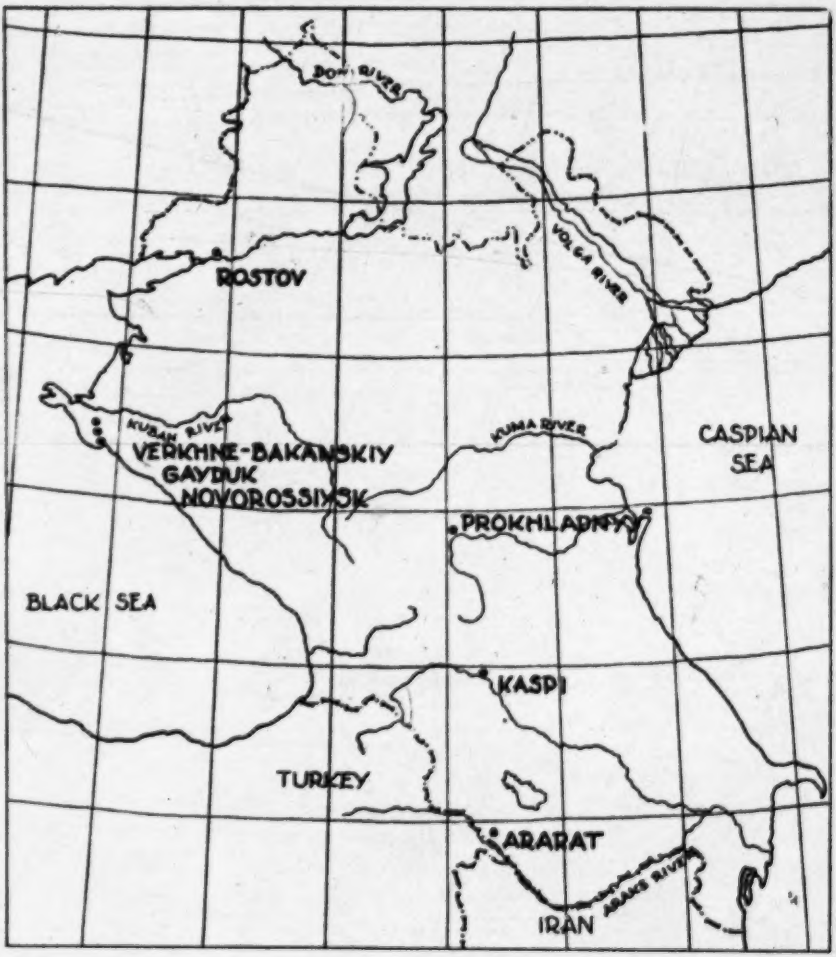
b. 24 Bentonite Mines

317



b. 25 Cement Mills

339



b. 26 Glassworks

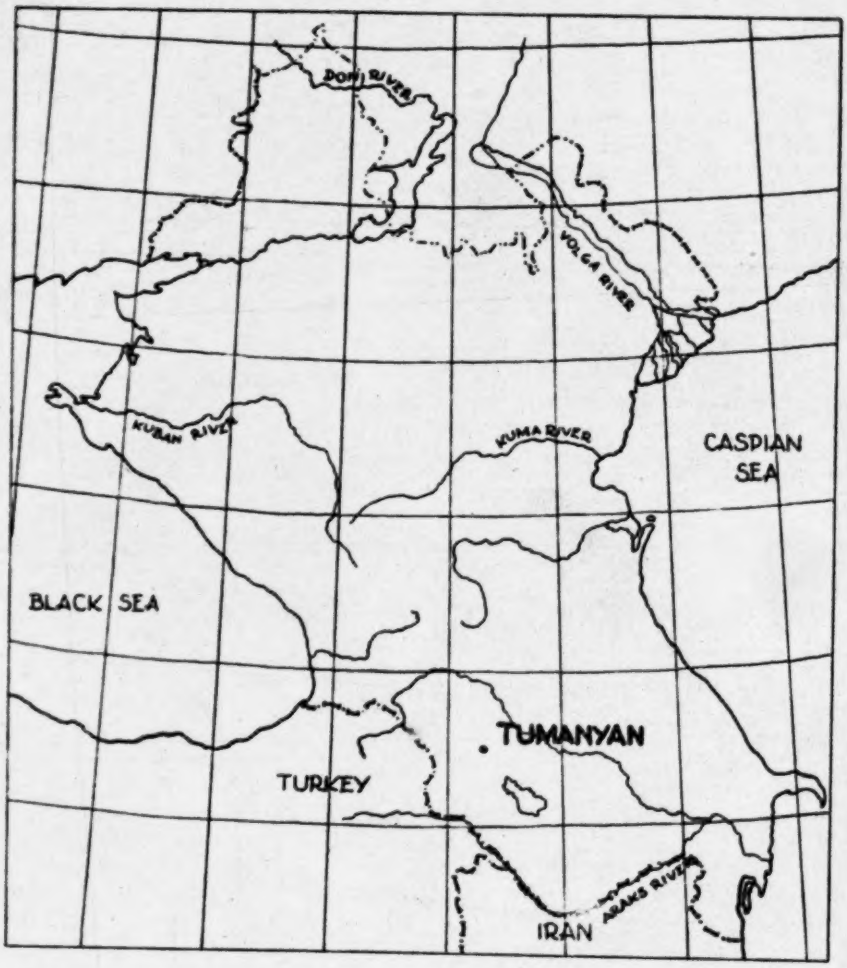
323

b. 27 Silicate and Porcelain Works

323

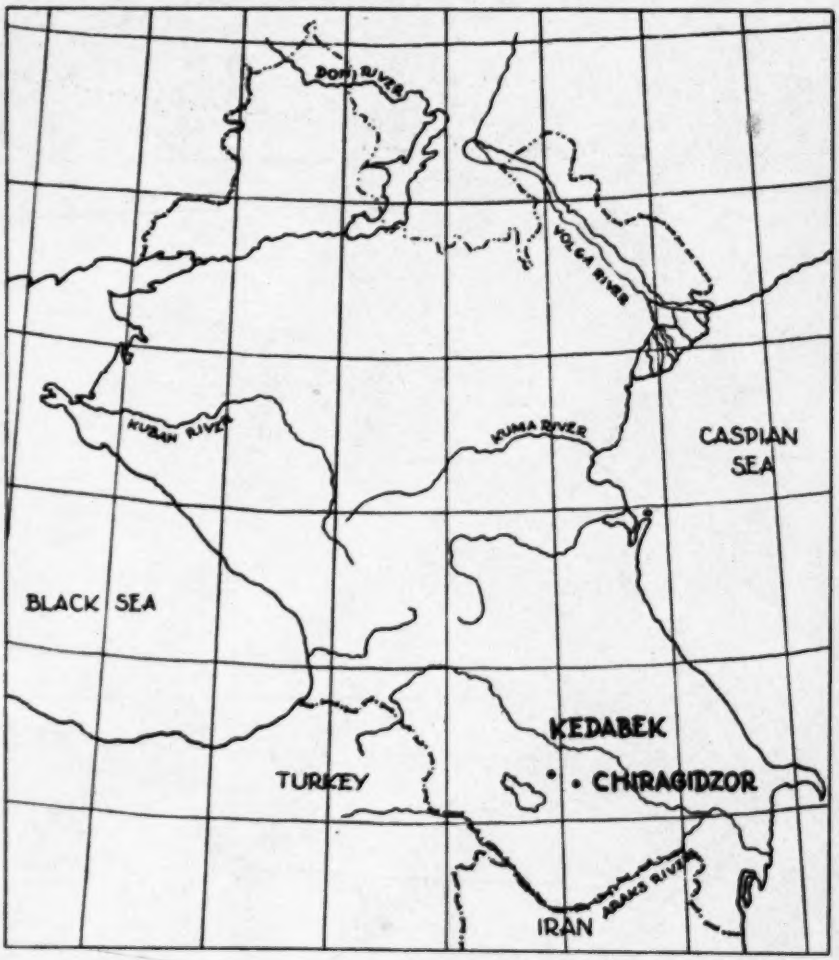
b. 28 Obsidian Mines

317



b. 29 Pyrite Mines

317



b. 30 Barite Mines

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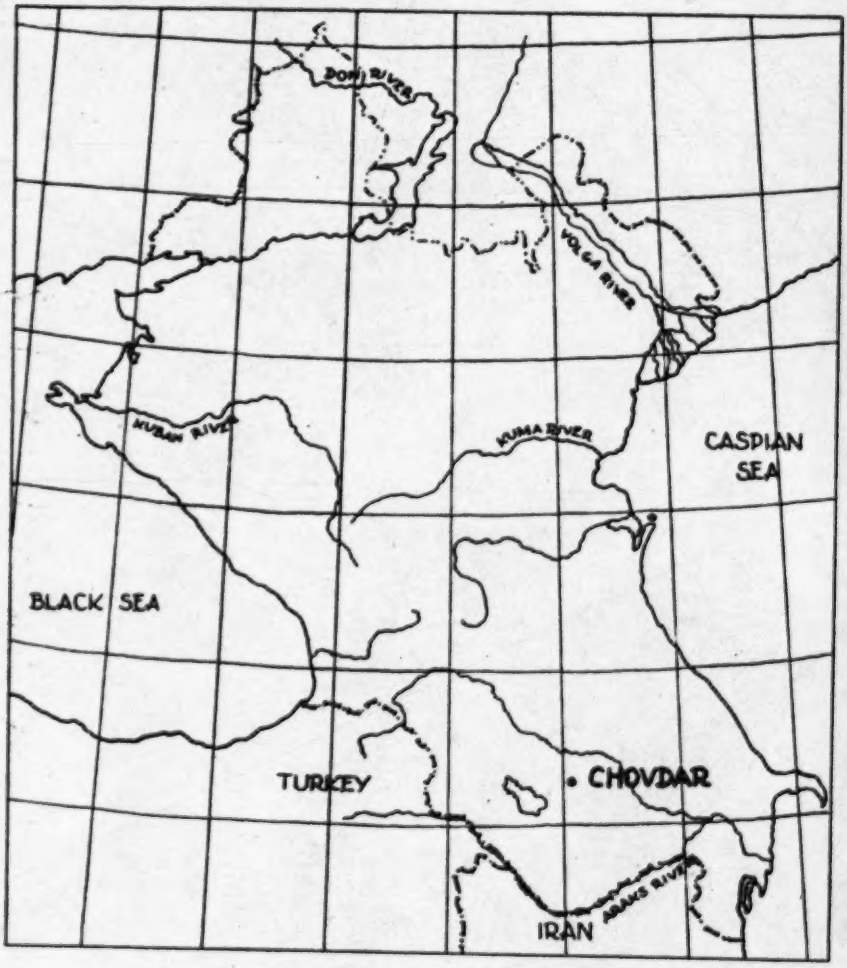
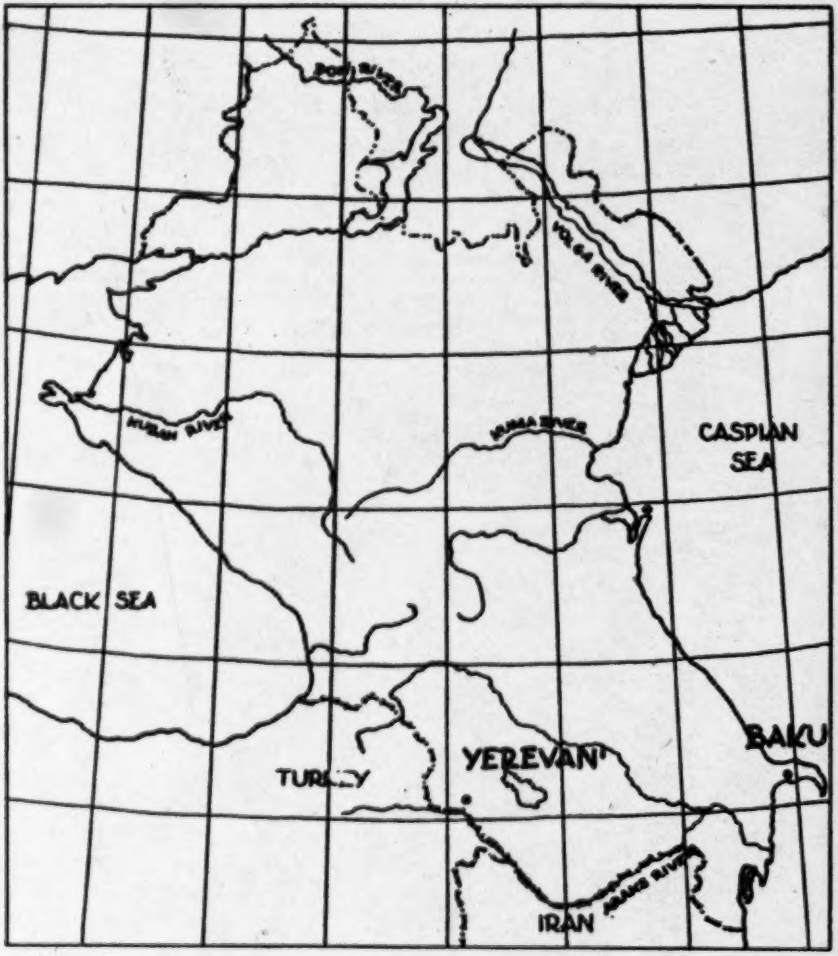


## b. 31 Chemical Industry Centers

38

b. 32 Synthetic Rubber Plants

384



b. 33 Cotton Ginning Centers

288

b. 34 Cotton Mills

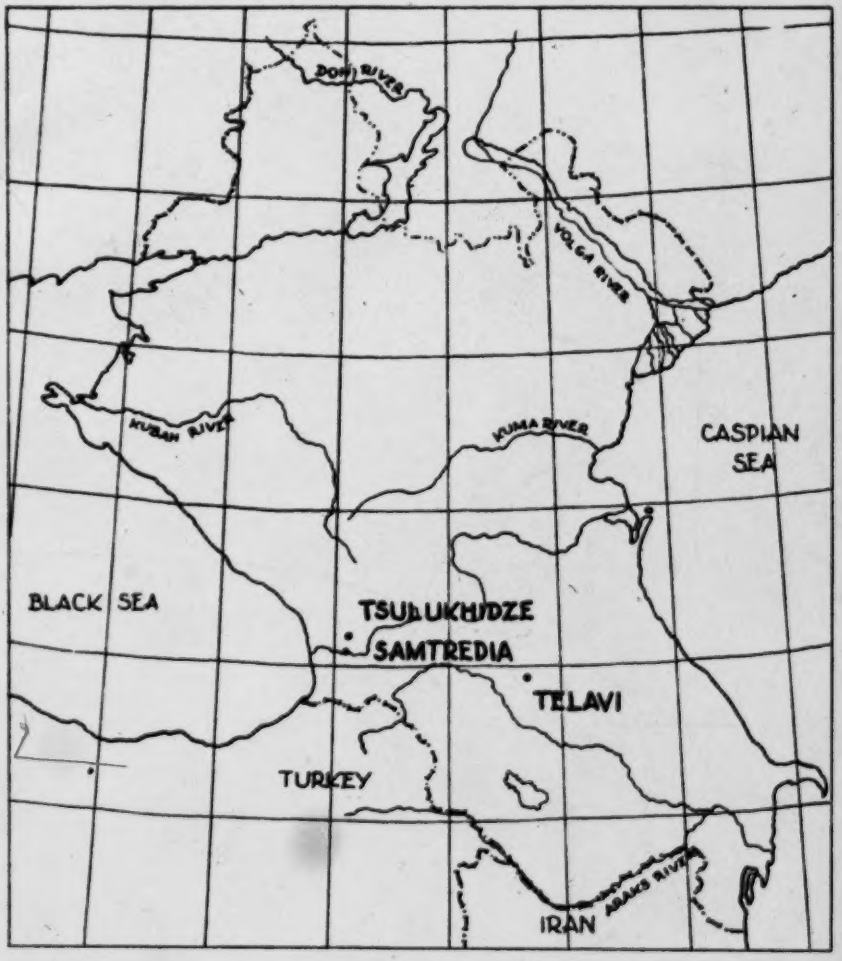
288

b. 35 Woolen Mills

288

## b. 36 Silk Filatories

288



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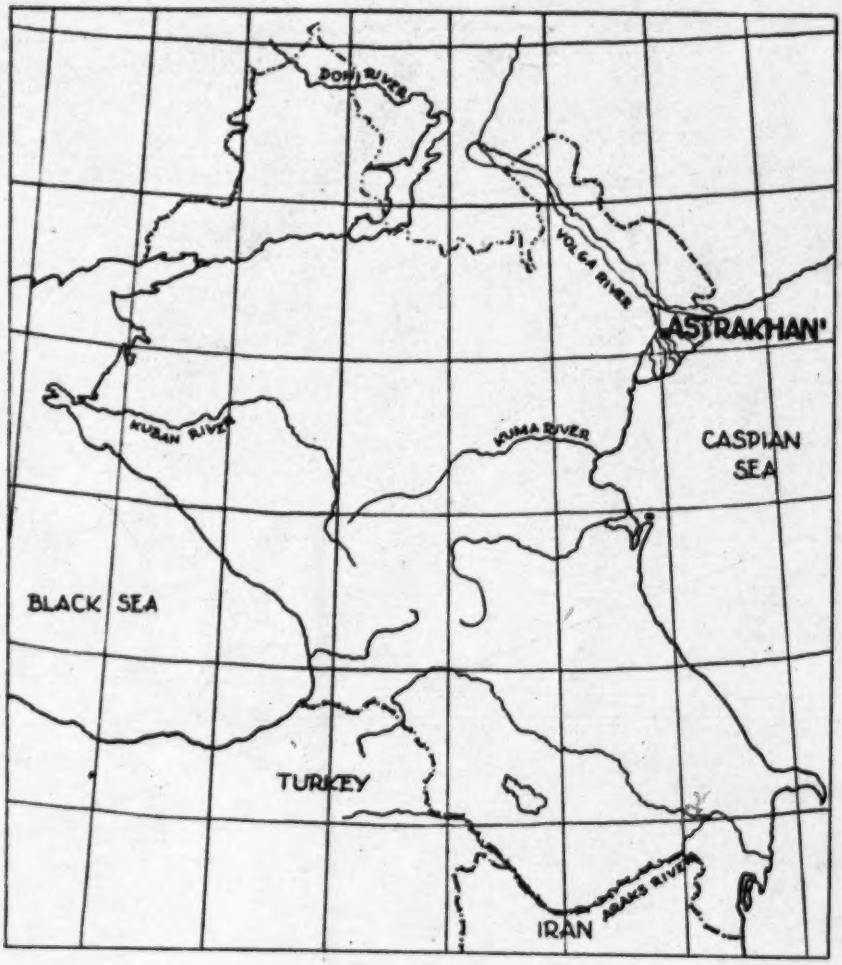
b. 37 Silk Mills

288

b. 38 Centers of Hemp Industry

288



## b. 39 Textile Mills

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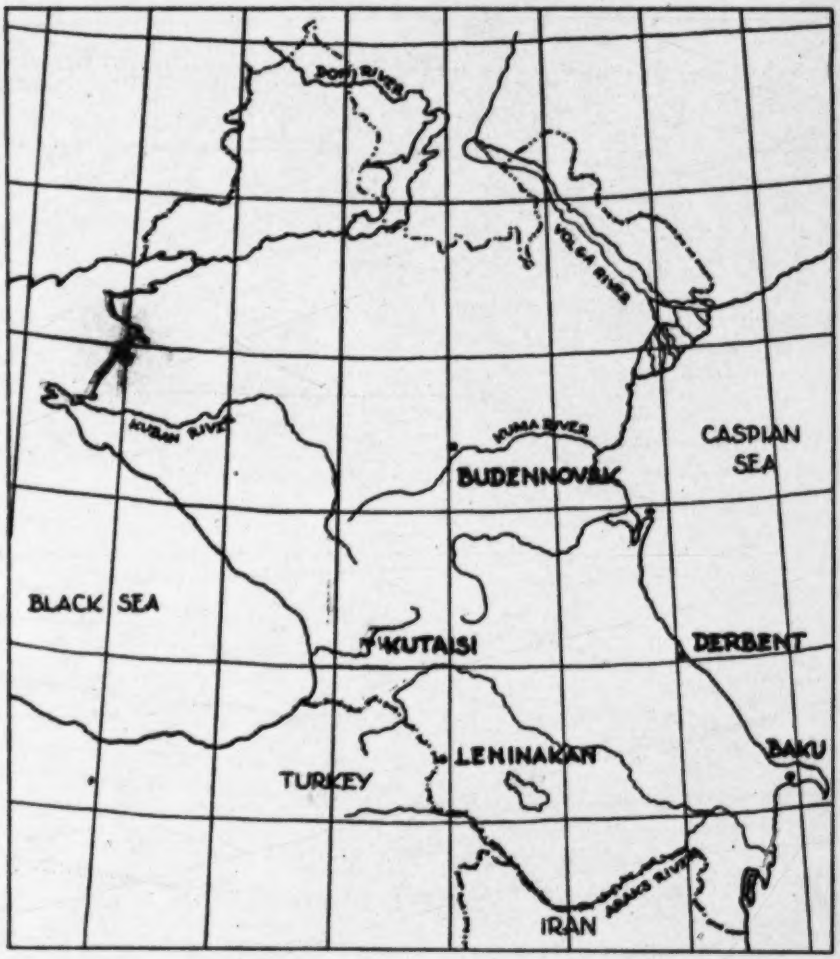


b. 40 Clothing Mills

295

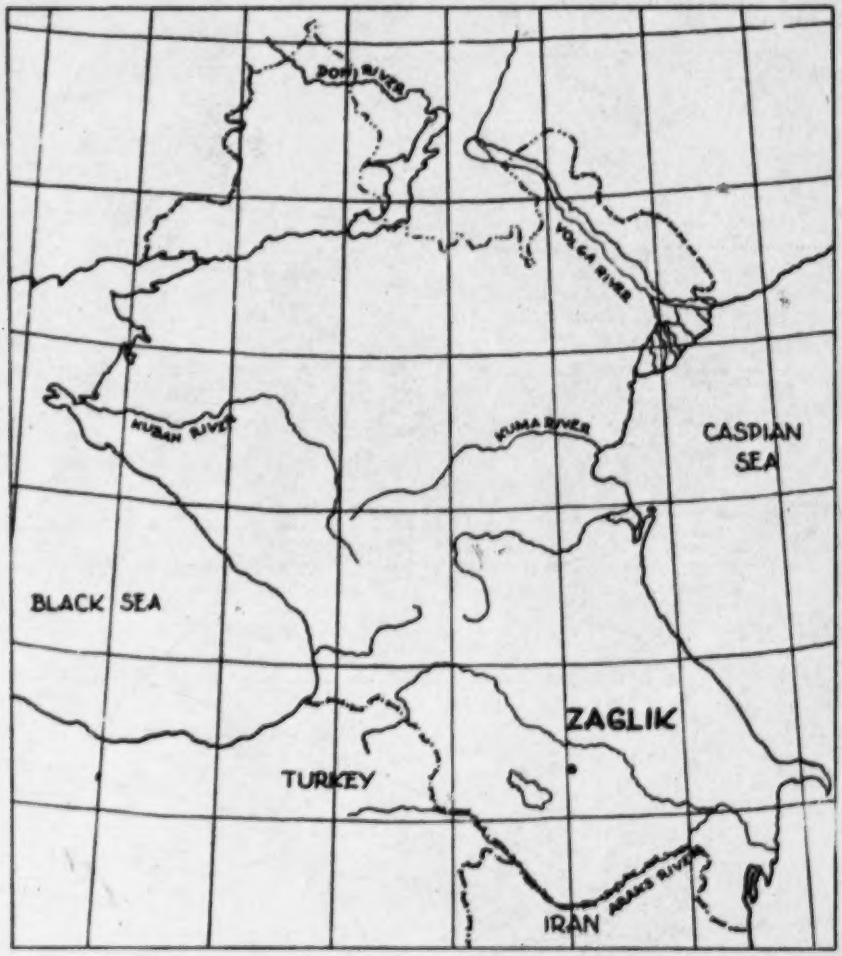
7: Columbia U. S-4, 5 1956 RH1 Caucasia RH1

286

962

b. 42 Alunite Mines

317



b. 43 Leather Factories

282

b. 44 Boot and Shoe Factories

295

7: Columbia U. S-4, 5 1956 RH1 Caucasia RH1

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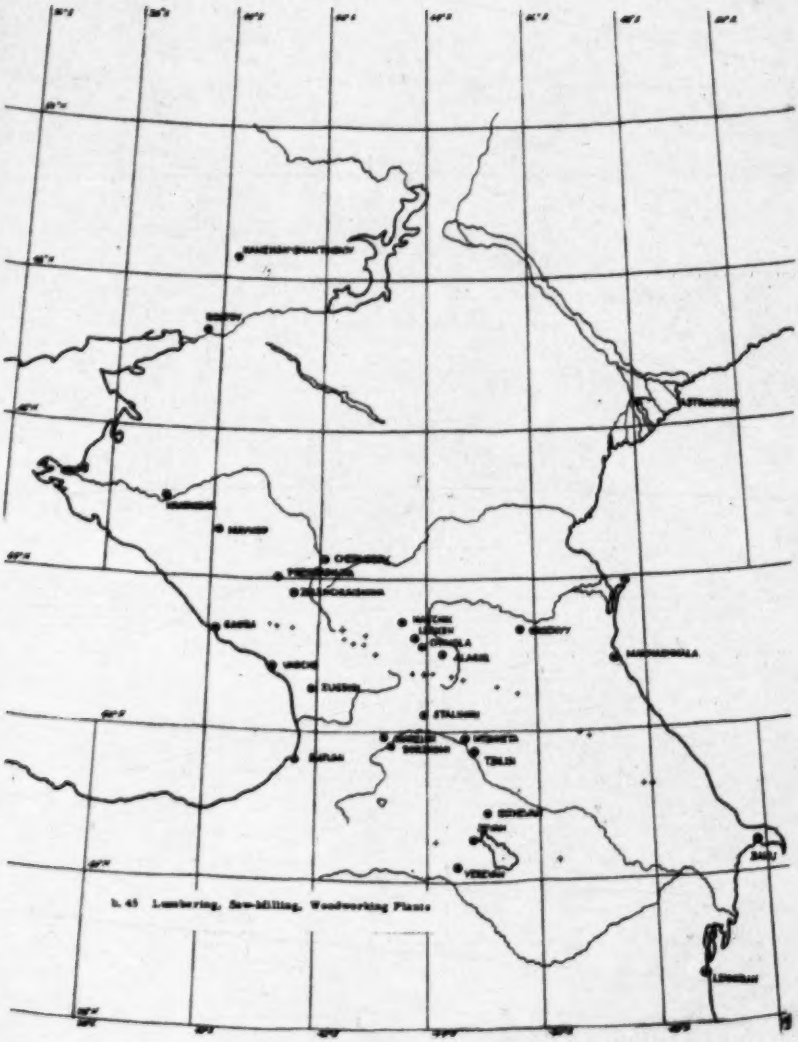



b. 45 Lumbering, Saw-Milling, Woodworking Plants



966

b. 46 Furniture Plants

322

b. 47 Paper Mills

289

b. 48 Salt Mines

317

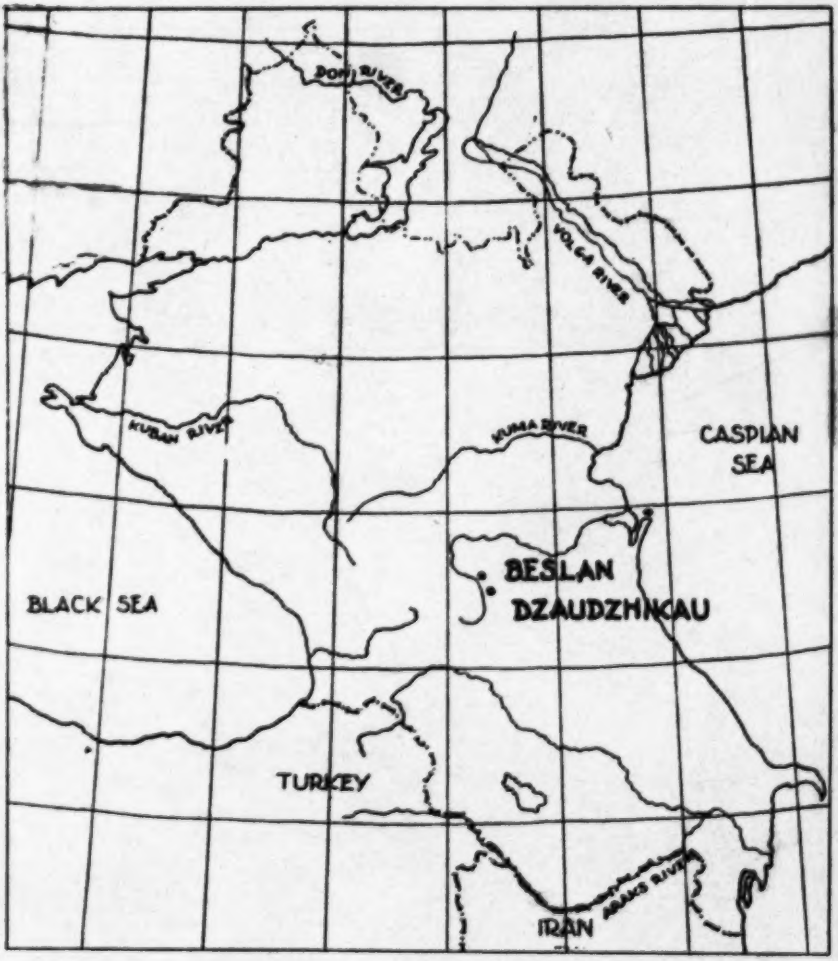
25

b. 50 Flour Mills

256

b. 51 Starch and Molasses Factories

256

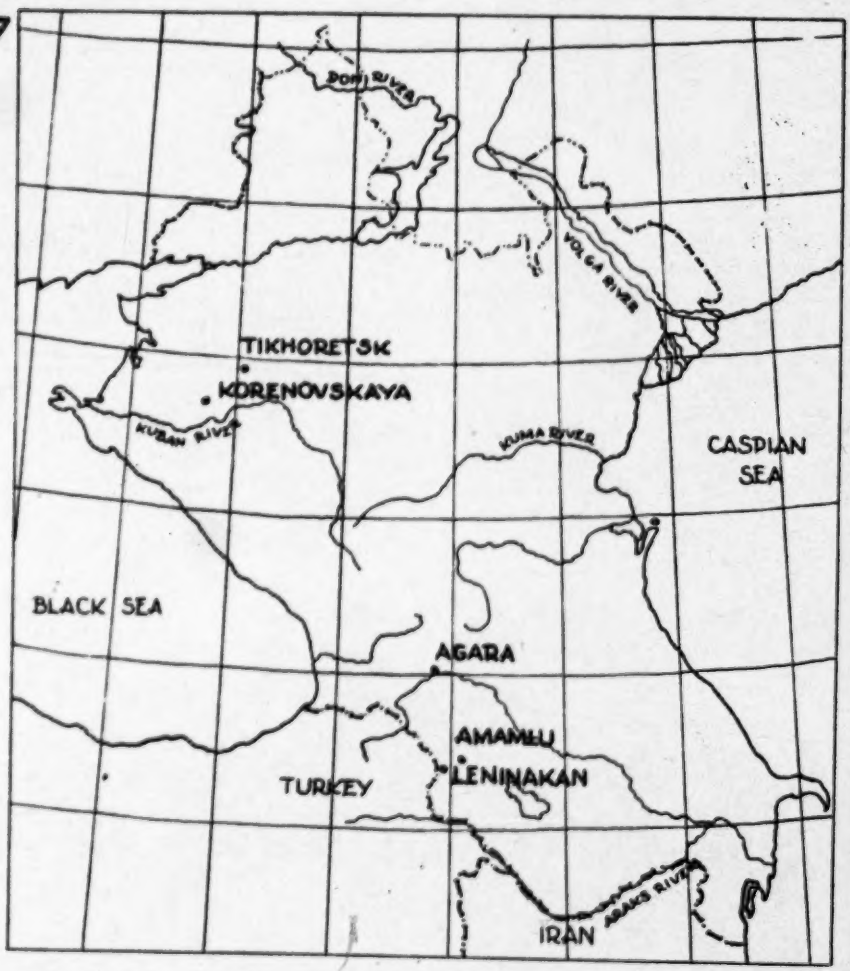


b. 52 Oil Presses

258

b. 53 Sugar Refineries

257



255

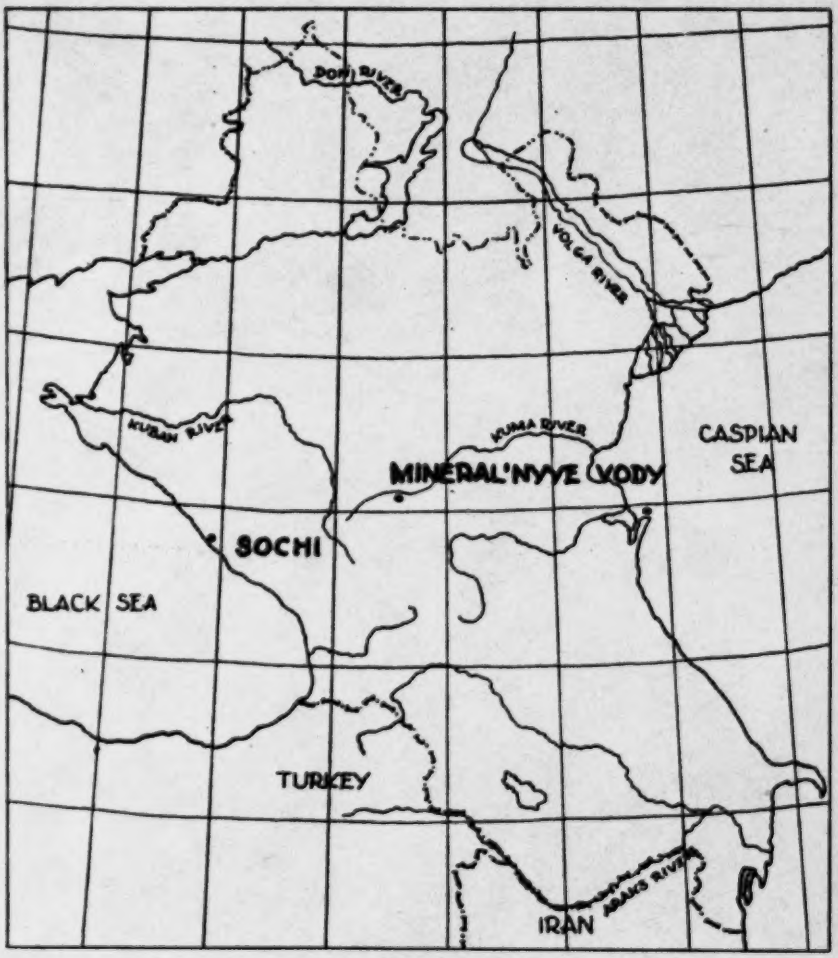
L. 54 Fruit Canneries



975

b. 55 Milk Industry Centers

234

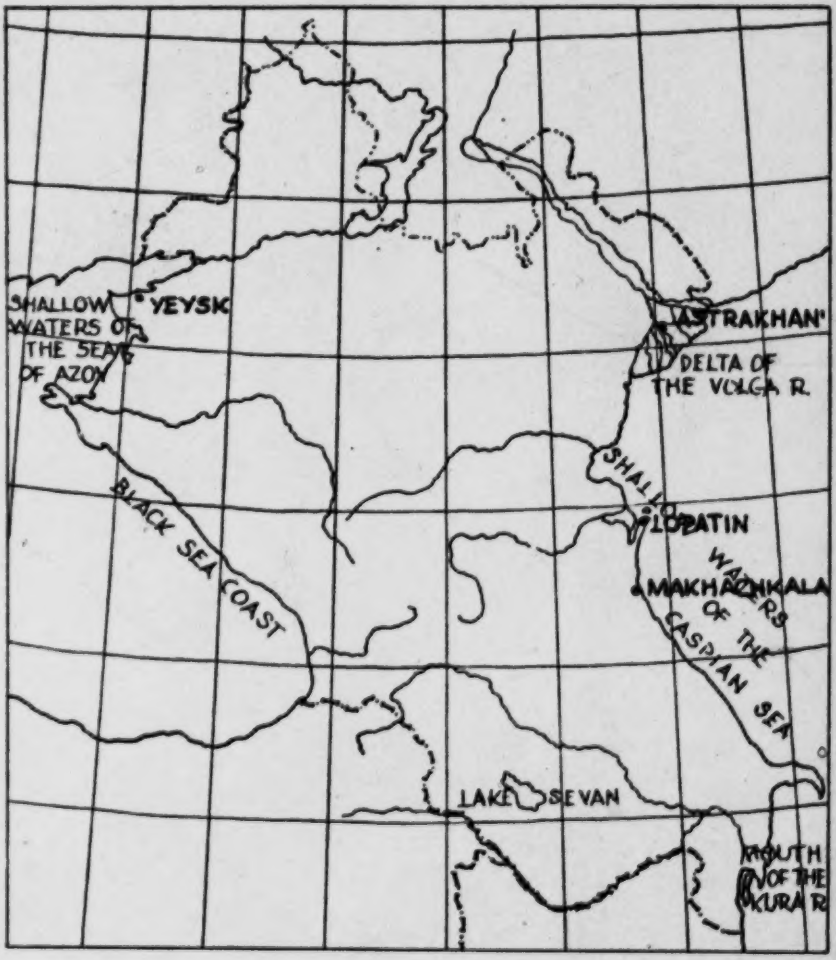


b. 56 Meat Packing and Canning Plants

253
255

b. 57 Fisheries

228



7; Columbia U. S-4, 5 1956 RH1 Caucasia RH1

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253

5. 58 Fishing Industry and Canneries



979

7: Columbia U. S-4,5 1956 RH1 Caucasia RH1

274

980

7: Columbia U. S-4, 5 1956 RH1 Caucasia RH1

258

b. 60 Two Industry Centers



981

b. 61 Mineral Water Bottling Plants

274

b. 62 Tobacco Factories

277

7:Columbia U. S-4, 5 1956 RHI Caucasia
RHI

Industrial Potential

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RH1

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b[1]. Transportation

Tibor Halasi-Kun

## TRANSPORTATION

489 Until the end of the nineteenth century Russia's transportation was based on waterways. Thus, the Russians first reached the Caucasus by way of the Volga and Don Rivers. Political difficulties and the paucity of navigable rivers in the Caucasus proper, however, prevented easy and total Russian colonization.
489 Serious exploitation of the area by the Russians
496 did not start until the first railroad line (the Rostov-Baku line) was built in 1870. Today Caucasian transportation is based on railroads. The Soviet regime, realizing the importance of railroads for industrialization (and Russification) has built over 40,000 miles in the USSR during the last thirty-five years, bringing the present day total mileage to 80,000. In the Caucasus, the Czarist railraods were used to transport raw materials from the Caucasus to the processing centers of Inner Russia, and bring the finished products back to this outlying area. The present-day system takes care of local needs as well as over-all Russian requirements; it connects the capitals of the various sub-areas, links the hinterlands to their respective harbors, secures a strong connection with Moscow, and finally takes into consideration military re-
489 quirements as well. The importance of high-
491 ways in the Caucasian transportation system is small. The mountainous parts of the South Caucasus and the Krasnodar Kray in the North Caucasus have relatively better roads. The old military roads across the Caucasus range are primarily of touristic value. The best is the

489 Georgian Military Road connecting Dzaudzhikau
[491] with Tbilisi. Aviation, on the other hand, is very well developed.

The transportation systems of the various sub-areas are as follows:

489 Azerbaijan SSR: Transportation based
496 on railroads. The chief rail junction is Baku, the terminal of the Baku-Rostov, Baku-Tbilisi, and Baku-Dzhul'fa-Tbilisi lines. The main lines are partially electrified as are the railroads on the Apsheron Peninsula. The main
[504] port is Baku (petroleum-loading). The Kura River is navigable as far as Yevlakh. The air-
[508] fields are concentrated around Baku and Kirovabad. The sub-units are well served by railroads. Stepanakert, the capital of the High-Karabakh AO, is the terminal of a trunk line coming from Yevlakh. Dzhul'fa, in the Nakhichevan' ASSR, is an important junction on the Baku-Tbilisi-Tabriz (Persia) lines.

Armenian SSR: Railroads are the chief means of transportation. Important junctions are Zangibazar (on the Leninakan, Zanga, and Dzhul'fa lines), and Leninakan on the Tbilisi,
[491] Dzhul'fa, Artik, and Kars (Turkey) lines. The highways along the slopes of the Lesser Cauca-
[509] sus are relatively good. Yerevan is the aviation center of the republic.

Georgian SSR: Transportation mostly based on railraods. The main lines are the Baku-Tbilisi-Batumi, and the Tbilisi-Sukhumi-Tuapse lines, with Tbilisi, Khashuri, and Samtredia as the chief junctions. The Georgian railroad system has at the same time a whole

489 series of trunk lines, the most important of
496 which are the Mirzaani, Telavi, Stalinir, Baku-
riani, Vale, Sachkere, Tkibuli, Tskhaltubo,
[504] Poti, and Zugdidi lines. The main port of the
republic is Poti. The military roads have pri-
[509] marily historical value. Aviation is centered
around Tbilisi. The capitals of the sub-units
(Stalinir, Batumi, Sukhumi) have railroad con-
nections, and Batumi is at the same time one of
the principal petroleum loading ports of the
USSR.

Astrakhan' Oblast: Transportation is based on waterways (the Volga and the Caspian Sea), and more recently on railroads. The principal railroad line is the Saratov-Astrakhan'-Kizlyar line, the Astrakhan'-Kizlyar section of which was recently built. Chief port
[504] of the area is Astrakhan' connected by a 125-mile long channel through the shallow waters of the Caspian Sea with Astrakhan' Port. Astra-
[509] khan' is above all an oil port; in addition to this it is an important aviation center.

Groznyy Oblast: Transportation based on railroads. The oblast is well served by the two Baku-Rostov main lines (along the Sundzha, and the Terek Rivers), and by the new Kizlyar-Astrakhan' line. The chief junction is Gudermes.

Dagestan ASSR: On the Baku-Rostov line. The center of the railroad system is Makhach-
[504] kala, the terminal of several spurs. Makhach-
kala is an important grain, cotton and petroleum port as well, trading mostly with Russian Cen-
[508] tral Asia, and with Persia. There are also several airfields around the city.

489 Stavropol' Kray: Transportation based
496 only on railroads. The chief line is the Baku-Rostov line with spurs penetrating into the steppe and into the Greater Caucasus. Of these trunk lines, which are sometimes electrified, the most important are the Dzaudzhikau, Alagir, Nal'chik, Kislovodsk, Ust'-Dzegutinskaya, Budennovsk, Blagodarnoye, and Divnoye lines. All the capitals of the sub-
[508] units have railroad connections. Airfields are concentrated in the health resort area, around Pyatigorsk.

Krasnodar Kray: Transportation based partially on railroads, partially on coastal shipping. The kray has the most developed railroad system in the Caucasus. The chief lines are the Baku-Rostov, and the Novorossiysk-Stalingrad lines crossing each other at Tikhoretsk. The other important junctions are
[504] Armavir, Krasnodar, and Kropotkin. There is a whole series of good harbors in the area. Tuapse, an oil port, and Novorossiysk, a grain and oil port, are especially important. The harbors on the Sea of Azov are of less impor-
[508] tance. There are several airfields in the area.

Rostov Oblast: Transportation based on waterways (Don; Sea of Azov), and on railroads. The center of the railroad system is Rostov.
[504] Of the ports, Taganrog (coal and grain shipping), and Rostov are the most important.

The distribution of the various means of
496 transportation in the entire Caucasus is as follows:

Railroads: The essential means of

496 transportation. The Soviet regime, in addition to the inherited railroad lines (Baku-Rostov, Novorossiysk-Stalingrad, Baku-Batumi, Tbilisi-Dzhul'fa, and Astrakhan'-Saratov lines) has built a whole series of main lines (Prokhladnyy-Astrakhan', Armavir-Samtredia, Dzhul'fa-Alyaty) and a whole net of trunks. Thus, today the Caucasus is well served, except for some northeastern sections.

Water ways: Unimportant in the Caucasus because of the mountainous character of
505 the area. Except for the Kura River in Azerbaijan on which there is some navigation on a small scale, only the Volga and the Don Rivers, which constitute the northern boundaries of the Caucasus, are really navigable rivers. Especially the Volga River is important, being the outlet to Russian Central Asia and Persia. On it lumber is floated downstream and fish, salt, and oil are shipped upstream. The seas around the Caucasus are also important in local coastwise shipping, as well as in long distance coastal shipping and in overseas exports. In coastal shipping the Caspian Sea is especially important, oil shipping between Baku-Makhachkala and Astrakhan' being the largest item. Long distance shipping is characteristic of the Black Sea ports like Sochi, Tuapse, Novorossiysk. The cement of Novorossiysk is shipped for instance as far as Leningrad. The Black Sea, open to navigation throughout the year, handles at the same time 50% of the oversea exports of the USSR. Though Soviet exports were relatively small during the Stalinist period, and though it was

505 handled partially by Odessa and other non-Caucasian Black Sea ports, the importance of Novorossiysk, Poti, and Batumi was still considerable. On the Caspian Sea Makhachkala is the preeminence export harbor. The importance of the Sea of Azov in maritime shipping is smaller.

491 Primary roads: Importance limited. Certain areas, however, are better served. The highways are relatively good in North Azerbaijan along the slopes of the Greater Caucasus. They are also good in the Tbilisi-Yerevan areas. Of the military roads, the Abkhazian and Ossetian Military Roads are famous, but without practical value. The Georgian Military Road, connecting Tbilisi with Dzaudzhikau is somewhat better. The coastal highway is relatively good in Groznyy Oblast, and in Dagestan along the northern slopes of the Greater Caucasus. Krasnodar Kray, along the slopes, has better highways too. Stepnoy (in the Stavropol' Kray) is reported to be connected with Astrakhan' and Stalingrad by a more recent highway.

508 Airfields, landing grounds: The Caucasian aviation system is well developed. The number of civil and military airfields and landing grounds is around 50. Baku, Kirovabad, Yerevan, Tbilisi, Astrakhan', Makhachkala, Mineral'nyye Vody, and Rostov are the aviation centers. They usually have several airfields each, sometimes as many as six.

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[This page was devoted to a map entitled "Railroads" in the original manuscript. For technical reasons and in order to preserve all its detail this map has been placed in the pocket in the inside of the back cover.]

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496

F. 992

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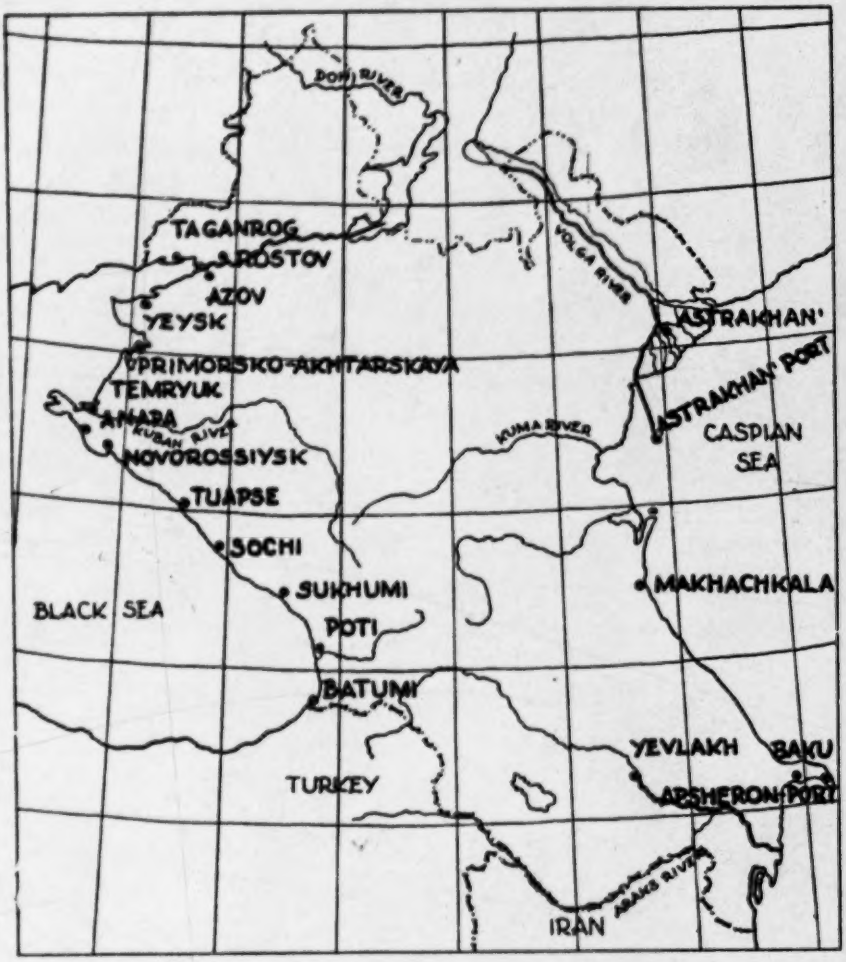
496

992a

b[1]. 2 Harbors, Navigable Rivers, Channels

503
504



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[This page was devoted to a map entitled "Airfields, Landing Grounds" in the original manuscript. For technical reasons and in order to preserve all its detail this map has been placed in the pocket in the inside of the back cover.]

508

b1.4 Airfields, Landing Grounds

SUMGAIT = Joint civil and military airfield

BAKU = Military airfield

UYTASH = Landing ground with landing strip

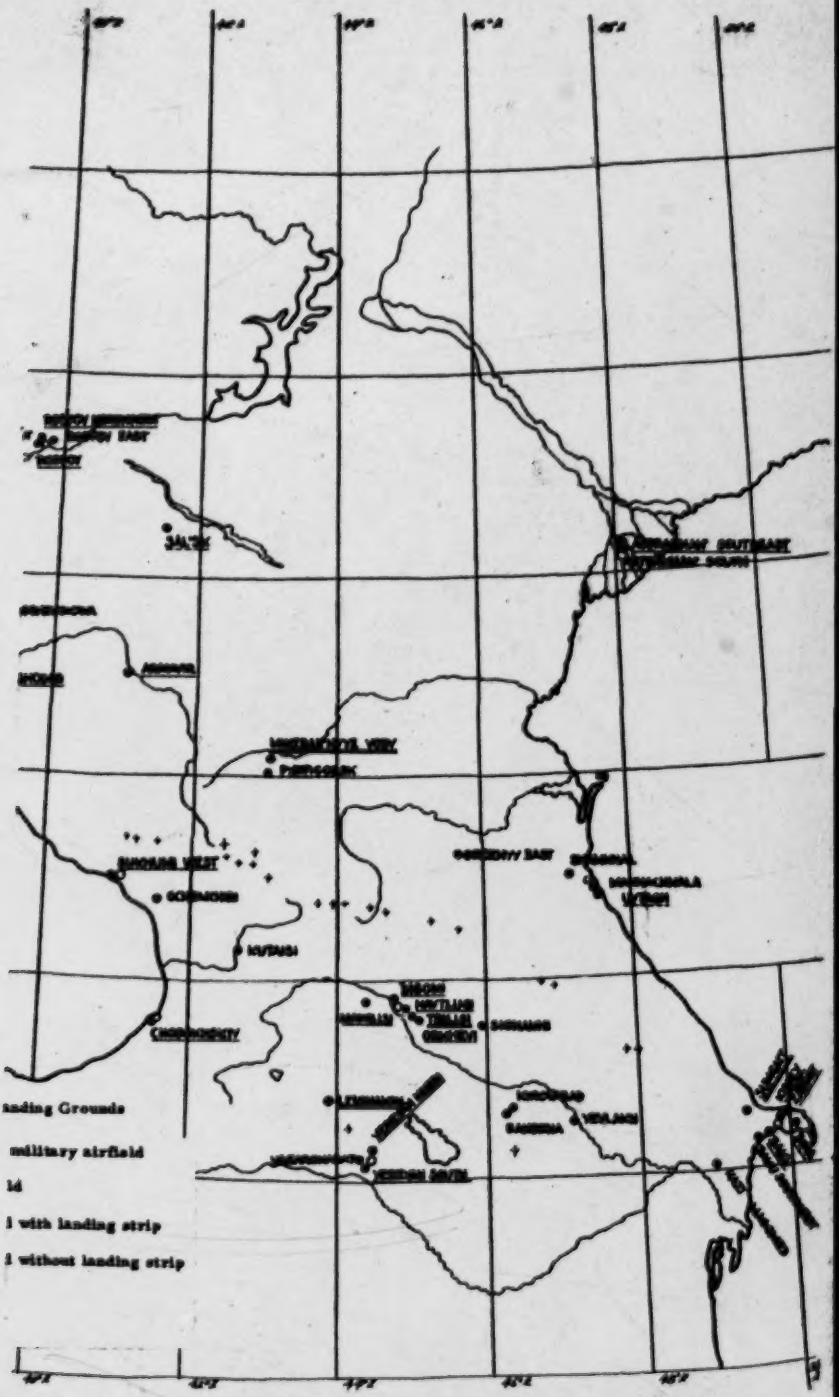
YEVLAKH = Landing ground without landing strip

○ = City proper

● = Airfield

995-A

508


nding Grounds
military airfield
ld
l with landing strip
l without landing strip



995-B

7:Columbia U. S-4, 5 1956 RH1 Caucasia
Transportation RH1

SOURCES

113 Baranskiy, N. N., Ekonomicheskaya geografiya SSSR, Moskva, 1954[15].

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7: Columbia U. S-4, 5 1956 RHl Caucasia
RHl

OOD b$^2$. Commerce

Tibor Halasi-Kun

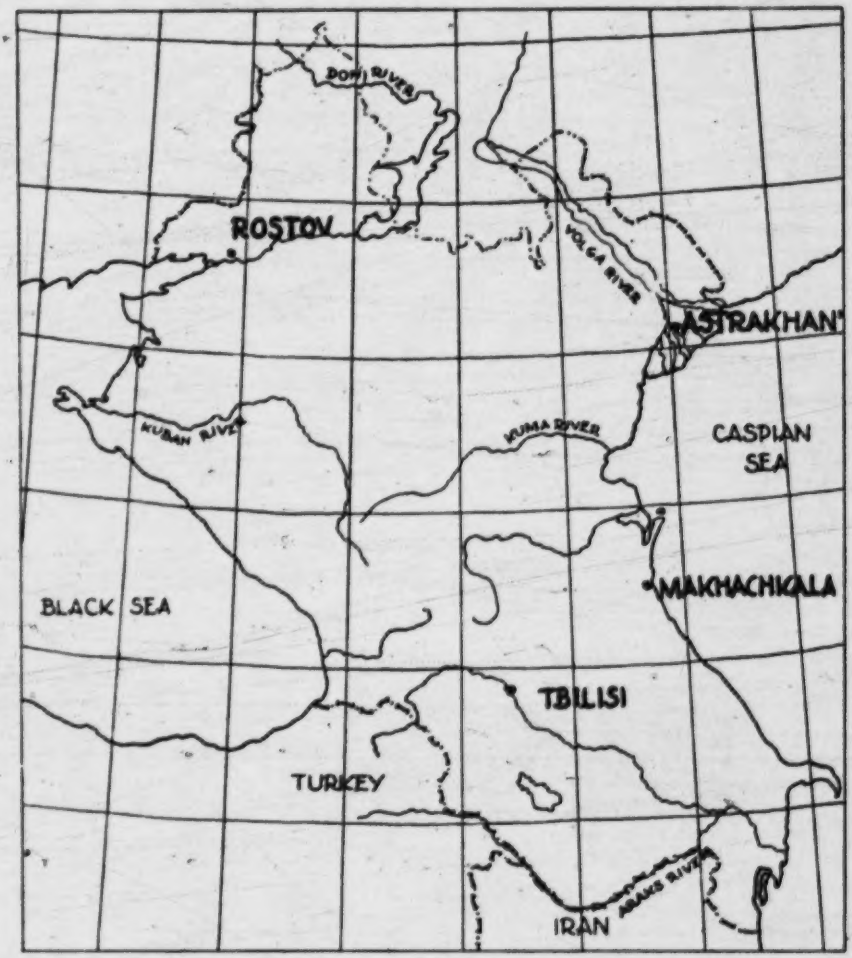
7:Columbia U. S-4, 5 1956 RHl Caucasia
RHI

## COMMERCIAL CENTERS

361 The importance of commercial centers in the Soviet is small. Even old and important centers, unless supported by industry or by politico-administrative considerations, tend to decline. Commercial centers of importance are Rostov, Astrakhan', Makhachkala in the North, and Tbilisi in the South Caucasus.

## $b^2$.1 Commercial Centers

361



7:Columbia U. S-4, 5 1956 RHl Caucasia
RHl

Commercial Centers

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113 Shabad, Th., Geography of the USSR, A Regional Survey, New York, 1951.

7: Columbia U. S-4, 5 1956 RH1 Caucasia

RH1

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b3, Health Resorts

Tibor Halasi-Kun

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RHl

# HEALTH RESORTS

529 Health resorts play a very important role in the Caucasian economy. They consist of mineral springs, of healing mud baths, climatological resorts, etc.; they are mostly located along the slopes of the Greater and Lesser Caucasus. The number of health resorts is around 50. Taking the areas one by one, the distribution of the most important health resorts is as follows:

Azerbaijan SSR: Apsheron Peninsula with numerous resorts, and Naftalan, with raw petroleum for medicinal purposes, are noteworthy.

Armenian SSR: Has only one health resort at Dilizhan.

Georgian SSR: Rich in health resorts. Abastumani, Bakuriani, Borzhomi, Surani, Tsagveri (at the headwaters of the Kura River), and finally Tbilisi, have various springs, whereas Teberda is a noted health resort. Of the subunits, the Adzhar Republic has fine seaside resorts. The Abkhaz Republic, the subtropical health center of the USSR, has a whole line of tourist places and sanatoria. The most famous are those in Sukhumi. The South Ossetian AO has tourist resorts like Dzhava.

Dagestan ASSR: Buynaksk and Talgi are noted health resorts.

Stavropol'Kray: The Pyatigorsk area is one of the most important resort areas of the USSR. Pyatigorsk has sulphur springs and mud baths; Yessentuki, salt and alkaline baths;

529 Kislovodsk, carbonated springs; Zheleznovodsk, ferruginous springs. Of the sub-units, the Kabardian and the North Ossetian Republics have summer resorts (Nal'chik, Alagir), and are much frequented by Alpinists.

Krasnodar Kray: Mineral springs and their picturesque location have singled out the littoral section to be one of the important health resort areas of the USSR. The sanatoria of Sochi and the sulphur springs of Matsesta are very much frequented. The health resorts around Novorossiysk, like Anapa, Kabardinka and Gelendzhik are also famous.

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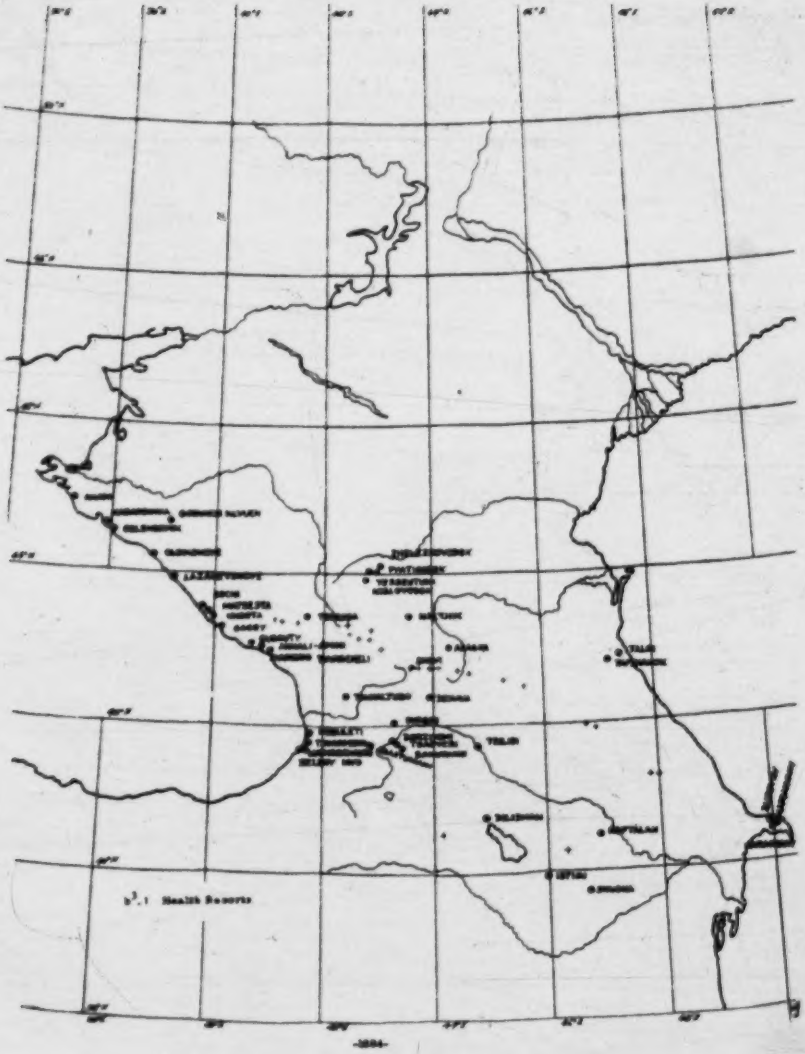
529



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7:Columbia U. S-4, 5 1956 RH1 Caucasia
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Health Resorts

SOURCES

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7: Columbia U. S-4, 5 1956 RH1 Caucasia
RH1

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c. Taxation

See Handbook on the U. S. S. R.

7: Columbia U. S-4,5 1956 RHl Caucasia
RH1

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d. Banking and Currency System

See Handbook on the U. S. S. R.

7: Columbia U. S-4, 5 1956 RH1 Caucasia

e. Domestic Trade

See Handbook on the U. S. S. R.

End

7: Columbia U.
175

RH1 Caucasia RH1

/For an historical account of Caucasia, see cat. 116, pp. 266-306; for maps showing the political boundaries of various periods, see cat. 116 pp. 311-358./

7: Columbia U.
101

RH1 Caucasia RH1

/For an index of Caucasian peoples, see category 116, pp. 491-501./

7: Columbia U.
133

RH1 Caucasia RH1

/For data on physical geography and geology of Caucasus, see category 116, pp. 23-106; 121-130; 137-174; 182; 184-189./

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STUDIA INSTITUTI ANTHROPOS

VOL. 3

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LOUIS J. LUZBETAK, S.V.D.

# Marriage and the Family in Caucasia

A Contribution to the Study of North Caucasian Ethnology and Customary Law

Dissertation

submitted to the University of Fribourg, Switzerland, in part fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy, by Louis J. Luzbetak, S. V. D., and accepted by the Faculty of Philosophy at its session of July 1st, 1949, on the recommendation of Professors Dr. Wilhelm Schmidt and Dr. Georg Hoeltker, respectively first and second referees. — Prof. Dr. N. Luyten O. P., Dean

p.v [p.iv is blank]

PUBLISHED BY ST. GABRIEL'S MISSION PRESS VIENNA-MÖDLING 1951

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To

ARNOLD JANSSEN

The Founder of the Society
of the Divine Word

p. VII [p. VI contains no textual material]

# Preface

121 Though the Caucasus lies so near to Europe that some geographers are inclined to consider it as belonging to that continent rather than to Asia, nevertheless it remains one of the least known lands of the world. The Caucasus is indeed so near and yet so far away!

One need not be a prophet to realize that someday at least a partial solution to many an ethnological problem will be found in this rugged country, which has played an extremely important part in prehistoric times. Caucasia was a corridor between Europe and Asia during the migrations of ancient peoples. It was also a place of refuge for the weaker tribes. The Caucasus Mountains have preserved for us ancient cultures, which may throw great light upon such problems as the origin of pastoral and agrarian economies. Perhaps even the Assyriologist and other scholars interested in ancient codes of laws of the Near East may find an explanation to some of their problems in the customary laws of the Caucasian mountaineers. The great cultural similarity between the ancient Indo-Europeans and the Caucasians may help to solve some of the complicated problems connected with the Indo-Europeans. The study of Caucasian culture is of far greater importance than is generally realized.

Unfortunately, Western European and American ethnologists have neglected the Caucasus. This is a deplorable fact because the ancient, genuinely Caucasian culture, once so well preserved in the isolated villages of rugged Caucasus, is rapidly vanishing: Caucasians are ceasing to be Caucasians and becoming more and more like the Europeans, their powerful neighbours. They are becoming "civilized," but their culture, their genuinely Caucasian culture, is vanishing from life, memory, and science.

The present work is a comparative study of the Caucasian social life and is focused primarily on the mountain peoples living on the northern slopes of the Caucasus: the Abkhaz, the Cherkess, the Chechens, and the numerous peoples and tribes living in the mountains of Daghestan, the so-called "Lesghians."* Nevertheless, to complete our comparison, we shall also briefly sketch the marriage and family observances of the neighbouring peoples: the South Caucasian tribes, the Turco-Mongols, and the Ossetes. The description of the neighbouring peoples, however, will necessarily be brief and at times incomplete, the aim being merely to better understand the *North* Caucasians, to show the possible direction of cultural currents, to help trace the history of the North Caucasian marriage and family, to help interpret the marriage and family customs of North Caucasia. We shall limit our treatise as far as possible to the *juridical* character of marriage and the family, while other aspects will

* Strictly speaking, only the Kurins are Lesghians. However, the term is so universally used by authors for the entire group of Proto-Caucasians living in Daghestan that it would be inadvisable to introduce a new term.

p. IX [p. VIII is blank]

121 be considered only in as far as they are deemed necessary or useful for our historical reconstructions and economic, social, and religious interpretations. In a word, *the aim of this book is to trace the history of North Caucasian marriage and family law from the present to prehistorical times.*

By "family" we understand the individual (biological) family. Though a study of the joint-family organization be very profitable, it would lead us too far afield and more than double the size of the present work. Consequently, such questions as inheritance laws and the many questions regarding kinship are only slightly touched upon.

Since Caucasology is still in its infancy, we cannot expect such certitude from a study like this as we might rightly expect, for example, from a treatise on the American Indian. Nevertheless, the Caucasologist interested in the history and interpretation of the marriage and family law of the mountaineers has, even now, sufficient data to reach safe hypothetical conclusions and in not a few questions complete certitude. Where certitude is impossible he must strive after probability; where probability is unattainable he must be satisfied with mere possibility, and even, at times, with the consciousness of the existence of problems.

Some of the matter included in the present work may at first sight appear extraneous, perfectly known to the Caucasologist, and therefore unnecessary. But since this is the first strictly ethnological study on the Caucasians ever to appear in the English language, we deem it advisable to include "A General Introduction to the Study of Caucasian Culture" with such sections as "The Peoples and Tribes of Caucasia," "General Historical Conspectus of Ethnographical Data about the Caucasus," "Liguistics,"[1] etc. We hope that the extensive bibliography at the end of this work will prove of some value to the student of Caucasian culture. With this imperfect work we hope, if not actually to *open* a new, vast, and important field of research for the English-speaking ethnologist, at least *to call his attention to it.*

000 The present study would have been impossible if it had not been for the courteous cooperation of the staff of the London Library (St. James's Square) and especially of the Secretary and Librarian C. J. Purnell, M. A., to whom I wish to express my sincerest thanks. I am also greatly indebted to my teachers at the Universities of Fribourg and Vienna, Professors Wilhelm Schmidt, S.V.D., R. Bleichsteiner, Mr. and Mrs. F. Hančar. D. Wölfel, and J. Haekel for their useful suggestions. I alone, however, am responsible for the opinions expressed in the present work and for the criticism of authors. I owe a very special word of thanks to Professor Wilhelm Schmidt, for it is he who is most responsible for my interest in the Caucasian tribes and their culture. To Professor Joseph Henninger, S.V.D. I am grateful for the assistance given me in Arabic and in Islamic law. To this list must be added the names of the Reverend D. Walsh, S.V.D. and Miss Olive Forster, who read my manuscript and are responsible for not a few deletions and additions. Finally, to the Anthropos Institute I am grateful for publishing my work in the *Studia Instituti Anthropos.*

Techny, Illinois, December, 1950. L. J. L.

1 [sic.. Analyst]

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# Abbreviations

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| | |
|---|---|
| ADO | = *Adaty Darginskich Obščestv*, in SSKG, VII (1873). |
| ADOiZO | = *Adaty Dagestanskoj Oblasti i Zakatal'skago Okruga.* |
| AGKB | = *Aus dem Gewohnheitsrecht der kaukasischen Bergvölker*, article by A. Dirr in Zeitschrift für vergleichende Rechtswissenschaft, XLI (1925), pp. 1—128. |
| AJuDO | = *Adaty Južno-Dagestanskich Obščestv*, SSKG, VIII (1875). |
| DUBROVIN, ISTORIJA | = N. Dubrovin, *Istorija vojny i vladyčestva russkich na Kavkaze*, six volumes, St. Petersburg, 1871—1888. |
| KOVALEVSKIJ, COUTUME CONTEMP. | = M. Kovalevskij, *Coutume contemporaine et loi ancienne. Droit coutumier ossétien éclaire par l'histoire*, Paris, 1893. |
| KOVALEVSKIJ, ZAKON | = M. Kovalevskij, *Zakon i Obyčaj na Kavkaze*, Moscow, 1890. |
| LADYŽENSKIJ, FT | = *Das Familiengewohnheitsrecht der Tscherkessen*, article by A. Ladyženskij, in Zeitschrift für vergleichende Rechtswissenschaft, XLV (1930), pp. 178—208. |
| LEONTOVIČ | = Th. O. Leontovič, *Adaty kavkazskich gorcev, Materialy po obyčnomu pravu severnago i vostočnago Kavkaza*, two volumes, Odessa, 1882—1883. |
| SMOMPK | = *Sbornik materialov dlja opisanija mestnostej i plemen Kavkaza.* |
| SSKG | = *Sbornik svedenij o kavkazskich gorcach.* |
| ZKO | = *Zapiski kavkazskago otdela imperatorskago russkago geografičeskago obščestva.* |

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# Transliteration

## I. Russian

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| А = A | И = I | П = P | Ц = C | Э = E |
| Б = B | Й = J | Р = R | Ч = Č | Ю = JU |
| В = V | К = K | С = S | Ш = Š | І = I |
| Г = G | Л = L | Т = T | Щ = ŠČ | Я = JA |
| Д = D | М = M | У = U | Ъ = omitted | Ѣ = Ê |
| Е = E | Н = N | Ф = F | Ь = ' | Ѳ = TH |
| Ж = Ž | О = O | Х = CH | Ы = Y | (pronounced like Ф) |
| З = Z | | | | |

This transcription is based on the Czechoslovak alphabet. It should be noted that CH is pronounced as in German *Macht* and not as in the English word "church"; C is pronounced as the *ts* in "hats"; J is the equivalent of the Y in "yes"; the Y used in our transliteration is a vowel, the equivalent of which is not found in English. I, Ê, and TH have been abolished and occur only in books published before 1918; these letters are retained in our transliteration whenever found in the original. This transliteration is also used for all names of Caucasians, e. g., Bašir Dalgat, Djavachišvili, etc., except in footnotes where the transliteration of the work cited is retained, e. g., in citing Djavachišvili's German article we use the original spelling as found in that particular article, Djawachischwili.

## II. Arabic

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| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| أ = ' | ح = ḥ | ز = z | ط = ṭ | ق = ḳ | ن = n |
| ب = b | خ = ḫ | س = s | ظ = ẓ | ك = k | ه = h |
| ت = t | د = d | ش = š | ع = ' | ل = l | و = w |
| ث = ṯ | ذ = ḏ | ص = ṣ | غ = ṛ (g) | م = m | ي = y |
| ج = j | ر = r | ض = ḍ | ف = f | | |

## III. Tribal and Place-names, and Native Words

A as in fAther; E as in fAt; I as in fEEt; O as in Orange; U as in fOOd; CH as in CHurCH; SH as in SHip; KH as in German MaCHt; DZH as in Jug; Y as in Yes; Q is an emphatic K; 'glottoclusive; 'aspirated. The relatively few native words which we shall use do not justify us in constructing a long and complicated transliteration, which an exact reproduction of the numerous Caucasian languages would demand. Tribal and place-names which have an established English spelling, e. g., Kirghiz, have also been adopted by us. The other letters are the same as in English.

---

## Corrigenda—Map I

" Völker des Kaukasus " should read " Völkerkarte des Kaukasus "
" Landesaufn." should read " Landesaufnahme "
" Osmanli Turcs " should read " Osmanli Turks "

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# I. GENERAL INTRODUCTION

## Chapter I

## A General Introduction to the Study of Caucasian Culture

### § 1. PEOPLES AND TRIBES OF CAUCASIA

The Caucasus has been called an ethnographic mosaic, and rightly so, for, of the 170 different nations, peoples and tribes of the U.S.S.R. at least a third live in the Caucasus.[1] Some decades ago it was still a problem to classify the inhabitants of this relatively small area—a problem which, thanks to the progress made in Caucasian linguistics, has practically disappeared. We may divide them into two main groups, the Caucasians and the non-Caucasians. By "Caucasians" we understand all tribes which speak a language belonging to no linguistic group outside the Caucasus, whereas the "non-Caucasians" are all the other peoples who migrated to the Caucasus in more recent times and speak languages belonging to linguistic groups outside this territory, such as the Indo-Europeans, Turco-Tartars, and Semites. The true Caucasians are further divided into three branches, the Northwestern, the Northeastern, and Southern Caucasians,[2] a classification based again on linguistic affinity. As mentioned in the Preface, our interest centres around the Northwestern and Northeastern Caucasians.[3]

The large ethnographic map (Map I), the note regarding the absolute and relative population (*infra*, p. 5), and the following outline with its detailed classification of the peoples and tribes inhabiting the Caucasus and their various names will provide sufficient orientation for the reader and may prove useful for future reference.

#### I. Caucasians

**A. The Northwestern Caucasians**

1. The *Abkhaz* (called Absoi, Abaski, Abasgi, etc. by the Greek writers of the second century; Abaskhoi by the Byzantine writers; Abkhasi by

[1] R. Bleichsteiner, "Die Völker des Kaukasus," *Asien-Berichte*, V (1944), No. 22, p. 3.

[2] The languages of the Caucasus and their relationship to one another and to other languages outside the Caucasus are treated in a special section below. See pp. 12—16.

[3] In the present study we do not include such tribes that no longer live in the Caucasus, such as the Ubykhs.

101 Georgian authors; Adzekha by the Cherkess; Ap'shili and Ap'sari by the Georgian Chroniclers; their own name is Ap'sua, i. e., "Men")

*a*) Abaz tribe
*b*) 'Abkhaz proper
*c*) Abshavs
*d*) Barakei
*e*) Beshilbei
*f*) Bsubbs
*g*) Dzhigits
*h*) Samursakanians
*i*) Tsebelendinians, etc.

2. The *Cherkess* (called Circassians by Turks, Cherkets; Zygoi, Zinkoi, Sundyi, Kerketaioi, Kerketai, etc. by the Latin and Greek writers; own name, Adighé, i. e., "Men" or perhaps from the Abkhazian word *adzy*, meaning "water" and hence "Coastal Dwellers"; own name also Dzikhursh, perhaps from the Greek *Zygoi*)

*a*) Abadzekhs ("Horse-breeders")
*b*) Beselenians ("Forest Dwellers")
*c*) Bzhedukhadz (called Medovei by the Russians, meaning "Honey-people" or "Bee-keepers")
*d*) Kabardians
*e*) Natukhadz ("Traders")
*f*) Shapsugs

3. The *Ubykhs* (own name, P'yokh; no longer in the Caucasus)

**B. The Northeastern Caucasians**

1. The *Chechens*

*a*) Bats (Batsbi or Tsova)

*b*) Chechens proper (called Čečenci by the Russians after the main Chechen town; Chachantsi by the Dido; Tsatsar by the Ossetes; Sheshen by the Kabardians; own name, Nakhchui, meaning "People")
(1) Aukh or Akki
(2) Ichkerians, etc.

*c*) Ingushi (own name, Lamur, meaning "Mountain")
(1) Dzherakh sub-tribe
(2) Galash
(3) Khamkhal
(4) Metskhal
(5) Mountain Ingushi (Galgai)
(6) Nazranians
(7) Tsori, etc.

*d*) Karabulaks (no longer in the Caucasus)

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2. The *so-called Lesghians* (called Lesghi by the classical writers; Lekebi by the Lesghians themselves; Tauli by the Kumyks; Lamauroi by the Chechens; Lyasgarians by the Kurins) 101

*a*) The Avaro-Andian sub-group

(1) The Avars (from the Turkish meaning "warlike")

(2) The Andi branch

(*a*) Akhvakh (own name, Akhluati)

(*b*) Andi (called Andiritshu by the Laks; Andi by the Avars; own name, Kuannal)

(*c*) Botlikh (Botlikh in Avarian; own name, Buikhakhl'i; also called Buyukhadi)

(*d*) Chamalal (in Avarian and Botlikhian Chamalal; own name, Chama-iga)

(*e*) Godoberi (Godoberi in Karataian; called Godoberies Hikua by the Khvarshi; own name, Gibditli Adami after town of Gidu)

(*f*) Karat'abi (called Karat'abi by the Dido; own name, Kirtlei after town of Kirtle,

(*g*) Kuanada or Bagulal (own name, Bagolal)

(*h*) Tindi (own name, Idarau Hekua; in Avarian, Tindiseu)

(3) The Dido branch

(*a*) Dido properly so-called (own name, Tsezi)

(*b*) Kapuchi or Khvanal (own name, Khapuchias Suko, i. e., "Men from Kapuchi")

(*c*) Khunsak (called Khunzali by the Dido; also called Nakhada, perhaps from *nakha*, an Avarian word meaning "behind")

(*d*) Khvarshi (called Kkhuarshitli by the Godoberi; Kkhuarshidi by the Botlikh; own name, Khedaes Hikua, i. e., "A Man from Kheda")

*b*) The Lak-Dargwa sub-group

(1) The Dargwa (or Dargins, derived from Kumykian *dargilar* and *dargva*)

(*a*) Akusha

(*b*) Hirkanians (also called Hurkilians, "Inhabitants of the Town of Khur Kkhila Shi")

(*c*) Varkun

(*d*) Khaitak

(2) The Laks (Kazikumukh, derived from the town called Kumukh + the Arabic word *gâzî*, i. e., "Victorious Defenders of the Faith")

*c*) The Samur sub-group

(1) Aghulians

(2) Budukh

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(3) Dzhek (or Dzhek-Krys)

(4) Kurins (own name, Lyagar ; Lesghians properly so-called)

(*a*) Akhti

(*b*) Kuba

(*c*) Khüri

(5) Rutulians (or Mikhashurians or Mekhad after their town Mikheshura)

(6) Tabassaranians (or Gumgum)

(7) Tsakhurians (after their main town called Tsakhur)

*d*) The Archi

*e*) The Udins

*f*) The Khinalugians

**C. The Southern Caucasians**

1. The *Georgians*

*a*) Kharthlians

*b*) Kakhetians (The islamized Kakhetians of Sakataly are called Ingiloi !)

*c*) Khevsurs

*d*) Pshavs

*e*) Tushi

*f*) Mokhevians

*g*) Racha

*h*) Gurians (The islamized Gurians are known as the Adzhars.)

*i*) Imeretians or Imeréti

*j*) Mtiuletians

2. *Mingrelians* (Georgian Megréli)

*a*) Senaki

*b*) Sugdidi

*c*) Samursakanians

3. *Laz* (also called Chanians ; own name, Tsani ; called Alas by the Abkhaz ; Ch'ani by the Georgians)

4. *Svans* (also called Shvan, Shan, derived from Georgian *savane*, " A Place of Refuge ")

## II. Non-Caucasians

**A. Indo-Europeans**

1. *Russians*

2. *Ukrainians*

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3. *Poles*
4. *Bohemians* (and other Slavs)
5. *Germans*
6. *Greeks*
7. *Armenians*
8. *Kurds*
9. *Ossetes*
   a) Alaghir
   b) Kurtalinsk Ossetes
   c) Tagaurians
   d) Tualti, etc.
10. *Persians*
11. *Talysh*
12. *Tat*

**B. Mongols** (Kalmuks)

**C. Turks**

1. *Azerbaijani Tartars*
2. *Karachai*
3. *Kirghiz*
4. *Kumyks*
5. *Nogai*
6. *Osmanli Turks*
7. *Balkarians*
8. *Turkomans*
9. *Karapapaks*

**D. Semites**

1. *Aissores*
2. *Arabs*
3. *Mountain and other Jews*

**E. Finno-Ugrians**

1. *Esthonians*
2. *Mordovanians*

**Population of Caucasia:** Finno-Ugrians and Semites, 1.1%; Turco-Mongols, 19.2%; Indo-Europeans of Iranian stock, in the Caucasus since 1,000 B.C., 18.4%; Indo-Europeans who immigrated in relatively recent times, 37.3%; true Caucasians, 24%. 162

Esthonians: 2,400. Arabs: 900. Mt. Jews: 26,000. Other Jews: 24,000. Chaldeans: 12,000. Nogai: 23,000. Kumyks: 94,800. Karachai: 55,000. Balkarians: 33,000. Turkomans: 11,000. Karapapaks: 6,300. Azerbaijani: 2,274,000. Kalmucks: 134,000. Russians: 2,400,000. Ukrainians: 1,600,000. Poles: 4,000. Germans: 60,000. Greeks: 100,000. Moldovanians: 7,000. Armenians: 2,151,000. Ossetes: 354,000. Tat: 150,000. Talysh: 90,000. Kurds: 45,000. Persians: 50,000. West Cherkess: 88,000. East Cherkess: 164,000. Abkhaz: 58,000. Chechens proper: 407,000, Ingushi: 92,000. Bats: 2,500. Avars: 159,000. Andi: 7,700. Botlikh: 2,800. Godoberi: 1,400. Karatai: 5,200. Akhvakh: 3,700. Chamalal: 3,500. T'indi: 3,700. Dido: 3,200. Khvarshi: 1,000. Kapuchi: 1,500. Nakhada: 130. Laks: 40,000. Dargwa: 122,000. Kubachi: 2,400. Kurins: 165,000. Aghulians: 7,000. Budukh: 2,000. Dzhek: 10,000. Tabassaranians: 30,000. Rutulians: 12,000. Tsakhur: 11,000. Archi: 859. Udins: 2,800. Khinalugs: 2,000.

These figures are based on R. Bleichsteiner, "Die Völker des Kaukasus," *Asien-Berichte*, V (1944), Heft 22; R. Bleichsteiner, "Die kaukasische Sprachgruppe," *Anthropos*, XXXII (1937), pp. 61—74; *Izvestija* of April 29, 1940; A. Dirr, "Anthropologische und ethnographische Uebersicht über die Völker des Kaukasus," *Petermann's Mitt.*, LVIII (1912), No. 1, pp. 17—19. We have not included the less important non-Caucasian peoples as the Bulgarians, Bohemians, *etc.* It is to be noted also that the Caucasians living outside of the Caucasus are not included either, *e. g.*, only 700 Laz are indicated because the other 63,000 live in Turkey. The Gurians and Adzhars are included with the figure for the Georgians: some authors wrongly classify them as independent peoples.

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MAP II

# Daghestan

## PROVINCES AND PEOPLES

Referred to in the Adat-collections Used in the Present Work

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**Boundaries:**

▬▬ of Daghestan

- - - of the Provinces ("Okrugs")

The boundaries of the "Okrugs" have been based on A. Dirr, Petermann's Mitteilungen, 1910, No. 1.

## § 2. PHYSICAL ANTHROPOLOGY

The so-called "Caucasoid Race" in reference to the "Europeans" is a complete misnomer. A *common* European race has never existed; nor have the "Europeans" come from the Caucasus or immediate vicinity, so that the use of the term is quite unjustifiable.

We are interested, however, not in these pseudo-Caucasians but in the true Caucasians, the natives of Caucasia who speak languages belonging to no linguistic group outside of the Caucasus. Do *they* (or at least some of them) form a distinct race?

Negatively stated, the Caucasians are not, as was formerly supposed, survivors of numberless different stocks and races, who, one after the other, found refuge in the Caucasus Mountains. The linguistic and cultural complexity of Caucasia has indeed misled the earlier anthropologists to such untenable conjectures, but today we know that this assumption is false, and after having made sufficient reservations, we may even speak of a "Caucasian Race". But still much research is necessary before a final word can be said regarding the racial affinity and components of the individual tribes of the Caucasus.

According to Djavachišvili, the typical representatives of the "Caucasian Race" are the Georgians, Lesghians, Cherkess and Armenians. He assigns the following marks as being characteristic of the Caucasian Race: 47% to 67% have dark hair; 53% to 81% dark eyes; 58% to 72% brunette type; head-length moderate, 181 mm. to 187 mm.; head-breadth large, 155 mm. to 159 mm.; 80% to 96% are definitely roundheaded with an 83.44 to 86.55 index; the height of the skull varies from 128 mm. to 133 mm., and in relation to its width 82.58 to 84.89, in relation to its length 69.66 to 73.05. The face is of moderate height, breadth 143 mm. to 145 mm., length 178 mm. to 184 mm. with an index of 79.44 to 81.73 (36% to 54% being broad faced and 46% to 62% moderately so). The distance between inner eye-corners varies from 30 mm. to 32 mm. Differences are especially noticeable in stature, quantity of hair, and nasal index, depending on the ethnic group to which the subject belongs. Djavachišvili, in his excellent compilation of anthropometric data of the Caucasians, divides the race into five main groups and 14 types. The mean stature of the Georgian and Cherkess groups is 165 cm., except for the Kabardians, who are 2 cm. taller. The mean stature of the Lesghian group varies from 164 cm. to 168 cm., varying according to tribe. (The mean stature of the Chechens is 168 cm.[4]) The Georgian group shows the scantiest hair; contrariwise the Armenian group has a very thick growth of hair. The nasal index varies too: Georgian group 58.0; Armenian group 62.5; Cherkess group 64.05; Lesghian group 65.2. The nasal length of the Lesghians is 54; of the Cherkess 57; of the Georgian 60; of the Armenian group 61. The nose is leptorrhine according to the following percentage: 100% of the Gurians and Imeréti; 97% of the

[4] Carleton S. Coon, *The Races of Europe* (1945), p. 633.

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141 Karthlians and Kakhetians; 91% of the Abkhaz; 79% of the Cherkess; 71%
142 of the Lesghians; 78% of the Armenians; 70% of the Ingushi.[6] The Caucasians are generally dark-mixed in pigmentation.[6]

TABLE 1

144 **Groups and Types of the Caucasian Race according to Djavachišvili**

| Groups | Types | Peoples and Tribes |
|---|---|---|
| Cherkess | Western Type<br>Eastern Type<br>Mixed | Abkhaz, Abasians, Abadzekhs<br>Adighé, Kabardians<br>Karachai* |
| Lesghian | Western Type<br>Eastern Type | Avars, Archi, Kaitago-Tabassaranians**<br>Kurins, Dargwa |
| Georgian | Western Type<br>Eastern Type<br>Central Type | Gurians, Imeréti, Samegrelo<br>Karthlians, Kakhetians<br>Racha, Mthiuleti |
| Armenian | Armenian Type<br>Aissorian | Armenians<br>Aissores*** |
| Metamorphic | Georgian-Armenian<br>Lesghian<br>Lesghian-Armenian<br>Georgian-Cherkess | Georgian Jews, Udins<br>Kumyks, Lesghian Tartars<br>Lesghian and Shemakhic Jews<br>Chechens and Ossetes |

* The Karachai and the Balkars are Turks. The Mountain Tartars may well be descendents of the Khazars or Volga-Bulgars. R. Bleichsteiner, "Die Völker des Kaukasus," *Asien-Berichte*, V (1944), No. 22, p. 8. Marr considered the Balkars and Karachai as turkized Caucasians, or, as he called them, "Japhetido-Turks".

** Racially the Karakaitags may be turkized Mongols. R. Bleichsteiner, *op. cit.*, p. 12.

*** Aissores are Semites.

This table is based on Djawachischwili, *op. cit.*, p. 82.

144 Practically all Caucasians are brachycephalic or sub-brachycephalic. According to Danilov's measurements, of 873 individuals belonging to 15 different tribes, only 11% were dolichocephals, 16% mesocephals and 73% brachycephals.[7] The following table, based on the most reliable and recent data, shows the indices of the Caucasians and neighbouring non-Caucasians.

[5] A. Djawachischwili, "Die Rassenzusammensetzung der Kaukasusvölker," *Archiv für Anthropologie*, New Series, XX (1925), pp. 79—88.

[6] C. S. Coon, *l. c.*

[7] Cited by Henry Field, *Contribution to the Anthropology of Iran*, p. 107.

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## TABLE 2

### Cephalic Indices of the Peoples of Caucasia*

A. True Caucasians

| | PEOPLES | TRIBES | CEPHALIC INDEX | NUMBER OF OBSERVATIONS | OBSERVER OR SOURCE |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Northwesterners | Abkhaz | Abazians | 80.7 | | Chantre |
| | | Coastal Abkhaz | 83.0 | | Chantre |
| | Cherkess | Mokokh | 78.5 | | Chantre |
| | | Adighé | 81.4 | | Deniker |
| | | Adighé | 81.9 | 30 | Erckert |
| | | General | 82.05 | 54 | Kappers |
| | | Shapsugs | 82.1 | | Chantre |
| | | Beslenians | 82.2 | | Chantre |
| | | Temirgoi | 83.0 | | Chantre |
| | | General | 83.44 | 238** | Djavachišvili |
| | | General | 84.2 | 85 | Erckert |
| Northeasterners | Chechens | Ingushi | 80.4 | | Chantre |
| | | General | 84.0 | | Coon |
| | | General | 84.2 | 85 | Erckert |
| | | General | 84.8 | 34 | Kherumian |
| | Lesghians | Dido | 82.6 | 52 | Erckert |
| | | Khinalugs | 82.7 | 10 | Erckert |
| | | Budukh | 83.3 | 10 | Erckert |
| | | Tsakhurians | 84.4 | 7 | Erckert |
| | | Avars | 85.1 | 44 | Kherumian |
| | | Dzhek | 85.1 | 10 | Erckert |
| | | Laks | 85.2 | 35 | Erckert |
| | | General | 85.5 | 521 | Erckert |
| | | Avars | 85.7 | 66 | Erckert |
| | | Rutulians | 85.9 | 20 | Erckert |
| | | Andi | 86.0 | 10 | Erckert |
| | | General | 86.06 | 804 | Djavachišvili |
| | | Laks | 86.1 | 13 | Kherumian |
| | | Aghulians | 86.2 | 14 | Erckert |
| | | Dargwa | 86.2 | 129 | Erckert |
| | | Tabassaranians | 86.3 | 34 | Erckert |
| | | Avars | 86.4 | | Chantre |
| | | Archi | 86.4 | 22 | Erckert |
| | | General | 86—87 | | Coon |
| | | Kurins | 87.6 | 43 | Erckert |
| Southerners | Georgians | Gurians | 80.5 | | Chantre |
| | | Khevsurs | 80.7 | | Chantre |
| | | Imeréti | 80.9 | | Chantre |
| | | Mingrelians | 83.2 | 900 | Džahov |
| | | Grusians | 83.5 | 21 | Erckert |
| | | General | 83.7 | 1245 | Djavachišvili |
| | | Svans | 83.8 | | Deniker |
| | | General | 84.0 | | Coon |
| | | Laz | 85.6 | | Deniker |
| | | Grusians | 85.8 | | Chantre |
| | | Laz | 86.8 | | Deniker |
| | | Laz | 87.3 | | Chantre |

* In compiling the data on the cephalic indices I have used: Henry Field, *Contributions to the Anthropology of the Soviet Union*, (1948), pp. 130 ff. R. Kherumian, "Contribution à l'anthropologie du Caucase," *L'Anthropologie*, LVII (1948), No. 1—2, p. 62. C. S. Coon, *op. cit.*, pp. 632 ff. A. Baschmakoff, *Cinquante siècles d'évolution ethnique autour de la Mer Noire*, (1937), pp. 29 ff. A Djawachischwili, *op. cit.*, p. 84. R. Erckert, *Der Kaukasus und seine Völker*, pp. 366 f, 370 f.

** This number includes the Abkhaz also.

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## B. Non-Caucasians Living in the Caucasus

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| | PEOPLES | TRIBES | CEPHALIC INDEX | NUMBER OF OBSERVATIONS | OBSERVER OR SOURCE |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Indo-Europeans | Persians | | 76.8 | | Chantre |
| | Kurds | | 77.6 | | Ivanovskij |
| | Kurds | | 77.92 | 391 | Djavachilvili |
| | Persians | | 78.4 | | Deniker |
| | Kurds | | 78.5 | | Deniker |
| | Persians | | 78.73 | 224 | Djavachilvili |
| | Tats | | 79.0 | | Deniker |
| | Tats | | 79.2 | 129 | Deniker |
| | Ossetes | Terek | 80.7 | | Chantre |
| | | General | 81.4 | 16 | Erckert |
| | | General | 81.5 | 300 | Riskine |
| | | General | 81.9 | 554 | Deniker |
| | | General | 82.0 | | Coon |
| | | General | 82.62 | 200 | Gil'čenko |
| | | General | 82.7 | | Deniker |
| | | Terek & Koban | 83.11 | 10 | Chantre |
| | | Northern | 84.60 | 105 | Field |
| | | Koban necropolis | 84.7 | | Chantre |
| | Armenians | | 85.1 | | Chantre |
| | | | 85.6 | | Deniker |
| | | | 85.6 | 21 | Erckert |
| Turko-Tartars | Azerbaijanis | | 77.7 | 357 | Djavachilvili |
| | Azerbaijanis | | 78.1 | | Deniker |
| | Turkomans | N. Caucasus | 79.3 | 302 | Jarcho |
| | Azerbaijanis | | 79.4 | | Erckert |
| | Azerbaijanis | Gokcha | 81.6 | | Chantre |
| | Kumyks | | 83.5 | 19 | Kherumian |
| | Taulu | | 83.6 | | Deniker |
| | Nogai | Eastern Kara-Nogai | 84.0 | 156 | Terebinskaja |
| | Nogai | Terek | 84.2 | 108 | Levin |
| | Kumyks | | 84.7 | 24 | Erckert |
| | Kumyks | | 84—85 | | Chantre |
| | Nogai | | 85.0 | | Chantre |
| | Karachai | | 85.1 | 211 | Levin |
| | Nogai | | 85.8 | | Deniker |
| | Nogai | | 86.0 | | Chantre |
| | Nogai | | 86.2 | | Erckert |

A closer study of the tables will reveal the following facts.

(1) The pure or relatively pure Iranians have the lowest cephalic index: Persians 76.8, Kurds 77.6, Tats 79.2.

(2) The Lesghians and some Georgians have the highest index.

(3) Low brachycephaly is found among the Mingrelians, Imeréti, Khevsurs, Gurians, Ingushi, some Ossetes and some Abkhaz.

(4) The indices of the individual Ossete tribes vary from 80.7 to a mean 84.7; the Cherkess vary from 78.5 to 84.5.[8]

[8] A. Baschmakoff, *op. cit.*, p. 32 f.

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A brief explanation for each one of these facts may be in place here. (1) That our table should show the lowest cephalic indices for the Indo-European populations of the Caucasus is to be expected, for the pure Indo-European stock was dolichocephalic. The Scythians, Alans and early Ossetes till the ninth century A. D. were undoubtedly dolichocephals.[9] (2) That the highest brachycephalism should be shared by the Georgians and Lesghians offers no serious problem, for it is certain from other anthropometric data, that at least the Georgians and practically all Lesghians form an anthropological unit. (3) To explain the near-mesocephaly and the (4) variability of certain ethnic groups in the Caucasus is still a difficult unsolved problem. About 50% of the population of the Caucasus is brachycephalic and only 18% dolichocephalic, while the neighbouring South (ancient Asia Minor especially) is overwhelmingly brachycephalic too. It is quite probable that the mesocephalic tendency of the Mingrelians (81.4), Imeréti (80.9 and 81.4), Khevsurs (80.7), Chechens (80.4), Adyghé (81.4) and Abasians (80.7) can be explained to a large extent[10] by a struggle between two unequal forces, dolichocephalic waves from the North and brachycephalic waves from the South. The variability of the indices of the Cherkess tribes (78.5, 82.1, 83, 83.6, 83.8, 84.5) may perhaps be due to the fact that some groups have been subject to the dolichocephalizing waves to a lesser degree than others. The main dolichocephalic waves seem to be especially, though not exclusively, of Aryan origin. Contact with the Indo-Europeans from the earliest times cannot be denied. The Caucasus may very well have been a corridor between Europe and Asia Minor for the Aryan migrations. R. Forrer (*Zeitschrift der deutschen morgenländischen Gesellschaft*, LXXVI, p. 247) is of the opinion that the Aryans, coming from the North, passed through the Caucasus as early as the first half of the third millenium B. C. Kretschmer (*Zeitschrift für vergleichende Sprachforschung*, LV, p. 97) and B. Hrozný (*Archiv Orientální*, III, p. 294) similarly maintain that the Indo-Europeans used the Caucasus as their route to the Near East, however, somewhat later than Forrer's conjecture, about 2,000 B. C. Other well-known scholars of the Indo-European question, e. g., H. Frankfort (*Studies in Early Pottery of the Near East*, I, p. 158), E. Meyer (*Sitzungsberichte der preußischen Akademie der Wissenschaften*, 1925, p. 249), F. Schachermeyr (*Wanderungen und Ausbreitung der Indo-Germanen im Mittelmeergebiet*, Hirt-Festschrift, Heidelberg, 1936, I, pp. 235, 239)[11] believe that the Caucasus was undoubtedly used during the Indo-European migrations. Hybridization between the brachycephalic Caucasians and the dolichocephals must have begun quite early, as some of the prehistorical graves discovered in central Caucasus containing male dolichocephalic skulls and female

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[9] C. S. Coon, *op. cit.*, p. 200.

[10] We wish to emphasize the words "to large extent." By no means do we wish to explain the complicated problem entirely by one factor alone. There was, for example, contact with the Turco-Mongols, *north* of the Caucasus, who were *brachycephalic*. Traces of this contact are noticeable especially in the Cherkess. Cf. R. Bleichsteiner, "Die Völker des Kaukasus," *Asien-Berichte*, V (1944), Heft 22, pp. 4 f. For example, there are also the Cro-Magnon race and the East Mediterranean dolicocephals who must be considered. Cf. R. Bleichsteiner, *op. cit.*, p. 5.

[11] Cf. F. Hančar, *Urgeschichte Kaukasiens*, pp. 355 f., who cites the above-mentioned authoris.

141 brachycephalic remains testify. In other words, from these finds it is evident
174 that crossing was not uncommon already during the Bronze Age.[13] Very important racially was the contact with the Cimmerians and Scythian-Sarmatian populations, who for centuries lived in the Caucasus, till in the fourth century B. C. they were driven southward to Subartu.[13] Some present-day Ossetine-speaking tribes are not of Indo-European origin while practically all have a strong non-Indo-European strain.[14]

141 According to C. S. Coon, "The Caucasic-speaking peoples as a whole,
144 from an anthropometric standpoint, represent a blend between a local Alpine racial nucleus and several kinds of Mediterraneans. The Georgians and the Lesghians are the most Alpine, the Cherkesses the least so. The facial dimensions preclude, in most groups, the presence of a long-faced Irano-Afgan element in any quantity; except among the Cherkesses, the head size, with mean lengths in the low 180's, limits the possible Mediterranean elements to the smaller-headed varieties. These are apparently both Danubian and Cappodocian; there is too much true facial Dinaricism for the Danubian to be the only factor, and too much blondism and nasal concavity for the Cappadocian."[15]

## § 3. LINGUISTICS

197 Perhaps nowhere in the world will one find such an intricate mosaic of languages as in the Caucasus. Today there are about 40 different Caucasian languages, and formerly the number must have been much greater. Strabo (VI. 1—16) speaks of seventy languages along the coast of the Black Sea and 26 in Albania, that is, in Azerbaijan- and Armenian-speaking countries of today. Pliny speaks of 300 different languages at Dioscurias which necessitated 80 interpreters. Abulfeda calls the Caucasus "The Mountain of Tongues" and Thomas Artsruni, the Armenian historian of the tenth century, writes that "72 different nations inhabit the Caucasus."

These languages fall into three sharply distinct groups: the Northwestern, the Northeastern, and the Southern. (See pp. 1—4.)

### 1. Phonetics

194 The vowel system of all three groups, but especially of the Northwestern group, is very poorly developed. In Abkhazian there are only two basic vowels *a* and *ə*.[16] The preponderance of consonants over vowels is less marked in the Northeastern languages: the Chechen, Avaro-Andi, and Lak languages have the five *a, e, i, o, u*, vowels, and some languages, for example Kurin and Aghulian, have the equivalent of something between the German umlauts *ä, ö, ü*, and *a, o, u*.[17] The vowel system of the Southern group is the richest of the three.

[13] R. Bleichsteiner, "Kaukasische Völker," *Ebert's Reallexikon*, VI, p. 250.
[13] R. Bleichsteiner, "Die Völker des Kaukasus," *Asien-Berichte*, V (1944), No. 22, p. 4.
[14] A. Baschmakoff, *op. cit.*, p. 32. See his analysis of the racial problem, *op. cit.*, pp. 28—38.
[15] C. S. Coon, *op. cit.*, pp. 631 f.
[16] R. Bleichsteiner, "Die kaukasische Sprachgruppe," *Anthropos*, XXXII (1937), p. 65. Dirr assigns four basic vowels to Abkhazian. *Einführung in das Studium der kaukasischen Sprachen*, p. 29.

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Diphthongs occur very seldom in the Caucasian languages, the strongest tendency to form such being in Chechen. 194

On the other hand, the poverty of the vocalic system is amply compensated for by the richness of the consonantal systems of the three groups, a fact especially true in regard to the languages belonging to the Northwestern branch. The Abkhazian language, which, as we have seen, has only two basic vowels, has as many as 70 different consonants.

The aspirated tenues *p' t' k'* occur in all three branches. Similarly, in all three groups we find glottocclusive tenues and affricates *p' t' k'* (*ts'*) *č'*. Lateral consonants (l°, t°, t', k°) are represented in all three groups: in the Northwestern by the Ubykhian and Kabardian languages, in the Northeastern by the Avaro-Andi sub-group, and in the Southern by the Tushian language. There are, besides these, many other interesting and unusual consonants. To mention but a few, we find in the Caucasian languages, for example, the so-called Polish ł or English *w*; then, there are interesting palatals, dorsals, labialized *ź* (something between *ž* and z, or less correctly what Dirr terms the "whistling sound" of *žzv*), reduced consonants, emphatic consonants. These are but a few examples showing the richness of the consonantal system of the Caucasic languages.[18]

## 2. The Class System

Words are divided not so much according to gender as to class, a phenomenon found in all three linguistic groups. In the Northwestern group we find the classes in Abkhazian, not however in Ubykhian or in Kabardian. The Abkhaz distinguish between rational and non-rational beings. The class system is most fully developed in the Northeastern group. Generally speaking, one class includes all rational beings male and female after puberty; whereas, one to four classes generally embrace all other beings. The language of the Bats (Chechen tribe in Tusheria)[19] and the Ingushi distinguish six classes; the Dargwa, Andi, Lak, Rutulian, Archi, Tsakhur languages have four classes in all; the Avaro-Andi sub-group has three; Tabassaranians distinguish between persons and things, while the Kurins, Aghulians and Udins no longer have the class system. In South Caucasia the system is either non-existent or is still in its initial stage of development.[20] 193

## 3. Numerals

The numerals of all Caucasic languages are based on the vigesimal system.[21] 802

## 4. Verbs

The Caucasian languages are distinguished for their extremely complicated verbal forms. In the Northwestern languages complete phrases and subordinate 193

[17] A. Dirr, *l. c.*

[18] A. Dirr, *op. cit.*, pp. 29—34. See also N. Trubetzkoj, "Die Konsonantensysteme der ostkaukasischen Sprachen," *Caucasica*, VIII.

[19] Dirr, less correctly, says eight classes are distinguishable in Bats.

[20] A. Dirr, *op. cit.*, pp. 342 f.

[21] A. Dirr, *op. cit.*, pp. 358—361.

193 sentences may be incorporated into the verbal form. Adverbial relations, temporal designations, direction, mood, and many other determinations are expressed by the verb form itself. To complicate matters, sometimes the original verb itself consists of only one consonant, which is lost in the numerous additions just mentioned and many others besides—infixes and suffixes that denote place, negation, question, relationship; even substantives may be attached to the verb. The Northeastern languages distinguish between momentative, durative, iterative, and inchoative forms.[22] Verbal forms become exceedingly complicated in languages that not only distinguish between different classes of beings but also have the use of person, as is the case in the Dargwa language.

## 5. Declension

In the Northwestern languages the declension is extremely simple. (A declension is almost superfluous, for, as we have mentioned above, the verb is capable of incorporating all possible relationships.) Similarly, the declensions of the South Caucasian languages are simple. The Northeastern languages, however, possess a complicated declension. The instrumental is the most important case, the genitive and dative being derived from the instrumental. The agent is placed in the instrumental while the aim of the action is in the nominative.[23] The locative is also an important case: by means of suffixes a large number of adverbial relations can be expressed, e. g., *upward, toward, upon, against, over, into, etc*

## 6. Linguistic Relationships

197 114 Our first question is: Do the three Caucasian groups of languages constitute a distinct linguistic family, as do, for example, the Indo-European languages? Despite the similarities between the groups and despite the fact that Abkhazian seems to form a bridge between the Southern as well as the Northeastern languages,[24] sufficient evidence has not yet been brought forth to justify anyone in speaking of a common "Caucasian Family." As far as our present knowledge of the Caucasic languages goes, it is much more probable that there are three (or perhaps two, Northern and Southern) distinct families.

The affinity of the languages of Caucasia with other languages has been a favourite question among the Caucasologists, formerly much more than in

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[22] R. Bleichsteiner, "Die kaukasische Sprachgruppe," *Anthropos*, XXXII (1937), pp. 66, 68. G. Deeters, *Das khartvelische Verbum*, Leipzig, 1930.

[23] The ergative is used in the other groups too. Cf. C. Tagliavini, "Osservazioni sull'ergativo georgiano," *Mélanges de linguistique et de philologie offerts à Jacq. Van Ginneken, à l'occasion du soixantième anniversaire de sa naissance*, pp. 187—193.

[24] R. Bleichsteiner, *op. cit.*, p. 72. Today there is absolutely no doubt about Professor Bleichsteiner's opposition to a single "Caucasian Family" of languages: "Die drei eigentlichen kaukasischen Sprachgruppen sind weder untereinander noch mit anderen Sprachfamilien Eurasiens verwandt." ("Die Völker des Kaukasus," *Asien-Berichte*, V (1944), No. 22, p. 15.)

recent times. Even the Marr School, once so eager to establish a "Japhetic" family not only within Caucasia but from the Pyrenees (the Basques) to Hindu Kush (Burushaski), including practically all lang .ages of the ancient Near East, is more interested today in "stages" of these languages than in their affinity. Prof. Marr (d. 1934), the founder of the School, based his classification of the "Japhetic" languages on certain regular recurrences: a sibilant in one group of languages corresponded to a "spirant" in another and to sonants in a third. The position of certain languages within the scheme was, naturally, only tentative, while the position of others was considered more or less final. The following table shows Professor Marr's classification of the "Japhetic Family." 197 114

**Prof. Marr's Japhetic Family**

- (1) Sibilant Branch
  - "s" Group — Georgian
  - "ʒ" Group
    - Mingrelian
    - Lazian
- (2) Spirant Branch
  - Eastern Group
    - Southeastern languages
      - Ando-Didoian
      - Avarian
      - Lak
      - Kubachi
      - Hyrkanian
      - Archi
      - Kurin
        - Lesghian
        - Tsakhur
        - Aghulian
        - Tabassaranian
      - Udin
    - Northeastern languages
      - Chechenian
      - Ingushian
      - Tsova-Tushian
  - Northwestern Group
    - Adighé
      - Kabardian
      - Cherkess
    - Ubykhian
- (3) Sonant Branch
- (4) Mixed Languages
  - Spirant + "s" Group
    - Haykian
    - Abkhazian
    - Basque
    - Burushaski
  - Spirant + "ʒ"
    - Hayish
    - Svanian
    - Etruscan
  - Spirant + Sonant Group
    - Elamitic
      - North Elamitic
      - South Elamitic (Hallapirti)
    - Sumerian
    - Vannish (Urartu-Biaina)

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Professor Marr and other linguists who have tried to establish a relationship between the Caucasian languages and the dead languages of Near East were actually attempting the impossible: no one knew (or knows today) what "Proto-Caucasian" might be, and this unknown language was being related to other unknown or little-known languages like Etruscan, Sumerian, Mitani, Elamitic, Lydian, Lycian, Cilician, Carian and Cappodocian.[25] A relationship between Basque and Abkhazian and South Caucasian is quite possible but not yet certain.[26] Similarly, the Burushaski language of Hindu Kush has doubtless many striking features in common with the languages of Daghestan,[27] but to say that these languages originated from a common parent-language is to assume more than has been proved.

Nevertheless these attempts were not totally fruitless. The intense research work carried out especially by the Marr School has brought to light not a few common and mutual influences. Even though we must reject as unfounded the claim of Bork, Winkler, Hüsing, and others that Elamitic is *related* to Caucasian, we cannot deny the strong mutual influence between ancient Georgian and Elamitic. The same holds in regard to Mitani and the language of Urartu: *affinity* to Georgian may be denied, but the *influences* common to ancient Georgian, Mitani and Urartu may not.

## § 4. PREHISTORY

### 1. Lower and Middle Paleolithic

There can no longer be any doubt about North and South Caucasus being inhabited since early Paleolithic times, as the prehistoric sites of Yshtakh, Kyurdere, Aragas, Ochemchiri and Ilskaya testify. The famous Mt. Yashtukh site was an accidental discovery made by Zamjatnin in 1934, about three miles north of the city of Sukhum.[28] These Lower Paleolithic remains include accidently formed side-scrapers, points from large flakes, and some fist hatchets (11.1 cm. long and 7 cm. wide). The Yashtukh artifacts are characterized by

[25] Cf. M. Tseretheli, "Sumerian and Georgian," *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, (1913), pp. 783—821. M. Tseretheli, "Rassen- und Kulturprobleme des Kaukasus," Heft 1 der Veröffentlichungen der deutsch-georgischen Gesellschaft.
F. Bork, "Die Mittanisprache," MVAG XIV (1909), pp. 1—126.
A. Dirr, *Einführung in das Studium der kaukasischen Sprachen*, p. iv.
H. Winkler, *Die Sprache der zweiten Kolonne der dreisprachigen Inschriften und das Altaische*, Breslau, 1896.
G. Hüsing, "Die Sprathen Elams," *86. Jahresbericht der Schles. Gesellschaft für Vaterländische Kultur*, Breslau, 1908.
G. Hüsing, *Die einheimischen Quellen zur Geschichte Elams*, Part I, Leipzig, 1916.
G. Hüsing, "Der Zagros und seine Völker," *Der Alte Orient*, VIII (1908), No. 3—4, E. Speiser, *Mesopotamian Origins*, London, 1930.

[26] G. Dumézil, "Langues caucasiennes et basque," *Festschrift für Herman Hirt*, Heidelberg, 1936, Vol. II.
R. Bleichsteiner, "Die Verwandtschaftsbeziehungen des Baskischen," WZKM, 1931.
K. Bouda, *Baskisch-Kaukasische Etymologien*, Heidelberg, 1949.

[27] R. Bleichsteiner, "Die werschickisch-burischkische Sprache," *Wiener Beiträge zur Kulturgeschichte und Linguistik*, I (1930), Cf. also D. L. Lorimer, *The Burushaski Language*, Oslo, 1935.

[28] S. N. Zamjatnin, "Novyie dannye po paleolitu Zakavkaz'ja," SE, 1935, No. 2.

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their crude chipping, broad, short, irregular, triangular flakes, and are of the Clactonian and Levalloisian culture level.[29]

Zamjatnin is responsible also for the discovery of the Paleolithic site at Kyurdere near Psyrzkha, likewise in Abkhazia. The remains closely resemble the stone industry of Yashtukh and the Clactonian and Levalloisian types of Northern France, Belgium, and England.[30]

Zamjatnin again discovered a third Paleolithic site, about 50 miles south of Kyurdere, at Ochemchiri, on the coast of the Black Sea. The stone industry resembles that of Ilskaya (N. Caucasus) and is of the Middle Mousterian level.[31]

It is to be noted that these three sites are in Abkhazia, where a considerable number of other Paleolithic artifacts have been discovered. In 1934—35 as many as 15 sites were located in this relatively small area, eight of which are most likely Acheulean and seven Mousterian.[32]

And now, leaving Abkhazia and going north to the Province of Kuban, we find the site of Ilskaya, the very first Paleolithic discovery ever made in the Caucasus. Since Baron de Baye, its discoverer, was unable to make a thorough investigation of the site, other prehistorians later tried to continue the work begun by de Baye. Attempts to rediscover the site by N. J. Krištafovič (1903) and S. A. Krukowski (1916) were complete failures. Nine years later Zamjatnin was successful in locating the site, and then in 1926 and 1928 extensive and systematic excavations were undertaken under the able direction of A. A. Miller.[33] The finds at Ilskaya were very numerous and included typical points, drills, gravers, sidescrapers, and a few artifacts resembling fist hatchets. The Ilskaya remains show fine marginal retouching. The discoveries of 1928 established beyond question that bone also had been used as material for tools. The great variety of form, the one-sided marginal retouching (by pressure as well as by strokes), and the advanced stone technology in general are clear indications that Ilskaya is a highly developed Mousterian station,[34] and like Ochemchiri must be classified as Middle Mousterian. Judging by the large amount of animal remains, Ilskaya must have been an excellent hunting ground.

We have another Middle Mousterian site, in the Aragaz district (Transcaucasia), between Erivan and Leninakan. Here J. de Morgan came across a large number of Obsidian specimens: typical Mousterian points and sidescrapers, small fist hatchets, and discoid nuclei. Heavy marginal retouching characterize these artifacts.[35]

A number of Protolithic discoveries have been made in Crimea: the lower stratum at Kiik-Koba is Pre-Mousterian, while the upper is early Mousterian;

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[29] F. Hančar, *Urgeschichte Kaukasiens*, pp. 69—73.

[30] Zamjatnin, *op. cit.*, p. 123.

[31] *ibid.*

[32] Hančar, *op. cit.*, p. 74.

[33] S. N. Zamjatnin, "Station moustérienne à Ilskaya, province de Kouban," *Revue Archeologique*, (Paris), 1929, pp. 282—295. Cf. Hančar, *op. cit.*, pp. 79—91.

[34] F. Hančar, *op. cit.*, p. 88.

[35] Hančar, *op. cit.*, pp. 75—78.

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172 Chokchura is likewise Early Mousterian, while Shaitan-Koba (upper and lower) is Late Mousterian.[38]

## 2. Upper Paleolithic

A considerable number of Upper Paleolithic sites have been discovered in the Caucasus. Without going into detail we shall present a short survey of the Upper Paleolithic in the following table.

### TABLE 3

**Upper Paleolithic Sites in Caucasia**

| SITE | CIVILIZATION | DISCOVERER | SOURCES |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1. Khergulis-Klde | Early Aurignacian | Krukowski, 1918 | Hančar, *op. cit.*, pp. 138 f. |
| 2. Mgvimevi | Late Aurignacian | Zamjatnin, 1934 | Hančar, *op. cit.*, pp. 139 f. |
| 3. Taro-Klade | Mousterian-Aurign. | Krakowski, 1918 | Hančar, *op. cit.*, p. 139 |
| 4. Kutais (i. e., Uvarov, Baratashvili, Rudolf-Virchov caves) | Late Aurignacian | R. R. Schmidt and Kozłowski, 1914 | Obermeier, Ebert's Reallexikon, VI, p. 263 |
| 5. Gvardzhilas-Klde | Early Capsian | Krukowski, 1916—1917 | S. A. Krukowski* |
| 6. Devis-Khvreli | Late Aurignacian | Nioradze, 1926 | G. K. Nioradze** |
| 7. Stanitsa Sennaya | ? | North Caucasian Expedition, 1926 | Lunin,*** Hančar, *op. cit.*, p. 154 f. |
| 8. Stanitsa Bzhedukhovskaya | ? | | Hančar, *op. cit.*, p. 154 |
| 9. Shelushkino | Tardenoisian (?) | A. A. Miller, 1925 | A. A. Miller† |

* S. A. Krukowski, "Peščera Gvardžilas-Klde v Rgani," *Izv. Kavkaz. Museja*, X (1916—1917), Tiflis, pp. 1—5.

** G. K. Nioradze, "Paläolithicum Georgiens," *Transactions*, V, pp. 227—236.

*** B. V. Lunin, "Archeologičeskie raskopki i razvedki na Severnom Kavkaze v 1927 g.," *Materialy po archeologii jugo-vost. Rossii*, 1928.

† A. A. Miller, "Kratkij otčet o rabotach Severo-Kavkazskoj ekspedicii Akademii Istorii Material'noj Kul'tury v 1924 i 1925 gg," *Soobščenija Gosudarstvennaja* Akademija Istorii Material'noj Kul'tury, Leningrad, 1936, p. 82. For the above data and further details see Hančar, *op. cit.*, pp. 138—158.

[38] Hančar, *op. cit.*, pp. 35—69.

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It is beyond the least shadow of doubt that Paleolithic food gatherers inhabited the coast of Abkhazia and the regions of Kuban and Rion. The Mousterian people of Caucasia must have been excellent hunters, if we are to judge from the large amount of skeletal remains of wild animals found at the various sites, especially remains of bison, mammoth, wolves, foxes, etc. Hunting was by far more important economically than plant gathering. The horde was the social unit of the Mousterian Caucasians, each horde numbering perhaps 50 to about 100 individuals. The dead were buried with great care and reverence; a heap of flint flakes was usually placed at the side of the corpse, a fact clearly showing that these hunters believed in an hereafter, where they would continue their venatorial life.[37] The Mousterian hunters of the Caucasus belonged to the Neanderthal race and possessed the same material culture, economy, sociology, and ideology as the Crimeans and Neanderthal men of Southern France.[38] 172

The late Paleolithic period was cold and uncomfortable. Nevertheless, there was still enough plant life to insure sufficient prey for the hunters. As protection against the cold, men began to seek shelter in caves and grottoes. They were no longer the wandering hunters of old, but lived in semi-permanent dwellings. Their hunting equipment was greatly improved and thus hunting itself was simplified, giving them leisure and plenty of time for art, for not until the Aurignacian do we find signs of ornamentation and rock engravings.[39]

### 3. Mesolithic (Azilian-Tardenoisian)

With the change of climate, the Azilian-Tardenoisian epoch saw great changes in fauna and flora, and the corresponding changes in economic life. The Azilian Caucasians, however, continued to live in Aurignacian dwellings, the first change in this regard being noticeable only in the Tardenoisian. Microliths and arrow-heads begin to play a very important part. The Azilian-Tardenoisian hunters used bows, harpoons, and lances, but in spite of the improved implements, hunting did not constitute the most important means of livelihood; for, with the disappearance of ice plant-life, larvae, insects, and especially snails abounded, making food gathering more important than hunting.[40] Because the main food was easily available, the dwellings were more or less permanent. The camps, of course, were seasonal. It was during this period that the dog was domesticated, a fact which greatly facilitated the hunting of such animals as the wild pig and deer, and, whenever necessary, the dog was slaughtered and consumed.[41] Among the more important Azilian sites are those of Gvardzhilas-Klde, Shan-Koba, and Syuren II; the more important Tardenoisian sites are those of Kukrek, Kizil-Koba, Upper Shan-Koba, Cherkess-Kermen, and Fatma-Koba.[42]

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[37] I. I. Meščaninov, Vvedenie v jafetiologiju (Leningrad, 1927), pp. 14 f.
[38] Cf. Hančar, *op. cit.*, pp. 167 ff., 172, 174, 178.
[39] Cf. Hančar, *op. cit.*, pp. 185 f.
[40] The importance of snails as food is evidenced by the large amount of shells found in the Tardenoisian stratum of Shan-Koba.
[41] Hančar, *op. cit.*, pp. 202 f.
[42] For an excellent survey of these finds see Hančar's Tabelle XII, *op. cit.*, p. 197.

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## 4. The Neolithic Civilization

172 Among the more important Neolithic sites of the Caucasus area are those of Erivan (River Tsanga), Shamiramalti, Nakhichevan, Novorossisk, and *Kurgan I* of Nalchik.[43]

This period saw flourishing vineyards, vegetable gardens, and orchards spring up in southern and western Caucasus. The hunters and food gatherers have become agriculturalists, but unlike the European Neolithic population, they have immediately learned the use of metal. Owing to the proximity of the Caucasians to the great cultural centres, and to the rich deposits of copper in the Mountains, a typical Neolithic without the knowledge of metal has perhaps *never* existed in the Caucasus. Nevertheless, we have here a *true* Neolithic, for the distinguishing feature of the Neolithic is neither metal nor the megaliths, but the economic change from food gathering to food production. Even the vishaps, dolmens, and the Cyclopian constructions, which some falsely classify as Neolithic on account of their Megalithic character, are, doubtless, only pseudo-Neolithic and belong to a more recent period.[44]

The Neolithic inhabitants, it should be noted, were not only agrarians but also animal-breeders, who raised pigs, sheep, cattle, horses, and perhaps donkeys.[45]

Hunting retained much more of its former importance in North Caucasus than it did in Transcaucasia. Most probably the social organization of northern and southern Caucasus was matriarchal.[46]

The Caucasian Neolithic ushers in the abundant use of obsidian, a phenomenon which continues to the time of the Scythian domination over North Caucasus. That obsidian should become such an important material may very well be attributed to various factors: the needs arising from the new economic life, the nature of obsidian itself (its sharp, glassy edges), and the abundance of obsidian in the Caucasus. These obsidian objects are clear evidence of a vigorous agrarian civilization.[47]

## 5. Copper Age, etc.

Caucasian Copper Age sites are numerous indeed. To mention but a few—there are, for example, the so-called princely burial mounds of Ul, Kostromskaya, Maikop, and Vozdvizhenskaya; then there are the ordinary graves and the numerous finds as those of Privolnoe, Kostromskaya, Dolinskoye, and Staromyshastovskaya.[48]

The sites may be divided into three distinct groups: the Nalchik, the Kuban (Maikop, Novosvobodnaya-Tsarskaya, Vozdvizhenskaya, etc.), and Kuban-Terek group.

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[43] Hančar, *op. cit.*, pp. 211—228.

[44] Hančar, *op. cit.*, p. 212; "Aus der Problematik Urartus," Archiv Orientální XVII (1949), Part I, p. 306.

[45] Hančar, *Urgeschichte Kaukasiens*, p. 238.

[46] For detailed account of the Caucasian Neolithic see Hančar, *op. cit.*, 211—241.

[47] Cf. Hančar, *op. cit.*, pp. 236 f.

[48] Hančar, *op. cit.*, pp. 242—289.

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## TABLE 4

### The Copper Age in North Caucasia*

| STAGES | NALCHIK | KUBAN*** | KUBAN-TEREK |
|---|---|---|---|
| LOCATION | Nalchik area | Northwestern Caucas. | North Cauc. Foreland |
| ECONOMY | Hunting (with some primitive hoe culture)** | Cattle-breeding and trade (some hoe culture and perhaps hunting)** | Sheep-, goat-, and horse-breeding, and a highly developed hoe culture** |
| SOCIETY | Probably matriarchal sibs | Probably matriarchal sibs; however, distinct rise of male importance through leadership in trade, war, and religion | Probably matriarchal sibs with rise of male importance through trade, metallurgy, and cattle-breeding |
| METALLURGY | First acquaintance with copper (sc., through import) | Import of copper objects; beginning of own copper work | Highly developed local metallurgy |
| EXTRA-CAUCASIAN RELATIONS | | Intensive trade with cultural centres of ancient Near East; sudden cessation of same | Temporary trade relations with the Danube peoples |

* Based on Hančar, *op. cit.*, p. 405.

** Non-nomadic.

*** The Kuban finds date from 2400—1900 B. C. See Hančar, "Aläcä Höyük," *Wiener Beiträge zur Kunst- und Kulturgeschichte Asiens*, XI (1938), pp. 27—35.

The most important Transcaucasian site is that of Tsalka, west of Tiflis, which dates from about 1800—1500 B. C.[49]

The Bronze Age finds are extremely numerous. A "Bronze Age" in the sense in which we find it in other parts of the world cannot be referred to the Caucasus. The Kuban-Terek stage of the Copper Age already had the knowledge of bronze.

The Cimmerian kingdom (c. 1000 B. C.) and the Scythians (700—300 B. C.) now appear on the scene.[50]

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[49] Hančar, "Die bemalte Keramik Transkaukasiens im Lichte neuer Funde," *Archiv für Orientforschung*, (Berlin), XIV (1944), No. 5—6, p. 288.

[50] Cf. Hančar, "Die Ausweitung unseres Geschichtsbildes durch die sowjetische Urgeschichtsforschung," *Blick nach Osten*, 1949, No. 1—2, pp. 51—61.
E. H. Minns, *Scythians and Greeks*, Cambridge, 1913.
M. I. Rostovtzeff, *Iranians and Greeks in South Russia*, Oxford, 1922.
Hančar, "Hallstatt-Kaukasus, ein Beitrag zur Klärung des Kimmerierproblems," *Mitteilungen der Österreichischen Gesellschaft für Anthropologie, Ethnologie und Prähistorie*, LXXIII-LXXVII (1947), pp. 152—167.

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## § 5. History

000 Just as we have omitted the Cimmerian problem and the many interesting facts regarding the Scythians when speaking of the archaeology of the Caucasus, so too in our historical survey we must omit many an important fact and problem. We wish here merely to present a short sketch, as a preliminary orientation. We shall have occasion to speak of certain periods more in detail later on.

175 [173] The NORTHWESTERNERS. According to legend, the Cherkess were at one time a powerful pastoral people, occupying an extensive area north of the Caucasus. Although it is impossible to say just when the Cherkess immigrated and from where, we do know that they must have made the Caucasus their home long before the ancient writers were aware of their existence. The Latin and Greek writers speak of them as the Zygoi, Zinkhoi, Syndi, Kerketaioi, and Kerketai. It seems that from very early times enemies had been driving the Cherkess towards the mountains. In the fourteenth century of our era, the coastal tribes were forced farther south, till they finally occupied a sector between various Turco-Tartaric peoples, the Nogai, Kumyks, Karachai, and Taulu. The land they occupied was called Kabarda and they are known today as the Kabardians. In 1777 the Russians drove the remaining Cherkess beyond the Kuban, Malka, and Terek, and finally completely conquered them. Rather than submit to the Russian czar, a large number of Northwesterners (400,000 strong, Cherkess, Abkhaz, and all the Ubykhs) preferred to leave their homeland and migrate to Asia Minor, Syria, and the Balkans.

The Abkhaz were known to Pliny and Arrian as the Apsils and to the Georgian Chronicler as Ap'shili and Ap'sari. In the first centuries after Christ the Abkhaz were subjects of the Georgian kings; then of the Laz; then in the eighth century of their own independent kings; in the tenth century they again became subjects of Georgian kings, through marriage of the respective royal families. They were finally subjected to the Russians in 1863.

The Northwesterners were Christianized, according to Vakhtang's Chronicle, about A. D. 40. This report of course is not reliable. It is a fact, however, that they became Christians after the Byzantine occupation of the coastal cities. Emperor Justinian is supposed to have built a large church at Pitzunda, which became the seat of the Abkhazian *katholicos* ("patriarch" or "archbishop"). In the last decades of the seventeenth century all the Abkhazian tribes (with the exception of the Samursakhanians) became Mohammedans. The Cherkess were also Christians, before their conversion to Islamism in the eighteenth century.

The NORTHEASTERN CAUCASIANS. The origin of the Chechens and their early history is unknown. They too were Christianized quite early, perhaps in the fourth century. They accepted the Koran in the seventeenth and eighteenth century; the Ingushi, however, were not completely converted to Mohammedanism till 1862. The Chechens, we also know, have been constantly menaced by the Turco-Mongols since the time of Chingis-Khan. Later they even invited foreign princes to rule over them and defend them against the Kumyks and Kabardian raiders. Last century they fought valiantly against the Russians in the Murid wars under the leadership of Gazi-Mollah and Shamyl.

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The Lesghians were known to the classical writers as the "Lesghi." The early history of the various Lesghian peoples is uncertain. Before their conversion to Islamism in the eighth century they were worshippers of Ahura Mazda. Shamyl, the famous prophet, reformer, warrior, and leader, was a Lesghian. 175

The history of the SOUTHERN CAUCASIANS is much better known. The ancient Latin and Greek writers speak of the kingdoms of Colchis, Lazica, Albania, and Iberia. The Scythians ruled over Georgia in the seventh century. Later the Georgian kingdoms were forced to recognize the Roman protectorate. Pompey conquered the Albanians in 66 B. C., Iberia in 65 B. C., and Colchis in 63 B. C. In A. D. 224, the Sassanidae attacked East Georgia; Diocletian quickly came to the aid of the Caucasians, conquered the Persians, and thus Iberia was once again subject to the Romans. Christianity was declared the state religion of Georgia under Constantine the Great.

The OSSETES are most probably the descendents of the Alans, and therefore of the Scythians as well. They seem to be the descendents of some survivors who took refuge in the mountains. In the first century A. D., we know, they occupied the area between the Don and the Sea of Azov. Then, in the ninth century they were driven southward by the Khazars, in the twelfth century by the Mongols, and finally, in the fourteenth century by the Kabardians, who themselves were being driven into the mountains by the Tartars.

The TURCO-TARTARS. The Karachai are most probably the descendents of Tartars who had been forced to occupy an isolated valley in the mountains. The Taulu are perhaps descendents of the Tartars who lived in the steppes of Kuma. After their city (Madzhar) had been destroyed in 1408, they sought refuge in the Caucasus.[51]

## § 6. BIBLIOGRAPHY

Most ethnographers and ethnologists are under the false impression that only very little has been published about the Caucasus. This impression has been created, first of all, because most of the material has been written in a strange language—strange to English, French, German, and Italian speaking scientists—Russian. And even if the student of Caucasian culture has a fair knowledge of Russian, he must still face an even more discouraging difficulty. This Russian material is scattered in periodicals that are difficult to find even in the best non-Russian libraries, scattered in rare magazines or books that appeared in extremely small editions exclusively for members of learned societies and finally were shelved and forgotten in an obscure corner of some small library. These are the obstacles one must face in one's search for pre-Soviet sources. The more recent (Soviet) publications, especially recent Georgian publications, are very poorly represented outside the U.S.S.R., even in the large 114

[51] Cf. Byhan, "Die kaukasischen Völker," Buschan, *Illustrierte Völkerkunde* III, pp. 671—675, 749 f., 774 f., 799 f., 835; A. Sanders, *Kaukasien, Nordkaukasien, Aserbeidschan, Armenien, Georgien, Geschichtlicher Umriss*, Munich, 1944; W. E. D. Allen, *A History of the Georgian People from the beginning down to the Russian Conquest in the Nineteenth Century*, London, 1932; Bertold Spuler, *Die Goldene Horde, Die Mongolen in Russland 1223—1502*, Leipzig, 1943.

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114 national libraries. The final difficulty for the Soviet as well as for the non-Soviet cultural anthropologist, lies in the fact that the Caucasus has not been studied systematically, though in recent years this obvious neglect has been taken more and more into account. Thus, for example, more literature is found about the Cherkess than any other people in the Caucasus, and still, of all the Caucasians these people are the least known.

The late John F. Baddeley, who spent many years in Russia as a correspondent for the London *Standard* in St. Petersburg and who was in close touch with various diplomats, was constantly collecting these scattered works, till he could claim one of the finest collections of Russian sources on the Caucasus anywhere to be found in Western or Central Europe. His collection includes some very rare and perhaps even unique books and magazines. Without the use of this excellent collection (now at the London Library, St. James's Square) such a work as this would hardly be possible. The British Museum and the various libraries in Vienna have made some of the more recent material accessible to me.

## 1. A General Historical Conspectus of Ethnographical Data about the Caucasus

Ethnographical data are the tools of the ethnologist, without which he is as helpless as an archaeologist without his finds.

(1) **Ancient Literature.** The Caucasus and its immediate vicinity was known to the ancient Greeks even long before Herodotus (480—425 B. C.), but to all these writers it was a land of fables and myths.[52] It was Herodotus who first broke away from fiction and offered some reliable data, for which we are still thankful today.[53] Several centuries later Strabo too left something more

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[52] Homer (c. 850 B. C.) *Illiad*, iii. 188; vi. 186. (The Amazons). *Odyssey*, x. 135; xii. 1; xii. 69—72 ('Αρνώ).
Hesiod (fl. 776 B. C.) *Theogonia*, vs. 340, speaking of the Φᾶσις.
Mimnermus (fl. c. 630—600 B. C.) mentions the 'Ιήσων.
Hecataeus (c. 550 B. C.) speaks of various Caucasian tribes and neighbours: Μελάγχλαινοι, Μάκρωνες. etc.
Aeschylus (c. 525—456) narrates the story of Prometheus.
Pindar, (522—448 B. C.) *Pythian* speaks of the Phasis and Κόλχοι.
Scylax (521—485 B. C.) *Periplous* mentions Τανεις, Σαυρομάται, Μαιώται, Σίνδοι, Κερκέται, Μελάγχλαινοι, Κόλχοι, Μακροκέφαλοι, Μοσσύνοικοι Τιβαηνοι.
Hippocrates, (born c. 460 B. C.) "Air, Earth and Locality" §§ 13—17.

[53] Herodotus i. 2, 103 f; 201—204; ii. 103 ff; iii. 92 ff, 97; iv. 11 f, 28, 37 f, 40, 45 f, 86, 110—117, 123; vi. 84; vii. 62, 67, 78; ix.
Other writers of about this time who refer to the Caucasus in their works are:
Hellanicus, fragments 84, 87, 92, 109.
Ctesias, *Persica* vii. 81; Aelian 17, 34.
Xenophon, (born c. 430) *Anabasis*, iv. 1—8; v. 2, 4, 5.
Plato (born c. 427 B. C.) "Laws," vi. refers to the Σαυροματίδες.
Pherecydes (c. 430—400 B. C.).
Aristotle (384—322 B. C.) *Meteorologica*, i. 13; ii. 1.
Apollonius Rhodius (c. 295—215 B. C.) *Argonautica*, ii. 370, 393, 970, 1015, 1095, 1096, 1097, 1142, 1204, 1244, 1264; iii. 198, 213, 235, 340, 828, 1214, 1225; iv. 131, 219.
Polybius (c. 202—120) v. 55.
Apollodorus (c. 140 B. C.) *Bibliotheke* (a work wrongly attributed to Apollodorus !).

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reliable than mere fables.[54] Among the earliest Roman writers were Plinius Secundus and Pomponius Mela.[55] 114

After Dionysius Periegetes and Claudius Ptolemy, for about 200 years, very little was written about the Caucasians. It was Ammianus Marcellinus who again took up the pen, to leave us some useful notes about the Caucasians

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[54] Strabo (c. 64 B. C.—19 A. D.) i. 1—3; ii. 1, 4 f; vi. 4; x. 3; xi. 1 f., 10—19; xii. 3.

[55] Cicero (106—43 B. C.) "Tusculan disputations," ii. 10.
Sallust (35 B. C.) *Historia*, iii. fr. 46, 48; iv. fr. 18.
Virgil (70—19 B. C.) *Georgics* ii. 440; *Aeneid* i. 490.
Horace (65—8 B. C.) *Carmina*, i. 22, 5; *Epodes*, iii. 9; v. 21; xvii. 35.
Ovid (43 B. C.—A. D. 18) *Epistolae ex Ponto*, iv; x. 51 f. *Metamorphoses*, ii. 224; vii. 6; viii. 798.
Seneca (c. 4 B. C.—A. D. 65) *Thyestes*, 369; *Hercules Oetaeus*, 1449; *Hercules furens*, 1204, 1326.
Theodore of Sicily (c. 50—25 B. C.) *Bibliotheca historica*, ii. 43—46; iv, 45—48; xiv. 24—31; xvii. 75 ff. (Scythians and Amazons).
Livy (59 B. C.—A. D. 17) *Periochae* Bk. CI.
Memnon (c. 25 B. C.).
Propercius (c. 50—16 B. C.) *Elegies*.
Velleius Paterculus (19 B. C.—A. D. 40) *Historiae Romanae* II. 33, 37, 40, 82, 94, 100, 102, 122.
Pomponius Mela (A. D. 15—60) *De situ orbis*, Bk. III.
Pliny the Elder (A. D. 23 or 24—A. D. 79) *Naturalis Historiae*, ii. 106; iii. 3, 23, 26; iv. 17; v. 27; vi. 1, 4—7, 10, 12, 15 f, 16, 18; vii. 2, 27; viii. 50, 60; x. 67; xx. 95; xxv. 100; xxxiii. 15, 37.
Josephus Flavius "Early History of the Jews" i. 6; xviii. 4. "History of the Jewish Wars" ii. 16; vii. 7.
Petronius Arbiter (d. A. D. 65) *Satires*.
Lucan (A. D. 39—65) *Pharsalia*, ii. 590; iii. 264.
Tacitus (c. A. D. 55—117) *Annals*, ii. 68; vi. 32, 33, 34, 35, 36; xi. 8, 9; xii. 44—48, 50; xiii. 6, 37; xiv. 23, 25. *Historiae* i. 6.
Plutarch (c. A. D. 46—120) *Pompey*, xxxiii—xxxvi; xlv. *Alexander the Great*, xliv; xlvi. *Lucullus*, xiv; xxvi.
Suetonius *XII Vitae Imperatorum*, i. 22; iii. 8, 41; iv. 1; v. 25, 40; viii. 2.
Pausanias (c. A. D. 160) *Hellados Periegesis*, i. 2, 15, 17, 21, 32, 41; iii. 19, 24, 25; iv. 31, 34; v. 10 f; vii. 27; viii. 27 ff.
Dionysius Periegetes (c. A. D. 90) *Orbis Descriptio*, §§ 488, 652, 679, 719, 1020. (See also Eustathius's commentary to Dionysius Periegetes 12th century A. D.)
Quintus Curtius (A. D. 41—79) *De Rebus Alexandri*, iv. 5; vi. 5; vii. 3 f.
Arrian (c. A. D. 95—175) *Periplous. Anabasis*.
Pseudo-Plutarch (c. A. D. 98—138) *De fluviorum et mortuum nominibus*, v. Φασις; xiv. Τανατς; xv. Θερῴδων; xxxiii. Ἀράξης.
Aelian (fl. c. A. D. 200) "On the Characteristics of Animals," iv. 9; v. 27, 42; vi. 24, 65; vii. 35; ix. 59; xi. 29; xvii. 10, 17, 31, 33, 34, 38. "Historical Miscellanies," iii. 39; iv. 1; v. 21; fragment 135.
Appian of Alexandria (fl. c. A. D. 160) "Roman History," Proemium, §§ 2, 4; *Mitridates*, §§ 13, 15, 64, 69, 78, 101, 103, 104, 107, 108, 113, 114, 117, 120.
Claudius Ptolomey (c. A. D. 120—170) v. 8—11. *Bellum Thracium*, I. xxxviii. *Bellum Mithridaticum*, I. xxxviii; II. xiii.
Justin (2nd or 3rd century A. D.) xxiv. 2; xlvii. 5.
Dio Cassius (c. A. D. 150—235) "Roman History," lviii. 26; lxix. *Historia Augusta* (117—284) by Aelius Spartianus, Julius Capitolinius, Vocatius Gallicanus, Aelius Lampridius, Trebellius Pollio and Flavius Vopiscus contains some passing references to the Caucasus.
Philostratus (2nd and 3rd century A. D.) *Heroicus*, ccxi. 24; ccxv. 30; ccxvi. 12; ccxvii. (About the Amazons.)
Solinus (3rd century A. D.) *Collectanea rerum memorabilium*, ix. 19; xv. 5, 17, 19; xix. 4, 19; xxxviii. 11; xlix. 6; lii. 50.

114 of his time.[56] An exact study of these classical and post-classical writers will prove very useful for the study of Caucasology. A number of attempts have been made[57] but the greatest of all difficulties, localization of the reports, and the multiplicity of names still remain to be untangled.

(2) **Byzantine Writers.** *Memoriae Populorum, olim ad Danubium, Pontum Euxinum, Paludem Maeotidem, Caucasum, Mare Caspium, et inde magis ad Septentriones incolentium e Scriptoribus Historiae Byzantinae erutae et digestae a Joanne Gotthilf Strittero, Gymnasii Academiae Scientiarum Imperialis Petropolitanae Conrectore* is a large four-volume collection of Byzantine writings, each volume being about 1,000 pages. Volume III and IV treat of the Caucasus and immediate vicinity.[58] A long article about the Byzantine writers appeared in the *Sbornik materialov dlja opisanija mĕstnostej i plemen Kavkaza* IX (1890) No. 1, pp. 1—213, "Iberija po Byzantizskimi pisateljam" ("Iberia according to Byzantine writers").

(3) **Medieval Arabian Writers.** A considerable amount has been written by the Arabs in the Middle Ages and much of this material is still extant. We shall make use of al-Mas'ûdi's "Murûj aḍ-ḍahab wa ma'âdin al-jawâhir"[58a] written about A. D. 943) as well as of passing references from other authors. The

[56] Ammianus Marcellus (c. A. D. 390) in his continuation of the history of Tacitus, xxi. 7; xxii. 7, 8, 21, 24, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29, 30, 31, 46, 47, 48; xxiii. 5, 6; xxv. 7; xxvii. 12; xxxi. 2, 3.
Sextus Aurelius Victor (c. A. D. 350) *De viris illustribus*, lxxvii. 5.
Eutropius (fl. A. D. 364—378) *Breviarium ab urbe condita*, vi. 14; viii. 3.
Rufus Festus (c. A. D. 365) *Breviarium rerum gestarum populi Romani.*
Lucius Ampelius (c. A. D. 380) *Liber Memorialis.*
Agathemeros (1—3rd. century A. D.). (A short anonymous geographical guide.)
Claudian (Claudius Claudianus) (fl. c. A. D. 400).
Marcian (c. A. D. 410); Zosimus (c. A. D. 550); Vibius Sequester; Stephan of Byzantine (c. A. D. 500); Julius Honorius (c. A. D. 590).
To this long list of authors we must add the following Greek writers: Dionysius of Mileta, Herodorus Heracleensis, Sophaenetus Stymphalius, Heraclides Ponticus, Aristocsene of Tarentum, Palaephatus Abydenus, Nymphodorus of Syracuse, Duris Samius, Mnases Patrensis, Ptolemy Energetes, Agatharchides Cnidus, Metrodorus Scepsius, Alexander Polyhistor, Posidonius Aramensis, Nicolaus Damascene, Thrasyllus Mendesius, Arrian Nicomedensis, Phlegon Trallianos, Nicanor Alexandrinus, Charax Pergameus, Asinius Quadratus, Dexippus Atheniensis, Eunapius Sardianus, Priscus Panites and others.
For the above passages see C. Hahn, "Izvĕstija drevnich grečeskich pisatelej o Kavkazĕ," *Materialy dlja opisanija mĕstnostej i plemen kavkaza*, IV (1884), No. 1, pp. 1—248.

[57] Cf. G. H. Lünemann, Descriptio Caucasi ex Strabone, comparatis scriptoribus recentioribus (imprimis Gueldenstaedt), 1803. C. Hahn, "Kratkija izvĕstija drevnich pisatelej o kavkazĕ", MOMPK II (1882), No. 1, pp. 18—44. C. Hahn, "Izvĕstija drevnich grĕčeskich i rimskich pisatelej o kavkazĕ," SMOMPK IV (1884), No. 1, pp. 1—248. E. Eichwald, *Alte Geographie des Caspischen Meeres, des Kaukasus und des südlichen Rußlands, nach griechischen, römischen und anderen Quellen* (Reise auf dem Caspischen Meere in den Caucasus, 1825—6, vol. I [in two parts] and vol. II, Stuttgart, 1834—1838). C. Hahn, Aus dem Kaukasus, pp. 1—34. John F. Baddeley, *The Rugged Flanks of Caucasus*, Appendix C, "Retreat of the Ten Thousand Greeks".

[58] Petropoli, Impensis Academiae Scientiarum Tom III, 1777; IV, 1779.

[58a] "Golden Meadows and Jewelmines." For more about this author see, Carl Brockelmann, *Geschichte der arabischen Litteratur* I (Weimar, 1898), pp. 143—145; *op. cit.* Supplementary volume (Leiden, 1937), pp. 220—221.

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Arabian writers of the Middle Ages do not lack value for the study of the Caucasus, but since they are mostly fanatical Mohammedans, "the chosen children of Allah," describing the conduct and morals of "infidels" much is unreliable. Karaulov has written a series of articles about these writers, likewise published in the *Sbornik materialov dlja opisanija městnostej i plemen Kavkaza*, "Svěděnija arabskich pisatelej o Kavkazě, Armenii i Aderbejdžaně"[59] ("Reports of Arabian Writers about the Caucasus, Armenia and Azerbeijan").

(4) **Medieval Persian Writers.** A short treatise about the Persian writers of the Middle Ages can be found in the *Izvěstija Kavkazskago Otděla I. R. G. O.*, "Materialy dlja drevnej geografii Zakavkaz'ja po persidskim istočnikam" ("Data for Ancient Geography of Transcaucasia from Persian Sources").[60]

(5) **Medieval Georgian Writers.** M. Džanašvili's excellent study of Georgian sources was printed in the *Sbornik materialov dlja opisanija městnostej i plemen Kavkaza*: "Izvěstija gruzinskich lětopisej i istorikov o sěvernom Kavkazě i Rossii. Opisanie Osetii, Dzurazukii, Didoztii, Tušetii, Alanii, i Džiketii. O carjach Chazaetii, Alguziani,"[61] and "Izvěstija gruzinskich lětopisej i istorikov o Chersonisě, Goteii, Osetii, Chazarii, Digoetii i Rossii."[62] These two articles (310 pages) will provide sufficient bibliography.

(6) **Other Medieval Writers.** Without going into detail, it is worth noting that a number of Russian and Armenian works of the Middle Ages are still extant. There is also the famous *Derbend Nameh* collection of works by various Tartar historians.

(7) **Writers of the 15-17th century.** Among the first strictly ethnographical works are those of Interiano, a Genoese,[63] John de Lucca and Olearius. Interiano's *Della vita dei Zychi chiamati Circassi*[64] is an excellent little work, admirable for its simplicity and relative freedom from exaggeration. This sixteenth century travel documentary as well as the work of the Dominican Missionary John de Lucca, *Relations des Tartares, Pericopites et Nogaies, des Circassiens, Mingréliens et Géorgiens*, will be of great help in determining more exactly certain pre-Islamic customs in present-day Caucasian life.

(8) **1700—1775.** To this period belong especially the works of Potocki *Voyage dans les pays du Caucase* (Paris, 1798) and *Voyage dans les steps d'Astrakhan et du Caucase* (Paris, 1829) and John Hanway's *An historical account of the British trade over the Caspian Sea: with a journal of travels*

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[59] XXIX (1901), No. 1, pp. 1—73; XXXI (1902), No. 1, pp. 1—57; XXXII (1903), No. 1, pp. 1—63; XXXVIII (1908), No. 1, pp. 1—130.

[60] I (1872—1873), pp. 131—136.

[61] XXII (1897), No. 1, pp. 1—206.

[62] XXVI (1899), No. 1, pp. 1—104.

[63] Ramusio, *Raccolta di viaggi* (1583). See also Manuzio, *Viaggi fatti da Vinetia, alla Tana, in Persia, in India et in Constantinopoli: con la descrittione particolare di città, luoghi siti, costumi, della porta del gran Turco: di tutte le intrate spece, modo di governo suo et della ultima impresa contra Portoghesi. Vinegi 1545.*

[64] The full title is: *Della vita dei Zychi altrimenti chiamati Circassi Georgiano Interiano, Genovese, a. M. Aldo Manutio, Romano.* It was first edited in 1559, then re-edited several times, in 1574, 1583, 1606, 1613, and translated into German by Klaproth in his *Reisen in den Kaukasus*, chapter XXVII.

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*from London through Russia, Germany and Holland, to which are added the revolutions of Persia during the present century, with the particular history of the great usurper Nadir Kouli* (London, 1753).

(9) **1775—1850.** In this period not only does the ethnographical material begin to increase and reach considerable proportions but the investigations carried out by the authors are scientific in nature. Actual fieldwork is being done. The writers are therefore no longer mere casual travellers but fieldworkers in the strictest sense. Although the method and scholarship of these explorers does not come up to that of modern ethnographers, their works have a special value because they are the products of expeditions prior to the rapid modern acculturation. The first scientific expedition was undertaken by Professor Güldenstädt at the request of the Empress of Russia to penetrate the wild regions of Caucasus, to classify the peoples (her subjects) according to their languages and to study the natural history of the land. The results of Güldenstädt's fieldwork were published in several books, *Beschreibung der kaukasischen Länder* (Berlin, 1834), *Reisen durch Rußland und im kaukasischen Gebirge* (St. Petersburg, 1787), *Reisen nach Georgien und Imerethi* (Berlin, 1815). Soon afterwards some excellent works of travel and some purely scientific works appeared, such as those of Reineggs, Pallas, Steder, Klaproth, Bodenstedt, Dubois de Montpéreux, Longworth, Spencer, Neuman and Wagner.

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(10) **1850—1920.** The Caucasians are still analphabetic except for the Georgians and Armenians, and are unaffected by modern civilization. This is a period of much travel and good field work, e. g., by Radde, Hahn, Erckert, Abercromby, and others. Several large series of periodicals devoted exclusively to the study of the Caucasus are published.[65] Valuable collections of customary laws *(adats)* made—to mention only *Adaty kavkazskich gorcev*, a collection of customary laws which we shall have endless opportunity to cite. In a word this is a productive period.

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(11) **Soviet Caucasus, Caucasology Today.** Considerable progress has been made in the last decades. In linguistics, for example, if we compare Güldenstädt's or Pallas' first attempts with the results attained by Erckert and then if we compare Erckert's achievements with those of the great geniuses like Professor Marr, Prince Trubeskoj and Adolf Dirr, we must say the progress is gratifying. Although Erckert's linguistic contributions contain countless and very serious errors, his work by far surpasses those of Güldenstädt and Pallas, but again compared with modern linguists Erckert is hardly anything more than an untrained amateur. Although the advance made in Caucasian linguistics must be attributed mainly to the work done by the Soviet scholars, such capable linguists as Dirr, Bleichsteiner, Deeters, Dumézil and the contributors to the *Caucasica* must not be overlooked.

Greater progress has been made in prehistory than in any other branch of Caucasology. The activity of the Marr School and Hančar's unparalleled work, *Urgeschichte Kaukasiens* are sufficient evidence of the advance made in this field.

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[65] See *infra* pp. 33 f.

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The *ethnologist*, however, cannot boast of such progress. Interest in strictly ethnological questions, even among Soviet scholars, is not so intense as it should be or as it is in regard to other branches of Caucasology. Nevertheless we may speak of progress. In pre-Soviet times the writers and fieldworkers did not venture beyond mere ethnography, and if by way of exception Kovalevskij did, his conclusions are merely a restatement of evolutionistic tenets. Today ethnology of the Caucasus is practically a monopoly of the Soviet scholars. Since the Revolution the number of strictly ethnological articles and books by non-Soviet authors is astoundingly small. In the bibliography of E. G. Kagarov, "Inostrannaja literatura po etnografii Kavkaza za poslednie 10 let" ("Foreign ethnographical literature on the Caucasus published in the last 10 years")[66] we can hardly find half a dozen works not written by Russians or Georgians, which we may more or less call ethnological.[67] English is not represented at all! This almost complete lack of interest on the part of non-Soviet ethnologists is no doubt greatly responsible for the relative lack of progress realized up to the present.

A closer analysis of Soviet ethnology will reveal, first of all, that this branch takes only a secondary place among the interests of the Caucasologists. Moreover, it will reveal that the Soviet ethnologist, by his very profession, is obliged to oppose the doctrines of his bourgeois colleague. By his interpretations and historical reconstructions of Caucasian culture he must show himself to be "a zealous Soviet patriot of his socialistic fatherland," as the *Pravda* of December 11, 1948, characterizes him.[68] In fact, the formal object of Soviet ethnology is none other than to prove that the theories of Marx and Engels are "not theories" at all but "facts."[69] Engels, Marx, Lenin, or Stalin must be quoted in all scientific works, otherwise the author may be accused of "heretical" teaching.[70] Since the Caucasus is an "ethnographic museum," the Soviet ethnologist is convinced that although limiting his studies to the Caucasian peoples, he can prove the "*universally* valid" principles of Communism, the origin of religion, the origin of state, the origin of class strife, and, finally, that economic conditions are primarily and almost exclusively responsible for any given culture. In a word, a good Soviet ethnologist is one who distinguishes himself in "two virtues—orthodoxy and positive enthusiastic patriotism."

Although the ethnologists are lagging behind, the *ethnographers* are maintaining the pace set by the other groups of Caucasologists. Very few pre-Soviet

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[66] *Sovetskaja Etnografija*, 1936, No. 4—5, pp. 274 f.

[67] To this list we must add R. Bleichsteiner's excellent study *Rossweihe und Pferdeopfer im Totenkult der kaukasischen Völker*. In Kagarov's bibliography we find a number of ethnological works in German by Russian and Georgian authors, as for instance Ladyženskij and Nioradze.

[68] Cf. I. I. Potechin, "Zadači bor'by s kosmopolitizmom v etnografii," SE, 1949, No. 2, pp. 25 f.

[69] For a classical example see D. K. Zelenin, "Problema pervobytnoj religii," SE, 1937, No. 4, pp. 3—17.

[70] See Ladyženskij's defense against the accusation of "heresy" for failing to quote Marx and Lenin, "Zur Erforschung der Rechtsgewohnheiten der Bergvölker des Kaukasus," *Zeitschrift für Ethnologie*, LXII (1930), p. 234.

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or non-Soviet ethnographers of today might be compared with such scholars as Čursin or Pčelina, to mention but two leading Soviet ethnographers. Present Soviet ethnography distinguishes itself by its exactness and scholarship in general. Another great merit of the Soviets, which cannot be over-estimated, is the encouragement given native Caucasians to study their own culture. The Georgians, of course, are the most active folklorists and the works produced by such students of Georgian culture as Nioradze and Makalatija may be compared with the best any country might offer. The centres of research are the Museums of Vladikavkaz, Petrovsk, and Tiflis. But besides these centres, a number of smaller branch institutes for specialized study of local cultures have been founded. Special training is given to future folklorists at the University of Tiflis. Folklore is being encouraged also by frequent museum exhibitions.[71] And in general, the rapid development of museums in the Caucasus is astounding. Since the Revolution they have doubled and trebled their collections. The Georgian Museum in Tiflis will serve as a good example. In 1926 small independent collections were pooled and collectors were sent out to various parts of Georgia. In 1921 the Museum had 12,500 specimens; in 1938 it could boast of 31,000, having more than doubled its collection within 17 years. The collection now includes 274 costumes, 620 amulets, 660 ornaments, 390 pieces of woodwork, 1,850 specimens of arms, 1,800 specimens of pottery, 600 musical instruments, 300 agricultural implements.[72] In recent years Tiflis has become a great centre of well-planned expeditions undertaken by trained fieldworkers. Expeditions to Svanetia were made in 1931, 1934, 1935, 1936, 1937; to Khevsuria in 1927; to Pshavia in 1929; to Tushetia in 1932; Mingrelia in 1937; Adzharia in 1933; Meskhetia in 1924; Kakhetia in 1928; Karthlia 1926 and 1936, to mention but some of the expeditions made in Transcaucasia.[73] Another great undertaking of the Soviet ethnographers is the assembling of numerous excellent manuscripts in the archives of the Russian Academy of Science and in other archives throughout the U.S.S.R., among which are the manuscripts of A. Ja. Kupfer, Güldenstädt, Montpéreux and others. Some of these manuscripts have already been published in the series *Archiv Akademii Nauk SSSR. G. A. Knjazev, Trudy Archiva* ("The Archives of the Academy of Science of the U.S.S.R. General Editor, G. A. Knjazev, The Works of the Archives") and others are still to follow.[74] Some of the more important publica-

[71] These exhibitions are not restricted to Georgia. See, for example. G. A. Nikitin, "Vystavka 'Kabardino-Balkarija' v Central'nom muzee narodov SSSR." SE, 1937, No. 1, pp. 166 ff.

[72] For the rapid development of North Caucasian museums, see, for example, L. I. Lavrov, "Kraevedčeskie muzei na Severnom Kavkazě," SE, 1936, No. 6, pp. 132 f.

[73] For the development of Georgian museums and folklore see G. S. Čitaja, "Etnografija Gruzii za sovetskij period" ("Georgian ethnography during the Soviet period"), SE, 1940, No. 3, pp. 207—213; S. I. Makalatija, "Etnografija i kraevedenie v Gruzii," SE, 1940, No. 3, pp. 214 f. For more about expeditions in North and South Caucasus see the various reports in the *Sovetskaja Etnografija*, e. g., E. Krupnov, "Severo-kavkazskaja ekspedicija gosudarstvennogo istoričeskogo muzeja 1936 g.," 1937, No. 1—2, pp. 119—122.

[74] Cf. M. O. Kosven, "Ob archivnych materialach po etnografii SSSR.," SE, 1936, No. 1, pp. 132—135. The *Archiv Akademii Nauk SSSR.* includes manuscripts dealing with all parts of the U.S.S.R.

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tions of Georgian folklorists are those of G. Nioradze, B. Bardavelidze, P. Charadze, C. Makalatija, G. Čubinašvili, G. Čitaja, I. A. Djavachišvili.

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Another very important project of the Soviet ethnographers is the publication of valuable books of pre-Soviet times which are no longer available. According to a report in the *Sovetskaja Etnografija* (1936, No. 4—5), the Academy of Science then planned a six volume series containing ethnographical data gathered from M. Kovalevskij's 15 works.[75] The Cherkess Institute has re-edited Dubrovin's work.

The work being done by the Soviet ethnographers is certainly an encouragement to all interested in ethnology, for the ethnologist is dependent on the ethnographer for his material. On the other hand, we must not imagine that the activity of the Soviet ethnographer cannot be improved upon. To mention some of the shortcomings—many of the expeditions carried out are too brief; the fieldworker, though trained in folklore, often lacks the knowledge of the native tongue; the fieldworkers are too interested in the material culture of the natives, neglecting the social and religious life; Soviet publications must be made more accessible outside the U.S.S.R. (It is especially this point that tends to discourage the non-Soviet ethnologist from studying an otherwise very important field.); complete monographs of the North Caucasian tribes are still non-existent; finally, a large, detailed, exact ethnographical map is still a task of the future.[76]

## 2. A Bibliography of Bibliographies

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After having made a survey of the gradual accumulation of ethnographical data from the earliest times to the present, it may be of advantage to indicate some bibliographies.

(1) A. Charitonov, "Bibliografija. Ukazatel' knig i žurnal'nych statej o Kavkazě geografičeskago statističeskago i etnografičeskago soderžanija za 1852 g." ("A bibliography. An index of books and articles for the year 1852, regarding the geography, statistics and ethnography of the Caucasus"), *Zapiski Kavkazskago Otděla Imperatorskago Russkago Geografičeskago Obščestva*, II (1853), pp. 173—187.

(2) Miansarov, *Bibliografia Caucasica et Transcaucasica*, St. Petersburg, 1874—1876. This is an immense bibliography covering all aspects of the Caucasus.

(3) *Pamjatnaja knižka i adres-kalendar Dagestanskoj Oblasti* ("Daghestan Year Book"). The volume for 1895 contains Kozubskij's bibliography of Daghestan.

(4) Th. O. Leontovič, *Adaty kavkazskich gorcev*, Odessa, 1882—1883. Volume I contains some good introductory notes on adat collections (pp. 1—81); Volume II contains a general bibliography (pp. 271—239).

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[75] "Ob izdanii etnografičeskich i soziologičeskich trudov M. M. Kovalevskogo" ("About the Publication of M. M. Kovalevskij's Ethnographical and Sociological Works"), SE, 1936, No. 4—5, pp. 227 f.

[76] The tasks still to be done in Caucasian ethnography and positive suggestions have been proposed by A. N. Genko, "Zadača etnografičeskogo izučenija Kavkaza," SE, 1936, No. 4—5, pp. 6—20. ("The Problems of Ethnographical Studies of the Caucasus.")

113 (5) I. Pul'ner, " Itogi i zadači izučenija kavkazskich (gruzinskich i gorskich) evreev " (" Results and Problems of the Study of Georgian and Mountain Jews of the Caucasus "), *Sovetskaja Etnografija*, 1936, No. 4—5, pp. 105—121. This is an excellent bibliography on the Jews of Caucasia.

(6) E. Pčelina, " Ossetica ". (A bibliographical index of literature on Ossetia), *Učenye zapiski Instituta etničeskich i nacional'nych kul'tur Vostoka*, 1930, Tome II, pp. 169—232.

(7) D. H. Egorova, " Bibliografija Vostoka " (" A Bibliography of the East "), Moscow, 1928, 22 pages.

(8) G. Nioradze, " *Begräbnis und Totenkultus bei den Chewsuren*," Stuttgart, 1931, pp. 53—57, for an easily available bibliography on the Khevsurs.

(9) The *Sovetskaja Etnografija*, 1936, No. 4—5, has an extensive bibliography of bibliographies (pp. 230—267). It covers all bibliographies published in pre-Revolutionary and post-Revolutionary times up to 1936. Very valuable is the large list of 76 Russian periodicals devoted to Caucasology either exclusively or at least frequently carrying articles on the Caucasus (pp. 268—270). Most of these periodicals are no longer published and are extremely rare, nor are they necessarily ethnographic in character. This issue contains a report on the ethnography of Armenia since the Revolution : St. Lisician, " Armjanskaja etnografija za 15 let " (pp. 270—274). On page 274—277 we find E. G. Kagarov's " bibliography of foreign (i. e., non-Russian) ethnographical literature on the Caucasus published in the last 10 years " (" Inostrannaja literatura po etnografii Kavkaza za poslednie 10 let "). This same issue contains a survey of ethnographical and archaeological literature published from 1932 to 1935 : B. E. Degen-Kovalevskij, " Obzor literatury po ethnografii i archeologii Kavkaza za tri goda," pp. 277—303.

(10) J. F. Baddeley, *Index Caucasicus*, a subject index based mainly on pre-Soviet periodicals. The *Index Caucasicus* is still in manuscript form, kept at the London Library (St. James's Sq.). Baddeley has a twelve-page bibliography, in his easily available *The Rugged Flanks of Caucasus*.

(11) For a short but good linguistical bibliography see R. Bleichsteiner, " Die kaukasische Sprachgruppe," *Anthropos* XXXI (1937), pp. 61—74.

(12) For a bibliography of works on the physical anthropology of the Caucasus see A. Djawachischwili, " Die Rassenzusammensetzung der Kaukasusvölker," *Archiv für Anthropologie*, New Series, XX (1925), p. 89.

(13) For the best and most recent works on paleoanthropology (regarding peoples of entire U.S.S.R.) see D. F. Debec, *Paleoantropologija SSSR.*, Moscow-Leningrad, 1948.

(14) For an excellent bibliography of the prehistory of Caucasia see F. Hančar's *Urgeschichte Kaukasiens*, pp. 10—26.

### 3. Criticism of Sources

127 In our attempt to describe the North Caucasian marriage and family we [121] shall have recourse especially to the literature of *pre-Soviet* times. And rightly so ! Our aim is not to portray the culture of the very last hour but to get as far back into the history of the North Caucasian family as possible. This can be

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done especially by recourse to older sources describing the conditions before the rapid acculturation of recent times. Moreover, to my knowledge, the Soviets have not published much about our present subject, and, as we have mentioned above, monographs about the North Caucasian tribes are practically non-existent,[77] especially on this side of Russia. In the use of pre-Soviet literature we are aware that great caution must be observed. The writers of czaristic times as a general rule were not of the exact and scholarly type of ethnographer modern fieldwork demands. There is a tendency among many pre-Soviet writers to over-emphasize the "savage" primitiveness of the Caucasians. But wholesale condemnation of these sources, as is sometimes done by the amateur Caucasologist, is unjustifiable. A glance at the list of sources used by such great Caucasologists as Nioradze or Pčelina will convince us of the great value pre-Soviet ethnography has for modern Caucasology. As Ladyženskij, one of the best Soviet ethnologists, puts it, "Es sind doch die Arbeiten des Akademikers W. Th. Miller, des Akademikers M. M. Kovalevskij, des korrespondierenden Mitglieds der Akademie der Wissenschaften Dubrovin, Uslars, Bacharadze und vieler andern vorhanden, die in manchen Beziehungen auch heute noch nicht übertroffen sind."[78]

We have derived most of our material from a number of rare periodicals and adat collections.

The periodicals we refer to are the following:

(1) A 10-volume series devoted exclusively to Caucasian ethnography, known as the *Sbornik svědenij o kavkazskich gorcach* ("A Collection of Information about the Mountain Peoples of Caucasus") Tiflis, 1868—1881, to my mind, a very good collection of material.

(2) A series of almost 50 volumes, likewise devoted exclusively to the study of the Caucasus, is the *Sbornik materialov dlja opisanija městnostej i plemen Kavkaza* ("A Collection of Material for Describing the Localities and Tribes of the Caucasus"). The first volume appeared in 1881 and the last issue I have seen was that of 1929 (Volume XLVI). This series contains many purely ethnographical articles and many other valuable contributions regarding the history, languages and archaeology of the Caucasus.

(3) A 9-volume series, *Sbornik svědenij o Kavkazě*, is valuable mainly for its statistics. It was published in Tiflis from 1871 to 1885. ("A Collection of Information about Caucasia.")

(4) The *Zapiski Kavkazskago Otděla* ("Memoirs of the Caucasian Division of the Imperial Russian Geographic Society"), Tiflis 1862—1917, is an immense series. It is primarily geographic in character and has the Caucasus as its exclusive scope.

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[77] A number of monographs have appeared e. g., Jakovlev's *Inguši*, Požidaev's, *Gorci sěvernago Kavkaza*, Samurskij's *Dagestan*, Balkirov's *Iskustvo Dagestana*, but these works are neither as thorough as we would have them nor do they include all the peoples of North Caucasus. The monographs of Makalatija about the Pshavs (Tiflis, 1934), Tushi (Tiflis, 1933) and the Khevsurs (Tiflis, 1935) have not been at my disposal.

[78] A. Ladyženskij, "Zur Erforschung der Rechtsgewohnheiten der Bergvölker des Kaukasus," *Zeitschrift für Ethnologie*, XLII (1930), p. 243.

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114 (5) Other periodicals, valuable indeed but less important for our present work, are, for example, the *Terskij Sbornik*, *Kavkaz*, and *Caucasica*. The *Sovetskaja Etnografija* will provide much of the more recent ethnographical data for our study.

In regard to the use of adat collections it should be kept in mind that not all collections are of equal value. The task of collecting the customary laws was of special interest to the Russian military government during the czarist régime, but unfortunately some of the collectors were not suitable for the work assigned to them. The collections we shall make most use of are:

(1) *Adaty Južno-Dagestanskich Obščestv* ("Adats of the South Daghestan Districts").

(2) *Adaty Darginskich Obščestv* ("Adats of the Districts of Dargwa Province").

(3) *Adaty Kumyskoj Ploskosti* ("Adats of the Kumykian Plains").

(4) Leontovič's *Adaty kavkazskich gorcev, Materialy po obyčnomu pravu severnago i vostočnago Kavkaza* ("Adats of the Mountain Peoples of the Caucasus. Data regarding the customary law of Northern and Eastern Caucasus," 2 volumes, Odessa, 1882—1883.) We shall use Leontovič's collection constantly. According to A. Dirr, the *Adaty kavkazskich gorcev* is supposed to be an extremely rare collection. He calls it an "außerhalb Rußlands wohl kaum auffindbare Quelle,"[79] but the fact is that it is found among John F. Baddeley's books and among my own microfilm collection.

We shall now, briefly and in alphabetical order, consider some of our other sources, at least those which we deem need special comment. At the end of this work we shall present a large general bibliography of Caucasia.

(1) Abdul-Hassan's[79a] "Golden Meadows and Jewelmines" has been translated by M. Abicht and published in Klaproth's *Beschreibung der russischen Provinzen zwischen dem Kaspischen und Schwarzen Meere* (Berlin, 1814), pp. 182 to 269. Although Abdul-Hassan falls under the class of Arabs whom we may almost *a priori* suspect of prejudice, this little work (written about A. D. 943) can be of some value for the study of the Caucasus if used with caution.

(2) General Alichanov is supposed to be an authority on the Daghestanians. But we shall have occasion to disagree with him in regard to the status of Avarian women.

(3) Amirov's "Sredi gorcev severnago Dagestana," *Sbornik svědenij o kavkazskich gorcach*, VII (1873), pp. 1—80 will prove very useful for our study because it contains a detailed account of family life in Northern Daghestan and its author is a Dargwa, a native of Daghestan.

(4) Čach Achriev's articles about the Chechens are well-written and sufficiently reliable.

(5) John F. Baddeley's *The Rugged Flanks of Caucasus* (London, 1940) is the product of several visits to the Caucasus and of many years of study. He is

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[79] A. Dirr, "Trepanation als gerichtlicher Beweis im Kaukasus," *Festschrift P. W. Schmidt*, Wien, 1928, p. 218, note.

[79a] Cf. *Supra*, Note 58*.

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an excellent critic on literature about the Caucasus and has written perhaps the best history of the Russians in the Caucasus.[80]

(6) Josaphat Barbaro's *Viaggio di Iosaphat Barbaro, ambasciadore di Venetia alla Tana ed in Persia (1436—1471)* is important only in as far as it is one of the first reliable ethnographical works about the Caucasus and vicinity.

(7) A. Baschmakoff's *Cinquante siècles d'évolution ethnique autour de la mer Noire* is supposed to be based on the results of the Japhetic School, but we can be quite certain that the members of the School today do not make such sweeping generalizations and assumptions as does the author of this book (published in Paris, 1937). Baschmakoff evidently lost contact with the Marr School. On the whole, the work is fantastic, its conclusions being completely unfounded or at least premature. His explanation of mesocephaly in the Caucasus, however, is quite possible.

(8) Berže's *Čečnja i Čečency* (Tiflis, 1859) has a fine section on family feuds and some useful material on our subject.

(9) R. Bleichsteiner is one of the few scholars on this side of Russia devoting most of his time to Caucasology and is one of the greatest living Caucasologists. He is primarily a linguist.

(10) Joseph Castagné's "Le droit coutumier familial des montagnards du Caucase et des Tscherkesses en particulier" is based on Ladyženskij and differs but slightly from A. Dirr's translation in the *Zeitschrift für vergleichende Rechtswissenschaft*. Castagné makes the capital mistake of identifying Cherkess customs with those of all North Caucasians. Such a generalization is impossible and certainly not intended by Ladyženskij.

(11) G. F. Čursin (d. 1930) was one of the leading Soviet ethnographers. (For obituary and list of works see *Sovetskaja Etnografija*, 1931, No. 3—4, pp. 189—195.)

(12) Bašir Dalgat is a native Chechen, who, evidently, had a good education, a deep appreciation of Caucasian culture and a fine sense for ethnographical detail. We shall use his "Pervobytnaja Religija Čečencev," later translated from the *Terskij Sbornik* by A. Dirr and printed in the *Anthropos* VIII (1908), pp. 729—740, 1050—1076. We shall indirectly have an occasion to use his unpublished manuscripts, on which Kovalevskij greatly depended.

(13) Adolf Dirr, till his death in 1930, was perhaps the greatest Caucasologist in the world. His periodical *Caucasica* was second to none in matters dealing with the Caucasus. Especially useful for our present study is his "Aus dem Gewohnheitsrecht der kaukasischen Bergvölker." (A list of Dirr's publications can be found in the *Caucasica* VI [1930] No. 2, pp. 4—9.)

(14) Dubois de Montpéreux *Voyage autour du Caucase* is a work of the first half of the last century. It is an immense study of six volumes with two large atlases (maps and architectural and archaeological diagrams), presenting the results of an expedition. The *Voyage autour du Caucase* won the first prize offered by the Geographic Society of Paris in 1838.

(15) N. Dubrovin's *Istorija vojny i vladyčestva russkich na Kavkaze* ("History of the War and Domination of the Russians in the Caucasus") is a six-

[80] *The Russian Conquest of the Caucasus*, New York, Bombay, Calcutta, 1908.

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114 volume work of which the first volume is a purely ethnographic. It is especially this first volume that will prove of much value for our present study, for it contains a treasure of useful information culled from sources that either no longer exist today or at least are not at our disposal. Unfortunately Dubrovin refers to his sources only in a more or less general way, leaving us in the dark as to the exact authority on which he bases the particular assertion. Nor does he care much about whether the custom described belongs to the past or present. In spite of these shortcomings,[81] Dubrovin's *Istorija* remains a useful source book of lasting value.

(16) Djavachišvili is a native Georgian, professor at the University of Tiflis, whose compilation of anthropological data of the Caucasus up to 1925 is perhaps the best available.

(17) Tamby Elechoty is a native Ossete, specialist on customary law of the Mountain Peoples of the Caucasus, from whom J. Castagné received some information for his article.

(18) Ellis does not enjoy much authority in spite of being one of the earlier writers about the Caucasus. His work is not the product of fieldwork but only of the study of such authors as Reineggs and Güldenstädt.

(19) Erckert may not be remembered as a linguist, except perhaps for his mistakes, but his value lies not in his linguistic attempts but rather in his ethnographical contribution, *Der Kaukasus*. Erckert had a high position in the czar's army and spent two years in the Caucasus.

(20) Eristov is not free from contradictions but he does offer good material not found elsewhere.

(21) Essad-Bey's works are of a popular nature, remarkable for their clear and charming presentation of the genuinely Caucásian spirit. He also goes by the name of Noussimbaum.

(22) Said Gabiev offers us some valuable material about the Laks in his "Laki. Ich prošloe i byt" ("The Laks. Their Past and Form of Life.")

(23) Grabovskij has written two articles which we find useful for our present study, "Ekonomičeskij i domašnij byt žitelej gorskago učastka Ingušev-skago Okruga" ("The Economic and Domestic Life in the Ingush Province") and his "Inguši." Baddely accuses Grabovskij of "gross contradiction"[82] but quite unfairly. We are inclined to agree rather with Dirr that Grabovskij's articles are "ausgezeichnet."[83]

(24) Güldenstädt is the pioneer explorer of the Caucasus.

(25) C. Hahn has written a large number of articles and books about the Caucasus. They are all the products of fieldwork. Nevertheless they must be used with caution, since sometimes the author's visits were too brief for a strictly scientific expedition.

(26) Haxthausen's works contain some valuable information, but he too is not an ideally gifted observer.

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[81] For a lengthy criticism of Dubrovin's work see SSKG., VI (1872).

[82] J. F. Baddeley, *The Rugged Flanks of Caucasus*, II, 88.

[83] A. Dirr, "Aus dem Gewohnheitsrecht der kaukasischen Bergvölker," *Zeitschr. f. vergl. Rechtswissenschaft*, XLI (1925), p. 8.

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(27) J. Karst has done the laudable service of translating and writing a commentary to King Vakhtang's Code. 114

(28) Jakovlev's is a popular work with a scientific value. He presents the life of the Ingushi as found in recent (1925) times.

(29) Juynboll's *Handbuch des islamischen Gesetzes* published over 40 years ago is still recognized as the best exposition of Islamic law according to the Shâfi'itic School.

(30) Klaproth is famous for his wholesale plagiarisms. Nevertheless we must admit that he at least had a good judgement and "borrowed" only the best.[84]

(31) Kokiev is a native Ossete, a Digorian.

(32) M. Kovalevskij has produced the finest works on Caucasian law up to the present day. He was a trained jurist and explored the Caucasus himself, carefully studied the adats of the natives and had access to valuable manuscripts and government archives. His works, especially *Zakon i Obyčaj na Kavkazě* ("Law and Custom in the Caucasus"), published in 1890, and his *Sovremennij Obyčaj i Drevnij Zakon*, published in 1886 and later translated into French under the title of *Coutume contemporaine et loi ancienne* (Paris, 1893), contain an immense amount of material. Although we must reject Kovalevskij's evolutionism and not a few other conclusions, we will have constant recourse to the invaluable data gathered by him. According to a report in the *Sovetskaja Etnografija* (1936, No. 4—5, pp. 227 f.), the Russian Academy of Science plans to publish Kovalevskij's ethnographical and sociological data in a special six-volume work. This interest of the Soviet ethnographers of today clearly proves that Kovalevskij's works have a lasting value, although written half a century ago.

(33) P. I. Kovalevskij must be distinguished from M. M. Kovalevskij. P. I. Kovalevskij offers us a good conspectus of the peoples and tribes of Caucasia in his *Kavkaz, Narody* Kavkaza. (St. Petersburg, 1914. "The Caucasus. The Nations of the Caucasus.") He has lived in the Caucasus and describes the peoples with whom he was personally in contact. Unfortunately the number of nations he wishes to portray is so large that his work is necessarily too sketchy and can hardly offer the reader anything new.

(34) Ladyženskij is one of the best authorities on customary law. A number of his articles have been translated into German. The most useful article for the present work is, of course, "Das Familiengewohnheitsrecht der Tscherkessen," translated from the Russian by A. Dirr.[85] Ladyženskij presents the results of an expedition in 1927, and generally his interpretations are very good. His studies contain excellent material, which we shall amply make use of in the present work.

(35) Laudaev is a native Chechen, the first to write about his own people in Russian.[86]

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[84] See Baddeley's repeated criticism of Klaproth, *op. cit.*

[85] *Zeitschr. f. vergl. Rechtsw.*, XLV (1930), pp. 178—208.

[86] "Iz Čečencev ja pervy pišu na russkom jazykě o moej rodině, ekže tak malo izvěstnoj" ("I am the first Chechen to write about my people, who are still so little known"), SSKG., VI (1872), p. 1, *note*.

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114 (36) Marr and the Marr School are responsible more than anyone else for the great interest in Caucasology, which we find today. Professor Marr, a Scotch-Georgian by birth, was, no doubt, a great genius,[87] although at times his enthusiasm led him to over-hasty conclusions. Today his school plays the leading rôle in Russian archaeology. The linguists tend to part more and more from their Master's opinions, but, we must remember, the direction of this departure was given by Marr himself, toward the end of his life.

(37) Halil Beg Mussayassul is a native Daghestanian, son of a *nâ'ib*. His *Das Land der letzten Ritter* (Munich, 1936) is a popular book, intended more to entertain the ordinary reader than to inform the scientist; nevertheless it is a useful work, faithfully describing the life of the Daghestanian noble class in pre-Soviet times.

(38) Fr. Nansen's *Through the Caucasus to the Volga* is a popular work, based on a few more or less reliable authors and on a trip through the Caucasus. It has very little scientific value.

(39) Nioradze is the leading Georgian ethnologist.

(40) Omarov is a native of Kazikumukh Province.

(41) Pallas's works are products of expeditions, dating back to the 18th century.

(42) Pčelina has, to my mind, produced some of the best Soviet ethnography. He is an exact fieldworker (expedition of 1934—1936) and doubtless masters the literature on the Caucasians. His articles are outstanding for their exactness and critical presentation.[88]

(43) Pfaff was the first Russian interested in the Ossetine customs. Though he made many serious mistakes (as, for example, to consider the Ossetes a mixture of Aryan and Semitic stock, or again, his numberless mistakes in philology), nevertheless, his purely ethnographical contributions are good. In fact he preserved much Ossetine lore which would have otherwise perished.

(44) A. H. Post is cited in the present study merely as a secondary source with a confirmartory value. We reject his evolutionism.

(45) Požidaev, lecturer at the North Caucasian Pedagogical Institute of Vladikavkaz, is the author of *Gorcy severnogo Kavkaza* ("Mountain Peoples of Northern Caucasus"). The ethnographical data he has to offer is reliable and based on practical fieldwork.

(46) Reinegg's *Reise* is more than a mere work of travel; we might almost call it an expedition. Much of Klaproth's plagiarism goes back to his high appreciation of this well-written work.

(47) Seidlitz was the head of the statistical department during the czarist régime. His acquaintance with the conditions in the Caucasus was good and his articles are generally reliable.

(48) Vakhtang VI's Code is a collection of Georgian laws edited in the eighteenth century but based on ancient Georgian customary law.

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[87] Cf. "Pamjati učenogo-revoljucionera Nikolaja Jakovleviča, Marra," SE, 1935, No. 1, pp. 3—7. I. I. Meščaninov, "Nikolaj Jakovlevič Marr," SE, 1935, No. 1, pp. 8—17.

[88] Cf. "Rodil'nye obyčai u osetin," SE, 1937, No. 4, pp. 85—103; "Obrjad gostepriimstva v osetii," SE, 1932, No. 5—6, pp. 140—163; *Ossetica*, a bibliography.

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# II. MARRIAGE

## Chapter II

## Prohibited Mating

We shall begin our study of the North Caucasian marriage with a negative, but a very important, question: Which persons may *not* be mates? The next chapter will tell us which persons are not only not excluded from mating, but are regarded as *preferred*, or even *obligatory*, mates.

### § 1. THE RULE OF MONOGAMY

#### 1. Extent and Frequency of Polygamy in the Caucasus

As a general rule the NORTHWESTERN CAUCASIANS content themselves with one wife,[1] although both the *Abkhaz* and the *Cherkess* consider polygyny just as lawful as monogyny. After the Soviet government had prohibited plural marriages, polygyny indeed became extremely rare (today it is found only by way of exception here and there among old "incorrigible" Kabardians), but the people still maintain that as long as a man can afford two wives and can feed and clothe them properly, he is just as much in the right as the monogamist,[2] the Soviet penal law notwithstanding.

According to a report of John de Lucca, a Dominican missionary, *(Relations des Tartares, Percopites et Nogaies, des Circassiens, Mingréliens et Géorgiens)* the seventeenth century Circassians recognized polygyny as a lawful institution; however, they seldom made use of the right.[3] In a report from 1502 *(Della Vita dei Zychi, altrimenti chiamati Circassi)*, Interiano mentions that the natives heartily approved of plurality of wives.[4] Our sources, therefore, tell us that polygyny has been in practice in Northwest Caucasia for more than 450 years, always, indeed, more as an exception than as a rule.

The practice certainly does not owe its existence to Mohammedan missionaries. The Cherkess conversion was very superficial till the Murid wars, when a common hatred against the Russians united them under the Moslem

[1] N. Dubrovin, *Istorija vojny i vladyčestva russkich na Kavkazě*, Tome I, Bk. I, p. 138. A. Byhan, *La civilisation caucasienne*, (Paris, 1936), p. 154.

[2] A. Ladyženskij, "Das Familiengewohnheitsrecht der Tscherkessen," *Zeitschrift für vergleichende Rechtswissenschaft*, XLV (1930), pp. 191, 195.

[3] Ladyženskij, *op. cit.*, *p. 184*.

[4] R. Erckert, "*Der Kaukasus und seine Völker*," p. 67.

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595 797 banner of Ghâzi-Mullah and Shamyl.[5] Before that time they were only "indifferent disciples of Mohammed," as a report from the first half of the nineteenth century has it,[6] or "without any religion," as Güldenstädt pictured the situation in the 18th century.[7] In other words, the conversion of the Cherkess to Islamism was relatively recent, while polygyny is an old institution. It is beyond the least shadow of doubt that the Cherkess were not Mohammedans when Interiano visited them in 1502. Polygyny of the Cherkess certainly antedates the introduction of the šar'ia (Islamic law) into Northwest Caucasia.

Passing over to the NORTHEASTERN CAUCASIANS, we find polygyny a recognized institution among them also. There can be no doubt about the practice existing among the *Chechens*;[8] in fact one of the Chechen tribes (Ingushi) seemed to make use of the right rather frequently. Grabovskij claimed that plurality of wives was of "very frequent" occurrence and that "many" Ingushi had two wives and occasionally three. Moreover, he goes so far as to say that this practice was not limited to the privileged families (as was the case with the Northwestern Caucasians), but that it was rather common to see a "pauper" with two wives.[9] Count Potocki had claimed, about a hundred years earlier, that some Ingushi had as many as five wives.[10]

Although the Chechens are Mohammedans, polygyny antedates their conversion to Islamism. According to Bašir Dalgat, a Chechen by birth, Islamism dates from the time when Chechen migrated to Ichkeria (16th century A. D.) and to the highlands (17th and 18th century). It was then that they lost contact with the Christian Georgians and fell into completely Islamic surroundings (the Daghestanians, Kumyks and Kabardians). Gradually the Chechens went over to Mohammedanism. One of the Chechen tribes, the Ingushi, living near the Georgian Military Road, the only agreeable road from Christian Georgia to Christian Russia, remained unsympathetic toward the new religion. As a counteraction against Islamic proselytism, Russian missionaries in the first half of the eighteenth century began a Christian revival among the Ingushi, resulting in a bitter struggle between Mohammedanism and Christianity. Finally in 1862 the Christian Cross had to give way to the ever-expanding Crescent.[11]

Almost a hundred years before the final submission of the Ingushi to Islamic law, Güldenstädt observed that they "marry several women, just as the Mohammedans do, but unlike the latter, they eat pork." Hence, though not yet fully Islamized, the Ingushi practiced polygamy.[12]

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[5] G. Zawadowski, "Les Musilmans du Caucase," *En Terre d'Islam*, XVIII (1943), No. 23, p. 162 f.

[6] J. A. Longworth, *A Year among the Cherkess*, I, p. 239.

[7] *Beschreibung der kaukasischen Länder*, p. 135. "Das Volk lebt ohne Religion" is not to be understood literally.

[8] G. Vertepov, "Inguši," *Terskij Sbornik*, II (1892), No. 2, p. 87.

[9] N. Grabovskij, "Ekonomičeskij i domašnij byt žitelej gorskago učastka Inguševskago okruga," SSKG, III (1870), p. 21.

[10] Count J. Potocki, *Voyage dans les steps d'Astrakhan et du Caucase*, II, p. 127.

[11] B. Dalgat, "Die alte Religion der Tschetschenen," *Anthropos*, III (1908), pp. 730 f. For the Islamization of the Chechens, see Vertepov, "Inguši," *Terskij Sbornik*, II (1892), No. 2, p. 87. Počidaev, *Gorcy severnago kavkaza*, p. 18.

[12] Güldenstädt, *Beschreibung der kaukasischen Länder*, p. 151.

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The *Lesghians*, who are geographically and linguistically related to the Chechens, likewise countenance polygamous marriages, but, here polygyny is a privilege that has always been reserved for a few. It is to be noted that these privileged personages seldom espouse more than two women.[13] 595 [101]

The largest and the most important people of the Lesghian group are the Avars. Speaking of these people, L'vov tells us expressly that only relatively few men can boast of two or at most three wives.[14]

The Lesghians were the first to be Islamized and their conversion was the most thorough. The Laks, for example, accepted the Koran as early as the 116th year of the hegira A. D. 777. By the end of the ninth century Mohammedanism was firmly rooted among the Daghestanian mountaineers.[15] 797

Hence, to discover the pre-Islamic condition of the Lesghians, we must go to the early Persian and Arabian writers. They inform us that when Islamism was introduced into Daghestan, the people were all followers of Zoroastrianism. These reports are confirmed by the fact that today there are still not a few traces of Avestic teaching in the Caucasus and in Daghestan in particular.[16] Attempts to Christianize the Daghestanians had been made at first by Armenian, Georgian, and Byzantine missionaries, then, in the thirteenth century by the Roman Catholic Church.[17] But in spite of all Christian missionary activity, pre-Islamic Daghestan must be classified as Avestic.

Polygyny is in full accord with Zoroastrianism, no less than with Mohammedanism, and therefore there is no reason why we should place plural marriages in the Mohammedan period and exclude them from Avestic times. Ahura Mazda Himself is supposed to have had a number of wives, and Zoroaster, his Prophet, according to tradition, had three. In fact, Avesta (Vend. iii. 3) actually encourages polygyny by teaching that in the household of the just, "both women and children abound" (Geiger, *Ostiranische*, pp. 244, 247). Polygyny was ex- 595

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[13] M. Kovalevskij, *Zakon*, II, p. 166.

[14] N. L'vov, "Domašnaja i semejnaja žizn dagestanskich gorcev avarskago plemeni," SSKG, III (1870), p. 20.

[15] For the Islamization of Daghestan see R. Erckert, *Der Kaukasus*, pp. 152—156; for the conversion of the Laks see Said Gabiev, "Laki, ich prošloe i byt," SMOMPK, XXXVI (1906), p. 14.

[16] Abû Ḥamîd el-Andalûsî writes about the Lesghians: "They have no religion, and pay no taxes. If a man dies they hand him over to men in houses under the earth, who cut up the members of the deceased, remove the flesh entirely from the bones, collect it together on one side, and give it to ravens to devour; they stand near with bows to keep off other birds from eating any of the flesh. If a woman dies they hand her over to other men (var. women) under the earth, who remove her bones, and give her flesh to vultures, while they stand by with knives to hinder other birds from approaching the flesh." Abû Ḥamîd el-Andalûsî is here referring to the Kubachi, a Dargwa-speaking people. J. Abercromby, *A Trip through the Eastern Caucasus*, p. 290. Of the Colchi Aelian writes in his *Historical Miscellanies*, iv. 1 (c. A. D. 200), "The Colkhi place their dead into skins and sew them up and then hang them up in trees." Both of these practices are traces of Zoroastrianism. "To bury a body," according to Sir Denison Ross, "would defile the pure earth, which is one of the gifts of Ahuramazda, and to burn it would defile his symbol, the Sacred Fire. Bodies are therefore exposed on towers (*dkhma*) specially constructed for the purpose, to be devoured by birds of prey." (Cited by Henry Field, *Contributions to the Anthropology of Iran*, Anthropological Series Field Museum of Natural History, Chicago, December 15, 1939.) [764]

[17] J. F. Baddeley, *op. cit.*, II, p. 39.

595 pressly recognized as lawful as early as the composition of the Mâtigân-i-Hazâr Dastân.[17*]

[101] On the southern slopes of the Caucasus, in high isolated valleys, we find the GEORGIAN mountain tribes, the Khevsurs, Tushi, Pshavs and Svans, who, owing to their isolation, have preserved the ancient Georgian culture better by far than their brothers in the lowlands, and therefore, when speaking of the Georgians, we shall limit ourselves as much as possible to these four tribes.[17**]

Formerly plural marriages were of frequent occurrence in *Khevsuria*. "In former times," writes Nansen, "polygyny was general," or in the words of the original, "war früher an der Tagesordnung."[18] By "formerly" we mean before the conversion of the Khevsurs to the Orthodox Church.[19] But a deeply ingrained customary law cannot be easily "repealed" and such is the case in Khevsuria in regard to the right of having more than one wife; for, even today, although rarely, some Khevsurs still insist on marrying several women.[20] The *Svans* are "monogamists" but, like the Khevsurs, they gave up plural marriages only after their conversion to Christianity. They are mono-
[586] gamists officially and economically, but, like the Khevsurs, they are sexually polygamous: in order to evade the law of the Church, the Khevsurs and the Svans introduced extremely easy divorce, a form of *successive* polygamy. Divorce is so frequent and easy (almost an annual affair) that we hesitate to call it monogamy.[21] G. Radde, in his monograph on the Khevsurs, claimed that many had been divorced and remarried ten times before they were 35 years of age.[22]

And now if we pass on to the non-Caucasian neighbours of the North Caucasian tribes, we find that the Mohammedan as well as the Christian OSSETES countenance polygyny, but as elsewhere it is rare, as rare as wealth.[23]
[585] As a rule, only the two highest classes, the princes and the *aldars* could afford more than one wife. In fact, there are even special *adats* which seem to reserve the privilege for these classes.[24]

The TURCO-TARTARS of the Caucasus have had a great share in the moulding of modern Caucasian culture and consequently demand our consideration.

Vambéry in his *Die primitive Kultur des turko-tatarischen Volkes* (pp. 71 f) assures us that not even the slightest traces of polygyny can be found among the primitive Turco-Tartars. In fact their language lacks such terms as "secondary wife," "bastard," and "prostitution."[25]

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[17*] *Hasting's Encyclopedia of Religion and Ethics*, V, p. 745.

[17**] The Svans are "Georgians" only in a broad sense of the word, meaning "South Caucasians."

[18] F. Nansen, *Through the Caucasus to the Volga*, p. 58; *Durch den Kaukasus zur Wolga*, p. 39.

[19] G. Radde, *Die Chewsuren und ihr Land*, p. 90.

[20] C. Hahn, *Bilder aus dem Kaukasus*, p. 82; A. Byhan, *La civilisation caucasienne*, p. 114. R. Eristov, "O Tulino-Plavo-Chevsurskom Okrugè," ZKO, III (1855), p. 113.

[21] F. Bodenstedt, *Die Völker des Kaukasus*, I, p. 282. N. Dubrovin, *Istorija*, Tome I, Bk. II, p. 109.

[22] Radde, *op cit.*, p. 113. Cf. R. Briffault, *The Mothers*, II, pp. 269 ff.

[23] Dubrovin, *op. cit.*, Tome I, Bk. I, p. 329.

[24] Leontovič, *Adaty kavkazskich gorcev*, II, p. 12, § 10; p. 14, § 27; p. 16, a 40.

[25] Schmidt-Koppers, *Völker und Kulturen*, p. 204.

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According to a missionary's report dating from the year 1750, the League Tartars round the city of Derbend "drink wine without reserve and marry only one woman," and, in spite of being Mohammedans, lead such unorthodox lives, that the Persians can hardly recognize anything Mohammedan about them.[26] But such was not the case with all the Tartars in the Caucasus.[27] The Karachai,[28] Kumyks[29] and Nogai[30] are polygynists, though they seldom avail themselves of their legal privilege. 595

## 2. Problems regarding Polygamy

Before we go over to the problems and possible solutions regarding polygamous marriages in North Caucasia, a glance at the following table will help us recall the various customary laws of the North Caucasian peoples and how they differ from those of their neighbours. We have said nothing about polyandry because nowhere in the Caucasus is it a recognized institution.

**TABLE 5**

**Polygamy in Caucasia**

| | PEOPLES | Adats Permit | | Polygyny is Pre-Islamic | Enjoyed by Rich Alone | Usually Restricted to Bigyny |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | Polyandry | Polygyny | | | |
| North-Western | Abkhaz | — | + | + | + | + |
| | Cherkess | — | + | + | + | + |
| North-Eastern | Chechens | — | + | + | — | + |
| | Leghians | — | + | + | + | + |
| Southerners | Khevsurs | — | + | | — | + |
| | Pshavs | — | + | | | + |
| | Tushi | — | + | | | + |
| | Svans | — | + | | | + |
| | OSSETES | — | + | + | + | + |
| Turco-Tartars | Derbend | — | ? | | | |
| | Kumyks | — | + | | + | + |
| | Nogai | — | + | | + | + |
| | Karachai | — | + | | + | + |

[26] J. Hanway, *An historical account of the British trade over the Caspian Sea: with a journal of travels through Russia*, London, 1753, I, p. 374.

[27] *ibid.*

[28] Gróf Zichy Jenő, *Kaukázusi és középázsiai utazásai*, Part I: Dr. Jankó János, *Néprajzi szótemény leírása*, Budapest, 1897, p. 44.

[29] Gadži-Magoma-Debirov, "Dagestanskija predanija i suevěrija," SMOMPK, IV (1884), No. 2, p. 32.

[30] Jankó, *l. c.*

595 (1) Custom permits *all* North Caucasians and their neighbours, whether Christian or Mohammedan, to marry more than one wife. The Tartars near the city of Derbend in the eighteenth century are the only exception, but even in this single case, it ist not certain whether they were monogamists *de jure* or only *de facto*.

[177] (2) Everywhere polygyny is *pre-Islamic*, even if previous to their conversion to Islamism the particular tribe happened to be Christian. We might rightly, therefore, inquire into the possible origin of polygyny in the Caucasus. Polygyny, if borrowed at all, was not borrowed as an *isolated* institution. On the contrary, it seems to be a North Caucasian possession, first of all, as old as the practice [574] of levirate (*infra*, pp. 71—75). Furthermore, it seems to be a North Caucasian [614] cultural possession as old as the economic, social, and religious structure of the North Caucasian family itself. Here we understand "family" in its broad sense, including the joint-family and sib. We cannot now describe this family structure in detail. Briefly, by "the economic, social, and religious structure of the family" we understand that the family in North Caucasia has been and in many places still is the *raison d'être* of the individual.[30a] Whatever the individual does or whatever is done to him or for him has only one aim, the perpetuation and prosperity of the family. Now, in the mind of the North Caucasian, polygyny [581] is an immense asset and at times absolutely indispensable for the economic, social, and religious life of the all-important and solely-important family.

593 *Economically* considered, the wife is extremely important. In the North 562 Caucasus it is the wife who does most of the work (*infra*, pp. 156—159). In fact, sometimes a rich Avar will marry a son to a poor girl or to a widow of a lower class, with whom he is forbidden all communication, in order to have an additional worker in the house.[31] Moreover, a wife is not only a *worker*; she 842 is the "*worker-producing*" organ of the family. Even though boys are preferred (*infra*, pp. 159 ff), girls prove to be good and valuable workers and bring in, at times, a large brideprice (*infra*, pp. 82—91). Now, the more wives there are in the household, the more "worker-producing" organs there are, and by that very fact, at least in the mind of the natives, the family becomes so much the more economically healthy and secure.

The *religious* structure of the family may have contributed just as much to [769] the rise of polygyny as did the economic form of life. The most sacred duty of the individual and of the individual family is, or at least has been, to perpetuate itself, and thus to perpetuate the cult of the ancestors. It is a fact throughout North Caucasus that only a *son* can perpetuate the family and prevent the greatest calamity imagineable, its extinction. But a wife is precisely the "*boy-producing*" organ. If this organ is lacking or fails to function the family is doomed. Today one of the main motives for taking a second wife is sterility.[32] Or again, a second wife will be acquired if the first gives birth only to girls.

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[30a] According to ancient customary laws.

[31] L'vov, *op. cit.*, p. 19.

[32] Cf. K. Mačavariani, "Nikotoryja čerty iz žizni Abchazcev. Položenie ženščiny v Abchazii," SMOMPK, IV (1884), No. 2, p. 42. E. G. Pčelina, "Rodil'nye obyčai u osetin," SE, 1937, No. 4, p. 88.

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We may go a step further and say that if it is the wife who secures the family economically and religiously, the family will be respected by others in proportion to the number of mothers it has. In a word, the *social* status of the family depends on the economic and religious status, and these in turn depend very much on the number of wives. Doubtless, investment in wives is the best investment of any North Caucasian family.

Polygyny being part and parcel of the family organization of the North Caucasian peoples, we must, therefore, in seeking the origin of the institution, go back beyond Islamic times, beyond Christian and Avestic times, and perhaps beyond historical times. North Caucasian polygyny was born when the North Caucasian family organization was born.

A corollary to the question regarding the origin of polygyny in North Caucasia is the enquiry into the motives for polygynous unions. The sexual factor has relatively little significance. Not lust, not desire to have a young wife, not a surplus of women, but craving for a large family, for many labourers, for economic and religious prepetuation of the family, for the rise in social prestige—these are the motives that generally induce a man to marry a second wife.

(3) A glance at Table 5 under the columns "Usually restricted to bigyny" and "Enjoyed by rich alone" will reveal that plural marriages among the North Caucasian peoples and their neighbours are usually cases of *bigamy* and that polygyny is more the exception than the rule. This state of affairs would seem to contradict what we have just said about the importance of polygyny. Why is this all-important institution practiced only by a *few* and generally *limited* to one and at the most two additional wives? Why this difference in theory and practice? This fact is all the more striking because all our North Caucasian peoples are Mohammedans and according to the Koran, iv. 3 and Islamic tradition everyone is entitled to have up to four wives.

The first reason, and no doubt, the most important one is that Nature herself prevents universal polygyny. The relative number of males and females is dictated by a biological law, the sex ratio rarely exceeding 100:110 in favour of either sex.[33] Usually the ratio is 106 males to 100 females, but, we must remember, child mortality is far greater among boys than girls, so that in the long run the ratio of marriageable persons is about 100:100.[34] Nowhere in the world does it approximate a 1:2 ratio, which would be necessary to make bigyny a general practice.[35]

Theoretically speaking, a surplus of women could result in the Caucasus from blood-feuds, dangerous occupations, infanticide, and other major disturbances affecting the *male* population alone. Such a preponderance of female sex would necessitate many of them remaining unmarried or several women would be obliged to marry one man. But are there such major disturbances affecting the sex ratio in the Caucasus? Since the Soviet government prohibits polygyny and in recent decades polygyny has become extremely rare, it would seem much

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[33] R. H. Lowie, *An Introduction to Cultural Anthropology*, (New York, 1947), p. 243.

[34] Günther, *Formen und Urgeschichte der Ehe*, p. 100.

[35] R. H. Lowie, *Social Organization*, p. 113.

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162 more methodologically correct to study the relation of sex ratio to polygyny in
595 *pre-Soviet* times. The Russian Imperial Geographic Society published the following statistics for the year 1897 in the *Isvěstija Kavkazskago Otděla* (XII [1898], pp. 27 f). These statistics are sufficiently reliable, and even if they disagree with other statistics of this period, the discrepencies do not affect our essential argument: the sex ratio is a serious hindrance to the practice of polygyny.[26]

## TABLE 6
### Population of Caucasia in 1897
### A. North Caucasus

| GOVERNMENT | PROVINCE (County) | MALES | FEMALES | TOTAL |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Kuban | | 976,900 | 945,873 | 1,922,773 |
| | Ekaterinodar | 124,789 | 119,138 | 243,927 |
| | Batalpashinsk | 110,824 | 107,401 | 218,225 |
| | Yeysk | 139,923 | 136,713 | 276,636 |
| | Maikop | 145,138 | 139,030 | 284,168 |
| | Kavkaz | 126,565 | 122,736 | 249,301 |
| | Labinsk | 155,615 | 152,222 | 307,837 |
| | Teminsk | 174,046 | 168,633 | 342,679 |
| Terek | | 487,489 | 445,996 | 933,485 |
| | Vladikavkaz | 73,461 | 64,372 | 137,833 |
| | Grozny | 119,615 | 108,033 | 227,648 |
| | Kizlyar | 51,715 | 48,035 | 99,750 |
| | Nalchik | 53,202 | 49,721 | 102,223 |
| | Pyatigorsk | 93,403 | 96,801 | 180,204 |
| | Tsundzhensk | 59,122 | 56,775 | 115,897 |
| | Khasan-Yurt | 36,971 | 32,259 | 69,230 |
| Stavropol | | 446,963 | 429,335 | 876,298 |
| | Stavropol | 84,473 | 81,732 | 166,205 |
| | Alexandropol | 91,758 | 89,146 | 180,904 |
| | Medveyzhensk | 117,761 | 115,999 | 233,760 |
| | Novogrigoryevsk | 126,583 | 121,861 | 248,444 |
| | Others | 26,388 | 20,597 | 46,985 |

[26] Besides the statistics of the Russian Imperial Geographic Society of 1897 which we quote below, there are also the following collections of statistics for this period: *Pamjatnaja knižka* (1895), pp. 165—405, which contains very detail statistics of Daghestan indicating the number of households, male and female population of each village; SSKG, V (1870), pp. 51—58, VI (1872), appendix pp. 1—65, VIII (1875), pp. 1—17 (Sostav naselenija Dagestanskoj Oblasti), IX (1876), pp. 20—29 for Andi Province, pp. 4—19 for Western Daghestan, pp. 52 ff for Sakataly; *Sbornik svědenij o Kavkazě*, nine large quarto volumes edited by a special statistical committee under the capable leadership of Seidlitz, especially useful are volumes V (1879) and VIII (1885); *Zapiski Kavkazskago Otděla Imperatorskago Russkago Geografičeskago Običestva*, V (1862), pp. 135—151 for general statistics, VIII (1873), pp. 1—49 for Daghestan, XVIII (1896); *Terskij Sbornik*, II (1892), pp. 98—102.

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| GOVERNMENT | PROVINCE (County) | MALES | FEMALES | TOTAL |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Daghestan | | 300,155 | 286,481 | 586,636 |
| | Temir-Khan-Shura | 51,127 | 42,716 | 93,846 |
| | Avar Province | 18,732 | 18,498 | 37.230 |
| | Andi | 23,546 | 23,447 | 46,993 |
| | Gunib | 28,641 | 29,953 | 58,594 |
| | Dargwa | 40,514 | 41,949 | 82,463 |
| | Lak (Kazikumukh) | 26,368 | 27,297 | 53,665 |
| | Kaitago-Tabassaran | 47,547 | 42,159 | 89,706 |
| | Kurin | 39,308 | 37,241 | 76,549 |
| | Samur | 24,372 | 23,221 | 47,593 |

## B. South Caucasus

| GOVERNMENT | PROVINCE (County) | MALES | FEMALES | TOTAL |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Tiflis | | 526,349 | 432,826 | 958,775 |
| | Tiflis | 133,459 | 94,321 | 227,780 |
| | Akhalkalak | 38,754 | 34,608 | 73,362 |
| | Akhaltsikh | 37,479 | 31,665 | 69,144 |
| | Borchalinsk | 104,183 | 87,473 | 191,656 |
| | Dushet | 37,667 | 32,258 | 69,925 |
| | Telav | 34,633 | 30,516 | 65,149 |
| | Tioneti | 18,894 | 17,944 | 36,438 |
| | Signakh | 53,950 | 46,147 | 100,097 |
| Kutais | | 567,353 | 508,468 | 1,075,861 |
| | Kutais | 115,395 | 107,932 | 223,327 |
| | Artvinsk | 29,575 | 26,881 | 56,456 |
| | Batum | 50,832 | 34,744 | 85,576 |
| | Zugdidi | 60,577 | 57,046 | 117,623 |
| | Lekhgumsk | 25,987 | 24,530 | 50,517 |
| | Ozurgeti | 47,018 | 45,194 | 92,212 |
| | Rachinsk | 37,728 | 35,014 | 72,742 |
| | Tsenaksk | 61,558 | 57,626 | 119,184 |
| | Sharopansk | 83,558 | 74,168 | 157,726 |
| | Sukhum | 55,165 | 45,333 | 100,498 |
| Baku | | 437,779 | 351,880 | 789,659 |
| | Baku | 104,420 | 73,186 | 177,606 |
| | Gerkchaysk | 50,507 | 50,156 | 109,663 |
| | Dzhevatsk | 48,789 | 36,267 | 85,065 |
| | Kuba | 61,732 | 50,469 | 112,200 |
| | Shemakha | 66,547 | 57,063 | 123,610 |

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| GOVERNMENT | PROVINCE (County) | MALES | FEMALES | TOTAL |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Elizabethpol | | 479.433 | 392,124 | 871,557 |
| | Elizabethpol | 90,053 | 72,125 | 162,178 |
| | Aresh | 33,938 | 28,979 | 62,917 |
| | Dzhevanshirsk | 37,602 | 29,403 | 67,005 |
| | Dzhebraysk | 37,001 | 30,122 | 67,123 |
| | Tsangezursk | 77,074 | 64,990 | 142,064 |
| | Kazakh | 64,117 | 48,351 | 112,468 |
| | Nukhinsk | 63,129 | 53,933 | 117,062 |
| | Shusha | 76,519 | 64,221 | 140,740 |
| Erivan | | 429,689 | 375,068 | 804,757 |
| | Erivan | 69,588 | 57,484 | 127,072 |
| | Alexandropol | 88,443 | 74,992 | 163,435 |
| | Nakhichevan | 53,466 | 47,476 | 100.942 |
| | Novobayazetsk | 64,225 | 59,614 | 123,839 |
| | Surmaly | 47,391 | 41,453 | 88,844 |
| | Sharup-Daralagezsk | 40,968 | 35,014 | 75,982 |
| | Echmiadzin | 65,608 | 59,035 | 124,643 |
| Chernomorsk | | 31,760 | 22,468 | 54,228 |
| | Novopossiysk | 19,810 | 13,945 | 33,955 |
| | Tuapsinsk | 4,346 | 3,674 | 8,020 |
| | Sochinsk | 7,604 | 5,549 | 13,253 |
| Kars | | 162,723 | 129,775 | 292,498 |
| | Kars | 76,845 | 58,539 | 135,384 |
| | Ardagan | 34,933 | 30,734 | 65,667 |
| | Kagyzmansk | 33,838 | 25,888 | 59,726 |
| | Olti | 17,107 | 14,614 | 31,721 |

## C. Total

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Total in NORTH CAUCASUS | 2,211,507 | 2,107,685 | 4,319,192 |
| Total in SOUTH CAUCASUS | 2,674,547 | 2,249,956 | 4,929,503 |
| ENTIRE CAUCASUS | 4,891,054 | 4,357,641 | 9,248,695 |

A closer examination of these statistics will show that in Northwest Caucasus the female population is *smaller* than the male. However the disproportion is not considerable, varying between 100:102 to 100:104.7. In other words, towards the close of the last century there was, according to our statistics, not only no surplus of women but not enough for every man to have *one* wife.

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This deficiency of female mates is certainly one of the main reasons for the infrequency of polygyny despite the great value placed on the institution. 162

The statistics given for Chechnia reveal a similar situation. And, according to Vertepov, the disproportion was especially great in Ingushetia, 115 men to every 100 women.[37] This is indeed striking because Grabovskij claimed, as we have seen, that plural marriages were "very frequent" in the last quarter of the nineteenth century.[38] "Many" Ingushi had two wives and sometimes three.[39] Even "poor" Ingushi had additional wives.[40] The frequent cases of polygyny in Ingushetia in spite of the unusual surplus of men can perhaps be explained by the strict obligation of the widow to marry her deceased husband's brother. According to Kovalevskij, the levirate among the Chechens was, practically speaking, an obligation, whereas among the Lesghians it was facultative *(infra*, pp. 71 f). Levirate would also explain why even "poor" Ingushi were polygynists; it would also explain why "many" Ingushi had more than one wife. 595 [587]

The sex ratio of the Lesghians, as presented in our statistics, differs somewhat from that of the rest of the Caucasians. Here, in Daghestan, we do have districts with a preponderance of female sex, but it must be noted, the difference is so small that the surplus women could hardly make polygyny a frequent practice. Thus the Avar, Andi, Gunib, Dargwa, Kazikumuk, Kurin and Samur provinces all have practically a 100:100 ratio. The Kaitago-Tabassaran Province has the highest proportion in favour of women, but the difference 100:105 is insignificant. Hence, the balance between the male and female population is a contributing factor to the infrequency of polygyny.[41]

But besides this biological reason there is the universally valid economic reason. Supposing that there were a surplus of women in the Caucasus, there would still be great financial difficulties that would prevent polygyny from becoming general. The poor Caucasian considers himself quite fortunate if he manages to gather enough jingling rubles or mooing cows to purchase one wife, let alone a second or a third.[42] In fact, even the rich Caucasian would find it difficult to purchase a second wife, because the bride price always corresponds to the economic and social position of the contracting parties. Ladyženskij expressly maintains that what keeps the Kabardian and the Cherkess in general 595 583

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[37] G. Vertepov, "Inguši," *Terskij Sbornik*, II (1892), No. 2, p. 99.

[38] Grabovskij, "Ekonomičeskij i domašnij byt žitelej gorskago učastka Inguševskago okruga," SSKG, III (1870), p. 21. Dubrovin is of the same opinion: *Istorija*, Tome I, Bk. I, p. 430.

[39] Grabovskij, *l. c.*

[40] Grabovskij, *l. c.*

[41] In 1926 the sex ratio for Daghestan was practically a perfect balance, 100:103 in favor of the female sex (383,000 males to 405,000 females). F. Nansen, *Through the Caucasus to the Volga*, p. 96.
According to official statistics of 1930 there were more men than women living in the *cities* of Daghestan (1,000 men to 931 women); in the country the proportion was 1,000 men to 1,048 women. R. Kherumian, "Contribution à l'Anthropologie du Caucase," *L'Anthropologie*, LII (1948), No. 1—2, p. 44.
It seems to be quite natural that the city population should show a preponderance of male sex: a considerable portion of the city population are labourers and merchants from various parts of Caucasia, Russia, and Armenia.

[42] A. Ladyženskij, FT, p. 195.

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595 from polygyny is, above all, a shortage of rubles.[43] The same holds for the
593 Avars,[44] and, as we learn from Sveč̌in,[45] for the other Lesghians as well: the economic factor plays an important part in making polygyny relatively rare. Klaproth found the institution a veritable luxury in Ossetia, being only for the richest of the rich,[46] in full harmony with the Ossetine *adats* which reserve the right for the two richest classes, the princes and the *aldars*.[47] Grabovskij's
[587] report[48] that even the *poor* Ingushi were polygamists we have partially explained by obligatory levirate, which was just as much obligatory for the rich as for
[565] the poor. Moreover social stratification (which generally coincides with wealth and poverty) was practically non-existent during Grabovskij's visit in Ingushetia (*infra*, pp. 60 f); therefore, if polygyny is to be found among the Ingushi at all, it must be found also among the "poor" class.

[586] Easy divorce may do away with plural marriages as it did in Khevsuria and Svanetia, but in North Caucasia easy divorce plays only a very insignificant rôle compared with economic and biological factors.

## § 2. THE RULES OF ENDOGAMY AND EXOGAMY

000 Lowie defines exogamy as "the rule which prescribes that an individual must find a mate outside of his own group, whether that group be the family, the village or some other social unit."[49] The opposite rule "which makes it compulsory for a man to mate within his group is labeled endogamy." Lowie rightly stresses that it is not the *de facto* marriage within one's own group but the *prohibition* of marrying outside it that constitutes endogamy.[50]

### 1. The Impediment of Consanguinity

582 Consanguineous marriages are strictly prohibited throughout NORTH-
[614] WEST Caucasus. In his expedition of 1927 Ladyženskij ascertained that the reports of earlier writers about the abhorrence of incest among the tribes of Northwest Caucasia still exists today. Marriages between members of the same sib, regardless of the degree of remoteness, are considered incestuous.[51]

671 Among the NORTHEASTERN peoples the practice is not uniform. Ing-
582 ushian adats are by far stricter than Islamic law in regard to marriages between

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[43] *ibid.*

[44] L'vov, "Domašnjaja i semejnaja žizn Dagestanskich gorcev avarskago plemeni," SSKG, III (1870), p. 20.

[45] D. Sveč̌in, "Očerk narodonaselenija nravov, i obyčaev Dagestancev," ZKO, II (1853), p. 64.

[46] J. Klaproth, *Voyage au Mont Caucase et en Géorgie*, II, p. 249.

[47] *Leontovič, Adaty kavkazskich gorcev*, II, p. 12, § 10; p. 14, § 27; p. 16, § 40.

[48] "Ekonomičeskij i domašnij byt žitelej gorskago učastka inguševskago okruga," SSKG, III (1870), p. 21.

[49] R. Lowie, *Primitive Society*, p. 16.

[50] *op. cit.*, pp. 16 f.

[51] J. Reinegg, *Allgemeine historisch-topographische Beschreibung des Kaukasus*, II, p. 9; Ladyženskij, FT, p. 198.

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blood-relatives, and although the Ingushi are now Mohammedans they still insist on observing their ancient customary laws rather than the *šarī'a*.[52] The other Chechen tribes are likewise strict exogamists.[53] 582 671

The Lesghians however, unlike all other North Caucasians, are, or at least have been till recently, strict endogamists. In their insistance on marriages exclusively within the sib, the Lesghians differ not only from the other North Caucasians but also from the mountain tribes of SOUTH CAUCASIA: the Khevsurs,[54] the Pshavs,[55] the Tushi,[56] and the Svans.[57] 614

In this regard the Lesghians differ also from their non-Caucasian neighbours. Among the OSSETES even the remotest blood-relationship (usually all living in the same village and bearing the same family name)[58] impedes marriage.[59] 602

The neighbouring TARTAR tribes are also exogamous.[60] The KALMUCKS may indeed marry within their community but only with non-relatives.[61]

To come back to the Lesghians—the reliability of the reports about their still being strictly endogamous in the nineteenth century is unquestionable. Klaproth, despite his many literary thefts, is generally reliable. He assures us that the Dido "disregard all degrees of consanguinity."[62] L'vov[63] and Abercromby[64] observed the same custom among the Avars. The latter author writes, "With regard to degrees of consanguinity, an Avar is permitted to marry his first cousin or two sisters." Our most reliable sources are Kovalevskij and Egiasarov, on whom Kovalevskij largely depends.[65] In Kovalevskij's *Zakon i obyčaj na Kavkazě* we read that Cvětkov, a government official in Daghestan in 1869, maintained that in the Kurin Province absolutely no marriage was possible outside of one's own *tukhum* (sib). Sotnikov claims that such is the case 582 614

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[52] N. Jakovlev, *Ingušli*, (Moscow, 1925), p. 49.

[53] M. Kovalevskij, *Coutume contemporaine et loi ancienne*, p. 196.

[54] Essad-Bey, *Der Kaukasus. Seine Berge, Völker und Geschichte*, p. 267.

[55] M. Kovalevskij, *Zakon i Obyčaj na Kavkazě*, II, p. 142.

[56] M. Kovalevskij, *Coutume contemp.*, p. 196.

[57] *ibid.*

[58] When a family breaks from its sib and moves into a strange village, it gradually begins to feel closely related to its new neighbours, sometimes even more closely than to actual blood-relatives who live farther away. Such a family may even change its name and begin to call itself after the sib in whose community it now lives. The tendency of local solidarity to supplant the solidarity of the sib is noticeable throughout the Caucasus. Cf. A. Ladyženskij, "Entstehung und Entwicklung des Staates bei den Bergvölkern des Kaukasus," *Zeitschrift für Völkerpsychologie und Soziologie*, VI (1930), pp. 436, 439, 444. How soon such families would become "blood-relatives" to such a degree that intermarriage would be considered incestuous has still to be investigated by the fieldworkers.

[59] M. Kovalevskij, *Coutume contemp.*, pp. 196, 335.

[60] M. Kovalevskij, l. c.

[61] R. Erckert, *Der Kaukasus*, p. 37.

[62] *Voyage au Mont Caucase et en Géorgie*, II, p. 74.

[63] "Domašnjaja i semejnaja žizn Dagestanskich Gorcev Avarskago Okruga," SSKG, III (1870), p. 18.

[64] *A Trip through the Eastern Caucasus*, p. 97. Unfortunately Abercromby fails to specify whether they were only *permitted* to marry blood-relatives or actually obliged to do so.

[65] M. Kovalevskij, *Zakon*, II, p. 142; *Coutume contemp.*, l. c. Egiasarov's article is not at my disposal, hence I am relying on Kovalevskij's faithful citation of the author.

582 in Kaitag, and of the Tabassaranians he is able to say: "Up to the present
614 there have been no instances of anyone freely separating himself from his *tukhum*. The people are convinced that such an action would be impossible, unthinkable, certainly the most abominable disgrace imagineable." In the Province of Dargwa (according to Popov) the *tukhum* does not even have the authority to expel an illegitimate member, much less permit a fully-fledged member to separate from the others freely. Of all the provinces in South Daghestan only the adats of Tsakhur admit marriages with outsiders, but only
611 by way of exception. Thus, according to Akhtinian and Rutulian customary law, a sib may marry one of their girls to a groom belonging to another *tukhum*, but only if the groom's sib is in danger of extinction.[66] But even in this extreme case an important *conditio sine qua non* is added: the children born of this marriage must be named not after the father's, but, strangely enough, after the mother's sib.[67]

621 In most cases local exogamy will coincide with consanguineous exogamy, because generally the Caucasian *auls* are sib-villages, that is, inhabited by people with the same family name who consider themselves related to one another. The questions of local exogamy and cross-cousin marriages have still to be investigated by the fieldworker.

Endogamy is not a sign of primitiveness. On the contrary, it thrives where social ranks are of paramount importance.[68] But the Lesghians, as we shall soon learn (*infra*, pp. 61 ff), are virtually classless and therefore endogamy seems out of place. We cannot attribute the practice to Islamism; for Mohammedanism may indeed *permit* consanguineous mating but it does not *prescribe* it. We may therefore rightly expect to find the solution to the riddle in pre-Islamic times.

We have said that the Southern Caucasians are strict exogamists. That is true, but there has been a time when the Georgians, the neighbours of the Lesghian peoples, were endogamists.

In the Georgian chronicles of King Vakhtang, which speak of the times of Nabuchodonosor, we read (after Brosset, *Additions*, p. 31), "Les plus abominable coutumes s'introduisirent, dans les mariages, on n'avait aucun égard à la parenté, on mangeait tout ce qui a vie, on n'ensevelissait point les morts et l'on dévorait les cadavres!"[69] And according to the legend about Alexander's march into the Caucasus as found in the Georgian chronicles (after Brosset, *Histoire de la Géorgie*, I, p. 33): "Étant venu dans le Karthli, il trouve chez tous les Géorgiens des coutumes plus abominables que chez aucun peuple. En effet les mariages et la débauche s'y pratiquaient sans égard à la parenté, on mangeait de tout ce qui avait vie, on dévorait les cadavres."[70] Moreover, Tacitus (*Annales*, xii. 46) gives us a good example of a next-of-kin marriage in a Georgian royal family in Iberia. Moses of Chorene (iii, 20) and Faustus of

[66] M. Kovalevskij, *Zakon*, II, pp. 144 f.
[67] M. Kovalevskij, *Zakon*, II, p. 172.
[68] R. Lowie, *Primitive Society*, pp. 16 f.
[69] Cf. O. G. von Wesendonk, "Über georgisches Heidentum," *Caucasica*, I (1924), p. 6.
[70] Cf. Wesendonk, *op. cit.*, 61 f.

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Byzantia (iv. 4) establish the existence of endogamy in Armenia, while the present-day local endogamy of Svanetia may very well be a vestige of former in-breeding.[72] 532

There are two facts which we can deduce from the existence of endogamy in Georgia and Armenia. First of all, we are justified in looking for a *common* source of endogamy for Georgia, Armenia, and Daghestan. Secondly, we are justified in looking for this source in *pre-Christian* times, that is, before the Christianization of Georgia in the fourth century.

The origin of endogamy in all three countries must, as it seems, be sought in Iran.[73] Endogamy among the peoples of Daghestan is a survival of the ancient Avestic religion, which the Mohammedan missionaries had to combat when they came to spread the teaching of the Prophet.

In the Mazdaic creed (*Yasna* xii. 9) we find the *xvaêtvadatha* (Pahlavi *xvêtôkdas*) as an obligation. Originally the *xvaêtvadatha* ("next-of-kin marriage") aimed at preserving the purity of blood of the Iranian nobility, which was numerically weak and could be perpetuated only by in-breeding. The priests formed, in much the same way, a distinct class and cooperated with the nobility in fostering endogamous marriages. Once the custom had been firmly established, it was not difficult to attribute it to Ahura Mazda Himself and to His Prophet Zarathustra.[73]

That the *xvaêtvadatha* was an important doctrine cannot be denied and hence this all-important teaching could not have been disregarded when the Avesta was introduced into the Caucasus. It must have been taught to the converts and accepted by them, for the *xvaêtvadatha* is one of the surest marks of genuine piety in the coming days of evil; by it mortal sin is expiated; it is a bulwark against the attacks of the demons; it is the second of the seven good works; it is the ninth of the thirty-three ways of entering heaven; and lastly, Zarathustra is supposed to have prescribed it as the eighth of his ten admonitions to mankind and declared it meritorious. In fact the next-of-kin marriage is supposed to be the source of "complete progress in the world... even unto the time of the renovation of the universe." (*Dâtistân-î Dînîk* lxxvii. 6 f).[74]

If we wish to delve deeper into the history of Caucasian endogamy, we must first face a very difficult problem, a task which in fact we shall have to leave to specialists. The problem regarding the origin of next-of-kin marriages in Avestic Iran itself is controverted. Some believe it is genuinely Persian while others maintain that its ultimate source is a non-Indo-European people (perhaps of Magian origin and therefore neither Indo-European nor Semitic).[75]

That endogamy should survive in Daghestan and disappear in Georgia and Armenia is not to be wondered at. Christianization of the two latter countries was incomparably more thorough than the Islamization of the Lesghian mountain peoples. [795]

[72] Cf. Wesendonk, *op. cit.*, p. 62.
[73] Here we fully agree with M. Kovalevskij, *Zakon*, I, p. 89.
[73] Cf. L. H. Gray, "Marriage (Iranian)," *Hasting Encyclopedia of Religion and Ethics*, p. 458.
[74] Cf. L. H. Gray, *op. cit.*, p. 457.
[75] L. H. Gray, *op. cit.*, p. 458.

582 ghian mountain peoples. Early ecclesiastical law of Georgia and Armenia attacked next-of-kin marriages with great vehemence, while Islamic law *permitted* the Daghestanians to continue the practice, except, of course, the brother-sister marriages. The Armenian National Council of Ashtishat (A. D. 365) prohibited all marriages in the lateral line up to the third degree of relationship.[76] Later even fourth degree relatives were excluded from mating, while other Church decrees and tradition considered marriages between relatives even up to the seventh degree as incestuous.[77] Islamic law on the contrary, permitted first-cousin marriages.[78] Moreover the local and linguistic isolation of the Lesghian tribes and constant family-feuds favoured endogamy. Today there 191 are about 30 distinct languages in Daghestan and formerly there must have been many more, not to mention the numerous dialects. Some languages are spoken by as few as a thousand people, or as is the case with the Nakhada by only one hundred and thirty-five persons.

Although the Iranian culture area extended beyond North Caucasia, we have no evidence of the existence of the next-of-kin marriages in Northwest and Northcentral Caucasus. What kept the Cherkess and the Abkhaz from falling into line with their Eastern and Southern neighbours, or what has contributed to its early death after endogamy had been introduced, is not easy to say. The greater geographical remoteness from the centres of endogamy (Egypt, Sumeria, Elam, Arabia and Persia are the classical regions for brother-sister marriages), the well-established aristocracy with no danger of extinction, the strong, proud tradition regarding incest, the great respect for their own *adats*, the example of the élite of the Caucasus (the Kabardians), and Christianity seem to have been the main factors involved. We do not know if endogamy has ever existed among the Chechens.

### 2. The Impediment of Affinity

By an impediment of affinity we understand that degree of propinquity between a husband and a female relative of his wife or between a wife and a male relative of her husband which by law or custom is a bar to marriage. This particular impediment has not yet been sufficiently investigated by the fieldworkers; however we shall treat of this impediment indirectly when speaking of the levirate, sororate, and widow inheritance.

### 3. The Impediments of Fictitious Kinships

582 By fictitious kinship we understand any relationship based on grounds other than consanguinity or affinity. To what extent do such artificial kinships 608 bar two Caucasians from mating? Fieldworkers have indeed investigated the various forms of fictitious kinship, but, unfortunately, not in relation to mating. There is still much to be done in regard to this important impediment.

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[76] Klidschian, "Das armenische Eherecht," *Zeitschrift f. vergl. Rechtsw.*, XXV (1911), p. 332 ff.

[77] Zdenko Vinski, "*Die südslawische Grossfamilie in ihrer Beziehung zum asiatischen Grossraum*," p. 138 (MS).

[78] G. Bergsträsser, *Grundzüge des islamischen Rechts*, p. 82.

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(1) The *Kunak*-relationship is a contract between two men of different localities according to which they are obliged to offer mutual hospitality and protection whenever the occasion lends itself. Whenever a Caucasian passes near a fellow-*kunak's* village while travelling, he will infallibly pay him a visit and will lodge with him at least for the night. Restaurants, inns, and hotels are unknown among the mountaineers; the institution of *kunak*-relationship is however, an excellent substitute. Any offense committed against the guest will be avenged as if it were against one of the family. In fact, the bond that unites the *kunaks* is considered as sacred as, if not more sacred than, the family tie. The institution is found throughout North Caucasia.[79] The question whether members of the two families may intermarry or not seems to have been overlooked by the fieldworkers. It may very well be that such marriages are even preferred. We know for certain that such marriages are not barred in Ossetia.[80] 582 608 674

(2) Another form of fictious kinship is the *tlensh*.[81] According to Longworth it constitutes an impediment. The Cherkess, we are told, take an oath among themselves and become "brothers," and "to strengthen the illusion of their being such, their families are not allowed to intermarry; a regulation so rigidly observed, that even where the society is composed of many thousands, as in the case of the powerful one of Natquo, it still holds good, and a marriage between two individuals of it is looked upon as incestuous".[82]

(3) *Relationship by milk (parenté de lait, Milchverwandtschaft)* is a widespread institution. There are two ways in which the relationship can be formed: either by actual breast-sucking or by mere contact of the lips and breast of a wôman.[83] The kinship thus formed is as sacred as that of consanguinity. Karginov describes how an Ossetine lover was once forced to kiss the breast of his beloved, the aim of the act being to put an end to their adulterous friendship, for once his lips would touch her breast he would become her "son." From that moment on intercourse and marriage would be looked upon as incestuous.[84] Gaerber wrote in 1728: "Whenever the Usmei has a son, he is carried round from village to village, and alternately suckled by every woman who has a child at her breast until he is weaned. This custom, by establishing a kind of brotherhood between the prince and his subjects, singularly endears 582 608 853

[79] An excellent description of the *kunak*-relationship can be found in Dirr's article, "Aus dem Gewohnheitsrecht der kaukasischen Bergvölker," *Zeitschr. f. vergl. Rechtw.*, XLI (1925). See also Interiano, *Della vita dei Zychi, chiamati Circassi*, Ramusio, II (1559), folio 140 v. M. Kovalevskij, *Coutume contemp.*, p. 190: Ossetes, Tartars, Kumyks have the practice too. N. Jakovlev, *Ingušī*, pp. 15—25.
Grabovskij, "Ekonomičeskij i domašnij byt žitelej gorskago učastka Ingulevskago okruga," SSKG, III (1870), pp. 4—7.
A. P. Berže, *Čečnja i Čečency*, pp. 86 f.
The host will even give up his life for his guest; see R. Erckert, *Der Kaukasus*, p. 108.

[80] M. Kovalevskij, *Coutume contemp.*, p. 214.

[81] For possible origin of the practice and ceremonies connected with the institution see V. V. Vasil'kov, "Očerk byta temirgoevcev," SMOMPK, XXIX (1901), No. 2, pp. 80 f.

[82] *A Year among the Circassians*, I, p. 229.

[83] Dubrovin, *Istorija*, Tome I, Bk. I, pp. 439 f.

[84] S. Karginov, "Kavkazskaja mest' u osetin," SMOMPK, XLIV (1914), No. 3, p. 283.

582 them to each other."[85] The Utsmi or Usmi were rulers of Kaitag, said to date
608 from the Arab conquest in the eighth century or soon after.[86] The custom of
853 the Usmi did more than merely endear the baby prince to his subjects. The inhabitants actually considered the prince their foster-brother and for him they were ready to die, for milk-relationship implied as strong a tie as that of consanguinity.[87] The anonymous *Tagebuch* (p. 59)[88] gives us another example:
[628] an Ingush "murderer of an only son flies to the mother and, dagger in hand, compels her to give him her breast. Other relatives demand blood-revenge, but the woman, whose right it is to decide, says 'now that he has sucked my breast, if you kill him I lose *two* sons,' and the murderer's life is spared."[89]

Both forms of adoption, by actual and by ceremonial breastsucking, are in full accord with the *šarî'a*. According to the Koran, iv. 27, relationship by milk constitutes an impediment as stringent as that of blood propinquity. Excluded from marriage are the woman and her adopted child; the child and all those suckled by the same woman; the child with all his descendents and the woman who suckled him with all her milk and blood relatives and those of her husband. Such kinship is known in Islamic law as *raḍâ* or *raḍâ'h*[90]

It is difficult to determine just in how far the Caucasian practice is dependent on that of Islamism. The explorers and *adat* collectors fail to tell us to what degree marriage between milk-relatives is looked upon as incestuous. In all probability the institution existed in the Caucasus long before the introduction of the Koran. It seems to be pre-Islamic for various reasons. First of all, the custom is not limited to Mohammedan Caucasians but is found among Christian tribes as well, for example in Armenia.[91] Moreover it is very difficult to imagine that a *mere* ceremony, and a *foreign* one at that, could dispense a Caucasian from the most sacred obligation of avenging the blood of a murdered relative. Anyone who has studied Caucasian customary law will admit that perhaps no *adats* are so unchangeable as those regarding blood-feuds. It is unintelligible how an imported ceremony, especially among tribes that have been converted to Islamism rather recently and then only half-heartedly, could change these almost unchangeable *adats*. Finally, relationship by milk is neither an Islamic invention nor restricted to Mohammedan countries (it is found, for example, also among the nomadic peoples of Asia); it could exist in the Caucasus independently of Mohammedanism too.

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[85] G. Ellis, *Memoir of a map of the countries comprehended between the Black Sea and the Caspian nations and vocabularies of their languages*, London, 1788, pp. 40 f.

[86] Baddeley, *The Rugged Flanks of Caucasus*, II, p. 18, note. Ellis, *l. c.*

[87] Baddeley, *l. c.*

[88] *Tagebuch einer Reise, die im Jahr 1781 von der Gränzfestung Mosdok nach dem innern Caucasus unternommen worden*, Leipzig and St. Petersburg, 1797. A certain Steder is the author.

[89] Baddeley, *op. cit.*, I, p. 262.
U. Landzev, "Primĕčanija k statĕ čečenskoe plemja," SMOMPK, VI (1872), p. 50.

[90] Th. W. Juynboll, *Handbuch des islâmischen Gesetzes nach der Lehre der schâfi'itischen Schule nebst einer allgemeinen Einleitung*, p. 219.

[91] Baddeley, *op. cit.*, I, p. 263.

(4) The *atalyk* is a form of adoption once spread among all mountain tribes of North Caucasus,[92] the Ossetes,[93] the Tartars, e. g., the Kumyks.[94] We still find it today among the Kabardians, but the practice has become rare.[95] Soon after birth,[96] or, as some authors claimed, at the age of seven or twelve, the prince or princess is received into a noble family to be brought up by foster-parents. The prince is taught to ride, to be brave, eloquent and polite, and to steal. When he is old enough to carry arms, he returns to his father.[97] Princesses are usually poorly nourished, for slenderness may not be divorced from the dignity of a princess. She is taught by her foster-mother how to embroider, weave, make straw mats and baskets.[98] She may not be seen by her parents until her marriage, and it is the right of the foster-father to select a mate for her.[99] The *atalyk* is usually restricted to the upper classes,[100] the foster-parents being chosen from the next (lower) class.[101] The relation between the foster-child and the educator is as intimate and as sacred as actual blood-relationship, if indeed not more so. Sometimes a foster-child will take revenge on his own father to repair an injury done to his adopted family.[102] Marriage between the foster-child and a member of the educator's family are, of course, prohibited. We are unable to say to what degree: on the one hand, the older explorers failed to inquire into *adats* regarding this prohibition; while, on the other hand, the institution has practically disappeared, so that now it is impossible to ascertain the degree through new enquiries.[103] The *atalyk* is perhaps a pre-Islamic institution borrowed from the Turco-Mongols.

(5) We find several other forms of adoption in the Caucasus. Islamic law does not recognize any impediment arising from adoption, except, of course,

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[92] Ladyženskij, FT, p. 200.
M. Kovalevskij, *Coutume contemp.*, p. 191.

[93] Leontovič, II, pp. 252 f, §§ 152—160.

[94] M. Kovalevskij, *l. c.*

[95] Ladyženskij, *l. c.*

[96] P. S. Pallas, *Bemerkungen auf einer Reise in die südlichen Statthalterschaften des russischen Reichs 1793—1794*, I, p. 388;
J. Mourier, *Guide au Caucase*, Part I, p. 137;
J. Klaproth, "Voyage au Caucase," *Nouvelle Bibliotheque*, Tome XI, p. 170;
Ladyženskij, *l. c.*

[97] Ellis, *Memoir of a Map etc.*, pp. 22 f; Pallas, *l. c.*

[98] Pallas, *op. cit.*, I, p. 389.

[99] Pallas, *op. cit.*, I, p. 388 f.

[100] Ladyženskij, *l. c.* Digorian *farsagleg* class (*infra*, pp. 63 f) has the custom too; cf. Kovalevskij, *Coutume contemp.*, pp. 212 f.

[101] Leontovič, II, pp. 252 f., §§ 152—160.

[102] Ladyženskij, *l. c.*

[103] The *atalyk* was a means of reconciliation after a murder had been committed. The murderer would kidnap a child of the victim and become its foster-father, thus making revenge impossible. (Baddeley, *op. cit.*, I, p. 262; Ladyženskij, *l. c.*; Leontovič, I, p. 140; Dirr, AGKB, p. 43.) Reineggs however gives an example of such an adopted son who was constantly waiting for an opportunity to carry out his sacred obligation of vengeance, regardless of fosterage (*Allgemeine historisch-topographische Beschreibung des Kaukasus*, I, pp. 221 f.). For more about the *atalyk* see the authors cited and N. Danilewski, *Der Kaukasus*, pp. 120—125.

582 relationship by milk. As is well known, Mohammed had an adopted son, his
597 own emancipated slave named Zaid ibn Ḥāriṯah, who had a beautiful wife, at least beautiful in the eyes of the Prophet. Mohammed persuaded Zaid to divorce her and thus to make it possible for the Prophet to marry her. The faithful, however, were greatly scandalized, for the "sinless" Prophet married the wife of his "son". Mohammed seemed to have no way of extricating himself from this awkward position, but fortunately Allah had pity on him and favoured him with another revelation according to which all fosterage is sinful and non-
[608] existent. If anyone dares to call another person by the name of "father" and if that person did not actually beget him, he will infallibly be cursed by Allah and all His Angels.[104] In the Caucasus children are adopted and, as is the case with the Cherkess today, enjoy the full and equal rights of natural sons and daughters.[105] M. Kovalevskij found adoption in practice among the Ossetes. Here too the adopted son would be regarded as a true "son" who was able to perpetuate the family.[106] Formerly fictitious relationship could arise among the Cherkess by a mere pronouncement of the formula, "I adopt you," or "You are my daughter," or "You are my sister." From that moment the person adopted would have to consider the relatives of the person who pronounced
[608] the formula, as his own. A murderer could form a fictitious relationship in Ossetia by consecrating himself to his victim in a special ceremony at his grave.[107] Among the Ossetes adoption sometimes took place before the mother of the family. The person to be adopted would say to her, "From today on you are my mother; I am your son." The mother would then uncover her breast and answer, "I am your mother; you are my son."[108] As is only to be expected, adoption occurs very rarely, in fact only in extreme necessity to pre-
[608] vent extinction of the family. Adoption cannot be frequent because the mountaineers insist on purity of blood, and to adopt a child unnecessarily would imply giving away family property to a fictitious member.[109] Owing to the lack of data, we can only call the attention of the fieldworker to the following two problems: firstly, exactly *which* tribes consider adoption an impediment to mating; secondly, to which degree of fictitious relationship.

### 4. Disparity of Social Rank

565 We now come to the obligation of marrying exclusively within one's own
[582] social rank. But before we can begin to speak of this form of endogamy we must briefly describe the social stratification in the Caucasus.

The NORTHWESTERNERS. The *Abkhazian* society was formerly divided into four distinct classes: (1) the princes, (2) the *Chinakma*, i. e., the

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[104] Koran, xxxiii, 5. Cf. J. Henninger, *Die Familie bei den heutigen Beduinen Arabiens und seiner Randgebiete*, Leiden, 1943, p. 6[illegible]. Juynboll, *op. cit.*, p. 187. R. Roberts, *Das Familien-, Sklaven- und Erbrecht im Qorân*, Leipzig, 1908, pp. 39 ff.

[105] Ladyženskij, FT, p. 202.

[106] Kovalevskij, *Coutume contemp.*, p. 203.

[107] Kovalevskij, *op. cit.*, p. 204.

[108] *ibid.*

[109] Kovalevskij, *op. cit.*, p. 203.

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body-guards of the princes, (3) the nobility, (4) peasants, slaves, and prisoners of war.[110] 565

The haughtiest nobility of all Caucasia was that of the *Cherkess*.[111] Anyone seeking an example of Medieval feudalism at its height needs but study the reports about the Cherkess of about a hundred years ago. It was only in 1867 [566] that slavery and serfdom were abolished.

But not all Cherkess tribes were equally feudalistic. Thanks especially to the powerful aristocratic merchant class of the coastal tribes (the Shapsugs and Natukhai), feudalism disappeared in extreme western Circassia long before the Russians abolished it elsewhere in the Caucasus.[112] The Kabardians were of course the most feudalistic. "Endless is the list of Kabardian social ranks... They even have a code of laws, the *Adygé-Khabse*, which determines every step of the Kabardian lords, defining very exactly their rights and obligations toward the princes and toward the people." Four princely families ruled over Kabardia at the time of the Russian-Caucasian wars.[113]

This long list of Kabardian ranks may be summed up as follows:[114]

(1) The Princes,[115] also called *Bey*[116]

(2) The Nobility

(a) of the first order: *tlekotlesh*, i. e., "The Strong Generation"[117] or "*Uzden* of the First Class."[118]

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[110] E. Eichwald, *Reise auf dem Caspischen Meere und in den Kaukasus*, Vol. I, Part. II, p. 324.

[111] Pallas, *Bemerkungen auf einer Reise in die süd. Stth. d. russ. Reichs, etc.*, I, p. 369.
Ladyženskij, FT, p. 188.
Leontovič, I, pp. 116, 223 f.
Dubrovin, *Istorija*, I, pp. 192—216.

[112] Ladyženskij, "Zur Erforschung der Rechtsgewohnheiten der Bergvölker des Kaukasus," *Zeitschrift für Ethnologie*, XLII (1930), p. 242. Ladyženskij, "Entstehung und Entwicklung des Staates bei den kaukasischen Bergvölker," *Zeitschrift für Völkerpsychologie und Soziologie*, VII (1931), pp. 46 f.

[113] Essad-Bey, *Der Kaukasus, seine Berge, Völker und Geschichte*, p. 189, from whom the quotaiton is also taken.

[114] A. Ladyženskij, "Entstehung und Entwicklung des Staates bei den kaukasischen Bergvölkern," *Zeitschrift für Völkerpsychologie und Soziologie*, VII (1931), pp. 38—49.
Maslovskij, "Privillegirovannyja soslovija kabardinskago okruga," SSKG, III (1870), pp. 1—13 (This is the product of a special committe for collecting native laws in the Terek Territory, under the direction of Maslovskij.).
Leontovič, II, pp. 237—245, for the rights of the different classes. See also Leontovič, I, pp. 116, 223 f.
Ladyženskij, FT, p. 181.
Dirr, AGKB, p. 35, *note* 43.
Reineggs, *Allgemeine historisch-topographische Beschreibung des Kaukasus*, I, p. 249.
Klaproth, "Voyage zu Mont Caucase," *Nouvelle Bibliotheque*, XI, p. 172.

[115] Maslovskij, *op. cit.*, p. 1.
Ladyženskij, "Entstehung und Entwicklung des Staates bei den kaukasischen Bergvölkern," *Zeitschrift für Völkerpsychologie und Soziologie*, VII (1931), p. 38.

[116] Reineggs, *l. c.*

[117] Ladyženskij, FT, p. 181. J. Castagné, "Le droit coutumier familial des montagnards du Caucase," *Révue des Études islamiques*, 1929, No. 2, p. 249.

[118] The word "uzden" is of Tartaric derivation (Klaproth, *l. c.*).

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(b) *Uzden* of the second class i. e. "The Princely *Uzden*,"
1* The *Pshi*[119] or "Princely Guards"
2* The *Uork*

(c) *Uzden* of the third order, i. e., courtiers and messengers.

(3) The Freedmen, called *Azat* or *tfokotl*

(a) The *azats* who were freed by a prince or by a noble who had been raised to the dignity of nobility a long time previously.

(b) The *azats* who were set free by newly created and hence inferior nobles.

(4) The Serfs i, e., *Bshitl*[120]

(a) The *beslen bshitl*, i. e., domestics of the princely family.

(b) The labourers
1* labourers of the first class
2* labourers of the second class.

(5) The Slaves, called *nauts*.

Pallas estimates that there were about 10,000 commoners to about 1,500 *uzden*.[121]

The NORTHEASTERN CAUCASIANS. Of all Caucasians the *Chechens* are supposed to be the most democratic. At least that is their own conviction. "We are all *uzden*," they are fond of repeating, "everyone of us." The Chechens even have a legend according to which social classes are supposed never to have existed among them.[122] When they say they are *uzden* they of course do not understand a distinct class of nobles as do the neighboring Ossetes and the Cherkess. If you ask them what they mean they will answer, "We are all *uzden* because we are all free men; everyone of us is his own master; everyone of us is independent and free, as free as a wolf."

But the question is: Is there really only one class? Of course we are speaking of the conditions prior to 1867, before the Russians abolished slavery.

(1) A princely class has never existed among the Chechens, neither *de jure* nor *de facto*, except for a very short time. In the eighteenth century the Chechens invited a foreign princely family (the Turlovs) to bring order to Chechnía and to defend them against Kumykian and Kabardian raiders. It may very well have been that the Turlovs were actually forced upon the Chechens rather than invited. In any case, this princely family was considered as "intruders" and was driven out of Chechnia as soon as the natives were strong enough to

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[119] Cf. Maslovskij, *op. cit.*, p. 9.

[120] J. Castagné, *l. c.* calls them "pehitli".

[121] Pallas, *Bemerkungen auf einer Reise etc.*, I, p. 386.
Pokrovskij in his *Istoria Rossii v XIX věkě* (after Castagné, *op. cit.*, pp. 249 f) distinguishes the social classes as follows: "Le pschilt ou prince suzerain; le *běhkolt* ourvassal de 1er degré; le *beslen vosork* ou arrière-vassal; le *vosork* ou vassal en général; les ouzdènes ou valets, armés; *logunapouts* ou valets non armés, les *dunaouts* ou paysans et serfs de tous degrés."

[122] A. Rosikov, "Putešestvie po central'noj časti gornoj Čečni," ZKO, XVIII (1896), p. 140.
Leontovič, II, p. 80.
N. Dubrovin, *Istorija*, Tome I, Bk. I, p. 451.

[123] V. P. Polidaev, *Gorcy severnago kavkaza*, p. 14.

defend themselves against the raiders from Kabardia and the Kumykian plains. The Turlovs did not affect the social organization of the Chechens very deeply. After the ruling family had been compelled to leave Chechnia, the mountaineers continued to live as classlessly as before ; each Chechen sib was a government in itself with little or no interest in the neighboring sibs.[124] In the *adat* collection of 1849 for the villages of Sunsha we read : " There is no special *adat* regarding the bride-price for princes because the inhabitants do not have any princes."[125] 565 [14] [62]

(2) A perusal of any *adat* collection will convince us that *de jure* the Chechens do not have a nobility either. Thus, for example, in the collection of adats of 1844 of Vladikavkaz Province (the Dzher, Kists, Galgai, Tsori, Ingushi and Karabulaks) we read in § 2 : " No Chechen family has any privilege over any other family." *De facto* however there are influential families. Any family or sib may become more important than the others by manifesting extraordinary bravery or more especially by outnumbering the others.[126] Such families (or to be more exact, sibs) decide what is " wrong " and what is " right," what should be done and what should be left undone.

(3) There are actually two classes : the free and the slaves, the latter being mainly prisoners of war and captives taken in raids. Reineggs describes how in the eighteenth century the Chechens would mercilessly rob strangers and then demand a ransom. If the victim happened to be a fellow-Mohammedan, he naturally could not become a slave[127] if he failed to be ransomed, and consequently was murdered. On the other hand if the captive was a non-Muslim and was of a poor family that was unable to ransom him, he had to remain as a slave.[128] The adats distinguish between two classes of slaves, the *lai* and the *yasir*, the difference between the two being that the *yasir* could be ransomed while the *lai* could not.[129] But in spite of this difference the lot of the *lai* was not as unbearable as might seem at first sight. He was, practically speaking, more or less only a nominal slave, for, as a rule, he was declared free after some time or was *ipso facto* emancipated through marriage.[130] [567]

The situation in Daghestan is much the same as among the Chechen tribes. On the whole the *Lesghians* are very democratic, virtually classless. Class division, wherever it existed, was not of Lesghian origin but was brought from without. It can be roughly sketched as follows.

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[124] Ladyženskij, " Entstehung und Entwicklung des Staates bei den kaukasischen Bergvölkern *Zeitschrift für Völkerpsychologie und Soziologie*, VI (1930), pp. 441 ff.
N. Danilewski, *Der Kaukasus*, p. 141.
Leontovič, II, pp. 86, 114 § 2.
Berže, *Čečnja i Čečency*, p. 90.
Güldenstädt, *Beschreibung der kaukasischen Länder etc.*, pp. 148, 153.

[125] Leontovič, II, pp. 114, § 2, 123, § 1.

[126] A. H. Günther, " Zusammenstöße zwischen Gesetz und Gewohnheitsrecht im nördlichen Kaukasus," *Zeitschrift f. vergl. Rechtsw.*, XLVI (1931), p. 325. Reineggs, *op. cit.*, I, p. 38. Engelhardt und Parrot, *Reisen in die Krym und den Kaukasus*, I, p. 243.

[127] An Islamic prohibition. Cf. G. Bergsträsser, *Grundzüge des islamischen Rechts*, p. 38.

[128] Reineggs, *op. cit.*, I, p. 40.

[129] Leontovič, II, p. 80. Berže, *Čečnja i Čečency*, p. 90. Dubrovin, *Istorija*, Tome I, Bk. I, p. 452.

[130] U. Laudaev, " Primečanja k statě čečenskoe plemja," SSKG, VI (1872), p. 52. Leontovič, *l. c.* Berže, *op. cit.*, p. 91. Byhan, *La Civilisation Caucasienne*, p. 191.

1 [foreign princely family invited to be rulers of the Chechens in the eighteenth century--Analyst]

624 (1) Most of the Lezghian peoples were ruled by their own freely-elected elders independently of any prince. Of course, the Avars and the Laks had their khans,[131] while the Andi were subject to Kumykian and Avarian rulers.[132] After the Russian conquest of the Caucasus, chief native officials approved by the Military Government were known as *nā'ibs*.[133]

565 [614] (2) Despite the fact that the Lezghian peoples have been subject to a more or less foreign aristocracy—the gradation being khan, bek, uzden, commoner and slave—[134] the people themselves remained essentially classless. Interest centred mainly around one's own sib. What generally determined precedence among the different sibs was, just as among the Chechens, not noble birth but the size of the sib.[135]

(3) Commoners.

[567] (4) Slaves. Lezghian slaves were usually prisoners taken in war or raids.[136] On paying a ransom or after a 10-year service or on marrying a Mohammedan the slave would be emancipated.[137]

The SOUTHERN CAUCASIANS. The complexity of the Georgian social classes surpasses even that of the Cherkess, a fact of which a mere glance through King Vakhtang's Code will convince us.[138] It should be noted that the [793] clergy do not form a distinct class; rather their class is determined by their ecclesiastical rank. In the following outline we shall also indicate the approximate social rank connected with the various ecclesiastical dignities.

(1) The King. The crown is inherited by the first-born male child. The *Catholicos* i. e., Patriarch of Iberia, ranks immediately after the King. (King Vakhtang's Code § 25.)

(2) Princes:

(a) The princes of the first order *(didebuli thavadi)*. Archbishops. (§ 26)
(b) Princes of the second order. Bishops. (§ 27)
(c) Princes of the third order and archimandrites. (§ 28)

(3) Nobles *(Aznauri)*:

(a) *Aznauri* of the first order and priors with the function of an abbot. (§ 29)

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[131] Cf. Gadži-Ali, "Skazanie očevidca o Šamilě," SSKG, VII (1873), pp. 6.

[132] Potocki, *Voyage dans les steps d'Astrakhan et du Caucase*, II, p. 165.

[133] The word is derived from the Arabic *nā'ib*. The territory over which the naib was in charge we shall call "naibate". For an excellent description of a naib family see Halil Beg Mussayassul, *Das Land der letzten Ritter*, München, 1936.

[134] Cf. Svěčin, "Očerk narodonaselenija, nravov i obyčaev Dagestancev," ZKO, II (1853), p. 64.

[135] Cf. Essad-Bey, *Der Kaukasus, seine Berge, Völker und Geschichte*, p. 130.

[136] Klaproth, *Beschreibung der russ. Prov.*, p. 117.

[137] Reineggs, *op. cit.*, I, p. 87.
The social stratification of Daghestan has been treated in: A. Tomai, "Materialy k voprosu o feodalizme v istorii Dagestana," *Revoljucionnyj Vostok*, (Moscow, 1935), No. 5, pp. 116—137.

[138] Cf. Karst's edition, pp. 81—85.

(b) *Aznauri* of the second order. Regular priests and monks. Merchants of the first order (mok'alak'is, i. e., "inhabitants of the city," usually rich Armenian families of merchants living in Tiflis.[139] 565 [44]

(c) *Aznauri* of the third order and landowners. Here we must include also the merchants of the second order and parish priests. (§ 31) [93]

(d) Merchants of the third order and archdeacons. (§ 32)

(e) Merchants of the fourth order, peasants and artisans *(glekhi)*.[140]

East of the Cherkess, separating them from the Northeastern Caucasians, are the probable descendents of the Alans known as OSSETES. Social differentiation was practically unknown in Ossetia. The rank of "nobles" (*aldars* and *badilyats*) was found only among certain Ossete tribes such as those of Kurtatinsk and Tagaursk, and even in these cases the "nobles" did not enjoy any essential privileges. Among the other tribes there existed at the most an initial stage of social stratification.[141] The Alaghir were specially averse to social classes.[142]

Since it is quite probable that the Ossetes are a remnant of the Alans and Sarmatians, we might rightly ask whether social classes disappeared only in their later history or whether it is an ancient tradition. Moses of Chorene (A. D. 370—490) speaks in his *History of the Armenians* of the son of an Ossetine ruler. This prince, we are told, was captured in a battle between the Ossetes and the Armenians. This report, however, is not reliable, being based on mere legend.[143] Ammianus Marcellus (*Rerum gestarum*, xxxi. 2) seems to be closer to the truth when he writes: "All the Alans are equally of noble descent. They have no slaves." Tacitus indeed says that the Alans were "divided into small tribes and groups, each having a chief or prince," but, as Ladyženskij rightly points out, Tacitus is most likely referring here to the *elders* of each sib and not to princes in the strict sense.[144] [101]

Before the abolition of slavery in the Caucasus the following four distinct classes could be found among the Tagaurians:[145]

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[139] Karst, *p. 82, note 7.*

[140] These classes existed in pre-Soviet times. The *eristhavi* or "heads of the people" (a class of nobles who held the position of provincial governors) disappeared much sooner. They used to be appointed by the King; the office however, once bestowed, could be passed down from father to son. Cf. Mourier, *Guide au Caucase*, I, p. 102.
The history of Georgian social classes has been studied by S. Danalia, *Fedaluri revoluthia Sakarthveloši. Narkvevi tarmoloba istoridan Sakarthveloši* (Feudal Revolution in Georgia. A Historical Sketch of the Origin of Feudalism in Georgia), Tiflis, 1935.

[141] N. F. Takoeva, "Kosta Chetagurov etc.," SE, 1949, No. 2, p. 121. Ladyženskij, "Entstehung und Entwicklung des Staates bei den kaukasischen Bergvölkern," *Zeitschr. f. Völkerpsych. u. Soz.*, VI (1930), pp. 428 f.

[142] A. H. Günther, "Zusammenstöße zwischen Gesetz und Gewohnheitsrecht im nördlichen Kaukasus," *Zeitschr. f. vergl. Rechtsw.*, XLVI (1931), p. 325.

[143] Ladyženskij, "Entstehung und Entwicklung des Staates bei den kaukasischen Bergvölkern," *Zeitschr. f. Völkerpsych. u. Soz.*, VI (1930), p. 443.

[144] *ibid.*

[145] Dirr, AGKB, p. 79, *note* 117. Kovalevskij, *Coutume contemp.*, pp. 17—20. Leontovič, II, p. 9. B. V. Skitskij, *K voprosu o feodalisme v Digorii*, Ordžonikidze, 1933.

1/n [Georgian noble -- Analyst]

565 (1) The upper class, known as *uzdenleg*, the *aldars*,[146] though forming a kind of nobility, cannot be compared with the Kabardian nobles because *any* Tagaurian sib could work itself up to the top of the social ladder through wealth or number.[147] In Digoria the upper class were known as *badulyats*.

(2) The middle class people or *farsagleg* were the free tenants.

[595] (3) The *kavdassarts* were all those born of a secondary wife *(numulus)* or of a concubine. They formed what might be called a bondsmen's class.[148]

[567] (4) The slaves or *gurziag (gurdziag)* is a word derived from "a Georgian," clearly showing that the slaves were mainly prisoners taken in war and raids.

We find similar social ranking among the neighbouring TURCO-MONGOLS. The Kumyks were formerly divided into three classes : (1) the nobles of the first, second, and third order *(uzden)* ; (2) the bondsmen or *chagars* ; (3) the slaves or *kuls*.[149] The Karachai used to be divided into four classes :[150] (1) the princes *(tav big)* ; (2) nobles *(kara-uzden)* ; (3) serfs *(ilgyly-kul)* ; (4) slaves *(ilglysizkul)*. The Turkomans of Stavropol Government, while still nomads, were perhaps the most classless of all peoples inhabiting the Caucasus, even more so than the Alaghirs and the Chechens.[151] The Kalmucks are divided into three main social ranks : the nobles *(saisan)*, the clergy, and the commoners *(aimak)*.[152]

Now that we have learned the social ranks as they existed before the abolition of slavery in 1867, we are in a position to study the affects of social stratification on mating.

565 582 The NORTHWESTERN CAUCASIANS. We cannot help marvelling at the complicated ranking of the *Cherkess* society. When feudalism was at its height in Circassia, not only were inter-class marriages impossible, but even marriages between persons from different subdivisions of the same class and even between persons of different sub-subdivisions of the same subdivision. Thus a nobleman might not marry a girl unless her family had been raised to nobility about the same time as his.[153] A very similar situation prevailed in *Abkhazia*.[154]

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[146] They could own land and slaves.

[147] Ladyženskij, *op. cit.*, pp. 439 f.

[148] *Kavdassart* means literally "one born in a stable," while *numulus* means "a nominal or illegitimate wife."

[149] The bondsmen were originally free land-owners, who later became bondsmen by falling into debts which they were unable to pay off. As a result they became subject to their lords even much more than were the Ossetine *farsaglegs*, for the latter had the right to abandon their masters while the *chagars* enjoyed no such right.
For more about the Kumykian social ranks see Ladyženskij, *op. cit.*, pp. 33—37.

[150] For a full description of feudalism among the Karachai in the nineteenth century see E. N. Studeneckaja, "K voprosu o feodalizme i rabstve v Karačae XIX v.," SE, 1937, No. 2—3, pp. 45.

[151] Ladyženskij, *op. cit.*, p. 443.

[152] Zichy, *Kaukázusjárs középázsiai utazásai*, p. 30. (Part I.)

[153] Reineggs, *op. cit.*, I, p. 252. Longworth, *A Year among the* Circassians, I, pp. 228, 278.

[154] P. I. Kovalevskij, *Kavkaz, Narody Kavkaza*, p. 35.

1 n [among the Tagaurians in southern Caucasia-- Analyst]

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It is true that a change in this ancient and once inviolable law has since taken place.[155] However, it would be wrong to imagine that under the strong Soviet influence of today all traces of a mating inpediment have necessarily disappeared. No doubt, a mating impediment no longer exists *officially*, but it is still observed in practice.[156] 565 582

The NORTHEASTERN CAUCASIANS. The *Chechens* chose mates with practically no concern about social rank. After all they had only two classes, the free and the slaves, and the latter could easily be emancipated by paying a ransom or even by marriage itself. Not the social rank as such but an appropriate bride-price was of importance.[157]

Strictly speaking, disparity of social rank did not constitute a mating impediment among the Lesghians either. In parts of Daghestan where the society was definitely stratified, marriages between members of different classes were indeed strongly discouraged but not to the extent that they were impossible.[158] About a hundred years ago Svěčin[159] observed that "an Avar khan may marry a daughter of a *bek*, a bek may marry a daughter of an *uzden*" and a commoner may marry a slave if the latter is willing to accept Mohammedanism. Sometimes a family of an upper class marries one of their sons to a girl of a lower class or a widow in order to acquire an additional worker or to replace a hired servant.[160] It is interesting to note the similarity between the Avarian "servant-wife" and the Ossetine *numulus*. In both cases the marriage is juridically valid, although inferior. In the case of the "servant-wife" the family encourage her husband to avoid and despise her. In both cases children born of the marriage inherit the social rank of the mother. In a word, marriages between individuals of different classes, though discouraged, are not prohibited. Dubrovin assures us that such marriages were only of rare occurrence in Ossetia.[161] The following table shows the rank of a child born of such interclass unions among the Ossetes.

The TURCO-TARTARS of the Caucasus insist on equality of rank.[162] Among the Nogai interclass marriages are extremely rare.[163]

In regard to the stringency of the rule we may, in conclusion, divide the entire Caucasus into three zones: (1) an Abkhaz-Cherkess-Georgian zone, (2) a Chechen zone and (3) a Lesghian zone. The most feudalistic society existed in the first zone and it was there that the impediment of disparity of social rank was insisted upon most of all. The "Chechen Zone" was the most classless

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[155] Baddeley, *op. cit.*, II, p. 225.

[156] As Ladyženskij observed in 1927: "So z. B. sind wohl die Stände abgeschafft, aber einer der Beamten des Aulispolkom wurde entlassen, weil einer seiner Verwandten sich mit einer armen ehemaligen Adeligen verheiratet hatte... Klassenzugehörigkeit wird noch mit Standeszugehörigkeit verwechselt." (Ladyženskij, FT, pp. 191 f.)

[157] *Infra*, pp. 83 ff.

[158] Kovalevskij, *Zakon*, II, pp. 169 f.

[159] "Očerk narodonaselenija, nravov i obyčaev Dagestancev," ZKO, II (1853), pp. 54—65.

[160] N. L'vov, "Domašnjaja i semjnaja žizn etc.," p. 19.

[161] *Istorija*, Tome I, Bk. I, p. 329.

[162] In regard to Kumyks see Dubrovin, *Istorija*, Tome I, Bk. I, p. 637, and Gadži-Magoma-Debirov, "Dagestanskija predanija i suevěrija," SMOMPK, IV (1884), No. 2, p. 31.

[163] Dubrovin, *Istorija*, Tome I, Bk. I, p. 277.

**TABLE 7 ***

**Social Rank of Ossèle Child of an Interclass Marriage**

565
582
[858]

| Mother → / Father · Child ↓ | *uzden* | *farsagleg* | *kavdassart* | *gurziag* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| *uzden* | uzden | kavdassart | kavdassart | gurziag |
| *farsag.* | farsagleg | farsagleg | farsagleg | gurziag |
| *kavdasj.* | kavdassart | kavdassart | kavdassart | gurziag? ** kavdassart? |
| *gurziag* | gurziag | gurziag (in Tagaursk child free) | gurziag | gurziag. |

* This table is based on data found in Kovalevskij's *Coutume contemp.*, pp. 202 f.

** Is it gurziag or kavdassart? There seems to be a contradiction: on page 202 Kovalevskij maintains: "Ne peut naître d'un père kavdassard qu'un kavdassard, quelle que soit sa mère... Les kavdassards peuvent acheter et posseder les gourziaks qu'ils ont achetés; mais les enfants de ces gourziaks seront kavdassards, et appartiendront au propriétaire du kavdassard, c'est-a-dire, à l'ouzdanelag." On page 203 we find: "Les fils et les fille d'une esclave sont toujours esclaves, et, commes tels, dépourvus de tous droit."

(and here we may also include the majority of the Ossete tribes) and least insistent on marriages exclusively within one's own class. In fact we can almost say that the prohibition is non-existent in Chechnia and in the greater part of Ossetia. The "Lesghian Zone" occupies a middle position between these two extremes.

### 5. Other Forms of Endogamy and Exogamy

562 We do not maintain to have exhausted the possibilities of endogamy-exogamy regulations. These possibilities, however, have been more or less overlooked by the explorers. We refer, for examples, to the marriage impediments arising from disparity of occupation, disparity of cult, disparity of nationality. We know, for instance, that the Kabardians freely intermarry with the Russians and Karachai,[164] and that they marry any non-Cherkess, especially if the other party is a Mohammedan or is willing to accept the Islamic religion,[165] but is that the situation everywhere in the Caucasus? Till more fieldwork is done, such questions will have to remain unanswered. Midwives are sometimes [859] considered related to the new-born, but we do not know how widespread the custom actually is. In regard to the impediment of disparity of cult we know that the Koran, ii. 20 f admonishes the Muslim: "Marry not a heathen woman before she be converted: a believing slave is much better even if she doth not please thee... The heathen woman will lead thee to hell, but Allah calleth thee to Paradise..." How strictly do the Islamic Caucasians observe this precept? There are doubtless many more lacunae that only the trained and exact fieldworker can fill.

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[164] Ladyženskij, FT, p. 191.

[165] Ladyženskij, FT, p. 198.

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## § 3. OTHER MATING IMPEDIMENTS

### 1. Age

We are aware of no adat in North Caucasia prescribing marriage within one's own age class, nor does any adat establish a minimum marriage age. Islamic law sets no minimum age either. Mohammed himself did not hesitate to marry a six-year-old girl.[166] Marriage is, therefore, possible *(de jure)* at all ages. The following table indicates the *usual* marriage age. 582

**TABLE 8**

**The Usual Marriage Age**

| | Peoples | Approximate age of | | Sources |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | groom | bride | |
| Northwest. | Abkhaz and Cherkess | In mts. 18—25; elsewhere earlier. | In mts. 15—20; elsewhere earlier. | Ladyženskij, FT, 196. Castagné, 258. Vasil'kov, p. 89. |
| Northeast. | Chechens | 20 | | Jakovlev, *Ingušī*, 48. |
| | | 17 | 12—15 | Dubrovin, I, i, 427. |
| | Lesghians (Avars) | 15 | 15 | L'vov, 17. |
| Southerners | Khevsurs | very young! 14? | 20 and above | Hahn, *Bilder aus K.*, p. 82. |
| | Tushi | 14—15 | 20—25 | Byhan, 114. |
| | Pshavs | 20—40 | 20—30 | Makalatija*, 100. |
| | Other Georgians. | Formerly 15; today 16 and over | 13—14 | Byhan, 81. Mtavriev**, 149. |
| OSSETES | | 25 | 19 | Hahn, op. cit., 40. |
| | | minimum infancy | minimum 13—14 | Dubois de Montpéreux, IV, 449. |
| KUMYKS | | | 15 | Semenov, 68. |

* S. I. Makalatija, "Iz starogo narodnogo byta plavov," SE, 1938, No. 1, pp. 98—117.

** Th. Mtavriev, "Prostonarodnaja svad'ba v Kachetii," SMOMPK, XXXI (1902), No. 3, pp. 149—160.

[166] Juynboll, *op. cit.*, pp. 22 f.

582 The NORTHWESTERN CAUCASIANS. No one will take it amiss if an old Kabardian marries a young girl. Although the Cherkess tribes along the coast of the Black Sea strongly discourage such pairing, disparity of age is not considered a marriage impediment.[167] While on his expedition in Circassia in 1927, Ladyženskij found no case of a young *man* marrying an old lady.[168]

Taking the Avars as an example of the NORTHEASTERNERS—marriages between rich old men of 50 to 60 and girls of 12 were not uncommon in the last part of the nineteenth century.[169]

Although neither customary nor Islamic law establish an absolute minimum age,[170] the *adats* sometime determine a *relative* marriage age. Thus a young man sometimes may not marry before his older brother, as is the case, for example among the Chechens[171] and the Cherkess.[172] Only if his brother happens to be far from home and gives his explicit permission, may he marry. Anyone acting [428] contrary to this customary law would *ipso facto* lose all rights to the family inheritance. In spite of this heavy sanction, the bride-price *(kalym)* would be paid for the offender and the marriage would be considered valid. The *adats* of the Cherkess are even stricter about girls marrying before their older sisters. To marry without her parents' permission before her older sister would bring upon her the curse of the family ; in fact, they would even refuse the " filthy " brideprice. The motive behind these customs is to assure a marriage for the older members of the family before they become too old.[172a]

## 2. Debt as an Impediment

[426] According to the adat collection of the Dzher, Kist, Galgai, Tsori, Ingushi and Karabulak tribes a father may not give his daughter in marriage to anyone before he receives permission from his creditor.[173]

## 3. The Obligation of Proving One's Bravery before Marriage

171 582 Baddeley informs us of another very peculiar marriage impediment. " In Deedo-land, formerly, no man would give his daughter or sister in marriage to a suitor who had not at least one Georgian right hand or arm nailed to the wall of his dwelling."[174] This was, no doubt, intended as a proof of the lover's mettle before the father of the girl would give his consent.[175] Such tests as a *conditio sine qua non* for marriage are found throughout the world, sometimes

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[167] Ladyženskij, FT, pp. 196 f. Castagné, *op. cit.*, p. 259.

[168] Ladyženskij, *op. cit.*, p. 196.

[169] L'vov, " Domalnjaja i semejnaja žizn etc.,". p. 20 *note*.

[170] This is especially evidenced by the widespread practice of infant betrothal and marriage in the North Caucasus and neighbourhood (*infra*, pp. 76, 78 ff).

[171] Erckert, *Der Kaukasus*, p. 138.

[172] Ladyženskij, *op. cit.*, p. 196.

[172a] *ibid.*

[173] Leontovič, II, p. 115, § 8.

[174] Baddeley, *The Rugged Flanks of Caucasus*, II, p. 81.

[175] This seems to have been a shortlived observance.

consisting merely in killing a wild animal (*e. g.*, the Yukaghir) or sometimes in 582
killing a man (*e. g.*, the Yoruba of West Africa).[176] Taibout de Marigny[177] [71]
describes how a Cherkess maiden would ridicule her would-be lover with the taunt "Why you haven't even stolen a cow yet and you want to marry me." And Herodotus, speaking of the Sauromatians, the probable ancestors of the Ossetes, informs us that the virgins could not marry till they had killed at least one enemy, or according to Hippocrates, three.[178] The Ossetine poet, Kosta Chetagurov, describes a custom of the nineteenth century according to which the suitor would have to live with his future bride's family from two to four weeks, during which time he would have to convince them that he is a true gentleman, clever, and reliable, in a word, possessing all qualities expected of a good husband.[179]

### 4. Impediments of Physical and Mental Deficiency

In Circassia venereal diseases, insanity, and impotency impede marriage.[180] The extent of these and similar impediments have unfortunately not yet been investigated.

### 5. Impediment of Divorce and Widowhood

The incapacity of a divorcée to contract a second marriage is indeed a very 582
rare impediment and is usually only temporary. We find such an impediment 587
in Armenia and in Khevsuria, and of these two cases we shall speak at length when treating the Caucasian divorce laws. A refusal to enter upon a levirate marriage may entail such an impediment (*infra*, pp. 71 f). In parts of Caucasus where Islamic law prevails there is of course the temporary prohibition for widows and divorcées to marry before their "waiting period" (*'iddah*) is over. When a husband dies, the widow is obliged to wait at least four months and ten days before she may remarry (Koran, ii. 234). A divorcée may not remarry before she has had three menstruations (*ḳurû*); in the case of older women, the *'iddah* is set at three months.[181]

Although customary law does not prohibit second marriages, they are looked upon everywhere in the Caucasus as inferior. The bride-price is considerably smaller and the nuptials take place without the customary solemnities.[182]

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[176] Cf. Briffault for other examples, *The Mothers*, II, pp. 184 f.

[177] *Voyage en Circassie 1835*, p. 55.

[178] Baddeley, *op. cit.*, I, p. 13, *note* 1.

[179] N. F. Takoeva, "Kosta Chetagurov—narodnyj poet osetin etnograf-kavkazoved," SE, 1949, No. 2, p. 125.

[180] Ladyženskij, FT, p. 199.

[181] Koran, ii. 228; lxv. 4. Cf. Juynboll, *op. cit.*, p. 222.

[182] *Infra*, pp. 121, 131.
See also O. Karanailov, "Aul Čoch," SMOMPK, IV (1884), No. 2, p. 16. Vasil'kov, "Očerk byta temirgoevcev," SMOMPK, XXIX (1901), No. 1, p. 102.

### 6. Impediment Arising from Failure to Carry Out an Obligation of Vengeance

628 Vengeance is a sacred obligation among all the Mountain Tribes of Caucasus.
614 If a member of the sib is murdered or killed accidentally,[183] if a member of the family is raped or abducted, if the sacred hearth-chain is violated, or if the sib is offended seriously in any other way, the injured party incurs the strict and sacred obligation of vengeance. Self-defense calls for vengeance, for in the eyes of the mountaineers there is no competent authority common to the offender and the offended, who might compel the culprit's sib to repair the injury done. The blood of the victim, self-respect, and respect for the ancestors call for vengeance. Usually the nearest male relative of the victim has the obligation to kill the offender or one or more of his sib, depending on the local *adat*. Although the vendetta has become more a thing of the past, it still does occur now and then in our own days. Even today reconciliation (bloodwite) is regarded as a disgraceful exchange for the noble blood of a member of the family and at [582] times is refused.[184] Blood calls for blood alone! Even today, if a young mountaineer fails to carry out his sacred obligation of avenging an enemy (regardless of Soviet laws), he may have to remain single for the rest of his life, for no respectable girl would wish to marry him.[185]

[672] [183] If a passer-by is killed by a stone kicked down a cliff by a sheep or goat, the owner of the animal becomes the blood-enemy *(qanly)* of the victim's sib. For other examples of similar customary laws see Dirr, AGKB, p. 107. Even in our own days accidents may be punished by death. See A. H. Günther, "Zusammenstöße zwischen Gesetz und Gewohnheitsrecht im nördlichen Kaukasus," *Zeitschr. f. vergl. Rechtsw.*, XLVI (1931), pp. 332 ff.

[184] Günther, *op. cit.*, p. 329.

[185] Günther, *op. cit.*, p. 327. For blood-feuds in the Caucasus see the works of Dirr and Günther just cited, S. Karginov, "Krovavaja mest' u Osetin," SMOMPK, XLIV (1914), No. 3, and Berže, *Čečnja i Čečency*.

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# Chapter III

# Preferential Mating

## § 1. DESCRIPTION

Cross-cousin marriages, levirate and sororate are all preferential marriages. 582
By "preferential," however, we do not mean "optional." "Preferential" means "having a precedence" which may be optional or obligatory.

These three forms of preferential marriages are not the only forms known to man. There is, for example, another form, found in the Caucasus itself, the "step-mother marriages," and still others are possible.

The NORTHWEST CAUCASIANS. The *Cherkess* were still Christians 587
when Interiano wrote of them, "It sometimes happens that a native will kill his brother and then will immediately become the bedmate of the widow."[1] Olearius describes the levirate as practiced during the reign of King Alexander Michailovič (c. 1650).

According to Circassian *adats* levirate was obligatory at least for the widow. In the collection of customary laws of the Black Sea, Kuban and Terek Territories we learn that the widow was indeed obliged to marry the brother of her deceased husband, but only "if his brother so wished." If he insisted on taking her to wife, her only means of escape was to pledge herself for life to the care of her children, and thus to remain unmarried.[2]

The NORTHEASTERN CAUCASIAN. Count Potocki described the custom in his *Voyage dans les pays du Caucase* (1798) and adds the interesting remark that not only must the brother of the deceased man marry the widow but also a step-son must marry all his step-mothers. "After the death of the father," Potocki informs us, "his sons marry all his wives, except their own mother, whom one of the step-brothers marries. The Chechens reproach them for this infamous custom, but the Ingushi answer quite unconcernedly, 'My father was allowed to lie with my mother, why then may I not lie with his wife?'"[3] This "infamous custom" exists likewise among the neighbouring Daghestanians.[4] An *adat* dating from 1860 expressly states that in the Ingush Province "a widow was *bound* to marry her brother-in-law or another relative of the

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[1] Cited by R. Erckert, *Der Kaukasus*, p. 67.

[2] Leontovič, II, p. 254, § 171. The levirate is no longer obligatory (Dubrovin, *Istorija*, I, i, i, p. 170).

[3] Cited by Ladyženskij, FT, p. 186. See Potocki, *Voyage dans les steps d'Astrakhan et du Caucase*, II, p. 127.

[4] Cf. F. Nansen, *Through the Caucasus to the Volga*, p. 104.

p.71

587 deceased."[5] The levirate among the mountaineers of Daghestan was completely optional.[6]

SOUTHERN CAUCASIANS. The only time a widow of Svanetia is free from the obligation of entering upon a levirate union, according to Bodenstedt,[7] Dubrovin[8] and others, is when she actually does not have a brother-in-law. Among the Khevsurs, on the contrary, levirate was optional.[9]

About ninety years ago the Russian Military Government tried to abolish the practice in OSSETIA, but with very little success. Widows continued to be automatically married to their husbands' brother or father.[10] If the widow refused to comply, she was driven out of the house and had to remain unmarried for the rest of her life.[11] In the first half of the nineteenth century not even the brother of the deceased person was free, even if he already had a wife.[12] [581] According to Ossetine customary law the levirate was formerly regarded merely as a continuation of the first marriage, which was indissoluble. The children born of the new union belonged to the deceased; the children were even named after the deceased; they were rightful heirs of the deceased! If the widow did not have a father-in-law or brother-in-law she had to remain unmarried; she might, however, live in lawful concubinage and all children born would be considered legitimate and true sons and daughters of the departed.[13]

In spite of the express prohibition of obligatory levirate by Islamic law and in spite of the measures taken by the Russians, the levirate continued to be the general practice almost to our own times.[14] The difference between recent practice and that of old consists mainly in the binding force of the *adats*. Although the actual practice was perhaps at its height about fifty years ago, its binding force had begun to lose ground long before that time. Around 1890 Kovalevskij observed that the levirate was obligatory only for *near* relatives, otherwise such marriages were optional,[15] and today the binding force has disappeared completely.[16]

Finally, a word about a rare form of preferential mating, rare at least in the Caucasus, the sororate. Practically all reports on cases of sororate refer to the Ossetes. Kovalevskij implies that the practice is also in accord with Lesghian *adats*. Abercromby claims that "an Avar is permitted to marry his

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[5] Leontovič, II, p. 169, § 117.

[6] Kovalevskij, *Zakon* II, p. 175.

[7] F. Bodenstedt, *Die Völker des Kaukasus*, I, p. 282.

[8] Dubrovin, *Istorija*, I, ii, p. 109.

[9] Cf. Eristov, "O Tušino-Pšavo-Chevsurskom okrugě," ZKO, III (1855), p. 113. Essad-Bey, *Der Kaukasus etc.*, p. 263.

[10] The inheritance of a deceased *son's* wife is not unknown even today (Byhan, *La civilisation caucasienne*, p. 226).

[11] Leontovič, II, p. 50, § 14. Sometimes she would be granted permission to remarry.

[12] Dubois de Montpéreux, *Voyage autour du Caucase*, IV, p. 449. Kovalevskij, *Coutume temp.*, p. 180.

[13] Baron A. von Haxthausen, *Transkaukasia* (Leipzig, 1856), pp. 402 ff.

[14] Cf. Juynboll, *Handbuch des islamischen Gesetzes etc.*, p. 184. Baddeley, *op. cit.*, I, p. 271.

[15] *Coutume contemp.*,

[16] Byhan, *op. cit.*,

first cousin or two sisters."[17] The reports are usually not specific, leaving us in the dark as to whether the sororate in actual practice is simultaneous or successive. In Ossetia the greatest opponents of the custom were the "clergy."[18] 587

## § 2. PROBLEMS REGARDING PREFERENTIAL MATING

Before we draw any conclusions from our data, a review of what we have said may be of advantage.

TABLE 9

**Preferential Mating in Caucasia**

| | PEOPLES | Adats permit levirate | Levirate Obligatory for | | Sororate | Step-mother inheritance | Daughter-in-law inheritance |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | | Widow | Brother-in-law | | | |
| North-Western | Abkhaz | + | + | — | | + | |
| | Cherkess | + | — | — | | + | |
| North-Eastern | Ingushi | + | + | — | | + | |
| | Lesghians | + | — | — | + | + | |
| Southern-ers | Svans | + | + | — | | | |
| | Khevsurs | + | — | — | | | |
| Ossetes | | + | + | + | + | + | + |

(1) The levirate is genuinely Caucasian, found among all mountaineers regardless of the religion to which the tribe may belong.

(2) *Obligatory* levirate is no longer found in the Caucasus. Formerly according to Cherkess and Chechen custom the *widow* was obliged to marry her brother-in-law if he desired it; in Ossetia the levirate was obligatory for both sides. This comparison clearly shows that wherever the *šarî'a* has struck deep root the levirate is optional; wherever the *adats* have maintained their original importance the custom remains obligatory at least in regard to the widow. This is but another example of the struggle that is continually going on between Islamic and customary law.[19]

(3) Step-mother inheritance is common to all Northerners. The sororate seems to be very rare, while the scarcity of reports relating to daughter-in-law marriages would incline us to believe that such marriages are the least common of all.

[17] Abercromby, *op. cit.*, p. 97.

[18] Kovalevskij, *Coutume contemp.*, p. 211 f., basing his assertion on Perevalenko, "In the Defiles of Kullarsk," (Russian), *Kavkaz*, 1847. p. 46, and on Dubrovin.

[19] Cf. Kovalevskij, *Zakon*, II, p. 175.

587 (4) We must disagree with Kovalevskij in his interpretation of the levirate as a vestige of former group marriage.[29] Without offering us any evidence, he takes up the theories of Morgan and Frazer and applies them to the Caucasus. Such an institution as "group marriage" exists nowhere in the world, and to imagine that it has ever existed is mere fancy. In an attempt to explain the origin of preferential mating in the Caucasus we should lay aside all guesswork [562] and study the culture before us. For example: the unbearably low position of the North Caucasian woman (*infra*, pp. 152—159) may have made her appear as inheritable chattel. After all, the family purchased her, paid a high price for her, and now she constitutes a part of the family property no less than do the horses, cows, and sheep. Moreover, as we have explained above (pp. 44 f), she is more than *ordinary* family property: she is the best family investment, for she is the "worker-producing" and especially the "boy-producing" organ on which depends the economic, religious, and social life of the family. This realization would only too naturally disincline the family to give her up after her husband's [591] death. As we shall see in the following chapter, mating is not a private affair; it is a strictly family affair, the prime purpose of marriage being the good of the family or sib. She, as it were, belongs more to the *family* that purchased her than to the individual member whose wife she is. Finally, if we consider the pre-Islamic, pre-Christian, and pre-Avestic religion of the mountaineers, we are almost forced to postulate such an institution as widow-inheritance. [775] The life beyond does not differ from the present, and consequently the departed will need his wife in the nether world just as much as in this life. (We shall have occasion to speak of posthumous marriages! Cf. *infra*, p. 85.) We shall even show that suttee was not unknown in North Caucasus (Cf. *infra*, [842] pp. 131 f). The wife therefore must remain in the family. Moreover, the deceased needs offspring, a large progeny, just as much after death as during life, for his happiness and honour in the other world depend upon the cult he receives from his descendents. The widow, therefore, must remain in the family and another member must "raise up seed for his brother" and "build up his brother's house." In other words, the levirate is not a survival of a *primitive* culture but rather an institution very intimately connected with the economic, social and religious life of a relatively highly developed culture such as that of pastoral peoples.

595 As a confirmation of what we have just now said about the origin of [842] Caucasian preferential mating, we wish to describe another institution, still found today in various parts of Caucasus, the so-called *snohačestvo*. A boy-child is married to an adult girl with whom the father may have sexual intercourse as freely as with his own wife. The father is considered as living in lawful concubinage with his son's wife and may do so until the child becomes of age. We wish to stress that this practice is a perfect parallel to widow inheritance. The father "must raise seed" for his son and "build up his house" till he is himself able to do so. The children born of this concubinage belong to the childhusband, sometimes half to him and half to the progenitor. This is

[29] Kovalevskij, *Coutume contemp.*, p. 181.

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a widespread institution, for example, among the Dido[21] and the North Tabassaranians of Daghestan,[22] among the Tushi,[23] among the Ossetes,[24] in Southern Russia and Asia. *Snohačestvo* aims to accomplish before puberty what levirate accomplishes after death. 595

[21] Klaproth, *Voyage au Mont Caucase et en Géorgie*, II, p. 74.
[22] "Adaty Južno-Dagestanskich Obščestv," SSKG, III (1875).
[23] Reineggs, *op. cit.*, I, p. 183.
[24] Kovalevskij, *Coutume contemp.*, pp. 177 f. Haxthausen, *op. cit.*, II, p. 101.

# Chapter IV

# Freedom of Choice

000 After we have shown which individuals are regarded as possible mates, we arrive at the second fundamental question: Who has the decisive word in selecting a definite mate from among the many possible ones? We shall have to answer such questions as: "Has the couple the decisive word?" "Has the young man more to say about his partner than the girl about hers?"

## § 1. THE RIGHT TO CHOOSE A MATE IN THEORY AND PRACTICE

584 [581] The NORTHWEST CAUCASIANS, the Abkhaz and the Cherkess, regard marriage as a family affair. It is not a contract between two *individuals* but between two *families*, joint-families or sibs. The male head of the household has the right to marry off his child to whomsoever he wishes.[1] He has the sole *right*; whether he *uses* that right or not is an entirely different matter.

When speaking about the actual practice we must make the necessary temporal and local distinctions. Before the Revolution the Kabardians, contrary to Hahn's superficial observations,[2] paid little attention to the wishes of their daughters, whereas the Shapsugs, Abadzekhs, and Bzhedukhs generally considered the girl's preferences and even tried to act accordingly. After the Revolution (1920), the Soviet régime refused to recognize any marriage unless it had been entered upon freely. To a large extent this legislation had the desired results, but not entirely, for compulsory marriages still occur today.[3]

Since there is less family interest in the girl than in the boy (the girl is married off into a *strange* family), it is not surprising that more consideration is given the future groom than the bride. But we do not wish to say that the preferences of the male children are always regarded more than those of the [582] female. Infant betrothal[4] has always been possible in Circassia and therefore there is no question of male children having a *right* to choose their mates. *De jure* both sexes are on the same level; *de facto* the wishes of the boys are generally complied with more than those of the girls.[5]

142 583 One can hardly pick up a book on the Cherkess without coming across a paragraph or two about the unusual beauty of their women. Some authors go

[1] V. V. Vasil'kov, "Očerk byta temirgoevcev," SMOMPK, XXIX (1901), No. 1, p. 99.

[2] C. Hahn, *Kaukasische Reisen und Studien*, p. 39. The questioning of the bride was a mere formality.

[3] Ladyženskij, FT, p. 197. Castagné, *op. cit.*, 1929, No. 2, p. 259.

[4] N. Dubrovin, *Istorija*, I, i, p. 139.

[5] Ladyženskij, *l. c.*

p. 76 1 [sic -- Analyst]

so far as to give them the title of the "most beautiful women in the world." 583
Whether they, or perhaps the Mingrelians or others, deserve this title does not [142]
concern us here. What does matter is the conviction of the Turks and Persians that Cherkess women are beautiful. It is said that the eunuchs of Persia used to lay down their lives for them, and today, it is a known fact, that the Turks are still willing to pay immense sums to have these singularly beautiful women in their harems. No wonder then, that bride-markets were not unusual in Circassia in the nineteenth century. And even today they are still operating, using of course the black-market technique. What we wish to emphasize is that the girl sold on the bride-market is not sold *against* her will. She is not sold as a slave, even though slave-traders are the middlemen of the actual purchasers. She is not sold against her will; no, she is proud to be sold, proud to see a man give up all he has just to win her. If it is not pride that makes her so eager to be sold on the bride-market, then it is ambition. These girls have dreams just as our girls do, though of a somewhat different type. In Turkey they will be sold to a *rich* man; they will be given a *comfortable* lodging, an excellent *education*. Dreams these are indeed, great dreams that can be realized only outside of their own homeland and only in a Turkish harem, only on the bride-market![6]

The NORTHEASTERN CAUCASIANS. The Chechen girls according to 584
their own native *adats* have very little to say about their future husbands. They must wait till their father (or if he is dead, their eldest brother) marries them off to whomever *he* thinks is best,[7] and, primarily, of course, best for the family, for marriage is a family affair. Child-engagements[8] are again a proof that not even the male-children enjoy the *right* to choose their mates.

decision of the Ingushi, no marriage was to be considered valid unless the bride[1]

§ 118 of the "*Adats* of the Ingush Province in the 1860's" calls for special attention. It reads: "Since the end of 1862, according to an unanimous decision of the Ingushi, no marriage was to be considered valid unless the bride had freely consented.[9] The *adat* collection then goes on to give the motive for the decision (§ 156): "Till very recently (1862) a woman was regarded as a [582]
slave: she enjoyed no human rights. Turning a deaf ear to her plea and [583]
protests, disregarding her sobs and tears, her family would sell her off like a ram, throw her on a cart, and deliver her to her husband."[10] Such a miserable 585
bride, the collection tells us, would in most cases run away from her purchaser. But where could she flee except to her own family — unfortunately the same persons who sold her into "slavery"? Her family, however, had to return the fugitive to her lawful husband, for the contract had to be observed to prevent bloodshed. She would then run away again, and even a third time, making life

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[6] Cf. Essad-Bey, *op. cit.*, pp. 202—207. Longworth, *A Year among the Circassians*, I, p. 279.

[7] Cf. The general *adats* for the Black Sea Line, Kuban and Terek Territories, Leontovič, II, p. 251, § 148. *Adats* of 1843 for all Chechens, Leontovič, II, p. 112, § 8. *Adats* of 1864 for the Chechen tribes of Salati, Aukh, and Ichkeria, Leontovič, II, p. 144. Adats of the 1860's for the Ingush Province, Leontovič, II, p. 169. A. P. Berže, Čečnja i Čečency, p. 97.

[8] Dubrovin, *Istorija*, I, i, pp. 427.

[9] Leontovič, II, p. 169, § 118.

[10] "*Adats* of the Natives of the Ingush Province in the 1860's," Leontovič, II, p. 174, § 156.

1/9 [Sic -- Analyst]

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585 more and more miserable for herself.[11] Sometimes the court succeeded in bringing about a peaceful settlement, even a more or less happy reunion,[12] or the husband would in disgust divorce her.[13] That such cases have occurred cannot be denied, but we have here nevertheless an example of the proneness of pre-Soviet writers to exaggerate the "savagery" of the Caucasians.

584 The actual fact is that the Russian Military Government tried to abolish compulsory mating. The Ingushi "agreed" to allow their daughters to choose their own mates or at least to ask them if they consented to the marriage arranged by the head of the family. Grabovskij assures us that the innovation of 1862 was being observed but only as a formality. The girl was generally asked whether she wanted to marry the particular man chosen for her, but no matter what she answered, the plans of her family were infallibly carried out.[14]

The customary laws of the *Lesghians* in regard to freedom of choice do not differ from what we have learned about the other mountain tribes of North Caucasus. According to their *adats*, the *right* to choose a mate belongs to the head of the family and to him alone. If he so wishes, he may betroth his boy or girl while they are still in the cradle.[15] The Lesghian boys have much more to say about their future wives than the girls about their mates, and even in the last century the boys were never forced to marry anyone against their will.[16] Virgins were given much less freedom in selecting their partners than a girl that had lost her virginity.

But just why should a woman who no longer possesses her virginal integrity be given more freedom than a virgin? This practice seems to have been introduced by Islamism, for it is in full accord with the teaching of the Šâfi'itic School. Mohammed is supposed to have encouraged all Walîs (father or guardian) to ask the girl if she freely consented to the proposed marriage. The Prophet failed to specify just what he meant by "girls." The Šâfi'itic School maintained that "girls" means "non-virgins."[17] Others insisted that Mohammed did not intend to distinguish between "virgins" and "non-virgins" but rather between "girls of age" and "girls not yet of age," the

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[11] *ibid.* (§§ 157 f). The lot of a widow or divorcée was supposed to have been much the same. Cf. Leontovič, II, 169, §§ 117 ff.

[12] Leontovič, II, p. 174, § 158.

[13] *ibid.*

[14] "Ekonomičeskij i domašnij byt žitelej gorskago učastka Inguševskago okruga," SSKG, III (1870), p. 20.

[15] Dubrovin, *Istorija*, I, i, p. 562.
Svěčin, "Očerk narodonaselenija, nravov i obyčaev Dagestancev," ZKO, II (1853), p. 64. Kovalevskij, *Zakon*, II, pp. 180 f.
For customs relating to infant betrothal see: L'vov, "Domašnjaja i semejnaja žizn Dagestanskich gorcev avarskago plemeni," SSKG, III (1870), p. 17. According to Amirov, "Sredi gorcev sěvernago Dagestana," SSKG, VII (1873), p. 30, mentions that the engagement takes place when the future mates are still under 10. Cf. also Polidaev, *Gorcy sěvernago Kavkaza*, p. 105.

[16] This was the practice in the last decades of the nineteenth century. Kovalevskij, *Zakon*, II, p. 204.

[17] Juynboll, *Handbuch des islâmischen Gesetzes nach der Lehre der schâfi'itischen Schule*, p. 210.

*saǧîra* and the *bâliǧa*. The *bâliǧa* had the right to declare any marriage arrangements made by the *walî* as null and void, i. e., the right of *hîjar* (" retraction "). Still other interpreters were of the opinion that a distinction should rather be made between the rights enjoyed by the girl's father and grandfather and those enjoyed by other guardians — which of course only adds to the confusion.[18] What is of importance is that the Šâfi'itic doctrine prevailed in Daghestan: non-virgins are free to choose their own mates while virgins are not. 584

But under certain conditions virgins are free as well. In Avaria, for example, if the father of the girl happens to be away on a two-days journey, the girl may go to the mullah (in Avaria called *debîr*) and obtain permission to marry whomever she wishes.[19] But this practic too is not based on customary but on Islamic law.

Mohammed *recommended* (as a *sunna)* that all girls should be asked for their consent before marriage. Among the Avars[20] and the Laks[21] the marriage would be considered invalid if her consent were not asked. In Avaria two persons are sent by the *debîr* as official witnesses to her consent. At first sight all these regulations seem to guarantee freedom of choice, and not a few authors and explorers have made the mistake of not distinguishing between theory and practice.[22] In pre-Soviet times the girl's consent was indeed asked but merely as a formality.[23] As L'vov points out, the girl would infallibly consent, it is true, but not freely. She was afraid of offending her father.[24]

Despite the difference between theory and practice, it cannot be denied that Islamism has brought the Daghestanian woman a number of rights that she had not enjoyed before.[25] [52]

The *adats* of the neighbouring peoples show a striking similarity to those of the Northern Mountaineers. The SOUTH CAUCASIANS (the Khevsurs, Pshavs, and Tushi) had the custom of infant engagement and therefore *de jure* the consent of the engaged persons was not required.[26] Dubrovin tells us that the Tushi and Pshavs generally married off their children with no or very little

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[18] G. Bergsträsser, *Grundzüge des islamischen Rechts*, p. 82.

[19] Kovalevskij, *op. cit.*, II, pp. 175 f.

[20] L'vov, " Domalnjaja i semejnaja žizn etc.," p. 25.

[21] Kovalevskij, *l. c.*

[22] Cf. Alichanov's series of articles " V gorach Dagestana," which are supposed to have appeared in the *Kavkaz*. These articles however are not available on this side of Russia. Baddeley believes that they have never appeared in book form *(The Rugged Flanks of Caucasus*, II, p. 72, *note)*.
C. Hahn, " Putešestvie v Kachetiju i Dagestan," SMOMPK, XXXI (1902), p. 93. This article has been almost verbally translated in Hahn's *Bilder aus dem Kaukasus*.
Byhan, *op. cit.*, p. 191.
Nansen, *Through the Caucasus to the Volga*, p. 104.

[23] Kovalevskij, *Zakon*, II, p. 204.

[24] " Domalnjaja i semejnaja žizn etc.," p. 22.

[25] We do not refer merely to Shamyl's reforms, which were only superficial.

[26] Eristov, " O Tušino-Pšavo-Chevsurskom Okrugě," ZKO, III (1855), p. 109.
Mourier, *Guide au Caucase*, Part I, p. 153.
Hahn, Bilder aus dem Kaukasus, p. 82.
Byhan, *op. cit.*, p. 112.

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584 regard for their wishes.[27] Today, of course, the Khevsurs[28] and the Pshavs[29] no longer force their daughters into any particular marriage.

The OSSETINE *adats* give the father the sole right to decide the mates for his sons and daughters. Child-engagements[30] and child-marriages[31] are not rare. The consent of the future bride and groom was generally asked for, but again, here as elsewhere in the Caucasus, it was usually a mere formality. In pre-Soviet Ossetia a well-bred girl was forbidden to manifest her preference for any particular man. She always had to "agree" and in no way show her displeasure. If she wanted to avoid marriage, suicide was sometimes the only means of escape.[32] But fortunately this means was very seldom resorted to; instead, the unhappy bride preferred to be the "slave" of her husband[33] for the good of the family. Mating was determined not so much by the mutual attraction of the bride and groom as by the will of the heads of the two families.[34]

The TURCO-TARTARS. The *Nogai* often betroth their children before they are seven years of age,[35] a custom universally practiced by the Turkic peoples.[36] Among the *Karachai*[37] and the *Kumyks*[38] it is again the head of the family who has the decisive word. In practice, however, the Kumykian girl seems to enjoy considerable freedom. A suitor must first propose to his beloved and only if the answer is in the affirmative ("If my family agrees") may he approach his own father and then the family of the prospective bride.[39] A refusal [583] on the part of the girl's father generally would lead to elopement.[40]

## § 2. INPLICATIONS IN THE LACK OF FREEDOM OF CHOICE

In spite of the fact that the Caucasus is looked upon as an ethnographical museum, we find very little variety in regard to the right and practice of choosing mates. Everywhere, at least formerly, it was the father and he alone who had the right to arrange marriages for his children.

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[27] Dubrovin, *Istorija*, I, ii, p. 309.

[28] Enad-Bey, *op. cit.*, p. 267.

[29] G. Demidov, V ukčel'jach pervodbytnoj gruzii (Chevsuretija), Moscow, Leningrad, 1930, p. 17.

[30] Leontovič, II, p. 51, § 15.

[31] Dirr, AGKB, p. 121; Dubrovin, *Istorija*, I, i, p. 334; Kovalevskij, *Coutume contemp.*, pp. 177 f, 192 f.

[32] Kovalevskij, op. cit., p. 193. In primitive societies suicide is seldom occasioned by disappointed love. Most of the time it is, as with the Ossetes, a rebellion against marrying a person the girl abhors (cf. Steinmetz, "Suicide among Primitive Peoples," *The American Anthropologist*, VII, p. 55.

[33] Dubois de Montpéreux, *op. cit.*, IV, p. 449.

[34] Dubrovin, *Istorija*, I, i, p. 333.

[35] Dubrovin, *Istorija*, I, i, p. 277.

[36] H. Vámbéry, *Das Türkenvolk*, p. 109.

[37] Klaproth, "Voyage au Caucase," *Nouvelle Bibliotheque*, XI, p. 170.

[38] Semenov, "Očerki narodnych obyčaev Kumykov," *Terskij Sbornik*, II (1892), No. 2, Part 2, p. 68.

[39] Gadži-Magoma-Debirov, "Dagestanskija predanija i suevěrija," SMOMPK, IV (1884), No. 2, p. 32.

[40] Gadži-Magoma-Debirov, *l. c.*

(1) This[1] is but another right from among the many that the male head of the family enjoys in a patriarchal society. The deeper reason for this monopoly is the fact that marriage is recognized by the *adats* as a family affair. 581 [584]

(2) Marriage is essentially an economic transaction and not so much a union between two lovers. Mutual attraction is not of paramount importance but rather the bride-price (*infra*, pp. 82—91), the social rank of the bride (*infra*, p. 90), her physical fitness for hard work (*infra*, pp. 156—159), her fertility and "capacity" to give birth to boys (*supra*, pp. 44 f, *infra*, p. 140), and her virginity (*infra*, p. 90). Not that love affairs do not occur among the mountaineers—even elopement is not rare (*infra*, pp. 96 f). What we wish to stress is that (especially formerly) the determining factor in deciding which individuals from among the many possible mates are to be married is, not love or sexual attraction, but the qualities just enumerated. This conception of an ideal wife fits perfectly into the culture of pastoral peoples.

(3) Since even the bride and groom have the same concept of an ideal match as the father, and since they realize that he can observe these qualities just as easily as they themselves, mating generally does not involve violence to the wishes of the partners.

1 [i.e., to arrange a marriage--Analyst]

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# Chapter V

# Means of Acquiring a Wife

## § 1. BY PURCHASE

### 1. Description of Customary Laws

583 "Bride purchase," as Lowie points out, is a blanket term for various transactions. It fits some cases indeed, but at other times it is a complete misnomer.[1] Such is certainly the case when speaking of the Caucasians. Some tribes actually have a bride *purchase*, while others do not; some may have *had* the custom too but the nature of the payment has so completely changed in the course of years that it is false to speak of a price any longer. In some cases the "bride-price" is nothing more than a symbol; or again it is a mere exchange of gifts, or finally a security for the wife, resembling the *donatio ante nuptias* of the Romans. We shall use the term "bride-price" only in its strict sense. But since a generic term embracing all financial obligations connected with the acquisition of a wife is indispensable, we shall use the native word (*kalym, irad* etc.) or "bride wealth" whenever such a general expression is needed.

[177] The NORTHWESTERN CAUCASIANS. Since the Cherkess have been subject to a rather unusually rapid acculturation in the past 150 years, it is not surprising that the bride-price of old should in the course of decades have taken on many new features. Instead of presenting a complicated historical description of the Cherkess bride-price from its beginning to its disappearance, it will be much better, I think, if we borrow and sum up Ladyženskij's conclusions.[2] (1) Up to the end of the nineteenth century the bride was actually *sold* (p. 197), and consequently regarded as a chattel. (2) Islamic law improved her position, in so far as a considerable portion of the payment became the property of the bride as a security in case of divorce. A portion of the payment was likewise set aside to cover the expenses of the wedding (p. 198). (3) From the end of the nineteenth century this modified form of bride purchase assumed a different meaning: the bride was no longer *sold* in the strict sense. Rather, the family of the bride deserved to be compensated for the expenses involved in rearing a child till it attained a marriageable age. It deserved to be com-
[178] pensated also for the loss of a valuable worker. With such motives in view the Cherkess considered the *kalym* as a form of *captatio benevolentiae* of the entire sib of the bride, for the *kalym* was shared by all (p. 197). (4) Today the *kalym*

[1] R. Lowie, *Social Organization*, p. 99. See his excellent section on "Bride Wealth," pp. 99—102.

[2] Ladyženskij, FT, pp. 197 f. Cassagné, *op. cit.*, p. 261.

p. 12

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By Purchase



has in places disappeared completely, namely in the modern cities, where both partners earn money before their marriage (p. 197), while in other places it has disappeared officially, continuing only as a secret practice (p. 197). In 1921 the bride wealth fluctuated between Rs. 500 and Rs. 1,000 (p. 198). 583

Generally the *kalym* is so high that the entire joint-family of the prospective groom must share the burden. According to Cherkess customary law, when a joint-family decides to split into several units and consequently the common possessions must be divided, a portion must first be set aside as *kalym* for the unmarried sons.[3] Sometimes the joint-family cannot afford to "purchase" a wife and hence all relatives, near and distant, must contribute,[4] and, if it be necessary, also the entire *tleush* (*supra*, p. 55).[5] The burden is greatly eased by the possibility of paying the *kalym* in instalments.[6] 596

The amount to be paid has always been subject to great variations. Before a daughter is given in marriage, the amount of the bride wealth must be agreed upon by both families. Not only are the particular personal qualities of the prospective wife taken into account, as, for example, her virginity,[7] but especially the social standing of her family.[8] The higher the rank (and, as we have seen above, the ranks of the Cherkess are endless) the higher the bride wealth demanded. Thus at one time a maiden of the *uzden* class cost as much as Rs. 800 to Rs. 1,200. One hundred years ago the price was somewhat lower: Rs. 500 for a maiden of the princely class and Rs. 300 for a widow; Rs. 350 for a maiden of the uzden class of the first order and Rs. 200 for a widow; Rs. 220 for a maiden of a lower *uzden* sub-class and Rs. 150 for a widow; Rs. 150 for a maiden of the free class and Rs. 100 for a widow. Dubrovin tells us that this payment went to the father, brother or paternal uncle of the bride, and if she had neither father, nor brother nor paternal uncle no *kalym* was necessary.[9] Sometimes slaves were used as payment.[10]

We have said nothing about the Abkhaz, for in essentials and even in many particulars they agree perfectly with the Cherkess. In fact, the marriage and family *adats* of the Abkhaz and those of the Cherkess are so much alike that Ladyženskij regards the Abkhaz as a Cherkess tribe.[11] [101]

The NORTHEASTERN CAUCASIANS. As elsewhere in the Caucasus, the *kalym* in Ingushetia and Chechnia may consist of money, cattle, arms and

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[3] Ladyženskij, FT, p. 206.

[4] Dubrovin, *Istorija*, I, i, p. 140.

[5] Longworth, *A Year among the Circassians*, I, p. 234.

[6] Neumann, *Russland und die Tscherkessen* (1840), p. 117.

[7] "Adats of the Black See Line, Kuban and Terek Territories," Leontovič, II, p. 253, § 162.

[8] Leontovič, II, p. 253, §§ 163—165. V. V. Vasil'kov, "Očerk byta temirgoevcev," SMOMPK, XXIX (1901), No. 1, p. 90, sets the bride-price of the Termirgoi as follows: for an ordinary peasant girl Rs. 600; for a girl of noble birth Rs. 1, 500; for a princess Rs. 3,000.

[9] Dubrovin, *Istorija*, I, i, p. 140 f.

[10] *ibid.*

[11] We do not of course accept this faulty classification. The Abkhaz, Ubykhs, and Cherkess are *distinct* peoples.

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583 other objects.[12] Although the amount is much more stable than in other parts of Caucasia, it does vary according to the presence or absence of virginal integrity and on the social class of the mates.[13]

In the eighteenth century the Nakhchuo paid up to 10 cows;[14] the Ingushi would have to pay as many as 30 cows.[15] In the 1860's the average *kalym* was about 18 cows (or if paid in money, Rs. 10 per cow).[16] In the twentieth century the *kalym* was so high that the Russian Military Government forced all young men to swear that they would never take or give more than Rs. 105 *kalym*, but, as Baddeley, who is averse to all exaggeration, assures us that "none kept the oath, and the amount was now greater than ever."[17] In 1920 the Ingushi of the Upper Uchaluk paid as much as one million Soviet rubles, 105 silver rubles, two horses, one cow and one ram as *kalym*.[18]

585 In the Ingush *adat* collection of the 1860's (§§ 119 f) we read that the relatives of the groom are obliged to offer the bride a gift of 25 silver rubles on the occasion of her betrothal, of which she becomes the full owner and administrator. On her wedding day she must also be given a guarantee amounting to 80 silver rubles in case of divorce or widowhood.[19] This *adat* is an innovation which owes its origin to Islamism and the Russian Military Government. Although at first it was received with very little favour (and even today we still can come across cases which may be classified under strict purchase), this new form of bride wealth gradually prevailed throughout Ingushetia and Chechnia.[20] In a word, the Chechen bride-price has for about a century at least been tending to evolve into a form of dowry, an evolution analgous to that found among the Abkhaz and Cherkess.

614 It is the obligation of the *taipan* (sib) to provide the necessary *kalym* for all male members, if necessary even by theft.[21]

The following table shows the average bride-price of about an hundred years ago.

## TABLE 10

583 587 **Average bride-price among the Chechens about A.D. 1850**

| District | Amount | | Source |
|---|---|---|---|
| | For maiden | For widow | |
| Nazran | 12 cows | 21 cows; sometimes only 12 | Leontovič, II, p. 117, §§ 9 f. |

[12] Cf. "Collection of *Adats* of the Black Sea Line, Kuban and Terek Territories" Leontovič, II, p. 253, § 161.
[13] Leontovič, II, p. 253, §§ 162—165.
[14] Potocki, *Voyage dans les steps d'Astrakhan et du Caucase*, II, p. 127.
[15] *ibid.*
[16] Grabovskij, "Ekonomičeskij i domalnij byt etc.," SSKG, III (1870), p. 20, *note*.
[17] *The Rugged Flanks of Caucasus*, I, pp. 207 f. See also Vertepov, "Inguši," *Terskij Sbornik*, II (1892), No. 2, p. 132.
[18] N. Jakovlev, *Inguši*, p. 53, *note* 1
[19] Leontovič, II, p. 169, § 119.
[20] Jakovlev, *Inguši*, p. 53.
[21] Jakovlev, *op. cit.*, pp. 51, 53.

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| District | Amount | | Source |
|---|---|---|---|
| | For maiden | For widow | |
| Kists | 18 cows | 12 cows | Leontovič, II, p. 118, §§ 18 f. |
| Dzherakh * | 30 cows | 20 cows | Leontovič, II, p. 116, §§ 1 f. |
| Sunsha * | 10 cows | | Leontovič, II, p. 123, § 1. |
| Ingushi ** | 18 cows | | Grabovskij, op. cit., p. 20. |

* The adat collection actually speaks of rubles and not cows; the approximate value in cows is based on Grabovskij's estimate, *op. cit.*, p. 20.
** In 1864.

Before we pass on to the Lesghian group we wish to mention an interesting form of *kalym*, parallels to which can be found in various parts of the world.[22] We refer to the practice of marrying two deceased persons. Toward the end of the 18th century Potocki observed that "if one Ingush lost a son and another an unmarried daughter, the father of the deceased girl would approach the family of the deceased son and say, 'Your son most likely still doesn't have a wife; I'll give him my daughter, who passed away some time ago, provided that you give me so and so many cows as kalym.' In such a case the father of the dead boy will never refuse."[23] The *kalym* is in such cases generally lower than usual.[24] 588 (471)

When speaking of the Lesghians we must keep in mind that we are dealing with a group strongly influenced by Islamic law, much more so than the rest of the Caucasians. We must also remember that there are local and temporal variations to be taken into account. There are four distinct financial transactions connected with Lesghian marriages: (1) genuine bride purchase, (2) symbolic bride purchase, (3) gifts, (4) the *kebin*, a guarantee against divorce. 583 585

Many recent and older authors speak of a "very trivial bride price."[25] Abercromby, for example, reports that the *kalym* of the Avars was no more than two rubles and eighty kopeks.[26] Hahn claims to have found it as low as 25 kopeks.[27] Before Shamyl's time it was supposed to have been possible to "purchase" a wife for a trifle: at Ishal, for instance, for 36 quarts (12 *garncy*) of wheat; in Bahulal it was only one *sab* (about 20 pounds) of grain; in Untsukul it amounted to one ruble.[28] Despite the poverty of the mountaineers, the *kalym* is so insignificant that to classify it under "bride-price" would be incorrect. This is not a case of bride purchase at all, but rather a formality or symbol, which may be at most a *vestige* of actual marriage by purchase.

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[22] For the custom among the Chinese see Vanicelli, *La Familia Cinese*, pp. 393—403; among the Germans of the Volga see E. G. Kagarov, "Venčanie pokojnikov u nemcev Povolž'ja," SE, 1936, No. 1, pp. 106 ff. O. Schrader, *Totenhochzeit*, 1904.
[23] Potocki, *op. cit.*, II, p. 127.
[24] B. Dalgat, "Die alte Religion der Tschetchenen," *Anthropos*, III (1908), p. 737.
[25] For instance, F. Nansen, *op. cit.*, p. 104; Byhan, *op. cit.*, p. 191; Kovalevskij, *Zakon*, II, p. 178.
[26] *op. cit.*, pp. 96, 101. The "bride-price" was therefore only 5 s. 10 d., less than $ 1.00.
[27] Hahn, "Puteŝestvie v Kachetiju i Dagestan," SMOMPK, XXXI (1902), p. 93.
[28] A. Runovskij, "Kodeks Šamilja," *Voennyj Sbornik*, XXIII (1862), No. 2, p. 347.

583 We do not wish to say that bride price in the strict sense of the word does [562] not exist in Daghestan at all. The unfavourable position of the female sex in Botlikh is rightly attributed by Rossikov and Erckert to the fact that she is still considered as purchased property, as chattel.[29] The *iol-puli* of the North Tabassaranians was anything but trivial.[30] In the "Adat Collection of the South Daghestanian Districts" we learn that it varied between Rs. 100 and Rs. 400, a maiden costing more than a widow.[31]

Even in localities where the *kalym* is so insignificant that it is actually only a symbol there are certain, and by no means trivial, expenses which must not be overlooked. First of all, there are not a few betrothal gifts (*infra*, pp. 102 f); then there are the relatively expensive marriage gifts, of which we shall speak below when describing the Lesghian wedding (*infra*, p. 119).

[586] There is, moreover, the so-called *kebin*, a guarantee against divorce. Just because it is the bride who benefits from the *kebin*, it cannot be considered as a bride-price. It is a security for the bride in case of divorce and is usually determined by mutual agreement, depending, of course, on the economic and social position of the contracting families. A widow of the *uzden* class, for example, never received more than a guarantee of Rs. 55.[32] In the province of Kazikumukh (Lak) and Dargwa the *kebin* usually consists of a piece of land having a value of Rs. 50 to Rs. 200.[33] Among the Kapuchians it consisted of money, about Rs. 10 to Rs. 20, while among the Tabassaranians up to Rs. 40. In the Avar Province the *adats* do not fix a definite amount, leaving it entirely to the two families concerned.[34] In North Tabassaran the guarantee was usually between Rs. 15 and Rs. 40 for a maiden and Rs. 5 to Rs. 20 for a widow.[35] The [177] *kebin* (*mahr*, *kebin-khak*, *magar* as we sometimes find it in Russian literature) evidently owes its origin to Mohammedanism.

The SOUTHERN CAUCASIANS. Eristov speaking of the Khevsurian custom of about one hundred years ago informs us that the bride received no dowry but that a price always was insisted upon.[36] Similarly, the Pshav would marry his daughter only if he first received a satisfactory price for her.[37] It is [587] worth noting that the Ingiloi (the Georgians of Sakataly) had to pay a higher kalym for widows than for virgins, Rs. 75 and Rs. 50 respectively.[38] The reason for this regulation seems to be that the widow being older is more liable to be divorced and has less chance of re-marrying than a young girl, and therefore needs a higher *kebin*.

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[29] K. N. Rosikov, "Poězdka v Čečnju i Nagorny Dagestan," ZKO, XIII (1884), p. 248. R. Erckert, *Der Kaukasus*, p. 284.

[30] Kovalevskij, *Zakon*, II, p. 179.

[31] "Adaty Južno-Dagestanskich Obščestv," SSKG, VIII (1875), p. 32.

[32] Svěčin, "Očerk narodonaselenie, nravov i obyčaev Dagestancev," ZKO, II (1853), p. 64. For custom of the Avars see L'vov, "Domašnjaja i semejnaja žizn etc."

[33] Confirmed by Kovalevskij's own field work. See his *Zakon*, II, p. 179.

[34] *ibid.*

[35] "Adaty Južno-Dagestanskich Obščestv," SSKG, VIII (1875), p. 32.

[36] "O Tušino-Pšavo-Chevsurskom Okrugě," ZKO, III (1855), p. 113.

[37] *ibid.*

[38] Hahn, "Putešestvie v Kachetiju i Dagestan," SMOMPK, XXXI (1902), p. 60.

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By Purchase



Much has been written about the OSSETINE bride wealth, but no one has described it so well as Kovalevskij in his *Sovremennyj obyčaj i drevnij zakon.* 583

Less than fifty years ago the expenses involved in a marriage were enormous. The families of the highest class in Kurtatinsk and Tagaursk had to pay as much as 100 oxen (worth about Rs. 1,000), one male slave or Rs. 120 and a coat of mail. In Kurtatinsk an equivalent number of cows could be substituted for oxen ; a female slave or 12 oxen could be substituted for a male slave. The *farsaglegs* were valued at 60 cows or 30 oxen, whereas the *kavdassart kalym* was 25 to 38 cows. The Alaghirs never paid more than 38 oxen. An ox could be replaced by one cow and two sheep ; a gun could replace six oxen ; a sword, two or three oxen ; a large chauldron for brewing beer, six oxen ; a hearth chain, three cows.

Besides the *kalym* (or more correctly when speaking of the Ossetes, *irad*) the Mohammedan Ossetes are obliged to give a guarantee against divorce, the equivalent of the Lesghian *kebin*, called by the Ossetes *nakiash*.

Astounding is the number of gifts which the suitor's family was obliged to offer to the relatives of the bride. There was the *fati-bash, i. e.*, a horse called "The Arrow Horse" because the consent of the bride's father and the whole matchmaking procedure moved as swiftly and directly as an arrow ; the *fati-bash* was given to the bride's father while her mother received the *madi-bash*, ("The Mother's Horse"). Then there was the *amtsedzhi-bash* ("The Nurse's Horse") which actually went to her husband (cf. *supra*, the *atalyk*, p. 57). The *madi-arvadi-bash* or *madi-arvadai-kal* was a horse given to the nearest relative of the bride's mother, most commonly to her brother. The Digorians usually offered oxen instead of horses.[39] 584

The sib must not be forgotten either. Besides the bride-price the prospective bride-groom had to give about Rs. 9 to the village, or, in other words, to the sib, for the Ossetine villages are generally composed of families related by blood. This payment was called *kauvendag* ("The Village Road").[40] Kovalevskij's figures differ but slightly from those of earlier ethnographers of the same century. Klaproth in his *Voyage au Mont Caucase et en Géorgie* (1828)[41] informs us that the highest *kalym* among the Ossetine nobles was Rs. 1,000 (hence about 100 cows). Dubois de Montpéreux,[42] whose investigations were published about 10 years after those of Klaproth, places the bride-price at 140 cows and 7 horses as the maximum and 12 cows as the minimum. In 1859 the Russians enacted a law according to which one third of the *irad* was to go to the bride as social security in case her husband should die.[43] This attempt to put an end to what the Russians considered a great abuse served only to raise the *irad* considerably. In fact, it reached an exceptionally high point in 1877, when to marry a single son would often bring complete financial

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[39] Kovalevskij, *Coutume contemp.*, pp. 163 f.

[40] Kovalevskij, *op. cit.*, pp. 175 f.

[41] II, p. 249.

[42] *Voyage autour du Caucase*, IV, p. 449.

[43] Leontovič, II, p. 51, § 17, *note 3*.

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583 ruin to the family.[44] Colonel Kondukov saw no way out: the *irad* had to be outlawed. In 1877 the Colonel promulgated a new law and then the following year the General Assembly confirmed it.[45] An attempt to eradicate such a deep-rooted institution by mere enactment of law is indeed always a futile attempt. A few years later the *irad* not only revived but was as high as ever. During his expedition in Ossetia Dirr could observe how the bride-price was sky-rocketing higher and higher and nobody could forecast when its descent would begin. The situation became so alarming that there was only one way left for the Ossete to acquire a wife, and that was to kidnap her at the risk of his life and at the risk of an endless feud between the families.[46] As late as May 15, 1911, the inhabitants of Mizur, Sadon, Dagon, Arkhon and Nuzal had to sign a promise never to offer or accept a higher *irad* than Rs. 200 for a maiden and Rs. 100 for a widow.[47]

Passing over to the TURKIC peoples of the Caucasus, we find the *kalym* (especially the *kebin*) no less stringently insisted upon than among the true Caucasians. In the beginning of the twentieth century the *kalym* among the Nogai was about 30 cows, the equivalent of about Rs. 170,[48] and as usual less for a widow than for a maiden.[49] The Kumykian *kebin* consisted in a written promise that a certain amount of money would automatically pass over to the wife in case of divorce or death of her husband, but only if she had no children to support her.[50] Among the Mountain Tartars and Karachai the amount of the *kalym* depended mainly on the social class to which the prospective mates belonged. The *kalym* of the Karachai varied between Rs. 350 and Rs. 1,000 payable in money or cattle[51] and was usually supplied by the entire sib.[52]

## 2. Conclusions regarding Marriage by Purchase

Before we sum up our conclusions we wish to review some of the more important data contained in the present section.

[44] By "ruining the family" we understand the joint-family, the "hearth" as the Ossetes express it.

[45] Kovalevski, *Coutume contemp.*, pp. 161 f.

[46] A. Dirr, AGKB, p. 122.

[47] *Tifliskyj Listok* of June 17, 1911, cited by Dirr, *op. cit.*, p. 114.

[48] Jankó, "Néprajzi Gyüjtemény Leirása," in Zichy's *op. cit.*, p. 41.

[49] Haxthausen, *Studien über die inneren Zustände Rußlands*, II, p. 372.
See N. Semenov, "Očerki narodnych obyčaev Kumykov Terskoj Oblasti," p. 72; "Adaty žitelej kumyskoj ploskosti," SSKG, VI (1872), p. 16; Dubrovin, *Istorija*, I, i, pp. 277, 638.

[50] Dubrovin, *op. cit.*, p. 638, says that the *kebin* could be signed after marriage, usually being Rs. 750 for princely families and Rs. 100 for the nobility.

[51] Baddeley, *op. cit.*, II, p. 211; Klaproth, "Voyage au Mont Caucase," *Nouvelle Bibliotheque*, IX, p. 170; J. Jankó, *op. cit.*, p. 44.

[52] U. Alijev, "The Karachai" (in Russian), cited by Ladyženskij, "Entstehung und Entwicklung des Staates bei den kaukasischen Bergvölkern," *Zeitsch. f. Völkerpsych. u. Soz.*, VI (1930), p. 435.

TABLE 11

**Marriage by Purchase in the Caucasus**

| PEOPLES | | Existence of bride-price: Formerly | Existence of bride-price: Recently | Amount of bride-price: Virgins High | Amount of bride-price: Widows Less* | Existence of kebin | Who provides the kalym? | Amount of kalym depends on social rank |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Caucasians, North-west. | Abkhaz | + | + | + | + | + | Joint-family; Tleush | + |
| | Cherkess | + | + | + | + | + | Joint-family; Tleush | + |
| Caucasians, North-east. | Chechens | + | + | + | + | + | Taipan (sib) | + |
| | Lesghians | + | ± | + | ± | + | Tokhum (sib) | + |
| Caucasians, Southerners | Khevsurs | + | + | + | | | | |
| | Pshavs | + | + | + | | | | |
| | Tushi | | – | | | | | |
| | Ingiloi | | | | – | | | |
| Ossetes | | + | + | + | + | + | Joint-family; sib | |
| Turks | Nogai | + | | + | + | + | | |
| | Kumyks | + | + | + | + | + | | + |
| | Karachai | + | + | + | + | + | Sib | + |

* Under "widows" we understand non-virgins, divorcées and widows.

(1) It seems that formerly all North Caucasian and neighbouring peoples bought and sold wives.

(2) In the last hundred years there has been throughout Northwest and Northcentral Caucasus a tendency for genuine bride purchase to disappear or

583 to assume the character of a dowry, as it had tended much earlier in Daghestan. A bitter struggle is going on between ancient *adats*, the *šarī'a*, and Russian laws.

(3) *Kalym* (even in recent times) is generally high.

[585] (4) Everywhere except among the Ingiloi and the Chechens of Nazran (*supra*, pp. 84, 86) the *kalym* and *kebin* are much higher for a virgin than a non-virgin. Virginity therefore is one of the most important factors in determining the amount of bride wealth.

[64] (5) Generally the family or a larger social group as the sib or *tleusn* provide the necessary bride wealth. The groom never has to amass the *kalym* [581] himself, another fact clearly showing that mating is not a private affair.

(6) The *kebin* is found in all North Caucasia and Mohammedan neighbourhood.

[554] (7) Everywhere the social status of the partners is an important factor in determining the amount of *kalym* and *kebin*.[1]

The uniform evolution of the North Caucasian bride purchase is indeed striking. Originally all peoples of North Caucasus seem to have had actual bride purchase: the bride was actually sold and considered as a chattel. Then the bride-price began to lose its character of a purchase, a development contemporaneous with the spread of Islamism and Russian influence. Mohammedanism does not recognize bride purchase as such:[53] it recommends a bridal gift and prescribes the *kebin (mahr)* instead. The Russian Military Government in pre-Soviet times regarded bride purchase as a serious "abuse" and according to a decision of 1857 one third of the bride-price was to become the property of the bride as a form of social security.[54] Later the Soviet Government contributed its share in modifying the custom especially through industrialization, as we have seen is the case of the Cherkess living in the larger cities.[55]

583 554 That social rank should play such an imporant part in determing the amount of bride wealth (whether bride price, gifts or *kebin*) is quite natural, universal and in full accord with Islamic law.[56] In fact, according to Mohammedan teaching, the *walī mujbir* loses his right to marry his daughter or granddaughter against her will if the bride wealth does not correspond to the girl's social rank.[57]

Nowhere in the Caucasus has bride purchase been considered as something humiliating or degrading. After all, even the Cherkess princesses were purchased. The bride wealth corresponded to the social status and therefore added dignity to the purchase. Moreover, the higher the price the greater the social respect

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[53] Juynboll, *op. cit.*, p. 190. The *mahr* is also called *ṣakāk* in Islamic law.

[54] A. Dirr, AGKB, p. 124.

[55] *Supra*, p. 83.

[56] Juynboll, *op. cit.*, p. 215.

[57] *ibid.*

[1] [i.e., bride-price and bride's security against divorce—Analyst]

for the family accruing from such a purchase. And as anywhere else in the world, only *good* brides were bought. The fact that a girl was purchased was a kind of flattery and even a definite proof of her good standing. The "price-tag" remained attached to her for the rest of her life, and in it she could find sufficient food for her vanity and self-complacency. 553 [554]

*Kebin* occupies a middle position between an actual bride-price and a dowry. Like a dowry it aims at being a security for the bride's future, and like the dowry it is given to the *bride* and not to her family. On the other hand, it resembles the bride-price in as much as it is paid by the *groom's* family, it is accompanied with much bargaining, and, finally, the amount is determined according to the same standards as the bride-price.

We have said above that through the influence of Russian and Islamic law bride purchase has become more and more like a guarantee against divorce or security in case of widowhood. However, we did not wish to say that before the coming of Islamism or of the Russians there was no economic security given to the bride. A less developed and relatively small dowry or *kebin* could have existed in the Caucasus long before Islamic *mahr* "received full approbation from Allah." We know that, independently of Islamism, the position of the female sex was greatly improved by a dowry, e. g., among the Japanese, Chinese, Ancient Germans, Kelts, and Babylonians. The Romans and the Greeks regarded a marriage without a dowry practically as concubinage.[58] If it could exist among these peoples independently of Mohammed, it could have existed in the Caucasus independently of Islamism as well. In fact we find a kind of dowry in North Caucasus in the practical wedding gifts given to the bride by her family.[59] Of course, a large dowry is out of place in such a strongly exogamous society as we find in the greater part of North Caucasia, for the family property must remain within the family. On the other hand, from our description of the wedding customs we shall be able to observe the relatively important rôle these gifts play in the endogamous part of North Caucasus. [177]

In conclusion, it is worth noting that bride purchase in the strict sense of the word fits into the Caucasian economic form of life quite well. Though bride wealth is found equally in mother-right and father-right societies, bride purchase in the strict sense is an institution found almost exclusively in pastoral societies or in societies that have been greatly influenced by pastoral peoples, or that have passed through pastoral stages, such as we find in Africa, Asia, and Europe. We do not find the bride-*price* in Australia, Melanesia, Polynesia or in America.[60] [171]

## § 2. BY CAPTURE

"Bride capture" is just as much a blanket term as "bride purchase." Here too we must distinguish between genuine bride capture and various forms

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[58] Schmidt-Koppers, *Völker und Kulturen*, p. 310.

[59] Amirov, "Sredi gorcev severnago Dagestana," SSKG, VII (1873), p. 30 f.

[60] R. Briffault, *op. cit.*, II, p. 218; Westermarck, *History of Marriage*, II (1925), pp. 278 ff.

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583 of so-called capture. In the Caucasus we find four distinct forms: (1) involuntary (genuine) abduction, (2) planned abduction, which may be "planned" either by the lovers against the will of the fiancée's family (and this we may rightly identify with marriage by elopement), or (3) planned by the families of the bride and groom, (4) sham abduction, which is essentially a marriage ceremony.

In the present section by "capture" we understand involuntary abduction, against the will of the girl and her family. Planned abduction in accord with the will of the "stolen" bride's family needs no special extensive treatment and therefore will be considered briefly in the present section. Sham abduction will be treated among the other marriage ceremonies.

NORTHWESTERN CAUCASIANS.[61] Formerly marriage by capture was very common in Abkhazia.[62] Seidlitz calls it the *ordinary* means of acquiring a wife. To use his own words: "Vor fünfzehn Jahren noch raubte der Bräutigam sich gewöhnlich ein Mädchen zur Frau, indem er ohne Zustimmung der Eltern desselben und des Mädchens selber auf solches mit Hilfe seiner Altersgenossen einen Überfall machte, um es mit Gewalt zu sich zu entführen."[63] Today, of course, such cases are very rare. When they do occur, the lover generally believes that *post factum* the "bride" will be only too glad to remain with her ravisher.[64] Formerly the abductor was not persecuted if he could pay a sufficiently high bride-price.[65] Speaking of the Kabardians, Grabovskij assures us that genuine abduction occured very seldom among them,[66] while Dubrovin speaking of the Cherkess in general maintains that capture was a rather common means of acquiring a wife.[67]

The custom is found among the NORTHEASTERNERS as well[68]—in a word, among all North Caucasians. Numberless are the *adats* regarding the practice,[69] indicative of its importance in the life of the mountaineers.

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[61] Ladyženskij, FT, p. 197; J. Mourier, *op. cit.*, I, pp. 136, 141; Grabovskij, "Očerk suda i ugolovnych prestuplenij v kabardinskom okrugě," SSKG, IV (1870), pp. 36—42; N. S. Deržavin, "Iz oblasti Kavkazskoj etnografii," SMOMPK, XXXVI (1906), No. 2, p. 2; J. Castagné, *op. cit.*, p. 259; Vasil'kov, *op. cit.*, p. 89.

[62] G. F. Čursin, *Očerki po etnologii Kavkaza*, Tiflis, 1913, pp. 146 f, cited by P. G. Akritas, "Svadebnye obyčai abchazskich grekov," SE, 1936, No. 4—5, p. 85.

[63] "Die Abchasen," *Globus*, LXVI (1894), No. 2, p. 40. Deržavin, *l. c.* Vasil'kov, *op. cit.*, pp. 89, 100 f.

[64] Castagné, *op. cit.*, p. 259.

[65] Cf. K. Mačavriani, "Nektoryja čerty iz žizni Abchazcev. Položenie ženščiny v Abchazii," SMOMPK, IV (1884), No. 2, p. 65.

[66] *op. cit.*, p. 36.

[67] *Istorija*, I, i, p. 133.

[68] Chechens: cf. Vertepov, "Inguši," *Terskij Sbornik*, II (1892), No. 2, p. 130, note; Grabovskij, *op. cit.*, p. 21 f; Jakovlev, *Inguši*, pp. 52 f; Berže, *Čečnja i Čečency*, p. 98. Lesghians: cf. L'vov, *op. cit.*, p. 20 f; Omarov, "Kak živut Laki," SSKG, IV (1871), pp. 20 f; Kovalevskij, *Zakon*, II, pp. 176 f.

[69] Cf. Leontovič, II, p. 118, § 18; II, 170 f, §§ 127—133; II, p. 174, §§ 155—159; II, p. 257, § 198; II, p. 121, § 1. "Adaty Južno-Dagestanskich Obščestv," SSKG, VIII (1875), pp. 9, 24 ff, 44 f, 48. ADO, pp. 20, 37, 64, 76 f, 90 f, 104 f, 117, 126.

The SOUTHERN CAUCASIANS. According to Eristov, about a century ago, bride capture was almost an every day affair in Khevsuria. In 1855 he wrote: "Bride-stealing is very common among these primitive people. You are not regarded as brave unless you steal the girl you are fond of, and she must, of course, come from a good family. Such an action will infallibly cause terrible quarrels, murders and feuds."[70] The Pshavs formerly resorted to bride capture too, but only rarely.[71] Dubrovin believes, however, that abduction occured frequently among the Pshavs and Tushi,[72] while Hahn claims the same in regard to the Ingiloi.[73] 583

For some reason or other, the collections of OSSETINE *adats* claim that abduction has either been always foreign and unknown in Ossetia or that it has disappeared leaving not a trace behind. Kovalevskij rightly criticizes Leontovič's collection, for even during Kovalevkij's time one could come across occasional instances of genuine bride-stealing.[74] Other explorers of the late 19th and early 20th century (e. g., Karginov, Baddeley, Pfaf, Šanaev) leave no doubt about the existence of actual kidnapping in Ossetia.[75] Finally, if bride-stealing were unknown in Ossetia, why would special legislation against bride-stealing be necessary as late as 1911? The inhabitants of Mizur, Sadon, Dagom, Arkhon and Nuzal had to promise not to kidnap or cooperate in abducting women, under the penalty of Rs. 300, not including the bride-price which the offended family had the right to set as high as they wished.[76] [584]

[70] Eristov, *op. cit.*, p. 113; Seidlitz "Gemeinde- und Familienleben der Chewsuren," *Ausland*, (1891), No. 16, p. 328.

[71] S. I. Makalatija, "Iz starogo narodnogo byta Pšavov," SE, 1938, No. 1, p. 102.

[72] *Istorija*, I, i, p. 310.

[73] "Putešestvie v Kachetiju i Dagestan," SMOMPK, XXXI (1902), No. 2, p. 60.

[74] *Coutume contemp.*, p. 167.

[75] S. Karginov, "Krovavaja mest' u osetin," SMOMPK, XLIV (1913), pp. 209 f.
Baddeley, *op. cit.*, I, pp. 75, 265; II, p. 124.
V. Pfaf, "Narodnoe pravo osetin," Sbornik Svědenij o Kavkazě, I (1871).
D. Šanaev, "Svad'ba u sěvernych Osetin," SSKG, IV (1870), pp. 1—30.

[76] *Tifliskij Listok*, July 17, 1911, cited by Dirr, AGKB, p. 115.

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# TABLE 12
## Lesghian Adats Regarding Abduction

| Province (Okrug) | District (Obščestvo) or other division | Penalties for abducting an unmarried woman (girl, divorcée, or widow): Death penalty | Banishment | Bloodwite | Marriage: Obligatory for abductor* | Marriage: If father of bride consents ‡ | engaged woman: Usual penalties | Additional penalty | married woman: Death penalty | Banishment | Blood wite | "No case on record" § | Penalties for coöperating with abductor: By harbouring abductor | By coöp. in actual capture | Number of Foot note | Sources† |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Avar | | | + | + | | + | + | | + | | | — | | | (1) | L'vov. p. 21 |
| Gunib | | | | + | | + | + | | + | | | — | | | (1) | L'vov, p. 21 |
| Andi | | + | | | | | + | | + | | | — | | | | Baddeley, II, 88 |
| Lak | | + | | | | + | + | | + | | | — | | | | Kovalevskij, Zakon II, 176 f. Omarov, p. 21. |
| Kurin | Mahal Urdzhamul | | | | | | + | + | | | + | — | | | (2) | AJuDO, 48 |
| Kaitago-Tabassaran | Mahal Karakaitag | | | + | | + | + | + | | | | | | | (3) | AJuDO, 44 |
| | North Tabassaran | | | + | | + | | + | | | | | | | (4) | AJuDO, 24 |
| Dargwa | Mikakhi | | | | | | | | | | | + | One ox | Various Penalties | (5) | ADO, 50 |
| | Tsudakhar | + | | | | | + | | + | | | — | One Ox | | (6) | ADO, 116 f. |
| | Akusha | | | + | | + | + | | | | | + | One Ox | | (7) | ADO, 37 |
| | Mugn | — | + | | | | + | | | | | | One ox (Rs. 4) | One ox | (8) | ADO, 63 f. |
| | Sirgua | | | + | | + | | | | | | + | | Rs. 3 | (9) | ADO, 77 |
| | Hyuraki | | + | + | | + | + | | | | | + | One ox (Rs. 8) | One ox | (10) | ADO, 90 f. |
| | Usisha | + | | + | | + | | | | | | + | Rs. 3 | Rs. 3 | | ADO, 104 f. |

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* The open spaces simply mean that the particular *adat* is silent.

‡ "If the father consents" in the last analysis means whether the abductor is able to afford the *kalym*, or, as the case may be, the *kebin*.

§ The *adat* collections expressly use the term, "no such case on record".
In any case, abduction of married women is extremely rare in such districts.
"Fines" as in all cases of cooperation are paid to the *dzhamat*, i. e., the community; "bloodwite" on the other hand goes to the offended sib.

† Abbreviations used: L'vov: N. L'vov, "Domašnjaja i semejnaja žizn Dagestanskich gorcev avarskago plemeni," SSKG, III (1870), pp. 1—32.
Baddeley: *The Rugged Flanks of Caucasus.*
Omarov, "Kak živut Laki," SSKG, III (1870), pp. 1—46; IV (1870), pp. 1—24.
ADJuDO: "Adaty Južno-Dagestanskich Obščestv," SSKG, VIII (1875).
ADO, "Adaty Darginskich Obščestv," SSKG, VII (1873).

(1) If the family refuses to give their daughter to the abductor, he is banished for three months, must pay a fine of 100 sheep to the khan (or Rs. 30), one head of cattle to the community. When he returns from banishment he must treat the girl's sib to a feast (Cf. L'vov, *op. cit.*, pp. 20 f).

If a married woman is abducted, the abductor becomes a blood-enemy just as in murder, but the period during which vengeance may be taken is shorter (L'vov, *op. cit.*, p. 21). Mere touch, chase, or suspicious approach may be punished like actual abduction. (*ibid*).

(2) By "engaged woman" we mean here as elsewhere "engaged to a person other than the abductor." The engaged man, however, does not have any greater rights over his fiancée than he has over an unengaged girl. To abduct the girl with whom he is betrothed is punishable just as any other case of abduction. If someone captures a girl engaged to another man, the Kurin *adat* demands a double payment of all engagement expenses incurred by the offended lover plus Rs. 60, which he must pay to the lover; besides this he must pay Rs. 200 to the girl's father. If the woman happened to be married, Rs. 60 go to the offended husband and Rs. 300 maximum to her father.

(3) Besides paying usual *kalym*, the abductor is obliged to give the father of the girl a sum of Rs. 300 on demand. The father need not consent to a marriage with his abducted daughter. If the abducted woman is engaged to another man, the ravisher is obliged to give the offended lover twice the sum the latter spent by reason of his engagement.

(4) If the abductor wishes to marry her, he must make an agreement regarding the *kebin* and the father of the girl may demand as reparation as much as Rs. 600. If the girl was engaged to another man, the girl's family must return all engagement gifts to the offended lover, who may take blood-vengeance on the abductor.

(5) The *adat* does not mention any special bloodwite: four oxen, however, must be given to the community as a fine, and the family of the abducted has a right to a feast at the expense of the ravisher. Cooperators never become blood-enemies.

(6) The offended family is compensated by payment of such things as wheat. A fine also must be paid to the community.

(7) If the abductor receives the consent of the girl's family to marry her, he must pay a fine of seven oxen to the community, give the girl's family Rs. 100 (only Rs. 50 if a widow or divorcée), and Rs. 100 to the girl (Rs. 50 if widow or divorcée).

(8) No blood-enmity is incurred; a fine of Rs. 12 must be paid to the community; the abductor is banished till reconciled by payment of Rs. 8 to the family and Rs. 12 to the community. For each visit to his village during the period of banishment he is fined one ox worth Rs. 8.

(9) If the abductor receives permission to marry the abducted, he must pay fine of Rs. 3 to community and give an ox and three *sabs* of wheat to her family.

(10) The banishment lasts 40 days. If the girl's parents refuse to give her in marriage to the abductor, he must allow her to return and must pay a fine of two oxen. He must give special compensation to her family if they consent. Cf. ADO, p. 90.

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583 The TURKS of Caucasia have recourse to bride-stealing just as often as the other peoples of Caucasia.[77] In fact, formerly the Tartars considered bride-stealing as something praiseworthy. A young man, who would capture his beloved at the risk of his life and perhaps in so doing murder a brother or the father of the girl, would be envied by all his companions.[78]

Hence, kidnapping girls, widows and divorcées with the intention of keeping them as wives is, or at least, has been, a universal custom in the Caucasus. We intentionally enumerate "girls, widows and divorcées" because capture of married women against their will seems always to have been very exceptional. To mention only a few examples—according to the *adat* collections, no such case seems to have ever occured in the District of Usisha[79] or in the District of Hyuraki.[80] Elopement, of course, occurs more frequently.

Before we pass on to the section on marriage by elopement, we wish to say a word about "bride-capture" planned by the families of the bride and groom. This is simply an unorthodox way of marrying off a daughter in order to avoid the long procedure of matchmaking and betrothal[81] or to avoid the enormous expenses of an ordinary engagement.[82]

## § 3. BY ELOPEMENT

### 1. General Statement

That a change from abduction to elopement, as the general practice, has taken place in Abkhazia cannot be denied. That Seidlitz, being the head of the special statistics committee in the Caucasus, was in a position to be very well-acquainted with such matters as bride capture and "planned capture" cannot be denied either. We do beg to differ, however, in regard to the *suddeness* of this change. According to Seidlitz, in 1880 actual kidnapping of wives is supposed to have been the ordinary form of acquiring a mate; in 1894 this general practice is supposed to have been substituted by "planned capture." It is not the change that we deny but its *suddeness*. Fifteen years[83] would hardly be sufficient to put an end to such a general practice. It may very well be that Seidlitz is judging by official decisions of Russian courts. It is quite true that if a girl is asked whether she was captured against her will or not, she will infallibly claim that she even had begged her lover to "kidnap" her. Her

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[77] Balkarians: N. A. Karaulov, "Bolkari na Kavkaze," SMOMPK, XXXVIII (1908), No. 1, p. 146.
Kumyks and Nogai: "Adaty žitelej kumyskoj ploskosti," SSKG, VI (1872), pp. 15 f; Dubrovin, *Istorija*, I, i, p. 277; Semenov, "Očerki narodnych obyč. Kumykov," p. 77.
Kurds: J. Jankó, *op. cit.*, p. 82.

[78] Dubrovin, *Istorija*, I, ii, p. 364.

[79] "Adaty Darginskich Obščestv," SSKG, VII (1873), p. 105, *note*.

[80] "Adaty Darginskich Obščestv," p. 91. *note*.

[81] Ladyzenskij, FT, p. 197.

[82] Grabovskij, "Ekonomičeskij i domašnij byt žitelej gorskago učastka Ingušskago okruga," SSKG, III (1870), p. 21.

[83] Seidlitz, "Die Abchasen," *Globus*, LXVI (1894), p. 40.

witnesses will confirm her statement regardless of the truth or falsehood asserted 583
for we have here a typical case of a *casus perplexus* which not only the Abkhaz but all the mountaineers must frequently face: if the girl and her witnesses tell the truth, the Russian (Soviet as well as pre-Soviet) court will declare the marriage null and void; but not to marry the ravisher *post factum* and after the kidnapper has had sexual intercourse with her and has offered sufficient *kalym*, would according to customary law be a disgrace to the entire family and an evident sign of ill-breeding.[84] In other words, practically every case brought before the North Caucasian courts has been declared as elopement, and it is perhaps this fact that Seidlitz overlooked. Today, of course, whenever a case of abduction is reported among the NORTHWESTERNERS we may rightly presume that it is merely another case of elopement.[85]

The adat collections of NORTHEASTERN CAUCASUS make a sharp distinction between actual and planned capture, clearly showing that both forms occurred among them.

In SOUTH CAUCASUS both forms were also known, for example, to the Pshavs; but today, as anywhere else, elopement is frequent while actual abduction is very rare.[86]

## 2. Problems regarding Marriage by Capture and Elopement

If we compare the more reliable, older reports with those of more recent times, a definite change is noticeable throughout the Caucasus from frequent capture by force to "capture" by mutual consent. In explaining the disappearance of the former and the rapid growth of the latter, we must keep in mind especially what we have said about the bride's freedom of choice. Formerly the preference of the Caucasian girl was hardly considered, and she, on her part, took it for granted that it just *had* to be so. Thanks especially to Islamism and Russian legislation, the family, so to speak, became more and more conscious that girls too had preferences which ought to be respected, and the family began to consider her wishes more and more, so much so that the girl herself not only became fully aware of her preferences but also that she had a will of her own, a will that could oppose the sacred *patria potestas* and then be defended by an authority above that of the father. If she noticed that she was in danger of being married off to a man she did not love or if she felt greatly attracted to a certain young man, she would under the guise of the old custom of actual bride capture allow herself to be "kidnapped." She would send a message to her lover—a few words would suffice—"Steal me" and her lover would be only too glad to do so.[87] The formality of mutual consent in marriage required by Islamic law (*supra*, pp. 78 f), even though it was a mere formality, and the insistance of the Russian Military Courts as well as those

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[84] Cf. A. H. Günther, "Zusammenstöße zwischen Gesetz und Gewohnheitsrecht im nördlichen Kaukasus," *Zeitschr. f. vergl. Rechtsw.*, XLVI (1931), pp. 338 ff.

[85] Ladyženskij, FT, p. 197.

[86] Makalatija, "Iz staroço narodnogo byta plavov," SE, 1938, No. 1, p. 102.

[87] Cf. Günther, *op. cit.*, p. 336.

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583 of the Soviet Government on perfect freedom in mating, certainly contributed, especially psychologically, to the change from frequent marriage by capture to elopement.

An important problem, which perhaps will remain a problem for some time to come, is that regarding the origin of Caucasian marriage by capture. At least negatively we can unhesitatingly affirm that abduction is not a survival of *the* original form of marriage.[88] It seems rather to be the most logical result of marriage by purchase. The origin of the practice is more easily explained by high *kalym* rather than primitive "savagery." The main occasion for kidnapping a wife, formerly as well as in recent times, has always been the inability of the groom's family to amass the enormous bride wealth demanded.[89] The refusal of the girl's family to give her in marriage to her lover is often occasion for bride capture or elopement; but the ultimate reason for the refusal is almost always an economic one. When a sib or family cannot afford
[581] the required *kalym*, the only means of acquiring a wife is to capture her. To remain unmarried is as unthinkable as the extinction of a family. When the *kalym* is too high, the lover, accompanied by his friends, organizes an attack, kidnaps the girl he loves, and generally deflowers her on the very first occasion. Even if afterwards the abducted girl be allowed to return to her family (and sometimes the *adats* insist on her return), she no longer can expect to find another husband. Her choice is therefore between remaining unmarried all her life or to be the wife of her capturer. Once the girl has been abducted, the young man has the girl's family, so to speak, at his mercy. To borrow Baddeley's words, "With the mountaineers the accomplished fact meant much. Once bedded, though not yet wedded, the quarrel, till then deadly, became, as a rule, mere matter for adjustment—mainly financial adjustment."[90] Her family realize that the girl has lost her economic value and that now, after all, the best thing to do is to let her ravisher have his way. To marry her off to another man would disgrace the family. The capturer has the upper hand and can set the *kalym* more or less according to his limited means.[91]

We do not deny the possibility of other motives for bride capture. We can very well imagine how an Ingush "dare-devil" might organize a raid and kidnap a girl just to prove his mettle.[92] We can also very well imagine how a romantic Kabardian might kidnap his beloved just to add a bit of zest and charm to courtship. But such motives are extremely rare and insignificant compared to the inability to pay the *kalym* demanded.

583 Although bride capture and elopement are general, as general as high *kalym*
683 and poverty, nowhere in the Caucasus are they regarded as a legitimate means. The *adats* of all Caucasians classify marriage by capture and elopement as an offense equal to murder. They are an offense against the bride's relatives, living

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[88] Cf. J. F. McLennan, *Studies in Ancient History*, pp. 9 ff.

[89] Cf. Dirr, AGKB, p. 125; Leontovič, II, p. 252, § 150; Jakovlev, *Inguši*, pp. 52 f.

[90] Baddeley, *The Rugged Flanks of Caucasus*, II, p. 224, *note*.

[91] Cf. Günther, *op. cit.*, pp. 331—340; N. F. Grabovskij, "Očerk suda i ugolovnych prestuplenij v Kabardinskom okrugě," pp. 39, 41 f; Leontovič, II, p. 257, § 198; Leontovič, II, p. 118, § 18.

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as well as departed, a degradation of her womanly dignity, a serious usurpation of the inviolable *patria potestas*.[93] To borrow Baddeley's words again: "Woe betide the gay lover should the fleetness of his horse fail to place between him and his pursuers the barrier of a black night . . . if caught in the first hot pursuit, the hero of the escapade paid for his love and daring with his life, the daggers of the vengers sheathed in his heart . . ."[94] 583 [683]

When a daughter elopes (runs away or is "captured") she too is in constant danger of being killed by her own family, till, of course, reconciliation takes place. Fortunately, everywhere among the mountain tribes the customary law requires all to give shelter and protection to the "bride" and "groom," however in separate *saklias* (houses) or rooms.[95] [574]

Besides seriously endangering his life, the capturer is obliged to pay certain additional fines, as is the case in the NORTHWEST, for example, among the Kabardians,[96] and in the NORTHEAST among the Lesghians[97] and Ingushi.[98] In Ingushetia the *adats* demand the liberation of the abducted woman and a fine of Rs. 50 from the abductor and Rs. 15 from all who cooperated with him.[99] On account of the many details and repetitions involved we present the Leshian *adats* in the form of a table (Table 12). The SOUTHERN CAUCASIANS, the Khevsurs, have an additional penalty known as *banse shekhtoma*, i. e., reconciliation "by jumping on the roof," which consists in a special feast for the relatives and neighbours of the abducted woman, and a fine of a one- or two-year-old ox and a kettle.[100] The *adats* of the TURKIC peoples of the Caucasus likewise impose additional fines for abduction. The Kumykian and Nogaian *adats* demand full bloodwite as a condition for reconciliation.[101] If the bride refuses to remain with the kidnapper, she must be allowed to return, and, besides, he must give her the full *kebin-khak* (the usual guarantee given to the wife in case of divorce).[102]

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[93] Grabovskij, "Ekonomičeskij i domalnij byt etc.," p. 21.

[94] Cf. Dirr, FT, pp. 125 f; Castagné, *op. cit.*, pp. 271 f; Grabovskij, "Očerk suda i uglovnych prestuplenij v Kabardinskom okrugě," p. 36.

[95] Baddeley, *op. cit.*, II, pp. 88 f.

[96] Dirr, FT, p. 126; "Adaty Darginskich Obščestv," SSKG, VII (1873), p. 50.

[97] Grabovskij, "Očerk suda etc." pp. 39, 41 f.

[98] See Table 12.

[99] Leontovič, II, p. 170, § 127.

[100] *ibid.*

[101] Seidlitz, "Gemeinde- und Familienleben der Chewsuren," *Das Ausland* (1891), No. 16, p. 318.

[102] Semenov, "Očerki narodnych obyčaev Kumykov Terskoj Oblasti," *Terskij Sbornik*, II (1892), No. 2, Part 2, p. 77, § 12.

[103] "Adaty žitelej Kumyskoj ploskosti," SSKG, VI (1872), pp. 15 f.

# Chapter VI

# Premarital Arrangements

## § 1. DESCRIPTION OF MATCHMAKING AND BETROTHAL CUSTOMS

### 1. Description

584 NORTHWESTERN CAUCASIANS. Matchmaking among the Cherkess is, as a general rule, quite simple.

The premarital arrangements of *Christian* Cherkess has been described by Dubrovin as follows.[1] "Marriages are arranged by the parents of the prospective bride and groom.[2] If the young man's father is dead, his nearest relative sends as matchmakers two old men to the girl's father and two old women to her mother.[3] If the answer is in the affirmative, a date is set on which the young man's relatives must bring the usual engagement gifts and provide the food for a special engagement feast. The young man's family and other relatives come on the appointed day with some cloth and rings for the bride-to-be, who, however, is not present at her betrothal feast."

The *Mohammedan* betrothal is likewise very simple. The father of the young man (or a relative) visits the family of the prospective bride and enquires about the possibilities of a marriage between the two. If the answer is favourable, a representative of the bride and two witnesses are called. The girl's free consent is always insisted upon, but, as we have mentioned above (*supra*, p. 79), this is only a formality. The mullah is then notified, after which he recites a special betrothal prayer. The only negotiations that still must be made are those regarding the *kalym*, the day on which the special engagement feast is to take place, and, finally, the day of the wedding itself. The *kâdî* must register all engagements in his official books.[4]

And now, if we pass on to the *non-Christian and non-Mohammedan* communities we find the customs slightly different. A friend or relative of the young man offers a horse to the prospective bride's father, brother, or another member of the family. If the father of the girl consents to the marriage, he will accept the horse as a special engagement gift (*euzh*, as it is called).[5] After some time, the future groom must visit his future parents-in-law. Toward evening, the

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[1] This is a free translation of *Istorija*, I, i, p. 139 f.

[2] The Temirgoi marriages are arranged by representatives of both fathers, usually close relatives (Vasil'kov, "Očerk byta temirgoevcev," p. 89).

[3] Women never have a part to play in the arrangement of marriages among the Temirgoi (*ibid.*).

[4] Hahn, *Kaukasische Reise und Studien*, pp. 39 f; Dubrovin, *Istorija*, I, i, pp. 141 f.

[5] Dubrovin, *Istorija*, I, i, p. 140.

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fire in the hearth is extinguished, and the future bride and groom must clasp hands as a concluding betrothal ceremony.[6] Only now do the negotiations regarding the *kalym* begin.[7] 584

The NORTHEASTERN CAUCASIANS. Instead of describing the customs of each Chechen tribe individually, we shall present the engagement customs of the most primitive of Chechen tribes, the Ingushi. The father of the suitor visits the family of the prospective bride personally.[8] Stereotyped procedure is the rule, and he is fully aware of this observance. At the first and second visit the girl's family is obliged by etiquette to make excuses, and by no means may a decision be reached. At the third visit the girl's father will utter his long awaited consent. The matchmakers may never visit the bride's father empty-handed. Usually they bring a ram to treat the family to a little dinner and to create a friendly atmosphere for the discussion regarding the marriage. If for some reason or other the marriage be considered undesireable, etiquette demands that an outright refusal be avoided; instead, the girl's family must demand an excessive *kalym* or make other impossible stipulations. If the father of the girl has given his consent, a betrothal feast must be prepared,[9] on which occasion the suitor presents his future wife with an engagement gift of Rs. 10 and a silk cloth.[10] The local mullah is then called and a formal engagement contract is drawn before the usual two witnesses.[11] Two or three months later, the date of the marriage is agreed upon. Once the couple is officially engaged, the entire *taipan* becomes extremely interested in them, doing them all sorts of favours.

In Leontovič's *adat* collection we find another form of matchmaking. A brother is obliged to arrange a marriage between his sister and a friend who has "drunk to her health and offered her brother a gift." A failure to carry out this obligation will turn an intimate friend into the bitterest foe, and rightly so, says the *adat*, because such a neglect is a serious crime, a blood-offense, which necessarily calls for revenge no less than does murder.[12] This means of arranging a marriage is very rare and resorted to by the North Caucasians, especially the Ingushi, only after a refusal.[13] This *adat* is especially interesting because it overrules the sacred, inviolable *patria potestas* and so many other *adats* regarding choice of mates and engagement. This may very well be a vestige of a right formerly enjoyed by the maternal uncle.[14] [628] [604]

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[6] *ibid.*

[7] *ibid.* The engagement customs of the Abkhaz have been described quite fully by Seidlitz in his "Die Abchasen," *Globus*, LXVI (1894), p. 40.

[8] In Salati, Aukh, and Ichkeria matchmakers arrange the marriage ("Sbornik adatov žitelej Nagornago Okruga, 1864 goda," Leontovič, II, p. 144, § 92).

[9] Jakovlev, *Ingušli*, pp. 50 f.

[10] Beržé, *Čečnja i Čečency*, p. 97.

[11] Grabovskij, "Ekonomičeskij i domašnij byt žitelej gorskago učastka Inguševskago Okruga," SSKG, III (1870), p. 20.

[12] Leontovič, II, pp. 251, §§ 149, 151; Beržé, *op. cit.*, p. 98; Dubrovin, *Istorija*, I, i, p. 427.

[13] Leontovič, II, p. 251, § 151.

[14] Cf. Kovalevskij, "La Famille matriarcale au Caucase," *L'Anthropologie*, IV (1893), pp. 271 f.

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584 The Lesghian peoples can all boast of an elaborate engagement procedure. Were we to describe the ceremonies of each of the Lesghian peoples and tribes individually, we could easily fill a complete volume, but a volume with countless repetitions. We shall, therefore, limit ourselves again to what we may call a *typical* Lesghian engagement. Allowing for accidental differences, it is the kind of matchmaking and betrothal one finds among all Lesghians. These ceremonies have been described especially well by Kovalevskij in his *Zakon i obyčaj na Kavkazě*, L'vov, "Domašnjaja i semejnaja žizn Dagestanskich gorcev avarskago plemeni," Omarov, "Kak živut Laki," Gabiev, "Laki, ich prošloe i byt," and Dubrovin, *Istorija vojny i vladičestva russkich na Kavkazě.*

A Lesghian engagement is a long, drawn-out affair, lasting for months or even years,[15] yes, even for a decade or two.[16]

The suitor usually takes the first step himself: he invites the father of his prospective bride to dinner and secretly tries to discover the father's attitude toward such a match.[17]

Soon after that, the hopeful suitor sends a matchmaker to the girl's father. The matchmaker is usually a woman[18] (sometimes the mother or sister of the groom), but sometimes a man is sent instead;[19] and sometimes two matchmakers are sent instead of one.[20] Matchmakers are soon recognized as such by their unusual eloquence and unexpected eulogies.[21] "There is a certain young man, with an incomparable character. He is brave beyond description. And, of course, he is well-to-do. He is a man of reliability. In a word, he possesses all the qualities any and every Lesghian values." Then follows the practical application: "What a blessing it would be if this young gentleman would (Allah granting) become the husband of such a wonderful girl as is your daughter. Can you think of a better match?" But no matter how eager the parents of the girl may be to give her in marriage to this particular "superman," etiquette demands that this part of the premarital arrangements end in excuses and objections: "Oh, you see, our daughter is still so young! And besides, how could we get along without her. You realize the decision is very difficult. Please, let us think the matter over."

Some time later, the girl's parents consent to the marriage, the usual formula being, "Insha-Allah", i. e., "If it please Allah; if Allah so will!"[22]

Now that the girl's parents, especially her father, have no objections to the marriage, the suitor's task is to become acceptable to the girl and her family, and without gifts such a task would be impossible.

584 431 The next part of courtship is called *suknikari*.[23] The matchmaker brings the girl a ring, some clothes, and money. The *suknikari* is a very important

[15] Gabiev, *op. cit.*, p. 108.
[16] Kovalevskij, *Zakon*, II, p. 181.
[17] "Adaty Južno-Dagestanskich Obščestv," SSKG, VIII (1875), p. 41.
[18] Kovalevskij, *l. c.*
[19] "Adaty Južno-Dagestanskich Obščestv," *l. c.*; L'vov, *op. cit.*, p. 22.
[20] "Adaty Južno-Dagestanskich Obščestv," p. 31.
[21] Dubrovin, *Istorija*, I, i, pp. 562 f.
[22] L'vov, *l. c.*
[23] The first visit of the matchmakers was called *sukni* (in Dargwa).

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event in every Lesghian's life, for if these gifts are accepted, the consent of the parents of the girl is considered final.[24] 584 431

The next step consists mainly in an exchange of gifts.

Some days later, the mother of the young man visits the girl's family, bringing with her four loaves of bread and a ram,[25] a large copper basin, clothing, one silver and one golden ring. On accepting the gifts the girl puts the rings on her fingers. This visit of the mother of the groom constitutes the essential part of the engagement: from this moment the two young people are considered engaged.[26] In return the bride's family give the future groom's mother two loaves of bread, a slaughtered ram, and some small coins.

In the near future the fiancée must pay a visit to her parents-in-law. The groom-to-be, however, must absent himself on this occasion. She again receives various gifts: cloth, rings, ear-rings, and a vessel.[27]

Several days later the young man, in turn, pays a visit to his fiancée's family. Now it is the girl's turn to be absent. A small feast is prepared, and the suitor presents the family with some cloth and a slaughtered ram.[28]

The exchange of gifts must continue, vessels, cloth, rams, money, and pastries being the usual gifts. The suitor generally selects holydays as most appropriate for his visits and bestowals. There is especially the *khinki arkhul* which consists of pastries, cloth, an eviscerated ram, six large loaves of bread, and a large cast-iron vessel not less than 16 pounds in weight. These gifts are brought to the fiancée by two male and two female relatives of the suitor. In return the girl sends her future husband some silk cloth and two belts, and a necklace for his sister.[29]

Some time before the wedding, various materials are brought to the future bride, such as hemp, which she must prepare for use in her future home. Two or three years later, she receives 30 or 40 sheep-skins or 9—10 rams. In return she offers some cloth and belts.

The final bestowal of engagement gifts takes place several months later when two men and two women betake themselves to the bride-to-be, this time with one live and one slaughtered sheep, six large loaves of bread, three pieces of clothing of which one is silk, and, finally, a piece of cloth.

The last act of the engagement drama takes place shortly before the wedding. Three to ten relatives of the future bridegroom go to the family of the young lady, where they prepare the *khalba* and for this purpose they bring six pounds of butter and one measure of flour, while the girl's relatives provide other food. This feast is held on Tuesdays, Wednesdays, or Thursdays and usually lasts a day or two. On this occasion two reliable persons representing [527]

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[24] Kovalevskij, *Zakon*, II, pp. 181 f.

[25] In Upper Kaitago (in Gank, Gansh, Myura) the groom's sister may come instead of his mother. AJuDO, p. 41.

[26] Kovalevskij, *Zakon*, II, p. 182: "Rešajuščim aktom v dělě svatovstva javljaetsja vstuplenie materi ženicha v dom roditelej nevěsty s četyr'mja bol'šimi chlebami..."

[27] *ibid.*

[28] In some places the suitor's visit precedes that of the fiancée. Cf. "Adaty Južno-Dagestanskich Obščestv," p. 41.

[29] Kovalevskij, *l. c.*

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584 the future groom and two others representing the bride-to-be conclude a formal
[431] written contract regarding the *kebin*.[30]

The SOUTHERN CAUCASIANS. Southwest of Daghestan is the province known as Sakataly. A brief description of the Ingiloi betrothal customs will give us a good idea of the entire country bordering Southwestern Daghestan. The matchmaking is carried out by a representative of the suitor and a near relative of the mother of the girl, who, after a preliminary discussion, informs the mother that, " a certain person sent me to you with a little request. He would like to marry your daughter. The young man is truly of a noble character and well-to-do. I advise you to give your consent." Just as among the Chechens and Lesghians, the matchmaker will not receive a favourable answer at once. Only at the third visit is a decision reached, provided that within a definite time the family of the suitor can furnish a piece of silk, a silver ring, a ram, 10 loaves of bread, two liters of nuts, 15 or more eggs, 3 measures of apples, and two pails of wine. On the appointed day the bride-groom's matchmaker and one of his relatives bring these things to the girl's family. When the groom's intermediary arrives, he announces, " All these things were sent by Mr. X to win the favour of your daughter. May God grant them both luck and health, and may He also grant the same to you." Then the ram, which was brought by the matchmaker, is slaughtered ; the cloth, ring, and money are received by the mother of the girl ; the ring is placed on the girl's finger, from which moment she is regarded as definitely engaged. Similar feasts and gifts must follow. It is worthy of note that it is the mother who receives the gifts, the father having pratically nothing to do in the whole engagement ceremony. A final visit, and then the day of the marriage is agreed upon.[31]

To arrange a marriage in Pshavia usually takes about two years. The first discussions between the two families are a mere formality, but a formality that is strictly insisted upon, as it is elsewhere among the mountain peoples of the Caucasus. When the girl's parents finally give their consent, the so-called *agreoba* takes place : that is, bread is broken, distributed among the bride's relatives, and then eaten together with salt as a sign of friendship and betrothal. From this moment the two young people are considered engaged,[32] and the suitor's family is obliged to offer the girl's relatives an engagement gift. About a hundred years ago, according to Eristov,[33] it amounted to one ruble twenty kopeks. Among the Khevsurs it was only 20 kopeks.[34] After some time the future groom is obliged to visit his fiancée's family, and he and his friends are given a feast, but first the visitor must offer the *sakhlis sanakhavi* (" the visitation of the house "), which includes bread, meat, and drinks. The following day a

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[30] Dubrovin, I, i, p. 563.

[31] Cf. Fon-Plotto, " Priroda i ljudi Zakatal'skago Okruga," SSKG, IV (1871), pp. 30 f.

[32] Cf. Makalatija, " Iz starogo narodnogo byta Pšavov," SE, 1938, No. 1, pp. 103 ff.

[33] The Tushi have the same custom (Dubrovin, *Istorija*, I, i, p. 310).

" O Tušino-Pšavo-Chevsurskom Okrugě," ZKO, III (1855), pp. 111 f. According to Makalatija, *l. c.*, Rs. 5 to Rs. 15.

[34] Dubrovin, 310.

sheep is slaughtered and a second feast is given at which the husband- and wife-to-be are present. The elder of the village *(khevis-beri)*, presides and then recites the special engagement prayer: "Glory to you, George, Angel of the Oak, Lasharis-Dzhbari, and Queen Tamara! George, Angel of the Oak, bless this young couple! Make them happy, rich and prosperous!"[35] After this the *mkepari*[36] are chosen from among the relatives of both partners, whose task it is to collect gifts for the betrothed. The Pshavs do not give their daughters a special dowry, these gifts and the *satavno* taking its place.[37] From now on the suitor is allowed to pay his future wife frequent visits.[38]

There is very little difference to be noted in the OSSETINE matchmaking and betrothal.[39] At first a good friend (generally a woman) of the young man's family is sent to the parents of the girl to learn, unnoticed if possible, about the possiblity of a marriage. If the "spy" returns with a favourable answer, two official matchmakers are sent, generally elderly friends of the family. All dealings are kept secret until the girl's father consents. The town-crier is then notified, for it is his duty and privilege to publicize all engagements. Then the matchmakers bring to the girl's family gifts and the *kalym*, and, as usual, the engagement is celebrated by a feast.[40]

The engagement customs of the KUMYKS are about the same as those of the Chechens.[41] In Balkaria it is the agreement regarding the *kalym* that constitutes the essence of the betrothal.[42]

## 2. Conclusions regarding Matchmaking and Betrothal

(1) All North Caucasians and immediate neighbours have the custom of formal betrothal of one sort or another. (2) Nowhere is the marriage arrangement a private affair. The two persons concerned are either passive, or if they do act, they are simply cooperating in a family matter. (3) Official go-betweens are usually employed. (4) The initiative is taken among all North Caucasians and neighbouring peoples by the male side. (5) Although the mother plays a surprisingly important part in the engagement customs, the final decision rests with the father.

The premarital arrangements of the Caucasians have a strongly patriarchal character. It is the father who has the final word in matchmaking. Moreover,

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[35] Makalatija, *l. c.* The sacred oak referred to is supposed to be on Mount Lashari in the central part of Pshavia and is tied to heaven with a golden chain (Makalatija, *op. cit.*, p. 103).

[36] Makalatija, *l. c.*

[37] Every girl, while still small, receives a calf as her own property. All the profit she makes by raising the calf becomes her property too.

[38] Makalatija, *l. c.*

[39] Dubrovin, I, i, pp. 329—332.

[40] Hahn, *Bilder aus dem Kaukasus*, pp. 40 f.

[41] For a fine description of Kumykian matchmaking and engagement see Semenov, "Očerki narodnych obyčaev Kumykov Terskoj Oblasti," *Terskij Sbornik*, II (1892), No. 2, Part 2 pp. 68—71; Dubrovin, *Istorija*, I, i, p. 637.

A. Karaulov, "Bolkari na Kavkaze," SMOMPK, XXXVIII (1908), No. 1, p. 146.

[42] [in Pshavia, southern Caucasia -- Analyst]

584 the passivity of the couple reflects their submission to the *patria potestas* and
593 perfectly agrees with all we have said about the freedom of choice. The girl is usually more passive than the young man, a fact that corresponds to the greater privilege of the latter to choose his own mate. Although the Caucasian customs of matchmaking and engagement are strongly patriarchal in colouring, we do not wish to say that betrothal as such is a patriarchal trait. On the contrary, elaborate engagement ceremonies are found especially among matriarchal peoples.[43]

## § 2. PRIVILEGES AND OBLIGATIONS ARISING FROM BETROTHAL

There are three distinct obligations that we must consider: (1) mutual avoidance especially in public, (2) mutual fidelity, (3) and the obligation of entering upon marriage with one's engaged partner.

### 1. Mutual Avoidance

The NORTHWESTERN CAUCASIANS. An *adat* for the Black Sea-
584 Cordon Line, Kuban and Terek Territories speaks of the strict obligation of the
834 betrothed to avoid one another in public. Should they accidently meet in the presence of others, they may not speak to one another; in fact, they are forbidden
[836] even to pass a glance at each other.[44] Of course, sexual intercourse is strictly forbidden and severelly punished (*infra*, pp. 168—179).

The NORTHEASTERN CAUCASIANS. In Chechnia, as soon as the father of the girl gives his consent and the suitor's family has presented their future daughter-in-law with the prescribed engagement gift of ten silver rubles and a silk kerchief, the young man has the right to meet his beloved, but only in private. If another person is present, the bride-to-be must turn her back to her lover.[45] Betrothal, however, does not give the pair the right to sexual relations.[46] When speaking of the Lesghians[47] we must distinguish between three distinct classes of *adats* regarding mutual avoidance: (1) sometimes the engaged couple is strictly forbidden to meet, be it in public or private (if they do meet, it is done stealthily), (2) among some Lesghian peoples they are permitted to meet at the girl's house, (3) among the Tsunta-Akhvakh the *adats* permit engaged
[836] couples even to sleep together (*infra*, p. 181 f).

The *adats* of some of the mountain tribes of SOUTH CAUCASUS strictly forbid engaged couples ever to meet in public or in private. It may happen that

[43] Thurnwald, "Verlöbnis," Reallexikon der Vorgeschichte, XIV, p. 133.

[44] Leontovič, II, p. 257, 194. Dubrovin, *Istorija*, I, i, p. 429: "Posle sgovora ženich imčet pravo vidat'sja tajno s' svoej nevěstoj; no pri postoronnich ljudjach priličie trebuet ne tol'ko ne govorit' meždu soboju, no i ne smotret' drug na druga."

[45] Berže, *op. cit.*, pp. 97 f.

[46] *Infra*, pp. 169—176.

[47] L'vov, *op. cit.*, p. 22 f; Amirov, "Sredi gorcev severnago Dagestana," SSKG, VII (1873), p. 30; Omarov, "Kak živut Laki," SSKG, IV (1871), pp. 16 ff; Dubrovin, *Istorija*, I, i, p. 564.

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the couple does not become acquainted with one another till their wedding day.[48] 584 In Khevsuria the girl used to move into the house of her future father-in-law 834 before her marriage, and there she would take part in the family work for three to fourteen days, but all this time she was not allowed to associate with anyone [591] except the female members of the family. After that she returned to her own household and lived there for two weeks at least (sometimes two or three years), during which time she was not allowed to meet her lover. In fact, he was even forbidden to enter her village.[49] In Pshavia, as we have seen above (p. 105), the engaged couple is allowed to meet frequently.

The obligation of mutual avoidance is also observed by the neighbouring OSSETES.[50]

In this regard the neighbouring TARTARS do not differ either. The Kumyk may visit his future wife only privately and is strictly forbidden to speak to her in the presence of others.[51] The Karachai suitor is forbidden to speak not only with his beloved but also with his future parents-in-law.[52]

## 2. Mutual Fidelity

The *adats* of the North Caucasians do not tell us whether the obligation [837] is bilateral or not. The female partner, of course, is strictly bound to fidelity as will be clear from our exposition of the proof of virginity demanded of the bride on her wedding night *(infra*, p. 124) and from Chapter XII on sexual violations.

## 3. The Obligation of Entering upon Marriage

Islamic law gives both parties the right to dissolve the engagement at will.[53] 584 It will be interesting to find out whether in this particular case the *adats* are observed or the *šarī'a*.

The NORTHWESTERN CAUCASIANS. The "Collection of adats for the Black Sea-Cordon Line, Kuban and Terek Territories" (§ 195) informs us that "the man has a right to break his engagement at will; and, at the request of his fiancée or her relatives, he may permit the girl to withdraw her promises."[54] This adat clearly shows that the obligation is unilateral. "The girl [or her family] may not break the engagement without her fiancé's consent."[54]

The NORTHEASTERN CAUCASIANS. The following table will give us a good idea of the Chechen *adats*.

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[48] Dubrovin, *Istorija*, I, ii, p. 309.

[49] M. O. Kosven, "Perežitki matriarchata u narodov Kavkaza," SE, 1936, No. 4—5, p. 216.

[50] Dubrovin, *Istorija*, I, i, p. 333; Byhan, *op. cit.*, p. 212.

[51] Dubrovin, *Istorija*, I, i, p. 638.

[52] Byhan, *op. cit.*, pp. 245 f.

[53] Juynboll, *op. cit.*, p. 163.

[54] Leontovič, II, p. 257, § 196.

## TABLE 13

**Obligation of Betrothed to Enter upon Marriage among the Chechens**

584

| Tribe | Right to dissolve engagement enjoyed by | | What happens to bride wealth and engagement gifts after betrothal promises are withdrawn? | Sources |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Suitor | Fiancée | | |
| Ingushi | Yes | No | If bride [or her family] break the engagement, the bride wealth must be returned to the suitor. | Leontovič, II, p. 170, § 122 |
| Salari | No* | No | If suitor [or his family] break the engagement, the girl may retain all gifts. | Leontovič, II, p. 145, § 97 |
| Ichkerians | Yes | No | Whether male or female side break the engagement, engagement gifts must be returned to the suitor. | Leontovič, II, p. 145, § 96 |
| Aukh | Yes | No | If suitor [or his family] break the engagement, the gifts must be returned; if the girl breaks the engagement, the *kalym* and gifts received must be returned in double value. | Leontovič, II, p. 144, § 95 |

* The *adat* collection says that the suitor *may* break the engagement, but since he is obliged to forfeit the engagement gifts, we prefer to say he does *not* have the right to dissolve an engagement. The general rule throughout Chechnia and Ingushetia is that the young man may dissolve the engagement at will without any loss, while the girl or her family may not, without the consent of the male side. Cf. Berže, Čečnja i Čečency, p. 98.

There is very little data available regarding the Lesghian practice. In some places the general Islamic norm is followed. Elsewhere, e. g. in the District of Usisha (Province of Dargwa), neither party has the right to call off the marriage. If the man refuses to marry because his fiancée has been unfaithful (or for some other legal grounds), she must return all that she has received from him by reason of their engagements. If, on the other hand, the male partner is at fault, the girl has a right to withdraw her promises and retain all betrothal gifts.[55] In Kaitago-Tabassaran, if the girl or her family prevent the marriage from taking place, they must return twice the value of the bride wealth received; if the man is not willing to marry, he forfeits the bride wealth and gifts.[56]

The customary laws of the SOUTHERN CAUCASIANS recognize two forms of betrothal: (1) the *tsindoba* (*tsindva*, or *datsindva*), which consists in a promise to marry, made before witnesses; (2) the *nishnoba* or *nishnismitana* (literally, "giving a sign"), i. e., symbolic act or ceremony in which the future

[55] This *adat* would seem to imply that both partners are equally obliged to remain faithful.

[56] "Adats for North Tabassaran," SSKG, VIII (1875), p. 32; Adats for Mahal Karakaitag and for Upper Kaitag: SSKG, VIII (1875), pp. 41, 46.

husband gives his future spouse an engagement gift as a pledge that he will marry her. Seidlitz,[57] Eristov,[58] (writing of the Khevsurs and Pshavs respectively), and King Vakhtang's Code seem to imply that the fiancée alone is bound by the promise to enter upon marriage. In any case, there is no doubt that her obligation is, by far, more binding than that of her lover. In Pshavia the engaged girl whose lover dies before marriage is obliged to move into her deceased fiancé's house and live there for a year before she may marry another man.[59] 584

With the OSSETES, on the contrary, the suitor does not enjoy more right to dissolve the betrothal promises than the girl. He may refuse to marry only if he discovers an essential defect, such as sickness and loss of virginity,[60] which she failed to manifest before the betrothal. [836]

Among the TURCO-TARTARS of the Caucasus, the Nogai and Kumyks, the obligation of marrying is bilateral. If the male partner refuses to marry, the girl and her family may retain the bride wealth received from him so far. Moreover, he is obliged to make restitution for all the *damna emergentia*. If the female partner refuses to marry, everything received from her lover must be restored to him. If she has been deflowered by him, he must marry her. Of course, if he so wish, he may divorce her immediately after the marriage and bear the usual expenses connected with a divorce (*keebin*).[61] [586]

TABLE 14

**Obligations Arising from Engagements**

| People | Mutual Avoidance | Fidelity | | Marriage | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | Suitor | Fiancée | Suitor | Fiancée |
| Abkhaz | + | | + | − | + |
| Cherkess | + | | + | − | + |
| Chechens | + | | + | − | + |
| Lesghians | + − | | + | + − | + − |
| Georgians | + | | + | − | + |
| Ossetes | + − | | + | + | + |
| Nogai | | | + | + | + |
| Kumyks | + | | + | + | + |
| Karachai | + | | + | | |

[57] "Gemeinde- und Familienleben der Chewsuren," *Das Ausland*, XVI (1891), p. 319.

[58] *op. cit.*, p. 111.

[59] Makalatija, "Iz starogo narodnago byta Pšavov," SE, 1938, No. 1, p. 110.

[60] Kovalevskij, Coutume contemp., pp. 193 f.

[61] "Adaty žitelej kumyskoj ploskosti," SSKG, VI (1872), p .16. Cf. Dubrovin, *op. cit.*, I, i, p. 638.

[Sio-- Analyst]

584 It is worthy of note that most North Caucasian *adats* permit the suitor to dissolve the engagement, whereas the neighbouring Turkish peoples and the Ossetes do not. It would seem that those who permit the *male* partner to withdraw his promise at will stress the unilateral aspect of a betrothal; that is, the only one that incurs expenses is the suitor (or to be more exact, his family). If, then, the expenses are one-sided, the privileges and the obligations ought to be one-sided. Those who do not permit either partner to break the engagement seem to stress the bilateral aspect of a betrothal, namely, as soon as a girl is engaged she gives up all possibilities of marrying another man, perhaps even a better choice than the person to whom she is actually engaged. Moreover, this *mutual* obligation expresses the eagerness of the girl's family to secure a marriage for her before she becomes too old, when she would either have to remain a spinster or be sold at a lower price.

That the suitor actually acquires rights in the strictest sense of the word through betrothal is made very clear in the numerous *adats* which distinguish between an abduction of an engaged and a non-engaged girl, the former being considered a qualified crime. He enjoys the right of vengeance just as much as does the abducted girl's family.[62]

[585] Finally, the fact that the Pshav girl must live with her would-be father-in-law after the death of her suitor confirms our repeated assertion that marriage is a *family* affair: the wife is acquired primarily for the good of the family.

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[62] See the various *adat* collections in the section on bride-stealing. Dubrovin, *Istorija*, I, p. 129.

# Chapter VII

# The Wedding

## § 1. DESCRIPTION

The NORTHWESTERN CAUCASIANS. The finest descriptions of the Abkhazian wedding, to my mind, are those of Deržavin and Seidlitz.[1] Unless indicated, our data have been taken from the latter author. 585

On the appointed day the bridegroom and his attendants hasten to the home of the bride, and after having extended them a hearty welcome, her father solemnly hands her over to the groom. A procession is formed, which then proceeds towards the bride's new home. The Abkhazian bridal song, "Bedniera" ("Happiness"), and continuous pistol salutes fill the air as the horsemen suddenly break into a wild gallop and begin their famous Caucasian *dzhigirt* (riding stunts). [5.4]

As soon as the wedding procession nears the groom's house, one of the riders gallops ahead. A pistol salute lets all know that the bride is near.

As soon as she reaches the house, an immense round loaf of millet bread is tossed over her head three times, then broken, and eaten by all present.

A bridal arch is formed at the doorway of the house by two men with crossed swords. On the threshold she is given some sugar and honey with the words "May God grant you a tongue as sweet as sugar and honey."[2]

She then crosses the threshold and receives a dish of *ghomi* (millet) and an egg. What the significance of this ceremony may be we are not told. She is then led thrice round the hearth, scattering grains of millet in all directions.

The bride then sits down and a little boy is brought to her. She takes him on her lap, in order that she too may, before long, have the happiness of becoming the mother of a boy.[3] [5.42]

After this ceremony she is taken to the *amhara* (little house or hut).

On the following day visitors arrive to become acquainted with the bride[4] and to offer her various gifts. An attendant is always at her side to introduce the guests as they come. The veil is lifted from her face as she stands before the visitor motionless, with downcast eyes, and not uttering a single word. If

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[1] N. C. Deržavin, "Iz oblasti kavkazskoj etnografii. Svad'ba v Abchazii," SMOMPK, XXXVI (1906), No. 2, pp. 1—10. N. von Seidlitz, "Die Abchasen," *Globus*, LXVI (1894), No. 3, pp. 40 f. See also Dubrovin's description, *Istorija*, I, ii, pp. 49 ff.

[2] It is most likely the mother of the household who invites the bride to cross the threshold, a custom found also among other peoples of North Caucasus.

[3] Cf. *infra*, p. 205.

[4] Deržavin, *op. cit.*, p. 8.

p. 111

the guests have any questions, it is her girl-companion that must answer. The bride may at the most nod in affirmation.

She remains in her "hermitage" for some months before she is finally permitted to live with the rest of the household.[5]

The following description is chiefly that of the main Cherkess tribe, the Kabardians.

The *kalym* has been paid and the day of the wedding agreed upon. The relatives of the bridegroom begin the necessary wedding preparations. The odour of steaming beer and of the finest dainties creates a distinctive atmosphere, peculiar to a Kabardian wedding. On the eve of the marriage a group of men gallop through the *aul* inviting relatives to a preparatory feast, on the occasion of which a collection is taken to cover some of the expenses of the coming wedding, e. g., purchase of a veil for the bride, chartering of a bridal wagon.

On the following day young men fully-armed gather at the house of the groom and noisely gallop off to the bride's house. The bridegroom, however, does not go with them but "hides" at his best-man's house.[6] By doing so he becomes temporarily an adopted son *(kan)* of the latter's sib. A young companion called *shatso-kot* must always be at his side to protect him.

When the riders (or to be more exact, the bridal procession) reach the bride's house, her attendant, whom the riders brought along, is taken to the women's quarters, while the rest, after having feasted and danced till late into the night, are given lodging either in the house of the bride or of one of the neighbours.

Immediately after breakfast on the following day, the unusual hustle peculiar to a Cherkess wedding is observed outside the bride's house. The horses are being harnessed, the bride's belongings are being packed carefully but hurriedly into a trunk and put on the specially decorated bridal wagon. The bride herself is inside the house, being attired in her finest clothes. From her hair hangs a long white ribbon reaching to the ground. She is veiled, or rather, wrapped in a large white shawl. Her wedding dress differs but slightly from the ordinary Cherkess dress, except that it is made of more costly material. She is assisted on to the wagon and takes her place next to her ever-faithful girl-attendant. As soon as the bridal procession begins to move, the young men of the *aul*, all on horseback, try to snatch the caps away from the guests and thus begin the usual bridal horseraces. When the more "dignified" part of the procession enters the village of the groom, a wedding song is sung. By this time the racers have rested a bit and are ready to break into another wild chase. They again snatch one another's caps, throwing them on the ground, and as the rider gallops past one of the caps, he tries his skill at shooting a hole through it.

The bride is then taken by two women into the women's quarters, whilst outside the cracks of pistols and guns continue. The bride slowly sits down on a specially prepared bench, covered with a carpet. All eyes are fixed on her as a girl-friend of hers has the honour of removing the shawl.

While the riders outside are enjoying their beer, the youth of the village armed with long poles occupy a place difficult for the horsemen to pass. The

[5] Seidlitz, *op. cit.*, pp. 40 f; Deržavin, *op. cit.*, p. 10.
[6] C. Hahn, *Kaukasische Reisen und Studien*, p. 40.

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riders charge wildly, slashing their whips in all directions against their attackers whose task it is to prevent the horsemen form entering the house. The battle continues till the riders finally manage to jump over the fence or to break it down and thus force their way into the house. The "defenders of the bride" throw away their poles and begin dancing with the girls of the village. At noon they all enter the house to congratulate the parents of the groom. Dances commence again and last until midnight. 585 [526]

All this time, as we have already mentioned, the groom is absent, temporarily adopted by a neighbouring sib and guarded day and night by his *shatso-kot*. When the groom retires, the *shatso-kot* must spend the night in the yard protecting the bridegroom against any intruder. Never may he abandon his post. During the day it is his strict obligation to entertain the groom and this he usually does by horseback riding, away from the village. In the evening the two are joined by other companions. Toward midnight all leave except of course the *shatso-kot*, who must now accompany the groom to his bride.[7] [608]

The first three nights, as a part of the wedding ceremony, the groom must undo the bride's stays.[8] Her corset is a broad red leather belt, which is sewed tightly about her waist and is never removed till the wedding night. According to Pallas, the corset was donned when she was 10 or 12 years old,[9] while other explorers claim that the corset was sewed on soon after the bride was born.[10] In any case, she may never take the corset off: it must remain untouched til it bursts and then it must immediately be replaced by another. The husband alone has the right to undo it, on the wedding night. The corset renders the waist very small in proportion to the shoulders, the purpose being to prevent the growth of the breasts, an essential requirement for Cherkess beauty.[11] In some places at least, the custom of wearing such stays has been recently discarded.[12] [292] [836]

Pallas and Ellis in their reports dating from the 18th century claim that the corset is "cut with a dagger, a custom sometimes productive of very fatal accidents."[13] Today untieing and not cutting the stays is the orthodox ceremony with the Cherkess[14] and the Ossetes. To cut them would subject the groom to endless ridicule.[15] Since the custom of *cutting* was "productive of very fatal accidents" we can easily understand why the pratice has been given up. Sometimes the bride's girl-friends maliciously tie a large number of very difficult knots, so that the temptation to make use of the dagger is not slight. On the first three nights the bride is not allowed to say a word to her husband.[16]

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[7] Hahn, *op. cit.*, pp. 40—44. For a description of a wedding among the Temirgoi see Vasil'kov, *op. cit.*, pp. 89—101.

[8] Ladyženskij, FT, p. 191.

[9] P. S. Pallas, *Bemerkungen auf einer Reise in die südl. Statth. des russ. Reichs etc.*, I, pp. 380 f.

[10] Ellis, *Memoir of a map etc.*, p. 24.

[11] Pallas, *l. c.*; Ellis, *l. c.*; Dubrovin, *Istorija*, I, i, p. 127. Prof. D. Wölfel has called my attention to a similar practice in Tyrol.

[12] For example, Ladyženskij could not find the practice in Kamenomostki Aul in 1927, FT, p. 191.

[13] Pallas, *op. cit.*, I, p. 381; Ellis, *l. c.*

[14] C. Hahn, *op. cit.*, p. 44.

[15] Baddeley, *op. cit.*, I, p. 270.

[16] Hahn, *op. cit.*, p. 45.

585 The Cherkess formerly had a very important ceremony, which however seems no longer to be observed, the virginity test.[17] Formerly if the bride were found to have lost her virginity before her wedding, she would be returned to her father, who would mercilessly mutilate, sell or even kill her.[18]

[591] A week later the so-called *unaishe* (i. e., "introducing the young wife into the household") takes place. Up to this time she had to live in her own quarters, but from now on she is considered a full-fledged member of the family. In the midst of much shouting and shooting, songs and cheers, the young wife is led into the house by two women. She is wrapped in a shawl and wears tiny [592] stilts attached to the soles of her shoes, which make her look unusually tall. She enters, stands shyly against the wall and then waits for someone to remove her shawl. Thereupon a woman places with her finger a sweet liquid called *urtsetl* into the mouth of the bride in order that her life in the new household may be ever as sweet as *urtsetl*.[19]

Only women were present in the house when the bride entered. They now all take a drink of beer from a large common vessel, then sing and finally break into a dance till wedding songs are heard from outside. This is a sign for the bride to come out, and as soon as she crosses the threshold, a boy standing on the roof, lets down a shower of confetti, nuts and tiny pasteries.

The bride then retires to her room, while the guests feast, drink and dance.

Some days later a ceremony called "Reconciliation" takes place. The bride's girl-friends take part in dances at the home of the groom while the young men join the bridegroom in his hiding place, where drinking is preferred [608] to dancing. The groom then makes a little speech, thanking his "foster-father" for his kindness, and in return for all the courtesies shown him during his "adoption," he offers him an ox or a horse. The groom has been "hiding" all this time, and now he feels that it is about time for him to seek "reconciliation" with his family. In the meantime a sheep has been slaughtered and beer has been prepared for a feast when the "prodigal son" returns. A special cup of beer sweetened with honey and a little "snack" are waiting for him on a small side-table. All eyes are riveted on the son who "ran away" from home. The young ladies are bunched together in a corner of the room; the old men are likewise huddled against one of the walls; the parents of the groom and an honoured guest, an old man, stand in another corner of the room, while the bride with her girl-friends stands in the doorway. Suddenly the loud voice of the honoured guest calls all to attention. "Dear son," he cries, "you think that you have offended us, but you are mistaken. On the contrary, you have caused us indescribable joy! Come take this drink as a reward! Come, son, drink it and let us forget about the past." The groom rises and slowly approaches the old man, accepts the beer and hands it to his attendant. Thereupon he steps outside of the house where he drinks the beer and together with his companions partakes of the "snack." After a while he retires, while his companions and guests continue their feasting and dancing till morning.

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[17] Cf. Ladyženskij, FT, p. 184.

[18] Byhan, *op. cit.*, p. 155.

[19] *Urtsetl* is made of sheep's fat or butter mixed with honey.

The "Reconciliation" however is not yet over. The following morning an *arba* (Caucasian two-wheeled wagon) drawn by two oxen goes through the village and every family before whose house the *arba* halts is obliged to donate a chicken. In the evening a cartload of chickens arrives, destined for a special "Reconciliation" feast exclusively for women, on which occasion the groom by accepting some beer from his mother is finally "reconciled" also with her. 585 [493]

True, the "Reconciliation" may be over, but the marriage ceremonies are not. Two days later there is more feasting, more drinking, and the so-called *shinak-gagerös* (i. e., "the twirling of a wooden cup with a long handle") take place. The one toward whom the cuphandle points on stopping after having been twirled must drink its contents. The young people who take part in this drink-feast do not leave the groom's home till there is no more beer left to refill the cup. The old folks have their turn in the celebration in the evening, when the young are obliged to serve the old. One of the main features on the programme is the obligation of all the "old-timers" to take a turn at dancing, ending with a dance of the host and hostess, who, however, have the privilege of exemption from dancing if they drink a cup of beer instead. On this occasion the Kabardian minnesingers called *geguako* are especially welcome. They travel from village to village, playing on their two-stringed instruments, singing and composing beautiful lyrics[20] as the German minnesingers and the French and Italian troubadours once used to do. To each well-wishing of the *geguako* the guests answer with a joyful "Amen!," confirming their "So be it!" with a sip of beer.[21] [524] [273] [533] [534]

The ceremony of thrice walking around the hearth constitutes an important part of the Cherkess wedding just as in Abkhazia.[22]

The official marriage contract is made by representatives of the bride and groom in the presence of the local mullah. Holding both representatives by the hand, he first asks the representative of the bride: "Do you take A as husband for B?" The answer is a simple "Yes!" He then asks the representative of the groom: "Do you take B as wife for A?" "Yes!" This interrogation is repeated a second and a third time. The mullah then recites a prayer and all present, raising their hands heavenward, answer "Amen!"[23]

The expenses entailed in such an elaborate wedding would often bring complete economic ruin to the family, much the same as Caucasian funerals. Ladyženskij implies, however, that such expensive weddings are a thing of the past.[24]

The NORTHEASTERN CAUCASIANS. As our example of a Chechen marriage we have chosen that of the Ingushi, for this group of Chechens has preserved much more of their ancient culture than any other. In so doing, however, we must make allowance for tribal differences. [182]

[20] Hahn, *op. cit.*, pp. 46—49, from whom we have also taken the description of the "Reconciliation." Hahn gives us a few examples of these lyrics, *op. cit.*, pp. 49 ff.

[21] Hahn, *op. cit.*, p. 51.

[22] Dirr, AGKB, p. 25.

[23] Ladyženskij, FT, p. 199.

[24] Ladyženskij, FT, p. 208. See also Dubrovin, *Istorija* for a fairly good description of a Cherkess wedding, I, i, pp. 142 ff, 147 f.

585 however, we must make allowance for tribal differences. The Ingush wedding has been described especially well by Jakovlev.[25]

There is excitement in the village,[26] and the whole atmosphere is festive. Before one of the Ingush houses a crowd is gathering, the riders towering above all. There is reason for this excitement and festivity, for a son is being married. Inside the house, too, there is excitement—but perhaps we should call it [273] "activity" instead. A sheep is being slaughtered, *braga* is being brewed, cakes are being baked. But in spite of all this hustle, there seems to be time and reason enough to interrupt all work—just for a moment—the butcher, the brewer, the baker, one and all, go to the door and gaze a moment at the crowd as it begins to form into a semi-orderly wedding procession. At the head we see the proud father of the groom, and behind him his male relatives and some girls. Even billy-goats and rams are there (gifts for the bride's family)—all are there except the groom. He and one of his comrades disappeared several days ago and have not been heard of since. (The bride vanished from her home too, but by now she has most likely returned.) The bridegroom is no doubt "hiding" with a neighbour. The whole village is excited—everybody, we are told, except the groom, for etiquette demands that he act as unconcerned as if marriage were an everyday affair.

Men on horseback, men, women, and noisy children on creaky carts or on foot, wend their way down the dusty village road. When they reach the bride's house her father dashes out in front of the procession and with beaming face [534] welcomes all heartily. The *pandir* (a native three-stringed instrument) begins a joyful wedding tune and all join in the customary marriage songs. Formerly the girls would form into two contending choirs, the friends of the groom against [522] the friends of the bride, alternately singing songs and trying to out-ridicule the other,[27] a veritable battle of tongues and voices.

Singing, dancing, and feasting, continue till evening, when the procession [526] is formed again (but this time not without the bride). The horsemen now gallop off and begin their wild, dangerous wedding races.[28]

As soon as the procession reaches the groom's house, the bride enters the *saklia* and receives some honey and butter, coyly listening to the words "Be thou ever soft as butter and ever sweet as honey."

After this little ceremony she is led behind a curtain where she must remain for the next few days, entertained only by a number of girl-companions.

The formal marriage contract takes place according to the simple Islamic rite. The mullah, as usual, presides, while the parents of the bride and groom make the contract.

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[25] Jakovlev, *Ingši*, pp. 52—56.
See also Dubrovin's description, *Istorija*, I, i, pp. 430—435.

[26] A year or two may elapse after the betrothal, the time of marriage depending mainly on how soon the *kalym* can be paid. Cf. Berže, *Čečnja i Čečency*, p. 98.

[27] For texts of wedding songs see Jakovlev, *l. c.*

[28] Grabovskij, "Ekonomičeskij i domašnij byt, etc.," p. 21. Horseraces play an important part in funerals throughout the Caucasus. See R. Bleichsteiner, "Rossweihe und Pferderennen im Totenkult der kaukasischen Völker," *Wiener Beiträge zur Kulturgeschichte und Linguistik*, Salzburg-Leipzig, 1936, pp. 414—495.

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Feasting, dancing and singing continue for the next two or three days. The guests are especially fond of their version of the *Lesghinka*.[29]

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The newly-weds may not see each other till toward the close of the festivities. Finally the clapping of hoofs, cracks of pistols, and deep manly voices announce the return of the groom from his "hiding" place. He enters the bridal chamber, where his wife is waiting for him. The heart of a sheep, daintily roasted, lies hidden somewhere in the room. The groom or the bride begins to search for it and when found it is eaten by both. This little ceremony is to ensure marital concord.[30]

Jakovlev fails to mention two ceremonies which older authors include as important parts of a Chechen wedding. First of all, there is the custom of placing a child on the bride's lap with the wish that she too may before long give birth to a boy and become the mother of many children. Then there is the custom of walking round the hearth three times, a custom found among the Cherkess, Abkhaz, Ossetes, and the Ingushi,[31] but, as it seems, not among the other Chechens.

After the wedding the father of the bridegroom receives various gifts from the guests, sometimes enough to cover the expenses of the wedding.[32]

When speaking of the Lesghian group we shall not describe the customs of each people separately, but, as we have done in the section on engagements, we shall endeavour to present what may be called a *typical* Lesghian wedding. We shall borrow much from Kovalevskij's *Zakon i obyčaj na Kavkazě* (II, pp. 185—188), a description based on two reliable sources, L'vov and Bašir Dalgat, a native Caucasian. Though L'vov's article[33] is easily available, Dalgat's precious manuscript is not, and hence our recourse to Kovalevskij is mainly to get at Dalgat's valuable material. These two sources describe the Avarian and Dargwa marriage customs, but as Kovalevskij rightly points out, the description, except for a few accidentals, holds for *all* Lesghians. Other good articles on the present subject, which we shall use to complement Kovalevskij's two sources, are those of Gabiev, describing the wedding customs of the Laks,[34] of G. M. Amirov, describing the customs in North Daghestan,[35] of Fon-Plotto describing the Lesghians of Sakataly,[36] of Dubrovin describing the

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[29] The *Lesghinka* is a popular Caucasian dance, which originated, as its name implies, in Daghestan, and then was borrowed by all mountain tribes of the Caucasus, each tribe, of course, adding an original touch to the dance.

[30] Baddeley, *op. cit.*, I, p. 237.

[31] Dirr, AGKB, p. 25; Dubrovin, *Istorija*, I, i, p. 433.

[32] These contributions are perhaps of a relatively recent origin, as a result of Russian legislation against costly weddings.

The explorers are silent about the presence or absence of a proof of virginity. Even though the practice perhaps does not exist today, the possibility of its former existence cannot be denied, especially since the Ingush customs are very similar to those of the Ossetes.

[33] "Domašnjaja i semejnaja žizn Dagestanskich Gorcev," SSKG, III (1870), pp. 1—32.

[34] "Laki, Ich prošloe i byt," SMOMPK, XXXVI (1906), pp. 109 f.

[35] "Sredi gorcev severnago Dagestana," SSKG, VII (1873), pp. 31 f.

[36] "Priroda i ljudi Zakatal'skago Okruga," SSKG, IV (1871), pp. 31—44. Though the marriage Fon-Plotto describes is really that of the Georgian Ingiloi, according to the author's own observation, it is identical with that of all non-Georgians in Sakataly.

585 customs of Lesghians in general,[37] and, finally, Halil Beg Mussayassul's description in his *Das Land der letzten Ritter*.[38]

The wedding day has finally arrived and all acquaintances and relatives have been invited. The young people begin to assemble at the groom's house quite early in the morning, while the older people do not make their appearence till the arrival of the bride. After feasting and dancing has begun at the groom's house, two men and two women—usually relatives of the groom—are commissioned to bring the bride to her new home.[39] In the Province of Kazikumukh usually 10 to 15 persons of each sex are sent;[40] in Sakataly, four to twelve.[41] In a similar manner, the bride chooses four persons from among her relatives, two uncles, called *varkhkani* ("fellow-travellers") and two aunts, called *kakurtsanti* ("they who lead the bride by the hand").[42] The procession, or the delegation, as the case may be, proceeds to the house where the bride is staying at the time. (In Avaria, she is at one of her relative's, whereas in Dargwa and Kazikumukh Province, she is always at home.[43]) On arriving, the delegation solemnly extend to the bride a triple invitation to join them.[44]

After the guests have been entertained, the bridal procession begins to move slowly in the direction of the groom's house. Some boys are at the head of the procession carrying lighted torches, for generally the procession does not begin before dusk. Other children, noisier than ever, carry the bride's wedding gifts (usually kitchen utensils).[45] During the whole procession the two aunts are constantly at the bride's side, living up to their name *kakvurtsanti*, "they who lead the bride by the hand."[46]

Though dressed in beautiful silk, the bride must not be too particular about keeping her wedding gown spotless, an impossible task indeed. When the procession passes under a window, a handful of flour is poured on her,[47] a custom which, according to Dalgat's manuscript, signifies "luck as pure as the flour that is poured on the bride."[48]

Almost at every bend of the road, or wherever the road narrows down, there is a crowd of village urchins and young people who obstruct the way and
[273] will not permit the procession to continue till they receive some of their favourite *buza*[49] and dainties.[50]

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[37] *Istorija*, I, i, pp. 566—573.
[38] Munich, 1936, pp. 169—175.
[39] Kovalevskij, *Zakon*, II, p. 185.
[40] Gabiev, *op. cit.*, p. 109.
[41] Fon-Plotto, *op. cit.*, pp. 31 f.
[42] Kovalevskij, *l. c.*, Amirov, *op. cit.*, p. 31, calls them *kakvurtsanti*, *kak* meaning "hand" and *vutsis meaning* "to hold."
[43] Kovalevskij, *l. c.*
[44] Kovalevskij, *Zakon*, II, pp. 185 f.
[45] Amirov, *op. cit.*, p. 31; Gabiev, *l. c.*
[46] Amirov, *l. c.* Kovalevskij, *l. c.* In Sakataly, according to Kovalevskij's own observation, the bride rides on a horse led by the bride's maternal uncle (Kovalevskij, *Zakon*, II, p. 186).
[47] Amirov, *l. c.* Kovalevskij, *l. c.*
[48] Kovalevskij, *l. c.*
[49] *Buza* is a kind of beer: millet is brewed and allowed to ferment, after which *nom*, is added.
[50] Amirov, *l. c.*; Kovalevskij, *l. c.*

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As soon as the procession reaches the bridegroom's house, his mother takes a plate of honey and smears some on the bride's lips and extends her an official invitation to enter.[51] The honey symbolizes the readiness of the mother-in-law to offer the bride any and every gift, but especially the greatest gift of all, entrance into the household.[52] A pleasant and sweet life awaits her in such friendly surroundings. 585

Now an ox (or any other head of large cattle)[53] is led before the bride. The ear of the animal is then cut as a sign that from now on it belongs to the bride alone.[54] If the bride stands motionless in the doorway, everyone understands that the bride is still not satisfied and therefore a second animal must be brought before her and its ear must be cut in a similar manner. Sometimes a horse is presented to her instead of two oxen, in which case a clump of hair is cut off the horse's tail, leaving the ear intact.[55] On accepting these gifts, the bride is congratulated, welcomed, honoured with songs and pistol shots, and is then solemnly led across the threshold of the *saklia* by her mother-in-law. Sometimes, as the bride steps over the threshold, the bridegroom, standing behind the door, gives his wife three slight strokes[56] symbolizing his authority over her.[57]

The programme now calls for a tug of war between the villagers and the members of the groom's household. A carpet (the one the bride stepped on when crossing the threshold) is placed between the two groups, everyone taking as good a hold of it as possible and then pulling with all his strength, the villagers pulling away from the house and the others toward it. This is, doubtless, a form of ceremonial bride capture. The winners receive a special delicacy called *airisa*, a mixture of flour, butter and honey, as well as their favourite drink *buza*, while the losers must be satisfied with the drink.[58] 583 585 [524] [262]

There are two other forms of ceremonial bride capture, found among other Lesghians. In Dido-land the friends of the groom "break" into the bride's house, throw a sheep-skin over her head, and drag her into the street, where the villagers throw filth at her till she reaches her new home. The Andi of T'indi are supposed to have had the following custom: the bride riding on a horse, accompanied by men and women armed with torches and long poles, rides toward the groom who is similarly guarded. When the two groups meet, a mock battle is declared. The parties must try to extinguish each other's torches. In

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[51] Kovalevskij, *l. c.* Amirov omits this ceremony.

[52] This is Kovalevskij's interpretation. Unfortunately our sources fail to mention whether the mother-in-law accompanies her action with words as in the case of other North Caucasians or not.

[53] Amirov, *op. cit.*, p. 31, who mentions the possibility of presenting a horse instead of two oxen.

[54] Kovalevskij, *l. c.*; Amirov, *l. c.*

[55] Amirov, *l. c.*

[56] Kovalevskij, *Zakon*, II, p. 186.

[57] Amirov's and Kovalevskij's interpretation.

[58] Amirov, *op. cit.*, pp. 33 f.

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585 the meantime the bride is handed over to the female relatives of the groom, who
[585] bring her to her new home.[59]

Honey is given to the bride a second time, symbolizing the sweetness of married life that one and all wish her.

[606] The bride then sits down on a special bridal chair, and a kettle is placed at her feet as a sign of her subjection to the mother of the household.[60]

The custom of thrice walking round the hearth, the custom that plays such an important role in the Abkhaz, Cherkess, Ossete, and Ingush marriage,[61] is found also among the Lesghians, but, as it seems, only by way of exception. Kovalevskij found it only in one *aul* near the Georgian border.[62]

Toward midnight, when the banqueting has finished, a brother of the bride is given the honour of unveiling her face, her head remaining veiled till she enters the bridal chamber. For this privilege her brother is obliged to bestow a special gift on her.[63, 64]

She now steps into the bridal chamber, while the young people crowd in after her. Whoever succeeds in being the first to throw himself on the bed receives some pastries as prize. This ceremony is called *vurui varis*, that is, "trampling on the bed."[65]

As soon as the groom enters, all leave the room and while the newly-weds are alone, feasting and merry-making continue till morning.[66]

In some parts of Daghestan, as for example in Samur Province, two relatives stand guard at the door of the bridal chamber. On the following day the *testimonium castitatis*, a cloth or a bed sheet, is given to the guards[67] or, in some places, the young husband fires his gun. However, a pistol shot does not always have the same meaning. In Dargwa Province (in the shamkhalate of Tsrk and in the khanate of Mekhtali) it signifies that the bride's hymen has been found perforated;[68] in Sakataly it has the very opposite signification.[69] If the bride is found unchaste, the husband may dismiss her at once, on her very wedding day, retaining all her gifts and dowry. Formerly her angry father would cut off her nose or arm and even kill her.[70]

The wedding may last for another week.[71]

On the seventh day a feast is prepared for an exclusive group of male relatives, on which occasion the groom's father reveals what gift he intends to bestow on his newly married son. (The women relatives hold their own feast.)

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[59] Byhan, *La civilisation caucasienne*, pp. 191 f.
[60] Kovalevskij, *Zakon*, II, p. 187.
[61] Dirr, AGKB, p. 25.
[62] Kovalevskij, *l. c.*
[63] Amirov, *op. cit.*, p. 32.
[64] The Laks call it *lyazbinkuku* (Kovalevskij, *l. c.*).
[65] Kovalevskij, *l. c.* Amirov calls it *burush-vachis*: *burush* meaning "bad" and *vachis* meaning "trample on."
[66] Gabiev, *op. cit.*, p. 110; Kovalevskij, *Zakon*, II, p. 187; Dubrovin, *Istorija*, I, i, p. 571.
[67] "Adaty Južno-Dagestanskich Obščestv," SSKG, VIII (1875), p. 72.
[68] Kovalevskij, *Zakon*, II, p. 174.
[69] *ibid.* See also Kovalevskij, *op. cit.*, II, pp. 187 f; Gabiev, *op. cit.*, p. 110; Amirov, *op. cit.*, p. 32.
[70] Kovalevskij, *Zakon*, II, p. 201.
[71] Gabiev, *op. cit.*, p. 110.

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Some time later, usually not over a month, the relatives of the groom are 585
invited by the bride's family to dinner. One of the guests—we may still speak of wedding guests, for the wedding celebration is not yet over—calls out to the bride's father: "What will the father of our bride offer her?" On this occasion he must determine what portion of land he intends for his daughter. In Dargwa the minimum dowry is $^1/_6$ of a desyatnik, but he usually gives her other things as well, a cow, a buffalo and other cattle.[72]

The bride on her part presents the guests with some souvenirs—belts for male relatives and handkerchiefs for her female relatives.[73]

The formal marriage contract takes place according to the Mussulman rite before the mullah and witnesses.[74]

The Lesghian marriage usually does not take place immediately after the engagement but months and sometimes even years later.[75] The marriage season for maidens is autumn, whereas widows may marry at any time.[76]

Marriages of widows and widowers take place without solemnities of [587]
any kind.[77]

## TABLE 15

### Major Wedding Customs of Northern Caucasians Found Also Among the Southerners

| Customs* | Tribe** | Source |
|---|---|---|
| Procession terminates in *groom's* house | Khevsurs | Eristov, *op. cit.*, p. 110. |
| | Pshavs | Dubrovin, I, ii, p. 310. |
| | Ingiloi | Fon-Plotto, op. cit., pp. 31—34. |
| Ceremonial bride capture | Khevsurs | Mourier, *Guide au Caucase*, I, p. 153; Nansen, *op. cit.*, pp. 57 f; Baddeley, *op. cit.*, I, p. 237. |
| Mother-in-law gives honey to bride (and groom) | Pshavs | S. I. Makalatija, "Iz starogo narodnogo byta plavov," SE, 1938, No. 1, p. 105. |
| Walking thrice around hearth; best-man strikes chain with dagger | Khevsurs | Dubrovin, I, ii, p. 311. |
| | Pshavs | *ibid*; Eristov, *op. cit.*, p. 112; Makalatija, *op. cit.*, p. 106. |
| Proof of virginity | Ingiloi | Kovalevskij, *Zakon*, II, p. 174. |
| Formal (religious) contract | Khevsurs | Eristov, *op. cit.*, p. 110; Hahn, *Bilder aus dem Kaukasus*, p. 82. |
| | Tushi | Dubrovin, I, ii, p. 311. |
| | Pshavs | Byhan, *op. cit.*, p. 113. |

[72] Kovalevskij, *Zakon*, II, p. 188. [73] *ibid.*
[74] Svěčin, "Očerk narodonaselenija, nravov i obyčaev Dagestana," ZKO, II (1853), p. 64.
[75] L'vov, *op. cit.*, p. 22. [76] Amirov, *op. cit.*, p. 30.
[77] *ibid.*

585 * See also T. Mtavriev, "Prostonarodnaja svad'ba v Kadhetii," SMOMPK, XXXI (1902), No. 3, pp. 154—160.

For Gurian customs: N. Derižavin, Svad'ba u Gurijcev-Musul'man v okrestnostjach Batuma," SMOMPK, XXXI (1902), No. 2, pp. 168—176.

For Pshav customs see: Makalatija, "Iz starogo narodnogo byta pšavov," SE, 1938, No. 1, pp. 105—109.

** The tribes in this column are intended merely to serve as *examples*. We do not wish to imply that the particular custom is not found anywhere else except among the tribes indicated.

The OSSETINE wedding customs are quite interesting and have been fully described by such authors as Kovalevskij,[78] Baddeley,[79] Hahn,[80] Šanaev,[81] and Gatiev.[82] Without going into detail we shall indicate briefly the similarity between the Ossetine wedding and that of the neighbouring North Caucasians.

(1) The *procession* terminates at the home of the groom. The bride is led by her groomsman (*anshuargin*) and a special female attendant (*dzbinarkinmade*).[83]

(2) The formal contract is made in church before their priests in Christian parts of Ossetia,[84] and according to Islamic ritual among the Mohammedans. Both Christian and Mohammedan marriages may take place in the shade of certain holy trees.[85]

[583] (3) Dramatization of bride-stealing.[86]

(4) The bride and groom are not allowed to meet during the marriage festivities: the bride must remain in her room, attended to by a number of girl-friends, while the groom is living with the best-man.[87]

[606] (5) Submission to the mother-in-law. In the evening the bride is led to the hearth, where she must first bow to the *avsin* (mother of the household) and then smear some fat on the *avsin's* shoes as a sign of submission.[88]

585 842 (6) A child is placed on her lap, as a wish of her friends that she may give birth to many children, especially boys.[89] She is taken to a shrine of Mairem.

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[78] Kovalevskij, *Sovremmenyj obyčaj i drevnij zakon.*

[79] Baddeley, *The Rugged Flanks of Caucasus.*

[80] Hahn, *Bilder aus dem Kaukasus*, pp. 41 ff.

[81] Šanaev, "Svad'ba u severnych Osetin," ("A Wedding among the North Ossetes"), SSKG, IV (1870), pp. 1—30.

[82] Gatiev, "Sueverija i predrazudki u Osetin," SSKG, IX (1876), pp. 18—21. See also: Dubrovin, *Istorija*, I, i, pp. 334—337; "Koe-čto o Digorcach," *Kavkaz* (1887), No. 339 f.

[83] Byhan, *op. cit.*, p. 212.

[84] Baddeley, *op. cit.*, I, p. 268.

[85] Nansen, *op. cit.*, p. 65.

[86] Kovalevskij, *Coutume contemp.*, 168 f.

[87] Šanaev, *op. cit.*, p. 27, *note 13*. Cf. also N. Dubrovin, *Istorija*, I, i, p. 336.

[88] Gatiev, *op. cit.*, p. 20; Polidaev, Gorcy severnago Kavkaza, p. 106.

[89] Kovalevskij, *Coutume contemp.*, p. 185.

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The village children accompany her and then throw stones at the shrine, crying, "So many boys (as these missiles) and one blue-eyed girl grant thou, Mairem, to this our dear bride!" The groomsman must then repeat this prayer.[90] 585 [842]

(7) The Ossetes also have the corset-ceremony (*supra*, p. 113). The groom must *untie* the knots and not cut them.[91]

(8) The best-man takes the bride by the hand and walks round the fire-place three times, each time striking the chain with his sword.[92]

(9) The mother-in-law gives the bride some honey.[93]

(10) Feasting lasts two full days and longer. The wedding is elaborate and expensive.[94]

(11) The proof of virginity is rigorously insisted upon.[95]

(12) The bride receives gifts from her own father and guests.[96]

(13) The groomsman drives evil spirits away by holding a club over the bride's head.[97]

And now, a word about the neighbouring TURKS. The Kumykian marriage hardly differs from that of the Lesghians.[98] The dramatization of bride capture is found, for example, among the Karachai[99] and Nogai;[100] the fire-place ceremony is found as far south as the Kurds;[101] some Tartars have the custom of placing a boy on the bride's lap.[102]

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[90] Baddeley, *op. cit.*, I, p. 158. See *infra*, p. 205.
E. G. Pčelina, "Rodil'nye obyčai u Osetin," SE, 1937, No. 4, p. 86.

[91] Baddeley, *op. cit.*, I, p. 270. Older writers speak of *cutting* the knots, e. g., Klaproth, *Voyage au Mont Caucase et en Géorgie*, II, p. 250.

[92] Kovalevskij, *Coutume contemp.*, pp. 49, 170 f; Gatiev, *op. cit.*, pp. 18 f; Dubrovin, *Istorija*, I, i, p. 325.

[93] Baddeley, *op. cit.*, I, p. 268.

[94] Leontovič, II, pp. 51, § 18, *note 4*. The military government tried to limit the number of guests from 120 to 15. Cf. Dirr, AGKB, p. 113.

[95] Klaproth, *op. cit.*, II, p. 249.

[96] Kovalevskij, *Coutume contemp.*, pp. 198 f.

[97] Kovalevskij, *op. cit.*, p. 171.

[98] Dubrovin, *Istorija*, I, i, p. 638.

[99] Jankó, *Népraizi* etc. Zichy's *Kaukazusi és középazsiai utazásai*, p. 44.

[100] Dubrovin, *Istorija*, I, i, pp. 278 f. In Balkaria the best-man enters the bride's home to fetch the bride, but as soon as he enters the house the women present defend the bride by trying to cut the best-man's cherkesska (Caucasian outer garment), see N. A. Karaulov, "Bolkari na Kavkazě," SMOMPK, XXXVIII (1908), No. 1, p. 146.

[101] Jankó, *op. cit.*, p. 62.

[102] Mir-Galim-bek-Vezirov, Něskolko svědněij o Tatarskich pover'jach," SMOMPK, IX (1890), No. 2, p. 11.
For a full description of a Kumykian wedding see: N. Semenov, "Očerki narodnych obyčaev, Kumykov Terskoj Oblasti," *Terskij Sbornik*, II (1892), No. 2, Part 2, pp. 71 ff.
For Nogai wedding see: Dubrovin, *Istorija*, I, i, pp. 277 ff.
For wedding of the Turkomans see: A. A. Volodin, "Truchmenskaja step i truchmeny," SMOMPK, XXXVIII (1908), No. 1, pp. 45—49.

## TABLE 16

### Marriage Ceremonies of N. Caucasians And Neighbours

| Marriage Ceremonies | Procession: From groom's house to bride | Procession: Return with bride to groom's house | Procession: Groom is absent | Dramatization of capture | Horse-racing | Both sibs (families) present | Groom absent for large part of wedding | Segregation of bride during wedding | Bride's submission to husband | Wedding elaborate, expensive with much feasting & dancing | Mother-in-law †: Invites bride to cross threshold | Mother-in-law †: Offers bride some honey | Mother-in-law †: Bride's submission to | Corset ceremony | Proof of Virginity | Child placed on bride's lap | Special wishes for boys | Fire-place ceremony | Gifts to bride from own sib | "Tramping on bed" ceremony | Sword placed over bride's head | Special attendant for groom | Special attendant for bride | Mother plays important rôle | Maternal uncle important rôle | Formal religious contract | Reconciliation ceremony | Predominant Character of Ceremonies |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Abkhaz | + | + | – | | + | + | | + | | + | + | + | | + | | + | + | + | + | – | + | | + | – | – | + | | Pastoral |
| Cherkess | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | | + | + | + | | + | + | + | + | + | + | – | + | + | + | – | – | + | + | Pastoral |
| Ingushi | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | | + | | + | | | ? | + | + | + | + | – | | + | + | – | – | + | | Pastoral |
| Other Chechens | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | | + | | + | | | | + | + | ? | + | – | | + | + | – | – | + | | Pastoral |
| Avars | + | + | + | + | | + | + | | + | + | + | + | + | | + | | | ? | + | + | | + | + | + | – | + | | Pastoral + Agrarian |
| Dargwa | + | + | + | + | | + | + | | + | + | + | + | + | | + | | | ? | + | + | | + | + | + | – | + | | Pastoral + Agrarian |
| Other Lesghians | + | + | + | + | | + | + | | + | + | + | + | + | | + | | | | + | + | | + | + | + | – | + | | Pastoral + Agrarian |
| Khevsurs | + | + | | + | | + | | | | | | | | | + | | | + | | – | | | | + | – | + | | Pastoral + Agrarian |
| Pshavs * | + | + | – | | | + | | | | + | + | + | | | + | | + | + | + | – | | + | + | + | – | + | | Pastoral + Agrarian |
| Tushi | | | | | | | | | | | | + | | | | | | | | | | | | | + | + | | |
| Ingiloi | + | + | | | | | | | | | | | | | + | | | | | | | | | + | – | | | |
| Ossetes | + | + | | + | | + | + | + | + | + | | + | + | + | | + | + | + | + | – | + | + | + | – | – | + | | Pastoral |
| Karachai | | | | + | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |

* Cf. Makalatija. "Iz starogo narodnogo byta Pšavov," SE, 1938, No. 1, pp. 105.

† It is usually the mother-in-law.

585 [583] [326] [606] [842]

## § 2. PROBLEMS AND CONCLUSIONS

Though the wedding ceremonies just described are not without a few traces 585
of a mother-right culture, the wedding as a whole is doubtless typically patriarchal in character.

(1) The wedding procession clearly shows that the marriage is patrilocal, 591
a fact true of all North Caucasian as well as neighbouring tribes. The bride must move into the house of her father-in-law.

(2) The fact that the bride is humiliated before her mother-in-law (not 606
father-in-law), the fact that she is invited into the household by the mother- 592
in-law (not father-in-law), and that it is the mother-in-law (not father-in-law) who places the honey into the mouth of the bride, though very suspiciously matriarchal, is reconcilable with a strictly patriarchal society. Even in a strictly patriarchal society the mother of the household enjoys certain privileges and is looked upon as the mistress of the house with special authority over the female members of the household. In other words, in these seemingly matriarchal ceremonies the mother-in-law may perhaps be simply excercising a right of the mother of the household of a typical patriarchal family.[103]

(3) The dramatization of bride capture is a very common custom among 583
the pastoral peoples throughout the world.

Ceremonial bride capture must not be considered as a survival of actual marriage by capture. This is especially true of the Caucasians because a wedding always means a great economic loss for the bride's family—one of their workers must leave them and go over to another sib. Ceremonial bride capture expresses rather the opposition to such an heavy loss. The Dido, as we have seen, actually throw mud and filth at the bride after she has been "stolen". If the ceremony were to represent actual abduction, why should the bride be so "mistreated"? The reason why filth is thrown at her is that she has turned "traitor" to her own family.

(4) The ceremony of hiding, veiling of the face, the bride's taciturnity— 834
all these little peculiarities of the Caucasian wedding may be an expression of the bride's natural sense of modesty. Till now she had to avoid, at least in public, the slightest communication with her fiancé. The strict separation of engaged couples, the prohibition even to pass a glance at one's future mate in public, and the death penalty imposed on the girl for pre-marital intercourse—all this is in full accord with the high esteem of pastoral peoples for the physical integrity of virgins. At the wedding, the bride is being publicly introduced [831]
into a relationship which she has been taught to shun as disgraceful, even punishable by death. Now this once "disgraceful" thing is being done publicly! The bride's resistence, her fleeing, her veiling, her taciturnity, then, are expressions of a reaction against "the great change"[104] from maidenhood
to wife, a change more sensibly felt among pastoral peoples than in any other society.

[103] For the relatively important rôle of a mother of a household in a patriarchal society see E. Pčelina, "Obrjad gostepriimstva v Osetii," SE, (1932), No. 5—6, pp. 140—163, especially p. 156, note.

[104] "The great change," I think, has been coined by Elsie C. Person. See her "Holding back in Crisis Ceremonialism," *American Anthropologist*, n. s. XVIII (1916), pp. 44 f.

4/n [Sic--Analyst]

000 to wife, a change more sensibly felt among pastoral peoples than in any other society.

585 [170] (5) The virginity test, too, though not restricted to pastoral peoples,[105] is very characteristic of their culture. The North Caucasians, all with only the Chechens as possible exception,[106] still have, or at least have had, the virginity test as an essential part of the wedding. The marriage remained uncertain till the bride passed or failed this examination.

It would certainly be of great interest to discover the meaning of and motive behind this practice. There is, of course, no universal explanation for the custom. What motivated the Nigerian tribes to introduce the practice need not be identical with the motives of the Chinese of Kwangtong or of the tribes of Samoa, of the Sakalavas of Madagascar or of the Slavs.

585 926 To understand the Caucasian virginity test we must put aside our Western notions regarding the value of the physical integrity of a bride and try to get behind the mind of the North Caucasian, behind the economic, social, and religious standards of the *Caucasians*.

Negatively stated, the virginity test of the Caucasians is in itself no proof of a high esteem for the *virtue* of chastity, for even if it can be proven that the loss of corporal integrity was caused by an accident, the value of the bride seems not to differ from the girl who 'ost it through actual illicit intercourse. Among the Akhvakh (Daghestanians) a guest or lover might do to a maiden what he wished provided that the hymen remained intact.[107]

[611] Since the perpetuation of the family property and especially of the family cult depends on legitimate male children, there will always be uncertainty about the fatherhood of the first male child if the hymen is found perforated before the consummation of marriage. The groom's family would be constantly haunted by the thought that a stranger (the first-born male child) may become the head of the family. In a word, the economic and religious importance of the first-born male child may have been responsible for the high esteem for virginity and for the necessity of a proof of virginity on the wedding night.[108]

This attitude toward the inviolateness of the maidenhead has been, no doubt, responsible for many other Caucasian observances. The *kalym*, for example, is much higher for a maiden than a widow or divorcée. This fact, in

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[105] For a large number of examples and bibliography see Briffault, *The Mothers*, III, pp. 333—345. See also Schmidt-Koppers, *Völker und Kulturen*, pp. 209 f.

[106] But even here we do not have a positive proof for the non-existence of the virginity test. Mere silence of older authors is *indicative* of the absence of the practice, but it certainly is no proof. The neighbouring Ossetes, Tartars and Mountain Georgians have the custom too.

[107] An accidental rupture of the hymen is much more frequent in the Caucasus than one might be inclined to believe. From early childhood the girl is obliged to do difficult work, to carry heavy loads, to climb and slide down steep, rocky slopes, covered with briers, etc., which might at any unexpected moment rob the girl of her most valued possession. Dubrovin, after referring to these possibilities, points out that frequent ritual washing, which begins quite early in life, can explain many a case too (*Istorija*, I, i, p. 572). For the practice of the Akhvakh, see *infra*, pp. 181 f.

[108] A similar explanation has been suggested by Briffault for the custom in various parts of the world. In any case, it does explain the practice among the Caucasians.

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turn, must have stimulated the entire family to watch most carefully over the conduct of their daughters; and this watchfulness, again, must have been responsible for *adats* threatening the girl as well as any lover with the most severe sanctions not only for an actual perforation of the hymen but also, as the *adats* frequently express it, for any "suspicious approach."[109] 585 886

There have been other explanations offered for the virginity test. Westermarck, for instance, suggested masculine jealousy.[110] But this explanation is not applicable to the peoples of North Caucasia, for, as we have already mentioned, the sexual factor has very little significance in the selection of mates compared to the all-important economic, social, and religious factors. Such a jealousy, where mutual attraction matters so little, is unthinkable.[111] [152]

(6) The custom of the bride thrice walking round the fireplace is an ancient wedding ceremony frequently found among pastoral tribes. As is well known, it was also the custom of the ancient Indo-Europeans. That one of the main wedding ceremonies in the Caucasus should take place at the fireplace is quite in keeping with the deep religious significance of the hearth. Among a large number of Caucasian mountain tribes, especially in North Ossetia, Ingushetia, and Daghestan, we find the custom of never allowing the fire in the hearth to die out, this practice being a form of cult for the dead.[112] The fire and especially the chain above it constitute a connection between the living and the departed. It forms a sacred asylum for any murderer, because as soon as he touches the chain the ancestors of the victim approve of the murderer's adoption into the family. The chain is the symbol of the family: to tear it down is regarded as one of the most abominable crimes imagineable, an insult to the living and dead members of the sib, which must be punished with death. The chain is a symbol of the family and therefore it must be buried with the last member of an extinct sib. To swear by the hearth-chain is an infallible sign that the person is saying the truth, for to do so falsely is unthinkable.[113] Such an oath would be a curse upon the entire sib and their ancestors. In other words, the ancient solidarity of the sib is intimately connected with the ancient religion of the North Caucasians, and the sanctuary of this religion is the hearth. Now, marriage is an act by which a stranger is taken into the family, and one of the most natural means, most in harmony with the ancient Caucasian form of life, is the hearth and hearth-chain. It is indeed striking that in Daghestan the cult of the fireplace still exists today but not the wedding ceremony. This fact confirms rather than disproves our explanation, for in Daghestan the wife was not a stranger: she had to be chosen from within the sib! (Cf. *supra*, pp. 51 f.) 585 614 [778] [769] [372] [605] [189] 582

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[109] *Infra*, Chapter XII, p. 176.

[110] The History of Marriage, I, p. 163.

[111] The jealousy would have to be so great that the disappointed husband would insist that the bride's nose be cut off or that she be otherwise mutilated and even killed, for such are the ancient adats!

[112] Günther, "Zusammenstöße zwischen Gesetz und Gewohnheitsrecht im nördlichen Kaukasus," *Zeitschrift f. vergl. Rechtsw.*, XLVI (1931), p. 324.

[113] *Ibid.*

[Sic.. Analyst]

585 [776] (7) In a number of instances we have noticed that the dagger or sword was used in connection with the marriage ceremony. The best-man took the bride around the hearth and each time he struck the chain with his dagger. The bride had to enter her new home under an arch of swords or with a dagger or club held above her head. This wedding custom, too, has a religious basis. The household gods of the bride's family have become exceedingly jealous of the bride, because by marrying she has united herself to another family and will now worship other ancestors, abandoning her own. These jealous godlets realize that the best time to enter her new home and to cause countless harm is simultaneously with the bride. Fortunately, these household gods are afraid of dagger[844]s.[114] Among the Georgian mountaineers, a mother after having given birth to a child will keep a sword under the pillow as a protection against aerial spirits.[115] Spirits are afraid of the sword for several reasons—at least such is our conjecture. The God of Iron, of the Sword, and of the Hearth-Chain is one and the same god, called Safa. This sword ceremony may perhaps insure [823] Safa's protection against jealous godlets. It may also insure the protection of [769] the departed because *iron* is a means of contacting ancestors. In Ossetia on the [787] "feast of the dedication of clothing" clothes are consecrated and sent to the netherworld by means of an iron knife.[116] The Ingushi get in contact with their departed by means of iron tongs.[117]

(8) The other marriage ceremonies are likewise mainly pastoral in character: horse-racing, submission to the husband, wishes for a rich progeny but always with a disproportion of "nine boys to every blue-eyed girl." Finally, the long elaborate and expensive wedding itself is typical of pastoral peoples.

[604] There are, however, a few traces of a so-called mother-right culture. The rôle played by the mother-in-law in the ceremonies, as we have stressed (*supra*, p. 125), is indeed not inconsistent with the position of the mother of the household in a patriarchal family, but, we must admit that their astounding importance gives them a suspiciously matriarchal colouring: in the ceremonies described, it is the Lesghian mother who welcomes the bride into the house as if she were the head of the family. It is the mother who holds her by the hand as she crosses the threshold. It is the mother's brother who led the bride's horse in the Ingiloi procession from her home to that of her groom. It is the mother who puts the honey into the mouth of the bride as a sign that the bride has a sweet life ahead of her under such an amiable mistress as her mother-in-law. And we should not forget that in the Lesghian engagement it was the mother who presented the engagement gifts which concluded the betrothal contract.[118]

595 585 114 We cannot conclude this chapter without briefly refuting some of Kovalevskij's assumptions. Like so many anthropologists of his day, he was inclined to find traces of an epoch older than that of patriarchy, and older than that of

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[114] For the custom among the Ossetes see Kovalevskij, *Coutume contemp.*, pp. 170 f.

[115] Cf. Reinegg, *op. cit.*, II, p. 112 f.

[116] Kokiev, *Slepovye soerzdeinija*, (Vladikavkaz, 1928), p. 38.

[117] Baddeley, *op. cit.*, II, p. 120.

[118] *Supra*, p. 103.

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matriarchy, even where there were no such traces to be found. The fact that the bride is segregated during the wedding and no older relative of the bridegroom (especially no *male* relative) may see and speak freely with the bride is supposed to be a clear vestige of fraternal polyandry. In other words, there is supposed to have been a time when all male members of the family had access to the bride, for she was the wife of all. Then came a time when, from experience, the Caucasians came to the conclusion that individual marriage was by far better than group marriage or fraternal polyandry. It was, of course, as we are told, not easy to abolish such a deeply ingrained custom, so that the bride had to be kept away from the others. Today the segregation of the bride is supposed to be nothing but a vestige of the means taken against group marriage or fraternal polyandry.[119] 114 585 595

But if that were the case, why is the *groom* hiding, and in fact, even longer and farther away than the bride? Is that a vestige of a kind of sororal polygyny? Moreover, why is the groom hiding *elsewhere?* The best defense against anyone approaching the bride would be if the husband himself were at her side.

Another vestige of group marriage, according to Kovalevskij's fancy, is the ceremony of "tramping on the bed." After the unveiling of the bride, as she is being led into the marriage chamber, all the young people rush in and the first to throw himself on the bed receives a prize. So as not to be accused of mere destructive criticism, we wish here to propose another conjecture (nothing more than a conjecture!), but a conjecture far more plausible than that of Kovalevskij. It is much more probable that we have here a vestige of the *jus primae noctis.* First of all, the ceremony of "tramping on the bed" takes place immediately *before* the groom enters the bridal chamber. If it were a vestige of group marriage or fraternal polyandry, why doesn't the main person take part in the ceremony? Moreover, the *jus primae noctis,* though very often reserved for the chief or father-in-law, is sometimes a privilege reserved for the strongest wedding-guest. In our case, the struggle among the young people to enter the bridal chamber first may be a vestige of a contest to prove who among them is the strongest. The remarkable fact is that in *neighbouring* Southern Russia, until rather recently, it was precisely the strongest wedding-guest who was given the task of deflowering the bride.[120] The Caucasians could have had a similar custom (perhaps even from the same source), which, however, evolved into a ceremony the significance of which has been forgotten. 585

From among all the juridical aspects of the ceremonies described, the most important is: Which ceremony constitutes the essence of marriage? In other words, at which point of the complicated wedding are the mates actually married? Naturally, where Christian or Mohammedan formal contracts are made, there is usually no doubt about the answer. But we are interested in customary law. Negatively, the marriage is certainly considered complete after the marital act has taken place. To say anything more positive in regard to

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[119] Cf. Kovalevskij, *Coutume contemp.*, p. 177.

[120] O. Asboth, "Ein Hochzeitsbrauch in Südrußland," *Archiv für Anthropologie*, XIII, pp. 318 f.

8: Lučbetak E-4 (no date) 1951 RHI Caucasia RHI



585 this important question is impossible. The proof of virginity may eventually be the essential element, or perhaps, the fireplace ceremony, whereby the bride pays her respects to the groom's ancestors and is formally taken into the new household. Only after very detailed and exact field work has been done among the different tribes can we ever hope to answer this important question.

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# Chapter VIII

# Dissolution of Marriage

## § 1. BY DEATH

Marriages of widows and widowers are looked upon by all Caucasians as 587
inferior to nuptials between partners who have never been married before. For example, the bride price for a widow is smaller than that for a maiden,[1] except among the Nazranian Chechens and the Ingiloi of Sakataly; or again, the very marriage ceremonies are simplified when one of the partners happens to be a widow or widower.[2] The Pshavs[3] and the Khevsurs[4] consider a second marriage shameful if the widow has a child, especially, as is the case with the Khevsurs, a son. Our present problem is: Are there any indications in ancient customary law that at one time not even death could dissolve the marriage bond?

### 1. Suttee

The custom of committing suttee on the funeral pyre was very probably 764
a relatively widespread custom in the Caucasus in ages past. The funeral rites [762]
of today still bear traces of widows being burnt together with their husbands' 581
corpses.[5] Al-Mas'ûdî, in his "Golden Meadows and Mines of Precious Stones" (A.D. 943) mentions that the Khazars of Caucasus "burn the dead with their cattle, instruments, and ornaments. If the husband dies, the wife is burnt alive together with the corpse of her husband."[6] An example of what might be a survival of widow cremation is the now meaningless but constantly repeated wail of the Ossetine widow, "I'll kill myself and cast myself into the fire," mentioned by Gatiev in his "Beliefs and Prejudices of the Ossetes."[7] Another possible vestige of former suttee is the custom of burying a plait of the widow's hair together with the corpse of her husband. Herodotus expressly mentions (ch. v.) that the Scythian women were eager to be immolated on the grave of their husbands. The probable existence of widow cremation in the

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[1] Cf. *supra*, Table, p. 89.

[2] Cf. *supra*, p. 121.

[3] Makalatija, "Iz starogo narodnogo byta pšavov," SE, 1938, No. 1, p. 110.

[4] Eristov, *op. cit.*, p. 113.

[5] R. Bleichsteiner, "Rosseweihe und Pferderennen im Totenkult der kaukasischen Völker," *Wiener Beiträge*, IV (1936), p. 414. "Daß in längst verflossenen Zeiten die Frau ihrem dahingegangenen Gatten als Opfer nachgesendet wurde, dafür gibt es im Totenritual der Kaukasusvölker eine Reihe beachtenswerter Anhaltspunkte."

[6] Translation from Abich, Klaproth, Beschreibung der russ. Provinzen, etc., p. 197.

[7] Gatiev, *op. cit.*, p. 3.

p. 131

581 764 Caucasus clearly shows that the peoples of North Caucasia believed that a marriage tie could continue in the next world. However, since we do not have the slightest evidence that suttee was obligatory, the most we can say is that perhaps, at one time, death could not dissolve marriage.

## 2. Levirate

581 587 Once an Ossetine woman was married, she was considered bound to her husband forever unless divorced, as is evident from the following remarkable facts. (1) The widow was not allowed to marry outside her husband's family; the father or brother or son of the deceased man was obliged to take her to wife, but this second marriage was considered merely a continuation of the first. (2) The children of the second marriage were regarded as the sons and daughters of the [589] deceased. (3) The children received the name of the deceased. (4) If the widow had no brother-in-law, father-in-law or step-son, she had to remain unmarried, or live in concubinage, the children born becoming the sons and daughters of the deceased, even the legal heirs of the deceased. The marriage and concubinage had only one purpose: to "raise seed" and "build up the house" of the deceased till the wife would once again join him in the other world. These facts seem to be sufficient proof for the indissolubility of marriage even by death! Unfortunately, we do not have such details about the ancient levirate of the other peoples living in the Caucasus. However, when treating of preferential mating we did find obligatory levirate among the Ingushi and came to the conclusion that most probably the levirate was formerly obligatory also among the other mountain tribes.[8] In a word, it is quite possible that at one time death did not dissolve a marital bond.

## § 2. BY DIVORCE

586 The adats of all mountain peoples of Caucasus permit divorce. When speaking of divorce we must make a very clear distinction between the rights of the husband and those of the wife, between a valid divorce and a justifiable divorce.

[842] The NORTHWESTERN CAUCASIANS. According to reports of the eigtheenth century, a wife might be desmissed in Abkhazia if she were "sterile," that is, if she did not give birth to a child before she was 30, or if she remained childless for five successive years.[9] However, a valid divorce is possible at will. The Temirgoi, for example, may divorce their wives "if they do not please their husbands."[10] Such is the case throughout Abkhazia and among the Cherkess today.[11] Although formerly the women in Northwest Caucasus were at a very great disadvantage in regard to divorce, today, they too may abandon their husbands without any special legal grounds. However, in such arbitrary

8 Cf. supra, p. 73.

9 Reineggs, op. cit., Part II, p. 9.

10 Vasil'kov, "Očerk byta Temirgoevcev," SMOMPK, XXIX (1901), p. 101.

11 Cf. Ladvženskij, FT, p. 199.

dissolutions of the marriage bond, the husband forfeits the *kalym*, while the wife, on her part, must return it to the man she unjustifiably abandons.[12] On the other hand, if the husband has sufficient grounds for a divorce, the *kalym* must be refunded; or if she justly abandons her husband, she need not return it. Legal grounds for a woman are impotency of the man for over a year and cruelty,[13] whereas a man (at least among the Temirgoi) may divorce his wife for disrespectfulness toward her parents- oder brothers-in-law or laziness.[14] 586

The wife never has a right to any special alimony. In case of divorce, she may take her personal property along, that is, personal gifts, and if the divorce was not justifiable, her *kalym*. She never receives additional support, except if she has a child less than a year old, in which case she is given, in addition, 10 *puds* of flour, 10 *puds* of millet, and not more than two sheep.[15]

The children always remain with the father. If one of the children is less than a year old, the mother may keep the child and nurse it till its second year, when it must, without delay, be returned to its father's family.[16] Since divorce is relatively frequent, in some Cherkess families we find children of two, three, or even more, different mothers.[17]

A Cherkess and Abkhazian divorcée is free to re-marry, provided the regulation regarding the *kalym* has been carried out.[18] [587]

If the partners wish to reunite after a divorce, they can do so only if a marriage with another person and a subsequent divorce intervened. The intermediate marriage and divorce may have taken place only an hour before the re-union, it matters little. They are nevertheless indispensable. Of course, the "re-union" is more than a mere re-union; it is actually a second marriage between the same partners.[19] This practice evidently is of Islamic origin.

The NORTHEASTERN CAUCASIANS. The divorce regulations of the Chechens are much the same as those of the Abkhaz and Cherkess, but, owing to their greater isolation and slower acculturation, the divorce rights of the female partner have not reached the advantageous level of the Northwesterners. [177]

In pre-Soviet times, a husband had far greater rights to dismiss his wife than a wife had to abandon her husband., A husband might validly divorce his wife at will, but his wife was not allowed to abandon her husband without first having received his consent.[20] Or again, as another *adat* has it: the infidelity of a wife is considered sufficient grounds for dismissal, but the infidelity 586 837

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[12] *ibid.*

[13] *ibid.*

[14] Vasil'kov, *l. c.*

[15] Ladyženskij, FT, p. 203.

[16] *ibid.*

[17] Vasil'kov, *op. cit.*, p. 102.

[18] Byhan, *La civilisation caucasienne*, p. 155.

[19] Ladyženskij, *op. cit.*, p. 199. This is a typically Islamic custom, cf. Koran, ii, 230. Cf. Juynboll, *op. cit.*, pp. 229—232; also, A. Gren, "Kratkoe izlolenie Šariata," *Terskij Sbornik*, III (1892), No. 2, Part 2, p. 16.

[20] Leontovič, II, p. 170, § 123; p. 175, § 160. "§ 123 ... žena na razvod prava ne imĕet, bez soglasija muža. Mužu že dozvoljaetsja razvod vo vsjakoe vremja, ne sprašivaja soglasija ženy." [Sic -- Analyst]

586 of a husband never justifies a wife to divorce him.[21] In fact, the inequality was
837 even far greater: although a husband's wilful act of adultery was not sufficient grounds for a divorce, rape suffered by an innocent wife was.[22] Other legal
[843] grounds for a divorce were sterility of the wife or the fact that she was "capable" of giving birth only to girls,[23] which is but another form of "sterility."

586 A divorcée has no right to a special alimony. Instead, she has her own personal property and especially her *kebin*.[24]

If a wife abandons her husband for any reason other than the few legal grounds granted her, she not only must return all engagement and wedding gifts received from her husband, but her family must also return the entire *kalym*. In fact, she may not re-marry till the *kalym* is refunded. Sometimes the husband out of mere malice refuses the *kalym*, so that the divorcée must remain unmarried for the rest of her life.[25]

[429] The children remain in the father's household, even if he should soon die after the divorce,[26] the guardianship always remaining in the male line.

According to Lesghian customary divorce laws, which, on the whole, are in harmony with the *šarî'a*,[27] the female mate is again at a disadvantage. An *adat* for North Tabassaran says that "the husband has the right to divorce his wife at any time... But a wife may abandon her husband only if he is impotent, or if he has a contagious disease, or, finally, if he is unable to support her."[28] The disadvantage lies in the restricted legal grounds justifying the women to abandon their husbands and the almost unlimited possibilities of a justified divorce of the men. However, the expression "at any time" in this *adat* is an exaggeration. If a husband divorces his wife unjustifiably, he must pay the sum promised (*kebin*) and forfeits the *kalym*. If the wife abandons her husband for any other reason than the three grounds enumerated, she loses her right to the *kebin* and her family is obliged to refund the *kalym*.[29] Of course, if the husband is willing to pay the *kebin* and lose his right to a refund of the *kalym*, he may divorce her, literally, at any time.

586 Another occasion for divorce is the so-called *khatun-tallkh*. It is a com-
695 mon form of oath in Daghestan, which only a married man can take. The husband declares himself ready to dismiss his wife if he swear falsely. If he has several wives, he must specify which wife he will dismiss in case of perjury.

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[21] Leontovič, II, p. 173, §§ 150, 152.

[22] Leontovič, II, p. 172, § 143.

[23] Grabovskij, "Ekonomičeskij i domašnij byt, etc.," p. 21.

[24] Leontovič, II, p. 169 f, § 119; p. 176, § 172. The special decision of 1862 in this regard seems to be an imitation of the Islamic *kebin*.

[25] Leontovič, II, p. 175, § 166: "čtoby razvedennaja žena ne byla 'ni ema, ni drugomu.'" See also Grabovskij, *op. cit.*, pp. 51 f.

[26] Grabovskij, *op. cit.*, p. 53.

[27] Kovalevskij, *Zakon*, II, pp. 199 f.

[28] "Adaty Južno-Dagestanskich Obščestv," SSKG, VIII (1875), pp. 32. Kovalevskij, *Zakon*, II, p. 199.

[29] "Adaty Južno-Dagestanskich Obščestv," *l. c.*

[among the Northeaste: Caucasians-- Analyst]

The *khatun-tallkh* is a much stronger oath than any other in Daghestan, even 586
stronger than an oath on the Koran. The wife, therefore, may be the innocent 695
victim of her husband's falsehood.

The *khatun-tallkh*, according to Robertson-Smith (*Kinship in Early Arabia*, [177]
p. 77) and Kohler ("Ueber das vorislamitische Recht der Araber," *Zeitschr. f. vergl. Rechtsw.*, VIII [1888], pp. 246, 251) is a pre-Islamic oath incorporated into Islamic law. Kovalevskij, who cites both authors, maintains that Islamic missionaries are responsible for the practice in Daghestan.[30] We cannot deny the possibility of Islamic origin, but mere similarity is no sufficient proof. If such argumentation were methodologically indisputable, we should be justified in concluding that the levirate, polygyny, divorce, and other institutions have been imported from Arabia. All that we wish to say is that it is not at all so certain that the Caucasian *khatun-tallkh* is of Islamic origin, as Kovalevskij would have us believe. An oath, by its very nature, seeks the strongest sanction possible. Now, we have shown, when treating of the attitude of the Caucasians toward plurality of wives, how highly a wife is esteemed. She is, we said, the best family investment. To be forced to surrender her would therefore be a very efficient sanction against perjury. It may very well be the high esteem for the value of a wife and the need of a strong sanction that gave rise to the *khatun-tallkh* long before Islamism appeared on Caucasian soil, and perhaps belongs to a common substratum of ancient Arabian culture and Caucasian customary law.

Although the question regarding the guardianship of children after divorce 586
has not been studied, we may conjecture that Lesghian *adats* restrict the right [428]
to the father alone. Guardianship, as a general rule, in primitive societies, follows the norms of inheritance: in patrilineal families the children remain with the father, in matrilineal, with their divorced mother. Since inheritance is fundamentally patrilineal according to ancient customary law of the Lesghians, we feel justified in making this hypothetical assumption.[31]

The women of the neighbouring peoples enjoy about the same rights of divorce as do the North Caucasian women. Everywhere they are at a disadvantage.

SOUTHERN CAUCASIANS. Eristov tells us that during his time the Georgian mountain tribes would divorce their wives for the least provocation. It happened now and then that a week after marriage the bride would not turn out to be as pleasing as the groom had imagined, or as good a housekeeper as the groom's family hoped for; such a disappointment was sufficient to occasion a divorce.[32] She could also be dismissed for superficiality, theft, or laziness.[33]

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[30] Kovalevskij, *Zakon*, II, p. 127.

[31] Cf. Abercromby, *op. cit.*, p. 97, who believes that the Avars do not have a fixed rule in this regard.

[32] Eristov, *op. cit.*, pp. 112 f.

[33] Seidlitz, "Gemeinde- und Familienleben der Chewsuren," Das Ausland, 1891, No. 17, p. 336. If the woman had a son, it was much more difficult to divorce her (a custom of the Pshavs), cf. Makalatija, "Iz starogo narodnogo byta Pšavov," p. 109.

5%. It is very difficult to determine just what rights women enjoyed according to Georgian customary law. King Vakhtang's Code tells us that women had no right to abandon their husbands, except in case of cruelty,[34] and, we may [581] add, sterility.[35] If she nevertheless runs away from her husband, the Code tells us, she may not marry another man unless she pay the full bloodwite corresponding to her husband's social rank,[36] a sum which she generally cannot afford.[37]

After a divorce the children remain with their father. The mother may take her suckling with her if her husband agrees and if she promises to return the child after it has been weaned.[38]

Formerly the OSSETINE women had no possibility of divorce at all, except, of course, in the Mohammedan parts of Ossetia.[39] Today her condition has somewhat improved.

But we do not wish to say that the wife had no protection against an unjust dismissal. An arbitrary divorce was indeed valid, but it involved a great economic loss for the husband. In such cases he would have to forfeit the *irad*, a third of which went to the divorcée. If he did have legal grounds for divorce, a third of the *kalym* would be refunded to him, or earlier still, a half of the *kalym* would be refunded in all cases of just divorce except in case of adultery, when the wife's family would have to return it entirely.[40]

In Ossetia the divorcée must return to her father's house or else re-marry, but remarriage is always difficult because such women are considered as "bad wives."[41] The children, as a general rule, remain with the father.[42] The main legal grounds for divorce are: infidelity, sterility, impotence, and certain physical defects and sicknesses of the wife.[43]

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[34] Karst ed., p. 109.

[35] Darente, *Etude d'histoire du droit*, p. 133, cited by *A. H. Post, Grundriss der ethnol. Jurispr.*, II, p. 116.

[36] Karst ed., *l. c.* Cf. also Eristov, *op. cit.*, p. 113, *note*, who says that the average bloodwite was about Rs. 80 about an hundred years ago.

[37] Nansen, *op. cit.*, p. 58.

[38] Seidlitz, *op. cit.*, p. 336.

[39] Kovalevskij, *Coutume contemp.*, p. 174.

[40] Kovalevskij, *op. cit.*, p. 173. Klaproth, however, maintains that even in the case of unfaithfulness the husband received only half of the *kalym* because the husband was considered partly at fault for his wife's adultery, in so far as he did not watch over her conduct as closely as he should have. He had received her as a virgin, that is, the family of his wife had taken great pains in watching over her virtue till her wedding day. At marriage this obligation passed over to her husband (Klaproth, *Voyage au Mont Caucase et en Géorgie*, II, p. 250). However, this entire explanation seems to be somewhat artificial. We should not, I think, stress the culpability of the husband, as Klaproth does, but rather the effort of the family in preserving their daughter a virgin up to the time of her marriage, which deserves compensation. Moreover, the husband has derived not an insignificant economic profit from his wife up to the time of the divorce, whereas the family was deprived of it. This too deserves a compensation. This latter explanation is not far-fetched. The neighbouring Georgian mountain tribes have their *namashvali*, that is, the husband must pay the divorcée one cow for every year she has lived with him.

[41] Kovalevskij, *l. c.*

[42] Kovalevskij, *op. cit.*, p. 174.

[43] Kovalevskij, *op. cit.*, p. 173. See also Pčelina, "Rodil'nje obyčai u osetin," SE, 1937, No. 4, p. 88.

Summing up the results of our comparitive[1] study we may say :

(1) It seems that at one time divorce was an exclusive right of the husband, almost everywhere in North Caucasus. 586

(2) Throughout the Caucasus, the husband has the right to dismiss his wife *at will*. The most arbitrary divorces are recognized by customary law as valid.

(3) The *adats* always make a distinction between a merely *valid* divorce and a divorce that is both valid and *justifiable*.

(4) Although the divorce rights enjoyed by the women do not equal those enjoyed by the men, the rights of the former have greatly increased, mainly through Islamic and Russian influence.

(5) The inequality lies mainly in the grounds which render a divorce justifiable.

(6) After a divorce the children remain with the father. In a word, the divorce laws are again typical of a patriarchal society.

In conclusion, it may be interesting to note how the fireplace, which played such an important part in the marriage ceremonies of the North Caucasians, is not overlooked when a marriage is dissolved. By walking round the hearth three times, the new bride got in touch with the groom's ancestors and thus officially became a member of the household. Though the fireplace ceremony is very rare in Northeastern Caucasia, it seems to play an important part in the dissolution of marriage. Thus in certain localities of Daghestan, when a woman is declared divorced, she goes to the hearth, takes a handful of ashes and throws them into the wind.[44] It may very well be that the relation of the fireplace and divorce has been overlooked by the explorers. By scattering the ashes she is perhaps trying to undo what she did by walking round the fireplace on her wedding day or shortly after. Even though the two practices may not coincide today (i. e., locally), the possibility that they did coexist formerly is not excluded. [778]

Finally, a word about an institution closely resembling divorce, mentioned by J. G. Georgi in his *Beschreibung aller Nationen des russischen Reichs, ihrer Lebensart, Religion, Gebräuche, Wohnungen, Kleidung und übrigen Merkwürdigkeiten* (1776) which includes among the "Merkwürdigkeiten" the so-called *trial marriages* of the Cherkess. Within a given time the wife had to prove her fertility, otherwise the union would be dissolved. Recently similar temporary or trial marriages have been discovered in Ossetia.[45] 582

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[44] Cf. Kovalevskij, *Zakon*, II, p. 201.

[45] Ladyženskij, "Zur Erforschung der Rechtsgewohnheiten der Bergvölker des Kaukasus," *Zeitsch. f. Ethnologie*, LXII (1930), p. 232, *note* 1.

1 [Sic -- Analyst]

8: Lužbetak E-4 (no date) 1951 RH1 Caucasia RH1

# III. THE FAMILY

## Chapter IX

## The Offspring

### § 1. CONCEPTION

833 Herodotus has accused the Lesghians of copulating "in public as beasts are wont to do."[1] Such an accusation, however, is absolutely false. Even the slightest sign of affection between husband and wife is tabooed by customary law throughout the Caucasus, except, of course, in strictest secrecy.[2]

Owing to the delicate nature of the subject, very little material has been gathered by the explorers, even though these matters may have a deep sociological significance, as, for example, the extent of birth control, or a psychological and religious significance, such as, for example, the extent of sexual taboos, voluntary abstinence, etc.

841 171 Astoundingly widespread is the taboo of marital intercourse at times of menstruation. A glance at Frazer's or Westermarck's classical works[3] will suffice to convince us of the universality of this prohibition. This same horror of menstruous blood is found in the Caucasus also. However, very little data are at our disposal. We are not told how long these "monthly" periods last, nor the extent of the horror. The Pshavs and the Khevsurs have little stone hovels *(samrevlo)* situated in an open field,[4] (or now usually next to the home),[5] where the unclean woman must stay during her monthly periods. Kovalevskij attributes the practice to Zoroastrianism.[6] He does not seem to be aware that such segregation and "hovels" are found in other parts of the world, where Zoroastrianism has never been known. The fact that the "unclean" woman must wash herself in cow's urine,[7] however, most probably has been taken over from the ancient Iranian religion.

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[1] Potocki, *Voyage dans les steps d'Astrakhan et du Caucase*, I, p. 240.

[2] Cf. *infra*, pp. 63, 175 f.

[3] Frazer, *The Golden Bough* (abridged), pp. 207—210; 595—607. Westermarck, *Ritual and Belief in Morocco*, I, p. 230.

[4] Baddeley, *op. cit.*, I, p. 236.

[5] Hahn, *Bilder aus dem Kaukasus*, pp. 72 f.

[6] Zakon, I, pp. 98 f.

[7] Cf. Zakon, I. pp. 83—122.

The ancient Iranian religion considered cows as sacred animals.

p. 138

8: Lužbetak E-4 (no date) 1951 RH1 Caucasia RH1



## § 2. PREGNANCY

An expectant mother is no longer an ordinary woman in the eyes of the North Caucasians. She has assumed an entirely new value. The mountaineers of Caucasia look upon a murder of a pregnant woman as doubly serious, pregnancy being considered an aggravating circumstance. Thus in Sirgua District of the Province of Dargwa, the murderer must pay an additional 30 silver rubles to the mother's relatives besides the usual bloodwite for murder.[8] In many places an assault causing abortion is considered as serious as murder, and full bloodwite must be paid for the death of the foetus. If the mother dies too, a double bloodwite is demanded by the *adats*.[9] Or again, two persons will become blood-enemies (*qanly*) instead of one—the murderer and one of his kin—one to atone for the death of the mother and the other for the death of the unborn child.[10] Sometimes such cases are dealt with according to two distinct laws, the Islamic and customary.[11] In Ossetia, a pregnant woman becomes exempt from the more strenuous tasks, evidently, as a precaution against miscarriage.[12] 843 [L82]

## § 3. BIRTH AND PREFERENCE FOR BOYS

Since the Caucasians, all without exception, are strictly patrilocal, patriarchal and patrilineal, we need not wonder at the preference for boys that prevails throughout the Caucasus. It is the boy who perpetuates the family economically. He also perpetuates the family cult and gives the family prestige. 842

The NORTHWESTERN CAUCASIANS say "He who has no sons has no children."[13] But even girls are welcome,[14] though perhaps not without some disappointment. The girls are an asset to the family in as far as they are workers and a source of considerable income especially through the *kalym*. Hence, after the young wife becomes a mother of a boy or girl, she takes on a new character and is proud of becoming "fully a wife." She visits her father after her first child and on this occasion he gives her the rest of her bridal portion. Now she is permitted to take off her girl's cap and put on her matron's veil.[15]

The NORTHEASTERN CAUCASIANS. When an Ingush couple have become the parents of a baby boy there is indescribable rejoicing in the *aul*, and 842 844

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[8] "Adaty Darginskich Obščestv," SSKG, VII (1873), p. 73.

[9] "Adaty Južno-Dagestanskich Obščestv," SSKG, VIII (1875), pp. 35, 43, 47, 49.

[10] Cf. "Adaty Južno-Dagestanskich Obščestv," pp. 43, 47, 49.

[11] Cf. "Adaty Darginskich Obščestv," pp. 15, 36, 76. On page 15 we read: "Za ubijstvo beremennoj ženščiny, sverch obyknovennago vzyskanija po adatu, opredeljaetsja vzyskanie po šariatu."

[12] Pčelina, "Rodil'nye obyčai u Osetin," SE, 1937, No. 4, p. 89 ff, who deals with the Ossetine pregnancy customs at length. Many are the questions we might suggest to the Caucasologists regarding pregnancy, which have not yet been investigated. To mention but one important problem: What is the extent on "uncleanness" incurred through pregnancy? (Cf. Eristov, *op. cit.*, p. 114.)

[13] Ladyženskij, FT, p. 202.

[14] Mačavriani, "Nekotorija čerty iz žizni Abchazcev," SMOMPK, IV (1884), No. 2, p. 45.

[15] Pallas, *Bemerkungen auf einer Reise in die südl. Statth. des russ. Reichs, etc.*, I, p. 388.

842 very special festivities take place. Shooting, feasting, and dancing mark the birth
[844] of a boy; whereas no special festivities take place if a girl is born. Women, of course, come to congratulate the mother, at the same time not forgetting to console her.[16]

[574] All Lesghian peoples prefer boys too. The first one to announce the good news of the birth of a *boy* receives a reward.[17] The Avars have the courious custom according to which anyone to whom a *son* (not however a daughter) was born in the past year has to give a special feast to his neighbours in spring.[18]

The SOUTHERN CAUCASIANS. The Pshavs frequently pray and offer numerous sacrifices for the blessing of a male child, and if these supernatural means fail, there is only one thing left to do—marry a second wife, who is "capable" of giving birth to boys.[19] At a Pshav wedding the *khevis-beri* ("The Elder of the Valley") prays: "George, Angel of the Oak, grant thou a boy to
[847] the parents of a girl and another boy to the parents of a boy..."[20] Dubrovin reported that among the Georgian mountaineers baby girls were killed immediately after birth because they believed that by doing so the next child would infallibly be a boy. One could come across families who had killed as many as five girls.[21]

The OSSETES have an unusual longing for male children. Thus, for example, the Digorians are greatly disappointed when a girl is born, and this disappointment is expressed sometimes in very irreverent words by the woman-attendant. "May Mairan (Mary) be struck blind for not making you a boy! May she now provide for you a speedy death!" But then, if the following child is a boy, the woman-attendant pleads for forgiveness, "Oh, Mairan, forgive me!
585 They longed for a boy. That is the reason why I scolded thee."[22] We have
842 already mentioned the marriage custom of leading the bride to a Mairem[23] Shrine, at which the children throw stones and say, "So many boys and only one blue-eyed girl grant thou Mairem, to this our dear bride!" The groomsman then must repeat this prayer.[24] At an Ossetine marriage the Ram-god (Firi-dzuar) is invoked: "Look down upon us and grant that this our bride may give birth to boys healthy and fat as sheep!"[25] We have also mentioned the marriage ceremony of placing a little boy on the lap of the bride, so that she may soon give birth to a boy (*supra*, p. 122). Or again, while the groomsman describes a triple

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[16] Grabovskij, "Ekonomičeskij i domašnij byt žitelej gorskago učastka Ingulevskago okruga," SSKG, III (1870), pp. 19 f; Dubrovin, *Istorija*, I, i, p. 439.

[17] Kovalevskij, *Zakon*, II, p. 202.

[18] Baddeley, *op. cit.*, II, p. 63. A similar custom is found in Ossetia (Pčelina, *op. cit.*, pp. 99 f.

[19] Makalatija, "Iz starogo narodnogo byt Pšavov," SE, 1938, No. 1, pp. 110 f.

[20] Makalatija, *op. cit.*, p. 108; Kovalevskij, *Zakon*, I, p. 98.

[21] *Istorija*, I, ii, p. 110.

[22] Baddeley, *op. cit.*, I, p. 158.

[23] Baddeley interprets "Mairam," "Mairem," "Mairan" as "Mary," i. e., the Virgin Mother of Jesus Christ. However, Mairam is a male god, the protector of women, the brother of Uastrdzh. (Cf. Pčelina's report on his expedition of 1934—1936, "Rodil'nye obyčai u Osetin," SE, 1937, No. 4, p. 86, *note* 2.)

[24] Baddeley, *l. c.*

[25] Baddeley, *op. cit.*, I, p. 270.

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circle in the air with his special wedding club he cries out three times, "Prosperity! Prosperity! Prosperity!" Then he explains just what is meant by "prosperity": "nine boys to every blue-eyed girl."[26] On New Year's Day the Ossetine boys go round to everyone wishing, that throughout the New Year "men might kill many stags and women might bear sons only."[27] Cursin tells us how a certain Ossete, Bergisov by name, received a vision from above. Now, in such a case, any two wishes will be granted, provided the person thus favoured make also a third wish, which, however, must be an evil one. Bergisov's good wishes were that he and his sons might live happily, while his third wish was that his daughters might die.[28] The birth of a first-born male child is celebrated with unusually great festivity and joy.[29] The happy mother returns to her father's house, where a special feast is given in honour of the baby boy.[30] After the birth of a girl, the mother goes with the baby to a Shrine of Mairem with the hope that the next child will be a boy.[31] 585 842

Some of the Caucasian TARTARS express their preference for boys in the following manner: the bride wears a garment in which nine knots are tied, a sign that she must give birth to seven boys and only two girls. They also have the custom of placing a little boy on the bride's lap.[32]

## § 4. INFANTICIDE AND BIRTH CONTROL

Since Caucasians, as a general rule, crave for children, it is only to be expected that infanticide and birth prevention should be rare. We do not find the practice of infanticide in North Caucasia, especially not in Daghestan, where Islamic influence is strong.[33] Islamism regards female infanticide as a very serious crime. Some of the mountaineers of Georgia indeed practice female infanticide, but the practice is thoroughly un-Georgian. The Svans as late as the last half of the nineteenth century would kill their baby girls immediately after birth by stuffing ashes into the mouth and then throttling the child till it suffocated,[34] or, sometimes, the infant was simply allowed to starve.[35] The Khevsurs prevented birth mainly by abortion, a practice still common today. A young couple in Khevsuria may not have a child till after the fourth year of 847

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[26] Kovalevskij, *Coutume contemp.*, p. 17.

[27] Baddeley, *op. cit.*, I, p. 194.

[28] *Osetini*, p. 81. Cf. Baddeley, *op. cit.*, I, p. 180.

[29] Dubrovin, *Istorija*, I, i, pp. 340 f.

[30] Pčelina, *op. cit.*, p. 101.

[31] Pčelina, *op. cit.*, p. 102. If a girl is born, only a very simple ceremony takes place: the *avsin* (mother of the household) brings the infant to the hearth without saying a word. (See Pčelina, *op. cit.*, p. 99.)

[32] Mir-Galim-bek Vezirov, "Nekotoryje svědenij o Tatarskich pover'jach," SMOMPK, IX (1890), No. 2, pp. 111 f.

[33] Kovalevskij, *Zakon*, II, p. 202.

[34] Byhan, *La civilisation caucasienne*, p. 111; Dubrovin, *Istorija*, I, ii, p. 110.

[35] Dubrovin, *l. c.*

847 married life (in Pshavia, not before the third year[36]). The second child may not see the light of day till the seventh year after marriage, and the third child (just as in Pshavia[37]) must be the last.[38] We called the practice "thoroughly un-Georgian" because it is resorted to only when the mountaineers consider it unavoidable. The indescribable poverty of their land "drove" them to this painful extinction of baby girls. It was this same poverty that led the neighbouring South Ossetes (the Tualti, inhabitants of Nar, Tib, Mamisson and other *auls*) in the eighteenth century to expose or strangle their infant girls and to sell their boys into slavery in spite of their great longing for male children.[39] In Ossetia, [132] before the Revolution, physically deformed babes would be choked to death immediately after birth, without even being shown to the mother. Such deformed infants were killed regardless of sex, for the Ossetes believed that such infants owe their existence to evil spirits. Similarly, even today, deformed colts, calves and lambs are killed immediately after birth, because "they come from the evil spirits."[40] We have already mentioned that some Georgian mountaineers kill their baby girls in the belief that the next child will infallibly be a boy.[41]

## § 5. OTHER BIRTH CUSTOMS

### 1. The Couvade

846 The couvade, to my knowledge,[42] is not practiced anywhere in North Caucasia. We do find it among the SOUTHERN CAUCASIANS, where not a few traces of an ancient mother-right culture have survived. The couvade is upposed to be practiced by the Yassai of Sakataly primeval forest, southwest of Daghestan,[43] and according to Strabo by the West Iberians.[44]

### 2. Circumcision

304 This custom, wherever it is found in the Caucasus, is doubtless of Islamic origin.[45] The Mohammedan Ossetes were greatly averse to the practice till the mullahs succeeded in convincing them that all uncircumcised persons would have to spend their eternity without a head.[46]

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[36] Makalatija, *op. cit.*, p. 110.

[37] *ibid.*

[38] Hahn, *Bilder aus dem Kaukasus*, pp. 73 f.

[39] Kovalevskij, *Coutume contemp.*, p. 189.

[40] Pčelina, *op. cit.*, p. 93.

[41] *Sagra*, p. 140.

[42] Unfortunately L. M. Melikset-Bekov's study on the couvade in the Caucasus (*K voprosu ob obyčae kuvady na Kavkaze v svjazi s jazykovymi perežitkami matriarchata*) is not at my disposal.

[43] Essad-Bey, *Der Kaukasus, Seine Berge, Völker und Geschichte*, p. 103.

[44] Strabo, iii.4, 17. Cf. N. Marr, *Der japhetische Kaukasus und das dritte ethnische Element im Bildungsprozess der mittelländischen Kultur*, p. 72; A. Baschmakoff, *Cinquante siècles d'évolution ethnique, etc.*, p. 85.

[45] For example, in Daghestan (cf. Reineggs, *op. cit.*, I, p. 191).

[46] Pčelina, *op. cit.*, p. 97.

### 3. Naming

Islamism has greatly influenced the custom of naming children, though the ancient names of animals are still given to children. The Ingush boy often receives a name of an animal, for example, Ox, Dog. The girl may be called *Asi-vakhara* ("She who Mounts a Calf"), or *Dzhali-vakhara* ("She Whose Keeper is a Dog").[47] The Kists call their boys by such names as *Ali, Tashtarukva, Gers, Choch, Elbert, Shoka, Bosh, Ekash, Noga, Mahemet*; the girls, by such names as *Sauvalik, Badigi, Balakai, Tutai, Patuma, Tsabi, Aragus.*[48] Among the Avars every boy and girl receives a name immediately after birth; after the demise of the father, his first name is added to that of his child, for example, Mahamed, the Son of Ali, or "... the Daughter of Ali." The Avars do not have family names, and never is a child named after the mother.[49] The Khevsurs and the Pshavs often name their boys after wild animals, as symbols of the future character of the boy. Girls are often named after words of affection.[50] A boy may receive a name such as *Mgela* ("Wolf"), *Vepkhvia* ("Panther"), *Datvia* ("Bear"),[51] *Zizila* ("Chick"),[52] *Zaglika* ("Dog"),[53] whereas a girl may be called *Mzia* ("Little Sun"), *Tetrua* ("Fair-Complexioned"), *Gulta-mze* ("Sun of the Heart"), *Mze-vinari* ("Who is the Sun?"), *Mzekala* ("Miss Sun"), *Deduna* ("Mother Dear"), *Natela* ("Brightness"), *Gandza* ("Treasure"). Of course they have also other names, some being of Christian origin: *Khutara* ("The Witty One"), *Gamikhard* ("Joy Bringer"), *Berdeva* ("The Old Lady"), *Imeda* ("Hope"), *Georgi, Ivane, Mariam, Tamara, Elena.*[54] Some favourite Christian names among the Tushi are: *Georgi, Gabrill, Theodor, David, Tamar, Maria, Anna.*[55] The Pshavs sometimes receive a Christian name from their priest; nevertheless the family insist on calling their children by an ancient Pshav name.[56] The Ossetes are fond of names of animals too. According to Kovalevskij, a child receives two names, an official Christian or Mohammedan name and one of a wild or domestic animal.[57] Pčelina believes that "strange" names like *Khoebys* ("Puppy"), *Saukuydz* ("Black Dog"), *Dombay*

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[47] Potocki, *Voyage dans les steps d'Astrakhan et du Caucase*, II, p. 125.

[48] Güldenstädt, *Beschreibung der kaukasischen Länder*, p. 149.

[49] Abercromby, *A Trip through the Eastern Caucasus, etc.*, p. 96. However, there is one exception: when the Akhtinians and Ruxulians marry one of their daughter to another sib in order to keep the groom's sib from dieing out. Cf. *supra*, p. 52.

[50] Mourier, *Guide au Caucase*, I, pp. 152 f.

[51] Eristov, *op. cit.*, pp. 124 f.

[52] Hahn, *Bilder aus dem Kaukasus*, p. 65.

[53] Hahn, *op. cit.*, p. 82.

[54] Eristov, *l. c.*; Hahn, *op. cit.*, pp. 65, 82; Mourier, *l. c.*

[55] Güldenstädt, *Reisen durch Russland und im kaukasischen Gebirge*, I, p. 378.

[56] Makalstija, "Iz starogo narodnogo byta Pšavov," SE, 1938, No. 1, p. 113. See his large list of Pshav names, *op. cit.*, pp. 113 f.

[57] Kovalevskij, *Costume contemp.*, p. 212. For examples see Erckert, *Der Kaukasus*, p. 117.

55 (" Lion "), *Vari* (" Vulture "), etc. are intended to deceive the evil spirits, who are able to take the life of the child only if they can call it by its true name.[58]

### 4. Segregation

814 A Lesghian woman becomes unclean through childbirth, and hence the
789 father may not be present at the birth nor during the entire period of uncleaness, which lasts for several weeks.[59] Child-bearing renders the mother unclean in Ossetia as well. The Mountain Georgians have special birthhouses for expectent mothers. In Svanetia the mother is unclean for 40 days,[60] in Khevsuria and Pshavia, a few days longer.[61] A woman can be cleansed (in Khevsuria and Pshavia) by washing her hair in cow's urine.[62] In Ossetia a woman is considered unclean for six weeks after childbirth. During this period she is not allowed
[823] to work, except to sweep the floor and look after the children. The marital act is likewise forbidden.[63]

### 5. Weaning

862 Very little data is available regarding weaning of children and taboos during the period of lactation. As a general rule, the Lesghians wean their children at the age of five or six.[64] The Avars usually do not wean them before they have reached the use of reason.[65] Pshav children are weaned at the age of four.

### 6. Fire-place Ceremony

851 We have seen what an important part the hearth played in the marriage ceremonies of the Northwestern Caucasians, the Ingushi and Ossetes. By circling round the hearth the bride officially became a member of the family. We should also expect a birth ceremony of some sort or other at the fire-place, by which the infant would likewise be officially recognized as a fully fledged member of the family and by which the newborn would come in contact with the ancestors and receive their protection. We find such a ceremony among the neighbouring peoples of Iranian stock, the Ossetes[66] and the Kurds.[67] Though the hearth

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[58] Pčelina, " Rodil'nye obyčai u Osetin," SE, 1937, No. 4, p. 98.
For Ossetine naming ceremony, see *op. cit.*, pp. 96 ff.
Could not this fondness for animal names be a vestige of individual totemism?

[59] Kovalevskij, " Iranian Culture in the Caucasus," *The Archaeological Review*, June, 1888, cited by Kovalevskij, *Zakon*, II, p. 202. See also *op. cit.*, I, pp. 97 f, 139 f.

[60] Dubrovin, *Istorija*, I, ii, p. 110.

[61] G. Demidov, *V ščelijach pervobytnoj gruzii (Chevsuretija)*, Moscow-Leningrad, 1930, p. 16. Polidaev (*Gorcy severnago kavkaza*, p. 107) says that the Khevsur mother is " unclean " for 30 days.

[62] Demidov, *l. c.* After delivery, the mother must remain in the birth-hut for two weeks; after that she must live in the stable for about five weeks. S. I. Makalatija, *op. cit.*, p. 112. Today the Pshays use holy water instead of urine (*ibid.*).

[63] Pčelina, *op. cit.*, p. 99.

[64] Nansen, *op. cit.*, p. 104.

[65] Erckert, *op. cit.*, p. 268.

[66] Pčelina, *op. cit.*, p. 95.

[67] Jankó, *Népszázi, etc.* Zichy's *Kaukázusi és középázsiai utazásai*, p. 63.

has (or at least has had) the same significance among all North Caucasian mountain tribes, the explorers pass over the relation between birth and the fireplace without a single word. This may be a serious oversight. 851

## § 6. RESPECT OF CHILDREN FOR THEIR ELDERS

The NORTHWESTERNERS. The *adats* inform us that the children have a strict obligation of acknowledging the authority of their father. They must respect him and carry out all his commands. To disobey him or even to oppose his wishes would be, "according to customary law, the greatest abomination, and according to Islamic law, the greatest of sins."[68] This respect must continue even when old-age renders their parents helpless. When a joint-family is divided the sons must set aside a definite amount of property for the support of their parents and for their funeral.[69] The sons have the strict obligation of erecting a tombstone for their parents. The *adats* also demand that Rs. 300 should be set aside for an elaborate funeral feast. Formerly such feasts would often bring complete financial ruin to the family.[70] This great respect for parents is extended to elders in general, and especially to elder brothers.[71] 593 [737] [765]

The NORTHEASTERN CAUCASIANS. The Lesghians show an unusually great respect for their parents.[72] If the children fail to care for their aged parents, they may be summoned before the *kâdî*, who will force them to do so.[73] Some excellent examples of this deep respect can be found in the official criminological reports of Kaitago-Tabassaran. "On August 3, 1869, a native of the village of Myura, Kaitago-Tabassaran, Mahomet Omar, after having been scolded by his mother for laziness shot himself."[74] Or again, "On October 2, 1869, a native of the *aul* of Kulidzha, Kaitago-Tabassaran, Ali-bek Salig, quarreled with his son, Murtuzali. After some time his son returned to his father and begged forgiveness. His father, however, refused to listen to his son's repentent words, coldly showing him the door and telling him never to return again. On hearing these words, Murtuzali took out his pistol and shot himself. His father, on seeing that he was the cause of his son's grief and death, took his own life by falling on his *kinjal*."[75] 593 762 888

The reports concerning the Avars being contradictory demand special attention. Some claim that the Avars have just as much respect for their elders as do the other Lesghians. If a son is unable to fulfill the wishes of his father,

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[68] Leontovič, II, p. 250, § 134.

[69] Ladyzenskij, FT, p. 206.

[70] Ladyzenskij, FT, p. 208.

[71] Dubrovin, *Istorija*, I, i, p. 169.

[72] Dubrovin, *Istorija*, I, i, p. 441 is certainly exaggerating when he says that the Chechens "deny their mothers even the respect Nature has implanted in the hearts of all men." This very sentence has been copied and re-copied from the *adat* collections by a number of pre-Soviet authors without inquiring into the reliability of the report. Svečin, *op. cit.*, pp. 61 f, regarding Lesghians.

[73] Kovalevskij, *Zakon*, II, p. 203. For details regarding the kind of support demanded by the *kad'a* in Dargwa, see Kovalevskij, *op. cit.*, pp. 203 f.

[74] "Iz gorskoj kriminalistiki," SSKG, III (1870), p. 7.

[75] "Iz gorskoj kriminalistiki," p. 8.

888 he may become so disheartened that he may even commit suicide as a result.[76]
593 L'vov, on the contrary, says that once the parents become old, they are no longer
[162] respected. In fact, their sons and daughters become very disrespectful, even refusing to sit at the same table with them. The aged mother must suffer from this ingratitude most of all.[77] The correct explanation for the attitude of the Avars toward their aged parents is that as long as the children are still economically and administratively subject to the father of the household, whether the sons have their own families or not, they have unusually great respect for them; but as soon as the joint-family breaks up, this respect diminishes to an astounding degree.

The neighbouring mountain tribes of GEORGIA show great deference toward their elders too.[78]

The OSSETES have an adage which clearly conveys their attitude toward elders. As Kovalevskij's translation has it, "*Que le taureau boive de l'eau, disent-ils, et que le veau lèche la glace.*" In other words, the Ossete is convinced that "the best morsels are always for the elders."[79]

The great reverence shown toward the father of the family (individual or joint-family) throughout the North Caucasus is to be expected, for the mountaineers are (or have been) strictly patriarchal. Moreover, being family-worshippers, they revere not only their departed (ancestors) but also their living parents, for to both the family owes its existence. Mohammedanism too has encouraged love and respect for one's mother, and not without success. There is a beautiful story told of the Caucasian prophet, Shamyl. The Chechens had been fighting desperately against the "infidels." To continue the battle was futile. They therefore sent a messenger to Shamyl, asking permission to capitulate, but Shamyl answered, "It is not lawful for the children of Allah to compromise with the infidels." The Chechens realized that to continue would mean complete annihilation. Nevertheless, the Chechens continued to fight, bleed, and die. They again appealed to Shamyl, but in vain, for "Allah's words are unchangeable." Realizing that Shamyl never had refused his mother any request, they turned to her. When she approached her son, Shamyl at first listened, then grew pale and speechless. Allah demands that a son should never refuse his mother anything, but on the other hand, He says, "Compromise not with the infidels. Whoever dares to suggest such a perfidious thing shall receive 40 strokes." Shamyl loved his mother and he loved Allah's precepts. Should he now condemn his mother to 40 strokes? He was greatly perplexed. For three days and three nights he prayed and fasted in the hope that Allah would come to his assistance and enlighten him. When he finally came out of the mosque, pale and feeble, he said slowly, "Allah has spoken. His words are unchangeable. The Chechens must continue to fight to the last man; I must

[76] Hahn, "Putelestvie v Kachetiju i Dagestan (letom 1898 goda), SMOMPK, XXXI (1902), No. 2, p. 94.

[77] "Domašnjaja i semejnaja žizn Dagestanskich gorcev Avarskago plemeni," SSKG, III (1870), pp. 17 f.

[78] For example, the Khevsurs (Cf. Hahn, *Bilder aus dem Kaukasus*, p. 81).

[79] Kovalevskij, *Coutume contemp.*, p. 192, *note* 2.

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indeed love my mother; but I must also punish the person who suggested surrender. Take my mother therefore, and punish her, punish her with one stroke and give me the remaining 39." This is a story every North Caucasian Mohammedan has heard again and again.

## § 7. EDUCATION

With the coming of Mohammedanism the method of education in the Caucasus was revolutionized. In many places throughout North Caucasus and especially in Daghestan, a new educator was introduced, the mullah. Till then, the *home* was the only "school" and the parents (or foster-parents) the only educators.[80] The subject matter of these Mohammedan schools[81] was, as usual, limited to the study of Arabic and the Koran and Islamic tradition, at times taught by very poorly educated mullahs.[82]

The second important innovation came with the Russians,[83] but especially with the Soviets. Only the Georgians, Armenians, and Azerbaijani had an alphabet in pre-Soviet times.[84] The Soviets immediately realized the necessity of an alphabet for each language, without which the spread of Marxism would be impossible. In 1928 about 40 per cent of the Chechens received formal schooling, while only a very few isolated mountain villages had no school at all.[85] In the mountain of Daghestan the illiteracy is still very great. According to statistics of 1926 only about 10 per cent of the men and 1 per cent of the women can read. Nevertheless, it cannot be denied that progress has been made among these mountain peoples too.[86] Today there are enough Lesghians who are able to read to make Russian, Kumykian, Lak, and Avarian newspapers possible.[87] The Lesghian children receive instructions in their mother-tongue only in the first two years at school; after that they must learn either Kumykian or Russian. In secondary schools both languages are obligatory.[88]

As for home education, a few general remarks will suffice. The education of little children and of all unmarried girls is the task of the mother; the education of the boys is the task of the father.[89] The little children are told to behave

[80] Cf. K. N. Rossikov, "Połzdka v Čečnju i Nagornyj Dagestan," ZKO, XIII (1884), p. 249.

[81] A. Zacharov, "Narodnoe obučenie u Zakavkazskich Tatar," SMOMPK, IX (1890), No. 2, pp. 7—51; Mir-Galim-bek Vezirov, "O Tatarskich školach," SMOMPK, IX (1890), No. 2, pp. 1—6; A. Omarov, "Vospominanija mutaallima," SSKG, I, pp. 13—20; II, pp. 46—70.

[82] Cf. Halil Beg Musayassul for a description of his schooling in *Das Land der letzten Ritter*, pp. 52—56.

[83] "O rasprostranenii gramotnosti meždu gorcami," SSKG, III (1870), pp. 1—30. The main object of pre-Soviet education was to teach a sufficient number of natives the Russian language.

[84] Of course some attempts had been made before the Revolution. Fifteen years after the Revolution all North Caucasians had a written language. The Latin script was used as foundation for the Cherkess, Abaz, Chechen, Karachai, Balkarian, Avar, Dargwa, Kurin, Lak, Tabassaran, Kumykian, Nogai, and Tat languages. Cf. G. P. Serdjučenko, "Jazyki Severnogo Kavkaza i Dagestana," *Sbornik lingvističeskich issledovanij*, Moscow-Leningrad, 1935, p. 7.

[85] Plätschke, *Die Tschetschenen*, p. vii.

[86] R. Kherumian, "Contribution à l'Anthropologie du Caucase," *L'Anthropologie*, LII (1948), No. 1—2, p. 44.

[87] Nansen, *op. cit.*, p. 98.

[88] *ibid.*

[89] Ladyženskij, FT, p. 200.

868 and to be alert. The boys are encouraged to develop into great warriors and robbers. If the boy's father or one of his brothers was killed by an enemy, the boy is constantly admonished of his sacred duty of blood-vengeance.[90]

[579] [577] Yes, boys are taught to become great robbers and raiders. Robbery and raiding are looked upon by the North Caucasians not only as a licit occupation (as long as the victim is a stranger), but a very honourable one. Robbery is a virtue, a national virtue, and forms one of the most important subjects of the curriculum of the Caucasian school-boy.[91] Robbers of Ossetia even have a patron-saint, St. George himself (*Sau-baredzi Dzuar*, i. e., "The Saint of the Black Horseman"), whose favour must be implored, for success or failure in a raid depends entirely on him. Crime is glorified.[92] Baddeley gives us an example of how a victim once forgave a thief out of mere admiration for the skill with which the theft was committed.[93] To rob without being caught is the greatest glory of the Cherkess.[94] Among the Abadzekhs the best robber is always chosen as leader.[95] It was only in recent times that the People's Court in the district of Adighé began to condemn natives for a crime which till then had been considered a virtue—to steal from another village.[96] The Chechen children are actually drilled in stealing. When a Chechen boy is allowed to bear arms for the first time, his father pronounces the solemn words, "May they serve you on the right and wrong paths, in theft and war."[97] The ambition of the young Georgian mountaineer is none other than to become a famous robber.[98] In short, everywhere in the mountains, the boy must be taught and trained to become great, and greatness consists in raids, robbery, theft, and vengeance.[99] Of course, there is a great difference between the Caucasian robbers of today and those of half a century ago. The Cherkess, for example, are no longer so notorious as they were several decades ago. Today they are generally peaceful agriculturalists and cattle breeders.[100]

Girls are brought up by the mother, from whom they learn to cook, make clothes, embroider, work out in the field, etc.[101]

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[90] Klaproth, *Beschreibung der russischen Provinzen zwischen dem Kaspischen und Schwarzen Meer*, p. 120. What Klaproth says of the Lesghians held good for all mountaineers.

[91] Potocki, *op. cit.*, p. 153: "... dans tout le Caucase le brigandage était en honneur." See also: Ellis, *Memoir of a Map, etc.*, p. 20; Essad-Bey, *op. cit.*, p. 194; Dubrovin, *Istorija, I*, i, p. 442, ii, p. 364.

[92] Baddeley, *op. cit.*, I, p. 24.

[93] Baddeley, *op. cit.*, II, p. 114.

[94] Dubois de Montpéreux, *Voyage autour du Caucase*, I, p. 131.

[95] Pallas, *Bemerkungen auf einer Reise in d. süd. Statth. d russ. Reiches, etc.*, I, p. 369.

[96] Ladyženskij, FT, p. 194.

[97] Essad-Bey, *op. cit.*, p. 183.

[98] Essad-Bey, *op. cit.*, p. 251.

[99] This reminds us of what Caesar had to say of the Germans, *De Bello Gallico*, vi, 23: "They do not regard it as infamous to rob others, provided that the robbery is committed outside their own land, but they actually encourage their youth to such acts, both to give them practice and to keep them busy."

[100] Ladyženskij, FT, p. 200.

[101] Ellis, *op. cit.*, p. 24.

In our exposition of the various marriage impediments we have also described the institution called *atalyk* (*supra*, p. 57). The upper classes especially used to give their children over to foster-parents whose task it was to teach them all these things. 848

## § 8. PARENTAL OBLIGATION OF SUPPORTING THEIR CHILDREN

In patrilineal societies in which the perpetuation of the family is the greatest obligation of the individual and of the family as a whole, there is no danger that the boy will suffer any bodily need, food, clothing, shelter, unless absolutely unavoidable. But even girls are well taken care of. Even before Islamic law gave the Caucasian woman a right to a small part of the inheritance, which the *adats* excluded, female members of the family were always well provided for. After the death of the father, his obligation passed on to the oldest brother till all the sisters were married.[102] If the girl happens not to have any brothers, the obligation of support passes on to the nephews,[103] or to other relatives. 855

## § 9. PARENTAL AFFECTION FOR OFFSPRING

Much has been written about the lack of affection of North Caucasian parents for their children. In most cases, however, the authors fail to grasp the real psychology behind what seems extreme coldness and lack of parental affection. Reineggs, for example, who has given us one of the first reliable accounts of Caucasian customs, is not free from this very misunderstanding. He writes: "Er pflanzt sich tierisch fort, ohne Liebe zu kennen; er betrachtet sein Weib und seine Kinder als einen Teil seines Vermögens; er zählt sie zu seinen Herden, und bleibt, da er nur für körperliches Gefühl reizbar ist, gegen sittliche, empfundene Erfahrungen, gefällige Gunstbezeugungen ungerührt und in gleichgültiger Zufriedenheit."[104] In other words, Reineggs failed to distinguish between loving someone and manifesting this love *externally and publicly*. 853 593

The NORTHWESTERN CAUCASIANS. Longworth, speaking about the Cherkess of about a century ago, made this very distinction. He says that the father "is forbidden the slightest manifestation of tenderness" not only for his wife but also his children.[105] He does not deny the existence of tenderness but only its exteriorization and manifestation.

The NORTHEASTERN CAUCASIANS. Grabovskij mentions that an Ingush not only considers it a disgrace to carry his child in his arms or to fondle it but that he is forbidden even to mention its name before others.[106] Baddeley gives us a very fine example of how really degrading the Lesghians consider it to take their own children in their arms. "A fellow villager, Boulat-khan, had brought on himself the contempt of the men of Andee by publicly carrying his little son in his arms, a manifestation of affection so indecorous in native eyes as to imply

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[102] Leontovič, II, p. 246, § 107; II, p. 97. Berže, Čečnja i Čečency, p. 97.
[103] Leontovič, II; p. 177, § 178 (in regard to the Ingushi).
[104] Reineggs, *Allgemeine hist.-topograph. Beschreibung des Kaukasus*, Vorrede, p. viii.
[105] *A Year among the Circassians*, I, p. 285.
[106] "Inguši, ich žizn i obyčaj," SSKG, IX (1876), p. 49.

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855 a total want of manliness. On one occasion, stung by the jeers of the men in
573 his native regiment, he drew his 'kinjal' and crying: 'I love my son, but you shall see also that I don't mind killing him', was about to do so when they seized his arm and succeeded in calming him."[107] A better example to illustrate the necessary distinction between love and public manifestation of that love we can hardly offer. "I love my son, but you shall see also that I don't mind killing him!" A paradox which a Western mind finds very difficult to grasp![108]

The neighbouring SOUTHERN CAUCASIANS, the Khevsurs, have the same taboo. A father may never carry his child before others or even say a friendly word to it. The most that the father may do is hold the child by hand when it is old enough to walk.[109a]

The neighbouring OSSETES observe the same rule. Here too it is not a lack of affection but a convention, which under no condition may be violated. "Neither husband nor wife might take their children in their arms, or by hand, or give them anything, in the presence of older members of his family. 'So far is this carried,' said Ourousbi [the Author's guide, an Ossete] 'that once one of my children fell into the water and might have been drowned, but as older men of the family were present I did not dare to call attention to the fact, much less take the child out of the water myself. Luckily one of them saw what was happening and saved it.'"[109] "So, too, Kosta Khetagouroff, the Ossetine poet, saved a child from falling off a high house-roof by stamping on its garments, but called a woman to pick it up as it would have been against custom for him to do so; and one of the Abayeffs, having in identical circumstances saved a child, called to its mother—his own wife—'Here, come and pick up your puppy!' (Čursin, *Osetini*, p. 40)." Baddeley claims that in this respect a change has taken place, and as proof, points out that in several of his own photographs Ourousbi is seen carrying a friend's baby. But here Baddeley forgets that the prohibition is not to carry a *friend's* baby but to carry *one's own* child.

## § 10. CONCLUSIONS

842 We have already mentioned the main reason why boys are preferred to
628 girls, namely the patriarchal, patrilocal, and patrilineal structure of the North Caucasian and neighbouring societies. But there is still another reason, based on intertribal relations and on the poverty of the mountain tribes, which leads them to a life of raids and robbery. The Caucasus is a typical land of blood-feuds. In the Terek Province, for example, with a population of about 930,000, there were in one year 365 cases of homicide or attempted homicide, an average of one a day. Feuds accounted for most of them.[110] The rest were the result

[107] Baddeley, *op. cit.*, II, pp. 87 f.

[108] Cf. Dubrovin, I, i, p. 440.

[109a] Hahn, *Bilder aus dem Kaukasus*, p. 81. For the practice in the Government of Elizabethpol, see E. Melik-Sachnazarov, "Selenie Arcevanik, Zangezurskago uezda, Elisavetpol'skoj Gubernii," SMOMPK, XXV (1898), No. 2, p. 43.

[109] Baddeley, *op. cit.*, I, p. 269, from whom we borrow also the following citation of Čursin.

[110] Baddeley, *op. cit.*, I, p. 81.

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of raids and robberies. Girls are useless in these tasks, whereas, in this struggle for existence, every additional boy means greater security and prestige. 842 628

In conclusion, we may ask ourselves, just why should the *adats* prohibit the manifestation of one's affection for a child. The reason behind this customary law seems to be founded not so much on a father-child relation as on the male-female relation of the Caucasian society. If a father were to show his affection for his child, were he to fondle and carry it, he would be imitating a *woman*, and that would be a terrible degradation! This degradation will be better understood in the following chapter. This rule to my mind is linked up with the low position of the female sex. Just as a man may never do a task that is established by the *adats* as a task exclusively for women, e. g., milk cows, fetch water, gather wood, so a man may never carry, fondle, or rock his child. Čursin seems to be of the same opinion. He says that the Ossetes would call such a man by a very insulting name, "baba," that is, "old lady," if he would ever dare to milk a cow or look after children.[111] We wish to stress two facts: first of all, it is not a lack of affection for one's child that is prohibited, as we have said, but the *manifestation* of that love; and secondly, the manifestation of love is forbidden simply out of fear of being considered an "old lady," a woman! 562 885 593

[111] G. F. Čursin, *Osetini, etnografičeskij očerk*, p. 39.

# Chapter X

# Husband-Wife Relations

562 "Women have been created for men"—these are indeed the words of the Koran (xxx. 20), but as we shall see in the present chapter, the slavish condition of the women throughout the Caucasus is *pre*-Islamic. In fact, Mohammedanism has contributed very much toward the partial emancipation of the female sex in the Caucasus.

## § 1. THE RELATIVE STATUS OF SEXES

There is nothing in North Caucasus that might even approximate our conception of social equality of man and woman.[1] We have already seen what little right she has in choosing a mate (*supra*, pp. 76—81) and how her wishes are taken less into consideration than those of the young man; how a man may have two or more wives (*supra*, pp. 39—50) and how a woman may be only a "secondary" wife. We have seen how a widow is obliged to marry a relative of her deceased husband, whether she herself be in favour of such a match or not, and if she refuses to marry him how she must remain unmarried for the rest of her life (*supra*, pp. 71—75). We have also seen how unequal are the rights and obligations of the male and female partner arising from an engagement (*supra*, pp. 106—110); how the bride was formerly sold, purchased, and inherited like a chattel (*supra*, pp. 82—91). We have seen how in the marriage ceremony she was humiliated by her husband; how she had to pass the virginity test or else be dismissed and formerly even mutilated mercilessly, and then sold off to slavery or even killed by her own father( *supra*, p. 124, Table 16), while the groom may have led the most liberal life before marriage and went unpunished. The unequal divorce rights, too, clearly show her less favourable position (*supra*, pp. 132—137). Infidelity of the wife is punished with divorce, mutilation, and death; while the same and even worse crimes committed by the husband cannot be punished by the wife (*infra*, pp. 168—182). We have also seen how boys are preferred to girls, and if economic conditions lead to infanticide, it is the baby girl that is killed and the boy spared (*supra*, p. 141). Then there are the unequal inheritance rights[2] and the disproportionate division

[1] Cf. Potidaev, *Gorcy severnago kavkaza*, p. 105.

[2] Since a treatise on inheritance laws belongs more properly to a study on the joint-family and group than on the individual family, the present work does not include any special treatise regarding this question. Suffice it here to say that according to strict North Caucasian *adats*, inheritance is patrilineal and that as a general rule the women possess only their bridal portion.

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of labour[3] which make her appear "a slave and not a wife." In the present section we wish to mention a number of *adats* which clearly show the inferiority of the female sex in Caucasian society. 592

The NORTHWESTERN CAUCASIANS. The inferiority of the female sex is taken for granted by the women themselves. Cherkess etiquette demands that women, regardless of their social status, rise at once when a man enters the room; and, when passing by on the road, the woman must with downcast eyes humbly step aside for His Majesty, the Man.[4] In a word, the rule of etiquette is "Gentlemen first!" In Abkhazia custom demands that a woman speak to a man only if invited to do so.[5] In recent decades the conditions are supposed to have improved considerably in Kabardia, but even today, she is far from being her husband's equal.[6] Considerable improvement (though not complete emancipation) is also noticeable in Shapsug and Abadzekh villages.[7]

The NORTHEASTERN CAUCASIANS. In Chechnia women have been gradually gaining more and more rights, but as in Kabardia, a wife is by no means her husband's equal. An *adat* of the Black Sea Line, Kuban and Terek Territories of about an hundred years ago reads literally: "The wife must consider herself a slave of her husband; she must always obey him; she must be submissive to him as to a master; she must be faithful to him..."[8] Or again, as an *adat* of the Ingush District informs us, "Till very recently (1862), the woman was nothing but a slave: she had no human rights."[9] She may not sit down beside her husband, nor may she take her meals with him. Her duty, we are told, is always that of a servant.[10] Požidaev assures us, however, that she is better off than any woman in other parts of North Caucasus, for when she is obliged to speak to her husband in the presence of strangers, "she may do so in a normal tone and need not whisper."[11] 593

The Lesghians have a saying according to which "there are two gods: Allah and the husband."[12] A husband has the right to punish his wife for any reasonable cause, though, not in public. A Lesghian once visited his neighbour and to his great surprise noticed two whips hanging on the wall. He was, naturally, curious and inquired about this luxury of possessing *two* whips. "Why *two?*" he asked. "I *need* two," answered the neighbour quite nonchallantly, "one to calm my horse and the other to calm the old lady."[13]

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[3] We shall devote an entire section (§ 2) to the division of labour (*infra*, pp. 156—159).

[4] Longworth, *A Year among the Circassians*, I, pp. 282 f. There is no religious equality among the Circassians either: women are excluded from certain religious festivals. Cf. L. Ja. Ljul'e, "Věrovanija, religiozaye obrjady i predrazsudki u Čerkes," ZKO, V (1862), p. 131.

[5] Dubrovin, *Istorija*, I, ii, p. 43.

[6] Ladyženskij, FT, p. 192.

[7] Ladyženskij, FT, p. 193.

[8] Leonovič, II, p. 254, § 168.

[9] Leonovič, II, p. 174, § 156. See also Berže, *op. cit.*, p. 99.

[10] Berže, *l. c.*

[11] *Gorcy severnago Kavkaza*, pp. 106 f. This "privilege" is also found in Khevsuria (*ibid.*).

[12] Kovalevskij, *Zakon*, II, p. 194. See also N. Samurskij, *Dagestan* (Moscow-Leningrad, 1925), p. 46.

[13] Kovalevskij, *l. c.*

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593 562a "The Lesghian husband is, at times, very cruel to his wife," says Omarov, a Lak by birth, who describes in his excellent article (written 1870) what his own mother had to suffer, how husbands mercilessly beat up their helpless wives, and brothers their sisters.[14]

L'vov, describing the conditions prevailing about 75 years ago, writes of the Avars: "She is considered a mere slave. She is placed on the same level as a domestic beast, in spite of the fact that Islamic law gives her not a few rights. Even the possessions she brings along on her wedding day are hers only theoretically; practically, it is her husband who owns them. She is unable to dispose of her own property, whereas her husband may do with it whatever he wishes. All this is considered a sin neither in the eyes of God nor of man. If his wife proposes to bring the case up before the authorities, her husband will act at once: he either flatters her and so wins her over by 'love', and she out of gratitude concedes her rights to him, or, if she does not, he threatens to divorce her and to keep the *kebin* and thus to dismiss her without any security for the future."[15]

562 695 Another clear proof of the inferiority of Caucasian women is the insignificant participation allowed her in religious matters and law processes.[16] Many of these customs are, doubtless, of Islamic origin; many, however, are not, and the spirit behind such regulations is certainly pre-Islamic.[17]

Often women cannot be witnesses, unless there is at least one male witness present. In this case one male witness plus two female witnesses makes two legal witnesses. That may be poor arithmetic; but that is the actual practice, for example, in Dargwa.[18] Sometimes they cannot be witnesses at all.[19]

Sometimes women are not allowed to take an oath, for example in the District of Hyuraki,[20] or, at most, they may swear on the Koran as is the case in Sirgua.[21] In Hyuraki, the husband takes the oath instead, or, if the woman is not married, her nearest male relative takes it for her.[22] Never has she the right to take the *khatun-tallkh*, an oath, with an obligatory divorce as sanction (*supra*, pp. 134 f).[23]

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[14] "Kak živut Laki," SSKG, III (1870), pp. 4 f.

[15] "Domašnjaja i semejnaja žizn Dagestanskich gorcev Avarskago plemeni," SSKG, III (1870), pp. 31 f. Alichanov claimed that the women of Avaria were very independent (Cf. Hahn, "Puteleštvie v Kachetiju i Dagestan (lětom 1898 goda)," SMOMPK, XXXI [1902], p. 93.) However there is no reason to suppose that their condition is more favourable than that of the women in other parts of Daghestan (Cf. Baddeley, *op. cit.*, II, p. 72).

[16] Kovalevskij, *Zakon*, I, p. 141.

[17] Although some of the customs have been influenced by Roman-Byzantine law (e. g., in Chechnia, Khevsuria, Svanetia, and Ossetia, as Kovalevskij believes, *l. c.*), it cannot be denied that laws regulating the position of women in religious and inter-tribal (or legal) matters are mostly purely-Caucasian adats.

[18] "Adaty Darginskich Obščestv," SSKG, VII (1873), pp. 71, 83 f.

[19] "Adaty Darginskich Obščestv," p. 99.

[20] "Adaty Darginskich Obščestv," p. 83.

[21] "Adaty Darginskich Obščestv," p. 70.

[22] "Adaty Darginskich Obščestv," pp. 83, 70, 99.

[23] The *khatun-tallkh* is in itself another form of inequality. A wife may be divorced simply because her husband has sworn falsely. She, however, may never take such an oath.

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Women are generally excluded from being conjurors. One of the most common forms of evidence in the *adat* courts is conjury, an oath taken by an established number of relatives of the defendant or plaintiff. Any hesitation, refusal of one of the conjurors to swear, or failure to find the required number of conjurors are considered undeniable evidence. The oath is taken by each of the conjurors either on the Koran, or sometimes toe *khatun-tallkh* must be sworn. The practice of conjury is found among all Caucasian mountain tribes: Cherkess, Chechens, Lesghians, Georgians, neighbouring Tartars, Kumyks, etc.[24] The number of conjurors required depends on the gravity of the crime, the penalty connected with it, and on the social position of the contending parties and conjurors. The following is an example of a catalogue of conjurors established for theft in Mikakhi District.

562. 695 [685]

*For stealing sheep:*

| | |
|---|---|
| one sheep | 3 conjurors |
| two sheep | 4 conjurors |
| three sheep | 5 conjurors |
| four sheep | 6 conjurors |
| more than four | 6 conjurors |

*For stealing cows:*

| | |
|---|---|
| one cow | 5 conjurors |
| two cows | 10 conjurors |
| three cows | 12 conjurors |
| more than three | 12 conjurors |

*For stealing young domestic animals:*

| | |
|---|---|
| one colt less than three years old | 6 conjurors |
| one one-year-old calf | 3 conjurors |
| one two-year-old heifer | 5 conjurors |
| one two-year-old ox | 5 conjurors |
| one three-year-old ox | 6 conjurors |

This catalogue has been taken from the "Adat collection for the Districts of Dargwa Province."[25] For murder and crimes considered as serious as murder[26] the number of conjurors may be as high as 40. Generally only relatives may be conjurors. This requirement is evidently a reflection of the strong solidarity of the Caucasian sib: to swear falsely would bring ruin to the swearer, and should a large number of conjurors be required, the entire sib, living and dead, may be doomed. [682]

The proof by conjury is recognized by Islamic law, but its existence in the Caucasus need not be attributed to Mohammedanism. (1) Even in Arabia, it pre-existed Islamism. In fact Mohammed merely borrowed and incorporated the *kazama* into his system.[27] (2) Moreover, it is a widespread institution among

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[24] See the various *adat* collections. See also Kovalevskij, *Coutume contemp.*, especially pp. 443 f: *Code of King Vakhtang VI*, Karst edition, pp. 60, 179.

[25] "Adaty Darginskich Obščestv," SSKG, VII (1873), p. 53.

[26] *Supra*, Chapters XII and XIII.

[27] Goldziher, "Muhammedanisches Recht in Theorie und Wirklichkeit," *Zeitsch. f. vergl. Rechtsw.*, VIII (1889), No. 3, p. 412.

562 peoples having a patriarchal organization, regardless of religion. We find it
695 among the ancient Indo-European Slavs, Germans, and Ossetes.[28] (3) We also find it among non-Mohammedans of Caucasus.

After this lengthy degression we can offer a few examples to illustrate the relation of conjury to the unequal status of women. In Mugn District (Dargwa Province) women are not allowed to be conjurors. If less than 12 conjurors are required by any *adat*, not only must all conjurors be *male* relatives, but relatives of the *father*.[29] In Hyuraki District[30] and elsewhere[31] female relatives may participate in the conjury only if they are necessary to complete the required number of 40.[32]

[682] The inferior position of the female sex is further expressed in the *adats* determining the amount of bloodwite. Sometimes, it is true, no distinction is made whether a man or a woman is the victim,[33] but sometimes a definite distinction *is* made. The Kurins, for instance, have an established bloodwite of Rs. 250 for the death of a man and only Rs. 125 for the death of a woman.[34] The Ossetine bloodwite for the murder of a man is twice as high as that for a woman.[35]

## § 2. DIVISION OF LABOUR

462 The NORTHWESTERN CAUCASIANS. It is no longer true that all the work must be done by the female members of the family.[36] The men do the ploughing, woodchopping, hunting, and in general all the heavy work; the women do the usual housework, cook, wash, sew and mend clothes, and work in the garden.[37] Formerly, of course, the situation was quite different. The reports of the 18th and 19th century picture the Cherkess and the Abkhaz

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[28] Kovalevskij, *Coutume contemp.*, p. 460.

[29] "Adaty Darginskich Obščestv," p. 60. For *adats* of the Tsudakhar District, see "Adaty Darginskich Obščestv," pp. 111 f.

[30] "Adaty Darginskich Obščestv," p. 84.

[31] "Adaty Darginskich Obščestv," p. 71.

[32] If there are still not enough conjurors, the oath must be repeated till the required number of oaths is reached. ("Adaty Darginskich Obščestv," p. 84.)

[33] "Adaty Južno-Dagestanskich Obščestv," SSKG, VII: (1875), p. 47. When we use the words "crime" and "murder" we understand them in the sense of the *adats*. To be more exact we should rather say "damage" and "homicide." Customary law is not interested in *guilt*. It aims to repair damages done to the family and sib, whether that damage be intentional or accidental. If a horse accidentally kicks and kills a passer-by, both the rider and the owner of the horse become blood-enemies of the victim's sib (Leontovič, II, pp. 45 ff). Since customary law is not interested in guilt, it is not interested in *punishing*. It aims to *repair* the damages, hence it matters little whether the "criminal" himself or another member of his family or sib is "punished."

[34] "Adaty Južno-Dagestanskich Obščestv," p. 7.

[35] Dubrovin, *Istorija*, I, i, p. 340.
The position of the female sex in Khevsuria is somewhat better than elsewhere in the mountains (Požidaev, 106 f). She may even take her meals with her husband (Požidaev, *Gorcy severnogo Kavkaza*, p. 107). The Kumyks allow their wives more rights than are granted to women by the *adats* of the true Caucasians (Dubrovin, *Istorija*, I, ii, p. 639).

[36] Ladyženskij, FT, pp. 199 f.

[37] Ladyženskij, FT, p. 201.

menfolk as gentlemen of leisure, the women bearing the burden of the family work practically by themselves.[38] 462

The NORTHEASTERN CAUCASIANS. Practically all the work in the house and in the field is done by the women, while the men usually just stand idly by. The tasks done by the men are generally only seasonal, such as hay-cutting, woodchopping, and ploughing. The women, on the other hand, must slave day after day, doing very strenuous work. And even when they have finished their work out in the field and their other chores, they are kept busy sewing and mending clothes, etc. In a word, life in Chechnia and Ingushetia is that of busy bees and lazy drones.[39] Of course, today there is a marked improvement in the position of the female sex. Even if we allow for the frequent exaggeration of pre-Soviet explorers and *adat* collectors, we cannot deny that the Ingush women were obliged to bear a terribly disproportionate share of the family work. In "The Collection of *Adats* for the Ingush Province of the 1860's" we read: "Only very recently the natives of the Ingush Province, according to an ancient custom, considered the woman a work-animal, a 'thing,' not a being possessing human personality."[40] Vertepov in his monograph on the Ingushi attributes the disproportion in the Ingush sex ratio to the disproportionate division of work. His supposition is confirmed by the fact that the Ingushi of the plains have a much more equal division of labour and at the same time the sex ratio is much more normal.

TABLE 17

Ingush Sex Ratio (Vertepov, "Inguši," **Terskij Sbornik**, II [1892], No. 2, p. 99) [162]

| Location | Male | Female | Sex Ratio |
|---|---|---|---|
| Mountains | 53.5% | 46.5% | 115 : 100 |
| Lowlands | 51.2% | 48.8% | 104.9 : 100 |

The mountaineers of Daghestan belong to the same class of "idlers" as the other North Caucasians.[41] The Avar women must carry loads of wood and hay sometimes from great distances, while the men only idle their time away. Women carry as much as 120 pounds (three *puds*) at a time.[42] L'vov has painted the lot 562

[38] Dubrovin, *Istorija*, I, ii, p. 42.

[39] Baddeley, *op. cit.*, I, pp. 60, 93; Dubrovin, *Istorija*, I, i, p. 437; R. Erckert, *Der Kaukasus*, p. 137; Engelhardt und Parrot, *Reise in die Krym und den Kaukasus*, I, p. 242; Klaproth, "Voyage au Mont Caucase," *Nouvelle Bibliotheque*, XI, p. 175.

[40] Leontovič, II, p. 169, § 115: "Ečče ves'ma nedavno tuzemcy, naseljajuščie Ingulevskij okrug, po obyčaju dobrago starago vremeni smotreli na ženščin, kak na rabočij skot, sčitali ženščinu več'ju, ne podozrevaja v něj nikakoj čelověčeskoj ličnosti."

[41] Cf. Omarov, "Kak živut Laki," SSKG, IV (1871), pp. 1—24, where find long detailed account of harvest and work out in field.

[42] Abercromby, *A Trip through the Eastern Caucasus*," p. 101.

362 of the women of Avaria as a very miserable one indeed. A woman, he tells us, is regarded as nothing more than a "work-animal." The men prefer this sort of "domestic beast" because she can stand much more than a horse or an ox; the only difference between her and a domestic animal is that she eats bread while an animal is satisfied with hay.[43] An ideal wife in the eyes of the Avars is one that is robust and, above all, very diligent.[44] L'vov goes on to call the husband a "heartless tyrant." He may get himself a second wife and regard the first as his slave, and woe to this poor miserable slave-wife if she does not bear a child before the newcomer! Endless jeers and ridicule are all that she can expect! [606] By moving into the house of her husband, she becomes a servant of her mother-in-law, who does only the easy jobs, leaving the disagreeable and difficult tasks to her daughter-in-law.[45] The Dido,[46] Botlikh,[47] Kaitago-Tabassaranians[48] and the other Lesghians do not differ from the Avars.[49] In Daghestan, "it is derogatory for a man to carry anything less dignified than a gun."[50] While the husband stands about and gossips at the local mosque or putters with his gun, the 462 wife must slave from morn till night. The husband, of course, does the sowing, makes the hay, threshes, sheers the sheep, builds houses;[51] but these jobs are not sufficient to keep him busy all year round. The wife does most of the harvesting, and, as Svečin puts it, "brings half of the grain on her shoulders, leaving the other half for the donkey."[52] She has to cut the grass for the animals, care for the horses, cook, weave, milk the cows, mind the children, do the usual housework, set the cakes of cow-dung out to dry, clean the wool, spin, and fetch water.[53] Even the small girls of the family must take part in all these tasks. Frequently one can see nine- to ten-year-old girls carrying unbelievably heavy jugs of water, while boys as old as they, if not older, sit around and amuse themselves.[54]

The SOUTHERN CAUCASIANS. Among the Khevsurs[55] and the Svans[56] it is again the female sex that must bear practically the whole burden of family work.

The traveller will frequently witness the typically Caucasian scene "of women working and men loafing" also in OSSETIA.[57] The men do the plough-

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[43] L'vov, "Domašnjaja i semejnaja žizn Dagestanskich gorcev Avarskago plemeni," SSKG, III (1870), p. 11, *note*.

[44] L'vov, *op. cit.*, p. 15.

[45] L'vov, *op. cit.*, p. 17.

[46] Merzbacher, *Aus den Hochregionen des Kaukasus*, II, p. 455.

[47] Erckert, *op. cit.*, p. 284; K. N. Rossikov, "Poezdka v Čečnju i Nagornyj Dagestan," ZKO, XIII (1884), pp. 247.

[48] Amirov, *op. cit.*, p. 48.

[49] Amirov, "Sredi gorcev severnago Dagestana," SSKG, VII (1873), p. 48, claims that the Lak community of Batsa-Khari is an exception to this general rule.

[50] Abercromby, *op. cit.*, p. 174.

[51] Nansen, *op. cit.*, p. 104.

[52] Svečin, "Očerk narodonaselenija, nravov i obyčaev Dagestancev," ZKO, II (1853), p. 63.

[53] Svečin, *op. cit.*, p. 64.

[54] Svečin, *l. c.*

[55] Eristov, "O Tušino-Pšavo-Chevsurskom Okrugě," ZKO, III (1855), p. 113.

[56] Dubrovin, *Istorija*, I, ii, p. 109.

[57] Baddeley, *op. cit.*, I, p. 69.

8: Lužbetak E-4 (no date) 1951 RH1 Caucasia RH1



ing transporting and selling the produce, build houses, and do the heavy work; however, this is far from being a full-time employment. The women, on the contrary, are busy all day long: they must milk the cows, fetch water from the well and wood from the forest, and, of course, look after the children. If a man were ever to do any of these jobs, he would become the laughing-stock of the village.[58] 462

## § 3. SPECIAL RIGHTS AND PRIVILEGES OF WOMEN

Despite all that we have said about the disadvantageous and even slavish condition of the woman in North Caucasia and neighbouring territory, the women enjoy certain rights and privileges which must not be overlooked. For example, throughout the Caucasus she alone is the *mistress* of the house.[59] 562 573

The NORTHWESTERN CAUCASIAN (as well as the Chechen), according to an *adat* of the Black Sea Line, Kuban and Terek Territories (§ 174), will permit no one to say anything unfavourable about his wife. The husband will tolerate an insult against his own father or mother, or even against himself, sooner than hear a single abusive word said against his wife.[60] When a daughter is married off into another sib the family does not lose all interest in her; on the contrary, it is this very interest that is her surest protection against ill-treatment. As we shall see in the following chapter, the husband who unjustly takes the life of his wife is infallibly avenged by her relatives. Moreover, the woman enjoys considerable freedom owing to the fact that her husband is frequently absent, either hunting or on a raid.[61] And even in the sixteenth century, as we read in G. B. Ramusio's *Raccolta di viaggi* (1583), the wife had a firm will of her own, which her husband usually respected. In a way, women are considered sacred: blood-vengeance will never take place before a woman,[62] and hence, she is an asylum like the sacred hearth-chain (*supra*, p. 127). The wife, or to be more exact, the mother of the household, is the sole mistress of the house and as such may arrange things within her little kingdom as she pleases and may even give orders to others.[63] In Abkhazia formerly a woman of a privileged class even had the right to preside at certain religious ceremonies, direct civil affairs, and be the leader in a raid.[64]

The NORTHEASTERN CAUCASIAN does not lose interest in his daughter after her marriage, and therefore he too compels her husband to 562 606

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[58] Čursin, *Osetini, etnografičeskij očerk*, p 39; Merzbacher, *op. cit.*, I, p. 204; see Hahn, "Po dolinach Conska, Urucha i Ardona," SMOMPK, XXV (1898), p. 32.

[59] Ladyženskij, "Zur Erforschung der Rechtsgewohnheiten der Bergvölker des Kaukasus," *Zeitsch. f. Ethnologie*, LXII (1930), p. 231.

[60] Leontovič, II, p. 254, § 175.

[61] Ladyženskij, FT, p. 201.

[62] Mourier, *Guide au Caucase*, I, p. 136.

[63] Castagné, "Le Droit coutumier familial des montagnards du Caucase," Révue des études islamiques, 1929, No. 2, p. 272.

[64] K. Mačavriani, "Někotoryja čerty iz žizni Abchazcev. Poločenie ženščiny v Abchajii," SMOMPK, IV (1884), No. 2, p. 41; P. I. Kovalevskij, *Kavkaz, Narody Kavkaza*, pp. 34 f.

562 [606] respect her rights. Chechen women enjoy considerably more freedom than do the women in Daghestan.[65] But even the Lesghian women are not entirely without rights. We have seen how in matters regarding engagement and marriage the mother plays an important part. This may be a vestige of an ancient mother-right culture.

The SOUTHERN CAUCASIANS. Despite the slavish condition to which the South Caucasian *adats* condemn the female sex, the women are given certain unusual privileges, enjoyed not even by the menfolk. In Khevsuria[66] and Svanetia,[67] just as in W. Circassia[68] and OSSETIA,[69] a woman is able to put an end to a savage duel by a mere word or by her very presence. The Svan need but touch her and he is, at least temporarily, secure even in the presence of his bitterest enemy.[70]

Finally, we should not forget that the women are the official owners of their engagement and wedding gifts, and if divorced, also of the *kebin*.[71]

## § 4. PROBLEMS

562 628 [171] The two main problems of this chapter are: (1) Why must the women do most of the work? (2) Why is the status of women throughout the Caucasus so unfavourable? These questions can be answered only in the light of our entire study and in the light of the entire culture of the North Caucasians. Her unfavourable and still privileged position as mistress of the house and as an asylum for any murderer resembles very closely the condition of the women in a society such as that found among pastoral nomads of Asia. It is indeed difficult to determine just in how far the pastoral nomads of Asia are responsible for the status of women in North Caucasus and in how far the general economic conditions among the mountaineers have contributed to the position of the female sex. Here we wish to point out one important contributing factor, raids and blood-feuds. By no means do we maintain that this is the *most* important or the *only* factor; it is, however, *a very important* one. Any mountaineer may object to the accusation that he is an idler by saying: "We men are constantly exposing our lives for our wives and children, while the women are able to work in peace and security. How can we be soldiers and farmers at the same time?" Amirov heard the same argument used in Kaitago-Tabassaran, where formerly there was hardly a man in all Kaitago that had not killed or cooperated in killing another man. As a consequence of feuds, the men had to be constantly on the lookout, constantly hiding, and frequently

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[65] B. Plaetschke, *Die Tschetschenen*, p. 33.
[66] Essad-Bey, *op. cit.*, p. 267.
[67] Dirr, FT, p. 43.
[68] Mourier, *Guide au Caucase*, I, p. 136.
[69] N. F. Takoeva, "Kosta Chetagurov — narodnyj poet osetin etnograf-kavkazoved," SE, 1949, No. 2, p. 129.
[70] Dirr, *l. c.*
[71] Kovalevskij, *Zakon*, I, p. 143.

8: Lužbetak E-4 (no date) 1951 RHl Caucasia RHl



away from home.[72] It is indeed striking that, with the disappearance of blood-feuds, the men have begun to take a more and more active part in the family work.[73]

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[72] Amirov, "Sredi gorcev sěvernago Dagestana," SSKG, VII (1873), p. 48.
In regard to the Chechens, see Dubrovin, *Istorija*, I, i, pp. 437 f.

[73] For more material on the position of the female sex in the Caucasian society see the following: Olearius, *Ueber den Zustand Russlands zur Zeit des Alexei Michailowitsch*; J. de Lucca, *Rélations des Tartares, Percopites et Nogaies, des Circassiens, etc.*; Ramusio, *Raccolta di Viaggi*.
Hahn, "Putešestvie v Kachetiju i Dagestan," SMOMPK, XXXI (1902), No. 2, pp. 49—96.
Alichanov, Series of articles in the *Kavkaz*, "V gorach Dagestana."
Leontovič, "Otnošenie muža k žene," *Adaty Kavkazskich Gorcev*, II, pp. 98 ff.
Mačavarian, "Někotoryja čerty iz žizni abchazcev. Položenie ženščiny v Abchazii," SMOMPK, IV (1884), No. 2, pp. 40—76.
Zacharov, "Domašnij i socialnyj byt ženščiny u Zakavkazskich Tatar," SMOMPK, XX (1894), pp. 91—151.
Steinberg, "Pravovyje položenije ženščiny v Dagestaně," *Novij Vostok*, 1929, No. 26—27.

# Chapter XI

# Marital, Parental, and Kinship Avoidances

593 602 In our description of the engagement and marriage customs we have already mentioned some obligations of mutual avoidance. After marriage a certain mutual avoidance continues not only between the couple but also between parent and child, and between the couple and their kinship by marriage.

## § 1. DESCRIPTION OF THE CUSTOMS

The NORTHWESTERN CAUCASIANS. Among the oldest reports we have are those of Pallas. He informs us that in the eighteenth century the Cherkess husband and wife were not allowed to appear together before strangers.[1] In fact, for a year after marriage or till the birth of the first child the husband was not allowed to visit his wife except secretly.[2] And even afterwards when the couple lived under the same roof, they were not allowed to share the same room. In the beginning of the nineteenth century Longworth and Dubois de Montpéreux noticed the same custom, practiced in all its rigour, which both authors compare to the spirit of the ancient Spartans.[3] The *adat* collections of about an hundred years ago likewise speak of this strict separation of husband and wife in public and private life.[4] In the beginning of this century, Vasil'kov wrote that the Temirgoi customary law does not permit a wife as much as to mention the name of her husband in the presence of others. She must always use the pronoun "he" instead.[5]

[591] Though the Northwesterners of today have given up many of their ancient practices, they have not abandoned these rules of marital avoidance. Ladyženskij found them still in our own times. For a year after marriage the wife must live with strangers, during which time her husband may visit her only secretly. To be seen with her in public even years after marriage, he informs us, is tabooed.[6]

This avoidance includes even the children of the family, as we have seen in our section on "Parental Affection for Offspring" (pp. 149 f). Throughout

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[1] *Bemerkungen auf einer Reise in die süd. Statth., etc.*, I, p. 388.
[2] *ibid.*
[3] Longworth, *op. cit.*, I, p. 285; Dubois de Montpéreux, *op. cit.*, I, p. 115.
[4] Leontovič, II, pp. 254 f, § 176.
[5] "Očerk byta temirgoevcev," SMOMPK, XXIX (1901), No. 1, p. 99.
[6] Ladyženskij, FT. p. 184 *note*; Ladyženskij, "Zur Erforschung der Rechtsgewohnheiten der Bergvölker des Kaukasus," Zeitsch. f. Ethnologie, LXII (1930), pp. 242.

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the Caucasus a father is forbidden to manifest his affection for his child. The Cherkess is forbidden even to speak of a child of a person present.[7] 593 602

Similar *adats* forbid a couple to appear together before their parents or parents-in-law for a year after marriage,[8] and among the Abkhaz, even longer.[9]

The NORTHEASTERN CAUCASIANS. These rules of avoidance are found also among the Chechens, with only accidental differences. After marriage the groom must leave his wife and family and live with some neighbours or relatives for two to three weeks.[10] But even afterwards, when he returns, a certain law of separation must be observed. Reineggs reporting on the customs in the eighteenth century mentions that the husband did not share a common room with his wife; the men, he tells us, lived apart from the children and the female members of the family.[11] Another *adat* forbids a husband to eat with his wife in the presence of strangers.[12] And even in strictest privacy he will never speak directly to her in the second person: he usually will turn aside somewhat and instead of saying "Give me," he will say, "I am in need of."[13] [591] [564]

An Ingush father is not only forbidden to carry or fondle his child in public, but is not even allowed to call it by its name,[14] when others are present.

Jakovlev assures us that one can meet Ingushi today who have not seen their mothers-in-law for fifteen years after the wedding,[15] for to do so would be a serious violation of an Ingush custom. A wife is forbidden to mention the name of a first cousin of her husband in the presence of her parents- or brothers-in-law.[16] A husband may never inquire about his wife's relatives.[17] He will not speak with his wife in the presence of his parents or older brothers.[18] According to Dubrovin, a wife is strictly forbidden to speak with her father-in-law or any near male relative of her husband for a certain time after the wedding. She may speak with her mother-in-law only after a number of months have elapsed.[19] 606 602

There is also a certain avoidance observed by the husband and wife among the mountain tribes of Daghestan. A Lesghian, for example, will never put his arm around his wife while dancing. Such signs of intimacy in the presence of others would be unthinkable.[20] 593

We have already mentioned the example of how a certain Boulat-khan brought on himself the contempt of a group of men of Andi for carrying his son 000

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[7] Pallas, *l. c.*
[8] Ladyženskij, FT, p. 186.
[9] Byhan, *op. cit.*, p. 152.
[10] Cf. Jakovlev, *Inguši*, p. 56.
[11] Reineggs, *op. cit.*, I, p. 41.
[12] Leontovič, II, p. 254, § 170.
[13] Dubrovin, *Istorija*, I, i, p. 438.
[14] Grabovskij, "Inguši, ich žizn i obyčai," SSKG, IX (1876), p. 49.
[15] Jakovlev, *op. cit.*, pp. 52, 57.
[16] Jakovlev, *op. cit.*, p. 57.
[17] *ibid.*
[18] *ibid.*
[19] *Istorija*, I, i, p. 434.
[20] Nansen, *op. cit.*, p. 199.

000 in his arms; to make up for the transgression of the *adat* forbidding public manifestation of affection for one's children, he took out his dagger, crying, "I love my son, but you shall see also that I don't mind killing him," and if the men had not succeeded in calming him, he would have actually killed the child.[21]

It is indeed striking that we do not find the parent-in-law avoidances among the Lesghians; at least we have not found any reports in this regard. Parent-in-law avoidances would be quite impossible among the Lesghians, owing to the rule of endogamy.[22]

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The SOUTHERN CAUCASIANS. Among the mountain tribes of Georgia the bride and groom, after having spent three days together,[23] are obliged to separate, the groom remaining with his parents and the bride returning to her family. The period of separation, according to Eristov, was a fortnight, according to Seidlitz, depending on agreement,[24] and according to Kosven, "for some weeks or years."[25] In ancient Imeretia the newly-weds would live at the bride's house for a week, after which the young man returned to his father's house, while his wife remained with her family for a year.[26] During the period of separation the husband might visit his wife only secretly. On her return to her husband she did not share a common room with him.[27] A Pshav couple may not call each other by name; instead they use the words "Man!" and "Woman!"[28] Similarly, the wife may not call any of her husband's male relatives by name.[29] In Svanetia one may not inquire about the health of the wife of another person unless related to her.[30] A Svan will never permit his wife to sit down beside him; and, in general, he is very reluctant to converse with her.[31] In Khevsuria a father may not carry his child in his arms or say a single friendly word to it in the presence of others.[32]

The OSSETES. In Ossetia the husband must live at the groomsman's house for a whole month after the wedding. He is forbidden to appear before his father, older members of the household, or any older relatives and may visit his wife only secretly.[33] As soon as the young wife becomes pregnant she returns to her family and stays there till the child is born.[34]

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[21] *Supra*, pp. 149 f.

[22] *Supra*, pp. 51 f.

[23] Nansen, *op. cit.*, p. 58.

[24] Eristov, *op. cit.*, p. 110. Seidlitz, "Gemeinde- und Familienleben der Chewsuren," *Das Ausland*, 1891, No. 16, p. 320.

[25] M. O. Kosven, "Perežitki matriarchata u narodov Kavkaza," SE, 1936, No. 4—5, p. 217.

[26] *ibid.*

[27] Eristov, *op. cit.*, p. 111. See also Eichwald, *Reise auf dem Kaspischen Meer und in den Kaukasus*, Vol. I, Part II, p. 204.

[28] Makalatija, "Iz starogo narodnogo byta Pšavov," SE, 1938, No. 1, p. 109.

[29] Hahn, *Bilder aus dem Kaukasus*, p. 82.

[30] Dubrovin, *Istorija*, I, ii, p. 109.

[31] *ibid.*

[32] *Supra*, p. 150.

[33] Baddeley, *op. cit.*, I, p. 269.

[34] Hahn, "Die Täler der 'Grossen Ljachwa' und Ksanka (ksan) und das südliche Ossetien," *Globus*, LXXXVIII (1905), p. 24. It is worthy of note that the Kurds and the Armenians

We have given a number af examples (*supra*, p. 150) illustrating how 000
Ossetine fathers and mothers are forbidden to take their children in their arms, or by hand, or offer them anything, in the presence of older members of the family. The Ossete would permit his child to die rather than transgress this rule.

A woman may never in her whole life speak to an older male member of 607
her husbands's family, and if, for instance, the wife of a younger brother is 602
busy at the hearth, an elder brother is not allowed to enter the room till she has finished her work.[35]

The neighbouring TURKS observe similar rules of avoidance. Thus the 593
Karachai newly-weds live together for a few months and then the bride must 591
return to her parental home for a period which may last two years. During this 602
time her husband may visit her only secretly.[36] The Nogai will not speak to his wife in the presence of elderly people except in extreme necessity. The wife must always appear veiled before her husband for a year after marriage or till she gives birth to a child.[37] A Kumykian couple may never call each other by name ; instead they refer to each other as "him" and "her."[38]

## § 2. PROBLEMS OF POSSIBLÆ ORIGIN AND INTERPRETATION OF THE RULES OF AVOIDANCE

We may divide the customs just described into several distinct groups. The 591
following table will show that these rules of avoidance are genuinely Caucasian, 583
found among all North Caucasians and neighbouring peoples.

(1) The first custom which calls for special attention is that requiring the bride to return to her family shortly after marriage and permitting the husband to visit her only secretly. We found this custom in Ossetia, Armenia, Kurdistan, Chechnia, Georgia and among the Caucasian Turks. The Cherkess bride, however, does not return to her own parents but goes to a neighbouring family. This temporary visit-marriage, though still not definitely proven, may be connected with matrilocality, and therefore this custom may be a vestige of a mother-right culture.

It is interesting that the Cherkess bride lives with *strangers* during this period and not with her own family. Ladyženskij[39] considers this practice a vestige of the original form of acquiring a wife, namely bride-stealing. When a bride was stolen she, naturally, had to hide, and here, he argues, we have a clear

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had a similar observance. Among the Kurds the bride would return to her family a few days after her marriage. Her stay with her parents, however, was very short, lasting about three days or so. After receiving some gifts from her family she returned to her husband Cf. Kosven, *l. c.*). The custom of the bride returning to her family after the wedding is also an Armenian practice (*ibid.*).

[35] Baddeley, *l. c.*

[36] Jankó, "Néprajzi, etc." Zichy, *Kaukázusi és középázsia utazásai*, p. 44.

[37] Dubrovin, *Istorija*, I, i, p. 279.

[38] Dubrovin, *op. cit.*, I, i, p. 639.

[39] "Zur Erforschung der Rechtsgewohnheiten der Bergvölker des Kaukasus," *Zeitsch. f. Ethnologie*, XLII (1930), p. 242.

## TABLE 18

### Rules of Marital, Parental, and Kinship Avoidance

| RULES | Abkhaz | Cherkess | Chechens | Lesghians | Mountaineers of Georgia | Ossetes | Karachai |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1. Bride and groom must live separately after wedding | For a year or till first child | For a year or till first child | For two or three weeks | No | Three to fourteen days | For a month after the wedding | Live together one month, then separate |
| 2. Bride returns to her own family after the wedding | Bride lives with strangers | Bride lives with strangers | No, but husband must live elsewhere 2 to 3 weeks | No | Yes | Yes, goes to own family some months after wedding | Two months to two years with own family |
| 3. Husband may visit wife during this period only secretly | Yes ? | Yes | Yes | No | Yes | Yes | Yes |
| 4. Married couples may not appear together in public or before strangers | Yes | Yes | Yes | No | | | |
| 5. When living in same house after period of separation the couple may not share common quarters | Yes | Yes | Yes | | Yes | Yes | |
| 6. May not mention name of husband | | May not do so before others | Husband avoids speaking directly to wife even in private | No | Wife may not call husband by name and vice versa | | |
| 7. Prohibition to manifest love for one's own child before others | Yes | Yes. Also may not speak of child of person present | Yes. Father may not carry or fondle it | Yes | Yes. May not carry or say friendly word to child | Yes. Rule is very strict | |
| 8. Husband must avoid parents-in-law | For several years | For a year after marriage | Husband may never speak to mother-in-law | No | | Yes | |
| 9. Wife must avoid older male relatives of husband (or husband must avoid relatives of wife) | | | Wife may not mention name of husband's first-cousin | No | May not call them by name | Yes | |
| 10. The couple may not be seen together by parents or parents-in-law | For a year after marriage | For a year after marriage | Yes | | | Yes, during period of separation | Yes, during period of separation |

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trace of this epoch. He goes on to say that the *kalym* was originally a form of bloodwite demanded for bride-stealing, which later evolved into a means of compensating the family of the bride for the loss of a worker. Although Ladyženskij's interpretations are generally good, we connot agree with him in this particular point. It has never been proven that bride-stealing was the original form of marriage anywhere in the world. Moreover, it seems to be much more probable that bride-stealing resulted from the practice of bride purchase rather than vice versa. That *kalym* evolved from bloodwite is very improbable, especially in the Caucasus, because reconciliation by means of bloodwite seems to be a relatively recent substitution for actual blood vengeance. 591 583

(2) The various husband-wife avoidances, such as not mentioning the name of one's husband or wife, not using the second person, avoiding all conversation in public, etc. may be an expression of the superior position of the male sex in Caucasian society (cf. *supra*, pp. 152—159).[40] 593 562 602

(3) The parent and parent-in-law avoidance, the obligatory avoidance of older male relatives of the husband, the prohibition of inquiring about the health of the wife's or husband's relatives, and similar practices are difficult to explain. 606 602

Parent-in-law avoidances are certainly among the most universal practices known to man. In fact, this form of avoidance is so universal that Lowie does not hesitate to write, "From the extremely wide range of parent-in-law avoidance, the absolute universality of these rules might be conjectured on the ground that, where unrecorded, the customs have merely eluded notice."[41] In Australia, for example, "it was formerly death for a man to speak to his mother-in-law."[42] In New Britain if a man were speaking accidently with his mother-in-law, the horror of the "crime" would most likely lead to suicide.[43] [671]

The interpretation of parent-in-law taboos has baffled all ethnologists, and a satisfactory answer still has not been given. The parent-in-law avoidance has been connected with exogamy and bride-capture;[44] it has been considered a vestige of matriarchy, an expression of awe for the mistress of the household;[45] it has also been considered as a means to prevent improper intercourse. We may have here a case of convergence, based more on human psychology than on any particular institution; nor is there any reason to attribute the same cause for the practice in all parts of the world. This is but another important ethnological problem that waits to be solved.

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[40] The Caucasians seem to be of the opinion that separation is the best means of fostering conjugal love (cf. Leontovič, II, pp. 254 f, § 176).

[41] *Primitive Society*, p. 88.

[42] Howitt, *The Native Tribes of South East Australia*, p. 267.

[43] H. H. Romilly, "The Islands of the New Britain Group," *Proceedings of the Royal Geographical Society*, n. s. IX, p. 9.

[44] Cf. A. H. Post, "Ueber die Sitte, nach welcher Verlobte und Ehegatten ihre gegenseitigen Verwandten meiden," *Globus*, LXVII (1895), pp. 176 f.

[45] Cf. R. Briffault, *op. cit.*, I, pp. 266 f.

# Chapter XII

# Sexual Offenses

## § 1. CRIMES AND PENALTIES

684 628 The ancient customary law of the NORTHWESTERN CAUCASIANS imposes a death penalty on the adulteress, allowing the adulterer to go unpunished. According to Cherkess *adats* she might be killed in the act or anytime afterwards,[1] while the male partner had always to be spared. It is true, Leontovič's excellent collection of customary laws maintains the very contrary, expressly stating that the adulterer had to be punished too,[2] but the penalty imposed on him is doubtless an Islamic innovation.[3]

[585] According to ancient customary law, the lot of the unfortunate bride found unchaste on her wedding night did not differ from that of the adulteress caught in the act. If the bride did not pass the virginity test, the angry groom would at once dismiss her, hand her over to her disgraced and furious father to be mutilated and finally killed.[4]

[836] In case of pregnancy before marriage, the penalty imposed on the lover was somewhat less than the equivalent of bloodwite,[5] about twenty-five head of cattle, as Longworth found it in the beginning of the last century.[6]

Customary law hardly distinguishes between rape and abduction, although the collections do, for rape generally has the same purpose as bride capture. Rape is severely punished, as severely as murder. If the ravisher's life has been spared, he is obliged to pay as much as Rs. 150 in reparation for the insult suffered by the victim's sib, and besides this fine, he is forced to pay the usual *kalym*. He is also forced to marry the girl, for, generally, once raped, she has no hope of finding another mate. If the victim happens to be of a higher social class than the attacker, there is no reconciliation possible. Vengeance alone can atone for such a hideous crime.[7]

Incest is considered a qualified crime and is sanctioned by the severest penalties. Formerly if a Cherkess dared to marry a girl of his fraternity (*tleush*)[8]

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[1] Dubrovin, *Istorija*, I, i, p. 171.

[2] Leontovič, I, p. 254, § 109: "Imějulčij ženu i uličennyj v preljubolděljanii, po zakonu lišaetsja žizni, no tot že potupok, soveršennyj cholopom, podvergaet ego nakazaniju sta udarami; čto nazyvaetsja chod-tazir."

[3] Dirr, AGKB, p. 82.

[4] Byhan, *La civilisation caucasienne*, p. 155.

[5] Post, *Grundriß der ethnol. Jurispr.*, II, p. 378.

[6] *A Year among the Circassians*, I, p. 217.

[7] Grabovskij, "Očerk suda i ugolovnych prestuplenij v Kabardinskom okrugě," SSKG, IV (1870), pp. 42 f.

[8] *Supra*, p. 55.

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he would be sentenced to death by drowning. In the nineteenth century a heavy fine of 200 oxen and immediate separation were insisted upon instead.[9] 684 628

The penalty for raping a boy before puberty is death. Of course, such cases of perversion are very rare.[10] Likewise extremely rare are cases of homosexuality and bestiality,[11] except among certain Cherkess horse-breeders among whom bestiality is more common and the penalty trivial or none at all.[12] [839]

The *adats* have evidently gone through a distinct evolution, from unusual severity imposed exclusively on the adulteress to a more moderate form of punishment affecting both partners. Dubois de Montpéreux observed how a husband, who would clip his wife's hair for adultery, then cut off her ear, arm, or nose and finally kill her, fully in accord with ancient *adats*,[13] would thereby become a blood-enemy of his wife's relatives. He therefore usually preferred to divorce her instead[14] and have the *kalym* refunded.[15] Vasil'kov reported in the beginning of this century that among the Temirgoi illicit intercourse was extremely rare and that *both* partners would be punished very severely. If caught in the act, they would be buried up to their necks and then stoned to death.[16]

The NORTHEASTERN CAUCASIANS. The Chechen customary law likewise imposes very severe penalties for adultery, as the following table clearly shows (Table No. 19).

The most serious sex offenses are those of rape and incest. If an Ingush woman (married or single) is raped, the attacker may be killed on the spot. If he manages to escape, a bitter blood-feud breaks out between the sibs of the offended and offender. In *adat* courts confession of the culprit or the accusation of the victim are considered undeniable evidence. The accused can prove himself not guilty by taking an oath, which must then be confirmed by the statements of five conjurors,[17] two of whom must be relatives. If the defendant hesitates to take the oath or fails to find sufficient conjurors who are convinced of his innocence (and hence who are not afraid of the supernatural sanction attached to such an oath), he must pay a fine of 24 cows if the victim happened to be a married woman,[18] and a horse worth 30 silver rubles, a ram and four kettles of *arrack* if she happened to be unmarried.[19] The ravisher, as usual, must marry the girl he attacked.[20] If the girl has already been engaged to someone, 684 695 628 684 584

[9] McLennan, *Studies in Ancient History*, p. 76.
[10] At least in Kabardia, according to Grabovskij, *op. cit.*, p. 43.
[11] *ibid.*
[12] Grabovskij, *op. cit.*, p. 44.
[13] Amputation of the adulteress' ears and nose is a punishment found throughout the Caucasus; today, of course, it is rare. It is indeed interesting to note that a Hittite code (about 1350 B. C.) engraved on a stele has been dug up, which legalized such mutilation in case of adultery (cf. H. C. E. Zacharias, *Protohistory*, p. 258).
[14] Dubois de Montpéreux, *Voyage autour du Caucase*, I, p. 132.
[15] Dubrovin, *l. c.*
[16] "Očerk byta Termirgoevcev," SMOMPK, XXIX (1901), No. 1, p. 102.
[17] For the institution of *conjury* see above, pp. 155 f.
[18] Leontovič, II, p. 172, §§ 140, 142.
[19] Leontovič, II, p. 172, § 144.
[20] Leontovič, II, p. 120, § 24. Other adat collections claim the very opposite, cf. Leontovič, II, p. 172, § 147.

[834] the *adats* give the engaged partner the right to dissolve the betrothal promises [584] and to reclaim the *kalym* and engagement gifts.[21]

Seduction and attempted seduction are crimes almost as serious as rape and are punished accordingly.[22]

[835] The Chechens harbour an unusual abhorrence of incest. If an illegitimate child is born of an incestuous union, a heap of dirt is brought to the yard of the persons concerned, or sometimes to a public place, as a special protest of the community.[23] Generally speaking, penalties for sex offenses are inflicted on the culprit by the family, but, in the case of incest, the whole *community* protests. It is a crime that goes beyond the interests of the individual and joint-family.

A closer study of Table 19 will bring out three important facts regarding Chechen penalties for sexual offenses: (1) *both* the adulteress and adulterer are punished,[24] (2) they are killed on the spot, but the avenger thereby becomes a blood-enemy of the family of the person he kills, and (3) pardon and reconciliation are more or less the rule today, but not without heavy reparation and divorce.

## TABLE 19

### Penalty for Adultery according to Chechen Adats

| Tribe Chechen | Penalty | | Sources |
|---|---|---|---|
| | Adulteress | Adulterer | |
| Dzherakh and Nazranians | Recently: adulteress is divorced, must refund *kalym*, plus 48 cows to husband. | Husband may kill him in the act. | Leontovič, II, pp. 116 f, § 6; II, p. 118, § 14. Grabovskij, "Inguši," SSKG, IX (1876), pp. 53 f. |
| | Formerly: husband cut adulteress' nose off, divorced her, received 23 head of cattle from her family. | Might be killed in act; if escaped, had to pay 23 head of cattle to offended husband. | |
| Terek Chechens | Husband may not kill adulteress; may bite nose off, divorce her. | Husband may kill adulterer in act; if pardons him, husband has right to 70 head of cattle. | Leontovič, II, p. 122, § 2. Dirr, AGKB, p. 77. Leontovič, II, p. 113, § 9. |
| Kists | May not kill adulterous wife; may cut her nose off and divorce her; he receives 24 cows from her family. | Husband may kill adulterer in act, but obliged to pay bloodwite of 12 cows; if adulterer's sib takes vengeance on husband, must pay bloodwite of 24 cows. If adulterer escapes, he must pay husband 24 cows. | Leontovič, II, p. 120, § 23. Dirr, AGKB, p. 77. Leontovič, II, p. 113, § 9. |
| Salati Aukh Ichkerians | Husband may cut her nose off and divorce her. He may not kill her. | | Leontovič, II, p. 139, § 63; II, p. 113, § 9. Dirr, *l. c.* |

[21] Leontovič, II, p. 172, § 145.

[22] Leontovič, II, p. 173, § 149.

[23] Berže, Čečnja i Čečency, pp. 86 f.

[24] This seems to be a further evolution of the *adat* permitting the offended husband to punish his wife *with impunity*. The right to kill the adulterers most likely was not limited to the

If we now pass on to the Lesghian peoples we shall learn that each province, each district, and even each village has its own customary laws, but the differences are only accidental. Everywhere the *adats* agree at least in one point—in their severity. Death or its equivalent for any sex crime is the general rule. [84

To avoid useless repetitions and to facilitate comparison we present the Daghestanian *adats* in form of a table (Table 20).

Homosexual rape is doubtless a rare crime among these mountaineers, but laws referring to these offenses are a great help in interpreting the sanctions against sexual transgressions. If homosexual rape is punished as severely as natural rape, we have indubitable evidence that sexual taboos do not exist exclusively to safeguard the integrity of the hymen and to prevent bastard births, as one might perhaps be inclined to think from what we have said about virginal integrity.[23] We suspect, however, that laws regarding such rare sexual perversity as homosexuality and bestiality have not arisen from any special need for such sanctions but rather introduced through Islamic influence.[24] [839]

The table shows that throughout Daghestan (1) the *adats* expressly appoint the nearest male relatives to punish the culprits. [696]

(2) Adultery, fornication, rape, homosexuality—all are capital crimes, punishable with death, but admit of degrees. The most abhorred crimes are incest and rape, followed by adultery, fornication, homosexuality, and finally bestiality. "Incest" must, naturally, be understood in the Lesghian sense. We must not forget that when these *adats* were in force, the Lesghians were endogamists and that at most brother-sister and parent-child marriages were forbidden.

(3) Another remarkable agreement in the *adats* of the various Lesghian peoples is the obligation of killing *both* partners or *none* at all. If only one offender is avenged, the avenger himself becomes a blood-enemy of the relatives of the lover he happens to kill.

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husband. In the official report of May 28, 1870 we read: "May 28, a native of Netsi [in Chechnia] of this district, a boy 13 years of age, Nika-Akhma Kurban-ogdy, having caught his mother in an adulterous union with a co-villager, Suleyman Mahomed-ogdy, stabbed the adulterer, who later died from the wounds received." Cf. "Iz gorskoj kriminalistiki," SSKG, IV (1870), p. 80.

[23] *Supra*, p. 126.

[24] Islamic law goes into the smallest details and rarest forms of sexual transgressions.

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TABLE 20

**Lesghian Adats regarding**

| Locality | | Customary penalty for adultery and fornication | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | Death Penalty Possible | | Conditions for the lawful killing of offenders | | | | |
| Province | Naibate or District | Male Offender | Female | Lawful Avenger* | In flagranti | Must kill both offenders or none | Other Conditions | In only one partner is killed, avenger = murderer** |
| Avar | Tsatanykh Naibate | + | + | Husband, father, brother, or son | + | + | | + |
| | Bakhlukh N. | + | + | Husband, father, brother, son | + | − | | |
| | Koisubulun N. | + | + | Husband, father, son, grandson, nephew, uncle | + | − | | + − |
| | Khunzakh N. | + | + | Husband, father, son, grandson, nephew, uncle | + | − | | + − |
| Gunib | Tilitl-Hidatl N. | + | + | Husband, father, son | + | − | | + − |
| | Kuyada N. | + | + | Husband, brother, son, cousin | + | − | | + − |
| | Tleiserukh N. | + | + | Husband, father, brother | + | + | | + − |
| | Andalal N. | + | + | Husband, brother, son, father | + | + | | + − |
| Samur | | + | + | Husband, father, brother, son | − | + | | + |
| Dargwa | Usisha District | + | + | Husband or relative | + | + | | + |
| | Mikakhi D. | + | + | Husband or relative | + | + | | + |
| | Hyuraki D. | + | + | Husband or relative | + | + | | + |
| | Mugn D. | + | + | Husband or relative | − | + | | + |
| | Akusha D. | + | + | Husband or relative | + | + | | + |
| | Tsudakhar D. | + | + | Husband or relative | + | + | | + |
| | Balchar D. | + | + | | | | | |
| | Tsumkan | + | + | | | | | |
| Kurin | | + | + | Husband, father, brother | + | + | | + − |
| Kaitago-Tabassaran | Mahal Karakaitag | + | + | Husband | + | + | + | + |
| | North Tabassaran | + | + | Husband | | | + | + |
| | Mahal Terekeme | | | | | | | |
| | Mahal Urdzhamul | | | | | | + | |

* The LAWFUL AVENGER is always a relative of the *female* offender, or in the case of rape, the person attacked.

** By IF ONLY ONE PARTNER IS KILLED, AVENGER = MURDERER we mean that

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## Adultery, Fornication, and Rape

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| Customary Penalty for Rape | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Natural Rape | | | | Homosexual | | | | |
| See supra, Table on abduction*** | Offender may be killed | Banishment | Must pay a fine | May be killed | Banishment | Must pay fine | Number of footnote | Sources (Adat Collections) |
| + | | | | | | | | ADOiZO, 472 f, §§ 24 f; Dirr, AGKB, 71. |
| + | | | | | | | 1 | ADOiZO, 455, §§ 17 f; AGKB, 70. |
| + | | | | | | | 2 | ADOiZO, 439, § 20; AGKB, 70. |
| + | | | | | | | 2 | ADOiZO, 439, § 20; AGKB, 70. |
| + | | | | | | | 3 | ADOiZO, 338 f, § 20; AGKB, 73. |
| + | | | | | | | 4 | ADOiZO, 914, § 54; 303 f, § 18, AGKB, 72 f. |
| + | | | | | | | 5 | ADOiZO, 391, § 19; AGKB, 72. |
| + | | | | | | | 6 | ADOiZO, 278, §§ 24 f; AGKB, 71. |
| | | | | | | | | ADOiZO, 546 f, §§ 17—20; 530, § 15; AGKB, 74. |
| + | | | | + | | + | 7 | ADO, 16, 105. |
| | + | + | + | + | + | + | 8 | ADO, 16, 51 f. |
| | | | | | | | 9 | ADO, 16, 21, 91 f, 105. |
| | | | | + | | + | 10 | ADO, 16, 52, 65, 105. |
| | + | | + | + | | | 11 | ADO, 16, 38, 105. |
| + | + | | + | + | | + | 12 | ADO, 16, 105, 117 f. |
| | | | | | | | | ADO, 16, 65, 105; ADOiZO, 88, § 116; 121, § 82. |
| | | | | | | | | ADO, 16, 65, 105; ADOiZO, 88, § 116; 121, § 82.. |
| | + | | | + | | | 13 | AJuDO, 8 f. |
| | | | | | | | 14 | AJuDO, 43 f; ADOiZO, 575, §§ 10—13; AGKB, 75. |
| | + | | + | | | | 15 | AJuDO, 26. |
| | | | | | | | 16 | ADOiZO, 548, § 19; AGKB, 75. |
| | + | | | | | | 17 | ADOiZO, 48. |

if the husband, father, son, etc. of the woman kills only one of the offenders, he is regarded as a murderer and therefore incurs the same penalty.

*** *Supra*, p. 94, Table 12.

684 (1) The partner that is spared is banished for 10 years. ADOiZO, pp. 472 f, §§ 24 f.

(2) If one partner is killed, the other must at least be wounded. If one partner is totally spared, the avenger becomes a blood-enemy (*qanly*) of the relatives of the person he killed unless he can find 25 conjurors who will swear that the two were caught in the act. ADOiZO, p. 455, §§ 17 f.

(3) If the adulterer is killed while the adulteress manages to escape, the avenger becomes a *qanly* if he fails to declare his wife guilty. Cf. ADOiZO, p. 338 f, § 20.

(4) The cousin referred to in the *adat* as a lawful avenger is meant any cousin to the third degree on father's or mother's side. If a husband kills only the male partner, declaring his wife innocent, the avenger becomes a *qanly*; if he declares her guilty of adultery, he is free. Cf. ADOiZO, p. 914, § 54; 303 f, § 18; Dirr, AGKB, p. 72 f.

(5) If the avenger kills one partner, he must at least wound the other. ADOiZO, p. 391, § 19; Dirr, AGKB, p. 72.

(6) If one partner escapes, he or she, as the case may be, is fined and banished, and his (or her) property destroyed. The avenger may spare one partner if later on he can prove that *both* were guilty. ADOiZO, p. 278, §§ 24 f; Dirr, AGKB, p. 71.

(7) If both partners are spared, the adulteress becomes a blood-enemy of her husband as well as her own family. All her property goes over to her husband (ADO, pp. 16, 105), and a fine of one ox must be paid to the *dzhamat* (community). The adulterer in this case becomes a blood-enemy of the husband and of the adulteress' sib (ADO, p. 105), and just as the adulteress he too is obliged to pay a fine of one ox to the community (*ibid*). In case of fornication, the offenders are punished according to the *adats* regarding elopement (ADO, p. 105). Penalty for homosexual rape is blood-enmity and a fine of one ox to the sib of the person attacked (ADO, pp. 105 f). The other cases of rape are treated as a case of Bride capture (ADO, p. 105). A woman is obliged to scream when she is attacked, otherwise she is suspected of adultery or fornication. She may free herself of this suspicion and the penalty involved by finding six male relatives who are willing to take the *khatun-talikh* (an oath, the sanction for perjury being an obligatory divorce). Attempted rape and even a "suspicious approach" is punished like actual rape (ADO, p. 105).

(8) The penalty imposed on the adulterer is the same as that imposed on a person who has raped a married woman (ADO, p. 52). In case of fornication, both partners must pay a fine of four oxen each to the community (*ibid.*).

(9) If both partners are spared, each must pay a fine of one ox to the *turgak* ("police" department) and two oxen to the community, and both are banished for a year. The offended husband has a right to divorce his adulterous wife; if he makes use of the right, the adulterer is obliged to pay an additional Rs. 100 as compensation to her husband. (Cf. ADO, pp. 16, 91 f, 105.)

(10) The adulterous woman must pay a fine of four oxen. The penalty imposed on the adulterer is the same as in rape (ADO, p. 52). Homosexual rape is punished with death (blood-enmity), and one ox must be given the relatives of the person attacked (ADO, p. 65).

(11) If the adulterer and adulteress are spared, they must each pay a fine of seven oxen to the community. If the husband uses his right to divorce his unfaithful wife, she and her lover become blood-enemies of her family (ADO, pp. 16, 38, 105). In case of fornication, the man must marry the girl, otherwise he will become a *qanly* of her sib (ADO, p. 38). Anyone who rapes a woman is obliged to give one ox to the relatives of the victim and pay a fine of seven oxen to the community, besides incurring blood-enmity (ADO, p. 38).

(12) If the avenger did not catch the two offenders in the act, one eye-witness is sufficient to inflict the same penalty as for elopement; both must pay a fine of two oxen to the community and seven kettles each worth Rs. 2 to the *turgak* (ADO, pp. 16, 105, 118).

(13) If the woman escapes, her husband may divorce her for adultery; if her partner escapes, he becomes a *qanly* of the offended husband and is obliged to pay a bloodwite of Rs. 250. A husband may spare the life of his adulterous wife provided that later on he can prove her guilt (AJuDO, pp. 8 f). In case of fornication, the avenger may spare the life of the girl, leaving vengeance or mercy to her own family (*ibid.*). The penalty is the same when

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the person raped is a minor or an adult: blood-enmity or bloodwite of Rs. 250 (AJuDO, p. 9). 684

(14) If the adulteress escapes, she becomes the blood-enemy of her husband as well as of her own family. The same holds for her lover. The offended husband is allowed to kill his wife and spare the adulterer, but not vice versa, without becoming a *qanly*. In case of fornication, if both partners are not killed, they have the strict obligation of marrying or else become outcasts and are banished (AJuDO, pp. 43 f).

(15) If a man is accused of adultery and fails to justify himself by an oath taken together with 40 conjurors, the adulteress may be killed by her husband. If a husband decides to kill his adulterous wife, her lover automatically becomes a blood-enemy. The adulterer can choose to pay a bloodwite of Rs. 60 and a fine of six head of cattle instead. The fine is paid to the district (AJuDO, p. 26). If the father of a girl insists, the man who had intercourse with her must marry her, otherwise he must pay a fine of six oxen and becomes a blood-enemy of the girl's family (AJuDO, p. 26). The penalty for raping a widow is three head of cattle. If the woman attacked is married, the offender becomes a blood-enemy if he fails to justify himself by an oath taken together with 40 conjurors (Cf. AJuDO, p. 26).

(16) The adulteress may be divorced (ADOiZO, p. 548, § 19; Dirr, AGKB, p. 75). If the offended husband makes use of this right, the adulterer must pay a bloodwite and is banished for 20—30 days (*ibid.*).

(17) The fornicators are obliged to marry, otherwise they may be killed by the girl's family. Anyone who rapes a girl, widow, divorcée, or a married woman is obliged to marry her, otherwise he too may be killed (AJuDO, p. 48).

In pre-Russian times it was sufficient if the husband had learned by mere hearsay that his wife had been unfaithful: he could at once inflict the death-blow without further investigation.[27] Although during the Russian occupation the right to kill one's adulterous wife still existed (namely, if the wife had been caught in the act or if she had fled with her lover on being detected, or if she had been found guilty by the people's court), the husband seldom made use of his right. A wife was generally divorced, and as compensation, the offended husband kept all her property.[28] We say that she was "generally" divorced, for, if we go through the various criminalogical reports of the Russian (pre-Soviet) times, we find not a few cases where the right to kill has been actually made use of. To mention but a few of these official reports: "December 28, 1869, a citizen of the aul Orot, of the Province of Avaria, by the name of Gamzat Labazan-ogdy, stabbed his brother to death because Ali (his brother) had committed adultery with Gamzat's wife, whose name is Patimat Mutalilov-kizy."[29] Or again, "December 12, 1869, a native of the aul Arsug . . . having caught his wife, Kifi Rodzheb-kizy, in an adulterous union with his co-villager, Ramazan Adzhab-Palay-ogdy, killed her with the help of her own kinsman, Dzhabrank Tseyd-ogdy."[30] [586]

The Lesghians love to repeat the ballad of Nika Bulat. It is a tragic tale indeed, but a tale that clearly conveys the deep conviction of these mountaineers of the heinousness of adultery. Nika Bulat, we must remember, was a righteous 684 538 837

[27] Kovalevskij, *Zakon*, II, pp. 195 f.

[28] Similar changes are noticeable throughout the Caucasus.

[29] "Iz gorskoj kriminalistiki," SSKG, III (1870), p. 19.

[30] *ibid.*

684 man. He loved his mother as every faithful son should. In fact, he loved her
[538] with an exceptionally deep filial love. But alas! How painful it must have
been for him to learn that his mother, whom he so worshipped, had an illicit
[837] lover! His heart burst with grief and rage. Nika Bulat at once rushed to the adulterer's home; his eyes flashed with rage as he whipped out his dagger and plunged it into the lover's heart. Nika Bulat then hacked off his head and hands, and took these gory limbs and head to his mother, and staring at her for a moment as if he had gone mad, dropped them at her feet. On seeing her furious son and especially the gruesome sight before her, she burst into tears, but tears that only served to make Nika Bulat's blood boil with rage even still more violently. With one thrust of his dagger, his mother lay dying beside the head and hands she once so wrongfully loved to clasp. But that is not the end of the tragedy. Nika Bulat's sisters were present and witnessed all. They fell down on their knees, weeping bitterly on their mother's breast, as she bled and gasped. But Nika Bulat did not allow his sisters to weep. That same dagger was whipped out once again, and like a flash plunged into the heart of one of his sisters, and then into the heart of the other, thus putting an end to their sobs, sobs that were, in eyes of Nika Bulat, an approval of their mother's crime. For this great act of heroism Nika Bulat was admired by all and proclaimed the head of the village.[31]

[834] This abhorrence of sexual crimes is brought out further by the fact that any accidental touch of the bare hand of a strange woman is considered a violation, and both are regarded as "unclean."[32] Especially in dances all physical contact must be scrupulously avoided, no matter how small and crowded the room may be. Baddeley describes how the dancers curve in and out within a few inches of each other, but never is there even the slightest bodily contact, "the breach of this observance, even inadvertently, leading to many a fatal quarrel. A husband, brother or lover, looking on with jealous eye, would whip out his 'kinjal' at the mere suspicion of a touch..."[33] A further reflexion of this extreme sensitivity is the considerably large number of *adats* which make no distinction between mere contact and actual rape. In the Districts of Hyuraki, Usisha, and Mugn, for example, actual rape, attempted rape, and a mere suspicious touch or approach are all equally punished.[34]

684 838 Homosexuality is punished as severely as voluntary illicit relations between persons of the opposite sex. To mention but a few examples: in Hyuraki District, the two persons caught in the act may be killed on the spot by their relatives, or else, if spared, each must pay a fine of three oxen to the community, and both persons are banished for a year, not to mention other penalties;[35] in

[31] Cf. Dirr, AGKB, pp. 75 f.

[32] L'vov, "Domašnjaja i semjnaja žizn Dagestanskich gorcev Avarskago plemeni," SSKG, III (1870), p. 21.

[33] Baddeley, *op. cit.*, II, p. 13.

[34] Cf. "Adaty Darginskich Obščestv," SSKG, VII (1873), pp. 65, 91, 105.

[35] "Adaty Darginskich Obščestv," p. 92. To free one's self from a charge of homosexuality 40 conjurors are required just as in the case of murder *(ibid.)*.

Akusha, Tsudakhar, Mugn, Nikakhya, Hyuraki, Usisha, and Sirgua the penalty for homosexual rape is the same as that for murder.[36] 684

Bestiality is not punished as severely as other sexual crimes. Generally, the person is merely fined ; he is never killed for the act.[37] [838] [839]

If a maiden or a widow becomes pregnant, she may secretly break into the home of her seducer, give birth to the child, and as a result, he must marry her. This practice, however, is not an *adat* but a practice encouraged by the Šâfi'itic school.[38]

The SOUTHERN CAUCASIANS. In ancient Georgia a husband had the right to kill his adulterous wife as well as her lover ; a father had the right to kill the accomplice of any of his children.[39] In more recent times, the male partner was generally spared by the Pshavs,[40] Khevsurs,[41] and the Tushi,[42] otherwise the avenger himself would become a blood-enemy. In Svanetia illicit intercourse was not punished with death if the lovers happened to be of the same village.[43] Among the Svans, later on, the avenger of an act of illicit intercourse was obliged to pay half of the usual *tsor* (bloodwite),[44] and this very sum (besides a refund of the *kalym*) had to be paid to him by the family of his adulterous wife,[45] so that to become a blood-enemy in such a case did not involve great inconvenience. In Khevsuria, for example, if the life of the adulteress was spared, she would be subjected to indescribable torture. Her cheeks would be slit, her nose, ears or arms would be amputated and hair cut off.[46] This sort of punishment has not yet completely disappeared, though it has become very rare. Baddeley speaking of his host in Georgia writes : "Our host told us that his own uncle, having served a sentence of imprisonment in Tiflis, came back to find his wife living with another man ... He cut off one of her ears, her nose and her right hand ; but that was some time ago."[47] Today the penalty for adultery is not half as severe : generally the wife is divorced and the *kalym* must be refunded to the husband together with half of the usual bloodwite.

[36] "Adaty Darginskich Obščestv," p. 21.

[37] Cf. "Adaty Darginskich Obščestv," pp. 52, 92, 106, 119.

[38] Kovalevskij, *Zakon*, II, p. 168.

[39] Code of King Vakhtang VI, § 42, Karst ed. p. 92 f.

[40] Kovalevskij, *Zakon*, II, p. 94.

[41] Kovalevskij, *op. cit.*, II, p. 120.

[42] *ibid.*

[43] Kovalevskij, *Zakon*, II, p. 94 : "Pravilo, po kotoromu preljubodši i soblazniteli podležali krovnoj mesti, terpělo u pšavov isključenie v tom slučae, kogda vinovnymi javjalis' odnosel'čane — rodstveniki. Město ubijstva v etom slučae zanimala prekraščenie vsjakago obščenija i nerědko istreblenie ličnoj sobstvennosti." Just why should illicit intercourse be more severely punished if persons of different villages are in question? It would seem that the Svanian rule of local endogamy lessens the guilt ; that is, the intercourse takes place between two *possible* mates. Moreover, blood-feuds between relatives are, as a general rule, impossible.

[44] Dirr, AGKB, p. 83.

[45] *ibid.*

[46] Makalatija, "Iz starogo narodnogo byta Pšavov," SE, 1938, No. 1, p. 109 ; Baddeley, *op. cit.*, I, p. 237 ; Dubrovin, *Istorija*, I, ii, p. 312.

[47] Baddeley, *l. c.*

684 This relatively mild punishment has been introduced mainly through Christian influence and on account of the dearth of women caused by female infanticide.[48]

[347] The reports regarding the OSSETINE penalties are indeed confusing, until the proper local and temporal distinctions are made. Thus according to an ancient *adat* of the "frontier" Ossetes, as some Russian writers call them, the avenger of adultery would become the blood-enemy of the relatives of the adulterer. Later on a new customary law arose, giving the husband full right to kill the adulterer as well as the adulteress, with impunity.[49] The Ossetes of Tagaursk and Kurtalinsk usually killed the adulterer and threw the unfaithful wife out of the house.[50] The Alaghirs, on the contrary, were more merciful toward the adulterer and less so toward the adulteress. He was obliged to give the offended husband a horse and saddle, and then give him a feast, whereas the woman was mutilated (her nose was cut off) and then sent back to her father. If her husband forgave her, her family had to give him a horse and a gun.[51] In the collection of *adats* of 1841 (§ 41), the adulterer could be killed with impunity if caught *in flagranti*, whereas in the last decades of the nineteenth century Kovalevskij learned that the adulterer might indeed be wounded but not killed.[52] Inspite of these variations, *all* Ossetes have always believed that adultery was a very serious crime.

Formerly even mere suspicion justified the jealous husband to kill his wife and the suspected lover.[53] If he spared her life, he punished her publicly, bound her naked to a donkey and drove her through the village, whipping both the donkey and the miserable culprit, while the children and the girls of the *aul* would throw filth at her and sing jeering songs.[54]

Formerly to accept anything less than blood (that is, bloodwite) was considered a disgrace and even unlawful.[55]

The penalties for fornication were also very severe. The girl was set upon a donkey, her face to the tail and thus publicly driven through the village, jeered [348] and spat upon by her fellow-villagers. And if she gave birth to an illegitimate child, the baby would be killed. If the mother's life was spared, she could marry only a widower,[56] or, of course, her lover.[57] Sometimes the lover was even forced to marry her or at least pay the usual *kalym*.[58]

684 The TURKS of the Caucasus are also very merciless when it comes to punishing adultery. If a Kumyk or Nogai husband or near relative catches a woman in the act of adultery, he may kill both culprits on the spot. If the

[48] Dirr, *l. c.*

[49] Pfaff's article in SSKG, II, pp. 274 f., cited by Dirr, AGKB, p. 80.

[50] Leontovič, II, p. 41

[51] Leontovič, II, pp. 44, 38.

[52] Kovalevski, *Coutume contemp.*, p. 349, *note* 1.

[53] S. Karginov, "Krovavaja mest' u osetin," SMOMPK, XLIV (1914), No. 3, pp. 204 f.

[54] Dirr, *l. c.*

[55] Karginov, *l. c.*

[56] Baddeley, *op. cit.*, I, p. 237.

[57] A. H. Post, *Grundriß der ethnol. Jurispr.*, II, p. 378.

[58] Dubrovin, *Istorija*, I, i, p. 339.

1 [usually divorce, refund of bride price, and half of usual bloodwite -- Analyst]

2 [in Georgia -- Analyst]

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adulterer and the adulteress escape, they both become blood-enemies of the husband and must pay a bloodwite of Rs. 100.[59] 684

In case of fornication, marriage between the two lovers becomes obligatory. The lover may divorce his wife immediately after marriage, but by so doing he incurs the obligation of paying the customary *kebin-khak*.[60] If the girl is too young to marry, the man must wait till she becomes old enough.[61] In case of incest, the regulations set down in the *šarî'a* are followed rather than the *adats*.[62]

Pederasty and sodomy occur very seldom among the North Caucasians and Ossetes, whereas they are rather frequent among the neighbouring Karachai and Taulu.[63] 838]

The KURDS also have the practice of cutting off the adulteress' ears and nose.[64]

## § 2. PROBLEMS AND GENERAL CONCLUSIONS

### 1. Historical Reconstruction

Despite the many dissimilarities we have noticed in the customary penal laws of the various peoples of North Caucasus, it is quite possible that the differences are merely different *stages* of one and the same *adat*. (1) According to the oldest customary laws, the adulteress had to be punished, and she alone. She was punished if she had been caught in the act, or even if the husband had learned of her infidelity from others. Sometimes mutilation (nose, ears or arms were cut off, hair clipped, cheeks slit, etc.) preceded the execution; sometimes, after thus being mutilated, she was sold into slavery. (2) It seems that later on, at least in some parts of North Caucasus, she might be mutilated, but not killed. If the jealous husband would nevertheless take her life, he would become a blood-enemy of her relatives. (3) Later still, especially, but not exclusively, through Islamic influence, the adulterer too had to be punished. He would have to pay a certain sum to the offended husband, a sum sufficient to reconcile himself with the relatives of his adulterous wife, whom he had slain and thereby become their blood-enemy. The *adats* which insist on the *death* of the adulterer seem to be relatively recent. (4) As a precaution against over-hasty and unjunst action, the husband was obliged to kill both partners or none at all. To slay only the adulteress or only the adulterer was now looked upon as suspicious and even unjust, and therefore the avenger himself became a blood-enemy of the relatives of the partner he happened to kill. The insistence on killing the culprits *in the act* seems also to be a later innovation, a means to check false suspicion and [567]

[59] "Adaty žitelej kumyskoj ploskosti," SSKG, VI (1872), p. 13; Leontovič, II, p. 205, § 13. See also N. Semenov, "Očerki narodnych obyčaev Kumykov Terskoj Oblasti," *Terskiij Sbornik* II (1892), No. 2, Part 2, pp. 75 f.

[60] The *kebin-khak* is generally Rs. 100. Cf. Semenov, *op. cit.*, p. 75.

[61] "Adaty žitelej kumyskoj ploskosti," p. 15, § 10.

[62] "Adaty žitelej kumyskoj ploskosti," p. 13.

[63] Kovalevskij, *Coutume contemp.*, p. 340.

[64] Jankó, "Néprajzi, etc.," Zichy's *Kaukázusi és középázsiai utazásai*, p. 62.

[Sic.. Analyst]

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684 unjust death penalty. (5) Finally, the adulteress was merely divorced; she lost her right to the *kebin*, while the *kalym* had to be returned to the husband. The adulterer was obliged to pay a fine.

Amputation of the adulteress' ears and nose is a punishment found in the *adats* of all Caucasians. It is interesting to note that a Hittite code (about 1350 B. C.) engraved on a stele has been dug up, which expressly legalized such mutilation in case of adultery.[65] This code may be based on a substratum of customary laws which are now preserved in the isolated *auls* of the Caucasus.

## 2. Motives

The main motives for punishing sexual offenses seem to be: (1) in case of defloration, the girl loses her value and consequently the family suffers a great economic loss;[66] (2) there is a serious danger of a stranger being born into the sacred sanctuary of the home and later treated as a legitimate member and even as head of the family (*supra*, p. 126).

## 3. Reports regarding Sexual Laxity of the Caucasians

834 In view of such severe penalties as we have described above, we cannot [832] help being suspicious about some of the reports regarding laxity of morals among the mountain tribes of the Caucasus. The Kuban Cherkess are supposed to have formerly been proud of the fact that their wives attracted other men. Every [836] woman had to have a lover to prove her true value.[67] Longworth's report, to mention but another example, contrasts the scrupulousness after marriage with "their unconstrained demeanor before marriage."[68] "The maidens of Circassia are allowed a latitude in their behaviour which is elsewhere unknown; not only do they talk and dance with the other sex, but when they please, they exercise their blandishments to an extent that to a stranger is no less perplexing than [766] agreeable."[69] Then there are the many reports about public religious hetaerism. Interiano claims that at funerals of prominent personages a very strange sort [764] of sacrifice takes place: a girl of 12 to 14 years of age is placed upon a skin of an ox that has just been slaughtered and in the presence of men and women a robust young man of the community must try to deflower her. After several failures, the young man promises to marry her (or makes some other promises), 837 and then the girl usually consents.[70] There are also the reports about sexual 83- hospitality, for example, in the "Relation du Sieur Ferrand médicin du Khan 57 des Tatares, touchant la Crimée, les Tartares-Nogaies et ce qui se passe au serail du dit Khan,"[71] in *Voyage historiques et géographique dans les pays situé entre la Mer Caspienne par Edouard Barbier du Bocage et de Baert*, as well as in the

[65] H. C. E. Zacharias, *Protohistory*, p. 258.
[66] *Supra*, pp. 126 f.
[67] Dirr, AGKB, pp. 81 f.
[68] Longworth, *A Year among the Circassians*, I, p. 286.
[69] Longworth, *op. cit.*, I, p. 216.
[70] Ladyženskij, FT, p. 183, Dirr's note.
[71] In *Recueil des Voyages au Nord*, Amsterdam, 1718.

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writings of the Arabs al-Mas'ûdî and Abu-El-Kasim. They claim that the father offers one of his daughters to his guest as a mere point of hospitality. Stählin[72] claimed that illegitimate children were treated the same as legitimate. On the other hand, a large number of authors, such as Struys, Lamberti,[73] Neumann,[74] and others, claim that the Cherkess women are extremely modest. The true solution to these conflicting reports is the one suggested by Ladyženskij.[75] "Den richtigsten Standpunkt nimmt in der Frage Garni ein (Reisen in den Ländern der asiatischen Türkei und des Kaukasus, 1854). Er betont die Keuschheit der freien Frauen und den Hetärismus der Sklavinnen." This is also Dirr's opinion.[76] In other words, the reports are true only to a certain extent: the freewomen are exceptionally modest, while the slaves exceptionally immodest, religious prostitution and sexual hospitality being restricted to slaves. Such conduct in regard to freewomen would be impossible considering the great economic loss the family would suffer from defloration, considering also the virginity test, and, finally, the fear of illegitimate children. On the other hand, defloration, virginity, and illegitimate children in the case of *slaves* would offer no serious difficulty.

We have a similar problem in regard to some of the Lesghians. As we have mentioned above, Herodotus wrote of the Lesghians that "they copulate in public as beasts are wont to do."[77] Przewalski reported that at Tsunta-Akhvakh unmarried couples were allowed to sleep together.[78] Baddeley confirms Przewalski's report: "It is the custom for a host to give his guest one of his daughters or some other girl to sleep with. The couple may ... do what they like provided the maidenhead remains intact; and even that depends on the fair one's goodwill. But should the guest so far forget himself as to force her, he will pay for it with his life. Those people think meanly of a girl who has never slept with an honoured guest."[79] Baddeley's guide, a native of Ossetia, "accepted this as a fact, and added that something of the same sort went on in certain of the older Cossack 'stanitsas' on the Terek, instancing Tchervlennaya."[80] Herodotus' report is useless, for we do not know exactly who is meant, but there is no reason to doubt Przewalski and Baddeley. However, we wish to stress that this is a custom found exclusively in Tsunta-Akhvakh and is, by no means, the picture of entire Daghestan. Tsunta-Akhvakh is only a *village* (in 1901 it had only 415 inhabitants), which constitutes an *exception*

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[72] Jacob v. Stählin, *Nachrichten von Tschirkassien oder von dem Karbardinischen Lande*, 1771, referred to by Ladyženskij, FT, p. 185.

[73] Cf. Ladyženskij, *l. c.*

[74] Neumann, *Rußland und die Tscherkessen*, cf. Ladyženskij, *l. c.*

[75] Ladyženskij, *l. c.* Ladyženskij, "Zur Erforschung der Rechtsgewohnheiten, etc.," pp. 243 f.

[76] Ladyženskij, FT, p. 184. Cf. Castagné, "Le droit coutumier familial des montagnards du Caucase," p. 252: "Supposer que le montagnard adighé pût proposer sa fille ou sa femme a un hôte, serait comprehensible si la femme des montagnards avait été esclave, mais cela n'étant pas, une supposition de ce genre doit être considéré comme sans fondement aucun."

[77] Cited by Potocki, *Voyage dans les steps d'Astrakhan et du Caucase*, I, p. 240; to which Potocki adds, "Celle de quelques vallées du Caucase sont encore très libres."

[78] Kovalevskij, *Zakon*, II, p. 189.

[79] Baddeley, *op. cit.*, II, pp. 13 f.

[80] Baddeley, op. cit., *II*, p. 14.

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837 to the general rule. This village is inhabited by a degraded Avarian tribe or,
836 as Baddeley suggests, "perhaps the remnant of an older race absorbed by the
574 latter."[81] But even here, among this "degraded" Avarian tribe, the girl "might only be touched from waist upwards; in Shamyl's time a too-ardent lover was stabbed to death, for a breach of this adat, by his own beloved, and the deed was not only not punished but even greatly applauded."[82]

836 There are also similar conflicting reports regarding the neighbouring mountain tribes of Georgia. Klaproth, for instance, speaking of the Tushi, says, "Le commerce illicite entre les deux sexes est très rare chez eux . . ."[83] Klaproth's claim is in full accord with the severe penalties for fornication as described by Baddeley: "If a girl was unchaste, she was set upon a donkey, face to tail, and carried through the 'aoul', spat upon and jeered at." He goes on to say that "if a girl had a child, she was driven out of the community and the child killed, unless some charitable person took pity on it. A young man could not marry a girl once seduced by another man, but an old man or widower might."[84] Other reports, however, maintain the very contrary and say that the mountain tribes of Georgia are extremely lax. A few distinctions will, I believe, clarify these contradictions. The Khevsurs[85] and the Pshavs[86] have an institution called *tsatsali*, that is, "brother" or "sister" but actually legal lovers. It is only freedom with non-*tsatsalis* and pregnancy that seems to have been discountenanced by these tribes. As long as the girl restricted her relations to her *tsatsali* and avoided pregnancy she was "chaste." One of the main reasons for the
[582] relatively late marriage age among the mountain tribes of Georgia (*supra*, p. 67) is this institution.[87]

### 4. Relation of Penalties for Sexual Offenses to the Economic and Social Organization of the Caucasian Mountaineers

182 All that we have said about the severity of the penal laws of the North
687 Caucasians is in perfect harmony with their general economic and social organization. It is a known fact that lower hunters discountenance sexual liberty more than the higher hunters; the lower agrarians more than the higher; the pastoralists more than the agrarians; the father-right family more than the mother-right.[88] Our North Caucasians have a strongly pastoral and father-right organization.

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[81] Baddeley, *op. cit.*, II, p. 13.

[82] *ibid.* Baddeley's source is Komarov's article "Adaty i sudoproizvodstvo po nim," SSKG, I, p. 57. Dubrovin, *Istorija*, I, i, p. 564 has the incident too, but he fails to mention his source.

[83] Klaproth, *Voyage au Mont Caucase et en Géorgie*, II, p. 72.

[84] Baddeley, *op. cit.*, I, p. 237.

[85] Kovalevskij, "La famille matriarcale au Caucase," *L'Anthropologie*, IV (1893), p. 273.

[86] Makalatija, "Iz starogo narodnogo byta Pšavov," SE, 1938, No. 1, p. 98.

[87] Since the *tsatsali* in Pshavia are always chosen from among relatives and marriage is possible only between non-relatives, marriage would mean that the two would have to separate and love another person, a fact that makes them reluctant to marry. In fact, they sometimes do not marry at all. For a detailed exposition of the institution, see Makalatija, *op. cit.*, pp. 98—102.

[88] H. Günther, *Formen und Urgeschichte der Ehe*, p. 90.

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# Chapter XIII

# Patria Potestas

All North Caucasian peoples recognize one head of the family. In the present 593
chapter we shall study the extent of this authority. Does the father prossess *absolute* power over the members of his family?

## § 1. THE RIGHT TO SELL CHILDREN INTO SLAVERY

Since slavery was abiloshed in 1867, we must have recourse to sources prior 567
to that date.

The NORTHWESTERN CAUCASIANS. According to an *adat* of the 593
Black Sea Line, Kuban and Terek Territories (§ 139), the father does not have a right to sell or give away his sons.[1] However, Longworth, who spent a year among these people, expressly states the contrary. "The right," he says, "is never disputed, though it is considered disreputable for an ouzden, or even a freeman in good circumstances, to sell his children to slave merchants."[2] A certain greedy Cherkess once sold his brother's children whose guardian he was, for which, we are told, "he was universally execrated,"[3] though, evidently, he had the *right* to do so. In other words, it is very essential to distinguish between the *right* to sell children into slavery and the actual *practice*, which is strongly discouraged.

Taitbout de Marigny, who had visited the Cherkess several decades before Longworth, left us an incomplete report of what he had observed. The Cherkess are supposed to have sold their sons and daughters for Turkish goods with absolute indifference.[4] His visit, however, was too brief and superficial. When speaking of "indifference" Taitbout de Marigny should have made a second very important distinction, namely, whether the children thus sold into slavery belonged to the same social class as the father or whether they were born of a secondary or slave wife. Longworth makes this very important observation: "The great proportion ... of women who are exported are of the fourth or servile class ..."[5]

The NORTHEASTERN CAUCASIANS. The Chechens have no *adats* which determine or limit in any way the authority of the father over his children.[6] Potocki describes the sad story of an Ingush who sold his daughter

[1] Leontovič, II, p. 250, § 139.
[2] Longworth, *A Year among the Circassians*, I, pp. 279 f.
[3] Longworth, *op. cit.*, I, p. 180.
[4] *Voyage en Circassie en 1818*, p.6.
[5] Longworth, *op. cit.*, I, p. 279.
[6] Leontovič, II, pp. 96, 112, § 8.

593 567 for some Persian cloth worth Rs. 240. While the deal was still going on, the girl fled and hanged herself.[7]

We have found no purely Lesghian *adats* prohibiting or sanctioning the selling of children into slavery, in spite of the despotic authority of the father.[8] Although we do not know the attitude of customary law in this regard, we do know that the *šarī'a* strictly forbids not only the selling of a fellow-Mohammedan into slavery, but expressly condemns the selling of one's own children.[9]

The SOUTHERN CAUCASIANS. In times of famine the mountain tribes of Georgia used to sell their children; the Svans, for example, "for 700 to 1,200 francs each" (Mourier, *Guide au Caucase*, I, p. 147).

It was this same poverty that led their neighbours, the Tualti (SOUTHERN OSSETES), to kill their girls and sell their boys.[10]

In short, everywhere in the Caucasus the *right* to sell children is not disputed; the practice, however, is *rare*, except in time of absolute necessity or in regard to children who are not considered fully members of the family.

## § 2. JUS VITAE NECISQUE

593 The NORTHWESTERN CAUCASIANS. The *adats* expressly mention that a father does not have the right over life and death of his children.[11] [627] However, he may condemn a *perverse* member of the family to death: he must, of course, first chastize him, then disinherit him, and finally, if all these means fail and the son remains incorrigeable, the father, acting as supreme judge of the family, may hand him over to a servant to be killed.[12] In spite of these *adats* it seems that formerly the father actually had the right to kill his child at will.[13]

The NORTHEASTERN CAUCASIANS. The Chechen adat collection of 1843 tells us that "there is no customary law defining or limiting the authority of the father over his children."[14] However, in practice, he enjoys this unlimited [958] authority only as long as the children are small. Once his sons have grown up, they may take vengeance on their own father for killing one of their brothers.[15] It is quite possible that at one time the father actually possessed the *jus vitae necisque*, a right that had disappeared long before the *adat* collections of the past century were made. By no means does a husband have a right over the

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[7] *Voyage dans les steps d'Astrakhan et du Caucase*, II, p. 223.

[8] Cf. Omarov, "Kak živut Laki," SSKG, IV (1871), p. 18.

[9] G. Bergsträsser, *Grundzüge des islamischen Rechts*, p. 39.

[10] Kovalevskij, *Coutume contemp.*, p. 189.

[11] Leontovič, II, p. 250, § 138.

[12] *Ibid.* See also Leontovič, I, p. 152, § 81.

[13] Dubrovin, *Istorija*, I, i, pp. 168 f; P. I. Kovalevskij, *Kavkaz, Narody Kavkaza*, p. 56.

[14] Leontovič, II, p. 112, § 8.

[15] M. O. Kosven, "Avunkulat," SE, 1948, No. 1, p. 18; Leontovič, II, pp. 112 (§ 8), 251 (§ 143), 258 (§ 206); Berže, *Čečnja i Čečency*, p. 96.

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life of his wife.[16] According to a customary law of 1844 for Vladikavkaz District (Dzher, Kist, Galgai, Tsori, Ingushi, and Karabulak tribes), if a husband kills his wife, he must pay a bloodwite of 12 cows to her relatives if she has a child, and 85 cows if she has no children. Besides this payment he becomes a social outcast.[17]

The *adats* of the Lesghian mountaineers regarding the penalty for filicide and uxoricide fall into four distinct classes: (1) no penalty, (2) a very small fine, (3) conditional or optional death penalty, (4) obligatory death penalty.

If the father kills a son or daughter he goes unpunished in Gamri and in Mahallen Terekeme (Kaitago-Tabassaran Province),[18] in Tilitl-Hidatl (Gunib Province),[19] in the Naibate of Kuyada (Gunib Province), [20] and in other parts of Daghestan.

He is obliged to pay a relatively small fine, for example, in Sirgua District (Dargwa Province),[21] in Upper Kaitago,[22] Andalal (Gunib Province),[23] Bashli (Kaitago-Tabassaran Province),[24] Ratlu Akhvakh,[25] etc.

A few examples of a conditional death penalty would be: for instance, in Kurin Province a father who has killed one of his sons is obliged to pay a bloodwite only if the victim happened to have his own economically independent family, the bloodwite going to his children (if he has killed a daugther, he becomes a blood-enemy only if she happened to be married, the bloodwite in this latter case going to her husband);[26] or again, in Hyuraki District of the Province of Dargwa, a father becomes a blood-enemy only if the son he murdered is himself married and has children.[27]

By "optional death penalty" we understand all those *adats* which leave it to the children or heirs of the victim as to whether the murderer should be considered a *qanly* ("blood-enemy") or not. Such adats are found in the naibates of Tleiserukh,[28] Tilitl-Hidatl,[29] and Mikah (Dargwa Province).[30]

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[16] Berže, *op. cit.*, p. 99. Even in case of adultery the husband generally may only divorce and at most mutilate her (cf. Table 19).

[17] Leontovič, II, p. 115, § 6. It is an interesting fact that sometimes, as in this case, the wife becomes more detached from her own sib and more attached to that of her husband by giving birth to a child. In the latter case the bloodwite is only a third as high as the former.

[18] "Adaty Južno-Dagestanskich Obščestv," SSKG, VIII (1875), p. 49. Adaty Dagestanskoj Oblasti i Zakatal'skago Okruga, pp. 588, § 10; Cf. Dirr, AGKB, p. 58. We shall abreviate this collection of *adats* by ADOiZO.

[19] ADOiZO, p. 337, 12; cf. Dirr, AGKB, p. 58. Some villages of Tilitl-Hidatl impose capital punishment on a murderer of a son or daughter.

[20] ADOiZO, p. 313, § 12; cf. Dirr, AGKB, p. 58.

[21] "Adaty Darginskich Obščestv," SSKG, VII (1873), p. 73.

[22] "Adaty Južno-Dagestanskich Obščestv," p. 34: the murderer is obliged to pay a fine of one three-year-old ox to the district.

[23] The fine is only Rs. 6.

[24] ADOiZO, p. 597, § 10; cf. Dirr, AGKB, p. 58.

[25] ADOiZO, p. 178, § 38; cf. Dirr, AGKB, p. 58.

[26] ADOiZO, p. 510, § 13; cf. Dirr, AGKB, p. 61.

[27] "Adaty Darginskich Obščestv," p. 86.

[28] ADOiZO, p. 388 f, § 12; cf. Dirr, AGKB, p. 64 f.

[29] ADOiZO, pp. 337 f, §§ 31 f.

[30] ADOiZO, p. 136, § 42; cf. Dirr, AGKB, p. 67.

593 The last class of *adats* demand blood for blood. Such customary laws are
682 found, for example, in the Dargwa Province: in Usisha District,[31] Tsudakhar,[32]
[628] Akusha District,[33] and in some towns of the naibate of Tilitl-Hidatl,[34] and in the Samur District.[35] The same holds if a husband kills his wife: he becomes a blood-enemy of the wife's relatives and sometimes of his own children. In Bashli (Kaitago-Tabassaran Province),[36] Mahallen Terekeme (Kaitago-Tabassaran Province),[37] Mahal Gamri (Kaitago-Tabassaran Province),[38] and in the Province of Samur,[39] a husband who has murdered his wife becomes a blood-enemy of her relatives. In Mahal Gamri he becomes a blood-enemy of his children as well.[40]

Ancient GEORGIAN *adats* permit the murderer to go unpunished, the crime being "left to the judgement of God."[41] A Khevsur who murders his wife is obliged to pay a bloodwite of five cows to her relatives.[42] The Svan custom of tying a large stone about the neck of a person who murdered one of his own kin (as a sign of excommunication) is most likely of Christian origin. It reminds us very much of a similar penalty for parricide in the Old Testament. It may, less probably though, have come to Svanetia through Islamism, for Mohammedanism has borrowed this form of excommunication from the Old Testament.[43]

[614] The neighbouring KUMYKS do not punish a man for murdering his child
either.[44] Uxoricide, however, never goes unpunished; the murderer becomes
a *qanly* of the victim's sib.[45]

The ancient Indo-Europeans used to place the newborn child on the ground and then invite the father to pick it up, as an official recognition of the child as his own and at the same time expressing his wish not to use his right to kill it.[46] According to OSSETINE customary law, a father may kill his child with

[31] ADOiZO, p. 225, § 47; cf. Dirr, AGKB, p. 61; "Adaty Darginskich Obščestv," p. 102.
[32] ADOiZO, p. 244, § 40; cf. Dirr, AGKB, pp. 61 f; "Adaty Dauginskich Obščestv," pp. 113 f.
[33] "Adaty Darginskich Obščestv," p. 35. Also in Balhar, Tsumkan, according to ADOiZO, p. 115, § 43; cf. Dirr, p. 61.
[34] ADOiZO, p. 337, § 12; cf. Dirr, AGKB, p. 60.
[35] ADOiZO, p. 530, § 16; cf. Dirr, AGKB, p. 61.
[36] ADOiZO, pp. 597 f, §§ 14 f; cf. Dirr, AGKB, p. 65.
[37] ADOiZO, p. 583, § 9; cf. Dirr, AGKB, p. 65.
[38] ADOiZO, pp. 588 f, § 14; cf. Dirr, AGKB, pp. 65 f.
[39] ADOiZO, p. 530, § 14; cf. Dirr, AGKB, p. 66.
[40] ADOiZO, pp. 599 f, § 14; cf. Dirr, AGKB, pp. 65 f.
[41] Haxthausen, *Transcaucasia*, II, p. 205; Post, *Grundriß der ethnol. Jurisprudenz*, II, p. 340; cf. Dirr, AGKB, p. 59. These three authors base their assertion on King Vakhtang's Code. In § 78 we read: "... the case must be judged according to the *sdzhuli-kanoni*". Perhaps in the last analysis "sdzhuli-kanoni" can be identified with God; but actually these two words refer to the ecclesiastical laws codified by Patriarch John the Scholastic under Emperor Justinian (cf. Code of King Vakhtang VI, ed. Karst, p. 119, *note* 1).
[42] Hahn, *Bilder aus dem Kaukasus*, p. 184.
[43] Kovalevskij, *Zakon*, I, p. 40.
[44] Leontovič, II, p. 212, § 35 (an *adat* of 1865).
[45] "Adaty žitelej kumykskoj ploskosti," SSKG, VI (1872), p. 5.
[46] Schmidt-Koppers, *Völker und Kulturen*, p. 309.

1 [i.e. blood-enemy -- Analyst]

impunity, just as their ancestors could.[47] A husband may not sell or give his wife away.[48] Sometimes he may not kill his wife[49] even as a well deserved punishment. At the most he may in such a case chastize and mutilate her.[50]

## § 3. MATERNAL AUTHORITY

What authority does the mother enjoy in a North Caucasian family? We have already touched upon this question, when speaking about the education of children (*supra*, pp. 147 f) and the rights and privileges of women (*supra*, pp. 159 f). As a general rule throughout the Caucasus[51] the mother has by far more authority over her daughters than over her sons, more over her small boys than those of age.[52]

That is doubtless the case with the NORTHWESTERN CAUCASIANS. The *adats* expressly say that the mother enjoys much more authority over her daughters than over her sons.[53] That she has less authority or none at all with her grown-up boys is clear from the "Adat Collection of the Black Sea Line, Kuban and Terek Territories" (§ 135). In spite of the exaggeration contained in this particular *adat* it is worth quoting: as soon as the sons become of age, the mother "hardly enjoys the respect which nature herself implanted in man's heart, the respect for her to whom the sons owe their very existence."[54]

In NORTHEAST CAUCASIA, a Chechen mother, though exerting much influence on her children, enjoys absolutely no *right* over their person.[55] The relation between mother and child among the Lesghians is regulated by Islamic law,[56] which however differs very little from that of the other North Caucasians. According to Islamic law, the mother has more rights over her girls than over her boys; the girls are subject to her till they become of age; the boys, only till they are seven or nine years old.[57] Her authority can be compared to that of a tutor, and generally the father will not interfere. The right over the person of the child is everywhere in the Caucasus a right exclusively enjoyed by the father.

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[47] Leontovič, II, p. 26, § 98.

[48] Leontovič, II, p. 27, § 103.

[49] Kovalevskij, *Coutume contemp.*, p. 348.

[50] Leontovič, II, p. 26, § 101.

[51] Leontovič, II, p. 251, § 145: Čto kasaetsja prav roditelej nad dočer'mi, to takovyja kak u čečencev, tak i u všech drugich gorskich plemen, soveršenno odinakovy."

[52] Leontovič, II, pp. 250 (§ 134), 251 (§ 147).

[53] Leontovič, II, p. 251, § 147.

[54] Leontovič, II, p. 250 (§ 135), II, p. 112 (8).

[55] Leontovič, II, p. 112, § 8.

[56] Kovalevskij, *Zakon*, II, p. 201.

[57] Bergstrasser, *Grundzüge des islamischen Rechts*, p. 87.

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MAP III

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# Islamism in the Caucasus and Neighbouring Territory

Abbreviations: A. = Autonomous Territory of the Adyghé
Abkh. = Abkhazia
Chech. = Chechnia
K. = Karabagh
K. B. = Kabarda-Balkaria
Kch. = Karachai
O. N. = North Ossetia
O. S. = South Ossetia

Sunnites in the majority
Shiites in the majority
Islamites (Sunnites and Shiites) in the minority

After G. Zawadowski, "Situation de l'Islam en U.R.S.S. (1939—1945)," *En Terre d'Islam*, XXI (1946), No. 33.

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# IV. CONCLUSION

## Chapter XIV

## Conclusion

### § 1. MARRIAGE AND THE FAMILY OF THE CAUCASIANS IN THE LIGHT OF HISTORY

#### 1. Russian (Soviet and Pre-Soviet) Influence

That the Russian military, political, and cultural influence has greatly affected, changed and unified, the marriage and family customs of the various peoples of the Caucasus cannot be denied. We need but recall some of the many facts we have pointed out in our comparative study. 177.58 583

(1) The Russians, we have seen, severely prosecute *polygyny* (*supra*, p. 39) and not without success. The relative scarcity of polygamous unions throughout North Caucasus and the neighbourhood, regardless of how ethnically different the tribes may be, must be attributed, at least in part, to Russian legislation. 177.59 595

(2) In recent times both mates have begun to enjoy greater *freedom of choice*, (*supra*, p. 76), thanks to the Russian insistance on freedom in mating as a *conditio sine qua non* for a legally valid marriage. [584]

(3) We have also observed how rapidly *bride purchase* was disappearing or assuming an entirely different significance throughout the Caucasus, again, at least in part, owing to Russian legislation, industrialization, and education (*supra*, pp. 83, 87, 90). [583]

(4) *Bride price*, *bloodwite*, etc. were formerly measured in cows, horses, sheep, and oxen, but now they are measured in money : not in live stock but in Russian rubles ! (*Supra*, pp. 82—89, 95, 168—179).

(5) The Russian opposition to *bride capture* has helped to make the practice become rare (*supra*, pp. 97 f). It was Russian positive law gaining ascendency over the *patria potestas* and its insistance on freedom of choice that encouraged and even defended elopement (*supra*, p. 98).

(6) The general disappearance of slavery and the associated sociological consequences, e. g., *the marriage impediments*, [582] 567

(7) the *less severe penalties for sex crimes* which are gradually being adopted by all tribes of Caucasia (*supra*, pp. 175, 180). 177.68 664

(8) and the improvement in the *status of the female sex*, all must be reckoned among the effects of Russian and Soviet influence. 177.56 562

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177.87
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Speaking of Russian influence, we must emphasize that nothing tends to unify the marriage and family observances among the mountaineers as much as formal education, formal Russian, and especially Soviet education (*supra*, p. 147).

Russian influence and the consequent change in customary marriage and family law (and we may include changes in Islamic law) are most strongly felt near and in large Russian cities like Grozny, along the coast of the Black and Caspian Sea, and, in general, wherever industrialization is making great strides. It is more strongly felt in the lowlands, less in the highlands, and only slightly in isolated villages.

## 2. Islamic Influence

177.58
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Going somewhat deeper into history, we find a second principle, changing and unifying the customary law of the various mountain peoples of Caucasia, Islamic law, known as the *šarî'a*.

(1) A number of *marriage impediments*, e. g., the "waiting period," the impediment of relationship by milk, etc. have either been introduced by Mohammedan missionaries or, at least, greatly modified by Islamic law (pp. 55, 66, 69).

(2) We have observed in not a few instances a conflict between the native *adats* and the *šarî'a*, e. g., the struggle between *obligatory levirate* and Islamic optional levirate (*supra*, p. 73).

(3) Non-virgins are sometimes given *freedom of choice* in mating (*supra*, pp. 78 f), while virgins are not, a practice in full accord with the teaching of the Šâfi'itic School.

(4) Thanks to Islamic influence, genuine *bride price* has throughout North Caucasus tended to become a form of dowry, called *kebin* (*supra*, p. 90).

(5) Penalties for *abduction* (*supra*, pp. 92—96),

(6) *the strict separation of sexes* (*supra*, pp. 106 f, 166),

(7) some *birth* customs, such as, naming of children, etc. (*supra*, pp. 142 f),

(8) some *engagement observances* (*supra*, pp. 100—110),

(9) some *divorce* laws (*supra*, pp. 133—137),

(10) *husband-wife relations* (*supra*, pp. 152—156),

(11) *parent-child relations* (*supra*, pp. 138—149, 187),

(12) certain *penal laws* for sexual offenses (*supra*, p. 171),

(13) *slavery* (*supra*, p. 65),

(14) and the general improvement in the *relative position of sexes*, e. g., acquisition of inheritance rights in Kabardia and Ossetia,[1] the *kebin*, and others—

all have been greatly modified by Islamic law. The *šarî'a* is doubtless one of the main unifyng principles in the marriage and family laws of the Caucasians.

However, the strength of this influence and the opposition against it have not been the same everywhere. Islamism has had very little influence on the marriage and family of the Southern Caucasians, except, of course, in Sakataly

[1] Ladyženskij, "Zur Erforschung der Rechtsgewohnheiten der Bergvölker des Kaukasus," *Zeitsch. f. Ethnologie*, XLII (1930), p. 241.

[Sic — Analyst]

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among the Ingiloi (Islamized Georgians). It has effected the greatest changes in Daghestan, where it has existed the longest. It assumes a middle position in Circassia and Chechnia, where, however, there are important tribal differences that must be taken into account. The Abadzekhs, Shapsugs, Natukhazh, Beshilbey, and Barakey follow their own customary laws rather than the *šarî'a* much more so than do the Bzhedukh, Beslenians, and Kabardians who place both customary and Islamic law on the same level. In regard to the Chechen tribes, we must remember, the *šarî'a* was not accepted by the Ichkerians and Chechens properly so-called till Shamyl's time, while the Karabulaks, Kists, Galgai and Galashi have never expressly aknowledged it.[2] 177.58 58

Of the non-Caucasians, the Kumyks and the Nogai have been the most thoroughly Islamized,[3] being among the first to accept the Koran. The Ossetes and the Karachai disregard the *šarî'a* almost completely, following their own *adats* instead.[4]

### 3. Lesser Historical Influences

(1) **Christianity.** Christianity, too, has left its marks on the customary marriage and family law of the Caucasians. For example, one of the strongest counteractions against Avestic *endogamy* in Northwest and South Caucasus was Christianity (*supra*, pp. 53 f). Official *naming* of children (*supra*, p. 143), official *marriage contracts*, some *penal laws* (e. g., *supra*, p. 178), and, in some cases, changes in *divorce laws* and in the practice of *polygyny* (*supra*, p. 42) are certainly of Christian origin. [551]

Christianity, of course, has had the greatest influence among the Georgians of the lowlands, and considerably less among the mountain tribes of Georgia, and still less among the Northwestern Caucasians and Chechens, and least of all among the Lesghians. [595]

(2) **Avesta.** We have found a few traces of Avestic teaching in the marriage and family observances of the Caucasians, such as the rule of *endogamy* among all the Lesghians (and in pre-Christian Georgia). Zoroastrianism is also a possible explanation for the *local endogamy* of the Svans (*supra*, p. 53) and perhaps also for the obligation of purification after childbirth by washing in cow's urine.[5] The sphere of Iranian influence stretched far beyond Georgia and Daghestan. There is no longer any doubt, for example, that the laws of the Vendidaťs were known also to the Ossetes.[6] Nevertheless, the influence on North Caucasian marriage and family law has been only slight. [844]

(3) **Armenian, Byzantine, and Roman Influences.** There have been other historical causes for the change and unification of the marriage and family *adats* of the Caucasians, such as Armenian, Byzantine, Roman influence etc., but

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[2] Leontovič, II, p. 233, § 8.

[3] Leontovič, II, p. 233, § 4.

[4] Leontovič, II, p. 232, § 7.

[5] Kovalevskij, *Zakon*, I, pp. 97 f. Cf. also Zacharias, *Protohistory*, p. 351.

[6] Ladyženskij, *op. cit.*, p. 243.

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177 58 These have been felt either exclusively among the Southern Caucasians or have not 56 been very great. The Roman-Byzantine influence was passed on to the North Caucasian tribes mainly through the Armenians and Georgians, which, however, did not affect their customary laws to any appreciable extent. Kovalevskij had a tendency to overemphasize these influences : he believed, for example, that the practice of offering an engagement gift to the bride or her family was of Roman-Byzantine origin,[7] and that the status of the Caucasian women had been greatly affected by Byzantine law.[8]

## § 2. MARRIAGE AND THE FAMILY OF THE CAUCASIANS IN THE LIGHT OF ANTHROPOLOGY

### 1. Analysis of Caucasian Adats : Predominant Character of North Caucasian Marriage and Family Customary Laws That of a Pastoral Nomadic Civilization

58 After having removed the above-mentioned historical influences and changes 171 in the marriage and family laws of the Caucasians, we now arrive at a more or less pure *adat*-law. Considering the marriage and family customary laws as a whole, we must conclude that we have before us a typically pastoral nomadic[9] marriage and family, and this although there are no pastoral nomads in the Caucasus in the strict sense of the word. Though some of the elements we shall now enumerate are also found in other cultures (for example, adultery is sometimes punished as severely by food-gatherers as by pastoral nomads), it is not the individual example we wish to stress but rather the entire institution of marriage and family taken as a whole. It should also be noted that the following summary is only an incomplete and general one : for details, therefore, the reader must look up the references given.

[595] (1) We have seen, for example, how widespread *polygyny* was among the North Caucasians.[10] We fully agree with Briffault, who has shown that all pastoral societies and societies which have passed " through a prolonged pastoral stage are all without exception in the highest degree polygamous."[11]

[597] (2) The *atalyk*,[12]

[391] (3) the *levirate*,[13]

(4) *patrilocality*,[14]

[7] Kovalevskij, *Zakon*, I, p. 136.

[8] Kovalevskij, *op. cit.*, I, pp. 139 f. He treats of these influences in detail in *op. cit.*, I, pp. 83—122.

[9] By pastoral nomadic we understand the various customs and laws commonly found among all the pastoral nomadic Turco-Mongols and Indo-Europeans. Many of the components of the Semitic and Hamitic cultures are also pastoral nomadic. Whether the pastoral nomadic culture is a primary (i. e., immediately following upon the food-gathering stage, being the oldest form of animal-breeding) or only secondary or even tertiary (i. e., the result of later specialization, a further development of a pastoral-agrarian culture) does not affect our analysis nor any of our conclusions.

[10] *Supra*, pp. 39—50.

[11] *The Mothers*, II, p. 256.

[12] *Supra*, p. 57.

[13] *Supra*, pp. 71—75.

[14] *Supra*, pp. 124 f.

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(5) and the *patria potestas*[15] in the extreme form as found in North Caucasia are all typically pastoral nomadic.

(6) The father alone has the *right to choose a mate* for his children, and [593] boys are given more consideration in the choice than the girls.[16]

(7) The *bride price*, though found in other cultures also, has a typically pastoral colouring in the Caucasus, since it is measured mainly in cattle and horses.[17] Bride wealth as a *price* in the strict sense of the word is found almost exclusively among pastoral peoples.[18]

(8) *Bride stealing*[19] is a common practice among pastoral nomads. All Turco-Tartars, Indo-Europeans, and the Semites have or at least have had frequent recourse to marriage by capture.

(9) The various *engagement prohibitions*,[20]

(10) the segregation of the bride in a special hut *(amhara)*, the obligation of the young man to cover his entire head and face except for an opening for his eyes,[21] the obligation of the bride and groom to hide during the wedding,[22] the bride's veiling, taciturnity, resistence, the post-nuptial obligation of the [834] couple not to appear together before their parents or older brethren,[23] all these customary laws are in no way a vestige of former group marriage, fraternal polyandry, bride capture and the like, as we have sufficiently refuted above, but they are most likely an expression of the *extreme modesty peculiar to pastoral peoples*, a reaction to the "great change" from single to married life, more strongly felt among pastoral nomads than any other peoples.

(11) It is the *male side who proposes to the female and not vice versa*,[24] likewise a phenomenon found infallibly among pastoral nomads.

(12) The *great longing for children, especially for boys*,[25] although found [842] in other cultures, reaches its highest point among pastoral nomads. Connected with this craving after male children is the custom of marrying a second wife in case the first is sterile or "unable" to bear male offspring.

(13) The *wedding customs*[26] are typically pastoral nomadic in character: dramatization of bride capture, horse-racing, the proof of virginity with subsequent rejoicing if the bride is found "chaste," or mutilation and execution if found "unchaste," the special ceremonies and wishes for fertility, especially for the birth of many male children, the triple encircling of the fireplace, etc. are all typically pastoral nomadic.

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[15] *Supra*, pp. 183—186.

[16] *Supra*, pp. 76—81.

[17] *Supra*, pp. 82—91.

[18] *Supra*, p. 91.

[19] *Supra*, pp. 91—96.

[20] *Supra*, pp. 106—110.

[21] Seidlitz, "Die Abchasen," *Globus*, LXVI (1894), p. 40.

[22] *Supra*, p. 124.

[23] *Supra*, p. 166. For similar customs among the ancient Indo-Europeans see *infra*, p. 198.

[24] *Supra*, pp. 100—106.

[25] *Supra*, pp. 124, 139 ff.

[26] *Supra*, pp. 125—128, especially Table 16

1 [i.e. a trait found among the Caucasians--Analyst]

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58 171 (14) Then there is the fact that *a woman constitutes an asylum* for any murderer,[27] a fact found among the North Caucasians as well as among the Asiatic nomads.

(15) The *adats regarding divorce*,[28]

(16) the *penalties for sexual offenses*,[29]

(17) the *division of labour*,[30] allowing men plenty of time for loafing, sport, and raids,

(18) and many other *adats which place the female sex at a great disadvantage*[31] remind us very much of a pastoral society.

171 596 614 (19) Then, of course, there are the many other features of the North Caucasian marriage and family *adats* which we have been able only to touch upon rather superficially, for they refer to the joint-family and kinship in general rather than to the biological family. The North Caucasian society, for example, has had till recently a *patriarchal joint-family organization*[32] very similar to that found among pastoral nomads. Just as among the Indo-Europeans and the Turco-Mongols the central interest of the North Caucasian has been, and in places still is, the joint-family. According to the *adats*, the individual family, till it becomes independent, plays a very subordinate part in society. The tribe and state mean but little. Crimes, criminals, and penalties in the strict sense of the word are of very recent origin : any damage done to the sib (not so much to any individual !), whether accidental or intentional, are the only form [681] of "crime" found in the *adats*. The reparation of the damages made by the "offending" sib (not the individual who inflicted the harm) corresponds to our [428] concept of penalty. We have also said very little about the *inheritance rights* of the mountaineers of North Caucasia, for to speak of inheritance without first describing the joint-family and kinship *adats* would be impossible. It seems that originally, just as is the case in pastoral nomadic societies, the rights were restricted to the male children with special privileges reserved for the first-born [628] son. Finally, there is hardly another place in the world where *blood-feuds* are so common as in the Caucasus ; and, we know, pastoral nomadic peoples have always been fond of settling their quarrels in this particular manner, more so than any other people. In a word, we are dealing with a "pastoral nomadic" marriage and family when we deal with North Caucasian marriage and family *adats*.

171 We must however, keep in mind that there are different zones of intensity of nomadic traits : in North Caucasia the most pastoral nomadic in character are the marriage and family of the Cherkess ; then perhaps follow those of the Abkhaz, then the Chechens, and finally the Lesghians. The Ossetine *adats* are perhaps even more typically pastoral nomadic than those of the Cherkess. The Kumykian and Nogain *adats*, as well as those of other Turco-Mongols of North Caucasus,

[27] *Supra*, pp. 159 f.
[28] *Supra*, pp. 132—137.
[29] *Supra*, pp. 168—179, 182.
[30] *Supra*, pp. 156—159.
[31] *Supra*, pp. 152—156.
[32] *Supra*, pp. 44 f.

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are also typically pastoral nomadic. The South Caucasians, of course, possess 171
considerably less pastoral nomadic traits than do our North Caucasians.

## 2. Temporal and Causal Designation

That the marriage and family customary laws of the various North Cau- 174
casian mountain tribes should be so distinctly pastoral nomadic demands an explanation. When, why and how have these *adats* acquired such a character?

A final answer to this problem is impossible without first having solved the problem of race, original home, and many other related problems regarding the *individual* tribes, such as their early migrations, cultural contacts, and their history in general. Moreover, not only is Caucasology still in its infancy, but the Caucasus is itself one of the most culturally complicated areas in the world. Immediately south of the Caucasus we have the great ancient cultural centres (Ancient Near East!); immediately north of the Caucasus we have the steppes, the scene of many an early migration; finally, the Caucasus itself was used during these migrations as a corridor and sometimes as a place of refuge. In an attempt to determine the causal and temporal relations of what we termed "pastoral nomadic" it is very essential not to assume more than our present knowledge of the Caucasus will allow us. We wish therefore only to throw some light upon the problem and to offer a partial solution.

But what do we know about the origin, the original home, the early migrations, cultural contacts, and history of the North Caucasian peoples and tribes? Very little indeed! We know only that the North Caucasian mountaineers lived elsewhere formerly and that they would never have settled in their present isolated mountain villages if they had not been forced to do so by their enemies. We also know that these migrations began long before the ancient Greek and Latin writes became aware of their existence.

Fortunately, prehistory offers us some useful information toward the solution of our problem. The abundance of finds in North Caucasus, Southeastern Europe and Southwestern Asia leave no doubt about this region being the home of a highly-developed pastoral nomadic civilization. It is here that the original home of the Indo-Europeans most likely is to be sought, and, as Vambéry pointed out almost seventy-five years ago,[33] the original home of the Altai nomads may have extended up to the Caspian Sea, the immediate vicinity of North Caucasus.

The steppes immediately north of the Caucasus was a stage on which various pastoral peoples repeatedly appeared, acted their parts, and then disappeared behind the scenes, giving way to other nomadic hordes more powerful than themselves.[34] The powerful nomadic Scythians (c. 800—300 B.C.)[35] were

[33] *Die primitive Kultur des turko-tatarischen Volkes*, p. 14.

[34] F. Hančar, "Die Beile aus Koban in der Wiener Sammlung kaukasischer Altertümer," *Wiener Prähistorische Zeitschrift*, XXI (1934), pp. 12 ff; Hančar, "Kaukasus-Luristan," *Eurasia Septentrionalis Antiqua*, 1934, Minns volume, pp. 47—112.
W. Schmidt, *Rassen und Völker*, II, pp. 174—196.

[35] Cf. E. H. Minns, *Scythians and Greeks*, Cambridge, 1913.
M. I. Rostovtzeff, *Iranians and Greeks in South Russia*, Oxford, 1922.

the first nomads to establish themselves in the Caucasus, after having forced the Cimmerians (c. 1000 B. C.) into the background. The Scythians were predominantly a pastoral people, while the tribes they subjected were agriculturalists. Then we see new waves of Indo-Europeans, the Sarmatians, sweep over the Scythian country (c. 300 B.C.—A.D. 200): we see the Maeotes, Sindae, Sauromatians, etc. submitting to the newcomers.

This contact with the nomadic civilization continued up to our own times. To recall some of the history of this region—in the first century B. C. Crimea and the northern coasts of the Black and Azov Sea belonged to the Roman Empire. It was in this region that the Goths appeared. In the fourth century the Huns became the masters of the region north of the Caucasus. In the sixth century the Khazars,[36] Avars,[37] and the Bulgars appeared in North Caucasus; in the ninth century we meet the Magyars there; in the eleventh century the Kumans,[38] and in the thirteenth and fourteenth century the Mongols, driving the inhabitants of the Caucasus higher and higher into the mountains. In the fifteenth century the Turks conquered Crimea, and the Georgian kings were made tributary to the Mongols.

A glance at our ethnographical map of the Caucasus will suffice to convince us that the situation today is essentially the same: today the North Caucasians live in very close contact with peoples who, originally if not any longer, possessed a typically nomadic culture. The Mountain Tartars (Balkarians) are most probably descendents of the Khazars or Volga-Bulgars. The Karakaitaghs seem to be turkized Mongols. The Nogai are descendents of the Golden Horde. And besides these originally Asiatic nomads we find in the Caucasus such peoples as the Kalmucks, Kumyks, etc.

This constant contact with nomadic societies perhaps from the very beginning of pastoral nomadism—certainly since the Scythian period almost 3000 years ago—throws light upon the intricate problem: Why, how and when did the North Caucasian marriage and family customary laws become so pastoral nomadic? This contact, although not sufficient to *solve* the problem, can and actually does shed considerable light upon the *adats* of the North Caucasians.

But it is not only the contact we must consider but the actual similarity of the family organization. We shall therefore briefly describe the ancient Indo-European family and then the common features of the Altai society. Physical anthropology has shown that the Caucasians have mixed (racially) with nomadic peoples coming from the North;[39] linguistics proclaims the same

I. Hančar, "Die Ausweitung unseres Geschichtsbildes durch die sowjetische Urgeschichtsforschung," *Blick nach Osten*, 1949, No. 1—2, pp. 51—61; "Hallstatt-Kaukasus, ein Beitrag zur Klärung des Kimmerierproblems," *Mitteilung der Oesterreichischen Gesellschaft für Anthropologie, Ethnologie und Prähistorie*, LXXIII—LXXVII (1947), pp. 152—167.

[36] At least the rulers, if not all Khazars, were Turks.

[37] These Avars have no connection with the Lesghians bearing the same name. The Avars referred to are proto-Mongols, and therefore neither Turks nor true Caucasians.

[38] The Kumans are also known as the Kypchaks, or, as the Russians sometimes call them, the "Polovcy."

[39] *Supra*, pp. 11 f. The Ossetes, for example, especially certain tribes, have a strong Caucasian strain. Many centuries ago some Ossetine groups have been actually Georgianized.

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in regard to their languages;[40] cultural anthropology, as our study clearly shows, must admit a very strong cultural connection between the North Caucasians and the various nomadic peoples with whom they have been in contact. 174 59.

Although there is still much controversy connected with the complicated Indo-European problem, there is almost complete harmony when the marriage and family customary laws are being described.[41] E. Hermann[42] and O. Schrader[43] are no doubt responsible for this harmony. 174 59 58

The first remarkable fact about the Indo-European society is the essential absence of totemistic and mother-right practices.[44] Indo-European social life (and, we might add, religion and economy) centred round (1) the joint-family and (2) especially its male members. Although a distinction was drawn between a biological and an undivided family, the biological family was of little significance except in connection with the undivided family to which it belonged. All property belonged to the joint-family, at the head of which was the patriarch. He enjoyed the *patria potestas* in the strict sense of the word. His wife (or wives, as the case may be) was subject to him in all things. Juridically speaking, her condition and that of all female members of the family hardly differed from that of little children. Women had no part in public affairs, no part in sacrifice. In fact, women were hardly better off than slaves. Inheritance rights were reserved for the male members of the family; the first-born had very special rights. Purity of blood of all members of the joint-family was greatly insisted upon. This seems to have been the main reason why a woman was generally punished with death for a serious offense.[45] This was also most probably the reason for the custom of placing a new-born child on the ground and inviting the father to pick it up as a sign that he recognized it as his own. The girls of the family had no freedom of choice in mating; they were either captured, or, as was generally the case, they were sold off, so to speak, to the highest bidder. The bride price consisted mainly in cattle. The main matrimonial impediments were those of consanguinity and disparity of social rank. The marriage was, of course, patrilocal. The chief marriage ceremonies were those of the triple encircling of the fireplace and the bridal procession (uxorem ducere, γυναῖκα ἄγεσθαι). Virginity of the bride was very highly esteemed. The chief purpose of marriage

[40] We need but recall such important words as *aul, kalym, adat*, etc. The language of the Ossetes contains many Caucasianisms; on the other hand, the Caucasian languages clearly show Indo-European contact.

[41] Compare, for example, the description of the Indo-European family organization as presented in Dr. Wolfgang Philipp's *Weibwertung oder Mutterrecht?* (Ost-Europa Verlag, Königsberg and Berlin, 1942), a Nazi publication, with that of Prof. W. Koppers, "Die Indogermanenfrage im Lichte der historischen Völkerkunde," *Anthropos*, XXX (1935), No. 1—2, pp. 8—11, or of Alphons Nehring, "Studien zur indogermanischen Kultur und Urheimat," *Wiener Beiträge zur Kulturgeschichte und Linguistik*, IV (1936), pp. 167—181.

[42] "Die Eheformen der Urindogermanen," *Nachrichten von der Gesellschaft der Wissenschaft in Göttingen, Berlin*, 1934; also "Die Eheformen der Urindogermanen," *Forschungen und Fortschritte*, X (1934), p. 235.

[43] *Reallexikon der indogermanischen Altertumskunde*, Berlin, 1929, 2 volumes.

[44] W. Koppers, *op. cit.*, p. 8.

[45] Men involved in sex offenses were generally not punished.

174 was the procreation of children, but especially of sons, who would one day
58 become the performers of the sacred rites connected with ancestor worship.
59 The cult for the departed was connected with the cult of the fireplace and was looked upon as the most sacred duty of the individual and of the family. Since the members of the same sib were descendents of the same ancestors, they were bound to one another in life and in death. This solidarity explains the frequency of family feuds, for blood-revenge was considered a very sacred duty. Polygyny was relatively common ; polyandry, however, was taboo. The proof of virginity, the levirate, and the regulations regarding divorce and many other matters are very similar to those still in practice among the Ossetes of the Caucasus. It is indeed worthy of note that the Ossetine *adats* differ but slightly from the customary laws of their ancestors, while, as we have observed throughout the present study, the North Caucasians, especially the Cherkess, the Abkhaz, and the Ingushi differ but little from their neighbours, the Ossetes.[46]

[177] The contact with the Indo-Europeans, especially with the Ossetes and their ancestors, must have been very important. We need but think of the powerful Scythians, and then, later on, of the Alans who made their presence felt as far east as China and as far west as Spain. Many of the customs, especially of the Cherkess, Abkhaz, and Ingushi have certainly been borrowed from the Ossetes : the many legends about ancient heroes, especially the so-called Nart-stories, and many a godlet now worshipped by the North Caucasian are certainly of Indo-European origin.

[178] If we now compare the Turco-Mongolian society with that of the North Caucasians and ancient Indo-Europeans we shall find a striking similarity in the family organizations of the three groups.[47] To point out a few of the more

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[46] Among other practices of the ancient Indo-Europeans might be mentioned child-marriages, the *snohačestvo*, the obligation of the bride to keep silence, the custom of veiling and covering the bride's face, mother-in-law inheritance, etc. See especially E. Hermann, "Die Eheformen der Urindogermanen," *Nachrichten der Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen*, pp. 39—62. We have based our description of the ancient Indo-European family on : Koppers, *op. cit.*, pp. 8—11 ; A. Nehring, *l. c.* ; O. Schrader, *op. cit.*, *passim* ; E. Hermann, *op. cit.*, *passim* ; W. Philipp, *op. cit.*, pp. 17—43.

The ancient *Slavs* countenanced polygamy, a custom that continued to the tenth century A. D. Polygyny, however, was a privilege of the rich. The impediment of consanguinity and of disparity of socal rank were strictly insisted upon. Girls would be married off against their wills. We also find the *snohačestvo* among the ancient Slavs. A wife was acquired either by purchase or capture. A distinction between a joint-family *(rodovaja or boljaja semja)* and the individual *(ocovskaja or malaja semja)* was made, with a patriarch *(starosta* or *staračina)* at the head. It is also interesting to note that the same concept of a household is found in Russia as in North Caucasia, namely "fireplace." Blood-beuds, bloodwite, the disadvantageous position of the female sex, the *patria potestas* and many other features of the Slavic family life very closely resemble the Caucasian society. Ancestor worship centred round the fireplace and the male head of the joint-family was the family-priest. Vestiges of the cult are still to be found in Ukraine (E. Ellnett, *Historic Origin and Social Development of Family Life in Russia*, pp. 2 ff.) For more about the Slavic family organization see Zdenko Vinski, *Die südslavische Grossfamilie in ihrer Beziehung zum asiatischen Grossraum*. Many of these elements are still found among the Armenians, Persians, Kurds, etc.

[47] See Koppers, *op. cit.*, p. 15 ; A. Nehring, *op. cit.*, pp. 169—173. As W. Schmidt pointed out more than 20 years ago in his *Völker und Kulturen*, elements of the pastoral nomadic civilization are also found among the Hamito-Semitic peoples.

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essential parallels—characteristic of the Turco-Mongolian family are: the 174
almost complete absence of mother-right and totemistic practices, the emphasis 58
placed on the joint-family and the male members, special rights for the first- 59
born son, importance of the male head of the family and the *patria potestas*, the disadvantageous position of the female sex, blood-feuds, exogamy, the *kalym*, which is usually paid in live-stock, the dread of incest, the severe penalties for sexual offenses, fireplace ceremony at weddings, the high esteem for the bride's virginity, the unusual craving for male children, the importance of the bridal procession, etc.

There is also a religious connection between the North Caucasians, the [177]
Indo-Europeans, and the Turco-Mongols, a connection that confirms our claim of the existence of a social connection between the three groups. It is not only the *similarity* of the religions of the three groups that we must keep in mind but also the intimate connection, the *organic* connection, between the nomadic social and religious forms. The solidarity which exists among the members of [769]
a sib, the great longing for male children, blood-feuds, the levirate, the *patria potestas*, the wedding custom of walking around the fireplace, and many other practices are fundamentally connected with ancestor worship and cult for the dead. Ancestor worship is one of the essential features of the religion of the Indo-Europeans, the Turco-Mongols, and the North Caucasians. Moreover, [752]
among all three groups ancestor worship is linked up with the worship of the fireplace. Another very essential part of the pastoral nomadic religion was the custom of sacrificing horses. W. Koppers has shown the great similarity between [171]
the horse-sacrifices of the Indo-European and Altai peoples;[48] R. Bleichsteiner proved beyond question the existence of the practice throughout the highlands of Caucasia.[49] Horse-sacrifices among the Indo-Europeans and the North Caucasians are certainly of Inner Asiatic origin.

Thus we see that even though the North Caucasians are not pastoral nomadic in the economic sense—the economy of the steppes is impossible in the mountains, especially in the unfertile valleys of the Caucasus—they are pastoral nomadic in their social organization. *A connection between the North Caucasian society and that of Inner Asia is beyond question.*

### 3. Vestiges of More Ancient Cultures In the Marriage and Family Customary Laws of the North Caucasians

As is only natural, the deeper we delve into the history of the marriage 611
and family *adats* the more obscure the history becomes. 562

First of all there are the so-called mother-right vestiges which we must consider. It is interesting to note that the intensity of these vestiges among the three different groups of Caucasians (Northwestern, Northeastern, and Southern)

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[48] W. Koppers, *op. cit.*, pp. 12 f, 18—22. See also W. Koppers, "Pferdeopfer und Pferdekult der Indogermanen," *Wiener Beiträge zur Kulturgeschichte und Linguistik*, IV (1936), pp. 280—411.

[49] "Rossweihe und Pferderennen im Totenkult der kaukasischen Völker," *Wiener Beiträge zur Kulturgeschichte und Linguistik*, IV (1936), pp. 412—495.

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seems to be inversely proportional to the intensity of pastoral traits in the given group: the Southern Caucasians possess by far more vestiges of a mother-right culture than the Northerners; and again, the Northeasterners possess more of these vestiges than the Northwesterners.

It is of course difficult to determine just what one may call a mother-right trait and what not. Some of the practices we shall now review briefly are therefore only doubtfully vestiges of such a culture; others must be considered as good indications of such a culture; finally, others, I think, can be called genuine vestiges.

(1) *Before delivery a Cherkess woman goes to her own mother's house to give birth to her child;* her husband may not visit her during this time.[50]

(2) Our chapter on marital, parental, and kinship avoidances contains a number of possible vestiges, especially *the temporary return of the bride to her family after the wedding* and the temporary *visit-marriage.*[51]

(3) Then there is the *important part played by the mother in the wedding customs* of the mountaineers,[52] which we termed "suspiciously matriarchal." The Lesghian mother (not father!) welcomes the bride into the house, as if she were the head of the family. It is the mother who holds the bride's hand as she crosses the threshold. It is the maternal uncle who has led the bride's horse in the Ingiloian bridal procession from the bride's home to that of the groom. It is the mother who puts the honey into the mouth of the bride as a sign that she has a sweet life ahead of her under such an amiable mistress. And it was the mother who, by presenting the engagement gifts, concluded the betrothal contract.

(4) If a *murderer kills a pregnant woman he is obliged to pay an additional* fine of Rs. 30 to the victim's (not husband's) sib; the Rs. 30 are perhaps for the loss of the unborn child, who formerly belonged to the mother's sib.[53]

(5) The *mother of the girl recieves a horse as part of the Ossetine*[54] *and Temirgoian*[55] *bride price.*

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[50] Bleichsteiner ("Kaukasische Völker," *Reallexikon der Vorgeschichte*, VI, p. 259 f) accepts this custom as a true vestige; Ladyženskij (FT, p. 188) rejects it. In our opinion the practice may be rightly looked upon as a *possible*, though not absolutely certain, vestige. In his translation of Ladyženskij's article Dirr adds a note, disagreeing with the author: "Ganz so einfach liegt wohl die Sache nicht. Die Mutter konnte ja auch zu ihrer Tochter kommen." In other words, Dirr objects that if the only reason for the return of the expectant mother to her family were merely to receive the necessary assistance at childbirth, as Ladyženskij believes to be the case, then why does not the mother come to her daughter's home instead? Ladyženskij takes up the question again and defends his position in a subsequent article ("Zur Erforschung der Rechtsgewohnheiten der Bergvölker des Kaukasus," *Zeitschrift für Ethnologie*, XLII [1930], pp. 238 f). He argues that it is simply impossible for the mother to go to her daughter's home: in the first place, she must stay at home, being the mistress of the household; in the second place, it is strictly prohibited by custom for her to live at the home of her son-in-law at any time whatsoever. This answer to Dirr's objection is certainly insufficient: if the daughter actually returned to her family merely because she needs help at childbirth, it would seem rather strange that she could not get this necessary assistance at her own home from her mother-in-law or her sisters-in-law.

[51] *Supra*, pp. 165 ff.

[52] *Supra*, pp. 124, 128.

[53] *Supra*, p. 139.

[54] *Supra*, p. 87. The horse is called *madi-bash*.

[55] Vasil'kov, "Očerk byta temirgoevcev," SMOMPK, XXIX (1901), p. 91.

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(6) The *maternal uncle* appears on the scene in marriage and family affairs as an important figure. A special part of the bride price (*madi-arvadai-kal*) of the Ossetes is reserved for the maternal uncle.[56] Among the Ingushi and a number of other tribes in North Caucasia, if someone drinks to the health of his friend's sister and then gives him a present, the friend is obliged to arrange a marriage between his sister and his friend, otherwise a blood-feud will be the result. This custom, as we have said, overrules even the inviolable *patria potestas* and all the *adats* regarding the choice of mates. It is, as it were, an acceptance of the bride price by the brother (" maternal uncle ") without handing the bride over to the purchaser.[57] Moreover, an Ingush lad, after reaching the age when he is allowed to carry arms, has a right to a special present from his maternal uncle. In fact, the youth may go and steal the present with impunity, because he has a *right* to it.[58] This, I think, may very easily be a vestige of a former inheritance rule through the maternal uncle.[59] The Khevsur orphan automatically falls to the guardianship of the maternal uncle.[60] Kovalevskij conjectures that the Georgian institution known as *tsatsali*[61] may be a vestige of the custom to adopt a maternal uncle.[62]

Kovalevskij, Post and other ethnologists of the 19th century " found " an astoundingly large number of " undeniable " vestiges of a former matriarchal culture in the Caucasus. Any custom that would fit into the false principle " mater certa, pater incertus " was " infallibly " a matriarchal vestige. Thus the *atalyk*,[63] the taboos forbidding a father to carry his own child, the prohibition for anyone to ask about the health of another person's wife or child, etc.[64] were all " vestiges " of former matriarchy. The Cherkess *tleush*[65] and the Ingush *taipa*[66] were likewise " vestiges." Kovalevskij's article " La famille matriarcale au Caucase "[67] is a typical example of the matriarchy mania under which the scientists of the past century laboured. Every now and then they would come across a true vestige or a possible indication of matriarchy or mother-right, and these we have incorporated in the present work. The other " vestiges " we have rejected and offered other, more plausible explanations and interpretations.

Russian interest in the problem of mother-right has again been revived. The Russian ethnologist maintains that matriarchy was universal at one time: it was a stage through which all civilizations had to pass, while patriarchy is only

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[56] *Supra*, p. 87.

[57] *Supra*, p. 101. A Berže, Čečnja i čečency, p. 98; Leontovič, II, pp. 251 f, § 149; Kovalevskij, " La famille matriarcale au Caucase," *L'Anthropologie*, IV (1893), pp. 271 f.

[58] Jakovlev, *Inguši*, p. 47.

[59] This seems to be a genuine vestige.

[60] Kovalevskij, *op. cit.*, p. 273. The maternal uncle also plays an important part in the Khevsurian blood-feuds (Hahn, *Aus dem Kaukasus*, p. 273).

[61] *Supra*, p. 182.

[62] Kovalevskij, *l. c.*

[63] *Supra*, p. 57.

[64] *Supra*, pp. 149 f, 162—167.

[65] *Supra*, p. 55.

[66] *Supra*, p. 84.

[67] *L'Anthropologie*, IV (1893), pp. 259—278. See also Kovalevskij's *Zakon*, I, pp. 3—27.

611 a further development of this stage with the avunculate as a link between
114 matriarchy and patriarchy.[68] Although the modern Soviet ethnologist is very cautious about what he terms "matriarchal," it is the universality of matriarchy that must be rejected as unfounded.

174 Linguists, especially of the Marr School, have pointed out other vestiges of
611 mother-right in the Caucasus, thus confirming our ethnological argument.[1]

Prehistory too might be able to offer some valuable data, but unfortunately the prehistorian has no way of establishing a connection between his discoveries and the culture of any North Caucasian people. Nevertheless, we can use the prehistorical data at least as a negative argument: the prehistorical discoveries do not exclude the existence of an older, more or less strong mother-right influence. On the contrary, the finds confirm such an opinion. The Copper Age discoveries of the Nalchik, Kuban, and the Kuban-Terek stages point to a society with a matriarchal sib organization.[69]

In other words, we cannot deny the existence of so-called mother-right vestiges, but compared to the numerous typically pastoral nomadic traits in the marriage and family customary laws of the North Caucasians they are quite rare. Nevertheless, the mother-right vestiges are sufficient in number to be a good indication that the family organization was much more matriarchal prior to the influences from Inner Asia than afterwards.[70]

We may ask ourselves the following two important questions: Why are the northwestern marriage and family *adats* the most "pastoral nomadic," the southern the least so, while the northeastern occupy a middle position? Why should the number of so-called mother-right traits be found in the three groups precisely in the reverse order? Caucasology is still too young to allow anyone to venture upon a final and complete solution. Here too we are able to offer only a partial solution.

174 The NORTHWESTERN CAUCASIANS. The true origin of the Cherkess is uncertain. It seems that at one time they were a powerful pastoral people, occupying a vast area, the entire North Caucasian foreland and a large sector of southeastern Europe. The Cherkess legends frequently refer to the steppes, to customs and usages of a distinctly steppe culture.[71] Later on their relations with the various nomadic peoples in this region, especially with the Scythians, Sarmatians, Alans—not to mention the more recent relations with the Ossetes and Turco-Mongols—were by far closer than were those of the other Caucasians. This hypothetical origin and economic life of the Cherkess

[68] Cf. M. O. Kosven, "Avunkulat," SE, 1948, No. 1, pp. 1—46. Also the following by the same author: "Perežitki matriarchata u narodov Kavkaza," SE, 1936, No. 4—5, pp. 211 ff; *Matriarchat, Istorija Problemy*, Izkatel'stvo akademii nauk SSSR, Moskva-Leningrad, 1948, 329 pages; "Ob archivnych materialach po etnografii SSSR," SE, 1936, No. 1, pp. 132—135. See also H. P. Dyrenkova, "Perežitki materinskago roda u altajskich tjurkov," SE, 1937, No. 4, pp. 18—45.

[69] See Table 4.

[70] It is interesting to note that the last two stages of the Caucasian Copper Age (the Kuban and the Kuban-Terek stage) begin to show a distinct rise of male importance through leadership in trade, religion, metallurgy, and cattle-breeding.

[71] R. Bleichsteiner, "Kaukasische Völker," *Reallexikon der Vorgeschichte*, VI, p. 253.

1 [Cf. cat. 116, pp. 199 f. -- Analyst]

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and the contact with pastoral nomads is certainly a good explanation for the fact that the Cherkess marriage and family are the most pastoral nomadic of all North Caucasians. 174

The origin of the Abkhaz is a veritable mystery. Baschmakoff's conjecture that they came from Anatolia and that only later on, some time in the first millenium B. C., were Cherkessized in their common struggle against powerful Colchis, is indeed possible, but unfortunately there is very little evidence to support this theory.[72] In any case, we must admit that the Cherkess have exerted a very great influence on the Abkhaz.

The NORTHEASTERN CAUCASIANS. The original home of the Chechens and the Lesghians is also uncertain. It seems, however, that both the Chechens and the Lesghians came from the South rather than from the North. According to A. Dirr the brachycephalic Caucasians migrated from the South,[73] and, as we have seen in our general introduction,[74] the Lesghians are among the most brachycephalic peoples of all Caucasus. Moreover, the traditions of the Chechens and the Lesghians favour a southern origin. It is quite probable that some Georgian tribes, after themselves having been driven into the lowlands of Southern Caucasia from their original home somewhere in Asia Minor, forced toe Northeasterners into the mountains who were eventually forced to settle on the northern slopes of the Caucasus.

If we accept the hypothesis of a southern origin, the fact that the Northeasterners possess by far less pastoral traits and more mother-right vestiges in their marriage and family customs than do the Northwesterners becomes at once much more intelligeable : on the one hand their contact with the Asiatic pastoral cultures was shorter and less intense than was that of the Northwesterners living north of the mountain range in the lowlands ; on the other hand their proximity to Asia Minor and their close connection with the South Caucasians subjected them more to mother-right influences.

What we have just said about the Northeasterners holds even more for the SOUTHERNERS : the pastoral nomadic influences were the remotest, shortest, and weakest among them, whereas their contact with the civilizations of Asia Minor was the most intense.

The great problem, which future fieldwork and intensive study and cooperation of scholars interested in the various fields of Caucasology alone will solve, is to discover the aspect of the marriage and family laws of the North Caucasians prior to the changes brought about by pastoral nomadism. Perhaps the new lively interest of the Soviet scholars in the ethnogenesis of the peoples of the U.S.S.R. will contribute not a little toward the solution of the problem. The problem must, of course, be approached *systematically*, considering each tribe *individually* and avoiding as much as possible such general expressions as

[72] A. Baschmakoff, *Cinquante siècles d'évolution ethnique autour de la mer Noire*, p. 13. It is indeed striking that the Abkhaz language occupies a middle position between the Northwestern and Southern languages, and similarily between the Northwestern and Northeastern languages.

[73] A. Baschmakoff, *op. cit.*, p. 37.

[74] *Supra*, p. 9.

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Northwesterners" and "North Caucasians." In our present study we have considered the use of such terms quite permissible, for we have spoken of periods of *adat*-history during which the laws were more or less uniform. But were the marriage and family customary laws so uniform *before* the pastoral nomadic influences set in? What were these laws like? That is the problem of the future. It is a problem which cannot be solved by one man alone, nor can it be solved by one branch of Caucasology alone. It is a problem all branches and all students of Caucasian culture must solve together, not today, not tomorrow, but perhaps only after many decades of intense work.[73]

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[73] In solving this problem the Caucasologist may not overlook the results of D. J. Wölfel's many years of research regarding the culture of peoples possessing similar economic forms of life as we find in the Caucasus today.

Prof. Wölfel has traced two extensive Neolithic pastoral-agrarian cultures from Ireland, down to Southern France, Spain, Switzerland, Tyrol, the Carpathian Mountains, the Balkans, the Mediterranean region, especially what he terms "White" Africa, Caucasus, the Near East up to the Himalayas. In Europe the cultures are certainly pre-Indo-European, while in Africa they are pre-Hamitic. In the Caucasus, Africa, and Near East they must have preceded the flourishing cultures of Egypt, Assyria, etc., in other words, certainly before the fifth millenium B. C.

There are two cultures in question: the "Ziehbauerkultur" and the "Gebirgsbauerkultur." Both economies are known to the Caucasians!

The "Ziehbauer" are semi-nomadic peoples with summer pastures in the mountains and winter pastures in the lowlands, sometimes several hundred miles apart. They have permanent houses in villages situated on the side of a mountain, where they live whenever not actually with their herds. Originally only sheep and goats were raised, and today usually only sheep and goats are taken from their summer to their winter pastures. These semi-nomads have special customary laws regarding the pastures as well as the strip of land used by the flocks when passing from one pasture to another. These pastoral peoples are at the same time agrarians: their fields are located near their villages, and sometimes they even plough up a patch near the winter pasture. This particular economy is spread over "White" Africa, the mountain countries of the Mediterranean, in Spain, especially in the Pyrenees, in France, the Balkans, among the Slavs, in Greece, Iran, and the Caucasus.

The "Gebirgsbauerkultur" differs from the former culture in as much as large cattle and not sheep or goats are the main domestic animals. The second difference lies in the fact that these pastoral-agrarians have only summer-pastures (in the highlands), the stall and fodder replacing the winter-pastures. This culture possesses peculiar wooden containers, and distinctive forms of cheese and butter. The typical house is a rectangular building, sunk partly into the side of the mountain; the walls of the groundfloor are of stone while the upper story has wooden walls. The beams between the two stories project in front forming a balcony. The towers, which are so commonly seen in Caucasian villages, are also found in other parts of the world where this particular form of economy is met with. The towers are not only used for defense among these warlike peoples but also as store-rooms. The culture is spread over "White" Africa, among the Basques, in the Alps, Scandanavia, British Isles, the Carpathian Mountains, the Balkans, the Caucasus and in the mountains of Central Asia. (Cf. D. J. Wölfel, "Die Hauptprobleme Weissafrikas," *Archiv für Anthropologie*, XXVII (1942), No. 4.)

According to Prof. Wölfel the *snobačestvo*, fosterage, and not a few of the elements we have classified as coming into the Caucasus from Inner Asia are social phenomena peculiar to these Neolithic cultures.

We wish now to enumerate a number of marriage and family customs which seem to hint at some sort of actual relationship with the "Zieh-" or "Gebirgsbauer."

Prof. Wölfel, for example, has called my attention to a parallel of the Cherkess and Ossetine corset-ceremony (*supra*, p. 113) found in Tyrol. E. Westermarck (Marriage Ceremonies in Morocco, London, 1914, p. 232) mentions a custom according to which the groom is obliged to untie knots before the consummation of marriage.

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## 4. Retrospect

(1) *The marriage and family customary laws of all North Caucasian tribes are astoundingly similar.*

(2) *Their marriage and family adats agree essentially with those of their Caucasian and non-Caucasian (Turco-Mongolian and Indo-European) neighbours.*

(3) *This similarity must be attributed especially*[76] *to common unifying principles.*

(4) *In historical times the unifying principles in question were: Russian (Soviet and pre-Soviet) influences, Islam, Christianity, Roman-Byzantine law, Avesta.*

(5) *The great similarity in marriage and family adats of the North Caucasians must be attributed especially to pastoral nomadic influences originating in Inner Asia.*

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Other parallels which I have found in Westermarck's work and which will serve to prove that the oldest cultures of Caucasia cannot be studied without keeping Prof. Wölfel's theory in mind are the following: (1) the frequent use of honey in connection with marriage (*op. cit.*, p. 29); (2) the custom of placing a raw egg in bowl of grain (*op. cit.*, p. 90) and scattering the grains. In this case, however, the sister of he bride does the scattering. (3) The crossing of swords to protect the bride from evil spirits (*op. cit.*, pp. 99, 108, 123, 152, 162) is also found in the Caucasus (*supra*, p. 124); however, this custom may have come by way of Islamism. (4) The bride and groom eat sheep's liver to insure concord and love (*op. cit.*, p. 101; *supra*, p. 117); in the Caucasus sheep's heart is eaten instead. (5) Stones are thrown at a shrine by the participants of the wedding procession. Westermarck interprets this custom as a means of driving away and killing the Yiblis; among the Ossetes the shrine is pelted as a fertility rite. (6) In the Caucasus flour is poured on the bride (*supra*, p. 118); in Morocco flour is smeared on the groom (*op. cit.*, p. 147) and milk is poured on the bride. In these ceremonies in both countries it is the whiteness of milk and flour that is stressed, white representing nuptial joy. (7) In the Caucasus a little boy is placed in the lap of the bride so that she may soon become the mother of a boy; in Morocco a boy is placed immediately behind the bride as she rides in the procession from her home to that of her groom. (8) Then there are such customs as giving the bride a stroke as a sign of her husband's authority over her. (*Supra*, p. 119), *op. cit.*, pp. 158 f.) In Palestine this blow is given with a stick as soon as the bride crosses the threshold. (9) Or again, there is the custom of throwing stones at the bride when the procession begins to leave her father's home (*op. cit.*, pp. 176 f); in the Caucasus, among the Andi, we find the custom of throwing filth ar her (*supra*, p. 119). (10) After the virginity test has taken place—just as is the case in the Caucasus—the hymenal blood on the garment is exhibited or a gun is fired announcing her virginity (*op. cit.*, pp. 236 f, 242, 254); but this custom may easily be of Semitic or Hamitic origin. (11) As soon as the bride arrives, her mother-in-law offers her some milk (*op. cit.*, pp. 194, 210); in the Caucasus she smears honey on the bride's lips (*supra*, p. 124).

There are of course other similarities that might be mentioned, but these are probably of Islamic, Arabic, or Hamitic origin. Some of the Hamitic practices (and therefore pastoral nomadic!) are: (1) on the wedding day or shortly before fetching the bride, the cloak of the groom is pulled over his face, just as among the Abkhaz (*op. cit.*, pp. 102, 105 f, 112; *supra*, p. 123); (2) on arriving at her new home, the bride must immediately hide behind a curtain, attended to only by a few female friends (*op. cit.*, p. 105; *supra*, p. 124). (3) A. Hanoteau and A. Letourneux, *La Kabylie et les coutume kabyles*, 1893, mention a number of other pastoral nomadic elements. (See especially volume II, pp. 149, 154, 177, 187, 188, 191, 219.)

000 (6) Very important was *the contact with the Indo-Europeans.*

(7) *The Turco-Mongolian influence in relatively recent times (Huns, Khazars, the Golden Horde, Nogai, Kumycks, Balkarians, etc.) are responsible especially for the preservation of the pastoral nomadic character of the marriage and family adats.*

(8) *The marriage and family of the North Caucasians had at one time a much more mother-right aspect than it has had since the pastoral nomadic influences set in.*

(9) *The hypothetical original home of the Caucasians throws light upon the various intensities of pastoral nomadic and mother-right traits.*

(10) *The great problem of the future is to discover the marriage and family customary laws as they existed prior to the pastoral nomadic influences.*

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* We wish to emphasize the word "especially," for economic conditions, isolation, mutual influences of the Caucasian peoples themselves, especially contact with the Cherkess, convergence, other historical influences, etc. must be considered too. We have generally done so when we explained the individual custom.

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MAP IV

# Peoples of Ancient Caucasus

After A. Sanders, *Kaukasien*, pag. 23

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(3) Ossetes (chapter two: position of Ossetine widow, *kalym*, wedding, divorce; chapter three: wedding customs, polygyny, bride-price, social position of women; division of labour, secondary wives, engagement, dowry, bride capture, child-engagements, marriage age, hetaerism, fire-place ceremony, avoidances, respect of children for elders, social position of women, divorce, the levirate, temporary wives, childbirth, *patria potestas*, sexual offenses, rearing of children, sororate;

(4) Chechens (chapter one: princely class; chapter two: slaves, status of women, hetaerism, marriage by consent, elopement, engagement, gifts on occasion of betrothal, part played by brother in engagement, marriage age, freedom of choice, *kalym*, rights of an engaged man, polygyny, wedding, bride capture, husband-wife relations, divorce; chapter four: social classes;*

* These details clearly show the abundance of ethnographic data regarding marriage and the family to be found in this work.

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(5) Lesghians;
(6) Kumyks.

Bk. ii:

(1) Abkhaz, (2) Svans, (3) Georgians, (4) Imeréti, Mingrelians, Gurians, (5) Tushi, Pshavs, Khevsurs, (6) Transcaucasian Mohammedans, (7) Tartars, and (8) Armenians.


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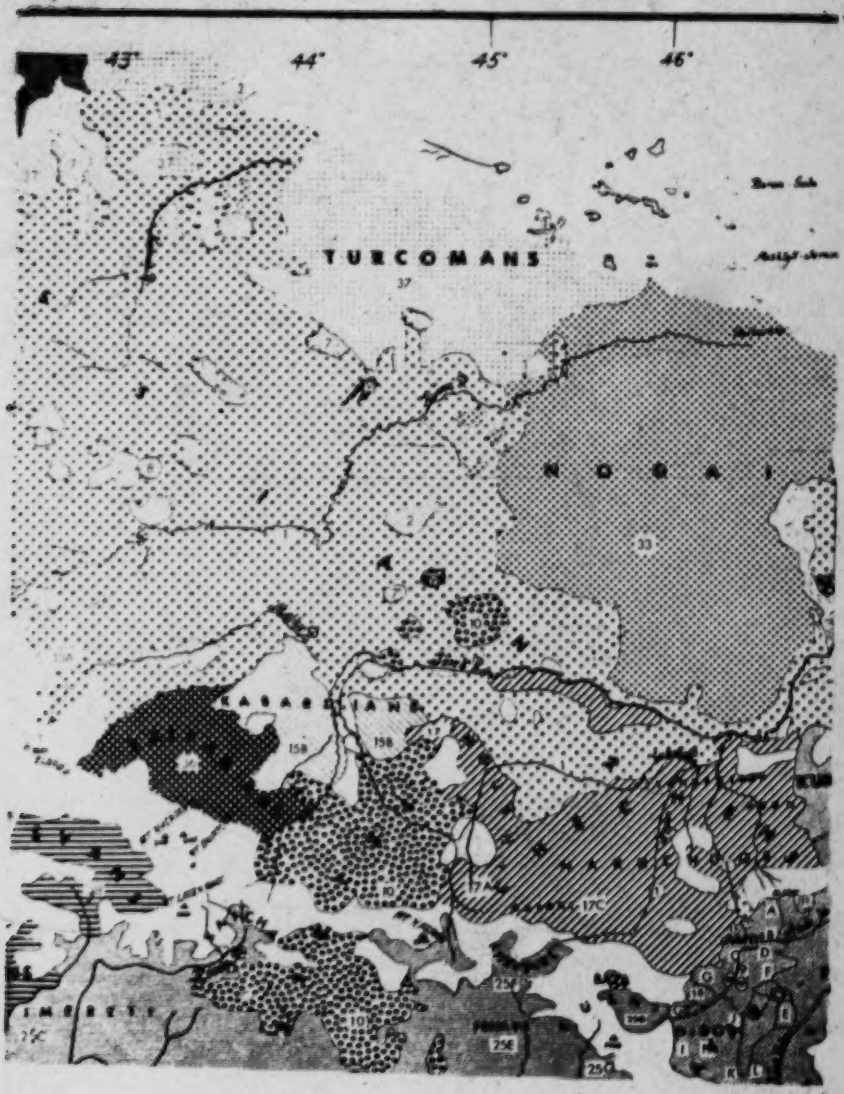


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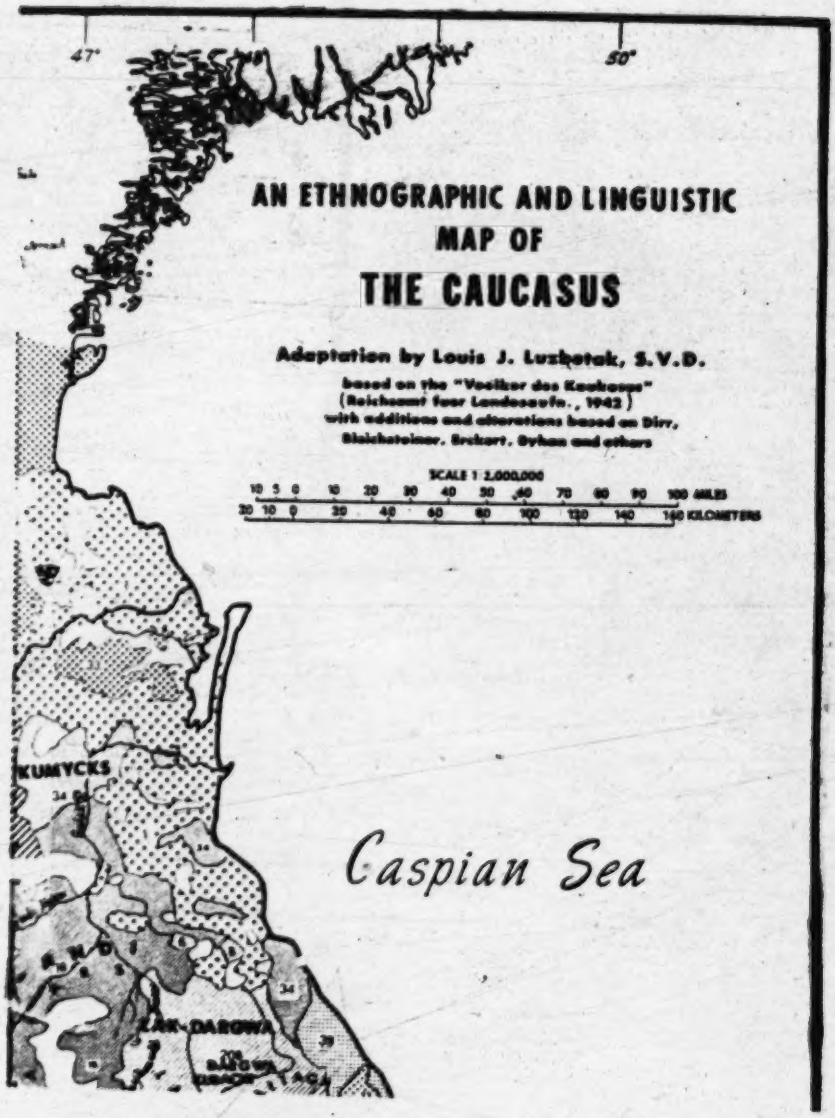


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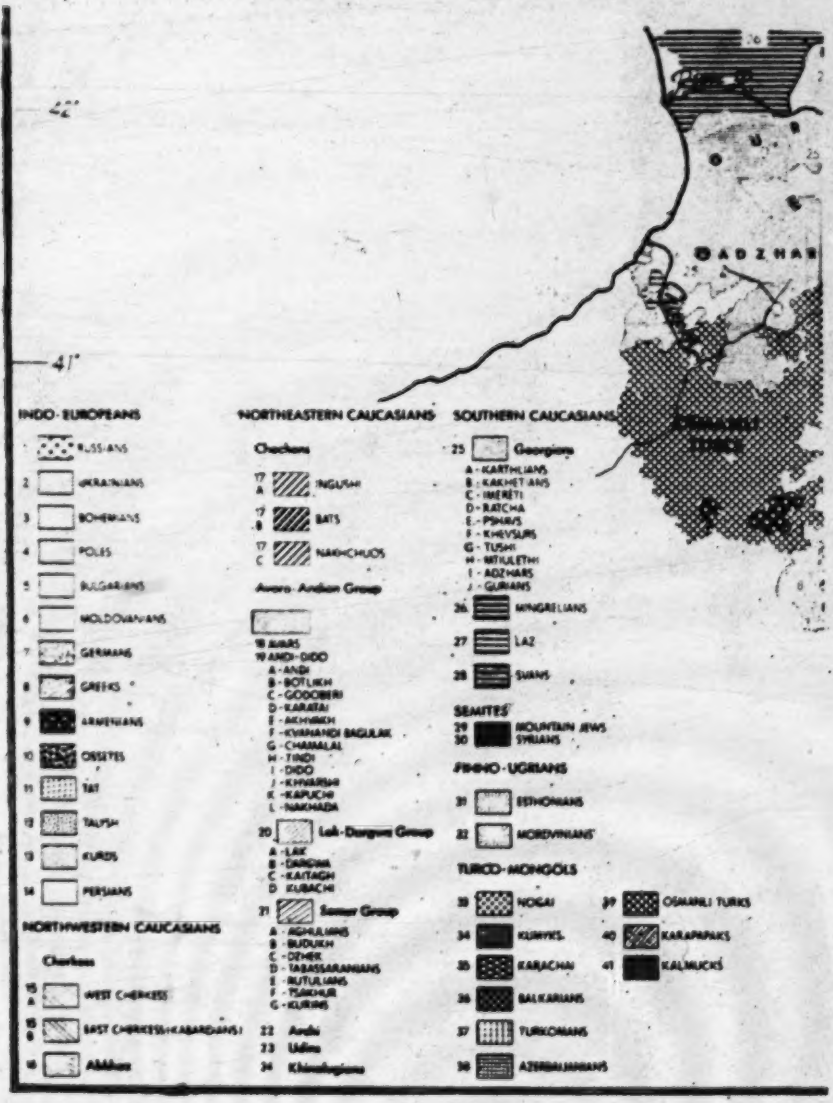


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[For a detailed comparative analysis of the customary laws (Adats) of the peoples of Northern Caucasus, particularly with respect to marriage and the family as a social-economic entity, see category 116, entire source.]

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# EDITORIAL NOTE

127 In the spring of 1917 the Foreign Office, in connexion with the preparation which they were making for the work of the Peace Conference, established a special section whose duty it should be to provide the British Delegates to the Peace Conference with information in the most convenient form—geographical, economic, historical, social, religious, and political—respecting the different countries, districts, islands, &c., with which they might have to deal. In addition, volumes were prepared on certain general subjects, mostly of an historical nature, concerning which it appeared that a special study would be useful.

The historical information was compiled by trained writers on historical subjects, who (in most cases) gave their services without any remuneration. For the geographical sections valuable assistance was given by the Intelligence Division (Naval Staff) of the Admiralty; and for the economic sections, by the War Trade Intelligence Department, which had been established by the Foreign Office. Of the maps accompanying the series, some were prepared by the above-mentioned department of the Admiralty, but the bulk of them were the work of the Geographical Section of the General Staff (Military Intelligence Division) of the War Office.

• 121 Now that the Conference has nearly completed its task, the Foreign Office, in response to numerous inquiries and requests, has decided to issue the books for public use, believing that they will be useful to students of history, politics, economics, and foreign affairs, to publicists generally and to business men and travellers. It is hardly necessary to say that some of the subjects dealt with in the series have not in fact come under discussion at the Peace Conference; but, as the books treating of them contain valuable information, it has been thought advisable to include them.

3: Anonymous U-4 (no date) 1920 RH1 Caucasia RH1

121 It must be understood that, although the series of volumes was prepared under the authority, and is now issued with the sanction, of the Foreign Office, that Office is not to be regarded as guaranteeing the accuracy of every statement which they contain or as identifying itself with all the opinions expressed in the several volumes; the books were not prepared in the Foreign Office itself, but are in the nature of information provided for the Foreign Office and the British Delegation.

The books are now published, with a few exceptions, substantially as they were issued for the use of the Delegates. No attempt has been made to bring them up to date, for, in the first place, such a process would have entailed a great loss of time and a prohibitive expense; and, in the second, the political and other conditions of a great part of Europe and of the Nearer and Middle East are still unsettled and in such a state of flux that any attempt to describe them would have been incorrect or misleading. The books are therefore to be taken as describing, in general, *ante-bellum* conditions, though in a few cases, where it seemed specially desirable, the account has been brought down to a later date.

G. W. PROTHERO,

*General Editor and formerly*
*Director of the Historical Section.*

*January* 1920.

# Preface

121 Though the Caucasus lies so near to Europe that some geographers are inclined to consider it as belonging to that continent rather than to Asia, nevertheless it remains one of the least known lands of the world. The Caucasus is indeed so near and yet so far away!

One need not be a prophet to realize that someday at least a partial solution to many an ethnological problem will be found in this rugged country, which has played an extremely important part in prehistoric times. Caucasia was a corridor between Europe and Asia during the migrations of ancient peoples. It was also a place of refuge for the weaker tribes. The Caucasus Mountains have preserved for us ancient cultures, which may throw great light upon such problems as the origin of pastoral and agrarian economies. Perhaps even the Assyriologist and other scholars interested in ancient codes of laws of the Near East may find an explanation to some of their problems in the customary laws of the Caucasian mountaineers. The great cultural similarity between the ancient Indo-Europeans and the Caucasians may help to solve some of the complicated problems connected with the Indo-Europeans. The study of Caucasian culture is of far greater importance than is generally realized.

Unfortunately, Western European and American ethnologists have neglected the Caucasus. This is a deplorable fact because the ancient, genuinely Caucasian culture, once so well preserved in the isolated villages of rugged Caucasus, is rapidly vanishing: Caucasians are ceasing to be Caucasians and becoming more and more like the Europeans, their powerful neighbours. They are becoming "civilized," but their culture, their genuinely Caucasian culture, is vanishing from life, memory, and science.

The present work is a comparative study of the Caucasian social life and is focused primarily on the mountain peoples living on the northern slopes of the Caucasus: the Abkhaz, the Cherkess, the Chechens, and the numerous peoples and tribes living in the mountains of Daghestan, the so-called "Lesghians."* Nevertheless, to complete our comparison, we shall also briefly sketch the marriage and family observances of the neighbouring peoples: the South Caucasian tribes, the Turco-Mongols, and the Ossetes. The description of the neighbouring peoples, however, will necessarily be brief and at times incomplete, the aim being merely to better understand the *North* Caucasians, to show the possible direction of cultural currents, to help trace the history of the North Caucasian marriage and family, to help interpret the marriage and family customs of North Caucasia. We shall limit our treatise as far as possible to the *juridical* character of marriage and the family, while other aspects will

* Strictly speaking, only the Kurins are Lesghians. However, the term is so universally used by authors for the entire group of Proto-Caucasians living in Daghestan that it would be inadvisable to introduce a new term.

p. IX [p VIII is blank]

121 be considered only in as far as they are deemed necessary or useful for our historical reconstructions and economic, social, and religious interpretations. In a word, *the aim of this book is to trace the history of North Caucasian marriage and family law from the present to prehistorical times.*

By "family" we understand the individual (biological) family. Though a study of the joint-family organization be very profitable, it would lead us too far afield and more than double the size of the present work. Consequently, such questions as inheritance laws and the many questions regarding kinship are only slightly touched upon.

Since Caucasology is still in its infancy, we cannot expect such certitude from a study like this as we might rightly expect, for example, from a treatise on the American Indian. Nevertheless, the Caucasologist interested in the history and interpretation of the marriage and family law of the mountaineers has, even now, sufficient data to reach safe hypothetical conclusions and in not a few questions complete certitude. Where certitude is impossible he must strive after probability; where probability is unattainable he must be satisfied with mere possibility, and even, at times, with the consciousness of the existence of problems.

Some of the matter included in the present work may at first sight appear extraneous, perfectly known to the Caucasologist, and therefore unnecessary. But since this is the first strictly ethnological study on the Caucasians ever to appear in the English language, we deem it advisable to include "A General Introduction to the Study of Caucasian Culture" with such sections as "The Peoples and Tribes of Caucasia," "General Historical Conspectus of Ethnographical Data about the Caucasus," "Liguistics," etc. We hope that the extensive bibliography at the end of this work will prove of some value to the student of Caucasian culture. With this imperfect work we hope, if not actually to *open* a new, vast, and important field of research for the English-speaking ethnologist, at least *to call his attention to it.*

000 The present study would have been impossible if it had not been for the courteous cooperation of the staff of the London Library (St. James's Square) and especially of the Secretary and Librarian C. J. Purnell, M. A., to whom I wish to express my sincerest thanks. I am also greatly indebted to my teachers at the Universities of Fribourg and Vienna, Professors Wilhelm Schmidt, S.V.D., R. Bleichsteiner, Mr. and Mrs. F. Hančar. D. Wölfel, and J. Haekel for their useful suggestions. I alone, however, am responsible for the opinions expressed in the present work and for the criticism of authors. I owe a very special word of thanks to Professor Wilhelm Schmidt, for it is he who is most responsible for my interest in the Caucasian tribes and their culture. To Professor Joseph Henninger, S.V.D. I am grateful for the assistance given me in Arabic and in Islamic law. To this list must be added the names of the Reverend D. Walsh, S.V.D. and Miss Olive Forster, who read my manuscript and are responsible for not a few deletions and additions. Finally, to the Anthropos Institute I am grateful for publishing my work in the *Studia Instituti Anthropos.*

Techny, Illinois, December, 1950. L. J. L.

[sic.. Analyst]

113 (5) I. Pul'ner, "Itogi i zadači izučenija kavkazskich (gruzinskich i gorskich) evreev" ("Results and Problems of the Study of Georgian and Mountain Jews of the Caucasus"), *Sovetskaja Etnografija*, 1936, No. 4—5, pp. 105—121. This is an excellent bibliography on the Jews of Caucasia.

(6) E. Pčelina, "Ossetica". (A bibliographical index of literature on Ossetia), *Učenye zapiski Instituta etničeskich i nacional'nych kul'tur Vostoka*, 1930, Tome II, pp. 169—232.

(7) D. H. Egorova, "Bibliografija Vostoka" ("A Bibliography of the East"), Moscow, 1928, 22 pages.

(8) G. Nioradze, "*Begräbnis und Totenkultus bei den Chewsuren*," Stuttgart, 1931, pp. 53—57, for an easily available bibliography on the Khevsurs.

(9) The *Sovetskaja Etnografija*, 1936, No. 4—5, has an extensive bibliography of bibliographies (pp. 230—267). It covers all bibliographies published in pre-Revolutionary and post-Revolutionary times up to 1936. Very valuable is the large list of 76 Russian periodicals devoted to Caucasology either exclusively or at least frequently carrying articles on the Caucasus (pp. 268—270). Most of these periodicals are no longer published and are extremely rare, nor are they necessarily ethnographic in character. This issue contains a report on the ethnography of Armenia since the Revolution : St. Lisician, "Armjanskaja etnografija za 15 let" (pp. 270—274). On page 274—277 we find E. G. Kagarov's "bibliography of foreign (i. e., non-Russian) ethnographical literature on the Caucasus published in the last 10 years" ("Inostrannaja literatura po etnografii Kavkaza za poslednie 10 let"). This same issue contains a survey of ethnographical and archaeological literature published from 1932 to 1935 : B. E. Degen-Kovalevskij, "Obzor literatury po ethnografii i archeologii Kavkaza za tri goda," pp. 277—303.

(10) J. F. Baddeley, *Index Caucasicus*, a subject index based mainly on pre-Soviet periodicals. The *Index Caucasicus* is still in manuscript form, kept at the London Library (St. James's Sq.). Baddeley has a twelve-page bibliography, in his easily available *The Rugged Flanks of Caucasus*.

(11) For a short but good linguistical bibliography see R. Bleichsteiner, "Die kaukasische Sprachgruppe," *Anthropos* XXXI (1937), pp. 61—74.

(12) For a bibliography of works on the physical anthropology of the Caucasus see A. Djawachischwili, "Die Rassenzusammensetzung der Kaukasusvölker," *Archiv für Anthropologie*, New Series, XX (1925), p. 89.

(13) For the best and most recent works on paleoanthropology (regarding peoples of entire U.S.S.R.) see D. F. Debec, *Paleoantropologija SSSR.*, Moscow-Leningrad, 1948.

(14) For an excellent bibliography of the prehistory of Caucasia see F. Hančar's *Urgeschichte Kaukasiens*, pp. 10—26.

### 3. Criticism of Sources

127 [121] In our attempt to describe the North Caucasian marriage and family we shall have recourse especially to the literature of *pre-Soviet* times. And rightly so! Our aim is not to portray the culture of the very last hour but to get as far back into the history of the North Caucasian family as possible. This can be

## PREFACE

122 This Handbook on the Caucasus has been prepared at the Language and Communication Research Center of Columbia University in fulfilment of a contractual obligation with the Human Relations Area Files. Though only certain of the topics covered by the Project were part of the general aims of the Research Center, it was felt that we could undertake the responsibility for preparing additional sections [114] since Dr. Aert H. Kuipers, one of the very few specialists on the Caucasian languages, was a Research Associate of the Center, and because of the presence on the Columbia teaching staff of three scholars whose specialities included various aspects of Caucasian studies: Dr. Bernhard Geiger, Dr. Tibor Halasi-Kun, and Dr. Karl H. Menges.

The contract was originally to run from February 16, 1955 until April 15, 1956; however, due to administrative difficulties, the signing of the contract was delayed, and the staffing of the project could not be arranged before the end of April 1955. That in spite of the shortness of the time this amount of information could be assembled on this highly complex and relatively unknown area, was possible only through the preparation and knowledge brought to the project by the principal investigators and the collaborators.

3: Anonymous U-4 (no date) 1920 RH1 Caucasia RH1

# EDITORIAL NOTE

127 In the spring of 1917 the Foreign Office, in connexion with the preparation which they were making for the work of the Peace Conference, established a special section whose duty it should be to provide the British Delegates to the Peace Conference with information in the most convenient form—geographical, economic, historical, social, religious, and political—respecting the different countries, districts, islands, &c., with which they might have to deal. In addition, volumes were prepared on certain general subjects, mostly of an historical nature, concerning which it appeared that a special study would be useful.

The historical information was compiled by trained writers on historical subjects, who (in most cases) gave their services without any remuneration. For the geographical sections valuable assistance was given by the Intelligence Division (Naval Staff) of the Admiralty; and for the economic sections, by the War Trade Intelligence Department, which had been established by the Foreign Office. Of the maps accompanying the series, some were prepared by the above-mentioned department of the Admiralty, but the bulk of them were the work of the Geographical Section of the General Staff (Military Intelligence Division) of the War Office.

121 Now that the Conference has nearly completed its task, the Foreign Office, in response to numerous inquiries and requests, has decided to issue the books for public use, believing that they will be useful to students of history, politics, economics, and foreign affairs, to publicists generally and to business men and travellers. It is hardly necessary to say that some of the subjects dealt with in the series have not in fact come under discussion at the Peace Conference; but, as the books treating of them contain valuable information, it has been thought advisable to include them.

114 128 Drs. Geiger, Halasi-Kun, Kuipers, and Menges worked out the main sections of this handbook. For specific topics we called upon the cooperation of Elizabeth Beyerly and Theodore Shabad, both affiliated with Columbia University, and A. O. Sarkissian of the Library of Congress. Each contribution appears under the name of the author.

•127 In the sections on the ethnography of the Caucasian peoples proper, use was made of a manuscript prepared by Professor Gerhard Deeters of the University of Bonn and Dr. Kuipers in 1951; this manuscript was part of a project on the Peoples and Languages of the Soviet Union, under my direction,[1] supported by the Rockefeller Foundation and sponsored by the Slavic Department. The work of Professor Deeters on the North Eastern and Southern Caucasian peoples was fruitfully utilized in this Handbook in the sections prepared by Dr. Kuipers. Professor Deeters also contributed valuable last-minute information for the population survey.

128 In accordance with a later agreement, to facilitate the use of the materials in the various H. R. A. F. handbooks, this Handbook on the Caucasus follows strictly the order of topics given in the first three sections of Annex A. The extent to which the topics are covered varies; some are not treated at all, due to the shortness of time and the

[1] [i.e. John Lotz--Analyst]

8: Lužbetak E-4 (no date) 1951 RHl Caucasia RHl



113 (5) I. Pul'ner, "Itogi i zadači izučenija kavkazskich (gruzinskich i gorskich) evreev" ("Results and Problems of the Study of Georgian and Mountain Jews of the Caucasus"), *Sovetskaja Etnografija*, 1936, No. 4—5, pp. 105—121. This is an excellent bibliography on the Jews of Caucasia.

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8: Lužbetak E-4 (no date) 1951 RH1 Caucasia RH1



done especially by recourse to older sources describing the conditions before the rapid acculturation of recent times. Moreover, to my knowledge, the Soviets have not published much about our present subject, and, as we have mentioned above, monographs about the North Caucasian tribes are practically non-existent,[77] especially on this side of Russia. In the use of pre-Soviet literature we are aware that great caution must be observed. The writers of czaristic times as a general rule were not of the exact and scholarly type of ethnographer modern fieldwork demands. There is a tendency among many pre-Soviet writers to over-emphasize the "savage" primitiveness of the Caucasians. But wholesale condemnation of these sources, as is sometimes done by the amateur Caucasologist, is unjustifiable. A glance at the list of sources used by such great Caucasologists as Nioradze or Pčelina will convince us of the great value pre-Soviet ethnography has for modern Caucasology. As Ladyženskij, one of the best Soviet ethnologists, puts it, "Es sind doch die Arbeiten des Akademikers W. Th. Miller, des Akademikers M. M. Kovalevskij, des korrespondierenden Mitglieds der Akademie der Wissenschaften Dubrovin, Uslars, Bacharadze und vieler andern vorhanden, die in manchen Beziehungen auch heute noch nicht übertroffen sind."[78]

We have derived most of our material from a number of rare periodicals and adat collections.

The periodicals we refer to are the following:

(1) A 10-volume series devoted exclusively to Caucasian ethnography, known as the *Sbornik svědenij o kavkazskich gorcach* ("A Collection of Information about the Mountain Peoples of Caucasus") Tiflis, 1868—1881, to my mind, a very good collection of material.

(2) A series of almost 50 volumes, likewise devoted exclusively to the study of the Caucasus, is the *Sbornik materialov dlja opisanija městnostej i plemen Kavkaza* ("A Collection of Material for Describing the Localities and Tribes of the Caucasus"). The first volume appeared in 1881 and the last issue I have seen was that of 1929 (Volume XLVI). This series contains many purely ethnographical articles and many other valuable contributions regarding the history, languages and archaeology of the Caucasus.

(3) A 9-volume series, *Sbornik svědenij o Kavkazě*, is valuable mainly for its statistics. It was published in Tiflis from 1871 to 1885. ("A Collection of Information about Caucasia.")

(4) The *Zapiski Kavkazskago Otděla* ("Memoirs of the Caucasian Division of the Imperial Russian Geographic Society"), Tiflis 1862—1917, is an immense series. It is primarily geographic in character and has the Caucasus as its exclusive scope.

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[77] A number of monographs have appeared e. g., Jakovlev's *Inguši*, Požidaev's, *Gorci severnago Kavkaza*, Samurskij's *Dagestan*, Balkirov's *Iskustvo Dagestana*, but these works are neither as thorough as we would have them nor do they include all the peoples of North Caucasus. The monographs of Makalatija about the Pshavs (Tiflis, 1934), Tushi (Tiflis, 1933) and the Khevsurs (Tiflis, 1935) have not been at my disposal.

[78] A. Ladyženskij, "Zur Erforschung der Rechtsgewohnheiten der Bergvölker des Kaukasus," *Zeitschrift für Ethnologie*, XLII (1930), p. 243.

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[1] [i.e. John Lotz--Analyst]

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128 inaccessibility of materials. On the other hand, new sections have been added, and fitted into the format of Annex A. These sections are indicated by a superscript number. The material has also been grouped into an Introduction and six chapters which reflect the interests of a scholarly handbook on the Caucasus, as was worked out by the principal investigators in a program independent of the present project.

The survey of Peoples and Languages of the Caucasus, which appears in this Handbook as section 1. Sociological, e[1]. Survey of Peoples and Languages, appeared as a pre-publication in November, 1955 and was distributed among interested scholars, learned organizations, and government agencies. Comments received were utilized for this Handbook. A further publication on the script systems of the Caucasus is scheduled to appear in May, 1956.

Due to the differences in scholarly tradition among the participants, it was impossible in the given time to achieve uniformity in the presentation. This is particularly true of transliteration of names. (Thus Azerbaijan, the preferable Anglicized spelling, also appears as Azerbaidjan; and, transliterated from the Russian, as Azerbaidzhan. Dagestan also occurs as

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128 Daghestan. The Ossetes, in the chapter on their religion, are designated Ossets.) The manuscripts could have been edited further and the style improved if time had permitted.

000 It remains now to express my appreciation to those who contributed to the preparation of this handbook:

To Drs. Geiger, Halasi-Kun, Kuipers and Menges, who found time and interest for this research amidst their heavy academic duties;

To Dr. Sarkissian, Mr. Shabad and Mrs. Beyerly, who made valuable contribution not covered by the principal investigators.

To Miss Jane Haring Gaitenby, cartographer of the Research Center, who prepared with great skill and patience the large number of maps included;

To those who contributed to the preparation of the manuscript: Miss Marianne Kochman and Mr. Elbridge Hathaway, who participated in the entire project; to Mrs. Nora Beeson, Miss Shirley Sherman and Miss Joan G. Verosky who edited parts of the material and to Mrs. Gwen Berger, Miss Marion Gladstone, and Mrs. Helen Kishi who typed the manuscript;

## 0:1 PREFACE

•128 This presentation of data on the peoples and languages of the Caucasus[2] was prepared by the following:

| Section | Author |
|---|---|
| Caucasian | Dr. Aert H. Kuipers |
| Indo-European and Semitic | Dr. Bernhard Geiger and Dr. Aert H. Kuipers |
| Turkic | Dr. Tibor Halasi-Kun |
| Mongolian | Dr. Karl H. Menges |

The index was compiled by Miss Eloise Kerlin; the map was drawn by Miss Jane Gaitenby.

The data refer to the present-day linguistic-ethnic situation in the Caucasus, except that (1) peoples who were expelled from the Caucasus during the Second World War (Chechen, Ingush, Karachay, Balkar) are included; and (2) peoples of European orgin, not primarily associated with the Caucasus — on the one hand Russians and Ukrainians, on the other hand minor groups like the Greeks, Balts, Germans, etc. — are omitted.

The peoples are numbered consecutively without any further grouping; each of them is presented as a self-contained unit in which all information is given, even if repetitious. Each section includes the following: the proposed standard English designation, as heading; Name (Self-Designation; English variants, if any; Russian designations; Other Designations, where relevant); Number and Location (with references to related groups outside the Caucasus); Subdivisions (linguistic, tribal

[2] [cf. cat. 11b, pp. 421 – 502 -- Analyst]

/28 religious, etc.); brief indications of Traditional Economy and Religion. The index is intended to be a guide to the renowned onomastic labyrinth of the Caucasus. The map shows the present geographical location of the peoples.

The principles followed in transcription and transliteration, which have been made to conform as much as possible with English usage, are explained in O:2.[1] Certain inconsistencies due to differences in scholarly tradition have not yet been removed.

Since the languages and peoples are presented without any further linguistic grouping, it has seemed useful to add a special survey of the genetic interrelationships of the languages spoken in the Caucasus. Only the fifty languages included in the main body of this text are given. It must be borne in mind that the exact genetic relationships of the Caucasian languages, both as to the three major branches and with regard to some of the internal grouping of the NE branch, are obscure.

[1] [cf. cat. 116, p. 420 -- Analyst]

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Biographies of Key Personalities

## INTRODUCTORY REMARKS

128 1) Entries are arranged alphabetically, according to the English alphabet. Cross references are given between pseudonyms and original names.

2) Numbers before the names indicate nationalities with reference to the present-day political-administrative divisions.

1 Georgians, Abkhaz, Adzhar, Nakhichevan Autonomous Oblast.

2 Armenians

3 Azeri

4 Dagestani, North (Sev.) and South (Iugo-) Ossetes

5 Kabardians, Cherkes, Adygei, Chechen

6 Russian members from Krasnodarskii and Stavropol'skii krai

The assigning of nationality is sometimes open to question; a problem arises when a person has lived in several areas. Special difficulties were encountered with persons born in the Russian F. S. S. R. who lived in the Caucasus. In some instances a name suggesting a Caucasian origin was included when information on the place of birth was not available. About 650 names have been listed: ca. 171 Armenians, 128 Azeri, 49

128 Kabardians, etc., 37 Dagestani, etc., and 257 Georgians.

3) The most common abbreviations are:

CP - Communist Party (followed by the name of the state)

CC - Central Committee

VS - Verkhovnyi sovet (followed by the name of the state)

sozyv (of VS) - convocation of Supreme Soviet

s'ezd (of CC CP) - congress of party

4) In the main, persons still alive are listed; however, a few persons of former generations whose influence is still felt are included - most of these are artists.

Included are: (a) all members of CC CP SSSR of 20th congress, 1956; (b) all members of CC CP Armenian SSR 17-18th congress, 1954, 1956; (c) the deputies to US SSSR 4. sozyv, from Krasnodarskii krai and Stavropol'skii krai; (d) all members of CC CP Azerbaidzhani SSR, 20-21st congress, 1954, 1956; (e) all deputies of VS SSSR 4. sozyv, 1954 (another sozyv should be held in 1958). (No information on CC CP Gruzinskaia SSR could be ob-

128 tained because issues of Zaria Vostoka unavailable). (f) all the Stalin prize winners of 1950; (g) names found throughout the Bolshaia entsiklopediia 1.-2. eds.) and other sources available.

5) Source from which information was obtained is given after each entry. The abbreviations used for the sources are explained at the end of the biographical section.

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/For data on the physical geography, geology, climate, flora, fauna, and soil of the Mountains of the Caucasus including the Glavny Range, Daghestan, the Armenian Plateau and the Dry Regions of Eastern Transcaucasus and Mountain Talysh, see 58: Berg, R1 Soviet Union, cat. 116, pp. 192-198. --Analyst/

3: Anonymous U-4 (no date) 1920 RH1 Caucasia RH1

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1.

# I. GEOGRAPHY PHYSICAL AND POLITICAL

## *TRANSCAUCASIA*

### (1) Position and Frontiers

631 Transcaucasia in Asiatic Russia consists of the
131 following six Governments, three Provinces, and two Districts:

| | *Square Miles.* | | *Square Miles.* |
|---|---|---|---|
| Black Sea (Chernomoria) . . | 3,220 | Elisavetopol . . | 16,991 |
| Kutais . . . | 8,145 | Batum . . . | 2,693 |
| Tiflis . . . | 15,770 | Kars . . . | 7,239 |
| Baku . . . | 15,061 | Daghestan . . | 11,471 |
| Erivan . . . | 10,725 | Zakatali . . | 1,539 |
| | | Sukhum . . | 2,545 |
| | | Total . . . | 95,399 |

131 The northern boundary (650 miles in length) runs from Cape Taman, on the eastern side of the Straits of Kerch, along the summits of the Caucasian chain as far as Donos Mta, and thence along the north-west frontier of Daghestan to the Bay of Agrakhan on the Caspian. The western frontier, about 400 miles long, is formed by the coast of the Black Sea from the peninsula of Taman to Cape Kopmush, south of Batum. The southern frontier falls into two divisions, the Russo-Turkish and the Russo-Persian. The former starts from Cape Kopmush and runs for 348 miles south-east to Mount Ararat, where the boundaries of Russian, Turkish, and Persian territory meet. The Russo-Persian boundary (350 miles) runs south-east to a few miles east of Ordubad, where it turns to the north-east as far as the village of Karakyavendikli; thence it again turns south-east and finally reaches the

3: Anonymous U-4 (no date) 1920 RH1 Caucasia RH1



131 Caspian at Fort St. Nicholas on the Astara. The eastern frontier, some 450 miles in length, is formed by the Caspian Sea from the Bay of Agrakhan to the River Astara.

Geographically Transcaucasia is so placed that, with the development of communications, it should reap considerable advantages from the commercial development both of northern Persia and of north-eastern Asia Minor.

## (2) Surface, Coasts, and River System

### *Surface*

133 Transcaucasia is divided across the centre from west
[63] to east by the two valleys of the Rion and Kura, the head-waters of which are separated by the low ridge of the Suram Mountains, connecting the Caucasus with the Armenian Highlands. These valleys run west and east into the Black and Caspian Seas respectively. They are roughly equivalent to the Governments of Kutais (the Rion valley), Tiflis, Elisavetopol, and Baku. The Governments of Kutais and Tiflis and parts of Batum form the region known as Georgia.

The Rion valley is narrowed in its upper part by the mountainous district of Svanetia, but begins to broaden west of Kutais, and becomes a flat, marshy plain. The Kura valley narrows about Tiflis, and then widens till, at the Mughan steppe, it is over 100 miles broad. The valley floor slopes gently east from 1,200 ft. at Tiflis to 500 ft. in the middle of its course, and 85 ft. below sea level at the Caspian. The only interruption is caused by a plateau of between 2,000 and 3,000 ft. along the southern foot-hills of the eastern Caucasus in the region known as Kakhetia.

134 The soil in the Rion and upper Kura valleys is
311 extraordinarily fertile. On the southern slope of the Caucasus, in fact, almost every available patch of ground is successfully utilized for agriculture, even up to a height of 7,000–8,000 ft. Most of the steppes in the lower Kura valley are too dry to be cultivated without the aid of irrigation.

3: Anonymous U-4 (no date) 1920 RH1 Caucasia RH1



(population in 1913, 237,000). Other important towns are *Novorossiisk* (66,700), *Elisavetopol* (63,400 in 1910), *Kutais* (53,900), *Batum* (46,000), and *Erivan* (34,000). For further particulars concerning these see below, pp. 42 and 77.

### *Movement*

Recent statistics are not available, but the annual rate of increase can be roughly estimated at 60,000. It is probable that the Armenians increase at a more rapid rate than the other nationalities in Transcaucasia. The death-rate, particularly among children, is certainly high; for this the unhealthy climate in the west, the rigorous winters in the east and central parts, and the ignorance of the natives are responsible.

Accurate statistics of emigration are not available. Since the great migration of the Cherkess (to Anatolia) and other Mohammedan tribes (to Turkey), which depopulated much of the western coast in the latter half of the nineteenth century, emigration has tended to be spasmodic. A certain number of Armenians emigrate to America. Many tribes still live what is practically a nomadic life; and for those who are not too proud to do manual labour the towns form a continual attraction.

Immigrants are largely Russians, both official and non-official. The latter come very largely from South Russia and settle in the central governments or, for industrial purposes, at Baku. There is a small annual influx of foreigners, but not to the same extent as in Ciscaucasia. Periodically there have been Armenian immigrations from Turkish Armenia, though these have lately been regarded unfavourably by the Government.

## *CISCAUCASIA*

### (1) Position and Frontiers

Ciscaucasia, a district of European Russia, is the northern part of the region of Caucasia. It is bounded on the west by the Black Sea and the Sea of Azov;

3: Anonymous U-4 (no date) 1920 RH1 Caucasia RH1
CISCAUCASIA


131 on the south by the Caucasus and the Province of Daghestan; on the east by the Caspian Sea; and on the north by the Kuma-Manych depression, a chain of narrow shallow lakes and river beds filled at certain seasons with water, connecting the Manych, a tributary of the Don, with the Kuma, which flows into the Caspian Sea.

## (2) Surface, Coasts, and River System

### *Surface*

133 The parts of the Caucasus range which are included in Ciscaucasia are (1) the *Black Sea ridge*, 155 miles in length, stretching from Anapa on the coast to Mount Oshten (9,369 ft.). These mountains are covered with thick woods. (2) The *Kuban Caucasus*, 120 miles in length, which extends from Mount Oshten to Mount Elbruz. Here the heights vary from 3,000 to 6,000 ft. (3) The *Central Caucasus*, which contains various subdivisions, included for the greater part in Transcaucasia.

[487] The passes across the Caucasus from Ciscaucasia to Transcaucasia are few and are at high altitudes, varying from 9,000 to 12,000 ft. above sea-level.

The northern foot-hills of the Caucasus form on both sides of the River Terek the mountainous region of the Kabarda. North-eastwards from this stretches highland country, which merges into a depression northwards from Stavropol. Between these two there rises the isolated mass of the Beshtau Mountains.

The plains of Ciscaucasia slope gently from the base of the Caucasus Mountains towards the Kuma-Manych depression. In the centre is the Stavropol plateau, which varies in height from 2,000 to 2,500 ft. and separates the tributaries of the River Kuban from those of the Terek and the Kuma. Towards the foot-hills of the Caucasus the plateau is covered with dense forests; on the west it merges into steppes or ends in the reedy marshes of the Kuban delta. In the north

5: Allen H-4 (no date) 1923 RHI Caucasia

131
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[Epcing p. 258]

7:Columbia U. S-4,5 1956 RH1 Caucasia
RH1

# Major Boundary Changes in the Caucasus Region since 1950

631
131

## Rostov Oblast

On January 6, 1954, Rostov Oblast was greatly reduced in area with the creation of a separate Kamensk Oblast, which was carved out of the northern part of Rostov Oblast. The reduced Rostov Oblast extends as far north as the Don River, but includes the industrial Rostov-Novocherkassk-Taganrog area north of the Don.

## Stavropol'Krai -- Astrakhan' Oblast

On February 28, 1951, Stavropol'Krai annexed the newly created Chernozemel'skii Raion, carved out of the Stepnoi Raion of Astrakhan' Oblast. On January 14, 1952, Stavropol'Krai annexed the rest of Stepnoi Raion of Astrakhan' Oblast. The total area thus transferred from Astrakhan' Oblast to Stavropol' Krai is 22,500 square kilometers.

## Georgian SSR -- RSFSR

On March 14, 1955, the Georgian SSR returned to the RSFSR the Klukhorskii Raion. This raion was set up within Georgia in September, 1944, out of the former Karachai Autonomous Oblast of Stavropol'Krai and the southwest corner of the Kabardian ASSR. The entire raion was returned in March, 1955,

7:Columbia U. S-4, 5 1956 RH1 Caucasia
RH1

131 to Stavropol'Krai. On May 26, 1955, the
131 Ialbuzi sel'sovet (village council), corresponding to the former southwest corner of the Kabardian ASSR, was transferred from Stavropol'Krai to the Kabardian ASSR.

Temporary Oblasts and Okrugs in Georgia, Azerbaizhan, Armenia and Daghestan

The periods of these areas are as follows:

1. Tbilisi and Kutaisi Oblasts of Georgia: Nov. 5, 1951 to April 23, 1953

2. Baku and Giandzha Oblasts of Azerbaidzhan: March 14, 1952 to April 23, 1953

3. Okrugs in Armenia: January 17, 1952 to April 18, 1953

4. Okrugs in Daghestan: early 1952 to April 28, 1953.

21: Kolarz J-4 (no date) 1952 R1 Soviet Union R2
[Osset] Caucasia RH1
[Kabardin]



that three districts were to be added to the Northern Ossetin A.S.S.R. in their entirety as well as parts of three other districts. The major portion of this new Ossetin territory was sliced off the Stavropol Territory, but a section of it came from Ingushetia, which had occupied the western border area of the Chechen-Ingush A.S.S.R. In this way the Northern Ossetin A.S.S.R. grew from 2,390 square miles before the war to 3,250 square miles. This territorial change altered the ethnographic character of the Republic, for together with its new territories Ossetia received a fairly large number of Russians who mostly lived in the two new 'Ossetin' towns, Mozdok and Malgobek. Russian communists thus obtained a greater say in the running of the Northern Ossetin A.S.S.R. at the expense of their Ossetin comrades. In the small Northern Ossetin Republic of the inter-war period (an Autonomous Province until 1936) the Ossetins had formed 84 per cent of the entire population against 13·4 per cent Russians and Ukrainians. In 'Greater Ossetia' however, the percentage of the Ossetins may have dropped to about 60 per cent while the Slav share may have increased accordingly.

Ca. 631 162 S.U. 563 634 Ca. [31]

In addition to the territorial expansion of Ossetia the Soviet Government made still another 'concession' to the Ossetins. The capital of the republic, Vladikavkaz, was allowed to assume the Ossetin name of Dzaudzhikau – a worthless gesture since Russian predominance in the town was not affected by the change of its name. Dzaudzhikau remained that which was implied in its former name of Vladikavkaz, meaning 'Ruler of the Caucasus'. It continues to be one of the centres from which Russian administration exercises its control over the mountaineers.

Ca. 103 633

## RE-EDUCATION OF THE KABARDINIANS

The Chechens and the Ossetins represent the two extremes in the attitude of the local Caucasus peoples towards the Russians – the most irreconcilable resistance in the case of the Chechens, and the most far-reaching appeasement in the case of the Ossetins. The Kabardinians, forming part of the once powerful Circassian group which had been broken up by Russian colonization and conquest, stand between these extremes. In the Second World War their attitude was not beyond reproach. The Kabardinians had their deserters and traitors, but the Soviet Government did not consider they were bad enough to justify the abolition of their Autonomous Republic.

Ca. 609 687

During the important administrative reorganization which took place in the Caucasus towards the end of the Second World War, the Kabardinian A.S.S.R. was diminished by only 300 square miles, which were incorporated into Georgia. This, however, was not meant to be a punishment for the Kabardinians, but was directed against the Balkars who had inhabited the area in question. The small administrative reform

Ca. [631] [31] S.U. 563 634 687

[Ct. category 116, pp. 185 ff., R1 Sov. Union — Analyst]

23: Shabad N-4 (no date) 1951 Rl Soviet Union Rl
Caucasia RH1



The Kuban' steppes are among the chief grain-producing regions the USSR. The fertile black earth and sufficient rainfall favor the extensive cultivation of cereals such as wheat, barley, and corn, while of the industrial crops sunflower, cotton, *kenaf*, soy and castor beans are most important. Rice is grown in the swampy delta of the Kuban' River. In the drier eastern portion of the steppes and in the mountainous section of the Northern Caucasus the raising of livestock and allied activities are the main occupations of the rural population.

The industries are concerned primarily with the extraction and refining of petroleum (Groznyy, Makhachkala, and Maykop), the mining of polymetallic ores and molybdenum, and the production of hydroelectric power. In the steppes rural industries process the local products and produce vegetable oils, alcohol, sugar, and starches. Large cement mills at Novorossiysk are notable. Fishing and canning are well developed along the coast. An important role is played by health and tourist resorts, notably Kislovodsk and its satellites in the foothills of the Caucasus and the subtropical resorts of Sochi and Matsesta along the Black Sea littoral.

Two main rail lines serve the steppes of the region. Tikhoretsk is the junction for these two railways coming from Stalingrad and Rostov. The Stalingrad line passes through Krasnodar and on to the Black Sea port of Novorossiysk, while the Rostov trunk railroad runs parallel to the northern foothills of the Greater Caucasus and along the Caspian Sea to Baku. A line branching off at Armavir reaches the Black Sea oil port of Tuapse and continues along the coast past Sochi to the Georgian SSR through a rail link completed during the Second World War. Transportation across the Greater Caucasus range is maintained by three important highways: the Sukhumi military road (Cherkessk-Sukhumi), the Ossetian military road (Alagir-Kutaisi), and the Georgian military road (Dzaudzhikau-Tbilisi).

## Rostov Oblast

Capital, Rostov on the Don; Area, 40,300, population, 2,550,000

Rostov Oblast is astride of the lower Don River, within the bend of the river in proximity to the Volga near Stalingrad. The southern section of the oblast is drained mainly by the Sal and the Manych, two left affluents of the Don. According to its relief, the region may be divided into the eastern end of the Donets ridge, the southeastern outliers of the Central Russian upland in the north and the wide Don steppe in the south.

23: Shabad N-4 (no date) 1951 R1 Soviet Union R1
Caucasia RH1

 SU

*Rossel'mash* agricultural machinery works, the city became an industrial center of first rank. It is the site of an auto-assembly plant, airplane factory, shipyards and machine-tool works, and produces a wide range of products, including foods (flour, vegetable oil, meat, canned goods), paints, cement, glass, shoes, furniture, and cigarettes. The city suffered considerably during the Second World War. Across the Don River lies Bataysk, a rail junction and aircraft center with two large airfields and repair shops. Northeast of Rostov, on the Aksay, a branch of the Don, lies the former center of the Don Cossacks, Novocherkassk, at present a machine-manufacturing city, with locomotive works. 438* 361 C 438 361

Taganrog, the second city of the oblast, is a major coal and grain-shipping port on the Sea of Azov. A foremost industrial center, it has metallurgical and pipe-rolling mills, one of the largest boiler works of the USSR, and produces machines for the food and chemical industries. It manufactures agricultural implements, instruments, and shoes, and has an extensive food-processing industry. Shipbuilding and aircraft manufacturing are also important.

Kamensk-Shakhtinskiy, on the Northern Donets River and the Voronezh-Rostov railroad, has chemical works and lumber mills and produces flour and alcohol.

Shakhty (formerly called Aleksandrovsk-Grushevskiy) is the largest coal-mining center in this section of the Donets Basin. It has a 90,000 kw. power station in its eastern suburb of Artemovskiy, textile, leather and food industries. Its southern suburb, Kamenolomni, has stone quarries (for which it is named) and metalworks. Another coal-mining center, Novoshakhtinsk (until 1939, Komintern), lies west of Shakhty.

## Krasnodar Kray

**Capital, Krasnodar; area, 82,800, population, 3,000,000** SU

Krasnodar Kray occupies the western section of the Northern Caucasus adjoining the Sea of Azov and includes a short section of Transcaucasia along the Black Sea littoral. The presence within a relatively restricted area of maritime and high-altitude influences bring about a great variety of natural conditions and economic activities. Thus, the forested slopes of the Greater Caucasus are in sharp contrast to the treeless level steppes beyond the Kuban' River, and the subtropical Black Sea coast, protected from the northerly winter winds, is opposed to the continental climate of the remainder of the region. 131 C 131

The entire kray, with the exception of the mountains in the south and 000

2: Byhan--ii E-4 (no date) 1926 RI13 Abkhaz RI13
CAUCASIA RH1

A
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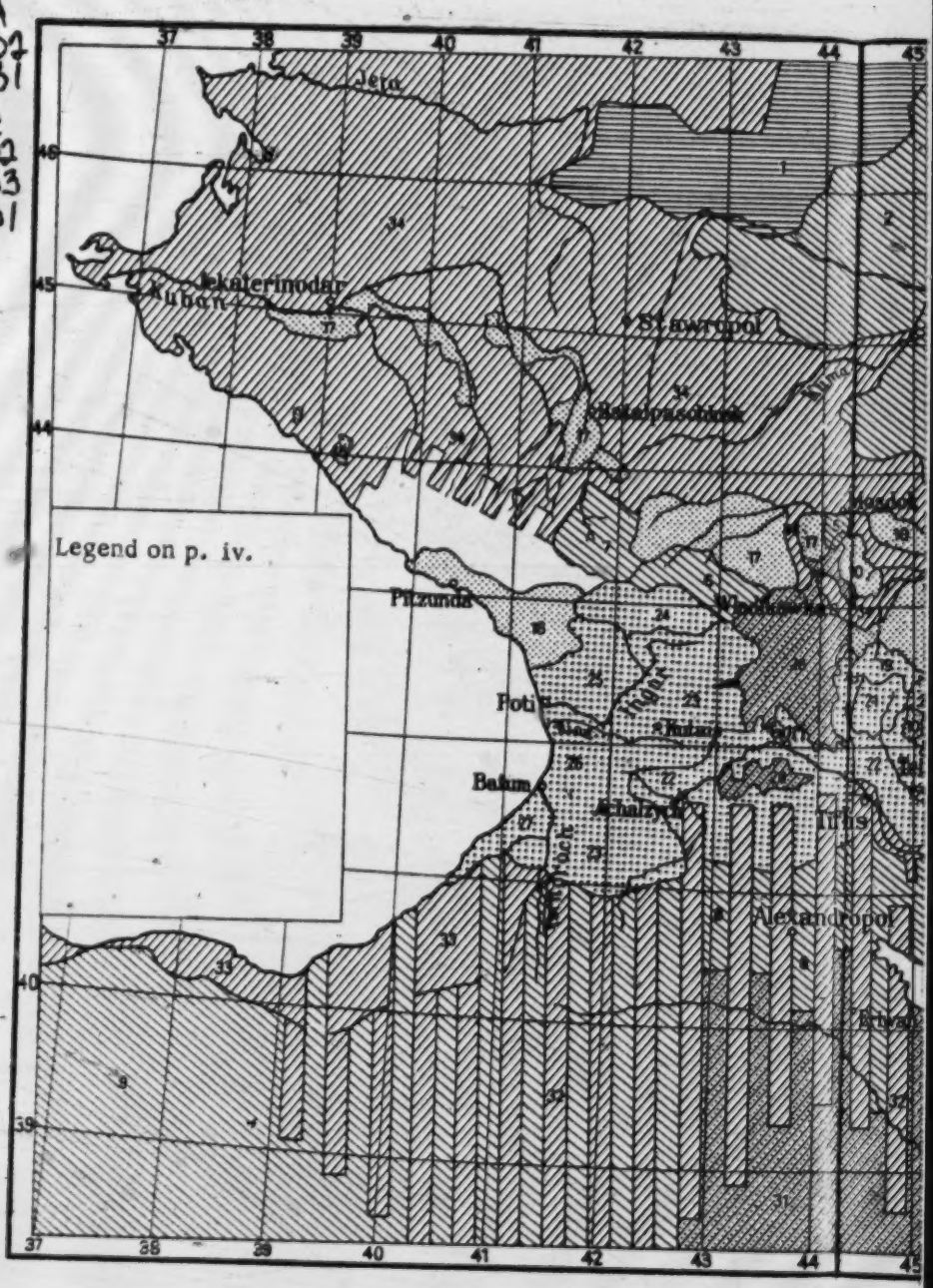


[p. 749 (A)]

2: Byhan--iii E-4 (no date) 1926

RI13 Abkhaz RI13
Caucasia RII

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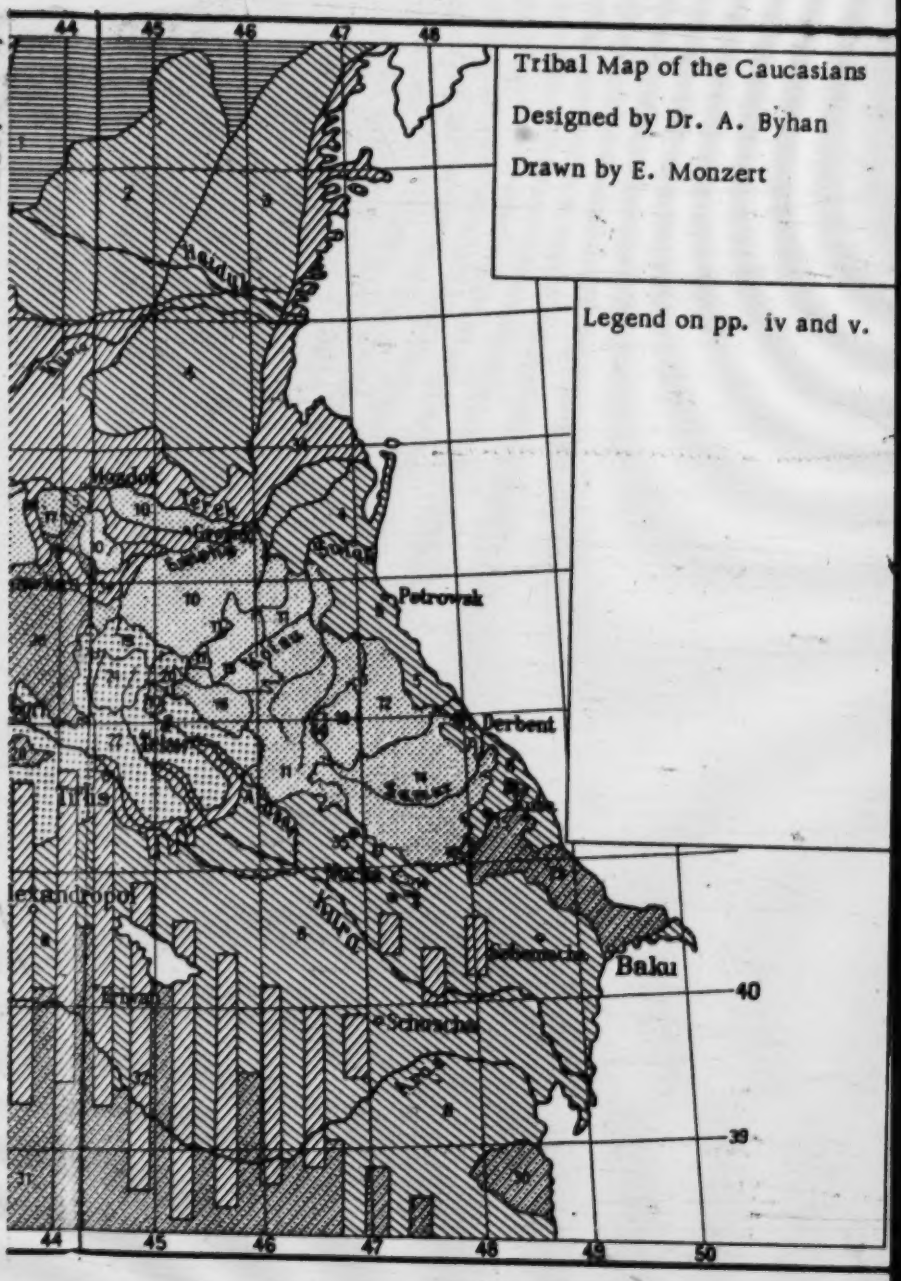


[p. 749 (B)]

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MONGOL:

1 Kalmyk

TURKS:

2 Turkmen /Turcoman/
3 Kirgis /Kirgiz/
4 Nogai
5 Kymyk /Kumyk/
6 Taulu
7 Karatschai /Karachai/
8 Aserbaidshan Tatar /Azerbaijani Tatar/
9 Osman

CAUCASIANS:

10 Tschetschen /Chechen/
LESGHIER: /Lezgin/
11 Awar /Avar/
12 Dargin /[illegible]
13 Lak /Lek/
14 Kūrin /Kurin/
15 Andi
16 Dido /Didol/

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17 Tscherkess /Cherkess/
18 Abchas /Abkhaz/

KHARTHWELIER /Karthvelians/

19 Chewsur /Khevsur/
20 Thusch /Tush/
21 Pschaw /Pshav/
22 Georgier /Grusians/
23 Jmerier /Imeretin/
24 Swan
25 Mingrel
26 Gurier /Gurian/
27 Las /Laz/

2: Byhan--v E-4 (no date) 1926 RI13 Abkhaz RI13

Caucasia RH1

A
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131

INDO-EUROPEAN:

JRANIER /IRANIANS/:

C
102
133
● 131

28 Ossen /Osset/
29 Tat
30 Talysch /Talysh/
31 Kurd

32 Armenians
33 Greeks
34 Russians

SEMITES:

35 Mountain Jews

3: Anonymous U-4 (no date) 1920 RH1 Caucasia RH1



133 of Kars and flows north into the Kartalian plain. After turning east through Gori and Tiflis it follows a south-easterly course to the Caspian, which it enters by three mouths. During the months of March, April, and May it is flooded, and inundates the surrounding country at some points to a width of 3 miles. Its chief tributaries are the Alazan on the left bank and the Aras on the right.

The *Aras* (500 miles) rises in Turkish territory, entering Transcaucasia between the villages of Khorasan and Karakurt. It flows east till it is joined on the left bank by the Arpa Chai, passing through the Erivan plateau, and then takes a wide bend towards the south past Nakhichevan as far as Julfa, after which it turns east to Ordubad and then north-east, finally discharging into the Kura. The current is very rapid in the upper course, and also between Julfa and Ordubad, but is moderate from Erivan as far as Nakhichevan. There are many islands in the lower reaches.

In the Russian Armenian Highlands are the only important lakes in Transcaucasia: Gokcha, 540 square miles, at a height of 6,340 ft.; Chaldir, 33 square miles, at a height of 6,520 ft.; and several smaller ones, all at heights between 6,500 and 7,000 ft.

### (3) Climate

132 It is possible to divide Transcaucasia into three climatic areas: the Black Sea basin, the Caspian basin, and the Armenian Highlands.

West of the Suram Mountains, which form a dividing line between the Black Sea and Caspian basins, the atmosphere is moist and temperatures are moderate. The winter is mild, and, though snow falls, it rarely lies; the summer is hot and conditions are unhealthy on the Black Sea littoral. The annual rainfall averages from 60 to 80 inches. Periodical changes of wind are not uncommon, and cause sudden alterations of temperature. The effect of the climate on the country is noticeable;

| | Locality. | Height in feet above sea level. | Mean Temperature in Degrees Fahrenheit. Jan. | May. | August. | Annual. | Annual Rainfall in inches. | Prevailing Wind. Winter. | Spring. | Summer. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Black Sea Basin | Batum | 173 | 41 | 61 | 78 | 58 | 80·15 | S.E. | — | N.W. |
| | Kutais | 480 | 40 | 66 | 76 | 58 | 44·35 | N.E. | N. by E. | W.N.W. |
| | Poti | 10 | 43 | 62 | 76 | 58 | 65·30 | S.E. | S.S.W. | S.W. by N. |
| | Sukhum | 30 | 44 | 64 | 76 | 59 | 40·47 | S.E. | S.W. | S.W. |
| Caspian Sea Basin | Baku | 53 | 38 | 64 | 78 | 58 | 12·86 | — | N.N.W. | N. by E. |
| | Lenkoran | 65 | 37 | 66 | 77 | 58 | — | N.W. | S.E. | S.E. |
| | Tiflis | 1,343 | 33 | 63 | 76 | 55 | 18·44 | N.E. | N. by W. | N.W. |
| | Temir Khan Shura (Daghestan) | 1,510 | 26 | — | 73 | 51 | 17 to 21 | S.W. | — | N.W. |
| Armenian Highlands | Alexandropol | 5,090 | 13 | 53 | 66 | 42 | 13·40 | — | N.E. by N. | N.E. |
| | Aralikh | 2,606 | 20 | 65 | 79 | 53 | 6·08 | — | N.N.W. | N.W. by N. |
| | Erivan | 3,174 | 13 | 69 | 80 | 53 | — | — | S.E. | N.E. |
| | Shusha | 3,870 | 33 | 56 | 66 | 49 | 20·79 | — | — | S.E. |

3: Anonymous U-4 (no date) 1920 RH1 Caucasia RH1



132 vegetation is abundant, and near the sea semi-tropical in its luxuriance.

East of the Suram Mountains the climate is dry, with extremes of heat and cold. The summer is oppressively hot, particularly in the Kura valley. The Caspian basin, as a whole, suffers from drought, and in the Baku district violent sand and dust storms are common.

The climate in the Armenian Highlands shows characteristics similar to those of the two areas above described. At Alexandropol snow lies till the middle of April, spring lasts a fortnight, and the summer parches the country to the condition of a desert. The Aras valley has a somewhat less rigorous climate.

Recent climatic statistics for the three areas are shown in the table given on p. 7.

### (4) Sanitary Conditions

[144] 164 Sanitation in anything like the modern sense of the word is practically unknown in Transcaucasia. Medical facilities, except in the larger towns, are practically non-existent. Constant epidemics of malaria are caused by the marshy conditions prevailing on the Black Sea coast, and in the valleys of the Rion, Aras, and Kura. Goitre and epilepsy are common among the natives of Svanetia. Leprosy occurs among the poorer classes of the Persian population. Elisavetopol is notorious for the so-called Sartian sickness, a kind of skin eruption.

### (5) Race and Language

563 197 Of the numerous peoples represented in Caucasia, 101 some belong to the white race, others to the Mongolian or yellow race.

I. The inhabitants who are of white race belong to the Indo-European, Semitic, or Caucasian families.

*Indo-European Family.*—Everywhere there are *Russian* officials, merchants, and soldiers, and there are also large numbers of peasants, who are either voluntary colonists or religious exiles from European Russia. They speak both Great and Little Russian.

3: Anonymous U-4 (no date) 1920 RH1 Caucasia RH1
CISCAUCASIA



133 kaz, on the high plains to the north of the Caucasus. The Terek bends first north-west, then east, past Mozdok (altitude 441 ft.) and Kislyar (29 ft. below sea-level), and enters the Caspian Sea by several branches. The delta is sixty miles wide, and the river forms large sand-banks opposite its mouths. It does not freeze every year. The chief tributary is the Zunzha, all the others being mere mountain torrents.

On the left bank of the lower river are great steppes, while shifting sand-dunes cover an extensive tract from Mozdok northwards; near the delta is the depression of Kislyar, covered with impenetrable salt morasses, while to the right of the Terek is fertile country.

The *Kuma* (about 400 miles) rises on the northern slope of the Caucasus, and flows by several branches through the sandy steppes towards the Caspian. At times of flood it reaches the sea, but at other seasons its channels disappear in the sandy steppes along the coast. Its tributaries are the Karamyk, Podkumka, and Buivola.

### (3) Climate

132 The climate is continental, and in the winter the cold is severe.

*Temperature.*

| | *Mean Annual Temp.* | *January (Mean).* | *July (Mean).* |
|---|---|---|---|
| Vladikavkaz (altitude 2,345 ft.) | 47·7° F. | 23° F. | 69° F. |
| Stavropol (altitude 2,030 ft.) | 47° F. | 24° F. | 79° F. |
| Pyatigorsk | 48° F. | 25° F. | 71° F. |

*Annual Rainfall.*

*Terek Province*

| | |
|---|---|
| Mountainous districts | 37 in. |
| Steppes | 10 to 20 in. |

*Vladikavkaz*

34·2 in., of which 25·8 in. falls between April and September.

3: Anonymous U-4 (no date) 1920 RH1 Caucasia RH1



In the 'black earth' steppes of Ciscaucasia the maxi- 132
mum rainfall is at the beginning of summer; on the eastern steppes, which extend along the Caspian Sea, the maximum is reached in March.

### (4) Sanitary Conditions

The science of hygiene is unknown in Caucasian villages, 758
and medical aid is absent or inaccessible in country dis- 164
tricts. Malaria is the characteristic disease of Caucasia, but small-pox, scarlet fever, measles, dysentery, typhus, and pneumonia are prevalent and cause many deaths.

In the fashionable health resorts, such as Kislovodsk, 529
Jelieźnovodsk and Pyatigozsk, there are very up-to-date sanatoria established on the latest German lines, to which people come from all parts of Russia to take the waters and the cure.

### (5) Race and Language

Russians form 34 per cent. of the people of Ciscau- 162
casia, and in the Government of Stavropol amount to 90 per cent. In the Province of Kuban 109 per 1,000 are Cossacks; in Terek the proportion is 179 per 1,000. Tatars live in the east and south-east, where they form 19·3 per cent. of the inhabitants. The remainder consists of Kalmucks, Turcomans, Nogai-Tatars, Armenians, Georgians, Germans, Poles, &c. (See also p. 8.)

### (6) Population

The population of the three Ciscaucasian provinces on January 1, 1913, was 5,470,600, distributed as follows:

| | *Rural Population.* | *Urban Population.* | *Total.* |
|---|---|---|---|
| Kuban . . | 2,667,000 | 244,800 | 2,911,800 |
| Stavropol . | 1,232,400 | 79,700 | 1,312,100 |
| Terek . . | 1,015,100 | 231,600 | 1,246,700 |

*Towns*

*Ekaterinodar* (population in 1897, 65,697, now about 161
107,000), the capital of the Province of Kuban, is 361

5: Allen H-4 (no date) 1923 RH1 Caucasia RH1

# B. ECONOMICS

## IX

## THE RESOURCES OF GEORGIA, THE CAUCASUS AND AZERBAIJAN

133 *Climatic Conditions.*—The general characteristics of the geography of the Caucasus and Transcaucasia have already been indicated.[1] To the west are the Euxine, to the east the Caspian depressions. To the north the solid wall of the Caucasian Range, stretching for 650 miles west-north-west to east-south-east, separates the northern steppe from the southern river-valleys. The comparatively low range of the Suram Mountains running from north to south connects the Caucasus with the Pontic or Armenian system and separates the head-waters of the Rion and the Kur. And to the south-east an advanced bastion of the Armenian Mountains dominates the middle reaches of the Kur Valley.

● 132 Transcaucasia may be divided into three climatic areas. In the west the protection of the great Caucasian Range and of the lesser systems in the east and south has produced in the basin of the Rion a climate which is subtropical. The summers are oppressively hot, and the winters are mild and with little fall of snow. The heavy rains, the annual fall of which averages 60 to 80 inches, combined with the multitude of streams which find their way to the marshy Mingrelian coast, produce an atmosphere of extreme humidity. Hence, whilst the soil is fertile and sub-tropical, and fruits and vegetation flourish, the health of the inhabitants suffers, and malaria, with its consequent enervation of physique and *moral*, is prevalent. To the east, in the Kur Valley, the Suram Range breaks the force of rain-clouds drifting over from the Black Sea, while the parching winds of Central Asia blow across the Caspian and raise in the Baku region the most violent sand- and dust-storms. Kakhetia and Karthalinia are adequately

[1] Vide pp. 169–171.

5: Allen H-4 (no date) 1923 RH1 Caucasia RH1



watered by the streams falling south and west from the Central 132
Caucasus and Daghestan; but the annual rainfall is low in comparison to that of the Mingrelian Plain, and at Baku registers an average of only 13 inches. The destructive measures of invaders and subsequent desiccation have further contributed to the aridity of the eastern region, and the grassy plains which once supported thousands of Mongol ponies have now degenerated in many parts into desert land. But as it is less fertile, so the Kur Valley is more healthy than that of the Rion. The atmosphere is dry, and if the summers are as hot they are not as humid as those of Mingrelia. In the winter extremes of cold are experienced, and snow lies in many parts of the Kur Valley. The third, or south-eastern, area, including Russian Armenia and Kara Bagh, suffers the violent contrasts of heat and cold of the Armenian Plateau. At Erivan and Alexandropol snow lies until April, while the short summers scorch all vegetation. The Araxes Valley suffers in a lesser degree from the same conditions.

*Communications.*—The chief commercial route in Trans- 496
caucasia is the Transcaucasian Railway. The main line runs north from Batum along the Black Sea coast to Nikolaevsk, whence it turns inland, crosses the Rion and at Samtredi joins a line coming from Poti. Thence it runs east-south-east to Gori and Tiflis, traversing the Suram by a tunnel. It follows the course of the Kur until it crosses the Poili bridge, and then runs south-east by Elisavetpol to Alyat on the Caspian Sea, where it turns north to Baku. The total length is 563 miles. The Railway Company further owns a pipe-line following the same route, which is capable of conveying 1,600,000 tons of oil per annum from Baku to Batum. From Tiflis another line runs south by Karakilissa to Alexandropol, whence it branches west to Kars and south-east to Erivan and Julfa. During the war, the Russians continued the Kars line to Sarikamish, whence a light railway connected it with Erzerum. Another light railway connects Julfa with Tabriz. Branch lines also connect the Transcaucasian line with Kutais and the Tkhvibuli coal-fields, with the Chiaturi manganese area, and with the popular health-resort at Borjom.

Until the collapse of Shamil[2] Transcaucasia was almost 487
without land communication with the North Caucasus, except by the Daryal Pass. The principal commercial communications between Transcaucasia and Russia still continue to be marine, on the Black Sea from Poti and Batum to the South Russian ports, on the Caspian from Baku to Astrakhan.

2 [see cat 116, p 201 ff; the date is 1859—Analyst]

103 Caucasians also call the Pontos the "Black Sea" (Georgian Šavi Zγva).

Later, in Arabic and Persian geographical and historical literature, forms of the name of these mountains such as Qabaq, Qabuq (?) appear, and a similar form Qāf or Qāp, becomes the general term for the Caucasus throughout the Near and Middle Eastern Islamic world (in Turkic Qāf daγlary, etc.), forms which have some slightly remote relationship with the old Iranian and Western term.

181 For a long time the Caucasus was, and
132 in a certain sense still is, a great divide between two rather different worlds: on the one hand, Trans-Caucasia, which is culturally Mediterranean and Near Eastern, and climatically arid and sub-tropical; and on the other, the North-Caucasian plains, a cultural no-man's land, the transitory roaming-grounds of nomadic peoples, and climatically belonging to the continental zone of the vast East European plains. The steppes of the northern
133 Caucasian triangle between Don-Volga and the
167 Caucasus have been, down to the last two centuries, the battlefields between ever-changing nomadic conquest groups, arriving one after the other in an almost unending sequence out of the high plains of Central and Eastern Asia, trying to force their way into the territories of the Persian or the Roman Empires, which had their outer defenses established in these plains. But even prior to those movements,

## CLIMATE

132 Since the Caucasus reaches with its highest massifs into the zone of permanent glaciation, all climatic zones are represented, from the sub-tropical to the Arctic. Aside from the peculiar features of the high mountain ranges which can be called simply alpine, the Caucasus is located in a sub-tropical zone dominated by two sharply contrasting varieties of climate: humid-subtropical and continental. Although the Black Sea is a rather independent part of the Mediterranean, having been connected with it only during more recent geological epochs, and although on the average it is much cooler than the Mediterranean and situated a few degrees farther north, a large portion of the Black Sea area constitutes the extreme northeastern area of the Mediterranean climate zone. Here in the south of the large Black Sea basin the arid, continental portion of Asia-Minor plays, on a lesser level, the same role as the huge, arid northern mass of the African continent, situated in the south of the entire Mediterranean and far beyond it. As the northern quarter of the Black Sea is open to the influences of the vast Eurasian plains, with their continental climate, the Black Sea Basin is seasonally exposed to the influences of that climate. But in the eastern quarter,

132 the western ranges of the Great Caucasus serve as a strong protective wall against continental influences. Thus, the entire western half of the Great Caucasus and the extreme northwest of the Anti-Caucasus are open to maritime influences and exhibit a pecular humid-subtropical climate which can also be called subtropical-maritime.

The divide between the Black Sea maritime and the contin ental climates runs along the main crest-line of the Shifakly-Dagh, the eastern parallel range of the Pontic Range in the southwest. It then goes over onto the crestline of the eastern part of the Adjaro-Imeret'ian range, and follows along that of the Meskhi-Surami Mountains abutting against the crest-line of the southern main range of the Great Caucasus; then it turns sharply northwest and follows the crest-line to the end of the chains. With decreasing altitude of the main chains, the climatic frontier tends to become increasingly expandable towards the northeast of that line; at the same time, under continuing pressure of northeasterly winds, it tends to recede considerably behind that boundary line.

## The Zone of Continental Climate

The entire territory south, southeast, east, and northeast of the divide belongs to the zone of continental climate, extending

132 from there and the central plains of Asia-Minor across most of the central and northern parts of the entire continent, as far east as the vicinity of the Pacific Ocean, in Southern Manchuria, and the Amur-Ussuri valleys.

In the area of the Caucasus, the continental climate can be characterized as subtropical, with the typical features of very low average precipitation and great vacillation between minimum and maximum temperatures during the day and night and in the course of the entire year. It should be noted that along with the rather high average temperatures which occur not only throughout the long summers, but during the daytime throughout the year, there are likewise, despite the latitude, rather low temperatures during the winter months and at night throughout the year. This holds true for the non-alpine territories of the area. It is self-evident that the average temperatures, which even on the plateaus of High Armenia are very high during the summer, descend during the winter, depressing the yearly average in proportion to the elevation.

The continental climatic features are mitigated to a certain degree by the basin of the Caspian, which, however, exerts an influence tending to increase humidity in some rather small areas along its southern and western coast. These areas therefore have the features of a humid sub-tropical climate.

132 This is true of the entire southern and southwestern Caspian coastal zone, which is a very narrow strip of land between the Alburz Mountains and the sea. Dagestan, again, has a typical semi-arid continental climate, and the central and northern parts of the Caspian Basin are exposed to northeast or southeast winds, of which the latter in particular have a humidity-resorbing power which in general far exceeds the evaporation from the sea.

The plains north of the Great Caucasus are under a stronger influence of the continental climate; they are the vast gateway for southeast winds, accompanied by semi-arid influences, up to the southeast, east, and at times the central parts of the East European plains. The large sheet of water represented by the Azov Sea is an area of Black Sea maritime influences, and easterly winds may also carry some humidity which is discharged along the northern foothills of the Great Caucasus; but beyond the mountainous region proper, i.e., in the North-Caucasian plains, the maritime influences are inferior to those of the continental climate. Precipitation of an annual average of 500 to 1000 mm. of rain (or snow) is observed all over the Great Caucasus, on altitudes from 2000 m. up in Dagestan, toward the northwestern extremity, Taman, and Kerch; its area includes that of the Stavropol' plateau which does not exceed the 1000 m. limit.

132 As a consequence of the great meteorological changes which have occurred during the past 30 to 50 years, the influences of continental climate from the southeast seem, at periods, to be strongly counteracted by those of the Atlantic maritime climate, which appears to be extending its power more and more across the East European plains in a southeasterly direction. But this does not mean that such influences make themselves felt in the climate of the area of the North-Caucasian (Black Sea-Caspian) plains.

## Transitional Zones

Between these two sharply opposed climatic types are a number of transitional ones. As a variety of the sub-tropical climate the narrow strip of humid sub-tropical climate along the Alburz Mountains has been mentioned. The dry sub-tropical subdivision of the continental climate is typical of the entire southeastern part of that area of the Caucasus which is situated at an elevation not exceeding 750 m.; above that line the sub-tropical features are absent. We can therefore say that a dry continental climate is typical of the plateaus and valleys of High Armenia (and Karabakh). This latter climate is characterized by dry, hot summers and cold, snowy winters (with a maximum of cloudless days, however), thus corresponding to the climate

7:Columbia U. S-4, 5 1956 RHl Caucasia
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132 of northern and central Iran and Central Asia.

A more moderate form of this climate is found along the eastern section of the southern slopes of the Great Caucasus along the foot of the main ranges between the rivers Alazani and Aghry-Chai (the bottom of the valleys being slightly lower than 200 m.), and the mountains in the region between the cities of Nukha (about 500 m.) and Zakatali (540 m.). This more moderate climate is likewise predominant on the northeastern slopes of the Great Caucasus up to 1000 m. in the Kuba subsidence and in the Talysh Mountains at elevations up to 800 m. In this climate the number of hot months is smaller, a lower average annual temperature occurs, and there is a different precipitation cycle during the year. There are two periods of maximum precipitation, one in May-June and the other in September, an extremely valuable feature for plant growth; minimum precipitation occurs in January.

## The Maritime Zone

The entire area of the Black Sea maritime climate with its predominant southwest winds includes the entire eastern coastal curve of the Black Sea and the southwestern slopes of the western portion of the Great Caucasus, the entire triangle of Colchis-Imeret'ia, the western portion of the Adjaro-

132 Imeret'ian Mountains, and the northeastern range of the Pontic Mountains, including the valley of the Chorokh River. This area extends from about lat. 41° N. to lat. 44° N. However, as said above, the indirect influences of the maritime sub-tropical climate can be extended, during times of strong southwesterly winds, beyond the northwesternmost lower ranges of the Great Caucasus. An expansion of this climate beyond the Meskhi-Surami range is rare. There is relatively heavy precipitation along the southern slopes of the Great Caucasus from the northwestern end of the chain, near Novorossiysk, as far southeast as the region of Zakatali and Nukha, which have an annual average rainfall of 1000 to 2000 mm. (the farther southeast the lower the precipitation). This precipitation, east of the Meskhi-Surami divide, is due chiefly to southeast winds carrying Caspian humidity which is released at or near the crestline of the southern main range. While precipitation is seasonal in the continental climate zone, it is not limited to a particular season of the year in the Mediterranean-Black Sea area, although certain months in winter and summer have maximum precipitation.

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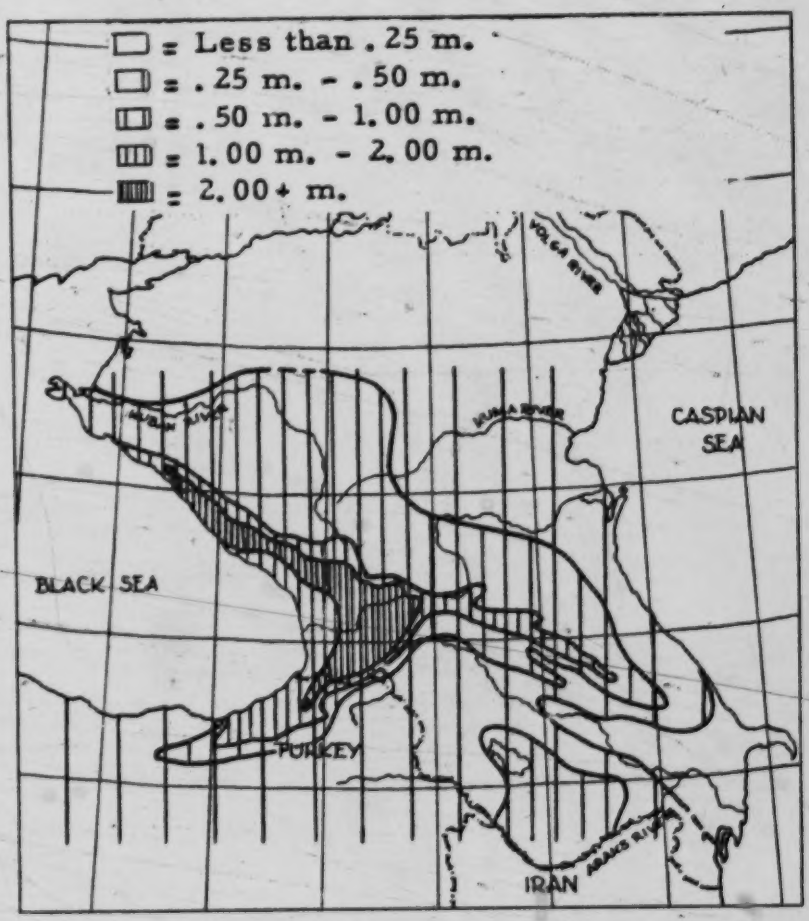
•132

## Precipitation in the Caucasus



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RHl

## Precipitation

• 132 The sketch map, page 114, shows the different areas with their respective density of average precipitation. It should be noted that the area of greatest density of precipitation does not include the westernmost part of Colchis, which is the Black Sea littoral proper, since the clouds release the greatest amount of water in the immediate vicinity of the higher ranges only. In addition, the area around Lake Sevan, within the dry continental area of Trans-Caucasia, has an annual average of 500-1000 mm. of precipitation; this is like the entire Great Caucasus from the 2000 m. contour line in the southeast to the end of the entire system in the northwest, with the inclusion of the Stavropol' plateau. This area, with its average precipitation of 500-1000 mm. per annum, may be considered a transitional one between Black Sea maritime and Central Asiatic continental climate. The greatest portion of Dagestan, with the exception of spurs and ridges at an elevation above the 2000 m. level, belongs to the continental climate. This gives Dagestan a unique appearance, so very different from that of the cen-
137 tral and northwestern Caucasus. The preponderant features of Dagestan are those of aridity and therefore a lack of higher vegetation, especially forests. Forests are absent in many regions of the Mediterranean and

137 Oriental world, not only because of natural conditions, but especially because of deforestation wrought by man throughout all historical periods down to the beginning of this century; this is particularly true of the South-European peninsulas, Anatolia, and Iran. Similarly, Dagestan, in the regions exposed to the dry southeast winds, is bare of the exuberant vegetation and forests which are so typical of the central and northwestern ranges. In Dagestan wide differences in vegetation are found between the sun-exposed and the sun-protected slopes of valleys or mountains, as is typical of most mountainous regions of Central Asia. This is mirrored even in the nomenclature, as for example the Küngöj-Ala-Tau ("Sunny side Ala-Tau ['Bluish Mountain']") and the Terskäj-Ala-Tau ("Shady side Ala-Tau"), the two main ranges of the central Tiän-shan, north and south respectively of the Issik-Kul. The sun-exposed slopes are often steppe-like, while only on the sun-protected side of a mountain is there higher vegetation.

## Cool and Cold Zones

132 137 Above the 1000 m. level, the temperatures begin to recede rapidly with increasing elevation, and the cooler climates begin. Up to 2000 m. we have a transitional, moderately cool climate with a preponderance of forest growth, mostly deciduous species of the European type such as beech, oak, hornbeam, etc., but without the evergreen brushwood and bushes found in the sub-tropical zones. Above

132 137 the 2000 m. limit the cold climate begins. Forests and higher vegetation disappear completely. It is the region of the sub-alpine and alpine meadows used by the people only as summer pastures since precipitation takes place for a great part of the year in the form of snow, and the snow cover lasts for a long period.

This area marks the transition to Arctic climate, which coincides with the extent of the region of permanent glaciation beyond the snow line between 3300 and 3800 m. altitude. Between the area of the alpine meadows and that of eternal snow, there is a region of lower vegetation, consisting for the most part of cryptogamic species, which may be likened to mountainous tundras.

## Exterior Aspect of the Various Zones

Thus the different climatic zones dominating the Caucasus give the sub-regions distinctive features sharply contrasting with each other. The northern slopes of the entire northwestern and central Caucasus are well-forested. The southeastern part, on the other hand, where Dagestan is located, is absolutely un-European and has the prevailing features of Anatolia, Iran, or Central Asia. The eastern portion of the southern slopes of the Great Caucasus resembles the alpine portion of the Riviera, but the western portion,

-132 because of the great amount of precipitation
137 occurring in this area, is much richer in vegetation and increases the impression of sub-tropical conditions. The eastern portion of the southern declivity is in all respects more similar to the Riviera or the Lombardian slopes of the Alps, except for the absence of lakes. The opposite slopes of the Anti-Caucasus present essentially the same features - the sub-tropical portions of the Adjaro-Imeret'ian Mountains and, farther east, the northeastern boundary mountains of High Armenia, while the interior of High Armenia shares all typical features of the Anatolo-Iranian plains, of which it is the northeasternmost section. The peaks of High Armenia reach elevations as high as any in the Anatolo-Iranian system. The areas have the same latitudinal position. There is only one small area above the snow line; this is the volcanic massif of the Ararat. The Alagöz (Aragac) massif, on the other hand, is bare of snow during the summer. High Armenia differs from the rest of the Anatolo-Iranian plateaus by having a greater forested area, and thus more closely resembling the Great Caucasus in this respect.

7: Columbia U. S-4,5 1956 RH1 Caucasia RH1

## Snow Line: Glaciation

.132 In the Great Caucasus, the snow boundary line starts in the northwest at a lower altitude than in the eastern part of the system. In general, the snow line, as in all alpine mountain systems, shows considerable variation due to the latitude, the exposure to sun and winds, the direction and force of the winds, the amount of precipitation, and the location of a given mountain or valley in relation to the main massif, etc. In the northwestern part of the Great Caucasus, the snow line starts at a level between 2900 and 3000 m. and steadily mounts, as the Caucasus stretches southeast, to a level between 3500 and 3600 m. Here, too, we must keep in mind that the snow line has been showing a tendency toward permanent recession during the past 50 years, as has been observed throughout the Eurasian continent. This gradual acclivity of the snow line from northwest to southeast is due only in part to the latitude (from lat. 44° N. to lat. 41° N.), the main reason being the greater amount of precipitation within the zone of the Black Sea-maritime climate all along the southern slopes of the main ranges, as mentioned above. An additional reason is the strong effect of the hot Caucasian summers coupled with a minimum of humidity in the air in the section east of the Meskhi-Surami range. For this reason, the snow line is dis-

.132 proportionately higher along the southern slopes of the eastern portion of the Caucasus. Similarly, a considerably smaller amount of precipitation occurs on the northern slopes of the system, with the result that the snow line is higher all along that area, and this in spite of the fact that the sunrays hit the northern declivity at a much more oblique angle. There the snow line starts at an elevation of about 3300 to 3400 m. and ends at a level of 3900 to 4000 m. in Dagestan. (If we compare the elevation of the Caucasian snow line to that of the Pyrenees, we find the former to be 600 m. higher on the average, even though the Pyrenees are located on the same latitude as the Caucasus. The smaller continental portion of the Iberian Peninsula, in the immediate vicinity of the Alantic Ocean, cannot absorb as much humidity as the plateaus of Asia-Minor and Iran, in the immediate vicinity of the Caucasus.) It is true that northeast winds carry a certain degree of humidity towards the Caucasus, but this humidity is discharged right in the foothills of the system. These circumstances account for a difference of about 400 m. between the northern and the southern snow lines. Proportionately higher still is the snow line in the Anti-Caucasus system, where it is found at an elevation of 4400 to 4500 m. on the northwestern, less steep slopes of the Great Ararat - due to the extremely dry climate and the high summer temperatures of the surrounding plateaus. A few

-132 A few
*133 individual narrow, pointed ends of névés and glaciers reach far down into protected places for more than 1000 m. One mightly glacier descends in the north into the crevasse of St. James Valley to an elevation of about 2600 m. No other peaks of the various Anti-Caucasus systems, even that of the Alagoz, reach into the zone of Arctic climate, and it is therefore one of the distinctive features of the Anti-Caucasus that it is without glacier
132 formations. In early September 1950 while flying over the southern peaks of the range connecting the Anti-Caucasus with the Armenian Tauros and the Zagros between Lakes Urmia and Van, this writer found a minimum of snow even on such a massif as the Djilu-Dagh (4580 m.), while old snow on massifs of lesser elevation was preserved only in ravines and crevasses between spurs projecting in a northerly direction. Very similar was the aspect of the towering cone of Mt. Demavend (5604 m.) in the Alburz during the months of July and late August. However, since the flight was along its southern precipice only, at an altitude lower than the peak, the condition of its northern declivity could not be observed.

In the Great Caucasus the chains permanently covered with snow are those situated between Mts. Oshten and Fisht in the northwest, and Mt. Kazbek in the center, covering a distance of only 420 km., i.e., roughly one-third of the extent of the entire system. East

-132 of Mt. Kazbek, only isolated snow-covered massifs are found; the southeasternmost is the Shah-Dagh and Bazar-düzü massif.

*133 There are proportionately fewer névés in the Caucasus than in the Alps, and moreover, the névés are less extensive and smaller in volume. This is the reason for the smaller number of glaciers in the Caucasus. The greatest homogeneous area of glaciation is that of the Elbrus massif, which is connected with that of the Adai-Khokh massif by an unbroken line of névés and glaciers. This part of the central ranges of the Caucasus, with its distribution of névés and glaciers, is well represented on a special map at the end of the second volume of Freshfield's work; all the names of peaks, passes (both with their elevations), and glaciers as well are given. (With regard to nomenclature, however, it is regrettable that the transcription used is not uniform, so that it is not possible to establish the correct form of a given name without knowing the language in question [which is often not sufficient, either, since we are dealing with proper names]; endless checking in other sources therefore becomes necessary.)

East of Mt. Elbrus is the névé and glacier system of the Ushba-Djailyk-Bashy-Tiktengen triangle, from which the northern rivers Baksan and Chegem, and the southern river Ingur, receive their source waters. Farther to the east is the smaller area

## CLIMATOLOGICAL CHART

| Place and Clime-Zone | Position (Lat. N. Long. E.) | Elevation in m. | Average Temperature (centigrade) Jan. | July | Annual | Precipitation (annual) in cm. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Novorossiysk (maritime) | 44°40' N 37°45' E | 4 | +1° | +24° | 13.4° | 76.2 |
| P'ot'i (maritime) | 42°40' N 41°40' E | 6 | +3.7° | +23° | 14.7° | 176.0 |
| K'ut'aisi (maritime) | 42°15' N 42°45' E | 147 | +2.8° | +24° | 14.8° | 240.0 |
| Vladikavkaz (N. Caucasian-Continental) | 43° 2' N 44°45' E | 678[1] | -5.7° | +19° | 9.0° | 92.0 |

1 Radó: 747; Rikli: 715. The discrepancy in figures here, as in the cases indicated below, seems to stem from thechoice of different points as bases for measurement.

Climatological Chart.....continued

| Place | Position (Lat. N. Long. E.) | Elevation in m. | Average Temperature (centigrade) Jan. | July | Annual | Precipitation (annual) in cm. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Pyatigorsk (N. Caucasian-Continental) | 44° 2' N 43° 4' E | 516 [2] | -4.9° | +22° | 9.4° | 54.8 |
| Stavropol' (N. Caucasian-Continental) | 45° 2' N 42° E | 590 [3] | -4.4° | +20° | 8.6° | 67.7 |
| Makhach-Kala (N. Caucasian-Continental/Caspian) | 40° N 47°30' E | 32 | -1.3° | +24.6° | 11.7° | 45.8 |

2 Radó: 510. 3 Radó: 610.

Climatological Chart.....continued

| Place | Position (Lat. N. Long. E.) | Elevation in m. | Average Temperature (centigrade) Jan. | July | Annual | Precipitation (annual) in cm. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Tiflis I (Trans-Caucasian Continental) | 41°45' N 44°47' E | 458 [4] | -1.0° | +22° | 12.7° | 47.1 |
| Tiflis II [5] (Trans-Caucasian Continental) | | 409 | +0.1° | +24.2° | 12.6° | 49.6 |
| Baku I (Trans-Caucasian Continental) | 40°25' N 49°50' E | 18 | +2.4° [6] | 24.4° [6] | 15.3° [6] | 23.8 |

4 This is Stieler's figure. Map of 1916 indicates 658.

5 According to B. P. Alisov, et. al. "Kurs Klimatologii," III, pp. 46 ff; Leningrad, 1954.

6 Maximal and minimal temperatures taken at Cape Bailov, -8.24 m.

Climatological Chart.....continued

| Place | Position (Lat. N. Long. E.) | Elevation in m. | Average Temperature (centigrade) Jan. | July | Annual | Precipitation (annual) in cm. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Baku II [5] (Trans-Caucasian Continental) | 40°21' N 49°51' E | -13 | +3.4° | 25.2° | 13.9° | 20.8 |
| Kirovabad (Gandja) (Trans-Caucasian Continental) | 40°40' N 46°20' E | 442 [7] | ? | ? | 12.9° | 20.9 |
| Aralyq (near Ararat) (Trans-Caucasian Continental) | 39°53'N 44°30'E | 833 | ? | ? | 11.4° | 15.2 |

[7] Stieler: 458; Russian Geological Map of 1929: 368 m. at the station of Kirovabad (Gandja).

Climatological Chart.....continued

| | Position (Lat. N. Long. E.) | Elevation in m. | Average Temperature (centigrade) Jan. | July | Annual | Precipitation (annual) in cm. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Nor-Bayazet[5] (Trans-Caucasian Continental) | 40°20' N 45° 7' E | 1965 | - 7.8° | 16.7° | 5.0° | 45.3[5] |
| Shusha (Trans-Caucasian Continental) | 39°45' N 46°45' E | 1122 | ? | ? | 8.0° | 52.8 |
| Leninakan (Trans-Caucasian Continental) | 40°48' N 43°50' E | 1469[8] | -10.7°[5] | 18.6°[5] | 5.5°[5] | 42.7[5] |
| Abast'umani (Trans-Caucasian Continental) | 41°45' N 42°50' E | 1300[9] | - 4.6° | 18.1° | 6.5° | 61.8 |

7:Columbia U. S-4,5 1956 RHI Caucasia RHI



Climatological Chart footnotes.....continued

8 Stieler: 1548; Map of 1916: 1300; Geological Map of 1929: 1534.

9 Great Soviet Encyclopedia; Radó: 1150; Stieler: 1345.

10 If not otherwise stated, figures are according to É. Reclus (op. cit., p. 73, no. 2), Freshfield, and Rikli.

312 Mt. Besh-Tau and the southern slope of a lower Lakkolith mountain, the Zheleznaya ("iron one"), spring from the intrusive rocky layers around the Zheleznaya. There are about 20 warm and cold springs, with temperatures ranging from 15.5° to 55° C, of alkaline-salino-tellurian composition, with a considerable content of carbonic acid, whereas their iron content is very small, not exceeding 5 mg. per 1. The springs of Zheleznovodsk combine the qualities of those of Karlsbad and Wildungen.

132 Apart from its wealth of mineral waters of the most various types the entire Besh-Tau area possesses an ideal climate. The average temperature is that of Switzerland and the central Alps but the insolation is more vigorous. The area is protected against northern winds and the humidity is low. It is therefore one of the most healthful spots in the world. The Besh-Tau area has a great number of clear days during the year, so that the higher peaks always afford a most magnificent view of Mt. Elbrus and neighboring peaks of the central Caucasus.

312 In the Groznyi area, well known for its oil wells and the corresponding industry, the hot springs of Goriachevodsk — "hot waters" — now Goriacheistochnenskaya — should be mentioned. They are situated at 212 m. above sea level, 15 km. north of Groznyi, near Staryi Yurt. The temperature of the springs approaches the boiling point, being 80° - 81° and 92° - 95° C. The springs contain only a small

23: Shabad N-4 (no date) 1951 Rl Soviet Union Rl
Caucasia RH1



SU 133 C 133 and glaciers. Here Mt. El'brus and Mt. Kazbek (16,541 feet), two extinct volcanoes, are evidence of the considerable volcanic activity which accompanied the folding processes. In this portion of the Greater Caucasus rise the Terek River, in the north, and the Rion River, in the south. East of Mt. Kazbek the main divide is formed primarily of Jurassic beds and nowhere exceeds 14,750 feet. The glaciers gradually decrease in size. They disappear altogether near the Caspian Sea, where the Greater Caucasus becomes a low range of hills rising to 1,075 feet. The northern spurs of this section of the Caucasus form an extensive mountain region known as Dagestan. The chief rivers here are the Sulak in the north and in the south the left affluents of the Kura River.

The Kuban' and the Terek are the main rivers of the Northern Caucasus. Due to their mountain origin, high water occurs in the summer when snow and ice melt in the high altitudes. The force of the current washes out the upper valleys, and in depositing the sediments in the lower course it forms sand banks, which render these streams useless for navigation. They are, however, important for irrigation and as a source of hydroelectric power. In their lower reaches these rivers form large swampy deltas, with many lakes and channels, overgrown with reeds and other marsh vegetation. The large quantities of sediment SU carried by the Terek act to enlarge the delta from year to year.

132 C 132 The climate of the Northern Caucasus is of the continental type and is exposed to a series of opposing air mass movements from the west, bringing moisture from the Black Sea and from the east, where they originate in the dry desert regions of Central Asia. Although the winters are short, they are severe, and frosts of below 0° F occur frequently. Spring arrives at the end of February and soon turns into a hot summer. Most of the precipitation occurs in the summer and is greater in the west and in the high altitudes. The heaviest rainfall takes place on the southern slopes of the Greater Caucasus near the Black Sea (up to 25 inches yearly); in the Kuma-Manych Depression to the northeast, precipitation is less than 12 inches a year. The climate of the Greater Caucasus range, while it varies, depending on the elevation and the location, is marked by a steady decrease of precipitation from west to SU east.

137 C 137 In accordance with the amount of precipitation, the type of vegetation varies throughout the region. The western ranges are covered with deciduous forests, with oak and beech, while the eastern highlands of Dagestan are nearly treeless. At lower altitudes begins the oak forest

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The Donets ridge, the major portion lying within the Ukraine, penetrates the oblast between the lower Don and its right affluent, the Northern Donets. It is a plateau of limestone and sandstone, which is deeply dissected by river courses and ravines. On the higher points burial mounds of the ancient steppe dwellers are often found. The villages, normally surrounded by gardens and orchards, lie along the ravines and valleys of small streamlets. A similar landscape is represented by the outliers of the Central Russian upland to the north. The Don steppe, on the contrary, constitutes very level terrain. The wide river valleys, where streams proceed with a sluggish current, are often filled with salt lakes, and salt flats frequently break the expanse of black-earth and chestnut soils which characterize the region. Toward the east the relief gradually merges with the features of the Caspian lowland. 133* C 133

Normally the Don is not a very abundant river, but spring freshets raise its level considerably. At its mouth, on the Taganrog Gulf of the Sea of Azov, it forms a large delta, which, together with the shallow waters of the adjoining sea, abounds in fish of many varieties. Su

The climate is continental, with hot summers and severe, snowless winters. Precipitation varies from 16 inches annually in the west to 12 inches in the east and occurs chiefly in the summer months, in frequent heavy downpours. Easterly prevailing winds blowing in the spring and summer from the dry steppes and deserts of Central Asia and Kazakhstan present a serious danger of drought to the crops. Drought conditions are especially marked in the southeast, along the Sal River, where black earth is largely replaced by chestnut soils. In the well-watered flood plain of the lower Don, alluvial pastures are important for the raising of dairy cattle. 132 C 132 Su

The eastern wing of the Donets Basin penetrates into the oblast along the Northern Donets River. Anthracite predominates in this area and represents about one fifth of the total reserves of the basin. The major coal-mining centers are Shakhty and Novoshakhtinsk. Other coal mines are concentrated in the areas of Gukovo, north of Krasnyy Sulin, and Gundorovka, west of Kamensk-Shakhtinskiy. In the Bogurayev coal field, at the intersection of the Northern Donets River and the Likhaya-Stalingrad railroad, coal is mined at Koksovyy (characteristically named for coke) north of the railroad and at Sinegorskiy to the south. Belaya Kalitva, at the center of this field, has limestone and glassworks. Anthracite dust from the mines is used to feed the power station of Artemovskiy, an eastern suburb of Shakhty, and the Nesvetay station 135 316 C 135 316

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133* rise above 10,000 feet only in the southern section. Volcanism plays an
C important role in this region. There are a number of extinct volcanoes,
133 including the 13,500 feet high Mount Aragats (or Alagez). The greater part of the Armenian plateau is covered with extrusive volcanic rocks, including eroded basaltic formations. Mineral springs occur throughout the area, and destructive earthquakes often create great havoc; the most recent disaster was in 1926 at Leninakan.

The Rion River basin faces the Black Sea. Its lowest section along the coast is known as Kolkhida (ancient Colchis); it consists largely of marshes and lagoons. Recently this area has been the site of a large reclamation-drainage project. The Kura River basin, which includes the major part of eastern Transcaucasia, is a large alluvial plain drained by the Kura and the Aras (Russian *Araks*) rivers. It is essentially a sterile steppe in the central section, punctuated by occasional salt flats and changing into more fertile black earth on the lower slopes
SU of the northern and southern highlands.

132 The Rion lowland has a humid subtropical climate, with a warm
C winter—the January average at Batumi is 43° F—a hot, humid sum-
●132 mer, and a very heavy rainfall (100 inches a year at Batumi). Precipitation occurs chiefly in the summer, when moisture-laden winds blow from the Black Sea. This circumstance makes the local climate unlike the Mediterranean type, and classifies it rather with the monsoon climates of East Asia (Japan and southern China). The winters are extremely mild along the Black Sea coast; occasionally there are frosts in January, but they are not severe and are of short duration.

Eastern Transcaucasia, including the Kura lowland, has a more continental climate, due principally to the barrier of the Surami range, which bars the warm Black Sea winds from this area. The winters are rather warm, but frosts occur more often, and temperatures drop lower than in the west. Summer is hot, and there is much less precipitation (about 15 inches) than on the Black Sea. In the extreme southeast the Lenkoran' lowland at the foot of the Talysh range again has a humid subtropical climate. The Talysh range condenses the humid Caspian Sea air and produces considerable precipitation in the coastal plain.

The Armenian plateau, in the south, has a continental climate. The local winters are as cold there as in the northern half of the European USSR. At Yerevan (elevation: 3,300 feet), frosts are as low as —13° F, and in July temperatures rise to 104° F. The amount of rainfall varies

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in the various sections; generally it is less than 12 to 14 inches a year, 132 necessitating irrigation methods in the low-lying Aras valley. SU

Vegetation types throughout Transcaucasia vary in accordance with 137 the predominant climate. Along the Black Sea coast the high tempera- C tures and humidity lead to the development of a very luxurious and dense 137 vegetation, forming nearly inaccessible jungles in some sections. The trees, which are largely of Western and Central European origin, reach an exceptionally large size. In spite of the vegetation cover, there is much erosion in this area and the streams are very muddy. Among the most common garden plants are magnolia, cactus, eucalyptus, tangerine, orange, lemon, olive, tea, bamboo, and assorted palms. The dry steppe vegetation of eastern Transcaucasia, with its salt flats and a meager plant cover (consisting chiefly of wormwood, saltwort, and thorny bushes), is in sharp contrast to the small subtropical zone in the Lenkoran' lowland, where the very hard and dense ironwood is most important. The ranges and gorges in the Armenian plateau are covered with deciduous trees; the steppes on the plateau have a rather rich grass cover. In addition to animals commonly found in the Greater Caucasus, the fauna of Transcaucasia includes Mediterranean and Iranian species such as the porcupine and the dzheyran-antelope, and in the steppes, numerous rodents. In the Talysh range leopards and occasionally hyenas and tigers are encountered. Along the Lenkoran' littoral there are many aquatic birds for which a reserve has been created at Kizyl-Agach. SU

The population of Transcaucasia belongs to a large number of ethnic 162 groups. The Georgian group includes the Georgians proper, and many C smaller related nationalities, such as Svans, Khevsurs, Pshaves, Imere- 162 tians and Adzhars; the Iranian group comprises the Ossetians, the Kurds, and the Talysh people, and the Abkhaz form a branch of the Caucasian group. The Georgians and the Armenians are the most numerous. Eastern Transcaucasia is settled by the Azerbaijan people of the Turkic group, who migrated to this area from the northeast from beyond the Caspian Sea.

The total population of Transcaucasia (about 8,100,000 people) is distributed quite irregularly, due to relief and climatic factors. Most sparsely settled are the Greater and the Lesser Caucasus ranges and the dry steppes in the eastern sections, while the Black Sea littoral of the Georgian SSR and the Rion valley show the greatest population density.

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131 Caspian at Fort St. Nicholas on the Astara. The eastern frontier, some 450 miles in length, is formed by the Caspian Sea from the Bay of Agrakhan to the River Astara.

Geographically Transcaucasia is so placed that, with the development of communications, it should reap considerable advantages from the commercial development both of northern Persia and of north-eastern Asia Minor.

## (2) Surface, Coasts, and River System

### *Surface*

133 Transcaucasia is divided across the centre from west [631] to east by the two valleys of the Rion and Kura, the head-waters of which are separated by the low ridge of the Suram Mountains, connecting the Caucasus with the Armenian Highlands. These valleys run west and east into the Black and Caspian Seas respectively. They are roughly equivalent to the Governments of Kutais (the Rion valley), Tiflis, Elisavetopol, and Baku. The Governments of Kutais and Tiflis and parts of Batum form the region known as Georgia.

The Rion valley is narrowed in its upper part by the mountainous district of Svanetia, but begins to broaden west of Kutais, and becomes a flat, marshy plain. The Kura valley narrows about Tiflis, and then widens till, at the Mughan steppe, it is over 100 miles broad. The valley floor slopes gently east from 1,200 ft. at Tiflis to 500 ft. in the middle of its course, and 85 ft. below sea level at the Caspian. The only interruption is caused by a plateau of between 2,000 and 3,000 ft. along the southern foot-hills of the eastern Caucasus in the region known as Kakhetia.

134 The soil in the Rion and upper Kura valleys is 311 extraordinarily fertile. On the southern slope of the Caucasus, in fact, almost every available patch of ground is successfully utilized for agriculture, even up to a height of 7,000–8,000 ft. Most of the steppes in the lower Kura valley are too dry to be cultivated without the aid of irrigation.

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The Caucasus range dominates the whole of Transcaucasia. It is over 400 miles long, while its outskirts stretch for 150 miles and 100 miles respectively to Baku and Novorossiisk. It runs from west-north-west to east-south-east between 45° and 40° north latitude, and falls naturally into three well-defined sections: a western section from Anapa to the upper valley of the Kodor, not far from Sukhum; the main central section from the upper Kodor valley to Mount Kazbek; and an eastern section, including the Highlands of Daghestan, and extending from Mount Kazbek to Baku.

The *western* section commences with hills, which rise gradually to a height of 7,000 ft. at the source of the Kodor. The mountains fall abruptly to the Black Sea.

The *main central* section is entirely mountainous, the general elevation being within the limit of perpetual snow, which on the north side is 9,500 ft. and on the south 10,800 ft. The five highest peaks are Mount Elbruz (18,470 ft.), Koshtan Tau (16,539 ft.), Dikh Tau (16,925 ft.), Janga (16,660 ft.), and Kazbek (16,546 ft.); and there are many others over 14,000 ft. The chief passes are the Mamison Pass (9,253 ft.), across which runs the Ossetian Military Road, connecting Kutais with Vladikavkaz; and the Dariel Pass (4,122 ft.), over which the Georgian Military Road runs from Vladikavkaz to Tiflis. There are no large lakes, and few tarns.

The *eastern* section broadens as it approaches the Caspian, including on the northern side of the main range a triangular area known as the Daghestan Highlands. The country here is difficult of access, and only one military road leads up from the River Terek in Ciscaucasia, the eleven passes being mere bridle-paths. The general elevation of the main range rarely exceeds the line of perpetual snow, but there are three peaks of over 14,000 ft. From Shemakha the elevation declines rapidly; at Baku there are only low hills. The Gudam Pass, 7,977 ft., which forms the western limit of this section, is the best in Transcaucasia. Over the Vantliashet Pass runs the road from Petrovsk to Tiflis.

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133 The Caucasus is joined to the Little or Anti-Caucasus by the Suram or Mezghian Mountains, a low range averaging 3,627 ft. in height, running from north to south and separating the head-waters of the Rion from those of the Kura.

The Little Caucasus is formed by the eastern and central part of the Russian Armenian Highlands, which occupy the southern half of Transcaucasia, and may be divided into two areas: the mountains which surround Lake Gokcha, of which the highest peak is Mount Alagez (13,436 ft.); and the mountain plateau lying to the west of these, including the plateau on which stand the towns of Alexandropol and Kars. The latter area is somewhat bleak and rugged and is intersected with numerous mountain streams in deeply cut valleys.

The western and southern parts of the Russian Armenian Highlands are composed of spurs of the Pontic Mountains and the Eghri Dagh Mountains. The latter divide the streams which flow into the Black Sea and Caspian from those which enter the Persian Gulf. There is a general elevation of 8,000 ft.; the mountains are bare of timber, have little water, and are very rugged.

The ranges composing western and southern Russian Armenia thus stretch from the south-east corner of the Black Sea 400 miles to the south-east, as far as the Kara Dagh and Salavat Mountains in northern Persia, which link them to the Elburz Mountains at the southern end of the Caspian.

*Coasts*

Transcaucasia includes about 400 miles of the Black Sea coast. From Cape Taman on the eastern side of the Straits of Kerch, as far as the roadstead of Anapa, the coast line is low and monotonous, with sunken reefs close to the shore. From this point south-east to Sukhum, there are steep cliffs, with deep water close inshore, and occasional beaches at the mouths of small rivers. From Sukhum to Nikolaevsk, south of Poti, the coast is low and flat; and inland from Poti there is

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an immense flat alluvial plain forming the delta of the 133
rivers Ingur and Rion. South of Nikolaevsk mountains replace the plain. For a few miles south-west of Batum the shore is formed by the flat delta of the Chorokh.

The eastern frontier of Transcaucasia extends for 450 miles along the Caspian Sea. From the Bay of Agrakhan to the small port of Petrovsk the coast is flat and inclined to be marshy. From thence to a few miles south of Derbent (Derbend) it is steep, but drops farther on to a flat area formed by the deltas of many small rivers. After another rise comes the long, low Apsheron Peninsula, off which there are several islands. From Baku the coast line trends south-west as far as Cape Vezir, beyond which is the Gulf of Salyani. The mountains then begin to approach the sea, and rise to a height of 6,000 ft.; they are thickly wooded to the water's edge.

### *River System*

Most of the rivers are mountain torrents, and, with the exception of the wider and navigable portions of the Rion and Kura, they are all at times fordable. As a rule there is most water in them during the summer and least during the winter. The chief rivers are the Rion, Ingur, and Chorokh, flowing into the Black Sea, and the Kura with its affluents, the Alazan and Aras (Araxes), flowing into the Caspian.

The *Rion* (100 miles) rises between Koshtantau and Kazbek and enters the Black Sea at Poti.

The *Ingur* rises in the highest part of the Caucasus, in the north of the Government of Kutais, and flows in a south-westerly direction, reaching the Black Sea at Anaklia.

The *Chorokh* rises in Turkish territory, and only a small part of its course lies within Caucasia. It crosses the border from Turkish Armenia in the neighbourhood of the mountain region of Diduve, south of Artvin, and reaches the sea between Batum and Gonia.

The *Kura* (830 miles) rises in the high plateau north

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133 of Kars and flows north into the Kartalian plain. After turning east through Gori and Tiflis it follows a south-easterly course to the Caspian, which it enters by three mouths. During the months of March, April, and May it is flooded, and inundates the surrounding country at some points to a width of 3 miles. Its chief tributaries are the Alazan on the left bank and the Aras on the right.

The *Aras* (500 miles) rises in Turkish territory, entering Transcaucasia between the villages of Khorasan and Karakurt. It flows east till it is joined on the left bank by the Arpa Chai, passing through the Erivan plateau, and then takes a wide bend towards the south past Nakhichevan as far as Julfa, after which it turns east to Ordubad and then north-east, finally discharging into the Kura. The current is very rapid in the upper course, and also between Julfa and Ordubad, but is moderate from Erivan as far as Nakhichevan. There are many islands in the lower reaches.

In the Russian Armenian Highlands are the only important lakes in Transcaucasia: Gokcha, 540 square miles, at a height of 6,340 ft.; Chaldir, 33 square miles, at a height of 6,520 ft.; and several smaller ones, all at heights between 6,500 and 7,000 ft.

### (3) Climate

132 It is possible to divide Transcaucasia into three climatic areas: the Black Sea basin, the Caspian basin, and the Armenian Highlands.

West of the Suram Mountains, which form a dividing line between the Black Sea and Caspian basins, the atmosphere is moist and temperatures are moderate. The winter is mild, and, though snow falls, it rarely lies; the summer is hot and conditions are unhealthy on the Black Sea littoral. The annual rainfall averages from 60 to 80 inches. Periodical changes of wind are not uncommon, and cause sudden alterations of temperature. The effect of the climate on the country is noticeable;

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131 on the south by the Caucasus and the Province of Daghestan; on the east by the Caspian Sea; and on the north by the Kuma-Manych depression, a chain of narrow shallow lakes and river beds filled at certain seasons with water, connecting the Manych, a tributary of the Don, with the Kuma, which flows into the Caspian Sea.

## (2) Surface, Coasts, and River System

### *Surface*

133 The parts of the Caucasus range which are included in Ciscaucasia are (1) the *Black Sea ridge*, 155 miles in length, stretching from Anapa on the coast to Mount Oshten (9,369 ft.). These mountains are covered with thick woods. (2) The *Kuban Caucasus*, 120 miles in length, which extends from Mount Oshten to Mount Elbruz. Here the heights vary from 3,000 to 6,000 ft. (3) The *Central Caucasus*, which contains various subdivisions, included for the greater part in Transcaucasia.

[487] The passes across the Caucasus from Ciscaucasia to Transcaucasia are few and are at high altitudes, varying from 9,000 to 12,000 ft. above sea-level.

The northern foot-hills of the Caucasus form on both sides of the River Terek the mountainous region of the Kabarda. North-eastwards from this stretches highland country, which merges into a depression northwards from Stavropol. Between these two there rises the isolated mass of the Beshtau Mountains.

The plains of Ciscaucasia slope gently from the base of the Caucasus Mountains towards the Kuma-Manych depression. In the centre is the Stavropol plateau, which varies in height from 2,000 to 2,500 ft. and separates the tributaries of the River Kuban from those of the Terek and the Kuma. Towards the foot-hills of the Caucasus the plateau is covered with dense forests; on the west it merges into steppes or ends in the reedy marshes of the Kuban delta. In the north

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and east the steppes towards the Caspian and the 133
Kuma-Manych depression are barren and stony or sandy.

*Coasts*

The coast of Ciscaucasia is flat, and the only ports [504]
worth noting are Anapa, Temryuk, and Yeisk. The Ciscaucasian shores of the Caspian Sea are surrounded by steppes and are flat throughout. They are formed chiefly of the alluvial land of the deltas of the rivers Terek and Kuma.

*River System*

The rivers of Ciscaucasia rise in the central Caucasus. There are three river basins, corresponding with the three administrative divisions.

The River *Kuban* rises on the northern side of Mount Elbruz. It is formed by the Khursuk and the Uchkulan, which unite at Uchkulan. It retains its character as a mountain stream until it enters the plain at Batalpashinsk, at a height of 1,075 ft. The middle course extends from the Cossack settlement of Nevinnomysk as far as Ekaterinodar. The river bed is wide, but the river itself is a mere streamlet except in times of flood. After the Kuban turns definitely westward the fall is only about 20 inches in a mile.

The largest tributary of the Kuban is the Laba [312]
(200 miles), a canal from which at Chamlik irrigates several thousand acres of steppe land. Another large tributary is the Byelaya (150 miles). The Kuban flows by many mouths, forming several islands and *limans* (marshy lagoons), into the Gulf of Kyzyltash. The river is frozen from December to March. In the lower part of its course inundations are frequent, and the district is marshy.

The *Terek* (382 miles) rises on the slopes of Mount Kazbek at Zilga-Khokh, and pierces the mountain range by the Dariel gorge, which it leaves at Vladikav-

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133 kaz, on the high plains to the north of the Caucasus. The Terek bends first north-west, then east, past Mozdok (altitude 441 ft.) and Kislyar (29 ft. below sea-level), and enters the Caspian Sea by several branches. The delta is sixty miles wide, and the river forms large sand-banks opposite its mouths. It does not freeze every year. The chief tributary is the Zunzha, all the others being mere mountain torrents.

On the left bank of the lower river are great steppes, while shifting sand-dunes cover an extensive tract from Mozdok northwards; near the delta is the depression of Kislyar, covered with impenetrable salt morasses, while to the right of the Terek is fertile country.

The *Kuma* (about 400 miles) rises on the northern slope of the Caucasus, and flows by several branches through the sandy steppes towards the Caspian. At times of flood it reaches the sea, but at other seasons its channels disappear in the sandy steppes along the coast. Its tributaries are the Karamyk, Podkumka, and Buivola.

### (3) Climate

132 The climate is continental, and in the winter the cold is severe.

*Temperature.*

| | *Mean Annual Temp.* | *January (Mean).* | *July (Mean).* |
|---|---|---|---|
| Vladikavkaz (altitude 2,345 ft.) | 47·7° F. | 23° F. | 69° F. |
| Stavropol (altitude 2,030 ft.) | 47° F. | 24° F. | 79° F. |
| Pyatigorsk | 48° F. | 25° F. | 71° F. |

*Annual Rainfall.*

*Terek Province*

| | |
|---|---|
| Mountainous districts | 37 in. |
| Steppes | 10 to 20 in. |

*Vladikavkaz*

34·2 in., of which 25·8 in. falls between April and September.

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133 Sea of Azov, is navigable by light-draught steamers for
505 141 miles from its mouth. On the river and the various tributaries forming its basin there are 964 miles of water suitable for floating timber. The *Terek*, which flows into the Caspian, is navigable by light vessels for 112 miles from its mouth, but there is no steamer traffic. Timber can be floated for 320 miles. It has no tributaries of importance.

In Transcaucasia the navigable rivers are the Chorokh and Rion, emptying into the Black Sea, and the Kura, emptying into the Caspian. The *Rion* is navigable for 83 miles from its mouth at Poti, but no steamers can be used. Timber is floated or rafted for 123 miles. The *Kura* is navigable for 390 miles from its mouth, and of this distance 197 miles are suitable for steamers. Including its tributaries, the basin of the Kura provides 1,098 miles of water upon which timber-floating is possible.

[656] All these navigable waters were under the care of the State, which, through the Ministry of Ways and Communications, was responsible for their maintenance and improvement.

There are no navigable canals in the Caucasus. For irrigation canals, see p. 59.

### (c) *Railways*

496 In 1912 there were 2,442 miles of railway in the Caucasus, 994 miles being in Ciscaucasia and 1,448 miles in Transcaucasia. These are generally of 5-ft. gauge, and, with certain exceptions indicated below, are of single track.

*Principal Railways.*—There are two principal railway systems—the Vladikavkaz and the Transcaucasian.
[471] Both were constructed and maintained originally by private companies, but the latter was acquired by the State in 1906.

(i) The main line of the *Vladikavkaz Railway*, 819 miles in length, runs from Rostov-on-Don (where con-

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south-west to Kutais, a distance of 191 miles. It crosses the Caucasian main range by the Mamison Pass. 491

The most important road from west to east is the Kutais–Tiflis–Elisavetopol–Shemakha–Baku road, with a total length of 542 miles. The Kutais–Tiflis section is known as the Imeretian Military Road.

There are also coast roads along the shores of the Black and Caspian Seas:

On the Black Sea coast a metalled road begins at Anapa, passes through Novorossiisk, 30 miles to the south-east, and runs along the coast to Sukhum and Ochemchiri, where it turns inland, dividing at Novo-Senaki into two branches which meet again at Kutais. The coast section was being improved in 1913.

Other roads terminating on the Black Sea coast are the Armavir–Maikop–Tuapse road, 166 miles long, the Akhaltsikh–Batum road, 110 miles long, and the Akhalkalaki–Artvin–Batum road, 200 miles long. The first of these is now to some extent superseded by the recently constructed railway following the same course. Batum lacks road connexions with the north.

Along the Caspian coast there is a road, for the most part unmetalled, from Astrakhan to Baku, a distance of 600 miles; and there is a road, metalled except where it crosses the Vantliashet Pass, from Petrovsk, on the Caspian, to Tiflis.

Road communications between the Caucasus and Russia are very few, the only ones of importance being the above-mentioned road along the Caspian littoral and one from Stavropol to Rostov-on-Don.

### (*b*) *Rivers and Canals*

Few of the numerous rivers of the Caucasus are navigable, and those are used to a limited extent only for transport. The floating of timber to the seaboard for shipment is the principal traffic in almost every case. 133 505

In Ciscaucasia the Kuban and the Terek have navigable stretches. The *Kuban*, which flows into the

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# INTRODUCTORY AND GEOGRAPHICAL

133 "And at day-dawn they looked eastward, and midway between the sea and the sky they saw white snow-peaks hanging, glittering sharp and bright above the clouds. And they knew that they were come to Caucasus at the end of all the earth: Caucasus the highest of all mountains, the father of the rivers of the East. On his peak is chained the Titan, while a vulture tears his heart; and at his feet are piled dark forests round the magic Colchian land."—KINGSLEY'S *Heroes*: The Argonauts.

THE Caucasus Range stretches for a distance of 650 miles in a south-easterly direction from the Taman Peninsula to the neighbourhood of Baku. It may be divided into three sectors. The western sector, 230 miles in length from Taman to Pitsunda, forms the difficult coast, rising in places to 7,000 feet, of Circassia and Abkhazia. The main wall begins east of Pitsunda, on the Black Sea, and extends eastward for 200 miles, with but a few hazardous passes, with no gap under 10,000 feet, and attaining nearly 19,000 and 17,000 feet respectively at the peaks of Elbrus and Shkara. Immediately east of Kazbek (16,000 feet) lies the important pass of Daryal, giving good access from the northern to the soutnern slopes. From the region of Kazbek south-east for 250 miles the bleak hills of Daghestan stretching to the Caspian form the third sector. Innumerable streams, fed by the great glaciers, run north and south of the chain. To the north, the Kuban falling into the Black Sea, and the Kuma and Terek into the Caspian, traverse the salt steppe which once was covered by the waters that united the two seas. To the south, the Ingur and the Rion flow through the fertile Mingrelian Plain to the Black Sea, and the Kur, mingling its waters with the Araxes (Aras) coming from the Armenian Plateau, ends in a swampy delta which finds the Caspian in Aghach Bay south of the Apsheron Peninsula. Between the upper waters of the Rion and Kur the Caucasus throws out the Suram Range, an arm to link with the Armenian system, while, between the Kur and the Aras, Karabagh, a formidable bastion of that system, reaches to within 150 miles of Southern Daghestan. And between the two mountain-masses and their lesser arms nestle the two cuplike depressions of the Rion and Kur Valleys.

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175 The influence on history of this formidable range of the Caucasus has been profound. To the Ancients the Caucasus represented the confines of geographical knowledge; all that lay beyond was mystery and darkness, "the Land of Gog and Magog." The Caucasus protected Southern Asia like a wall. It divided the Eastern World into two: to the north was the land of the Nomads, while to the south the peoples of the Mesopotamian river-valleys and of the Mediterranean coastlands developed their civilisations, for centuries undisturbed. And when during the first millennium B.C. the Aryan tribes broke in upon the Mediterranean and Semitic races, the Caucasus, as a rampart along the bridge between the Euxine and the Caspian, deflected their course. The Aryans were compelled, by a great circular movement, to sweep down on Iran and India by the steppes to the east of the Caspian, and to enter Asia Minor by Scythia, Thrace and the Bosporus. A thousand years later a fresh wave of nomads, Teutonic, Slavonic and Turki, found the Caucasus obstructing their road into Persia and Roman Asia, and rode on across Scythia into the Balkans and Western Europe. And after another thousand years Seljuk Turks and Mongols, by breaking into the Perso-Arab Empire on its north-eastern frontier, at last took the wall by a great flank march.

175 133 There were two gaps in the mountain-wall which gave possible access to the south to an invader from the north. The first was the deep gorge through the central mountains, the Daryal—Dar-i-Alan, the "Alan road," the Iberian Gates of the Ancients; the second was the swampy littoral of the Caspian, which constituted a passage-way between the mountains and the sea, and which at one point—the Derbend of the Persians, the Bab-al-Abwab of the Arabs, the Caspian Gates of the Romans—narrowed to two miles. These two points every energetic ruler of Iran or Armenia was careful to control. Hence the valley of the Kur constituted a frontier march to the kings of South-west Asia, and its history is mainly a history of war, of incursions by the northern peoples and of counter-attacks against them, or of mutual rivalry for control on the part of the rulers of Iran and Asia Minor.

As the Caucasus was the strategic focus of the struggle between the settled folk of Southern Asia and the nomads of the northern plain, so the Armenian Plateau was the subject of perennial conflict between the rulers of Asia Minor and of Persia. From Lake Gökcha (Sevan) to the Taurus the Armenian passes command all the roads into Persia, Meso-

1 [see cat. 116, p171 -- Analyst]

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potamia, Syria and Egypt, and from the Anti-Taurus to the upper waters of the Halys and the Lycus they give access to all Western Asia Minor, the wealthiest lands of the lords of Constantinople. Thus, both for reasons of trade and of war, neither the rulers of Iran nor of Asia Minor have dared to allow their rival to establish control of the Armenian Plateau. The history of Armenia and the adjacent lands is therefore mainly a record of a tedious and always indecisive struggle for control between their neighbours of the West and of the East. Rome and Parthia, Byzantium and Persia, Byzantium and the Eastern Khalifat, Seljuk and Mongol, Osmanli and Persian, have in turn fought for the control and have wasted their manhood and their wealth in the struggle. In all these wars the valleys of the Rion and the Kur have constituted a route by which the western and eastern combatants have endeavoured alternately to outflank the other.

If these age-long wars were exhausting to the contending Empires, they were disastrous to the peoples inhabiting the disputed lands. They have had a radical effect on the development of the two suffering races, Armenians and Georgians. The history of these two races may be divided into three phases: firstly, the long periods when they were under the political influence, but not under the direct domination, of their eastern, western or northern neighbours; secondly, the shorter period when they were under the actual rule of a foreign race, and formed an integral part either of the Arab, the Byzantine, the Mongol, the Turkish, the Persian or the Russian Empires; and thirdly, the brief periods when political upheavals affecting one or all of their neighbours have allowed them to establish their complete independence.

And if Armenian and Georgian history is mainly a record of treachery, violence and cruelty, it is well to remember that both races were involved in a struggle in which they had no interest, and in which each combatant came as an invader. Also it must be remembered that perpetual warfare prevents the development of all culture, and produces as the dominant types, not the progressive statesman, the enlightened scholar, the prosperous merchant, and the industrious peasant, but the ambitious soldier of fortune, the time-serving politician who must always apprehend a change of masters, the merchant who has no security for his trade and must bribe for his safety, and the peasant driven desperate by oppression, who finds brigandage or service in foreign armies more remunerative than sowing for the invader to reap or burn.

565 had the right to change masters, and who were protected against arbitrary sale; and the slaves, who were for the most part prisoners of war. Very definite laws regulated the rights and duties of the various castes, and intermarriage was forbidden. On the other hand the princes[1] exercised little real [642] authority; leadership in war was not an hereditary right, but leaders were elected from the families of the princes and nobles by a popular assembly of the four highest classes; while judges were nominated by popular vote, with powers only for a single day.

181 The social organisation of the Cherkesses was in many respects anarchical, for not only was every tribe independent, 871 but every noble's household within each tribe. Nevertheless the general conduct of the people was subject to a series of established customs, based on primitive conceptions of chivalry, respect for age, hospitality and blood-vengeance. The sons of nobles were educated in a long and difficult course of knightly training by cadet members of other noble families, who stood in the joint relation to them of tutor and blood-brother. The women had few rights, but the rights of protection by their fathers and husbands were very clearly defined.

101 The eastern tribes occupied the country between the Daryal and the Caspian littoral, and from the right bank of the Terek to the hills overlooking the valleys of the Alazan and the Kur. On the north, inhabiting the highlands of the Terek, the Sunja and the Argun, were the various tribes of Chechens, and the lesser related tribes of the Ingushes, the Kists, the Itskheris and the Galgais. Segregated in unapproachable villages (*auls*) in the depths of primæval beech-forests, the Chechens had a culture which was far less developed than that of the Cherkesses. They had no class system, and lived together in small anarchical communities.

South-east of the Chechens were the powerful Lesghian [638] tribes, scattered over Daghestan ("The Mountain Country"), which formed an elevated table-land through which innumerable rivers had cut channels to a depth frequently of thousands of feet, the whole being backed and ribbed south and west by mountain chains with several peaks over 13,000 feet in height. The principal Lesghian tribes were the Kubachins and Darghis on the north-east, bordering the Chechen country, the Kazi-Kumukhs of the central plateau, the Kurins and Tabasserans of the south-east, overlooking the Tatar lowlands of Shirvan, and the Avars, Andis and Didos on the west, bordering on Kakhetia.

1 [of the Cherkess--Analyst]

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# B. ECONOMICS

## IX

## THE RESOURCES OF GEORGIA, THE CAUCASUS AND AZERBAIJAN

133 *Climatic Conditions.*—The general characteristics of the geography of the Caucasus and Transcaucasia have already been indicated.[1] To the west are the Euxine, to the east the Caspian depressions. To the north the solid wall of the Caucasian Range, stretching for 650 miles west-north-west to east-south-east, separates the northern steppe from the southern river-valleys. The comparatively low range of the Suram Mountains running from north to south connects the Caucasus with the Pontic or Armenian system and separates the head-waters of the Rion and the Kur. And to the south-east an advanced bastion of the Armenian Mountains dominates the middle reaches of the Kur Valley.

132 Transcaucasia may be divided into three climatic areas. In the west the protection of the great Caucasian Range and of the lesser systems in the east and south has produced in the basin of the Rion a climate which is subtropical. The summers are oppressively hot, and the winters are mild and with little fall of snow. The heavy rains, the annual fall of which averages 60 to 80 inches, combined with the multitude of streams which find their way to the marshy Mingrelian coast, produce an atmosphere of extreme humidity. Hence, whilst the soil is fertile and sub-tropical, and fruits and vegetation flourish, the health of the inhabitants suffers, and malaria, with its consequent enervation of physique and *moral*, is prevalent. To the east, in the Kur Valley, the Suram Range breaks the force of rain-clouds drifting over from the Black Sea, while the parching winds of Central Asia blow across the Caspian and raise in the Baku region the most violent sand- and dust-storms. Kakhetia and Karthalinia are adequately

[1] Vide pp. 169–171.

7: Columbia U.
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/For data on physical geography and geology of Caucasus, see category 116, pp. 23-106; 121-130; 137-174; 182; 184-189./

103 Caucasians also call the Pontos the "Black Sea" (Georgian Šavi Zγva).

Later, in Arabic and Persian geographical and historical literature, forms of the name of these mountains such as Qabaq, Qabuq (?) appear, and a similar form Qāf or Qāp, becomes the general term for the Caucasus throughout the Near and Middle Eastern Islamic world (in Turkic Qāf daγlary, etc.), forms which have some slightly remote relationship with the old Iranian and Western term.

181 For a long time the Caucasus was, and
132 in a certain sense still is, a great divide between two rather different worlds: on the one hand, Trans-Caucasia, which is culturally Mediterranean and Near Eastern, and climatically arid and sub-tropical; and on the other, the North-Caucasian plains, a cultural no-man's land, the transitory roaming-grounds of nomadic peoples, and climatically belonging to the continental zone of the vast East European plains. The steppes of the northern
133 Caucasian triangle between Don-Volga and the
167 Caucasus have been, down to the last two centuries, the battlefields between ever-changing nomadic conquest groups, arriving one after the other in an almost unending sequence out of the high plains of Central and Eastern Asia, trying to force their way into the territories of the Persian or the Roman Empires, which had their outer defenses established in these plains. But even prior to those movements,

133 which start with the Great Migrations, and
167 during which, time and again, conquering peoples forced their way around or even through the Caucasus Mountains, the North Caucasian steppes and Caucasian lands were the scene of movements of entire nations or of organized armies of one or the other of early Mediterranean or Near Eastern empires. But they found the huge range an insurmountable barrier closing off the entire isthmus between the Black Sea and the Caspian Sea from one end to the other. And it proved very difficult to circumvent this huge natural fortificatory wall because of the narrow passage between mountains and seashore. While the west coast offers the greatest obstacles, the east coast has on its longer extent, along the mountains fanning out towards the northern Caspian basin, a slightly larger strip of land which would serve as a pathway--with only one narrow spot where the fortress of Derbent (Darubanda in Georgian, from Old-Iranian Daru-banda, "door-band" or "closed doors") is situated, built at a very early epoch.

144 The Caucasus is not only a divide but a refuge as well for ethnic groups which have succumbed to pressure, and have had to retreat from large valleys or plains where they were being attacked or gradually displaced and finally doomed either to extinction or flight. Like the Alps, the Elburz, the Hindukush, or Himalaya Mountains, the Caucasus shelters relic peoples from groups which a

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bacco, and canned goods (vegetables, fruits, and fish). Imports involve coal from the Donets Basin, petroleum from the Caucasus, lumber from Belorussia and the Caucasus, textiles from Moscow and Ivanovo oblasts, and butter from the European North. 438*

Simferopol', the former capital of the Crimean Autonomous SSR and the present administrative seat of the oblast, lies in the center of the peninsula, amidst the forested steppe of the foothills. It has fruit- and vegetable-canning plants and produces canning machinery. Tobacco, fish, and wheat are also processed here.

Sevastopol', in the southwestern part of the Crimea, is an important naval base and possesses the best natural harbor on the Black Sea. Rail terminus and center for an electrotechnical industry of some importance, Sevastopol' is noted for the sieges of 1854–56 during the Crimean War and of 1941–42 during the Second World War. It became a city of republic rank in 1948, subordinated directly to the Russian SFSR government.

Feodosiya, or Theodosia, is a grain-exporting and fishing port on the southeast coast. It produces tobacco, flour, canned fish products, and wines. Known as Kaffa in the Middle Ages, it still possesses remains of Genoese walls.

Kerch', the metallurgical center at the east end of the Kerch' peninsula, also produces canning machinery, meat, tobacco, and canned fish. It ships iron ore that is mined at Kamysh-Burun, just southwest of the city.

Yalta, one of the most famous resorts of the USSR, lies on the subtropical south coast amid a large number of lesser year-round resorts. Extending eastward along the coast are Gurzuf, near the dome-shaped mountain of Ayu-Dag, and the wine-producing centers of Alushta and Sudak. To the west are Livadiya, scene of the Big Three conference in February, 1945, Gaspra, Koreiz, Alupka, and Simeiz. Adjoining Yalta are the famous vineyards of Massandra.

Yevpatoriya, or Eupatoria, a salt-shipping port on the west coast, engages in meat packing and has flour and clothing mills.

## Lower Don and Northern Caucasus

SU 133* C 133

The region known as the Northern Caucasus includes the northern slopes and foothills of the Greater Caucasus range and the level fertile steppes adjoining the Kuban' and the Terek rivers to the north. The steppes of the Lower Don are usually associated with the Northern

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Caucasus not only because of their contiguity and common geographical factors but also because they were both settled by the Cossacks. The region is bounded by the Black Sea and the Sea of Azov in the west and by the Caspian Sea in the east. In the northeast its geographical boundary is the Kuma-Manych Depression, which once formed a connection between the Sea of Azov and the Caspian and is sometimes regarded as the natural dividing line between Europe and Asia. The combined area of the Lower Don * and the Northern Caucasus is more than 188,000 square miles.

North of the Kuban'-Terek line lies the steppe region of the Northern Caucasus, a level lowland which rises in the center to 2,715 feet in the Stavropol' upland, the northernmost outlier of the Greater Caucasus. West of the upland the steppes form a continuation of the Black Sea lowland; east of the elevation are the Caspian steppes and semi-deserts. The upland itself is deeply cut by numerous river valleys and ravines which divide it into separate plateau masses. South of the Stavropol' upland lies the northernmost of the three ranges which the Greater Caucasus forms in its western part, the so-called Black Mountains (Russian *Chernyye Gory*). These mountains are of the laccolite type, of partly eroded sedimentary formation; the highest points are Beshtau (4,725 feet) and Mashuk (3,940 feet). Connected with the volcanic character of these mountains are the famous mineral springs in the adjacent area of Pyatigorsk, Zheleznovodsk, and Kislovodsk.

The Greater Caucasus extends from the Apsheron peninsula in the Azerbaijan SSR 685 miles northwest to the Taman peninsula on the Black Sea. It has low hills at the two extremities and exceeds the highest Alpine peaks in its central section. At ten points it rises above the elevation of Mont Blanc. The gradual northern slopes and the abrupt southern side branch off into lateral ranges, which sometimes run parallel to the main divide. Many of the major peaks, including Mt. El'brus (18,476 feet), the highest point of the Caucasus and of Europe, lie in these lateral ranges. The western section of the Greater Caucasus, west of Mt. El'brus, is made up predominantly of limestone formations having an average elevation ranging from 2,000 to 12,000 feet and gives rise to the Kuban' River in the north and to several short streams in the south. In the central section occur Paleozoic crystalline formations, together with igneous rocks, which over large stretches are covered by snow fields

* The region of the lower Don River is discussed under Rostov Oblast, with which it is coterminous.

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Caucasia RH1



SU 133 C 133

and glaciers. Here Mt. El'brus and Mt. Kazbek (16,541 feet), two extinct volcanoes, are evidence of the considerable volcanic activity which accompanied the folding processes. In this portion of the Greater Caucasus rise the Terek River, in the north, and the Rion River, in the south. East of Mt. Kazbek the main divide is formed primarily of Jurassic beds and nowhere exceeds 14,750 feet. The glaciers gradually decrease in size. They disappear altogether near the Caspian Sea, where the Greater Caucasus becomes a low range of hills rising to 1,075 feet. The northern spurs of this section of the Caucasus form an extensive mountain region known as Dagestan. The chief rivers here are the Sulak in the north and in the south the left affluents of the Kura River.

The Kuban' and the Terek are the main rivers of the Northern Caucasus. Due to their mountain origin, high water occurs in the summer when snow and ice melt in the high altitudes. The force of the current washes out the upper valleys, and in depositing the sediments in the lower course it forms sand banks, which render these streams useless for navigation. They are, however, important for irrigation and as a source of hydroelectric power. In their lower reaches these rivers form large swampy deltas, with many lakes and channels, overgrown with reeds and other marsh vegetation. The large quantities of sediment carried by the Terek act to enlarge the delta from year to year.

SU 132 C 132

The climate of the Northern Caucasus is of the continental type and is exposed to a series of opposing air mass movements from the west, bringing moisture from the Black Sea and from the east, where they originate in the dry desert regions of Central Asia. Although the winters are short, they are severe, and frosts of below 0° F occur frequently. Spring arrives at the end of February and soon turns into a hot summer. Most of the precipitation occurs in the summer and is greater in the west and in the high altitudes. The heaviest rainfall takes place on the southern slopes of the Greater Caucasus near the Black Sea (up to 25 inches yearly); in the Kuma-Manych Depression to the northeast, precipitation is less than 12 inches a year. The climate of the Greater Caucasus range, while it varies, depending on the elevation and the location, is marked by a steady decrease of precipitation from west to east.

SU 137 C 137

In accordance with the amount of precipitation, the type of vegetation varies throughout the region. The western ranges are covered with deciduous forests, with oak and beech, while the eastern highlands of Dagestan are nearly treeless. At lower altitudes begins the oak forest

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The Donets ridge, the major portion lying within the Ukraine, penetrates the oblast between the lower Don and its right affluent, the Northern Donets. It is a plateau of limestone and sandstone, which is deeply dissected by river courses and ravines. On the higher points burial mounds of the ancient steppe dwellers are often found. The villages, normally surrounded by gardens and orchards, lie along the ravines and valleys of small streamlets. A similar landscape is represented by the outliers of the Central Russian upland to the north. The Don steppe, on the contrary, constitutes very level terrain. The wide river valleys, where streams proceed with a sluggish current, are often filled with salt lakes, and salt flats frequently break the expanse of black-earth and chestnut soils which characterize the region. Toward the east the relief gradually merges with the features of the Caspian lowland. 133* C 133

Normally the Don is not a very abundant river, but spring freshets raise its level considerably. At its mouth, on the Taganrog Gulf of the Sea of Azov, it forms a large delta, which, together with the shallow waters of the adjoining sea, abounds in fish of many varieties. SU

The climate is continental, with hot summers and severe, snowless winters. Precipitation varies from 16 inches annually in the west to 12 inches in the east and occurs chiefly in the summer months, in frequent heavy downpours. Easterly prevailing winds blowing in the spring and summer from the dry steppes and deserts of Central Asia and Kazakhstan present a serious danger of drought to the crops. Drought conditions are especially marked in the southeast, along the Sal River, where black earth is largely replaced by chestnut soils. In the well-watered flood plain of the lower Don, alluvial pastures are important for the raising of dairy cattle. 132 C 132 SU

The eastern wing of the Donets Basin penetrates into the oblast along the Northern Donets River. Anthracite predominates in this area and represents about one fifth of the total reserves of the basin. The major coal-mining centers are Shakhty and Novoshakhtinsk. Other coal mines are concentrated in the areas of Gukovo, north of Krasnyy Sulin, and Gundorovka, west of Kamensk-Shakhtinskiy. In the Bogurayev coal field, at the intersection of the Northern Donets River and the Likhaya-Stalingrad railroad, coal is mined at Koksovyy (characteristically named for coke) north of the railroad and at Sinegorskiy to the south. Belaya Kalitva, at the center of this field, has limestone and glassworks. Anthracite dust from the mines is used to feed the power station of Artemovskiy, an eastern suburb of Shakhty, and the Nesvetay station 135 316 C 135 316

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Caucasia RH1



SU 133 C 133 The entire Kray, with the exception of the mountains in the South and the dry steppes in the east, is covered with black earth of the highest grade. The soil conditions and the warm, humid summer climate combine to make the Kuban' region one of the most fertile agricultural regions of the USSR, able to provide a large number of products. In the southwest, along the Black Sea littoral, the subtropical, winterless climate favors the growth of citrus fruits, tea, and similar warm-weather crops. The mountainous portion of the region also presents factors favorable to the development of the economy. The left affluents of the Kuban', the Belaya, the Laba, and the Urup rivers, as well as the upper course of the Kuban' itself are potential sources of hydroelectric power. A rich petroleum-bearing area extends from the Taman' peninsula to the Belaya River along the northern foothills of the Greater Caucasus. Along the Black Sea, southeast of Novorossiysk, extensive marl deposits furnish an important basis for the cement industry. The region also includes the forested slopes of the Caucasus that are covered with oak and chestnut, two valuable types of wood. The Sea of Azov, finally, is rich in fish along the shallow northwest coast of Krasnodar Kray.

SU 162 C 162 The population of the region is predominantly Russian. It includes also large numbers of Ukrainians and Adyge (Cherkess or Circassians), the latter being organized into an autonomous oblast. The Cossacks are concentrated in large villages along the Kuban' River.

SU 496 C 496 The Russian settlement and consequent economic development received their most vigorous impetus from the construction of the Rostov-Baku railroad in the 1870's. During the twenty-five years following the completion of the line the population of the Kuban' district increased twice, and the area under cultivation fivefold. Mechanization was introduced early by the well-to-do peasants, who owned most of the land prior to collectivization. After the adoption of rationalized agriculture, spring wheat and sunflowers were assigned to the dry northern steppes, where the black-earth and chestnut soils suffer from drought in summer and are covered only by a thin snow cover in the winter months. The richest agricultural area lies along the Kuban' River. There, among vast expanses under winter wheat, barley, and corn, large areas are producing garden produce, melons and pumpkins, and fodder crops. The principal old industrial crops are sunflower and tobacco; during recent years cotton, *kenaf*, soy beans, castor beans, and essential-oil-bearing plants were introduced. Rice has been acclimatized in the swampy lowlands bordering on the Kuban', between Krasnodar and the delta. Livestock raising is more intensive here than it is along the Don and in the

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2. Krasnodar Kray--Analyst]

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Maykop on the Belaya River at the north foot of the Caucasus, is the center of the oil field of Neftegorsk and Apsheronsk, more than 30 miles southwest. The city has a small-scale metallurgical industry and produces machine tools, agricultural and lumbering machinery, furniture, tobacco, canned goods, and meat.

## Stavropol' Kray

**Capital, Stavropol'; area, 29,600, population, 1,500,000**

SU 133* C 133

Stavropol' Kray reaches to the crest of the Greater Caucasus only in its extreme southwestern portion along the upper Urup, a left affluent of the Kuban'. The basic portion of the region lies in the northern foothills of the Caucasus, the so-called Stavropol' upland, and in the dry steppes to the northeast. The watershed between the Caspian and the Black Sea basins passes roughly along the Stavropol' meridian, near the western border of the kray. Due to this circumstance, only a narrow strip of territory along the western boundary receives the benefit of the humid westerly winds blowing from the Black Sea. The rest of the area, east of the Stavropol' upland, is characterized by a dry climate. The yearly precipitation decreases from 16 inches in the west to 8 inches in the east; insolation and summer heat are very pronounced. Consequently, water courses are poorly developed, and trees are entirely absent. In the western and central portions fertile black-earth and chestnut soils predominate; only in the extreme east does the region have a semi-desert character.

SU 162 631 C 162 631

The population of the region is predominantly Russian, with a strong Ukrainian admixture. In the southwest lives another section of the Cherkess, or Circassian, ethnic group, which is organized into the Cherkess Autonomous Oblast. This region, now known as Stavropol' Kray, was first organized within its present approximate limits in 1924, when it was called North Caucasus Kray. In 1937 it was renamed Ordzhonikidze Kray; it received its present designation in 1943. Prior to the Second World War, it also included the Karachay Autonomous Oblast, a division located in the southwest on the slopes of the Greater Caucasus. This autonomous unit, with an area of 3,800 square miles and a population of 150,000, had been constituted in 1926, when it was separated from the original Karachay-Cherkess Autonomous Oblast (formed in 1922). The Karachay, a Turkic people who constituted about one half of the population of the autonomous unit, were among those accused of collaboration with the Germans during the Second World War. In 1943 the nationality was abrogated, the people were dis-

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CHAPTER 22

# Transcaucasia

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TRANSCAUCASIA is one of the southernmost regions of the USSR, extending over an area of 74,000 square miles south of the Greater Caucasus range. It is bordered by the Black Sea and the Caspian Sea and adjoins Turkey and Iran in the south. Besides being one of the warmest and richest areas of the Soviet Union, it presents a great variety of widely contrasting land forms, which occur in close proximity and range from luxuriant subtropical forests to dry desert-steppes and from the warm blue sea to the eternal snows of the high ranges, which are punctuated by the gigantic regular cones of extinct volcanoes. There are sections in which insufficient rainfall necessitates the use of irrigation for agriculture; in others precipitation is as plentiful as in humid subtropical countries, and the palm tree, the orange tree, and the tea bush are representative vegetation types.

Transcaucasia includes the steep southern slopes of the Greater Caucasus range* in the north and the mountain region commonly known as the Armenian plateau, in the south. These two folded sections are separated by a synclinal zone, which is formed by the basins of the Rion and the Kura rivers. In the center the Surami range, oriented north and south, forms a connection between the elevated areas of the region. Separated from the principal mountain systems and lying in the extreme southeast of Transcaucasia are the Talysh mountains, which constitute an extension of the Elburz mountains of Iran.

The Armenian plateau consists of a number of individual highlands rising from 5,000 to 6,800 feet and separated from each other by minor ranges. The highest section of the Armenian plateau, the Karabakh upland, lies southeast of the large Lake Sevan (or Gokcha) and reaches an altitude of 8,300 feet. The major portion of the bordering mountain ranges is commonly known as the Lesser Caucasus and extends from the Surami range. These crests nowhere reach the snow line, and they

* The Greater Caucasus range is discussed in Chapter 11.

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133* rise above 10,000 feet only in the southern section. Volcanism plays an
C important role in this region. There are a number of extinct volcanoes,
●133 including the 13,500 feet high Mount Aragats (or Alagez). The greater part of the Armenian plateau is covered with extrusive volcanic rocks, including eroded basaltic formations. Mineral springs occur throughout the area, and destructive earthquakes often create great havoc; the most recent disaster was in 1926 at Leninakan.

The Rion River basin faces the Black Sea. Its lowest section along the coast is known as Kolkhida (ancient Colchis); it consists largely of marshes and lagoons. Recently this area has been the site of a large reclamation-drainage project. The Kura River basin, which includes the major part of eastern Transcaucasia, is a large alluvial plain drained by the Kura and the Aras (Russian *Araks*) rivers. It is essentially a sterile steppe in the central section, punctuated by occasional salt flats and changing into more fertile black earth on the lower slopes
SU of the northern and southern highlands.

132 The Rion lowland has a humid subtropical climate, with a warm
C winter—the January average at Batumi is 43° F—a hot, humid sum-
132 mer, and a very heavy rainfall (100 inches a year at Batumi). Precipitation occurs chiefly in the summer, when moisture-laden winds blow from the Black Sea. This circumstance makes the local climate unlike the Mediterranean type, and classifies it rather with the monsoon climates of East Asia (Japan and southern China). The winters are extremely mild along the Black Sea coast; occasionally there are frosts in January, but they are not severe and are of short duration.

Eastern Transcaucasia, including the Kura lowland, has a more continental climate, due principally to the barrier of the Surami range, which bars the warm Black Sea winds from this area. The winters are rather warm, but frosts occur more often, and temperatures drop lower than in the west. Summer is hot, and there is much less precipitation (about 15 inches) than on the Black Sea. In the extreme southeast the Lenkoran' lowland at the foot of the Talysh range again has a humid subtropical climate. The Talysh range condenses the humid Caspian Sea air and produces considerable precipitation in the coastal plain.

The Armenian plateau, in the south, has a continental climate. The local winters are as cold there as in the northern half of the European USSR. At Yerevan (elevation: 3,300 feet), frosts are as low as —13° F, and in July temperatures rise to 104° F. The amount of rainfall varies

2: Byhan--ii E-4 (no date) 1926 RI13 Abkhaz RI13
Caucasia RH1

A
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C
102
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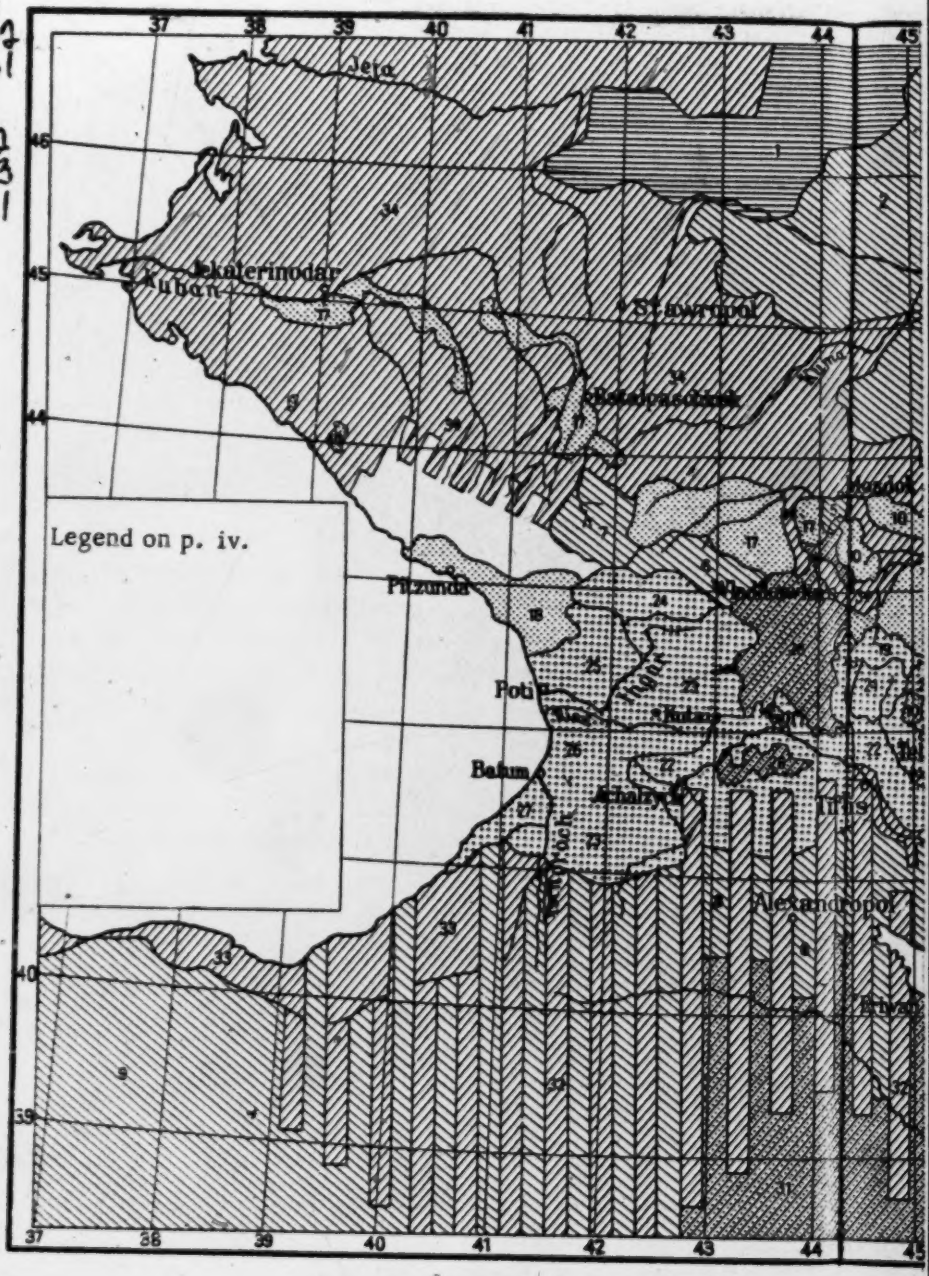

2: Byhan--iii E-4 (no date) 1926

RI13 Abkhaz RI13
Caucasia RI1

A
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C
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133
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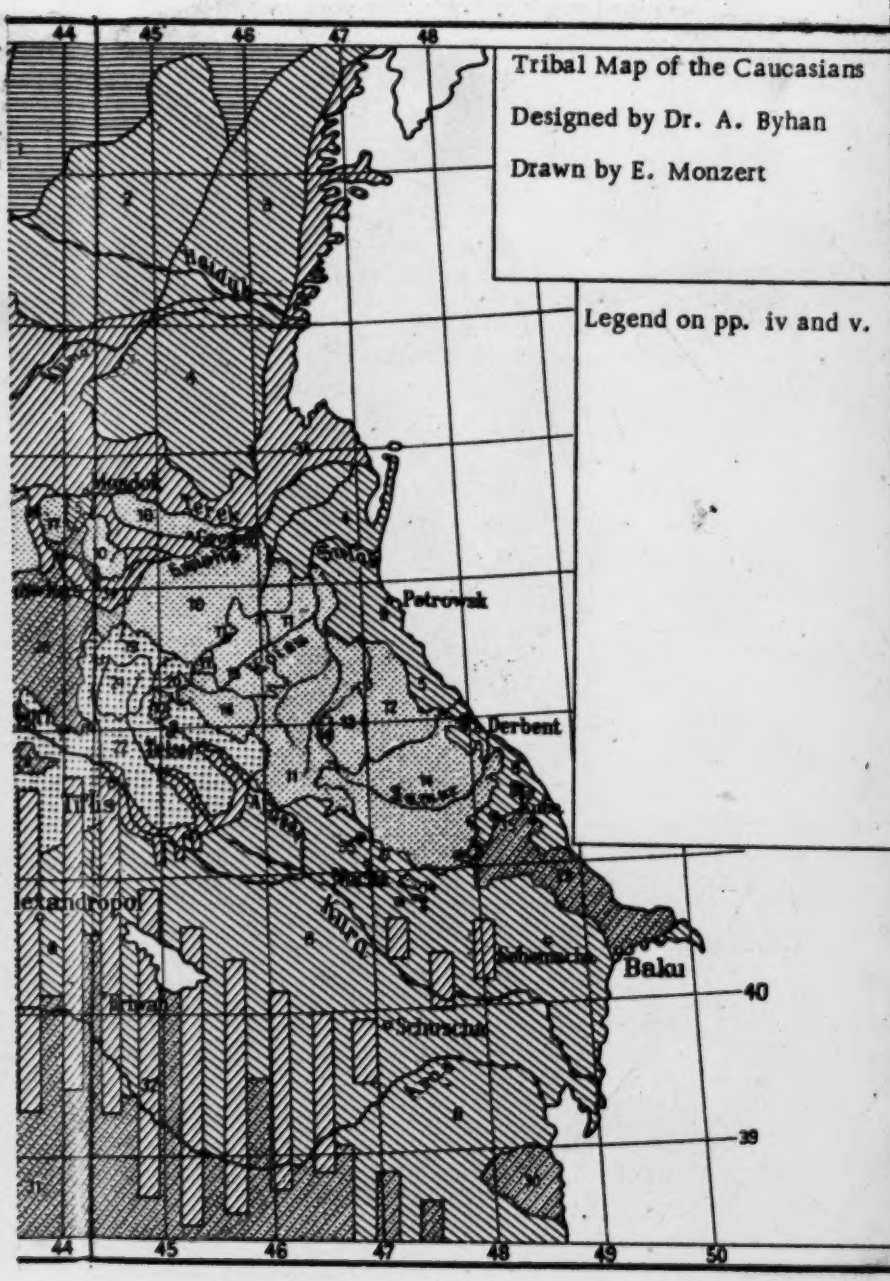


[p. 749 (B)]

Caucasia RH1

A
102
131

MONGOL:

1 Kalmyk

C
102
133
131

TURKS:

2 Turkmen /Turcoman/
3 Kirgis /Kirgiz/
4 Nogai
5 Kymyk /Kumyk/
6 Taulu
7 Karatschai /Karachai/
8 Aserbaidshan Tatar /Azerbaijani Tatar/
9 Osman

CAUCASIANS:

10 Tschetschen /Chechen/
LESGHIER: /Lezgin/
11 Awar /Avar/
12 Dargin
13 Lak /Lek/
14 Kūrin /Kurin/
15 Andi
16 Dido /Didol/

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17 Tscherkess /Cherkess/
18 Abchas /Abkhaz/

KHARTHWELIER /Karthvelians/

19 Chewsur /Khevsur/
20 Thusch /Tush/
21 Pschaw /Pshav/
22 Georgier /Grusians/
23 Jmerier /Imeretin/
24 Swan
25 Mingrel
26 Gurier /Gurian/
27 Las /Laz/

2: Byhan--v E-4 (no date) 1926 RI13 Abkhaz RI13

Caucasia RH1

A
102
131

INDO-EUROPEAN:

JRANIER /IRANIANS/:

C
102
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131

28 Ossen /Osset/
29 Tat
30 Talysch /Talysh/
31 Kurd

32 Armenians
33 Greeks
34 Russians

SEMITES:

35 Mountain Jews

3: Anonymous U-4 (no date) 1920 RH1 Caucasia RH1



131 Caspian at Fort St. Nicholas on the Astara. The eastern frontier, some 450 miles in length, is formed by the Caspian Sea from the Bay of Agrakhan to the River Astara.

Geographically Transcaucasia is so placed that, with the development of communications, it should reap considerable advantages from the commercial development both of northern Persia and of north-eastern Asia Minor.

## (2) Surface, Coasts, and River System

### *Surface*

133 Transcaucasia is divided across the centre from west to east by the two valleys of the Rion and Kura, the head-waters of which are separated by the low ridge of the Suram Mountains, connecting the Caucasus with the Armenian Highlands. These valleys run west and east into the Black and Caspian Seas respectively. They are roughly equivalent to the Governments of Kutais (the Rion valley), Tiflis, Elisavetopol, and Baku. The Governments of Kutais and Tiflis and parts of Batum form the region known as Georgia.

The Rion valley is narrowed in its upper part by the mountainous district of Svanetia, but begins to broaden west of Kutais, and becomes a flat, marshy plain. The Kura valley narrows about Tiflis, and then widens till, at the Mughan steppe, it is over 100 miles broad. The valley floor slopes gently east from 1,200 ft. at Tiflis to 500 ft. in the middle of its course, and 85 ft. below sea level at the Caspian. The only interruption is caused by a plateau of between 2,000 and 3,000 ft. along the southern foot-hills of the eastern Caucasus in the region known as Kakhetia.

134 The soil in the Rion and upper Kura valleys is extraordinarily fertile. On the southern slope of the Caucasus, in fact, almost every available patch of ground is successfully utilized for agriculture, even up to a height of 7,000–8,000 ft. Most of the steppes in the lower Kura valley are too dry to be cultivated without the aid of irrigation.

3: Anonymous U-4 (no date) 1920 RH1 Caucasia RH1



for earlier years include also the production of the 328
native undertakings, but in any case their quota is comparatively small. In 1913 Caucasia furnished 31 per cent. of the total Russian output. All Caucasian copper is disposed of in Russia.

Unexploited copper exists in the Naltchinsky Hills 135
and over a small area on each side of the Ossetian Military Road; in both cases the deposits are estimated to be rich.

The production of *Glauber's salt* in Tiflis in 1910, 317
amounting to 725 metric tons, represented nearly half of Russia's total output.

*Iron* is worked only spasmodically. It occurs chiefly 327
in the Government of Elisavetopol, at Chinarlidz, where [135]
the veins are from 2 to 21 metres thick, and as haematite at Sirimadan in the Pambak Mountains and in the Boyan valley. Nearly 2,000 metric tons were produced in 1908, but in no subsequent year does anything approaching that amount appear to have been obtained.

*Lead.*—There are extensive deposits of argentiferous 328
lead, but they have been little worked. The largest 135
production is that of the Alagir Smelting Co. in Terek; but the metal also occurs in the Lialvar district, in the upper valley of the Kura, and near Kedabek, and shortly before the war was found near Akmetovskoi station in Kuban.

*Manganese.*—The principal deposit covers an area 317
of nearly 100 square miles in the Kvirili valley in the [135]
Government of Kutais, the head-quarters of the industry being at Chiaturi. The ore contains on an average 40 per cent. manganese, 0·16 per cent. phosphorus, and 8 per cent. silicon, but in some workings the proportion of manganese is as high as 50 per cent. The ore is got out by means of hand picks, and is sorted by hand in a primitive way. It is soft and readily mined, and the firmness of the rock renders extensive timbering unnecessary. The miners do not fully exhaust the drifts, but work on them until they become dangerous or, on account of diminishing yield, unremunerative, a point which is soon reached owing

3: Anonymous U-4 (no date) 1920 RH1 Caucasia RH1



Other places in Caucasia at which manganese occurs 317
are Kvartala in Batum, where the French Manganese [471]
Ore Co. had arranged for the erection of plant at the end of 1913, Seifalu in Elisavetopol, and in the neighbourhood of Samtredi and Novo-Senaki.

Huge beds of *marl* are now being exploited near Novorossiisk by the cement companies there.

*Salt.*—There are rock-salt deposits in Erivan and Kars. and a certain amount of evaporated salt is produced in Baku and Daghestan. The total output of salt in 1910 was 28,340 metric tons, which consisted of 16,600 tons of rock-salt from Erivan, 6,930 tons of rock-salt from Kars, 4,370 tons of evaporated salt from Baku, and 440 tons of evaporated salt from Daghestan. The total output in 1911 amounted to 37,830 metric tons, and in 1913 to 32,260 metric tons.

*Zinc* is worked by the Alagir Smelting Co. at Sadon 328
and Alagir, and from blende ore near Vladikavkaz. The company's works, which are 60 miles from the mines, are fitted with modern plant. In 1914 the company were planning a new exploitation, on a large scale, of both lead and zinc. The output of zinc in 1910 was 3,400 metric tons, and in 1912 the combined production of zinc and argentiferous lead was 26,000 metric tons.

*Other Minerals.*—At Soglik, near Dash Kessan, in 135
the Gokcha range (Erivan) there is an inexhaustible 316
supply of *alunite*, containing 37·58 per cent. of alum, but it is very little worked. *Antimony* is mined in small quantities in Tiflis. There is *arsenic* ore at Bechenakh, but up to the present it has not been exploited. There is a small output of *asbestos* from Sharopan, Vzhinevi, and Lechgum in Kutais. There are excellent *bitumen* beds on the Black Sea coast, and *asphalt* is a by-product of the petroleum industry. *Cobalt* is mined in small quantities in Elisavetopol. White *diatomite* (infusorial earth), containing 87 per cent. of silica, is worked at Kissatip, near Akhaltsikh (Tiflis). *Emery* is found at Karabulakh (Elisavetopol). *Gold* exists in very small quantities in the alluvial deposits of the Alindja river, and in the ore of the

3: Anonymous U-4 (no date) 1920 RH1 Caucasia RH1



135 Kedabek copper mines. *Graphite* and *mercury* have
316 recently been found. *Pyrites* is worked for sulphur in Elisavetopol and Tiflis, and sulphur is also obtained at Bechenakh and Gunur, in Kutais.

## (5) Mineral Oils

### (a) *Sources of Supply*

135 Mineral oil, the great source of Caucasian wealth,
315 is found chiefly in the Governments of Baku, Terek, and Kuban, although small quantities occur elsewhere. Hitherto by far the richest oil-producing area has been that of Baku, comprising the Apsheron Peninsula, Cheleken Island and Holy Island, and the outlying district of Benagadi. In the Apsheron Peninsula lie the older oil-fields: the five belts of Balachani, Sabunchi, Romani, Bibi-Ebyat, and Zabrat, and the comparatively newly-discovered oil district of Surachani, about 12 miles away. Second to those of Baku in importance and apparently of increasing productivity are the Grozni fields in Terek Province. The Maikop oil-fields, in Kuban Province, have since 1912 yielded unsatisfactorily.

In 1908 the Caucasian oil-fields supplied about 22 per cent. of the world's total production, but the proportion has sunk very considerably since then. General figures of the output from 1910 to 1916 are given in Table II of the Appendix (p. 93).

382 The products of the mineral oil include illuminating oils, engine and cylinder oils, solar oils, goudron (asphalt), benzene, residuum (*ostotki*), and crude oil (untreated). Of these, *ostotki* was for years treated as waste, but it is now by far the largest product, having superseded kerosene, which bears a heavy duty, while *ostotki* is untaxed; it has a large sale as fuel for factories, railways, and steamships. Balachani oil is the heaviest in quality; *ostotki* is not so readily formed from the Bibi-Ebyat and Grozni products. Cheleken Island and Telav produce ozokerite (or paraffin wax). The lowest percentage of benzene

5: Allen H-4 (no date) 1923 RH1 Caucasia RH1



Millet, oats, flax and hemp are also grown in limited quantities in Transcaucasia. 433 241

Tobacco has been grown with great success in the sheltered subtropical parts of the Black Sea littoral and in the neighbourhoods of Tiflis, Kutais and Zakatali. Of the total Russian output of high quality "Turkish" tobacco in 1915, it is estimated that 33 per cent. came from Transcaucasia. Of this the heaviest crops and the richest quality was grown round Sukhum and Sochi. The tobacco of Batum and Ozurgeti was little inferior.

Wine is made throughout Transcaucasia, and vine-culture is a secondary occupation of many of the peasants. The wines of the Alazan, of Elisavetpol and of Echmiadzin are celebrated in Russia, and much is exported to that country, but for the most part the vintners cater for the very generous local consumption.

Mulberry-trees flourish on the southern slopes of the Caucasus; about 5,000 tons of silk a year are produced, and are mostly consumed by local industry. In Azerbaijan silk has, like rice, suffered from the recent preference accorded to cotton. Other products are: tea, round Ozurgeti and Chavka; plums, the most luscious of which come from Sochi and Sukhum; oranges from Chavka; olives from Artvin and Sukhum; lemons, apples, liquorice-root, the sun-flower—from which a substitute for linseed oil is obtained—attar of roses, *ramie* fibre, and inconsiderable quantities, consumed locally, of potatoes, lentils, beans, haricots and peas.

*Minerals.*—It is only in recent years that the discovery of the existence of a belt of oil-bearing rock (*vide* Petroleum, below), extending from the Northern Caucasus to Southern Persia, has attracted the attention of European capital to the mineral potentialities of the Middle East—particularly of the Caucasus and Persia. The effects of this discovery have already been considerable, and it is probable that the coming half-century will witness, on the one hand the transformation of the Middle East from a backward agricultural to an important industrial region; on the other the concentration of political interest on the area between the Kuban and Terek and the Persian Gulf. 135

The mineral resources of the Caucasus have never been adequately prospected. The Russian Government left the exploration and exploitation of possible mineral deposits to individual enterprise. Thus, with the exception of the very interesting book of Mr. D. Ghambashidze,[1] no reference-books 135 114

[1] D. Ghambashidze, *Mineral Resources of Georgia and Caucasia.*

[see cat. 116, pp 252-253 -- Analyst]

5: Allen H-4 (no date) 1923 RH1 Caucasia RH1



135 [114] 135 316 [78] 471

exist on the subject, and in Mr. Ghambashidze's book the existence of many important deposits is only broadly indicated.

*Metals.*—*Manganese* is the only metal which has been adequately worked in Georgia, and the growth of this industry has, by creating a community of miners, had an important effect on the industrialisation and subsequent growth of the Socialist movement in the country.

The principal manganese deposit covers an extent of about 100 square miles along both banks of the river Kvirili, in the Government of Kutais, the centre of the mining region being at the town of Chiaturi. The mines were at first worked by a large number of small native firms who, from lack of expert knowledge and capital, employed very unscientific methods, with the result that there was much waste. Later, however, foreign firms, chiefly German, began to purchase holdings and to organise the industry, and towards the end of the last decade of the nineteenth century Georgian manganese rivalled that of Brazil and India. Great Britain was at first the principal purchaser, but Germany and other Continental countries later absorbed the bulk of the output. The industry reached the height of its prosperity in 1906, when a decrease in demand, unusually high sea-freights, and foreign competition caused a depression which lasted until 1911. In that year a revival of prosperity took place, but with the closing of the Dardanelles at the end of 1914 the industry suffered a severe blow. At the end of 1918 work at the mines had practically ceased, and heavy stocks of ore were lying at Chiaturi and Poti.

Further deposits of manganese exist at Khvartata (Batum), Saifalu (Elisavetpol), Samtredi and Novo-Senaki (Kutais).

Outcrops of *copper* occur in many parts of the Caucasus, and its mining has been in progress from the remotest times. There are three main areas which are known to contain rich deposits: (1) south of Tiflis, and east and west of the Tiflis-Kars Railway; (2) in the Chorokh Valley; and (3) in the Zangezur region.

(1) The Kedabeg group, comprising the mines of Kedabeg, Kelakent and Kara-bulag, situated north-east of Gökcha in the Government of Elisavetpol, have been worked by the American firm of Siemens Brothers, whose production of copper in 1913 amounted to 1,272 metric tons. The Allahverdi, Akhtala and Shambru mines, in the Lialvar Hills, south of Tiflis, are worked by the French Cie Métallurgique et Industrielle du Caucase, their production in 1913 amounting to 4,760 metric tons. Native firms also work mines in the Phambak Hills,

5: Allen H-4 (no date) 1923 RH1 Caucasia RH1



and at Delijan, Kazakh, Sagali, Saifalu, and elsewhere in the Government of Elisavetpol. 135 316 471

(2) In the Chorokh Basin, the whole length of which is believed to contain rich deposits of ore, the British Caucasus Copper Co. has worked the Dzanzul mine, south of Borchka. In 1912 the production from this mine was 40,000 tons of ore and 3,000 tons of copper, but in the following year the output was disappointing. In the same region Siemens Brothers had begun operations at the Khvartshana mine.

(3) In the Zangezur region difficulties of transport have prevented adequate exploitation, but work has been undertaken by native firms, notably at Synik, Barabatum and Katar. Other considerable deposits are believed to exist in the Rion Valley round Telav and Zakatali, in the Sukhum district and along the Ossetian Military Road.

*Iron* has been little exploited in the Caucasus, but deposits have been prospected at Khamuli in Kutais, Chachak in Tiflis, on the banks of the Bzib near Sukhum, at Veden in Chechnia, in the Maikop district, and near Lenkoran. 135 316

There are deposits of *lead* and *zinc* ore at Sadon, near Vladikavkaz, in the neighbourhoods of Sukhum and Gori, in the Government of Elisavetpol, near Mozdok and Artvin, and elsewhere, but little exploitation has been undertaken. Deposits of *mercury*, *molybdenum*, *antimony*, *iron pyrites*, *cobalt* and *nickel*, and also small quantities of *gold* and *silver* exist, and would probably repay exploitation.

*Non-Metals.*—*Coal* is exploited in the Caucasus only at the mines of Tkhvibuli in the Government of Kutais, where the annual production for 1911–15 averaged about 5,000 tons. Much of it however was of poor quality. Rich deposits have been prospected at Tkvartcheli, in the Government of Sukhum, and another field has been located near Olti in the Government of Kars.

Deposits of *baryta* have been worked in the Government of Kutais; *asbestos* is produced at Shorapan and elsewhere in Kutais; *sulphur* abounds in the Government of Erivan; *salt* is produced in considerable quantities in the Governments of Baku, Erivan, Kars, and Daghestan; there are *bitumen*-beds on the Black Sea coast; *emery* is found at Kara-Bulakh; fine *lithographic stone* is obtainable at Amlivi, near Tiflis, and *pumice-stone* near Kars; *mica* and *graphite* also exist.

*Mineral Springs.*—The Caucasus is celebrated for its mineral springs, and before the Revolution many thousands of Russians, and even invalids from Western Europe, visited the health- 312 529

7: Columbia U. S-4,5 1956 RH1 Caucasia RH1

## Naphtha

.135 Areas of natural oil or naphtha are often found in the neighborhood of those rich in mineral waters. In the entire Caucasus there are four major naphtha areas, two at each extremity of the Great Caucasus: in the northwest that of Krasnodar and Maikop; and in the southeast, that of Baku which has its natural continuation on the eastern shore of the Caspian in the Krasnovodsk area, on and around the peninsula (formerly the island) of Cheleken. There are two such areas in the center of the system, one north of the Great Caucasus, the area of Groznyi, and one in the south, that of the Shirak' and Kara-Yazy steppes, southeast of Tiflis. They are located at approximately the same longitude, but the southern one extends further west, into the Kvirila valley west of the Meskhi-Surami range. Here oil has been found near the town of Sachkheri in the neighborhood of the world-famous manganese deposits of Chiat'uri.

More detailed information on the naphtha sources as well as of mineral deposits will be given in the chapter on Economic Geography.

## Continent Lifting

#133 A gradual raising of the continental mass upon which the Caucasus rests can be observed throughout the ages. Aside from a

## Naphtha and Thermal Springs

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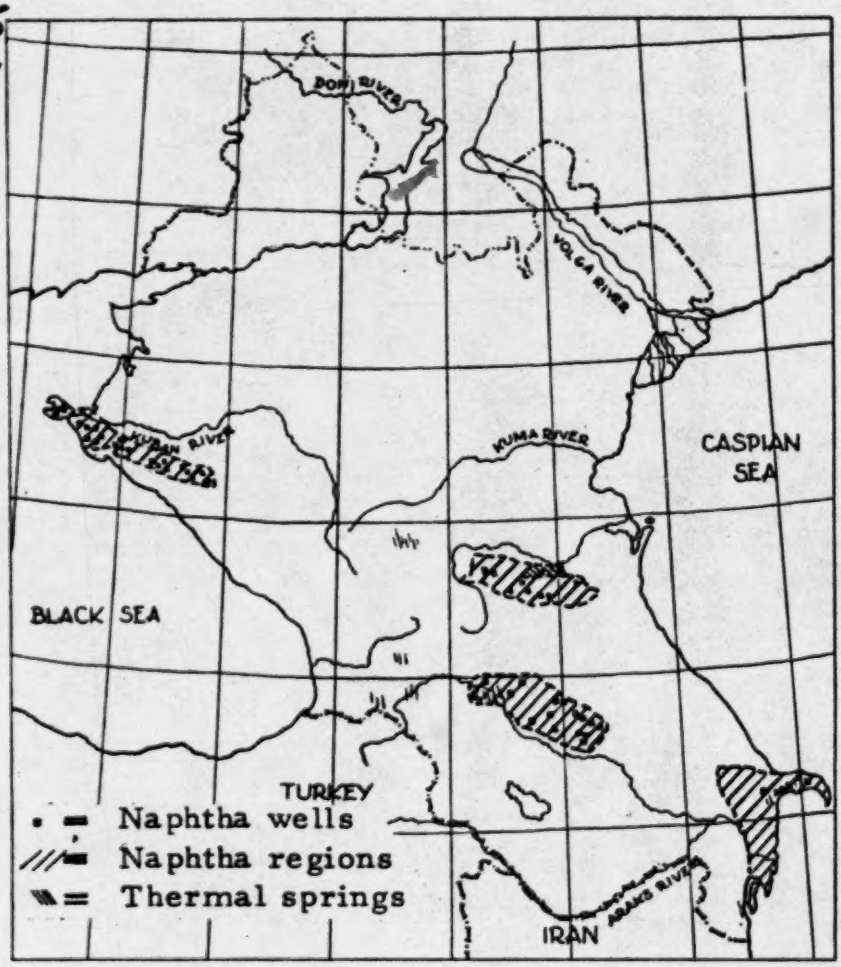

23: Shabad N-4 (no date) 1951 Rl Soviet Union Rl
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 SU

The Donets ridge, the major portion lying within the Ukraine, penetrates the oblast between the lower Don and its right affluent, the Northern Donets. It is a plateau of limestone and sandstone, which is deeply dissected by river courses and ravines. On the higher points burial mounds of the ancient steppe dwellers are often found. The villages, normally surrounded by gardens and orchards, lie along the ravines and valleys of small streamlets. A similar landscape is represented by the outliers of the Central Russian upland to the north. The Don steppe, on the contrary, constitutes very level terrain. The wide river valleys, where streams proceed with a sluggish current, are often filled with salt lakes, and salt flats frequently break the expanse of black-earth and chestnut soils which characterize the region. Toward the east the relief gradually merges with the features of the Caspian lowland. 133* C 133

Normally the Don is not a very abundant river, but spring freshets raise its level considerably. At its mouth, on the Taganrog Gulf of the Sea of Azov, it forms a large delta, which, together with the shallow waters of the adjoining sea, abounds in fish of many varieties. SU

The climate is continental, with hot summers and severe, snowless winters. Precipitation varies from 16 inches annually in the west to 12 inches in the east and occurs chiefly in the summer months, in frequent heavy downpours. Easterly prevailing winds blowing in the spring and summer from the dry steppes and deserts of Central Asia and Kazakhstan present a serious danger of drought to the crops. Drought conditions are especially marked in the southeast, along the Sal River, where black earth is largely replaced by chestnut soils. In the well-watered flood plain of the lower Don, alluvial pastures are important for the raising of dairy cattle. 132 C 132

The eastern wing of the Donets Basin penetrates into the oblast along the Northern Donets River. Anthracite predominates in this area and represents about one fifth of the total reserves of the basin. The major coal-mining centers are Shakhty and Novoshakhtinsk. Other coal mines are concentrated in the areas of Gukovo, north of Krasnyy Sulin, and Gundorovka, west of Kamensk-Shakhtinskiy. In the Bogurayev coal field, at the intersection of the Northern Donets River and the Likhaya-Stalingrad railroad, coal is mined at Koksovyy (characteristically named for coke) north of the railroad and at Sinegorskiy to the south. Belaya Kalitva, at the center of this field, has limestone and glassworks. Anthracite dust from the mines is used to feed the power station of Artemovskiy, an eastern suburb of Shakhty, and the Nesvetay station SU 135 316 C 135 316

23: Shabad N-4 (no date) 1951 Rl Soviet Union Rl
Caucasia RH1



in a southwestern suburb of Krasnyy Sulin. The former plays an important role in the mechanization of the coal-mining operations. Before the Second World War, more than 10 percent of the Donbas coal was mined within Rostov Oblast.

On the basis of the coal resources, heavy industry is operating metallurgical plants at Taganrog and Krasnyy Sulin. Rostov is the home of *Rossel'mash*, the largest agricultural machinery plant of the USSR. Agricultural implements are also manufactured at Morozovsk. Other centers engaged in the production of machinery and metal products are Taganrog, Novocherkassk, Glubokiy, and Likhovskoy (at Likhaya station).

In the northern grain-growing district, wheat and sunflower are the dominant crops. Toward the southeast, barley and mustard become important; further on, toward the Caspian Lowland, the emphasis shifts to stock raising. Horses and meat cattle are gradually replaced by sheep in the drier areas. Cotton is grown to some extent in the south and the southeast. Several Cossack villages along the Don River, notably Tsimlyanskaya and Razdorskaya, have extensive vineyards. In a wide zone through the urban and heavily industrialized section of Taganrog-Rostov-Shakhty, truck gardening and the raising of dairy cattle are the principal agricultural activities. The principal agricultural centers are Millerovo and Chertkovo in the north and Sal'sk (with near-by Gigant state farm, one of the largest grain farms of the USSR) in the southeast. These and other towns throughout the oblast mill flour, extract sunflower oil, and process tobacco. The fish catch of the Don delta and adjacent Taganrog Gulf is processed at Azov, a small port southwest of Rostov.

Rostov Oblast is settled by Russians and a Ukrainian minority. Prior to the Second World War some Kalmyk elements were organized into a Kalmyk national rayon, northwest of Zimovniki. In 1944, following the abrogation of the Kalmyk Autonomous SSR, the rayon was also abrogated, and presumably the population was resettled elsewhere. In this connection, Rostov Oblast also acquired the westernmost section of the former Kalmyk Autonomous SSR.

Rostov lies on the elevated, right bank of the Don River at the head of the delta. Thanks to its favorable location at the junction of trade routes between the Black Sea, the Volga, the Ukraine, the European Center, and the Northern Caucasus, it developed early into an important commercial center and transportation hub. With the construction of the

23: Shabad N-4 (no date) 1951 Rl Soviet Union Rl
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SU 631 928 C 631 728

persed and resettled, and the Karachay lost official recognition. The autonomous unit was abolished. Its major portion, including the capital, Mikoyan-Shakhar, now Klukhori, and the resort Teberda, and the village Uchkulan, now Madniskhevi, were ceded to the Georgian SSR, the strip along the upper Laba River passed to Krasnodar Kray; another portion, including the village Pregradnaya, was annexed to Cherkess Autonomous Oblast; the remainder became part of Stavropol' Kray proper.

SU 241 C 241

The climatic and soil conditions of the region are favorable to the development of grain farming and the raising of livestock for wool and meat, activities which prevail for similar reasons in the dry steppes of the Lower Volga Region, in northern Kazakhstan, and in Western Siberia. The main crops are winter wheat, sunflowers in the west, and cotton in the east. In the section bordering on the upper and middle Kuma River, irrigated farming is devoted to the raising of orchards, garden crops, and vineyards, the latter particularly in the Budennovsk–Georgiyevsk area. With the construction of the Nevinnomyssk Canal, to be completed during the current Five-Year Plan, the glacier-fed Kuban' River will be linked with the Yegorlyk, an affluent of the Manych, and new areas will be put under irrigation in the western part of Stavropol' Kray. Truck produce is grown intensively in the relatively urban areas of the health resorts (Pyatigorsk, Kislovodsk, and others) in the south and in the southwestern mountain area garden and dairy farming is carried on. In the northern and eastern steppes the raising of sheep is most important. On specially organized state farms two major breeds predominate: the merino sheep for the production of fine wool and the *volosh* sheep, which furnishes meat and coarse wool. The Alpine pastures in the southwest support the so-called Karachay sheep, which also is used mainly for meat. Dairy cattle are raised in the health resort district, and hogs and horses on the mountains slopes.

SU 236 C 236

SU [135] C [135] SU 438* C 438

The mineral resources of the region consist only of coal, which is worked in small amounts at Khumarinskoye and Ordzhonikidzevskiy, just north of Klukhori, of raw material for the chemical industry of Cherkess Autonomous Oblast, and of the mineral springs in the Pyatigorsk-Kislovodsk area. The products of agriculture and of the pastoral economy are partly processed within the region; some are exported in semi-processed form to other areas of the USSR. The principal export items are grain, vegetable oil, meat, tallow, dairy products, raw wool, fruits, and vegetables. The local industries are scattered

23: Shabad N-4 (no date) 1951 Rl Soviet Union Rl
Caucasia RH1



Until 1936 Transcaucasia formed a single political unit: the Transcaucasian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic, then one of the union republics of the USSR. With the promulgation of the 1936 Constitution, this federated republic was split up into its primary components based on the three principal nationalities: Armenian, Azerbaijan, and Georgian SSR's. Minor nationalities, such as Abkhaz, Adzhars, and Ossetians, are organized into lesser autonomous units such as autonomous SSR's or autonomous oblasts.

Petroleum is the most important single asset of Transcaucasia. The Baku oil region of world-wide significance is the principal petroleum producer of the USSR, furnishing more than one half the total output. Pipe lines for crude oil, kerosene, and other petroleum products lead from Baku across the entire region to Batumi on the Black Sea, next to Baku, the principal oil port and refining center of Transcaucasia. Before the Second World War the petroleum industry accounted for two fifths of all factory workers, two thirds of the use of electric energy, more than one half the industrial production, and almost two thirds of the exports of Transcaucasia. Since then, however, the creation of new industries and the increase of electric power sources have reduced the relative importance of this branch of the economy. Among the other important power resources are the coal mines of Tkibuli and Tkvarcheli in Georgia, especially the reserves of hydroelectric power, which equal the reserves of the European part of the USSR. Among the most important metal deposits are the manganese mines of Chiatura (Georgia), the second largest in the world, copper in Armenia, and iron in Azerbaijan.

Manufacturing industries are mainly devoted to the processing of the local agricultural products: fruit canning, wine-making, distilling, and cotton ginning. Azerbaijan has a well-developed textile industry, and many of the precious woods are used in wood-working plants. Heavy metallurgy is represented by the steel mills of Rustavi (Georgia) and the ferro-manganese works of Zestafoni (Georgia), and there are machinery plants in many of the large cities. Chemicals and cement are also produced.

In connection with the varied natural conditions and under the influence of the vertical zoning in the mountains, all rural economy forms are represented—from orchard farming in the irrigated sections to nomadic livestock raising in the drier areas. The land is divided according to usability as follows: one fifth is arid, due to the presence of rocks, sands, or marshes; another fifth is forested; more than one third is

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## FLORA AND FAUNA

136 137 In both flora and fauna the Great Caucasus does not especially differ from Central and Mediterranean Europe, while Trans-Caucasia exhibits a number of specific features characteristic of the Anatolo-Iranian plateaus, of which it forms a part. Therefore, in this chapter only the more specific features will be given particular attention.

### Flora

137 In contra-distinction to the high mountain systems of the Near East, in which the Caucasus is an important link, the Caucasus presents the agreeable aspect of a well-forested mountainous area. Exceptions, however, are central, eastern, and southeastern Dagestan and the two vast volcanic areas of the Anti-Caucasus; the Gegam mountains west of Lake Sevan, and the north central part of the Anti-Caucasus around Lake Toporovan, south of the Trialet'ian range. The reason for the absence of forest vegetation in those areas is probably less the human factor, which in all countries of ancient culture has wrought an awful devastation, but the natural conditions -- the insufficiency of the soil in those areas, and climatic factors, especially the deficiency in precipitation.

Trees of natural growth and regular size are found in the Caucasus on higher latitudes

## Fauna

•136 Wild life in the Caucasus is naturally richer than in the Alps or many Central European mountainous areas. The reasons are mainly to be sought in the considerably lesser degree of density of the population as found in the Caucasus. Thus, species long extinct in the Alps or Central Europe have been preserved down to this day.

The Caucasian bear lives in the lower altitudes and rarely goes higher than 1500 m. He stays in the zone of the fruit trees and shrubs. There in the regions of the nut forests he has strong competition from the wild boar which occasionally attacks a single bear and chases him away; sometimes when the bear climbs a tree the boar prevents him from coming down and picking up the nuts he has shaken from the tree. This has been observed in Abkhazian forests. The wild boars, which usually move in large groups, like the thickets and the reed jungles along the rivers. A dangerous beast of prey is the lynx which also is found in the forests of Abkhazia. There are also wolves, which, however, are not confined to Abkhazia but may be seen anywhere on Caucasian territory. In the higher regions of the Great Caucasus the chamois is as much at home as in the Alps, but here it is of course more frequent. A kind of wild goat, similar to the

136 ibex, is the tur; like the chamois, it is found in the higher regions of the mountains. The few families of bison which still existed around the last quarter of the nineteenth century in the forests along the tributaries of the upper Kuban, at the foot of the Elbrus Massif, have apparently died out, probably during the time of the revolutionary wars.

In the southeastern part of the entire area a very different type of fauna appears. Thus, the tiger prefers the thickets at the foot of the Talysh mountains, but rarely ventures into the plains of lower Trans-Caucasia; however, a smaller relative of his, the leopard, is quite frequently found in the plains of the lower Kura. In the same area, the hyena and jackal are found in fairly large numbers. The jackal occasionally crosses the crest-line of the Great Caucasus and penetrates the forests of the northern slopes; but this happens only in the eastern half of the entire system, and chiefly in Dagestan, where the jackal fits well into the ecology. The bezoar goat, living in the mountains of the Anti-Caucasus, should be mentioned; there is also a species of antelope called djeyran (Russian; which is simply the Turco-Mongolian term for gazelle or antelope), which lives in the steppe regions of the Trans-Caucasian plains. The porcupine is found in the sub-tropical Talysh region.

Bird life is rather insignificant and does not exhibit any specific features, with the

.136 possible exception that the average number of birds appears to be very small. (I myself when in the area, did not see one big bird of prey such as the eagle or the berküt [aquila fulva or chrysaetos], a powerful and beautiful bird of prey which is richly represented in Turkestan and found in Anatolia as well, where it can occasionally be seen tracing circles in the air above the city of Ankara.) The pheasant should not be forgotten, especially since it is originally a native of Colchis, if it bears its name rightfully; the name has been linked to that of the Phasis river, the Rioni.

In the wintertime, however, a multitude of water birds, consisting of most Eurasian species from ducks to swans and cranes, lives in the Kyzyl-Aghach, and Lenkoran areas. Not long ago the Kyzyl-Aghach area was made a national park--the Kirov Park--for the preservation of wild water birds. It is a hexagon of about 1600 km. 2, and is the largest national park in the Soviet Union.

In the entire area of Trans-Caucasia both the lizards and snakes are frequently found, of varieties which are typical of the neighboring areas of Anatolia and Iran.

The Caspian fish periodically travel in huge numbers to the Kura river to spawn. They migrate a considerable distance from the sea up the lower course of the Kura and occasionally the Araxes river. The species chiefly represented are the sturgeon and its close relative

•136 the sevryuga; the Caspian salmon, the shamai (also: chabai, chamai), which is a fat variety of herring; and many others. In the rivers, creeks, and lakes of the mountainous region, trout are commonly found.

Among the inferior animals mention should be made of two kinds typical of the semi-arid and arid zones: the locust, often known by its Turkic name saryncha or sarancha (also in Russian), and an arachnoid, the phalanga spider. The grasshopper is famous for the threat it constitutes to the crops whenever this insect appears in great masses. The phalanga, quite common in these areas, is a close relative of the scorpion, which is also not unknown here. The phalanga may also be found in or near human dwellings; its bite is very poisonous, even dangerous, during late spring, especially May.

3: Anonymous U-4 (no date) 1920 RH1 Caucasia RH1



312 and 20,000 settlers planted. These improvements had cost £425,000 up to 1914. The water for irrigation was to be obtained chiefly by controlling the rivers Aras and Kura, which in their lower reaches overflow their banks and form permanent marshes. The question of the regulation of all the principal rivers of the country was being officially studied.

### (c) *Forestry*

137 [659] The total area of forest land in Caucasia cannot be stated with certainty. The extent of the forests under the control of the Ministry of Forests was 12,218,000 acres, or about 11 per cent. of the total area of the country and rather more than half of its cultivated area. Kasperowicz[1] puts the total at 16,000,000 acres, and specifies as being favourably situated for commercial exploitation, 1,372,000 acres in Tiflis and Zakatali, 1,008,000 in Elisavetopol, 863,000 in Chernomoria, 807,000 in Kuban, 705,000 in Terek, 647,000 in Batum, 453,000 in Kutais, and 417,000 in Sukhum. The largest tracts of virgin forest are to be found on the mountain slopes of the Black Sea coast; there is a large forest north of Lake Gokcha, and another in the east of Elisavetopol Government; the middle course of the Kura is wooded throughout, and there are considerable forests in the Armenian Highlands. The best exploited forests in Transcaucasia are those in the Ateni valley near Gori, in the Adzhamer valley near Rion, and at Borzhom—all to the west of Tiflis or the east of Kutais.

The trees include walnut, box, beech, oak, birch, Caucasus palm, wych-elm, pine, alder, &c., of which the first five are the most valuable. The walnut and box tree grow extensively in Transcaucasia; their [439] timber formed a valuable article of export, but the quantities exported are declining, since the remaining walnut forests are remote from railways, and the boxwood is being held back to await more favourable

[1] Raffalovich, *Russia: its Trade and Commerce*, p. 94.

3: Anonymous U-4 (no date) 1920 RH1 Caucasia RH1



prices. Special varieties of conifers, birch, oak, and 137
palm grow in the Caucasus. The Caucasus palm or *samshita* is not plentiful, but is greatly valued. The commonest tree is the beech, which occupies 25 per cent. of the total forest area; the oak occupies 16·7 per cent. and the pine 8·1 per cent. Plantations of bamboo at Chavka and Sukhum have been very successful, the cane being used for industrial purposes.

The Italian firm of Sbrajavacca was in 1914 exploiting 313
the pine-forests of Svanetia and Ratce, the timber being 471
floated down the river Rion. The firm has saw-mills at Socilava and Poti.

The Russian State levied on all timber a royalty [659]
varying according to the kind of wood, &c. The State also fixed the amount of timber to be felled in each area, which was then sold to the highest bidder. The total amount of timber which might be cut in the Caucasus was fixed in 1913 at nearly 220,000,000 cubic feet, of which only a little more than a quarter was actually delivered.

### (*d*) *Land Tenure*

The Caucasus as a whole has no fixed system of land 423
tenure, nor are any of the characteristic Russian 471
features of land-holding found there. The various kinds of landowner may be divided into six classes: the old nobility of Georgia; Tatar and Armenian peasant holders; nomad pastoral tribes, who occupy large areas of steppe land, especially in Stavropol Province; Russian settlers, placed on land vacated after the conquest; the Russian State, which owned large areas, mainly forest; and the Imperial family, which had acquired valuable appanages in the Caucasus.

No figures are available to show the proportions in which the land is held by these various owners; and, as a large part of the total productive area is occupied by nomads, no exact statistics would be possible. Moreover, recent events have to a great extent obliterated the old divisions, and new claims to ownership of much valuable land will have to be settled in the course of time.

5: Allen H-4 (no date) 1923 RH1 Caucasia RH1



491 The Russians have been careful however to develop communications over the Caucasus of extreme military and political [491] importance. A railway from Baku follows the historical passage-way by Derbend and connects with the Vladikavkaz-Rostov line and the main Russian system by Petrovsk, Grozni and Beslan. There is no other railway communication with Transcaucasia, but Russian strategic control has been ensured by four military roads. The main artery, the Georgian Military Road, 382 miles in length, leads from Mozdok via Vladikavkaz and the Daryal to Dushet, Tiflis and Erivan. On the west the Ossetian Military Road runs from Ardon, 20 miles north-west of Vladikavkaz, across the main range of the Caucasus by the Mamison Pass, and reaches Kutais by Oni. Along the formerly impassable Black Sea coast a metalled road now runs from Anapa via Novo-Rossiisk and Sochi to Sukhum and Kutais. On the east a metalled road from Petrovsk traverses Daghestan by Temir Khan Shura and the Vantliashet Pass and leads by Telav to Tiflis. The existence of these four roads is of supreme political importance. The Caucasus is no longer an insuperable military barrier, and the construction of the Black Sea and Ossetian roads has opened two new routes of invasion into Georgia. Other important roads are the lateral road west to east, Kutais—Tiflis—Elisavetpol—Shemakha—Baku; also Tiflis—Kars, Akhaltsikh—Batum, and Akhalkalaki—Ardahan—Ardanuch—Artvin—Batum. Batum has no direct main road connection with Poti or Sukhum.

The Rion is navigable for 83 miles from its mouth at Poti; [492] the Kur for 390 miles.

*Timber Resources.*—The Caucasian area is remarkable for 137 the extent and wealth of its forests, the survival of which has been due as much to the sparsity, and consequently inconsiderable needs of the population, as to inaccessibility and impracticability of transport. In the south-eastern regions much deforestation has taken place, and many of the mountain-sides of Russian Armenia, formerly thickly wooded, are now bare of trees. Similarly, since the Russian conquest, the beech-forests of Chechnia have been greatly thinned. Dense forests of beech, oak and conifers still cover the northern slopes of the Caucasus along the banks of the Kuban and the Terek and their tributaries, while there are extensive forests round Lake Gökcha, east of Elisavetpol, and in Talish.

But it is along the Black Sea coast, on the south-western slopes of the Caucasus and in Georgia, where the many streams and shelter from the winds of the steppe are favourable to

5: Allen H-4 (no date)/1923 RH1 Caucasia RH1



growth, that the greatest wealth of timber is to be found. It 137 is estimated that nearly 7,000,000 acres, or 38 per cent. of the total extent of the Georgian Republic, are covered with trees. "According to the climate and configuration of the soil the predominant species of tree vary in the different forest districts. In the subtropical zone of the Black Sea shore we find a luxuriant vegetation of leaf-trees and bushes from orange, lemon, pear, peach and apple-trees to beeches, walnut and box-trees. In the Sukhum district the abundance of chestnut-trees is particularly remarkable. From the shore eastward into the Provinces of Kutais and Tiflis beeches and hornbeams form the characteristic outline of the landscape up to an altitude of about 4,000 feet above sea-level, after which they gradually become interspersed, until entirely replaced by coniferous species. Oaks are found chiefly above the 5,500 feet level and form rich forests in Kakhethi; elms, chestnut and lime-trees grow well everywhere up to about 5,000 feet. While the soft-wood, aspen, elder and ash-trees are mostly confined to the moderate altitudes, the birch is found up to the limit of tree-vegetation, i.e. about 8,000 feet.

"The coniferous trees of the Georgian forests, as elsewhere, generally occupy the upper parts of the mountains, beginning above 4,000 feet. They consist of a number of high-stemmed species, several being peculiar to the Caucasus. The most abundant of them are the red and silver firs, pine, larch, yew and maple, the latter growing to enormous heights, particularly in Kakhethi. . . . Firs and Caucasian yew-trees form enormous forests in the districts of Gori and Akhaltsikh. In the lowlands of Eastern Georgia, as in the Shiraki Plain or Lower Kakhethi, the vegetation changes entirely; the high-stemmed trees disappear, and prickly juniper-trees and pistachio-bushes form the chief characteristic of the landscape." [1]

Less than half the area of Transcaucasian forests is sus- 313 ceptible of exploitation, the remaining acreage being at present inaccessible for practical purposes. Until the Revolution the forests were in part the property of the Russian State, in part of the Imperial Family and other landowners. The forests were exploited to a certain extent for local needs. The Italian firm of Sbrajavacca had a concession to cut the forests of Svanetia and Radsha, and floated timber down the Rion to saw-mills on the Black Sea Coast. Export had, however, declined before the war, owing to unfavourable prices.

After the Revolution the forests were declared to be the

[1] *Russo-British Chamber of Commerce Journal*, May 1920

7:Columbia U. S-4, 5 1956 RHl Caucasia
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## Precipitation

132 The sketch map, page 114, shows the different areas with their respective density of average precipitation. It should be noted that the area of greatest density of precipitation does not include the westernmost part of Colchis, which is the Black Sea littoral proper, since the clouds release the greatest amount of water in the immediate vicinity of the higher ranges only. In addition, the area around Lake Sevan, within the dry continental area of Trans-Caucasia, has an annual average of 500-1000 mm. of precipitation; this is like the entire Great Caucasus from the 2000 m. contour line in the southeast to the end of the entire system in the northwest, with the inclusion of the Stavropol' plateau. This area, with its average precipitation of 500-1000 mm. per annum, may be considered a transitional one between Black Sea maritime and Central Asiatic continental climate. The greatest portion of Dagestan, with the exception of spurs and ridges at an elevation above the 2000 m. level, belongs to the continental climate. This gives Dagestan a unique appearance, so very different from that of the central and northwestern Caucasus. The preponderant features of Dagestan are those of aridity and therefore a lack of higher vegetation, especially forests. Forests are absent in many regions of the Mediterranean and

137

137 Oriental world, not only because of natural conditions, but especially because of deforestation wrought by man throughout all historical periods down to the beginning of this century; this is particularly true of the South-European peninsulas, Anatolia, and Iran. Similarly, Dagestan, in the regions exposed to the dry southeast winds, is bare of the exuberant vegetation and forests which are so typical of the central and northwestern ranges. In Dagestan wide differences in vegetation are found between the sun-exposed and the sun-protected slopes of valleys or mountains, as is typical of most mountainous regions of Central Asia. This is mirrored even in the nomenclature, as for example the Küngöj-Ala-Tau ("Sunny side Ala-Tau ['Bluish Mountain'] ") and the Terskäj-Ala-Tau ("Shady side Ala-Tau"), the two main ranges of the central Tiän-shan, north and south respectively of the Issik-Kul. The sun-exposed slopes are often steppe-like, while only on the sun-protected side of a mountain is there higher vegetation.

## Cool and Cold Zones

132 137 Above the 1000 m. level, the temperatures begin to recede rapidly with increasing elevation, and the cooler climates begin. Up to 2000 m. we have a transitional, moderately cool climate with a preponderance of forest growth, mostly deciduous species of the European type such as beech, oak, hornbeam, etc., but without the evergreen brushwood and bushes found in the sub-tropical zones. Above

132 137 the 2000 m. limit the cold climate begins. Forests and higher vegetation disappear completely. It is the region of the sub-alpine and alpine meadows used by the people only as summer pastures since precipitation takes place for a great part of the year in the form of snow, and the snow cover lasts for a long period.

This area marks the transition to Arctic climate, which coincides with the extent of the region of permanent glaciation beyond the snow line between 3300 and 3800 m. altitude. Between the area of the alpine meadows and that of eternal snow, there is a region of lower vegetation, consisting for the most part of cryptogamic species, which may be likened to mountainous tundras.

## Exterior Aspect of the Various Zones

Thus the different climatic zones dominating the Caucasus give the sub-regions distinctive features sharply contrasting with each other. The northern slopes of the entire northwestern and central Caucasus are well-forested. The southeastern part, on the other hand, where Dagestan is located, is absolutely un-European and has the prevailing features of Anatolia, Iran, or Central Asia. The eastern portion of the southern slopes of the Great Caucasus resembles the alpine portion of the Riviera, but the western portion,

132 because of the great amount of precipitation
.137 occurring in this area, is much richer in vegetation and increases the impression of subtropical conditions. The eastern portion of the southern declivity is in all respects more similar to the Riviera or the Lombardian slopes of the Alps, except for the absence of lakes. The opposite slopes of the Anti-Caucasus present essentially the same features - the sub-tropical portions of the Adjaro-Imeret'ian Mountains and, farther east, the northeastern boundary mountains of High Armenia, while the interior of High Armenia shares all typical features of the Anatolo-Iranian plains, of which it is the northeasternmost section. The peaks of High Armenia reach elevations as high as any in the Anatolo-Iranian system. The areas have the same latitudinal position. There is only one small area above the snow line; this is the volcanic massif of the Ararat. The Alagöz (Aragac) massif, on the other hand, is bare of snow during the summer. High Armenia differs from the rest of the Anatolo-Iranian plateaus by having a greater forested area, and thus more closely resembling the Great Caucasus in this respect.

## GEOLOGY

*133 By approaching the Great Caucasus from the northern plains and proceeding southward towards the central main chains, one sees the different geological layers of the system appear in an almost perfect chronological
• [137] order. One sees the foothills of the Cenozoic period covered with rich forest growth, behind which the different chains of Cretaceous and Jurassic formations rise; the anterior and lower ones still forested with deciduous species in the lower parts and coniferous ones in the higher--the highest, inner ones being covered, in their higher regions, by alpine meadows and therefore bare of higher vegetation. These exhibit the outward appearance typical of such formations of the Mesozoic, often flat on one side and rather precipitous on the other, with straight, abrupt, rocky slopes, light grey and white in color, typical of the Jura mountain forms. At some distance farther to the rear, the main ranges are seen towering above the Jurassic formations, and almost all of these peaks are covered with eternal snow and ice, strengthening the impression of color contrast with the dark, often blue-black, crystallinic rocks, of which the main chains chiefly consist. The closer one approaches to the mountains, the more he loses the large perspective; the Jurassic chains cover the view of the crystallinic, ice-clad central

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## FLORA AND FAUNA

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### Flora

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Trees of natural growth and regular size are found in the Caucasus on higher latitudes

137 than in the Alps. They mount up to the regions between 2300-2400 m. elevation; on the northern slopes the forest zone extends higher up than on the southern, undoubtedly because the distribution of humidity is more constant and the irradiation of the sun less vigorous than on the southern side of the system. Higher up follows the zone where the azalea and rhododendron bushes grow. At the time of blossoming they furnish a wonderful adornment to the sub-Alpine landscape. On the northern slopes, they rarely grow higher than 1-1 1/2 m.; but on the southern, or rather the southwestern slopes, those of Colchis, they become much higher and often form real groves -- however, there are no forests as on the southern slopes of the Himalayas. In the same zone small daphnes and oxalis are found. Beyond this region comes the large zone of all the typical Alpine plants of the mountainous meadows, which borders on the narrow area of the Alpine tundras, and separates it from the highest regions of bare rock.

The forest consists, in general, of the same species as those of Central Europe, apart from many coniferous trees: beech, hornbeam, oak, ash, and maple. There are also linden and chestnut, rarely found in Central European forests, since they demand a slightly higher temperature than is found in Central Europe. The chestnut tree in all probability stems from the Black Sea and Caucasus area. In the mountainous and alpine areas of Europe coniferous

•/137 trees are those which climb the highest. There is a species of pine, known as the dwarf fir, which occurs in a dwarfed shape, creeping along the slopes. However, in the Caucasus it is the birch which occurs on the upper limit of the forest zone, just as in the Arctic region the birch may now and then be found slightly farther north than its competitor, the larch; in general, the northernmost limits for both varieties are never too far apart, as they alternate in out-distancing each other.

Among the bushes, the box-tree (buxus) deserves special mention. It grows near P'ot'i around the estuary of the Rioni, along the Black Sea coast, in almost impenetrable jungles. Because of its precious wood, which prior to the First World War was being cut and exported chiefly to England, the boxwood tree probably has come to the verge of extinction.

The Caucasian rivers form marshes and swamps in their lower reaches; Colchis has marshy areas which for the last 25 years have been placed more and more under drainage and cultivation. Here were large areas covered by jungles of densely-growing ferns of impressive size--although not attaining that of the New Zealand species. This contributed to the unhealthy conditions of these moist tropical areas; the ferns have therefore been subjected to continuous reduction, with their ultimate extinction as the goal.

But returning to the phanerogamous growth, the azalea pontica and the rhododendron

• /137 are the overwhelmingly predominant Caucasian bush growth. Both species are found in abundance on a very large strip within the forest zone and beyond it, over an absolute vertical [231] distance of 1800 m. Since bee-keeping is very common in the Caucasus, the azalea has in those regions a strong influence upon the composition of the honey. Strabon tells us of this [276] particular kind of honey, which seems to contain an inebriating, intoxicating, or narcotizing effect, at least upon certain individuals; people are said to become drunk, mad, furious, or even crazy. The present-day Turks in the areas along the Black Sea ranges, where the azalea is also found, call this honey däli bal ("crazy honey"), exactly the same expression used by Strabon, XII; 3, 18. A number of travelers reject these tales -- cf. the classical passage in Xenophon's "Anabasis", IV; 8, 20/21—as fables, probably because the azalea honey did not have any effect upon them.

The Caucasus is the original home of a number of fruit trees and other plants of great use to man. Thus, the walnut tree and hazelnut bush are natives of the Caucasus, where they are found in great groves or growing beside other trees in the forests. The valleys of Imeret'ia are generally considered to be the original home of the walnut tree. The hazelnut bush is abundant in the Caucasus as well as all over the Black Sea mountains in northern Anatolia.

But a small creeper, which with the ex-

137 pansion of the Roman Empire conquered the whole world--every area in which it can live--is the grapevine. The tradition of all ancient and classical peoples of the East and Europe states that the vine comes from the fabulous land of the Caucaus, and its name is undoubtedly of old Caucasian origin: Latin vinum, Greek oinos (from an older voinos), Arabic wajn, etc., going back to the same prototype as the Armenian and the Georgian ɣvino. Everywhere along the southwestern slopes of the Caucasus, the wild variety of vine can be found living in the forests along with other lianas, forming living garlands around the trees.

137 245 Fruit trees and fruit shrubs of all kinds grow abundantly in Caucasian lands in both wild and cultivated varieties. In all historical epochs, but especially during the last 50 to 75 years, much has been added to the natural riches of the Caucasian flora, since for experimental purposes a great number of foreign plants have been cultivated there. Many, if not most, of them have since become natives, as for example most of the citrus fruits, especially oranges, lemons, and tangerines--a special variety of the latter, the Unshiu tangerine, having been introduced from Japan. In a particularly suitable region of Adjaristan, at Chakva, tea has been raised since the end of the last century, and it seems to have acclimatized very well. However, the area suitable is very small, so that there is no possibility of real tea plantations.

ooothat there is no possibility of real tea planta-
243tions. Corn (or maize) has been cultivated in large areas south and north of the Great Caucasus for more than 100 years. A more recent experiment has been made with rice, which has been successfully grown in Colchis and the Talysh coastal strip.

As for the cultivated grains, it is barley which climbs highest in the mountainous areas. Thus barley is the only cereal which can be grown in the higher areas of permanent habitation, for instance, in Svanet'ia or Oset'ia. It has been seen in Oset'ian villages and on the slopes of Alagöz, Ararat, and other parts of Armenia, at elevations up to 2500 m. Rye is grown up to 2000 m., i.e., 1000 m. higher than in the Alps. Even corn ripens at an elevation
245of 900 m. The vine is found in Oset'ian villages (near Kurta) up to 1090 m. The best wines are made from growths found at an elevation of 750 m., and around that line, in the Alazani valley in Kakhet'ia. These vines yield the excellent wines of T'elavi, Napareuli, Tsinandali, and other famous places.

•137 As late as the 19th century, after the Russian conquest, senseless deforestation was practiced, often with the help of fire; so that entire areas were laid bare of woods. But in too many instances neither fruit trees, vines, nor cereals were planted afterwards. Only during this century has the century-old practice of deforestation in the Caucasian countries of ancient culture been brought to a halt.

• /37 In Trans-Caucasia, east of the Meskhi-Surami range, the abundance of vegetation diminishes gradually with the distance from the Black Sea climate zone; the farther to the east, the more steppe-like the country becomes, finally culminating in a typical dry steppe, interspersed with smaller or larger desert areas. A tree typical of the central and eastern Trans-Caucasian plains is the mulberry, which apparently has been cultivated there since the be-
[23] ginning of written history. The chief use of the mulberry has always been for sericulture, an ancient craft in Trans-Caucasian lands. The vegetation most characteristic of the sub-tropical steppe areas of the Near East is represented here, especially wormwood (artemisia), with its distinctive invigorating smell, various stipa species, etc. Artificial irrigation is becoming more and more widespread, but has been practiced on a more or less small scale since time immemorial. The small strip of land between the Talysh mountains and the Caspian coast has a humid, sub-tropical Caspian climate like that of the Persian provinces of Gilan and Mazandaran; it abounds, therefore, in the corresponding sub-tropical and tropical plant growth such as bamboo, rice and tea.

Of the above-enumerated plants, many of the useful ones are newcomers introduced by man, such as the orange and other citrus fruits, corn (maize), rice, tobacco, cotton, and tea. Corn is grown very widely also in the northern

137 part of the Great Caucasus (and not only there but also in the Ukraine and areas on the same latitude); this is also true of tobacco. But rice demands a definite type of humid, sub-tropical or tropical climate with abundant irrigation. Since cotton is somewhat less demanding, it is grown on the southern fringes of the Trans-Caucasian plains, chiefly on the northeastern foothills of the Little Caucasus and in the newly-irrigated southern portion of the Mughan steppe area; other areas include Central Armenia, in the Araxes valley, together with Nakhichevan.

[245] Before the First World War, tea was planted for experimental purposes, after the Ceylonese fashion. This was at Chakva in Adjaristan, 11 km. south of Kobulet'i on the Black Sea coast. On the same estate Japanese Unshiu tangerines and bamboo were also planted. The tea plantation amounted in 1928 to a mere 600 ha, but it may be larger now. In addition to the Chakva plantation, tea has also been planted during the last 25 years in Northwestern Colchis, in the neighborhood of Zugdidi and Ochamchire; also near Zakatali and to the southeast, near the city of Lenkoran in the Talysh area.

To the list of newcomers also belongs the date palm, planted at present in not very great quantities in this same humid sub-tropical Lenkoran area.

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244 around the headwaters of the Kura River.

Cinchona: This subtropical tree, which is the source of quinine, was imported from South America. It is cultivated in the Kura valley westwards from Gori.

Eucalyptus: Occurs in Kolkhida, along the Rion River, then around the headwaters of the Kuban River, and on the Lowland of Lenkoran'. The tree is used as building material, and as a source of oil used in medicine and perfumery.

137 Bamboo: Occurs only in Kolkhida.

Of the other tropical, or subtropical trees, shrubs, or plants the palms, the cactus, and the magnolia are those which occur in significant amounts in the South Caucasus.

## Forestry

311 137 313 The subtropical, deciduous (oak, beech, hornbeam) or coniferous (pine, juniper) forests constitute one of the many assets of the Caucasus. The Georgian Republic and the southern sections of the Krasnodar Kray are especially rich in forests. One finds many forests in North Armenia, in West Azerbaijan on the slopes of the Lesser Caucasus, and on the Lenkoran' Lowland, which last is famous for its subtropical forests. On the northern slopes of the Greater Caucasus, in the Stavropol' Kray, in the Groznyy Oblast, and in Dagestan the forests are less dense. Here the forest area is chiefly in the mountainous parts of the various administrative units like the North Ossetian ASSR, the Groznyy Oblast, and the Dagestan ASSR. The numerous lumbering, sawmilling, woodworking and furniture plants of this area indicate an extensive exploitation rather than great forest resources. Further to the north, north of the Kuban-Terek line, forests are virtually non-existent and the lumbering industry of Astrakhan', Rostov, etc. is based on imported timber floated or transported down the Volga and Don Rivers.

311 137 Area by area, the distribution of trees is as follows:

Azerbaijan SSR: Oak prevails in the sparse forests of the Lesser Caucasus and on the lower slopes of the Greater Caucasus,

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137 at while oak forests cover the western parts of the Lenkoran' Lowland. Subtropical forests (with chestnut and oak trees together) grow in the vicinity of Lenkoran'. Beech is the typical tree of the higher slopes of the Greater Caucasus.

Armenian SSR: Oak is the predominant tree in the forests of northeastern Armenia. Elsewhere, the forests are almost non-existent.

Georgian SSR: The most heavily forested area in the Caucasus. The forests of Georgia proper offer a great variety of trees. The lower parts of the Rion River valley are covered by subtropical forests (with chestnut and oak trees together), whereas in the lower part of the Kura Valley oak is the typical tree. The higher slopes of these valleys are covered with beech, whereas pine is dominant around the head waters of the Ingur and Rion Rivers. Of the sub-units the Adzhar Republic has, according to the altitude, a subtropical, a beech, and a pine zone; the Abkhaz Republic has similar zones. The forests of the South Ossetian AO are homogeneous, with beech predominating.

Astrakhan' Oblast: Almost completely treeless.

Groznyy Oblast: On the southern slopes of the Sundzha Valley oak, and at higher altitudes beech is common. The rest of the oblast is treeless.

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Dagestan ASSR: One finds forests only in the extreme western and eastern sections where the lower slopes are covered by oak, and the higher slopes by beech. The middle part (the valley of the Sulak River and its tributaries), and the northern sections are treeless.

Stavropol' Kray: This kray is almost treeless. Only in the southern part of the North Ossetian ASSR is there an oak zone, and at a higher altitude a beech zone.

Krasnodar Kray: The mountainous southern part and the Black Sea littoral are covered with huge forests which make the Krasnodar Kray the second most heavily forested area of the Caucasus. The northern section has oak, beech, and pine zones according to altitude. On the littoral, around Novorossiysk, oak and juniper, and around Sochi beech are predominant.

Rostov Oblast: Almost completely treeless.

*

Caucasian forestry includes the following trees:

Subtropical trees: Chiefly in the Lenkoran' Lowland, on the Black Sea coast of Georgia, (from Sukhumi as far as Batumi) and around the Rion Valley.

Juniper: In the area around Novorossiysk, mostly together with oak.

Chestnut: This tree is grown on a commercial scale in the subtropical forests of the South Caucasus. In addition to this, it is frequent in the oak forests of the Krasnodar Kray.

Oak: The oak is especially typical of the lower slopes of the Greater and Lesser Caucasus. It is the common tree of the eastern South Caucasus (Azerbaijan, Armenia). In the North Caucasus, except in the Kabardian ASSR, oak forests constitute a belt covering all the northernmost slopes of the Greater Caucasus.

Beech: This higher-altitude tree forms two belts of forests in the South Caucasus. One of them cuts through the whole South Caucasus and stretches from the Tuapse area as far as Kuba (in Azerbaijan). The other, in the Lesser Caucasus, covers the area between Batumi and Tbilisi. In the North Caucasus the beech also forms a forest belt (in three sections), which, however, is less impressive than the oak zone which it parallels.

Pine: This tree of the highest altitudes grows in the western parts of the Greater Caucasus and covers a crescent-shaped area. It occurs also at the highest points of the Adzhar Republic.

## $a^2.2$ Tree Varieties

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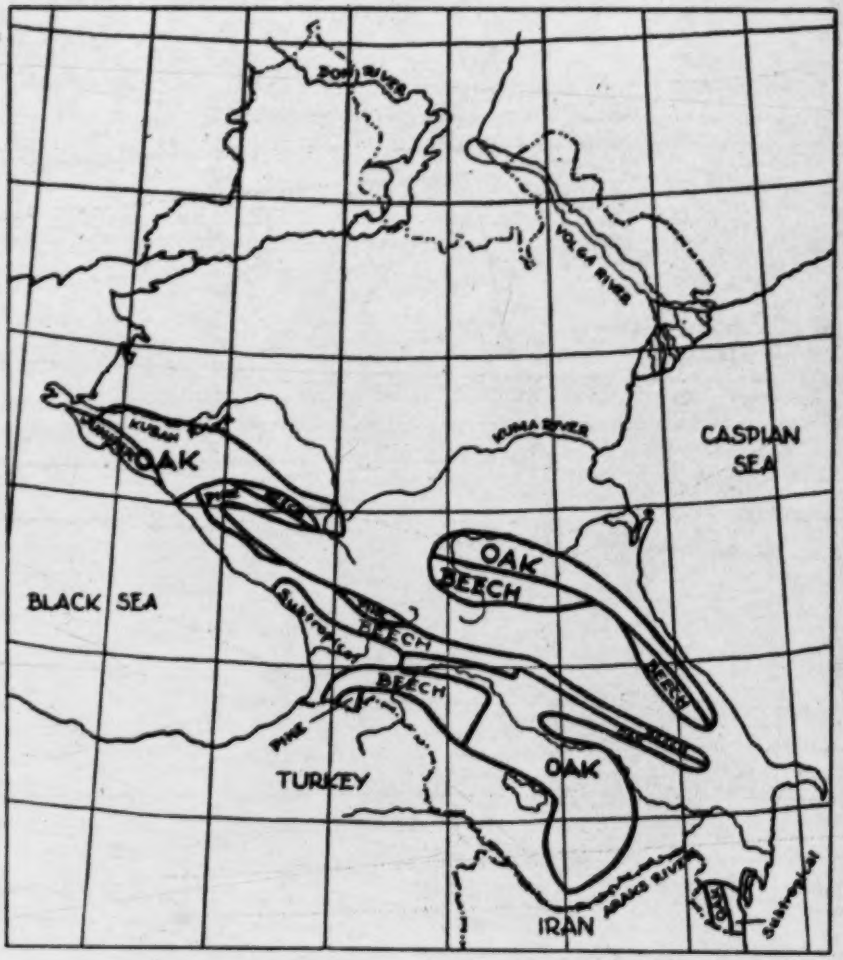

23: Shabad N-4 (no date) 1951 Rl Soviet Union Rl
Caucasia RH1



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and glaciers. Here Mt. El'brus and Mt. Kazbek (16,541 feet), two extinct volcanoes, are evidence of the considerable volcanic activity which accompanied the folding processes. In this portion of the Greater Caucasus rise the Terek River, in the north, and the Rion River, in the south. East of Mt. Kazbek the main divide is formed primarily of Jurassic beds and nowhere exceeds 14,750 feet. The glaciers gradually decrease in size. They disappear altogether near the Caspian Sea, where the Greater Caucasus becomes a low range of hills rising to 1,075 feet. The northern spurs of this section of the Caucasus form an extensive mountain region known as Dagestan. The chief rivers here are the Sulak in the north and in the south the left affluents of the Kura River.

The Kuban' and the Terek are the main rivers of the Northern Caucasus. Due to their mountain origin, high water occurs in the summer when snow and ice melt in the high altitudes. The force of the current washes out the upper valleys, and in depositing the sediments in the lower course it forms sand banks, which render these streams useless for navigation. They are, however, important for irrigation and as a source of hydroelectric power. In their lower reaches these rivers form large swampy deltas, with many lakes and channels, overgrown with reeds and other marsh vegetation. The large quantities of sediment carried by the Terek act to enlarge the delta from year to year.

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The climate of the Northern Caucasus is of the continental type and is exposed to a series of opposing air mass movements from the west, bringing moisture from the Black Sea and from the east, where they originate in the dry desert regions of Central Asia. Although the winters are short, they are severe, and frosts of below 0° F occur frequently. Spring arrives at the end of February and soon turns into a hot summer. Most of the precipitation occurs in the summer and is greater in the west and in the high altitudes. The heaviest rainfall takes place on the southern slopes of the Greater Caucasus near the Black Sea (up to 25 inches yearly); in the Kuma-Manych Depression to the northeast, precipitation is less than 12 inches a year. The climate of the Greater Caucasus range, while it varies, depending on the elevation and the location, is marked by a steady decrease of precipitation from west to east.

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In accordance with the amount of precipitation, the type of vegetation varies throughout the region. The western ranges are covered with deciduous forests, with oak and beech, while the eastern highlands of Dagestan are nearly treeless. At lower altitudes begins the oak forest

23: Shabad N-4 (no date) 1951 R1 Soviet Union R1
Caucasia RH1

 SU 137 C 137

steppe, extending as far as the Kuban' River; north of that stream it follows the fertile black-earth steppe, which continues to the lower Don. In the northeast, however, the decrease in precipitation is evidenced by a gradual change to the dry wormwood steppe, with salt flats, shifting sands, and bitter-salt lakes, forerunners of the Caspian semi-desert in the east.

SU 162 C 162

The population of the Lower Don and Northern Caucasus is more than 9 millions, giving an average density of 65 per square mile. The greatest concentration of the population is north of the Kuban'-Terek line, in the steppes, where Russians and Ukrainians predominate. These two ethnic groups came to this region from the north in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries and constitute at present nine tenths of the total population. The Russians settled mainly in the eastern steppes, the Ukrainians along the Kuban' River. South of the Kuban'-Terek line live the indigenous mountain peoples of the Greater Caucasus; the Adyge (Cherkess or Circassians), Kabardinians, Ossetians, Avars, Laks, and others. The Slavic groups live in large administrative divisions, such as Rostov and Groznyy oblasts, Krasnodar and Stavropol' krays, while the many mountain peoples are organized in autonomous units, varying in importance and size, on the northern slope of the Greater Caucasus.

SU 728 C 728

Four ethnic groups of the Northern Caucasus lost their national identity and were resettled in other parts of the USSR following their alleged collaboration with the Germans during the Second World War. The autonomous oblast of the Karachay was dissolved in 1943, and part of its territory was given to Stavropol' Kray, while the southern portion, including the capital, Mikoyan-Shakhar (now Klukhori), was ceded to the Georgian SSR. The Balkar nationality, which constituted 16 percent of the population of the Kabardino-Balkar Autonomous SSR, was dissolved in 1943, and a section of its territory, in the southwest of the republic, was transferred to the Georgian SSR. The republic became the Kabardinian Autonomous SSR. The Chechen-Ingush Autonomous SSR was also dissolved in 1943 because of the alleged fifth-column activities of its two main ethnic groups, the Chechen and the Ingush. The greater portion of the territory became part of the newly created Groznyy Oblast and the adjacent North Ossetian Autonomous SSR (west), Georgian SSR (south), and Dagestan Autonomous SSR (east) each received strips of land along the frontiers.

The Kuban' steppes are among the chief grain-producing regions of 000

23: Shabad N-4 (no date) 1951 R1 Soviet Union R1
Caucasia RH1

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in the various sections; generally it is less than 12 to 14 inches a year, 5u 132
necessitating irrigation methods in the low-lying Aras valley. 5u

Vegetation types throughout Transcaucasia vary in accordance with 137
the predominant climate. Along the Black Sea coast the high tempera- C
tures and humidity lead to the development of a very luxurious and dense 137
vegetation, forming nearly inaccessible jungles in some sections. The trees, which are largely of Western and Central European origin, reach an exceptionally large size. In spite of the vegetation cover, there is much erosion in this area and the streams are very muddy. Among the most common garden plants are magnolia, cactus, eucalyptus, tangerine, orange, lemon, olive, tea, bamboo, and assorted palms. The dry steppe vegetation of eastern Transcaucasia, with its salt flats and a meager plant cover (consisting chiefly of wormwood, saltwort, and thorny bushes), is in sharp contrast to the small subtropical zone in the Lenkoran' lowland, where the very hard and dense ironwood is most important. The ranges and gorges in the Armenian plateau are covered with deciduous trees; the steppes on the plateau have a rather rich grass cover. In addition to animals commonly found in the Greater Caucasus, the fauna of Transcaucasia includes Mediterranean and Iranian species such as the porcupine and the dzheyran-antelope, and in the steppes, numerous rodents. In the Talysh range leopards and occasionally hyenas and tigers are encountered. Along the Lenkoran' littoral there are many aquatic birds for which a reserve has been created at Kizyl-Agach. 5u

The population of Transcaucasia belongs to a large number of ethnic 162
groups. The Georgian group includes the Georgians proper, and many C
smaller related nationalities, such as Svans, Khevsurs, Pshaves, Imere- 162
tians and Adzhars; the Iranian group comprises the Ossetians, the Kurds, and the Talysh people, and the Abkhaz form a branch of the Caucasian group. The Georgians and the Armenians are the most numerous. Eastern Transcaucasia is settled by the Azerbaijan people of the Turkic group, who migrated to this area from the northeast from beyond the Caspian Sea.

The total population of Transcaucasia (about 8,100,000 people) is distributed quite irregularly, due to relief and climatic factors. Most sparsely settled are the Greater and the Lesser Caucasus ranges and the dry steppes in the eastern sections, while the Black Sea littoral of the Georgian SSR and the Rion valley show the greatest population density.

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Caucasia RH1

[For anthropometry of Jews in Caucasia see 1: Field, MA1 Iran, category 116, pp. 316-330.]

Georgia RI1
Khevsur, Pscha, Tushin

C. G. [713] Some had the sign of the cross upon their shields, so that they looked exactly like medieval European knights and Crusaders.

C. G. 764 171 Up in the country of the Khevsurs a few very ancient churches can be found; near these, often isolated, stand some typically Khevsurian tomb structures or burial chapels unique in the Caucasus. Funeral ceremonies held by the Khevsurs are (or were ?) often accompanied by horse races, an ancient custom of horse-breeding nomads of the steppes. (This custom is reminiscent of the "dokhia" [δόχια] of some Turkic tribes in the plains near the Altai, described by the Byzantine envoy Menandros Protector, who was sent in 568 to the Great-Khan of the Türküt in the Altai region, a territory which is now part of northwestern Mongolia.) Perhaps the Khevsurs borrowed this custom from the Alans, the nomadic ancestors of the present-day Oset'i.

## S'vanet'ians

C. G. 162 101 Another K'art'velian group which in its mountainous seclusion has preserved numerous ancient customs and traditions is the Svans (or Shvan, Strabon's Soanes [Σοάνες]), who live in the high valleys of the Ingur and Ts'khenis-Tskhali, just south of the central high massifs of the Caucasus, between Gvandra and Shkhara. Their language is the most archaic of all the K'art'velian tongues. The Svans are outstanding for their height; two meters is not rare. C. G. [141]

## § 2. PHYSICAL ANTHROPOLOGY

The so-called "Caucasoid Race" in reference to the "Europeans" is a complete misnomer. A *common* European race has never existed; nor have the "Europeans" come from the Caucasus or immediate vicinity, so that the use of the term is quite unjustifiable.

We are interested, however, not in these pseudo-Caucasians but in the true Caucasians, the natives of Caucasia who speak languages belonging to no linguistic group outside of the Caucasus. Do *they* (or at least some of them) form a distinct race?

Negatively stated, the Caucasians are not, as was formerly supposed, survivors of numberless different stocks and races, who, one after the other, found refuge in the Caucasus Mountains. The linguistic and cultural complexity of Caucasia has indeed misled the earlier anthropologists to such untenable conjectures, but today we know that this assumption is false, and after having made sufficient reservations, we may even speak of a "Caucasian Race". But still much research is necessary before a final word can be said regarding the racial affinity and components of the individual tribes of the Caucasus.

According to Djavachišvili, the typical representatives of the "Caucasian Race" are the Georgians, Lesghians, Cherkess and Armenians. He assigns the following marks as being characteristic of the Caucasian Race: 47% to 67% have dark hair; 53% to 81% dark eyes; 58% to 72% brunette type; head-length moderate, 181 mm. to 187 mm.; head-breadth large, 155 mm. to 159 mm.; 80% to 96% are definitely roundheaded with an 83.44 to 86.55 index; the height of the skull varies from 128 mm. to 133 mm., and in relation to its width 82.58 to 84.89, in relation to its length 69.66 to 73.05. The face is of moderate height, breadth 143 mm. to 145 mm., length 178 mm. to 184 mm. with an index of 79.44 to 81.73 (36% to 54% being broad faced and 46% to 62% moderately so). The distance between inner eye-corners varies from 30 mm. to 32 mm. Differences are especially noticeable in stature, quantity of hair, and nasal index, depending on the ethnic group to which the subject belongs. Djavachišvili, in his excellent compilation of anthropometric data of the Caucasians, divides the race into five main groups and 14 types. The mean stature of the Georgian and Cherkess groups is 165 cm., except for the Kabardians, who are 2 cm. taller. The mean stature of the Lesghian group varies from 164 cm. to 168 cm., varying according to tribe. (The mean stature of the Chechens is 168 cm.[4]) The Georgian group shows the scantiest hair; contrariwise the Armenian group has a very thick growth of hair. The nasal index varies too: Georgian group 58.0; Armenian group 62.5; Cherkess group 64.05; Lesghian group 65.2. The nasal length of the Lesghians is 54; of the Cherkess 57; of the Georgian 60; of the Armenian group 61. The nose is leptorrhine according to the following percentage: 100% of the Gurians and Imeréti; 97% of the

[4] Carleton S. Coon, *The Races of Europe* (1945), p. 633.

141 Karthlians and Kakhetians; 91% of the Abkhaz; 79% of the Cherkess; 71%
142 of the Lesghians; 78% of the Armenians; 70% of the Ingushi.[5] The Caucasians are generally dark-mixed in pigmentation.[6]

TABLE 1

144 **Groups and Types of the Caucasian Race according to Djavachišvili**

| Groups | Types | Peoples and Tribes |
|---|---|---|
| Cherkess | Western Type<br>Eastern Type<br>Mixed | Abkhaz, Abasians, Abadzekhs<br>Adighé, Kabardians<br>Karachai* |
| Lesghian | Western Type<br>Eastern Type | Avars, Archi, Kaitago-Tabassaranians**<br>Kurins, Dargwa |
| Georgian | Western Type<br>Eastern Type<br>Central Type | Gurians, Imeréti, Samegrelo<br>Karthlians, Kakhetians<br>Racha, Mthiuleti |
| Armenian | Armenian Type<br>Aissorian | Armenians<br>Aissores*** |
| Metamorphic | Georgian-Armenian<br>Lesghian<br>Lesghian-Armenian<br>Georgian-Cherkess | Georgian Jews, Udins<br>Kumyks, Lesghian Tartars<br>Lesghian and Shemakhic Jews<br>Chechens and Ossetes |

* The Karachai and the Balkars are Turks. The Mountain Tartars may well be descendents of the Khazars or Volga-Bulgars. R. Bleichsteiner, "Die Völker des Kaukasus," *Asien-Berichte*, V (1944), No. 22, p. 8. Marr considered the Balkars and Karachai as turkized Caucasians, or, as he called them, "Japhetido-Turks".

** Racially the Karakaitags may be turkized Mongols. R. Bleichsteiner, *op. cit.*, p. 12.

*** Aissores are Semites.
This table is based on Djawachischwili, *op. cit.*, p. 82.

141 Practically all Caucasians are brachycephalic or sub-brachycephalic. According to Danilov's measurements, of 873 individuals belonging to 15 different tribes, only 11% were dolichocephals, 16% mesocephals and 73% brachycephals.[7] The following table, based on the most reliable and recent data, shows the indices of the Caucasians and neighbouring non-Caucasians.

[5] A. Djawachischwili, "Die Rassenzusammensetzung der Kaukasusvölker," *Archiv für Anthropologie*, New Series, XX (1925), pp. 79—88.

[6] C. S. Coon, *l. c.*

[7] Cited by Henry Field, *Contribution to the Anthropology of Iran*, p. 107.

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## TABLE 2

### Cephalic Indices of the Peoples of Caucasia *

### A. True Caucasians

| | PEOPLES | TRIBES | CEPHALIC INDEX | NUMBER OF OBSERVATIONS | OBSERVER OR SOURCE |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Northwesterners | Abkhaz | Abazians | 80.7 | | Chantre |
| | | Coastal Abkhaz | 83.0 | | Chantre |
| | Cherkess | Mokokh | 78.5 | | Chantre |
| | | Adighé | 81.4 | | Deniker |
| | | Adighé | 81.9 | 30 | Erckert |
| | | General | 82.05 | 54 | Kappers |
| | | Shapsugs | 82.1 | | Chantre |
| | | Beslenians | 82.2 | | Chantre |
| | | Temirgoi | 83.0 | | Chantre |
| | | General | 83.44 | 238** | Djavachišvili |
| | | General | 84.2 | 85 | Erckert |
| Northeasterners | Chechens | Ingushi | 80.4 | | Chantre |
| | | General | 84.0 | | Coon |
| | | General | 84.2 | 85 | Erckert |
| | | General | 84.8 | 34 | Kherumian |
| | Lesghians | Dido | 82.6 | 52 | Erckert |
| | | Khinalugs | 82.7 | 10 | Erckert |
| | | Budukh | 83.3 | 10 | Erckert |
| | | Tsakhurians | 84.4 | 7 | Erckert |
| | | Avars | 85.1 | 44 | Kherumian |
| | | Dzhek | 85.1 | 10 | Erckert |
| | | Laks | 85.2 | 35 | Erckert |
| | | General | 85.5 | 521 | Erckert |
| | | Avars | 85.7 | 66 | Erckert |
| | | Rutulians | 85.9 | 20 | Erckert |
| | | Andi | 86.0 | 10 | Erckert |
| | | General | 86.01 | 804 | Djavachišvili |
| | | Laks | 86.1 | 13 | Kherumian |
| | | Aghulians | 86.2 | 14 | Erckert |
| | | Dargwa | 86.2 | 129 | Erckert |
| | | Tabassaranians | 86.3 | 54 | Erckert |
| | | Avars | 86.4 | | Chantre |
| | | Archi | 86.4 | 22 | Erckert |
| | | General | 86—87 | | Coon |
| | | Kurins | 87.6 | 43 | Erckert |
| Southerners | Georgians | Gurians | 80.5 | | Chantre |
| | | Khevsurs | 80.7 | | Chantre |
| | | Imeréti | 80.9 | | Chantre |
| | | Mingrelians | 83.2 | 900 | Džahov |
| | | Grusians | 83.5 | 21 | Erckert |
| | | General | 83.7 | 1245 | Djavachišvili |
| | | Svans | 83.8 | | Deniker |
| | | General | 84.0 | | Coon |
| | | Laz | 85.6 | | Deniker |
| | | Grusians | 85.8 | | Chantre |
| | | Laz | 86.8 | | Deniker |
| | | Laz | 87.3 | | Chantre |

* In compiling the data on the cephalic indices I have used: Henry Field, *Contributions to the Anthropology of the Soviet Union*, (1948), pp. 130 ff. R. Kherumian, "Contribution à l'anthropologie du Caucase," *L'Anthropologie*, LVII (1948), No. 1—2, p. 62. C. S. Coon, *op. cit.*, pp. 632 ff. A. Baschmakoff, *Cinquante siècles d'évolution ethnique autour de la Mer Noire*, (1937), pp. 29 ff. A Djawachischwili, *op. cit.*, p. 84. R. Erckert, *Der Kaukasus und seine Völker*, pp. 366 f, 370 f.

** This number includes the Abkhaz also.

## B. Non-Caucasians Living in the Caucasus

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| | PEOPLES | TRIBES | CEPHALIC INDEX | NUMBER OF OBSERVATIONS | OBSERVER OR SOURCE |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Indo-Europeans | Persians | | 76.8 | | Chantre |
| | Kurds | | 77.6 | | Ivanovskij |
| | Kurds | | 77.92 | 391 | Djavachilvili |
| | Persians | | 78.4 | | Deniker |
| | Kurds | | 78.5 | | Deniker |
| | Persians | | 78.73 | 224 | Djavachilvili |
| | Tats | | 79.0 | | Deniker |
| | Tats | | 79.2 | 129 | Deniker |
| | Ossetes | Terek | 80.7 | | Chantre |
| | | General | 81.4 | 16 | Erckert |
| | | General | 81.5 | 300 | Riskine |
| | | General | 81.9 | 554 | Deniker |
| | | General | 82.0 | | Coon |
| | | General | 82.62 | 200 | Gil'čenko |
| | | General | 82.7 | | Deniker |
| | | Terek & Koban | 83.11 | 10 | Chantre |
| | | Northern | 84.60 | 105 | Field |
| | | Koban necropolis | 84.7 | | Chantre |
| | Armenians | | 85.1 | | Chantre |
| | | | 85.6 | | Deniker |
| | | | 85.6 | 21 | Erckert |
| Turko-Tartars | Azerbaijanis | | 77.7 | 357 | Djavachilvili |
| | Azerbaijanis | | 78.1 | | Deniker |
| | Turkomans | N. Caucasus | 79.3 | 302 | Jarcho |
| | Azerbaijanis | | 79.4 | | Erckert |
| | Azerbaijanis | Gokcha | 81.6 | | Chantre |
| | Kumyks | | 83.5 | 19 | Kherumian |
| | Taulu | | 83.6 | | Deniker |
| | Nogai | Eastern Kara-Nogai | 84.0 | 156 | Terebinskaja |
| | Nogai | Terek | 84.2 | 108 | Levin |
| | Kumyks | | 84.7 | 24 | Erckert |
| | Kumyks | | 84—85 | | Chantre |
| | Nogai | | 85.0 | | Chantre |
| | Karachai | | 85.1 | 211 | Levin |
| | Nogai | | 85.8 | | Deniker |
| | Nogai | | 86.0 | | Chantre |
| | Nogai | | 86.2 | | Erckert |

A closer study of the tables will reveal the following facts.

(1) The pure or relatively pure Iranians have the lowest cephalic index: Persians 76.8, Kurds 77.6, Tats 79.2.

(2) The Lesghians and some Georgians have the highest index.

(3) Low brachycephaly is found among the Mingrelians, Imeréti, Khevsurs, Gurians, Ingushi, some Ossetes and some Abkhaz.

(4) The indices of the individual Ossete tribes vary from 80.7 to a mean 84.7; the Cherkess vary from 78.5 to 84.5.[8]

[8] A. Baschmakoff, *op. cit.*, p. 32 f.

8: LuŽbetak E-4 (no date) 1951 RH1 Caucasia RH1



A brief explanation for each one of these facts may be in place here. (1) That our table should show the lowest cephalic indices for the Indo-European populations of the Caucasus is to be expected, for the pure Indo-European stock was dolichocephalic. The Scythians, Alans and early Ossetes till the ninth century A. D. were undoubtedly dolichocephals.[9] (2) That the highest brachycephalism should be shared by the Georgians and Lesghians offers no serious problem, for it is certain from other anthropometric data, that at least the Georgians and practically all Lesghians form an anthropological unit. (3) To explain the near-mesocephaly and the (4) variability of certain ethnic groups in the Caucasus is still a difficult unsolved problem. About 50% of the population of the Caucasus is brachycephalic and only 18% dolichocephalic, while the neighbouring South (ancient Asia Minor especially) is overwhelmingly brachycephalic too. It is quite probable that the mesocephalic tendency of the Mingrelians (81.4), Imeréti (80.9 and 81.4), Khevsurs (80.7), Chechens (80.4), Adyghé (81.4) and Abasians (80.7) can be explained to a large extent[10] by a struggle between two unequal forces, dolichocephalic waves from the North and brachycephalic waves from the South. The variability of the indices of the Cherkess tribes (78.5, 82.1, 83, 83.6, 83.8, 84.5) may perhaps be due to the fact that some groups have been subject to the dolichocephalizing waves to a lesser degree than others. The main dolichocephalic waves seem to be especially, though not exclusively, of Aryan origin. Contact with the Indo-Europeans from the earliest times cannot be denied. The Caucasus may very well have been a corridor between Europe and Asia Minor for the Aryan migrations. R. Forrer (*Zeitschrift der deutschen morgenländischen Gesellschaft*, LXXVI, p. 247) is of the opinion that the Aryans, coming from the North, passed through the Caucasus as early as the first half of the third millenium B. C. Kretschmer (*Zeitschrift für vergleichende Sprachforschung*, LV, p. 97) and B. Hrozný (*Archiv Orientální*, III, p. 294) similarly maintain that the Indo-Europeans used the Caucasus as their route to the Near East, however, somewhat later than Forrer's conjecture, about 2,000 B. C. Other well-known scholars of the Indo-European question, e. g., H. Frankfort (*Studies in Early Pottery of the Near East*, I, p. 158), E. Meyer (*Sitzungsberichte der preußischen Akademie der Wissenschaften*, 1925, p. 249), F. Schachermeyr (*Wanderungen und Ausbreitung der Indo-Germanen im Mittelmeergebiet*, Hirt-Festschrift, Heidelberg, 1936, I, pp. 235, 239)[11] believe that the Caucasus was undoubtedly used during the Indo-European migrations. Hybridization between the brachycephalic Caucasians and the dolichocephals must have begun quite early, as some of the prehistorical graves discovered in central Caucasus containing male dolichocephalic skulls and female

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[9] C. S. Coon, *op. cit.*, p. 200.

[10] We wish to emphasize the words "to large extent." By no means do we wish to explain the complicated problem entirely by one factor alone. There was, for example, contact with the Turco-Mongols, *north* of the Caucasus, who were *brachycephalic*. Traces of this contact are noticeable especially in the Cherkess. Cf. R. Bleichsteiner, "Die Völker des Kaukasus," *Asien-Berichte*, V (1944), Heft 22, pp. 4 f. For example, there are also the Cro-Magnon race and the East Mediterranean dolicocephals who must be considered. Cf. R. Bleichsteiner, *op. cit.*, p. 5.

[11] Cf. F. Hančar, *Urgeschichte Kaukasiens*, pp. 355 f., who cites the above-mentioned authoris.

141 brachycephalic remains testify. In other words, from these finds it is evident
174 that crossing was not uncommon already during the Bronze Age.[12] Very important racially was the contact with the Cimmerians and Scythian-Sarmatian populations, who for centuries lived in the Caucasus, till in the fourth century B. C. they were driven southward to Subartu.[13] Some present-day Ossetine-speaking tribes are not of Indo-European origin while practically all have a strong non-Indo-European strain.[14]

141 According to C. S. Coon, "The Caucasic-speaking peoples as a whole,
144 from an anthropometric standpoint, represent a blend between a local Alpine racial nucleus and several kinds of Mediterraneans. The Georgians and the Lesghians are the most Alpine, the Cherkesses the least so. The facial dimensions preclude, in most groups, the presence of a long-faced Irano-Afgan element in any quantity ; except among the Cherkesses, the head size, with mean lengths in the low 180's, limits the possible Mediterranean elements to the smaller-headed varieties. These are apparently both Danubian and Cappodocian ; there is too much true facial Dinaricism for the Danubian to be the only factor, and too much blondism and nasal concavity for the Cappadocian."[15]

## § 3. LINGUISTICS

197 Perhaps nowhere in the world will one find such an intricate mosaic of languages as in the Caucasus. Today there are about 40 different Caucasian languages, and formerly the number must have been much greater. Strabo (VI. 1—16) speaks of seventy languages along the coast of the Black Sea and 26 in Albania, that is, in Azerbaijan- and Armenian-speaking countries of today. Pliny speaks of 300 different languages at Dioscurias which necessitated 80 interpreters. Abulfeda calls the Caucasus "The Mountain of Tongues" and Thomas Artsruni, the Armenian historian of the tenth century, writes that "72 different nations inhabit the Caucasus."

These languages fall into three sharply distinct groups : the Northwestern, the Northeastern, and the Southern. (See pp. 1—4.)

### 1. Phonetics

194 The vowel system of all three groups, but especially of the Northwestern group, is very poorly developed. In Abkhazian there are only two basic vowels *a* and *ə*.[16] The preponderance of consonants over vowels is less marked in the Northeastern languages : the Chechen, Avaro-Andi, and Lak languages have the five *a, e, i, o, u*, vowels, and some languages, for example Kurin and Aghulian, have the equivalent of something between the German umlauts *ä, ö, ü*, and *a, o, u*.[17] The vowel system of the Southern group is the richest of the three.

[12] R. Bleichsteiner, "Kaukasische Völker," *Ebert's Reallexikon*, VI, p. 250.
[13] R. Bleichsteiner, "Die Völker des Kaukasus," *Asien-Berichte*, V (1944), No. 22, p. 4.
[14] A. Baschmakoff, *op. cit.*, p. 32. See his analysis of the racial problem, *op. cit.*, pp. 28—38.
[15] C. S. Coon, *op. cit.*, pp. 631 f.
[16] R. Bleichsteiner, "Die kaukasische Sprachgruppe," *Anthropos*, XXXII (1937), p. 65.
Dirr assigns four basic vowels to Abkhazian. *Einführung in das Studium der kaukasischen Sprachen*, p. 29.

C. G. 162 101 and east of the Rioni) are Georgian, and Imeret'ian and other west Georgian dialects are spoken there. To the Georgian area belongs also Adjaristan (Adžaristan), the valley of the Acharis-Tskhali, which borders in the south and west on Azerbaidjanian and Osman speaking peoples, and in the west, with the Laz people. The Adjarians (Acharians), like their neighbors, are of Mohammedan faith.

## T'ushuri, Khevsuri and P'shaveli

The northeasternmost Georgians, living in the alpine parts of the central Caucasus, are an interesting and distinct people. Although they speak East-K'art'velian dialects and are Orthodox Christians, the Georgians do not consider them as the same nation. The reasons are not only their inaccessibility and age-long seclusion and independence, but also customs and manners which in this way have been preserved from by-gone times. These remote people make up three tribes: the T'ushuri, Khevsuri, and P'shaveli, who live in the high valleys of the source rivers of the Andi-Koisu, Aragvi, and Argun, and of the Iora. In sharp contrast to other Caucasian peoples, blue eyes are not rare with them. Shields, spears, straight long swords, iron or steel helmets, coats of mail and armor were worn by many of them (usually the Khevsurs) as late as the nineteenth century, and in a few instances, even after the Russian Revolution.

C. G. [142] 411 713

## § 2. PHYSICAL ANTHROPOLOGY

The so-called "Caucasoid Race" in reference to the "Europeans" is a complete misnomer. A *common* European race has never existed; nor have the "Europeans" come from the Caucasus or immediate vicinity, so that the use of the term is quite unjustifiable.

We are interested, however, not in these pseudo-Caucasians but in the true Caucasians, the natives of Caucasia who speak languages belonging to no linguistic group outside of the Caucasus. Do *they* (or at least some of them) form a distinct race?

Negatively stated, the Caucasians are not, as was formerly supposed, survivors of numberless different stocks and races, who, one after the other, found refuge in the Caucasus Mountains. The linguistic and cultural complexity of Caucasia has indeed misled the earlier anthropologists to such untenable conjectures, but today we know that this assumption is false, and after having made sufficient reservations, we may even speak of a "Caucasian Race". But still much research is necessary before a final word can be said regarding the racial affinity and components of the individual tribes of the Caucasus.

According to Djavachišvili, the typical representatives of the "Caucasian Race" are the Georgians, Lesghians, Cherkess and Armenians. He assigns the following marks as being characteristic of the Caucasian Race: 47% to 67% have dark hair; 53% to 81% dark eyes; 58% to 72% brunette type; head-length moderate, 181 mm. to 187 mm.; head-breadth large, 155 mm. to 159 mm.; 80% to 96% are definitely roundheaded with an 83.44 to 86.55 index; the height of the skull varies from 128 mm. to 133 mm., and in relation to its width 82.58 to 84.89, in relation to its length 69.66 to 73.05. The face is of moderate height, breadth 143 mm. to 145 mm., length 178 mm. to 184 mm. with an index of 79.44 to 81.73 (36% to 54% being broad faced and 46% to 62% moderately so). The distance between inner eye-corners varies from 30 mm. to 32 mm. Differences are especially noticeable in stature, quantity of hair, and nasal index, depending on the ethnic group to which the subject belongs. Djavachišvili, in his excellent compilation of anthropometric data of the Caucasians, divides the race into five main groups and 14 types. The mean stature of the Georgian and Cherkess groups is 165 cm., except for the Kabardians, who are 2 cm. taller. The mean stature of the Lesghian group varies from 164 cm. to 168 cm., varying according to tribe. (The mean stature of the Chechens is 168 cm.[4]) The Georgian group shows the scantiest hair; contrariwise the Armenian group has a very thick growth of hair. The nasal index varies too: Georgian group 58.0; Armenian group 62.5; Cherkess group 64.05; Lesghian group 65.2. The nasal length of the Lesghians is 54; of the Cherkess 57; of the Georgian 60; of the Armenian group 61. The nose is leptorrhine according to the following percentage: 100% of the Gurians and Imeréti; 97% of the

[4] Carleton S. Coon, *The Races of Europe* (1945), p. 633.

8: Lužbetak E-4 (no date) 1951 RHl Caucasia RHl



141 Karthlians and Kakhetians; 91% of the Abkhaz; 79% of the Cherkess; 71%
142 of the Lesghians; 78% of the Armenians; 70% of the Ingushi.[5] The Caucasians are generally dark-mixed in pigmentation.[6]

TABLE 1

144 **Groups and Types of the Caucasian Race according to Djavachišvili**

| Groups | Types | Peoples and Tribes |
|---|---|---|
| Cherkess | Western Type<br>Eastern Type<br>Mixed | Abkhaz, Abasians, Abadzekhs<br>Adighé, Kabardians<br>Karachai* |
| Lesghian | Western Type<br>Eastern Type | Avars, Archi, Kaitago-Tabassaranians**<br>Kurins, Dargwa |
| Georgian | Western Type<br>Eastern Type<br>Central Type | Gurians, Imeréti, Samegrelo<br>Karthlians, Kakhetians<br>Radha, Mthiuleti |
| Armenian | *Armenian Type*<br>Aissorian | *Armenians*<br>Aissores*** |
| Metamorphic | Georgian-Armenian<br>Lesghian<br>Lesghian-Armenian<br>Georgian-Cherkess | Georgian Jews, Udins<br>Kumyks, Lesghian Tartars<br>Lesghian and Shemakhic Jews<br>Chechens and Ossetes |

* The Karachai and the Balkars are Turks. The Mountain Tartars may well be descendents of the Khazars or Volga-Bulgars. R. Bleichsteiner, "Die Völker des Kaukasus," *Asien-Berichte*, V (1944), No. 22, p. 8. Marr considered the Balkars and Karachai as turkized Caucasians, or, as he called them, "Japhetido-Turks".

** Racially the Karakaitags may be turkized Mongols. R. Bleichsteiner, *op. cit.*, p. 12.

*** Aissores are Semites.

This table is based on Djawachischwili, *op. cit.*, p. 82.

141 Practically all Caucasians are brachycephalic or sub-brachycephalic. According to Danilov's measurements, of 873 individuals belonging to 15 different tribes, only 11% were dolichocephals, 16% mesocephals and 73% brachycephals.[7] The following table, based on the most reliable and recent data, shows the indices of the Caucasians and neighbouring non-Caucasians.

[5] A. Djawachischwili, "Die Rassenzusammensetzung der Kaukasusvölker," *Archiv für Anthropologie*, New Series, XX (1925), pp. 79—88.

[6] C. S. Coon, *l. c.*

[7] Cited by Henry Field, *Contribution to the Anthropology of Iran*, p. 107.

# Chapter IV

# Freedom of Choice

000 After we have shown which individuals are regarded as possible mates, we arrive at the second fundamental question: Who has the decisive word in selecting a definite mate from among the many possible ones? We shall have to answer such questions as: "Has the couple the decisive word?" "Has the young man more to say about his partner than the girl about hers?"

## § 1. THE RIGHT TO CHOOSE A MATE IN THEORY AND PRACTICE

584 [581] The NORTHWEST CAUCASIANS, the Abkhaz and the Cherkess, regard marriage as a family affair. It is not a contract between two *individuals* but between two *families*, joint-families or sibs. The male head of the household has the right to marry off his child to whomsoever he wishes.[1] He has the sole *right*; whether he *uses* that right or not is an entirely different matter.

When speaking about the actual practice we must make the necessary temporal and local distinctions. Before the Revolution the Kabardians, contrary to Hahn's superficial observations,[2] paid little attention to the wishes of their daughters, whereas the Shapsugs, Abadzekhs, and Bzhedukhs generally considered the girl's preferences and even tried to act accordingly. After the Revolution (1920), the Soviet régime refused to recognize any marriage unless it had been entered upon freely. To a large extent this legislation had the desired results, but not entirely, for compulsory marriages still occur today.[3]

Since there is less family interest in the girl than in the boy (the girl is married off into a *strange* family), it is not surprising that more consideration is given the future groom than the bride. But we do not wish to say that the preferences of the male children are always regarded more than those of the [582] female. Infant betrothal[4] has always been possible in Circassia and therefore there is no question of male children having a *right* to choose their mates. *De jure* both sexes are on the same level; *de facto* the wishes of the boys are generally complied with more than those of the girls.[5]

142 583 One can hardly pick up a book on the Cherkess without coming across a paragraph or two about the unusual beauty of their women. Some authors go

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[1] V. V. Vasil'kov, "Očerk byta temirgoevcev," SMOMPK, XXIX (1901), No. 1, p. 99.

[2] C. Hahn, *Kaukasische Reisen und Studien*, p. 39. The questioning of the bride was a mere formality.

[3] Ladyženskij, FT, p. 197. Castagné, *op. cit.*, 1929, No. 2, p. 259.

[4] N. Dubrovin, *Istorija*, I, i, p. 139.

[5] Ladyženskij, *l. c.*

p.76 1 [sic--Analyst]

so far as to give them the title of the "most beautiful women in the world." 583 Whether they, or perhaps the Mingrelians or others, deserve this title does not [142] concern us here. What does matter is the conviction of the Turks and Persians that Cherkess women are beautiful. It is said that the eunuchs of Persia used to lay down their lives for them, and today, it is a known fact, that the Turks are still willing to pay immense sums to have these singularly beautiful women in their harems. No wonder then, that bride-markets were not unusual in Circassia in the nineteenth century. And even today they are still operating, using of course the black-market technique. What we wish to emphasize is that the girl sold on the bride-market is not sold *against* her will. She is not sold as a slave, even though slave-traders are the middlemen of the actual purchasers. She is not sold against her will; no, she is proud to be sold, proud to see a man give up all he has just to win her. If it is not pride that makes her so eager to be sold on the bride-market, then it is ambition. These girls have dreams just as our girls do, though of a somewhat different type. In Turkey they will be sold to a *rich* man; they will be given a *comfortable* lodging, an excellent *education*. Dreams these are indeed, great dreams that can be realized only outside of their own homeland and only in a Turkish harem, only on the bride-market![6]

The NORTHEASTERN CAUCASIANS. The Chechen girls according to 584 their own native *adats* have very little to say about their future husbands. They must wait till their father (or if he is dead, their eldest brother) marries them off to whomever *he* thinks is best,[7] and, primarily, of course, best for the family, for marriage is a family affair. Child-engagements[8] are again a proof that not even the male-children enjoy the *right* to choose their mates.

decision of the Ingushi, no marriage was to be considered valid unless the bride[1]

§ 118 of the "*Adats* of the Ingush Province in the 1860's" calls for special attention. It reads: "Since the end of 1862, according to an unanimous decision of the Ingushi, no marriage was to be considered valid unless the bride had freely consented.[9] The *adat* collection then goes on to give the motive for the decision (§ 156): "Till very recently (1862) a woman was regarded as a [582] slave: she enjoyed no human rights. Turning a deaf ear to her plea and [583] protests, disregarding her sobs and tears, her family would sell her off like a ram, throw her on a cart, and deliver her to her husband."[10] Such a miserable 585 bride, the collection tells us, would in most cases run away from her purchaser. But where could she flee except to her own family — unfortunately the same persons who sold her into "slavery"? Her family, however, had to return the fugitive to her lawful husband, for the contract had to be observed to prevent bloodshed. She would then run away again, and even a third time, making life

[6] Cf. Essad-Bey, *op. cit.*, pp. 202—207. Longworth, *A Year among the Circassians*, I, p. 279.

[7] Cf. The general *adats* for the Black Sea Line, Kuban and Terek Territories, Leontovič, II, p. 251, § 148. *Adats* of 1843 for all Chechens, Leontovič, II, p. 112, § 8. *Adats* of 1864 for the Chechen tribes of Salati, Aukh, and Ichkeria, Leontovič, II, p. 144. Adats of the 1860's for the Ingush Province, Leontovič, II, p. 169. A. P. Berže, Čečnja i Čečency, p. 97.

[8] Dubrovin, *Istorija*, I, i, pp. 427.

[9] Leontovič, II, p. 169, § 118.

[10] "*Adats* of the Natives of the Ingush Province in the 1860's," Leontovič, II, p. 174, § 156.

[1] [Sic -- Analyst]

3: Anonymous U-4 (no date) 1920 RH1 Caucasia RH1



563 and the Yora and Alazan plains as far as Zakatali.
197 The *Imeretians* live in the Kutais Government, west
101 of the Suram Mountains as far as the River Tskhenis Tskhali. The *Gurians* are found between the Rion and the Chorokh. The *Adzharians* and *Kabuletians* live in the Adzharis Tskhali valley in the Batum Province. The *Khevsurs*, *Tushes*, and *Pshavs* are wild mountain tribes belonging to the central Caucasus. The *Mingrelians* inhabit the country between the Rion, Ingur, Tskhenis Tskhali, and the Black Sea. There are a few *Lazis* in the south-west corner of Transcaucasia; most of this tribe live in Turkish territory in Lazistan. The *Svanetians* live in the valleys of the upper Ingur and Tskhenis Tskhali on the southern slopes of the main Caucasian chain.

[144] To the *western Highland group* belong the tribes who call themselves *Adighé*, but whom the Russians call *Cherkess* (Circassians). They used to inhabit the Caucasus range from Taman to Pitsunda and the left bank of the Kuban in Ciscaucasia. They speak a harsh dialect of their own. The *Abkhasians*, who speak a similar dialect, occupy the Black Sea coast from Pitsunda to the Ingur.

Of the peoples in the *eastern Highland group*, the *Chechentsy* or *Chechens* live mostly in the Terek Province, but there are still a few on the Daghestan frontier. The *Lesghians*, including the *Avar*, *Darginian*, and *Kurinian* tribes, are the chief occupants of the Daghestan Highlands. They speak a guttural dialect of their own, though in the east the Azarbaijan Tatar patois is in common use.

[144] II. Of the peoples of Mongolian race the chief are the *Tatars*, who mostly come from the Persian province of Azarbaijan and occupy both banks of the middle and lower Kura, intermingled with Armenian and Kurd colonies. Their language is akin to Turkish, and is the *lingua franca* of western and southern Transcaucasia. There are a few *Nogaitsy* Tatars in Daghestan.
101 The Tatars in Kars Province are known as the
563 *Karapapakhs*. The *Kumyks*, who live on the Daghestan

133 which start with the Great Migrations, and
167 during which, time and again, conquering peoples forced their way around or even through the Caucasus Mountains, the North Caucasian steppes and Caucasian lands were the scene of movements of entire nations or of organized armies of one or the other of early Mediterranean or Near Eastern empires. But they found the huge range an insurmountable barrier closing off the entire isthmus between the Black Sea and the Caspian Sea from one end to the other. And it proved very difficult to circumvent this huge natural fortificatory wall because of the narrow passage between mountains and seashore. While the west coast offers the greatest obstacles, the east coast has on its longer extent, along the mountains fanning out towards the northern Caspian basin, a slightly larger strip of land which would serve as a pathway--with only one narrow spot where the fortress of Derbent (Darubanda in Georgian, from Old-Iranian Daru-banda, "door-band" or "closed doors") is situated, built at a very early epoch.

• 144 The Caucasus is not only a divide but a refuge as well for ethnic groups which have succumbed to pressure, and have had to retreat from large valleys or plains where they were being attacked or gradually displaced and finally doomed either to extinction or flight. Like the Alps, the Elburz, the Hindukush, or Himalaya Mountains, the Caucasus shelters relic peoples from groups which a

•144 long while before had largely perished or vanished; and of all countries on the earth, it is in the Caucasus that the greatest number of relic peoples has been preserved down to the present.

101 The significance of the Caucasus in
171 the history of human culture is unique; there is no comparison with any of the other mountain ranges mentioned, which share with the Caucasus the quality of a divide and a refuge. Every ancient civilization famous for its mythology survives in Dagestan down to our days. Trans-Caucasia and the region of Maikop in the northwestern foothills of the mountains, both integral parts of the Caucasus and ancient Caucasian lands, are, like Dagestan, the home of very ancient metal-working societies. Quite a few terms for metals and tools in Indo-European, Semitic and other Near and Middle Eastern languages are of Caucasian origin. The primordial cultural significance of the Caucasus finds eloquent expression in the classical myth of Prometheus, the fire-bringer. But it is not only pre-historical or early historical cultures that are at home in the Caucasus; historical cultures of a considerable age, surviving in the tradition of the two groups of ancient inhabitants of Trans-Caucasia --the Georgians and the Armenians--are also to be found there.

162 Dioskurias (the present Sukhumi) on the Black Sea coast, representatives of no less than 70 peoples, all speaking different languages, used to gather to carry on their trade; he also states that in Albania (i.e., Eastern Transcaucasia) twenty-six languages are spoken. Pliny the Elder (first cent. A.D.) relates that the Romans carried on their business in the Caucasus through eighty interpreters. The Arab geographers called the Caucasus jebel el-elsine, i.e., "Mountain of Languages." Nineteenth century Russian scholars have called the Caucasus a "gigantic ethnographical museum," and its linguistic diversity plays a role in the Soviet film "Oni vstretilis' v Moskve."

144 162 On the basis of historical facts combined with linguistic evidence the peoples of the Caucasus can be divided into two groups: indigenous and extragenous peoples. The former category includes the peoples that already lived in the Caucasus at the time of our earliest records and cannot on linguistic grounds (as can the Armenians) be shown to have come from outside. These peoples are referred to as Paleocaucasian, Ibero-Caucasian, or Caucasian proper. The second category includes the immigrant peoples, on the basis of linguistic affiliation subdivided into Indo-European, Altaic and Semitic. The present ethnic groupings and denominations in the Caucasus are in the main based on language divisions; these do not coincide with racial divisions as in many

144 cases populations have changed their language.
162 Again, the same cultural area may contain diverse ethnic groups.

101 Due to the fact that (1) many Caucasian peoples first became known under names given to them (or to part of them) by one or other of their neighbors, (2) several Caucasian peoples (in a linguistic sense) had no general self-designation but referred to themselves as "from such-and-such a village," and (3) in some cases the whole population of a larger area was referred to by a single name belonging to only one of the ethnic groups in it or by a descriptive term such as "mountaineers." Caucasian ethnic and linguistic nomenclature as found in the literature of the last 200 years is baffling to the unitiated. The list of "Peoples and Languages of the Caucasus" with its Index is intended to be a guide to this complex maze. 1

In the following, the peoples of the Caucasus are summed up. For details on each individual group, reference should be made to the list of "Peoples and Languages."

1. [cf. cat. 116, pp. 421-501 -- Analyst]

7: Columbia U. S-4,5 1956 RH1 Caucasia RH1

## II INDO-EUROPEAN PEOPLES

•144 197 The Indo-European peoples whose traditional territory is in the Caucasus belong to two branches of this family. The Armenians, the oldest non-indigenous people in the Caucasus, linguistically constitute an independent subdivision of Indo-European. The other Indo-European peoples in the Caucasus all belong to the Iranian branch of the Indo-Iranian subdivision: the Ossetes, Talysh, Tat and Kurds.

162 (a.) Of the ca. 2 million Armenians in the USSR not more than 60 per cent live in the Armenian political units in southern Trans-Caucasia, that is, in the area of the upper Kura river, Lake Sevan, the middle Araks river (Armenian SSR) and on the eastern slopes of the Karabakh Mts. (High Karabakh AO). Of the remainder, the large majority live scattered in the Caucasus, in areas adjoining their political territory, in the western spurs of the Great Caucasus, in Azerbaidjan south of Shemakha, and in the cities. At various times considerable numbers of Armenians living outside of the Caucasus have immigrated to "Russian" Armenia (most recently after the Second World War). The Armenians were living in the Caucasus as early as the sixth century B.C., but the exact date of their arrival there is unknown; it may have preceded the first records by one or two centuries. The Armenians call themselves

## III ALTAIC PEOPLES

With the exception of the Mongolian
144 Kalmyk, who were deported during the Second World War, all the Altaic peoples of the Caucasus belong to the Turkic branch of this family. The Azeri and Turcoman belong to the Oghuz Turkic, and the Kumuk, Noghay, Karachay, and Balkar to the Kipchak Turkic subdivision.

162 (a.) The ca. 2,750,000 Azeri in Soviet territory live in eastern Transcaucasia and in the coastal region of Dagestan, northward as far as Derbent. In the south, Azeri territory extends into northwestern Persia, where their number is estimated at 3 million.
101 The name "Azeri" comes originally from the classic denomination of the country, (Media) Atropatanae, and has become the name of the Azeri people only recently. The Azeri have occupied their present habitat since Seljuk times (eleventh century); their literature goes back to the fourteenth century. The Azeri Turks were originally the most important branch of the Oghuz Turks; but because of their geopolitical position their importance decreased to the advantage of the Ottoman Turks and the Persians.

162 (b.) The Turcomans (Russ. Turkmeny,
101 Trukhmeny) in the Caucasus number ca. 8,000; these Turcomans live divided in small groups

## § 2. PHYSICAL ANTHROPOLOGY

The so-called "Caucasoid Race" in reference to the "Europeans" is a complete misnomer. A *common* European race has never existed; nor have the "Europeans" come from the Caucasus or immediate vicinity, so that the use of the term is quite unjustifiable.

We are interested, however, not in these pseudo-Caucasians but in the true Caucasians, the natives of Caucasia who speak languages belonging to no linguistic group outside of the Caucasus. Do *they* (or at least some of them) form a distinct race?

Negatively stated, the Caucasians are not, as was formerly supposed, survivors of numberless different stocks and races, who, one after the other, found refuge in the Caucasus Mountains. The linguistic and cultural complexity of Caucasia has indeed misled the earlier anthropologists to such untenable conjectures, but today we know that this assumption is false, and after having made sufficient reservations, we may even speak of a "Caucasian Race". But still much research is necessary before a final word can be said regarding the racial affinity and components of the individual tribes of the Caucasus.

According to Djavachišvili, the typical representatives of the "Caucasian Race" are the Georgians, Lesghians, Cherkess and Armenians. He assigns the following marks as being characteristic of the Caucasian Race: 47% to 67% have dark hair; 53% to 81% dark eyes; 58% to 72% brunette type; head-length moderate, 181 mm. to 187 mm.; head-breadth large, 155 mm. to 159 mm.; 80% to 96% are definitely roundheaded with an 83.44 to 86.55 index; the height of the skull varies from 128 mm. to 133 mm., and in relation to its width 82.58 to 84.89, in relation to its length 69.66 to 73.05. The face is of moderate height, breadth 143 mm. to 145 mm., length 178 mm. to 184 mm. with an index of 79.44 to 81.73 (36% to 54% being broad faced and 46% to 62% moderately so). The distance between inner eye-corners varies from 30 mm. to 32 mm. Differences are especially noticeable in stature, quantity of hair, and nasal index, depending on the ethnic group to which the subject belongs. Djavachišvili, in his excellent compilation of anthropometric data of the Caucasians, divides the race into five main groups and 14 types. The mean stature of the Georgian and Cherkess groups is 165 cm., except for the Kabardians, who are 2 cm. taller. The mean stature of the Lesghian group varies from 164 cm. to 168 cm., varying according to tribe. (The mean stature of the Chechens is 168 cm.[4]) The Georgian group shows the scantiest hair; contrariwise the Armenian group has a very thick growth of hair. The nasal index varies too: Georgian group 58.0; Armenian group 62.5; Cherkess group 64.05; Lesghian group 65.2. The nasal length of the Lesghians is 54; of the Cherkess 57; of the Georgian 60; of the Armenian group 61. The nose is leptorrhine according to the following percentage: 100% of the Gurians and Imeréti; 97% of the

[4] Carleton S. Coon, *The Races of Europe* (1945), p. 633.

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141 Karthlians and Kakhetians; 91% of the Abkhaz; 79% of the Cherkess; 71%
142 of the Lesghians; 78% of the Armenians; 70% of the Ingushi.[5] The Caucasians are generally dark-mixed in pigmentation.[6]

TABLE 1

144 **Groups and Types of the Caucasian Race according to Djavachišvili**

| Groups | Types | Peoples and Tribes |
|---|---|---|
| Cherkess | Western Type<br>Eastern Type<br>Mixed | Abkhaz, Abasians, Abadzekhs<br>Adighé, Kabardians<br>Karachai* |
| Lesghian | Western Type<br>Eastern Type | Avars, Archi, Kaitago-Tabassaranians**<br>Kurins, Dargwa |
| Georgian | Western Type<br>Eastern Type<br>Central Type | Gurians, Imeréti, Samegrelo<br>Karthlians, Kakhetians<br>Racha, Mthiuleti |
| Armenian | Armenian Type<br>Aissorian | Armenians<br>Aissores*** |
| Metamorphic | Georgian-Armenian<br>Lesghian<br>Lesghian-Armenian<br>Georgian-Cherkess | Georgian Jews, Udins<br>Kumyks, Lesghian Tartars<br>Lesghian and Shemakhic Jews<br>Chechens and Ossetes |

* The Karachai and the Balkars are Turks. The Mountain Tartars may well be descendents of the Khazars or Volga-Bulgars. R. Bleichsteiner, "Die Völker des Kaukasus," *Asien-Berichte*, V (1944), No. 22, p. 8. Marr considered the Balkars and Karachai as turkized Caucasians, or, as he called them, "Japhetido-Turks".

** Racially the Karakaitags may be turkized Mongols. R. Bleichsteiner, *op. cit.*, p. 12.

*** Aissores are Semites.
This table is based on Djawachischwili, *op. cit.*, p. 82.

144 Practically all Caucasians are brachycephalic or sub-brachycephalic. According to Danilov's measurements, of 873 individuals belonging to 15 different tribes, only 11% were dolichocephals, 16% mesocephals and 73% brachycephals.[7] The following table, based on the most reliable and recent data, shows the indices of the Caucasians and neighbouring non-Caucasians.

[5] A. Djawachischwili, "Die Rassenzusammensetzung der Kaukasusvölker," *Archiv für Anthropologie*, New Series, XX (1925), pp. 79—88.

[6] C. S. Coon, *l. c.*

[7] Cited by Henry Field, *Contribution to the Anthropology of Iran*, p. 107.

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A brief explanation for each one of these facts may be in place here. (1) That our table should show the lowest cephalic indices for the Indo-European populations of the Caucasus is to be expected, for the pure Indo-European stock was dolichocephalic. The Scythians, Alans and early Ossetes till the ninth century A. D. were undoubtedly dolichocephals.[9] (2) That the highest brachycephalism should be shared by the Georgians and Lesghians offers no serious problem, for it is certain from other anthropometric data, that at least the Georgians and practically all Lesghians form an anthropological unit. (3) To explain the near-mesocephaly and the (4) variability of certain ethnic groups in the Caucasus is still a difficult unsolved problem. About 50% of the population of the Caucasus is brachycephalic and only 18% dolichocephalic, while the neighbouring South (ancient Asia Minor especially) is overwhelmingly brachycephalic too. It is quite probable that the mesocephalic tendency of the Mingrelians (81.4), Imeréti (80.9 and 81.4), Khevsurs (80.7), Chechens (80.4), Adyghé (81.4) and Abasians (80.7) can be explained to a large extent[10] by a struggle between two unequal forces, dolichocephalic waves from the North and brachycephalic waves from the South. The variability of the indices of the Cherkess tribes (78.5, 82.1, 83, 83.6, 83.8, 84.5) may perhaps be due to the fact that some groups have been subject to the dolichocephalizing waves to a lesser degree than others. The main dolichocephalic waves seem to be especially, though not exclusively, of Aryan origin. Contact with the Indo-Europeans from the earliest times cannot be denied. The Caucasus may very well have been a corridor between Europe and Asia Minor for the Aryan migrations. R. Forrer (*Zeitschrift der deutschen morgenländischen Gesellschaft*, LXXVI, p. 247) is of the opinion that the Aryans, coming from the North, passed through the Caucasus as early as the first half of the third millenium B. C. Kretschmer (*Zeitschrift für vergleichende Sprachforschung*, LV, p. 97) and B. Hrozný (*Archiv Orientální*, III, p. 294) similarly maintain that the Indo-Europeans used the Caucasus as their route to the Near East, however, somewhat later than Forrer's conjecture, about 2,000 B. C. Other well-known scholars of the Indo-European question, e. g., H. Frankfort (*Studies in Early Pottery of the Near East*, I, p. 158), E. Meyer (*Sitzungsberichte der preußischen Akademie der Wissenschaften*, 1925, p. 249), F. Schachermeyr (*Wanderungen und Ausbreitung der Indo-Germanen im Mittelmeergebiet*, Hirt-Festschrift, Heidelberg, 1936, I, pp. 235, 239)[11] believe that the Caucasus was undoubtedly used during the Indo-European migrations. Hybridization between the brachycephalic Caucasians and the dolichocephals must have begun quite early, as some of the prehistorical graves discovered in central Caucasus containing male dolichocephalic skulls and female

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[9] C. S. Coon, *op. cit.*, p. 200.

[10] We wish to emphasize the words "to large extent." By no means do we wish to explain the complicated problem entirely by one factor alone. There was, for example, contact with the Turco-Mongols, *north* of the Caucasus, who were *brachycephalic*. Traces of this contact are noticeable especially in the Cherkess. Cf. R. Bleichsteiner, "Die Völker des Kaukasus," *Asien-Berichte*, V (1944), Heft 22, pp. 4 f. For example, there are also the Cro-Magnon race and the East Mediterranean dolicocephals who must be considered. Cf. R. Bleichsteiner, *op. cit.*, p. 5.

[11] Cf. F. Hančar, *Urgeschichte Kaukasiens*, pp. 355 f., who cites the above-mentioned authoris.

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141 brachycephalic remains testify. In other words, from these finds it is evident
174 that crossing was not uncommon already during the Bronze Age.[12] Very important racially was the contact with the Cimmerians and Scythian-Sarmatian populations, who for centuries lived in the Caucasus, till in the fourth century B. C. they were driven southward to Subartu.[13] Some present-day Ossetine-speaking tribes are not of Indo-European origin while practically all have a strong non-Indo-European strain.[14]

141 According to C. S. Coon, "The Caucasic-speaking peoples as a whole,
144 from an anthropometric standpoint, represent a blend between a local Alpine racial nucleus and several kinds of Mediterraneans. The Georgians and the Lesghians are the most Alpine, the Cherkesses the least so. The facial dimensions preclude, in most groups, the presence of a long-faced Irano-Afgan element in any quantity; except among the Cherkesses, the head size, with mean lengths in the low 180's, limits the possible Mediterranean elements to the smaller-headed varieties. These are apparently both Danubian and Cappodocian; there is too much true facial Dinaricism for the Danubian to be the only factor, and too much blondism and nasal concavity for the Cappadocian."[15]

## § 3. LINGUISTICS

197 Perhaps nowhere in the world will one find such an intricate mosaic of languages as in the Caucasus. Today there are about 40 different Caucasian languages, and formerly the number must have been much greater. Strabo (VI. 1—16) speaks of seventy languages along the coast of the Black Sea and 26 in Albania, that is, in Azerbaijan- and Armenian-speaking countries of today. Pliny speaks of 300 different languages at Dioscurias which necessitated 80 interpreters. Abulfeda calls the Caucasus "The Mountain of Tongues" and Thomas Artsruni, the Armenian historian of the tenth century, writes that "72 different nations inhabit the Caucasus."

These languages fall into three sharply distinct groups: the Northwestern, the Northeastern, and the Southern. (See pp. 1—4.)

### 1. Phonetics

194 The vowel system of all three groups, but especially of the Northwestern group, is very poorly developed. In Abkhazian there are only two basic vowels *a* and *ə*.[16] The preponderance of consonants over vowels is less marked in the Northeastern languages: the Chechen, Avaro-Andi, and Lak languages have the five *a, e, i, o, u,* vowels, and some languages, for example Kurin and Aghulian, have the equivalent of something between the German umlauts *ä, ö, ü,* and *a, o, u*.[17] The vowel system of the Southern group is the richest of the three.

[12] R. Bleichsteiner, "Kaukasische Völker," *Ebert's Reallexikon*, VI, p. 250.
[13] R. Bleichsteiner, "Die Völker des Kaukasus," *Asien-Berichte*, V (1944), No. 22, p. 4.
[14] A. Baschmakoff, *op. cit.*, p. 32. See his analysis of the racial problem, *op. cit.*, pp. 28—38.
[15] C. S. Coon, *op. cit.*, pp. 631 f.
[16] R. Bleichsteiner, "Die kaukasische Sprachgruppe," *Anthropos*, XXXII (1937), p. 65.
Dirr assigns four basic vowels to Abkhazian. *Einführung in das Studium der kaukasischen Sprachen*, p. 29.

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turn, must have stimulated the entire family to watch most carefully over the conduct of their daughters; and this watchfulness, again, must have been responsible for *adats* threatening the girl as well as any lover with the most severe sanctions not only for an actual perforation of the hymen but also, as the *adats* frequently express it, for any "suspicious approach."[109] 585 886

There have been other explanations offered for the virginity test. Westermarck, for instance, suggested masculine jealousy.[110] But this explanation is not applicable to the peoples of North Caucasia, for, as we have already mentioned, the sexual factor has very little significance in the selection of mates compared to the all-important economic, social, and religious factors. Such a jealousy, where mutual attraction matters so little, is unthinkable.[111] [152]

(6) The custom of the bride thrice walking round the fireplace is an ancient wedding ceremony frequently found among pastoral tribes. As is well known, it was also the custom of the ancient Indo-Europeans. That one of the main wedding ceremonies in the Caucasus should take place at the fireplace is quite in keeping with the deep religious significance of the hearth. Among a large number of Caucasian mountain tribes, especially in North Ossetia, Ingushetia, and Daghestan, we find the custom of never allowing the fire in the hearth to die out, this practice being a form of cult for the dead.[112] The fire and especially the chain above it constitute a connection between the living and the departed. It forms a sacred asylum for any murderer, because as soon as he touches the chain the ancestors of the victim approve of the murderer's adoption into the family. The chain is the symbol of the family: to tear it down is regarded as one of the most abominable crimes imagineable, an insult to the living and dead members of the sib, which must be punished with death. The chain is a symbol of the family and therefore it must be buried with the last member of an extinct sib. To swear by the hearth-chain is an infallible sign that the person is saying the truth, for to do so falsely is unthinkable.[113] Such an oath would be a curse upon the entire sib and their ancestors. In other words, the ancient solidarity of the sib is intimately connected with the ancient religion of the North Caucasians, and the sanctuary of this religion is the hearth. Now, marriage is an act by which a stranger is taken into the family, and one of the most natural means, most in harmony with the ancient Caucasian form of life, is the hearth and hearth-chain. It is indeed striking that in Daghestan the cult of the fireplace still exists today but not the wedding ceremony. This fact confirms rather than disproves our explanation, for in Daghestan the wife was not a stranger: she had to be chosen from within the sib! (Cf. *supra*, pp. 51 f.) 585 614 [778] [769] [372] [605] [189] 582

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[109] *Infra*, Chapter XII, p. 176.

[110] The History of Marriage, I, p. 163.

[111] The jealousy would have to be so great that the disappointed husband would insist that the bride's nose be cut off or that she be otherwise mutilated and even killed, for such are the ancient adats!

[112] Günther, "Zusammenstöße zwischen Gesetz und Gewohnheitsrecht im nördlichen Kaukasus," *Zeitschrift f. vergl. Rechtsw.*, XLVI (1931), p. 324.

[113] *Ibid.*

1 [Sic.. Analyst]

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with a wooden bar or portcullis, making passage impossible until the defenders posted there had been ousted or killed."[1]

In 1818–20 Yermolov commenced operations against the Chechens by the construction of the forts of Grozni ("Threatening") and Vnezapnaia ("Fort Surprise"), while the Armenian General Madatov reduced the Lesghian Khanates of Sheki (with Nukha), Kiuri (with Akhti), Tabasseran, Kara-Kaitagh, Kazi-Kumukh, Khuntzakh (the capital of the Avar), and Akusha (the capital of the Dargo) Khans. In 1822 the central part of the Line was advanced into the Kabardan country, and the tribesmen, ravaged by a fourteen-years' plague, were reduced with cruel severity. Two years later the Chechens were attacked, but succeeded in inflicting several small defeats on the Russians.

The tribes were thoroughly roused by the brutal methods of the Russians, who had marched over their hills, burning auls, carrying off flocks, destroying crops and levelling trees, and there now arose at Ghimri in Avar Daghestan two preachers, Kazi[2] Mullah and Sheikh Shamil, who initiated a movement, Muridism, which at first advocated religious reform, temperance and the cessation of blood-feuds, but soon developed into a fierce agitation, at once religious and political, against the Russians. A common danger had at last united the warring tribes, and the leaders of the movement appealed to that fanatical religious feeling which alone could bind together peoples lacking common national traditions and ideals. Shamil was the more remarkable, although Kazi Mullah, until his death, overshadowed him as Imam, or secular head of the Murids. Desperately brave, a devoted husband and father, Shamil was at the same time cruel, treacherous, and jealous of the success of his subordinate chiefs. He frequently showed himself not only a skilful partisan-leader but a clever strategist, while his success in uniting the tribes was due as much to his administrative and organising ability as to his personal magnetism and power of rousing the religious fervour of the mass of the mountaineers by rhetoric and by a clever assumption of religious sanctity. In the latter respect he has been compared to Muhammad, for he showed a deep knowledge of psychology and an understanding of dramatic effect in the mysterious ceremonies, personal flagellations and supposed communings with the Prophet by which he imposed on the credulity and ignorance of his followers. But as his courage, organising ability and cunning laid the foundations of his

[1] Baddeley, ch. xxxii.

[2] Properly Ghazi.

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175 success, so his cruelty, tyranny, injustice, jealousy and nepotism encompassed his downfall. He alone was responsible for the 668 resistance against the best troops and generals of Russia during 159 more than twenty-five years, but he too by his exactions and merciless discipline destroyed the *moral* of the mountaineers and the prestige of the Murids, and brought about the development of that state of mind which eventually made the tribes whom he had led in victory and defeat ready to desert him and to submit to Russian rule.

175 The history of the Russian war against the mountaineers is largely one of raids and counter-raids, of cruel destruction 726 of crops and villages, of massacres and desperate sieges. In 668 outline it may be divided into three phases: (1) 1829–39—including the campaigns of the first and second Imams, Kazi Mullah (1825–32) and Hamzad Beg (1832–4), the election of Shamil as third Imam and the apparent extinction of his power after the Russian capture of his stronghold Akhulgo (1839): (2) 1840–49—covering the period of Shamil's greatest victories, when his authority extended from the Caspian to the Daryal and from Elisu to the walls of Grozni; and (3) 1850–59—when Shamil's popularity was gradually waning, and when the Russians were encroaching into the hitherto impassable mountains by a plan of campaign directed rather against nature than against Shamil, which comprehended the systematic levelling of forests and building of roads and bridges.

Space fails us wherein to describe the operations and the desperate fighting that took place during the first two of these periods. But an account of an eye-witness of the destruction of the great aul of Germenchug may be taken as showing the typical and magnificent courage of the mountaineers and the difficulties with which the Russians had to contend. "When the aul was in flames," says the narrator, "the Russian commander proposed to grant quarter to the survivors. The defenders listened to the proposal, conferred together for some minutes, and then a half-naked Chechen, black with smoke, came out and made a short speech, followed by a volley from all the loopholes. What he said was to this effect: 'We want no quarter; the only grace we ask of the Russians is to let our families know that we died as we lived, refusing submission to a foreign yoke.' Orders were now given to fire the houses from all sides. The sun had set and the picture of destruction and ruin was lighted only by the red glow of the flames. The Chechens, firmly resolved to die, set up their death-song, loud at first, but sinking lower and lower as their

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numbers diminished under the influence of fire and smoke." 175
"With hearts like stones," concludes the narrator, "the victors 726
sought the refuge of their tents; and maybe more than one 668
in the depth of his being asked himself, why must such things be? Is there no room for all on this earth, without distinction of speech or faith?"[1]

During the third period (1850–59) the Russians confined 175
themselves to the reduction of the Murids by slower but very 668
efficacious means. In the south they built forts to protect the native States from all invasions; on the north they gradually advanced through Chechnia, and pursued a persistent policy of destroying the forests and of removing the mountain population to the northern steppe. At the same time Shamil's influence was waning. His tyranny bore heavily upon the villagers who, further, were weary of the constant warfare of a nature very different from their traditional raids; and his jealousy and nepotism alienated his lieutenants, the most famous of whom, Haji Murad, deserted to the Russians in 1851, as the result of a plot formed by Shamil against his life.

Simultaneously with the campaign against the eastern 175
tribes the Russians had been engaged in long and tedious hostilities with the Cherkesses and Abkhazians. But the fighting in the Western Caucasus at no time attained to the intensity of that in Daghestan.

The Crimean War, which broke out in 1853, failed even to [668]
revive the fortunes of Shamil. The gross incompetence of [159]
the Turkish commanders in Armenia gave him little opportunity for co-operation, and he confined himself to two inconsiderable raids into Kakhetia. On the west the British fleet bombarded the Cossack posts along the coast, which afforded some relief to the Cherkesses, who still maintained a guerrilla war there.

In the autumn of 1855 a Turkish army of 20,000 men, under Omar Pasha, landed at Sukhum Kale, and after defeating a small Russian force on the Ingur advanced on Kutais. But the autumn rains made further operations by the badly-equipped Turkish army impossible, while the Mingrelians—much to the disgust of Laurence Oliphant, who was accompanying Omar—received the Turks with marked lack of enthusiasm. Omar reached Sugdidi, but was compelled to retire into winter quarters at Sukhum, whence his troops were withdrawn on the conclusion of the war.

At that time anti-Russian feeling was strong in England,

[1] Baddeley, pp. 373–4.

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At that time anti-Russian feeling was strong in England
175 and a number of fantastic propositions for the dismemberment
648 of the Muscovite Empire were being published. So influential a man as Lord Stratford de Redcliffe advocated the creation of an independent Circassia at the time of the Treaty of Paris, and in 1862 a number of enthusiastic public meetings at Dundee, Preston and elsewhere welcomed Cherkess deputies, who had come to England to petition the intervention of the Queen. But these efforts were of no avail. The Kars and Ingur campaigns had convinced responsible British statesmen that it was too late to attempt to retard the Russian absorption of the Caucasus, and the Treaty of Paris, by ignoring "the Circassian Question," gave the sanction of Europe to the Russian
175 position in those regions.

[668] In 1859 Shamil, deserted by his followers, and surrounded
[59] by Russian forts, was driven from his last stronghold, Veden. Accompanied only by a hundred faithful *murtazeks*, he fled to the mountainous aul of Gunib in Southern Daghestan, where he subsequently surrendered.[1] The war-weary mountaineers had everywhere laid down their arms; the Russian conquest of the Eastern Caucasus was complete.

Five years later, in 1864, the last resistance of the Cherkesses
175 and Abkhazians was crushed. Nearly 500,000 of these un-
727 fortunate people, together with 100,000 Chechens, emigrated subsequently to Turkey, where the greater number died of disease and starvation.[2] They left their mountain homes a desert, but their place was gradually filled by Bohemian and Cossack immigrants.

During the Russo-Turkish War of 1877–8 there was some unrest amongst the remnants of the western tribes, but Turkish attempts to raise a general insurrection of the Mussulman mountaineers were ineffectual. As a result of the war, the Russians, by the Treaty of Berlin (1878), obtained almost the last remaining areas inhabited by the Caucasian races, Batum and the Ajar hills.

[1] After exile at Kaluga and Kiev, he died on a pilgrimage, at Medina, in 1871.

[2] Some thousand Cherkesses—Chapsughs, Ulikhs, Kabardans and Abkhazians
[66] —are settled in the vilayet of Sivas, others in that of Bitlis. The Chechens, after causing much trouble in the vilayets of Kars and Erzerum, finally scattered about the region of Bitlis, Van and Mush, while others settled in the vilayet of Diarbakr.

2 [i.e., during the Crimean War -- Analyst]

3: Anonymous U-4 (no date) 1920 RH1 Caucasia RH1



563 It will be seen from the above figures that Russians
162 form a majority in Chernomoria only, while the Armenians form a large majority in the Government of Erivan and the Province of Kars, the Georgians in the Governments of Kutais and Tiflis, the Tatars in the Governments of Baku and Elisavetopol, and the Lesghians in Daghestan.

## (6) Population.

### *Distribution and Density*

161 The Russian official census of 1897 gave the total population of Transcaucasia as about 5,565,000. Since then various estimates have been made, based upon this census and the yearly increase of the population so far as it could be ascertained.

*The Statesman's Year Book* for 1918 gives the following statistics (approximate) for the population on January 1, 1915:

| *Area.* | *Population.* | *Density per Square Mile.* |
|---|---|---|
| Baku | 1,119,600 | 75 |
| Batum | 186,000 | 69 |
| Chernomoria | 201,800 | 63 |
| Daghestan | 732,600 | 64 |
| Elisavetopol | 1,117,200 | 66 |
| Erivan | 1,034,800 | 96 |
| Kars | 403,000 | 56 |
| Kutais | 1,070,300 | 130 |
| Sukhum | 147,600 | 58 |
| Tiflis | 1,394,800 | 88 |
| Zakatali | 101,800 | 66 |
| Total | 7,509,500 | 79 |

From this it will be seen that the population is densest in the Governments of Kutais, Erivan, and Tiflis, where the soil is richest and agriculture is the general occupation. The density of the population in the Government of Baku is largely due to the existence of the oil-fields.

### *Towns*

361 *Tiflis* (population in 1913, 327,800) is the capital of
161 Caucasia and the largest town. Next in size is *Baku*

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(population in 1913, 237,000). Other important towns are *Novorossiisk* (66,700), *Elisavetopol* (63,400 in 1910), *Kutais* (53,900), *Batum* (46,000), and *Erivan* (34,000). For further particulars concerning these see below, pp. 42 and 77.

### *Movement*

Recent statistics are not available, but the annual rate of increase can be roughly estimated at 60,000. It is probable that the Armenians increase at a more rapid rate than the other nationalities in Transcaucasia. The death-rate, particularly among children, is certainly high; for this the unhealthy climate in the west, the rigorous winters in the east and central parts, and the ignorance of the natives are responsible.

Accurate statistics of emigration are not available. Since the great migration of the Cherkess (to Anatolia) and other Mohammedan tribes (to Turkey), which depopulated much of the western coast in the latter half of the nineteenth century, emigration has tended to be spasmodic. A certain number of Armenians emigrate to America. Many tribes still live what is practically a nomadic life; and for those who are not too proud to do manual labour the towns form a continual attraction.

Immigrants are largely Russians, both official and non-official. The latter come very largely from South Russia and settle in the central governments or, for industrial purposes, at Baku. There is a small annual influx of foreigners, but not to the same extent as in Ciscaucasia. Periodically there have been Armenian immigrations from Turkish Armenia, though these have lately been regarded unfavourably by the Government.

## *CISCAUCASIA*

### (1) Position and Frontiers

Ciscaucasia, a district of European Russia, is the northern part of the region of Caucasia. It is bounded on the west by the Black Sea and the Sea of Azov;

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In the 'black earth' steppes of Ciscaucasia the maximum rainfall is at the beginning of summer; on the eastern steppes, which extend along the Caspian Sea, the maximum is reached in March. 132

### (4) Sanitary Conditions

The science of hygiene is unknown in Caucasian villages, and medical aid is absent or inaccessible in country districts. Malaria is the characteristic disease of Caucasia, but small-pox, scarlet fever, measles, dysentery, typhus, and pneumonia are prevalent and cause many deaths. 758 164

In the fashionable health resorts, such as Kislovodsk, Jelieżnovodsk and Pyatigozsk, there are very up-to-date sanatoria established on the latest German lines, to which people come from all parts of Russia to take the waters and the cure. 529

### (5) Race and Language

Russians form 34 per cent. of the people of Ciscaucasia, and in the Government of Stavropol amount to 90 per cent. In the Province of Kuban 109 per 1,000 are Cossacks; in Terek the proportion is 179 per 1,000. Tatars live in the east and south-east, where they form 19·3 per cent. of the inhabitants. The remainder consists of Kalmucks, Turcomans, Nogai-Tatars, Armenians, Georgians, Germans, Poles, &c. (See also p. 8.) 162

### (6) Population

The population of the three Ciscaucasian provinces on January 1, 1913, was 5,470,600, distributed as follows:

| | *Rural Population.* | *Urban Population.* | *Total.* |
|---|---|---|---|
| Kuban . . | 2,667,000 | 244,800 | 2,911,800 |
| Stavropol . | 1,232,400 | 79,700 | 1,312,100 |
| Terek . . | 1,015,100 | 231,600 | 1,246,700 |

### *Towns*

*Ekaterinodar* (population in 1897, 65,697, now about 107,000), the capital of the Province of Kuban, is 161 361

3: Anonymous U-4 (no date) 1920 RH1 Caucasia RH1
CISCAUCASIA



361 situated on the left bank of the Kuban river, 100 miles
161 from its mouth and 125 miles south of the Sea of Azov. Other towns are *Anapa* (population in 1897, 6,676), a port; *Batalpashinsk* (8,100); *Maikop* (in 1902, 34,191, now about 50,000); *Temryuk* (in 1897, 14,479), a fortified town and port; *Yeisk* (in 1897, 35,446, now about 50,000), a port on the Sea of Azov.

In the Province of Stavropol, *Stavropol* (population in 1897, 41,621, now about 60,000), which is strongly fortified, is the chief town.

In Terek, *Vladikavkaz* (population in 1897, 49,924, now variously estimated at 53,000 to 79,000) is the capital, and is an important centre of communications. Other towns are *Mozdok* (in 1897, 14,583), 50 miles north of Vladikavkaz; *Georgievsk* (11,532), a fortified town on the Podkumka; *Kislyar* (7,353), on the road from Astrakhan to Derbent; *Kislovodsk* (4,078), a Cossack town with hot saline springs.

On the steppes or prairies of the Caucasian Highlands and along the Kuban river there are many prosperous Cossack villages with considerable populations.

3: Anonymous U-4 (no date) 1920 RH1 Caucasia RH1



district); at Dzansul copper mines (1,000 horse-377
power); and two at Erivan.

Smaller electric plants are to be found at New Athos Monastery (at Goro); at Borzhom, on the Grand Ducal estates; and at Akhalkalaki, in private hands.

The electric power-stations on the Baku oil-fields have already been mentioned (see p. 73).

The water-power offered by the rapid streams of the 376
Caucasus has hitherto been almost entirely neglected, but in 1914 an important scheme was set on foot for the erection of two large power-stations, one on the Terek at Kazbek on the Georgian Military Road, and the other at Elenoffka, in Erivan, utilizing the waters of Lake Gokcha. The concession for the erection of [471]
turbines and generators for supplying power to all the industrial centres of Caucasia as well as for the lighting of cities was granted to a British company, and preliminary work had been carried out by August 1914.

A scheme was also under discussion in 1913 and 1914 for utilizing the refuse-laden overflow of the River Kvirili for generating electric power to be used in ferro-manganese furnaces.

## (C) COMMERCE

### (1) Domestic

#### (a) *Towns, Markets, and Fairs*

*Baku*, besides being the refining centre for the oil 361
produced in the neighbouring fields, is also a distribut- 439
ing centre for the imports of Central Persia and Transcaspia. The volume of trade which passed through Baku to and from Persia and Russian Central Asia in 1912 amounted to over 5,000,000 tons, and was steadily increasing in 1914 at the expense of that of the trans-Armenian and trans-Mesopotamian routes. The popu- [161]
lation of Baku and the adjacent oil-fields in 1914 amounted to nearly 380,000. In 1909 the municipality 363
raised a loan of £2,842,000 (of which £1,300,000 was 653

361 But the numerically important groups which have developed a certain economic and political power live in the large valleys of the Caucasus, chiefly in those of Trans-Caucasia, where the natural conditions encourage such development. Thus, we shall find the great majority of the population living at low or even the lowest altitudes, under 750 m., not in the zone between 750 m. and 2000 m. which is most preferable from the point of view of health. The big industrial or otherwise economically important centers of the Caucasus, Maikop, Groznyi, Makhach-Kala, Baku, Kirovabad, Tiflis, K'ut'aisi, P'ot'i, Bat'umi, Tuapse, Novorossiysk, (six of them on the seashore) are situated at altitudes below 500 m., the only exceptions being the economic centers of Armenia, Erivan and the Gokcha power station. In addition the agricultural districts are in the main situated at low altitudes. Only viticulture and horticulture are in many cases beyond the 1000 m. line. The necessity for irrigation is another factor preventing larger populations from living in the more salubrious zones of the Caucasus.

## Density of Population

.161 Apart from the big industrial centers, with their accumulation of huge populations in small areas, the regions with the greatest density of population are: first, Western

161 Georgia (the Colchis of antiquity); and second, in the eastern Caucasus, the region around the city of Derbent and the lower valleys of the Gyulgeri-Chai and the Samur, and the many smaller rivers of the Kusarli-Kuba district, in southeastern Dagestan and northeastern Azerbaidjan. In these two areas, the density exceeds 50 persons per km. Local natural conditions render this density of population possible: there is either sufficient precipitation, as in Colchis, or a sufficient amount of water for irrigation, as in the Derbent-Kuba-Kusarli area. On the whole, the same holds true for all the rest of the Caucasian lands, since we are dealing with sedentary populations. Apart from the commercial and industrial districts, the climatological features controlling the distribution of water determine the density of the rural populations.

After the two above-mentioned areas with greatest population density follow those with about 40 persons per km.$^2$: in the eastern part of the Great Caucasus both north and south of the main ranges between the Kusarli Kuba district and Baku, and from Baku westward, a broad strip along the southern slopes of the Caucasian system, including the cities of Shemakha and Nukha in the Aghry-Chai valley; the entire Talysh area, Karabakh, and the Akera basin; the historically central part of Armenia, the wide Araxes valley surrounding the ancient and modern capitals, and the

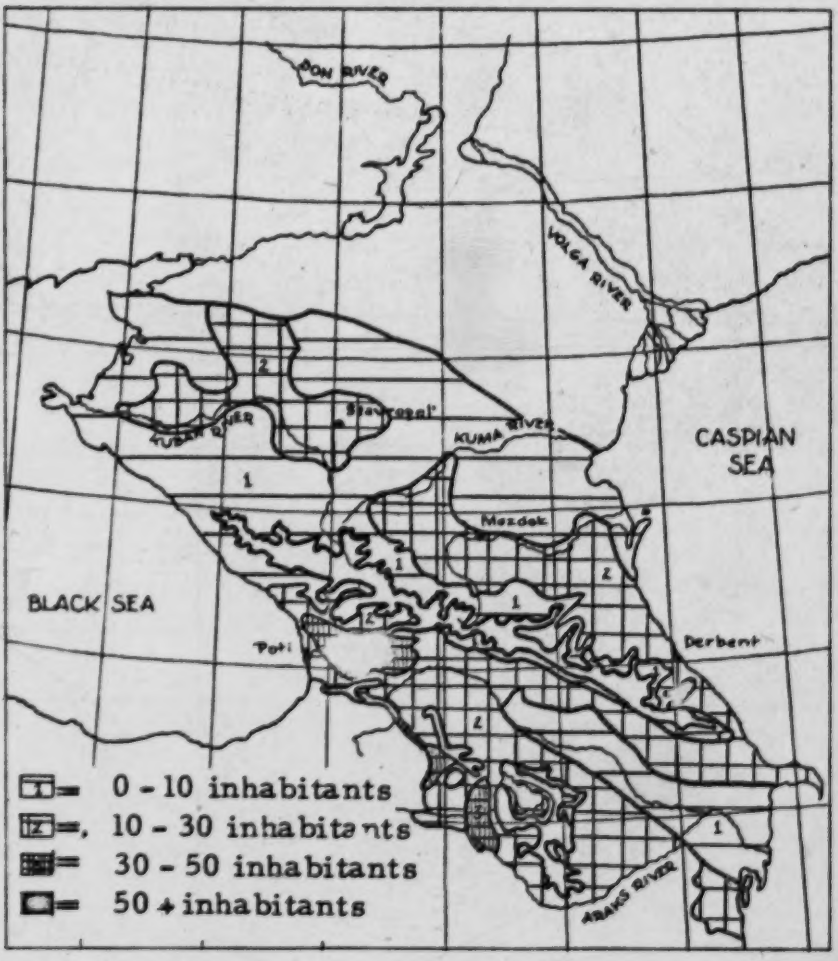
161 central Akhuryan valley around Leninakan; then, marginal areas of Western Georgia (Colchis). In the North Caucasian area the population of the rural districts is generally between 20 and 35 persons per $km^2$, with the greater density along the rivers, such as the Sulak and the T'erek in the east, and the central and lower Kuban in the west. In the northwest, a large strip of this density extends towards the Yeya, and in this entire area the influx of Russian and Ukranian settlers, always strong, is still increasing. These settlers have also occupied a considerable part of the Stavropol' plateau, all around Stavropol'; and farther to the northwest of the town, an area on the central course of the T'erek, around the town of Mozdok. North, northwest, and west of the T'erek the population is exclusively Russian in the area of greatest density; only south and southeast of the T'erek does it become mixed - Russian, Turkic, and Caucasian. All the remaining Caucasian territory has populations of less than 20 $km^2$, depending upon the natural conditions: arid zones, deserts, or the alpine parts of the mountains have practically no inhabitants.

## Communication Lines

491 High mountain areas are naturally inaccessible. Thus, the communication lines connecting Caucasian lands with each other and the outside world are few and difficult. Down to the time of the Russian conquest

Density of Population (from: Reclus, 1875)

•161



## Pattern of Settlement

162 In the Northern Caucasus, the boundary line between the indigenous peoples and the Russian and Ukrainian immigrants lies generally along the Kuban'-Terek river line, with the more recent arrivals settled in the lowlands and the indigenous population in the uplands. There are two exceptions to this general statement: (1) in the extreme west, the Slavic immigrants have penetrated into the mountains in addition to the lowlands; (2) in the extreme east, the lowlands between the Terek and the Kuma rivers are dry semi-desert steppes suitable only for extensive grazing and are therefore very sparsely populated.

.161 The average density in the Northern Caucasus is 30 persons per square kilometer. It rises to 50 and more persons, on the one hand, in the more fertile lowland sections and the valleys of major rivers -- the Kuban' and the Terek (in Northern Ossetia), and on the other hand, in industrial areas, such as the Groznyi oilfields. Lower densities of 10 persons and less per square kilometer are found in the higher mountains sections of the Caucasus and the arid steppes of the northeast. Generally speaking, the population is therefore found predominantly in the foothills of the Caucasus.

361 Two sharply different types of rural settlements are found. The Russian and

361 Ukrainian population tends to be concentrated in large villages, known as stanitsas, with an average population of 5,000 or more, extending along low-lying river banks with large orchards and vegetable gardens attached to each home. The indigenous population in the mountains is found in small villages, known as auls, extending in bead-like fashion along the abrupt banks of mountain streams.

The cities nearly all arose before the Soviet regime. There are vitually no large new industrial centers, such as characterize many other parts of the Soviet Union. The cities arose as fortified points of the Russian and Ukrainian intruders (Vladikavkaz, later renamed Ordzhonikidze), resorts (Piatigorsk, Kislovodsk), or industrial and commercial centers (Krasnodar, Groznyi).

.161 The density of population is quite uneven in Transcaucasia. While the upland areas of the Caucasus are often entirely devoid of settlement, river valleys may reach a density of 50 to 100 persons per square kilometer, while especially dense areas may go as high as 200. For the most part, however, the density varies from 25 to 50 persons per square kilometer, descending to 10 to 25 persons in the dry steppes and the upper foothills.

In Georgia, where the average density is 51 persons per square kilometer, 57 per cent of the population lives in areas below 500 meters elevation, while 27.6 per cent live in areas between 500 and 1,000 meters elevation.

166 The government has been promoting resettlement in areas newly won for cultivation, such as the drained sections of the Colchis marshes and the irrigated parts of the dry steppes, such as the Samgora irrigation district near Tbilisi.

.161 In Azerbaidzhan, the average density is 37.3 persons per square kilometer. The densest population areas are the oil-producing Apsheron Peninsula with Baku, the growing Kirovabad industrial district, and the subtropical Lenkoran' lowland. The average density in these areas is between 50 to 100 persons per square kilometer. Sparse settlement characterizes the dry steppes (Mili, Shirvan, Mugan, Saliany). The Nakhichevan' ASSR has a density of 25 to 50 in the valley of the Araxes River and 1 to 10 in the northern uplands. Most of the population of the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast is concentrated in the area's northeast and southeast corners, i.e. the Terter River Valley and the lowland parts of the Oblast. The rest of Azerbaidzhan, in particular the valley of the Kura River, has an average density of 25 to 50.

The average density of Armenia is 42.7 persons per square kilometer, higher than in Azerbaidzhan, but lower than in Georgia. The population is largely concentrated in the valley of the Araxes River, with the Erevan basin and the Leninakan plateau. The sparsest settlement is found in the southeast -- the Karabakh plateau -- and other parts of the Armenian highlands.

7: Columbia U. S-4, 5 1956 RHI Caucasia RHI
Georgia RI I

# 1. GEORGIANS

C. G. 101 NAME: SELF-DESIGNATION: Kartveli, pl. Kartvelni. The name is applied to all the Kartvelian peoples (see below under "Language"); its derivate "Sakartvelo" denotes traditionally the Georgian state and political territory.

RUSSIAN DESIGNATION: Gruziny.

OTHER DESIGNATION: (Armenian:) Vratsi; (Turkish, Persian:) Gürdzhi; (Abkhaz:) Akýrtwa.

C. G. 161 NUMBER: 1897 1,097,000 (Russian census)
1926 1,564,333 (Russian census, ethn.)
1,610,458 (Russian census, ling.)
1939 2,248,566 (Russian census)

The 1939 figure includes the Mingrelians, Laz, and Svan. The Turkish census of 1945 lists 40,076 speakers of Georgian.

C. G. 162 LOCATION: Western and central part of the territory between the mountains of the Great and Little Caucasus, with the lower Alazani river as E border. Of this area are excepted (1) the territory NW of the lower Rioni and Tskhenis-Tskali (which is inhabited by Mingrelians, Svan, and Abkhaz) and (2) the part of the country SW of the lower Chorokh (which is Laz territory). On the other hand, the Georgians extend beyond the Little Caucasus in the SW, where they live in the basins of the upper Kura and Araks. Politically, the main mass lives in the Georgian SSR, extending into the

## 2. MINGRELIANS

C. G. 101 NAME: SELF-DESIGNATION: Margali; own name of country: Odishi.

RUSSIAN DESIGNATIONS: Megrely, Megrel'tsy, Mingrel'tsy.

OTHER DESIGNATIONS: (Georgian:) Megreli, the country: Samegrelo; (Abkhaz:) Aghrwa; (Svan:) Myzan, the country: Zan

C. G. 161 NUMBER: 1897 239,625 (Russian census)
1926 242,990 (Russian census, ethn.)
284,834 (Russian census, ling.)

C. G. 162 LOCATION: Territory N of lower Rioni river and W of the Tskhenis-Tskali, extending along the Black Sea Coast from the mouth of the Rioni up to Ochemchiri (rayons Zugdidi and Senaki in W of Georgian SSR). Also in and around the cities of the Abkhaz ASSR.

C. G. 197 LANGUAGE: Mingrelian (Megreli nina) and the very closely related Laz form the so-called Zan member of the S Caucasian (Kartvelian) language group, which also includes Georgian and Svan. The language is not written, Georgian being used as the literary language.

SUBDIVISIONS: Two groups of dialects, which differ very little: West (Samurzakan-Zugdidi) and East Mingrelian (Senaki).

C. G. 241 TRADITIONAL ECONOMY: Agriculture; horticulture; viniculture; sericulture.

C. G. 795 RELIGION: Eastern Orthodox.

7: Columbia U. S-4,5 1956 RH1 Caucasia RH1
Georgia RI1
(Turkish:) Lazi;
(Georgian:) Ch'ani,
the country: Ch'aneti.)

## 3. LAZ

CG 101 NAME: SELF-DESIGNATION: Lazi
RUSSIAN DESIGNATIONS: Lazy; for the language also: Chanskii iazyk.
OTHER DESIGNATIONS: (Turkish:) Lazi; (Georgian:) Ch'ani, the country: Ch'aneti.)

CG 161 NUMBER: 1926 643 (Russian census, ethn.)
730 (Russian census, ling.)
The Turkish census of 1945 lists 46,987 speakers of Laz, so that the overwhelming majority of them live in Turkish territory.

CG 162 LOCATION: Between the Chorokh river and the Black Sea coast up to the area of Pazar (Atina) on Turkish territory; also in the Chkhala basin (left tributary of the Chorokh on Russian territory), (Adzhar ASSR, within Georgian SSR).

CG 197 LANGUAGE: Laz (Ch'anuri nena) and the very closely related Mingrelian form of the so-called Zan member of the S Caucasian (Kartvelian) language-group, which includes also Georgian and Svan. The language is not written, Georgian being used as literary language in the USSR, Turkish in Turkey.

SUBDIVISIONS: Two dialect-groups; West (Vitse-Arkhava and Atina) and East Laz (Hopa, Chkhala).

CG 241 TRADITIONAL ECONOMY: Agriculture, fishing, trade.

226 RELIGION: Islam (Sunni)

CG 795

7: Columbia U. S-4, 5 1956 RHI Caucasia RHI
Georgia RI 1

## 4. SVAN

C. G. 101 NAME: SELF-DESIGNATION: Shwan, sing. Mushwän, Mushwni.

ENGLISH VARIANTS: Svan, Svanetians

RUSSIAN DESIGNATIONS: Svany, Svanety.

OTHER DESIGNATIONS: (Georgian:) Svani; the country: Svaneti

C. G. 161 NUMBER: 1897 15,756 (Russian census)
1926 13,218 (Russian census, ethn.)
13,142 (Russian census, ling.)

The 1926 numbers are very low and must be due to some misunderstanding. The Bol'shaia Sovetskaia Éntsiklopediia (1st ed.) Vol. 50 (1944), p. 371, gives the number of the Svan as over 23,000.

C. G. 162 LOCATION: Two valleys S of Mt. El'brus, one of the upper Tskhenis-Tskali and its tributary the Kheledula (Sv. of the Dadiani), the other of the upper Ingur (West: Sv. of the Dadishkeliani, East: Free Sv.) Georgian SSR)

C. G. 197 LANGUAGE: The Svan language is a member of the S Caucasian (Kartvelian) language-family, to which belong further Migrelo-Laz (Zan), and Georgian, the latter languages forming one group as against Svan. The language is not written, Georgian being used as the literary language.

C G 631 SUBDIVISIONS: Historically, Svanetia fell into three parts, Svanetia of the Dadiani, Svanetia of the Dadishkeliani, Free Svanetia.

## 5. ABKHAZ

C.
G.
101 NAME: SELF-DESIGNATION: Aàpswa.
ENGLISH VARIANTS: Abkhaz(ians); for the tribes N of the Cauc. ridge: Abazinians.
RUSSIAN DESIGNATIONS: Abkhazy, Abkhaztsy; for the tribes N of the Cauc. ridge; Abazintsy, Beshkesek-Abaza.
OTHER DESIGNATIONS: (Georgian:) Apkhazi; (Svan:) Mibkhaz; (Turkish:) Abaza.

C.
G.
● 161 NUMBER: 1897 72,103 (Russian census)
1926 56,957 (Russian census, ethn.)
48,130 (Russian census, ling.)
1939 58,969 (Russian census)
These numbers do not include the Abaza on Russian territory (see below under "Subdivisions"), whose number was in 1926: 13,825 (ethn.), 13,057 (ling.) (Russian census). The Turkish census of 1945 lists 8,602 speakers of "Abaza" (i.e. Abkhaz).

C.
G.
162 LOCATION: Black Sea coast S of the main Cauc. chain between the rivers Psou and Ingur (Abkhaz ASSR, within Georgian SSR). The Bzyb'-Abkhaz live around the river Bzyb', the Abzhui-Abkhaz around the river Kodor, the Samurzakan'-Abkhaz in the SE, bordering on Mingrelia. The Abaza tribes live in 15 villages N of the Cauc. chain at the sources of the rivers Kuban' and Zelenchuk (Cherkes AO, within RSFSR).

7: Columbia U.S-4, 5 1956 RHI Caucasia RHI
Adige, Kabardin
Cherkess

## 6. CIRCASSIANS

101 NAME: SELF-DESIGNATION: Adyghe.
ENGLISH VARIANTS: Circassians, Cherkes.
RUSSIAN DESIGNATIONS: Cherkesy (see also below under "Subdivisions").
OTHER DESIGNATIONS: (Abkhaz:) Azkhwa; (Ossete:) Käsgon, collective: Kasag (refers particularly to the Kabardians); (Georgian:) Cherkezi.

• 161 NUMBER:

Kabardians:

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 1897 | 98,561 | (Russian census) |
| 1926 | 139,925 | (Russ. cens. ethn.) |
| | 138,925 | (Russ. cens. ling.) |
| 1939 | 164,106 | (Russian census) |

Other Circassians:

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 1897 | 46,286 | (Russian census) |
| 1926 | 65,270 | (Russ. cens. ethn.) |
| | 64,195 | (Russ. cens. ling.) |
| 1939 | 87,973 | (Russian census) |

The Turkish census of 1945 lists 66,691 speakers of Circassian. A considerable number of Circassians live in Syria, Jordan and Irak.

162 LOCATION: 1. Upper Circassians: (Kabardians:) basins of the rivers Malka, Baksan, Cherek, and Upper Terek in the central Caucasus ("Great Kabarda"), a strip of land E of the Terek ("Little Kabarda"): these constitute the Kabardian ASSR. Also between the upper Kuban' and Zelenchuk rivers, included in the Cherkes AO. Smaller groups around Mozdok and in the E part of the

## 7. CHECHEN-INGUSH

101 NAME: SELF-DESIGNATION: (Chechen:) Nakhchuo, pl. Nokhchiy; (Ingush:) Ghalghai, Lamur ("mountaineers"); (Kist:) Veppie; (Karabulak:) Arshte.

RUSSIAN DESIGNATION: Chechen(ts)y, Ingushi, Mizdzhegi.

OTHER DESIGNATIONS: (Georgian:) Chachani, Kist'i, Kist'uri, for the Ingush in particular: Ghlighvi; (Circassian:) Sheshen; (Ossete:) Tsatsan; (Avar:) Burt'ichi, Burti'iyaw; (Kumyk:) Mychyghysh, (Michikish, Michigysh).

● 161 NUMBER:

| | Chechen: | Ingush: | Kist: |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1897 | 226,496 | 47,409 | 413 |
| | (Russian census) | | |
| 1926 | 318,522 | 74,097 | |
| | (Russian census ethn.) | | |
| | (all groups combined:) | | 393,713 |
| | (Russian census, ling.) | | |
| 1939 | 407,690 | 92,074 | |
| | (Russian census) | | |

162 LOCATION: Formerly between the middle course of the Terek and the main Cauc. ridge, in the now abolished Chechen-Ingush ASSR, most of which has become part of the krai Groznyi. Deported in 1943. Have since received some official recognition by the issuing of a Chechen language newspaper in the Kazakh SSR, where therefore a sizable group of them must be living now. Some representatives of the Kist tribe are left in the territory of the Georgian SSR, on the upper Assa, Argun, and Alazani rivers.

197 LANGUAGE: Chechen and Ingush are very closely related languages. Together with Bats.

## 8. BATS

101 NAME: SELF-DESIGNATION: Batsaw, pl. Batsbi.
RUSSIAN DESIGNATIONS: Batsbiitsy, Tsova-Tush, Tush (due to incorrect naming by Güldenstädt)

961 NUMBER: 1926 7 (Russian census, ethn.)
2,459 (Russian census, ling.)

162 LOCATION: In winter and spring in the village Zemo Alvani on the Kakhetian Alazan' (near Telavi), in summer in the mountain meadows on the upper Kakhetian Alazan' and Tush Alazan' (Akhmet rayon, Georgian SSR).

197 LANGUAGE: Bats (Batsbe mot') forms, with Checheno-Ingush, the Veinakh group of the NE Caucasian languages. The language is not written, Georgian being used as literary language.

231 TRADITIONAL ECONOMY: Cattle-breeding.

795 RELIGION: Eastern Orthodox.

7: Columbia U. S-4, 5 1956 RH1 Caucasia RH1
Dagestan RH8
Avar

## 9. AVAR

C. A. 101 NAME: SELF-DESIGNATION: None for the people as a whole. Own designation of language: maharul mats'ᵊ ("mountain language") or Khᵊunz mats'ᵊ ("language of Khunzakh")

RUSSIAN DESIGNATIONS: Avartsy, Tavlintsy (the latter from Kumyk "Taulu" meaning "mountaineers" in general). The southern groups of Avar are also referred to as Dzhartsy.

OTHER DESIGNATIONS: (Lak:) Yaruchū, (Dargwa:) K'araqᵊan.

C. D. 161 NUMBER: 1926 158,769 (Russian census, ethn.)
158,922 (Russian census, ling.)

In the Bol'shaia Sovetskaia Éntsiklopediia (2nd ed.) Vol. 1 (1949), p. 62, the total number of Avar is given as ca. 167,000. The number of persons able to speak Avar is ca. 220,000 (estimate, Chikobava).

C. A. 162 LOCATION: Basins of lower Andi Koisu, and of the Avar Koisu; some groups isolated from the main body along the W tributaries of the Andi Koisu (rayons Gergebil', Gumbet, Gunib, Kazbek, Kakhib, Tliarata, Untsukul', Khunzakh, Charoda, all in the Dagestan ASSR). Also extending to the S slope of the main Caucasian chain (rayons Belokany and Zakataly, Azerb. SSR).

C. D. 197 LANGUAGE: The Avar language (maháru mats'ᵊ Khᵊunz mats'ᵊ) forms with the Andi and Dido groups of languages one of the six main divisions of NE Caucasian (the

7: Columbia U. S-4, 5 1956 RHl Caucasia
Dagestan RH 8
Andi

## 10. ANDI

C. D. 101 NAME: SELF-DESIGNATION: Qwannaw, pl. Qwannal

RUSSIAN DESIGNATIONS: Andii, Andiitsy (this name is also used to include, besides the Andi proper, the other peoples of the Andi group; cf. below under "Language").

OTHER DESIGNATIONS: (Avar:) Handísew, pl. Handál, the country: Handí.

C. D. 161 NUMBER: 1926 7,840 (Russian census, ethn.)
7,720 (Russian census, ling.)

C. D. 162 LOCATION: N of the Andiiskoe Koisu, at its bend eastward (auls Andi, Ghunkha, Ghaghatl, Rik'uan, Chankho, Zilo, Muni in rayon Botlikh and auls Kvankhidatl, and Khuset in rayon Vedeno, Dagestan ASSR).

C. D. 197 LANGUAGE: Andi (Qwannab mits.i) forms with Botlikh, Godoberi, Karata, Bagulal, Tindi, Chamalal, and Akhvakh, the so-called Andi subgroup of the Avaro-Ando-Dido group of the NE Caucasian languages. The language is not written, Avar being used as the literary language.

C. D. 231 438 TRADITIONAL ECONOMY: Sheep-raising, home industry (Caucasian felt cloaks, tapestries, goldsmithing).

C. D. 795 RELIGION: Islam (Sunni).

7: Columbia U. S-4, 5 1956 RH1 Caucasia RH1
Dagestan RH8

## 11. BOTLIKH

C. D. 101 NAME: SELF-DESIGNATION: Buykhatli (gen. of Buykhe "the village B.").
RUSSIAN DESIGNATIONS: Botlikhtsy, Buiukhad.

C. D. 161 NUMBER: 1926 3,354 (Russian census, ethn.)
2,789 (Russian census, ling.)

C. D. 162 LOCATION: Just N of the bend of the Andiiskoe Koisu, SW of the Andi area (rayon Botlikh, auls Botlikh and Miarso, Dagestan ASSR).

C. D. 197 LANGUAGE: Botlikh (Buykhatli mits·i) forms with Andi, Godoberi, Karata, Bagulal, Tindi, Chamalal, and Akhvakh, the Andi subgroup of the Avaro-Ando-Dido group of the NE Caucasian languages. The language is not written, Avar being used as the literary language.

C. D. 231 241 TRADITIONAL ECONOMY: Cattle-breeding, home industry, agriculture.

C. D. 745 RELIGION: Islam (Sunni).

7: Columbia U. S-4,5 1956 RH1 Caucasia RH1 •
Dagestan RH8

## 12. GODOBERI

CD 101 NAME: SELF-DESIGNATION: Ghibditl·i adami (i.e. "people of the village Ghidu (Godoberi").
RUSSIAN DESIGNATION: Godoberi-(ntsy).

CD .161 NUMBER: 1926 1,425 (Russian census, ethn.)
1,425 (Russian census, ling.)

CD 162 LOCATION: Just NW of the bend of the Andiiskoe Koisu, W of the Botlikh area (rayon Botlikh, aul Godoberi, Dagestan ASSR).

CD 197 LANGUAGE: Godoberi (Ghibditl·i mits·i) forms with Andi, Botlikh, Karata, Bagulal, Tindi, Chamalal, and Akhvakh, the Andi subgroup of the Avaro-Ando-Dido group of the NE Caucasian languages. The language is not written, Avar being used as the literary language.

CD 231 241 TRADITIONAL ECONOMY: Cattle-breeding; home industry; agriculture.

CD 795 RELIGION: Islam (Sunni).

## 13. KARATA

C. D. 101 NAME: SELF-DESIGNATION: Kirtl•e, pl. Kirtl•ei.
RUSSIAN DESIGNATIONS: Karatintsy, Karatai, Kirdi.
OTHER DESIGNATIONS: (Avar:) K'alalal.

C. D. 161 NUMBER: 1926 5,303 (Russian census, ethn.)
5,303 (Russian census, ling.)

C. D. 162 LOCATION: Just S of the bend of the Andiiskoe Koisu (N part of rayon Akhvakh, also rayons Andalaly and Vedeno (Dagest. ASSR). (1)

C. D. 197 LANGUAGE: Karata (Kirtl•i mats'i) forms with Andi, Botlikh, Godoberi, Bagulal, Tindi, Chamalal, and Akhvakh, the Andi subgroup of the Avaro-Ando-Dido group of the NE Caucasian languages. The language is not written, Avar being used as the literary language.

SUBDIVISIONS: Dialects: Karata proper Anchikh and Tokita.

C. D. 231 241 TRADITIONAL ECONOMY: cattle-breeding, home industry, agriculture.

C. D. 795 RELIGION: Islam (Sunni).

(1) aals Karata, Archo, Anchikh, Tokita, Mashtada, Rachabalda, Chabakoro.

## 14. BAGULAL

C.A. 101 NAME: SELF-DESIGNATION: Kwantl hekua, or Bagolal.

RUSSIAN DESIGNATION: Bagulaly; Bagvalal, Bogulal.

OTHER DESIGNATIONS: due to their dual self-designation, referred to both as Bagulal and Kvanada.

C.D. 161 NUMBER: 1926 3,054 (Russian census, ethn.)
3,053 (Russian census, ling.)

C.D. 162 LOCATION: S of the bend of the Andiiskoe Koisu, S of the Karata area (rayon Tsumada, auls Khushtada, Tlondoda, Kvanada; rayon Akhvakh, auls Gimerso, Tisi, Tlibisho, Dagestan ASSR).

C.D. 197 LANGUAGE: Bagulal (Bagulazul mits') forms with Andi, Botlikh, Godoberi, Karata, Tindi, Chamalal, and Akhvakh, the Andi subgroup of the Avaro-Ando-Dido group of the NE Caucasian languages. The language is not written, Avar being used as literary language.

SUBDIVISIONS: Dialects: Bagulal proper and Tlisi.

C.D. 231 241 TRADITIONAL ECONOMY: Cattle-breeding; agriculture; home industry.

C.D. 79 RELIGION: Islam (Sunni).

7: Columbia U. S-4,5 1956 RH1 Caucasia RH1.
Dagestan RH8

## 15. TINDI

CD 101 NAME: SELF-DESIGNATION: Idaraw hekwa
RUSSIAN DESIGNATIONS: Tindii, Tindiitsy, Tindal', Inderi (ntsy), Idi.
OTHER DESIGNATIONS: (Dido:) Bogozi, pl. Bogozibi.

CD .161 NUMBER: 1926 3,812 (Russian census, ethn.)
3,704 (Russian census, ling.)
1952 5,000 (estimate Gudava)

CD 162 LOCATION: Aul Tindi, on the E tributary of the Andiiskoe Koisu which separates the Bagulal group from the Khvarshi area; (rayon Tsumada, Dagestan ASSR). (1)

CD 197 LANGUAGE: Tindi (Idara mits' ) forms with Andi, Botlikh, Godoberi, Karata, Bagulal, Chamalal and Akhvakh the Andi subgroup of the Avaro-Ando-Dido group of the NE Caucasian languages. The language is not written, Avar being used as the literary language.

CD 231 241 TRADITIONAL ECONOMY: Cattle-breeding; agriculture; home industry.

CD 795 RELIGION: Islam (Sunni)

(1) Also auls Tisi, Echeda and Akhnada (rayon Tsumada) and Qedi (rayon Vedeno)

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## 16. CHAMALAL

CD 101 NAME: SELF-DESIGNATION: according to separate villages; as opposed to other peoples: Ch'amalaldu, pl. Ch'amalaldube, collective: Ch'amalali.
RUSSIAN DESIGNATION: Chamalaly.

CD .161 NUMBER: 1926 3,438 (Russian census, ethn.)
3,438 (Russian census, ling.)

CD 162 LOCATION: On the E side of the Andiiskoe Koisu, just below the bend; auls Verkhnii Gakvari (with sub-villages), Nizhnii Gakvari (with sub-villages), Agvali, Tsumada, Tsumada-Urukh, Richaganik, Gadyri (with sub-villages), Gachitl', Gigatl' (with sub-villages), Kvankhi (Tsumada rayon, Dagestan ASSR).

CD 197 LANGUAGE: Chamalal (Ch'amalaldub mits'•) forms with Andi, Botlikh, Godoberi, Karata, Bagulal, Tindi, and Akhvakh, the Andi subgroup of the Avaro-Ando-Dido group of the NE Caucasian languages. The language is not written, Avar being used as the literary language.

SUBDIVISIONS: Dialects: 1a. Gakvari (incl. Gakvari, Agvali, Tsumada, Tsumada-Urukh, Richaganik); 1b. Gadyri (incl. Gachitl' ) and Kvankhi; 2. Gigatl' .

CD 231 438 241 TRADITIONAL ECONOMY: Cattle-breeding; home industry (Caucasian felt cloaks, goldsmithing); agriculture.

CD 795 RELIGION: Islam (Sunni).

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Dagestan RH8

## 17. AKHVAKH

C D 101 NAME: SELF-DESIGNATION: Atluatl'i.
RUSSIAN DESIGNATION: Akhvakhtsy.

C D 161 NUMBER: 1926 3,683 (Russian census, ethn.)
3,683 (Russian census, ling.)

C D 162 LOCATION: Between Avarskoe Koisu and Andiiskoe Koisu, just at their bend to the E (rayon Akhvakh: auls Izani, Kudiiab-Roso, Tad-Magitl', Lologonitl'; rayon Kakhib: auls Tlenob, Tsekob; rayon Andalaly: aul Ratlub; all in Dagestan ASSR).

C D 197 LANGUAGE: Akhvakh (Atluatl·i mits·i) forms with Andi Batlikh, Godoberi, Karata, Bagulal, Tindi, and Chamaiai, the Andi subgroup of the Avaro-Ando-Dido group of the NE Caucasian languages. The language is not written, Avar being used as the literary language.

C D 231 241 TRADITIONAL ECONOMY: Cattle-breeding; agriculture; home industry.

C D 795 RELIGION: Islam (Sunni).

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Dagestan RH8

## 18. KHVARSHI

C.D. 101 NAME: SELF-DESIGNATION: Kedaes hikwa.
RUSSIAN DESIGNATIONS: Khvarshiny, Khvarshintsy.

C.D. 161 NUMBER: 1926 1,019 (Russian census, ethn.)
1,018 (Russian census, ling.)

C.D. 162 LOCATION: On a S tributary of the Andiiskoe Koisu, SW of the Bagulal area (auls Khvarshi, Inkhokari, etc., Vedeno rayon, Dagestan ASSR).

C.D. 197 LANGUAGE: Khvarshi (Kedaes mits°, Inkhies mits°, depending on village) forms with Dido, Kapucha, Khunzal, and Ginukh, the Dido subgroup of the Avaro-Ando-Dido group of the NE Caucasian languages. The language is not written, Avar being used as the literary language.

C.D. 241 231 TRADITIONAL ECONOMY: Agriculture; cattle-breeding.

C.D. 795 RELIGION: Islam (Sunni).

7:Columbia U. S-4, 5 1956 RH1 Caucasia RH1
Dagestan RH8
Didoi

## 19. DIDO

C. D. 101 NAME: SELF-DESIGNATION: Ts'ezi, pl. Ts'ezibi

RUSSIAN DESIGNATIONS: Didoi, Didoitsy, Tsezy.

OTHER DESIGNATIONS: (Georgian:) Dido; (Kakhetian-Georgian:) Tsunt'a "ragamuffin", a name also used by the Avar and several peoples of the Andi group.

C. D. 161 NUMBER: 1926 3,276 (Russian census, ethn.)
3,198 (Russian census, ling.)

C. D. 162 LOCATION: S of the upper Andiiskoe Koisu.

C. D. 197 LANGUAGE: Dido (Ts'ezias mets') forms with Khvarshi, Kapucha, Khunzal, and Ginukh, the so-called Dido subgroup of the Avaro-Ando-Dido group of the NE Caucasian languages. The language is not written, Avar being used as the literary language.

C. D. 231 241 326 TRADITIONAL ECONOMY: Cattle-breeding; agriculture; home industry (goldsmithing).

C. D. 795 RELIGION: Islam (Sunni).

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Dagestan RH8
Khaput

## 20. KAPUCHA

C.
D.
101 NAME: SELF-DESIGNATION: Kapuchias suko or Bezhtl·as suko, depending on the village.
RUSSIAN DESIGNATIONS: Kapuchiny, Bezhitiny.

C.
D.
161 NUMBER: 1926 1,448 (Russian census, ethn.)
1,448 (Russian census, ling.)

C.
D.
162 LOCATION: Upper basin of Avarskoe Koisu (rayon Tliarata, auls Bezhity, Khocharkhota, Tliadal' Dagestan ASSR).

C.
D.
197 LANGUAGE: Kapucha (Bezhtl·alas mits·) forms with Khvarshi, Dido, Khunzal, and Ginukh, the Dido subgroup of the Avaro-Ando-Dido group of the NE Caucasian languages. The language is not written, Avar being used as the literary language.

C.
D.
231
241
326 TRADITIONAL ECONOMY: Cattle-breeding; agriculture; home industry (goldsmithing).

C.
D.
795 RELIGION: Islam (Sunni).

7: Columbia U. S-4, 5 1956 RH1 Caucasia RH1
Dagestan RH8

## 21. KHUNZAL

C. D. 101 NAME: SELF-DESIGNATION: ------
RUSSIAN DESIGNATIONS: Khunzaly, Gun(d)zaly, Nakhada.

C. D. 161 NUMBER: 1926 106 (Russian census, ethn.)
129 (Russian census, ling.)

C. D. 162 LOCATION: A[illegible] and [illegible] (with former Nakhada) (rayon Tlarata, Dagestan ASSR).

C. D. 197 LANGUAGE: Khunzal forms with Khvarshi, Dido, Kapucha, and Ginukh, the Dido subgroup of the Avaro-Ando-Dido group of the NE Caucasian languages. The language is not written, Avar being used as the literary language.

C. D. 231 241 TRADITIONAL ECONOMY: Cattle-breeding; agriculture; crafts.

C. D. 795 RELIGION: Islam (Sunni).

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Dagestan RH8

## 22. GINUKH

C.D. 101

NAME: SELF-DESIGNATION: -----
RUSSIAN DESIGNATION: Ginukhtsy

C.D. 161 NUMBER: 200 (estimate, Bokarev)

C.D. 162 LOCATION: Aul Ginukh, rayon Tliarata, (Dagestan ASSR). Majority had moved to rayon Vedeno by 1949 (village Kidero).

C.D. 197 LANGUAGE: Ginukh forms with Khvarshi, Dido, Kapuchi, and Khunzal, the Dido subgroup of the Avaro-Ando-Dido group of the NE Caucasian languages. The language is not written, Avar being used as the literary language.

C.D. 231 TRADITIONAL ECONOMY: Cattle-breeding; home industry.

C.D. 795 RELIGION: Islam (Sunni).

7:Columbia U. S-4, 5 1956 RH1 Caucasia RH1
Dagestan RH8
Archin

## 23. ARCHI

C. D. 101 NAME: SELF-DESIGNATION: Arshishuw, Arshishtuw.
RUSSIAN DESIGNATION: Archintsy.
OTHER DESIGNATIONS: (Lak:) Roch.

C. D. 161 NUMBER: 1926 863 (Russian census, ethn.)
859 (Russian census, ling.)

C. D. 162 LOCATION: Aul Ruch-Archi on the Khatar river, rayon Charoda (Dagestan ASSR).

C. D. 197 LANGUAGE: Archi (Arshatten ch'at) belongs to the Avaro-Ando-Dido group of the NE Caucasian languages; its exact position in this group is uncertain. The language is not written, Avar being used as the literary language.

C. D. 231 286 TRADITIONAL ECONOMY: Cattle-breeding; home industry (cloth and tapestry weaving).

C D 795 RELIGION: Islam (Sunni).

7:Columbia U. S-4, 5 1956 RH1 ColumbiaRH1
DagestanRH8
Lak

## 24. LAK

C.D. 101 NAME: SELF-DESIGNATION: Lak, Lakuchū
RUSSIAN DESIGNATIONS: Laki, Kazikumukhtsy.
OTHER DESIGNATIONS: (Avar:) Tumaw, pl. Tumal; Lezgian: Yakholshu

C.D. 161 NUMBER: 1926 40,380 (Russian census, ethn.)
40,336 (Russian census, ling.)
1955 well over 55,000 (estimate, Zhirkov).

C.D. 162 LOCATION: Basin of the upper Tleuserakh, Khatar, and Kazikumukhskoe Koisu (rayons Lak and Kula, separate villages in rayons Tsudakhar, Akusha, Rutul, Kurakh, Charoda, and Dakhadaev). Since 1944 also in the valley of Yaryksu river (Novo-Lak rayon, Dagestan ASSR).

C.D. 197 LANGUAGE: Lak (lakū maz) forms with the Dargwa group of languages the Lak-Dargwa subdivision of the NE Caucasian languages, which include also Veinakh, Avaro-Ando-Dido, Samurian, Khinalug, and Udi. Lak has the status of a literary language in the Dagestan ASSR; the written language is based on the Kumukh dialect.

C.D. 231 241 438 TRADITIONAL ECONOMY: Cattle-breeding; production of leather goods and pottery; metal-work (weapons); agriculture.

C.D. 795 RELIGION: Islam (Sunni).

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Dagestan RH8
Dargin

## 25. DARGWA

CD 101 NAME: SELF-DESIGNATION: No general one (the term "Dargwa" refers originally to a type of political-administrative unit); according to villages: Ts'udq'ran, pl. Ts'udq'ur "person from Tsudakhar", Khurq'an, pl. Khuruq' "person from Khiurkila", etc.

RUSSIAN DESIGNATIONS: Darginy, Dargintsy; language also Khiurkilinskii iazyk.

OTHER DESIGNATIONS: (German:) for the language: Hürkanisch.

CD 161 NUMBER: 1897 130,209 (Russian census)
108,963 (Russian census, ethn.)
107,645 (Russian census, ling.)

The 1897 figure probably includes Kubachi and Kaitak.

CD 162 LOCATION: In the lower mountains between the rivers Kazikumukhskoe Koisu and Ullachai (rayons Sergokala, Akusha, Dakhadaev, Shuragat, Tsudakhar, most of Levashi; separate villages in rayons Karabudakhkent (Gubden, Gurbuki), Buinak (Kadar, Karamakhi, Chankurby), Gunib (Miamusi), Agul (Amukh, Chirakh), Dagestan ASSR).

CD 197 LANGUAGE: Dargwa forms with the closely related Kubachi and Kaitak the so-called Dargwa subgroup of the Lak-Dargwa group of the NE Caucasian languages. It has the status of literary language in the Dagestan ASSR; the written language is based on the Akusha dialect (Aq'usha midz).

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## 26. KAITAK

C. D. 101 NAME: SELF-DESIGNATION: Khaidaqlan, plur. Khaidaq.
RUSSIAN DESIGNATION: Khaidaki, Kaitagi, Kaitaki.

C. D. 161 NUMBER: 1926 14,430 (Russian census, ethn.)
14,469 (Russian census, ling.)

C. D. 162 LOCATION: Basin of Ulla-Chai, between the Dargwa and the Tabasaran areas (rayon Kaitak, S part of rayon Dakhadaev, Dagestan ASSR).

C. D. 197 LANGUAGE: Kaitak forms with the closely related Dargwa and Kubachi the so-called Dargwa subgroup of the Lak-Dargwa group of the NE Caucasian languages. The language is not written, Dargwa being used as the literary language.

C. D. 231 241 TRADITIONAL ECONOMY: Cattle-breeding; agriculture; home industry.

C. D. 795 RELIGION: Islam (Sunni).

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Dagestan RH8

## 27. KUBACHI

C. D. 101 NAME: SELF-DESIGNATION: Ughbug.
RUSSIAN DESIGNATION: Kubachintsy.

C. D. 161 NUMBER: 1926 2,322 (Russian cens., ethn.)
2,470 (Russian cens., ling.)

C. D. 162 LOCATION: Aul Kubachi (rayon Dakhadaev, Dagestan ASSR).

C. D. 197 LANGUAGE: Kubachi (Ughbughan hub) forms with the closely related Dargwa and Kaitak the Dargwa subgroup of the Lak-Dargwa group of the NE Caucasian languages. The language is not written, Dargwa being used as a literary language.

C. D. 231 326 TRADITIONAL ECONOMY: Cattle-breeding; goldsmithing; incrustation work.

C. D. 795 RELIGION: Islam (Sunni).

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Dagestan RH8
Lezgin

## 28. LEZGIANS

C. D. 101 NAME: SELF-DESIGNATION: Lezgí, pl. Lezgiar.

ENGLISH VARIANTS: Lezg(h)i, Lezg(h)ians.

RUSSIAN DESIGNATIONS: Lezginy, Kiurintsy, for the language: Kiurinskii iazyk. (The name Lezginy has often been used to refer to the Dagestan mountaineers in general.)

OTHER DESIGNATIONS: (Georgian:) Lek'i (in a wider sense referring to the Dagestan mountaineers in general); (German:) for the language: Kürinisch.

C. D. 161 NUMBER:

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 1897 | 159,213 | (Russian census) |
| 1926 | 134,529 | (Russian census, ethn.) |
| | 164,763 | (Russian census, ling.) |

C. D. 162 LOCATION: Basins of Gyulgeri-chai, middle and lower Samur and Shakh-Nabad rivers, i.e. the whole SE part of Dagestan and the adjoining part of N Azerbaidzhan. (Dagestan ASSR; Azerbaidzhan SSR).

C. D. 197 LANGUAGE: Lezgian (Lezgi ch'al) forms with Agul, Rutul, Tsakhur, Tabasaran, Budukh, and Dzhek, the Samurian subdivision of the NE Caucasian language group. It has the status of a literary language in the Dagestan ASSR; the written language is based on the Kiuri dialect.

SUBDIVISIONS: Three basic dialects: Kiuri, Akhty, Kuba.

## 29. AGUL

C. D. 101 NAME: SELF-DESIGNATION: Aghul, Aghulshuy
RUSSIAN DESIGNATION: Aguly

C. D. 161 NUMBER: 1926 7,653 (Russian census, ethn.)
7,653 (Russian census, ling.)

C. D. 162 LOCATION: Basin of upper Kurakh-chai and Gyulgeri-chai (Magudere), with affluents (rayons Agul and Kurakh, Dagestan ASSR).

C. D. 197 LANGUAGE: Agul (Aghul ch'al, Aghularin ch'al) forms with Lezgian, Rutul, Tsakhur, Tabasaran, Budukh, and Dzhek, the Samurian subdivision of the NE Caucasian language group. The language is not written, Lezgian being used as the literary language.

SUBDIVISIONS: Two dialects: Agul proper and Koshan.

C. D. 231 438 TRADITIONAL ECONOMY: Cattle breeding; home industry (production of cloth, tapestries, felt cloaks).

C. D. 795 RELIGION: Islam (Sunni).

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## 30. RUTUL

C. D. 101 NAME: SELF-DESIGNATION: no general one; the inhabitants of the aul Rutul (Mykhád) call themselves Mykháshura.
RUSSIAN DESIGNATION: Rutuly, Rutul'tsy.

C. D. 161 NUMBER: 1926 10,495 (Russian census, ethn.)
10, 356 (Russian census, ling.)

C. D. 162 LOCATION: Area of confluence of Samur and Kara-Samur (18 villages) (Rutul rayon; vill. Khnov in Akhty rayon (Dagestan ASSR); Shin and Kainar in Nukha rayon, Azerbaidzhan SSR).

C. D. 197 LANGUAGE: Rutul (Mykhánidy ch'äl) forms with Lezghian, Agul, Tsakhur, Tabasaran, Budukh, and Dzhek, the Samurian subdivision of the NE Caucasian language-group. The language is not written, Lezgian being used as the literary language.

C. D. 231 438 TRADITIONAL ECONOMY: Cattle-breeding; home industry (production of cloth, tapestries, felt cloaks).

C. D. 795 RELIGION: Islam (Sunni).

## 31. TSAKHUR

C. D. 101 NAME: SELF-DESIGNATION: No general one; inhabitants of aul Tsakhur (Ts'akhur) call themselves Ts'akhighan, pl. Ts'akhby.
RUSSIAN DESIGNATION: Tsakhury.

C. D. 181 NUMBER: 1926 19,085 (Russian census, ethn.)
10,951 (Russian census, ling.)

C. D. 162 LOCATION: Samur basin W of its confluence with the Kara-Samur (Tsakhur rayon, Dagestan ASSR); also on the S slopes of the Caucasus in the area of Elisu (Azerbaidzhan SSR).

C. D. 197 LANGUAGE: Tsakhur (Ts'akhbishda miz) forms with Lezgian, Agul, Rutul, Tabasaran, Budukh, and Dzhek, the Samurian subdivision of the NE Caucasian language-group. The language is not written, Avar being used as the literary language in the Daghestan ASSR, Azeri in the Azerbaidzhan SSR.

C. D. 231 438 TRADITIONAL ECONOMY: Cattle-breeding; home industry (production of cloth, tapestries, felt cloaks).

C. D. 795 RELIGION: Islam (Sunni).

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## 32. TABASARAN

C. D. 101 NAME: SELF-DESIGNATION: Tabasaran zhvi, Tabarasan zhvi, Ghumghum zhvi.
RUSSIAN DESIGNATION: Tabasarantsy.

C. D. 161 NUMBER: 1926 31,983 (Russian census, ethn.)
29,726 (Russian census, ling.)

C. D. 162 LOCATION: Basin of Upper Rubas-chai and Upper Chirakh-chai (rayons Tabasaran and Khiv, Dagestan ASSR).

C. D. 197 LANGUAGE: Tabasaran (Tabasaran ch'al) forms with Lezgian, Agul, Rutul, Tsakhur, Budukh, and Dzhek, the Samurian subdivision of the NE Caucasian language-group. It has the status of a literary language in the Daghestan ASSR; the written language is based on the southern dialect.

SUBDIVISIONS: The language has two main dialects: North (Khanag) and South Tabasaran.

C. D. 241 438 TRADITIONAL ECONOMY: Agriculture; horticulture; home industry (weapon- and tool-making, silversmith's and coppersmith's work, tapestry-weaving).

C. D. 495 RELIGION: Islam (Sunni).

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## 33. BUDUKH

C.
D.
101 NAME: SELF-DESIGNATION: ----
RUSSIAN DESIGNATION: Budukhi, Budugi

C.
D.
161 NUMBER: 1926 1 (Russian census, ethn.)
1,995 (Russian census, ling.)

C.
D.
162 LOCATION: Mt. Shakhdag area, in the upper basin of the Kara-chai (Konakhkend rayon, Azerb. SSR).

C.
D.
197 LANGUAGE: Budukh forms, with Lezgian, Agul, Rutul, Tsakhur, Tabasaran, and Dzhek, the Samurian subdivision of the NE Caucasian language-group. The language is not written, Azeri being used as the literary language.

C.
D.
231
241 TRADITIONAL ECONOMY: Cattle-breeding; horticulture.

C.
D.
795 RELIGION: Islam (Sunni).

## 34. DZHEK

C.D. 101 NAME: SELF-DESIGNATION: -----
RUSSIAN DESIGNATION: According to villages; Dzheki, Kryzy, Khaputtsy, (Gaputlintsy, Khaputlintsy).

C.D. ●161 NUMBER: 1926 Dzhek 590 Kryz 5 Khaput 12 (Russian census, ethn.)
All three groups together: 4,348 (Russ. census, ling.)

C.D. 162 LOCATION: Mt. Shakhdag area, in the basin of the upper right arm of the Kudial-chai (Konakhkend rayon, Azerbaidzhan SSR). Also daughter-settlements near the Caspian coast in the Khachmas area (Azerbaidzhan SSR).

C.D. 197 LANGUAGE: The Dzhek language forms with Lezgian, Agul, Rutul, Tsakhur, Tabasaran, and Budukh, the Samurian subdivision of the NE Caucasian languages. The language is not written, Azeri being used as the literary language.

SUBDIVISIONS: According to villages: Dzhek, Kryz, Khaput.

C.D. 231 241 TRADITIONAL ECONOMY: Cattle-breeding; agriculture; horticulture.

C.D. 795 RELIGION: Islam (Sunni).

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## 35. KHINALUG

C. D. 101 NAME: SELF-DESIGNATION: -----
RUSSIAN DESIGNATION: Khinalugi.

C. D. 161 NUMBER: 1926 105 (Russian census, ethn.)
1,540 (Russian census, ling.)

C. D. 162 LOCATION: Shakhdag area, aul Khinalug (Khynalyk) on the upper right arm of the Kudial-chai (rayon Konakhkend, Azerbaidzhan SSR).

C. D. 197 LANGUAGE: Khinalug (Kättidmits) is a member of the NE Caucasian language-group to which there belong further the Veinakh, Avaro-Ando-Dido, Lak-Dargwa, and Samurian groups, and the Udi language. Khinalug is not written, Azeri being used as the literary language.

C. D. 231 TRADITIONAL ECONOMY: Cattle-breeding.

C. D. 795 RELIGION: Islam (Sunni).

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## 36. UDI

C.D. 101 NAME: SELF-DESIGNATION: Udi, Uti.
RUSSIAN DESIGNATION: Udiny.

C.D. 161 NUMBER: 1897 7,100 (Russian census)
1926 2,455 (Russian census, ethn.)
2,762 (Russian census, ling.)

C.D. 162 LOCATION: Villages Vartashen and Nidzh (rayons Vartashen and Kutkashen, Azerbaidzhan SSR), Oktomberi (Georgian SSR).

C.D. 197 LANGUAGE: Udi (Udi muz) is a member of the NE Caucasian language-group, to which there belong further the Veinakh, Avaro-Ando-Dido, Lak-Dargwa, and Samurian groups, and the Khinalug language. Though Udi was written before the revolution, it does not have the status of literary language, this function being fulfilled by Azeri.

C.D. 241 231 TRADITIONAL ECONOMY: Agriculture; cattle-breeding.

C.D. 795 RELIGION: Eastern Orthodox, Armenian-Gregorian.

## 37. ARMENIANS

101 NAME: SELF-DESIGNATION: Hai, Pl. Haik.
RUSSIAN DESIGNATION: Armiane
OTHER DESIGNATIONS: (Georgian:) Somekhi; (Turkish:) Ermeni.

161 NUMBER: 1897 1,173,096 (Russian census)
1926 1,567,568 (Russian census, ethn.)
1,475,250 (Russian census, ling.)
1939 2,151,884 (Russian cenus)

162 Distribution: Main concentration in USSR (over 40 per cent of the Armenians in the USSR live outside the Armenian political units of the latter); Turkey: 61,000 (1950; Turkish census); Syria: 118,537 (1943; official estimate); Iran (number unknown); other countries of Near East (number unknown); People's Democracies: 80,000 (1949; estimate Bol'shaia Sovetskaia Éntsiklopediia); France: 70,000 (1952, estimate "Les langues du monde"); USA: 175,000 (1952, same source). Total number of Armenians 3,400,000 (estimate, same source).

LOCATION: S Transcaucasia, in the area of the upper Kura, Lake Sevan, the middle Araks and on the E slopes of the Karabakh Mts. (Armenian SSR; High Karabakh AO); scattered groups throughout the Caucasus and in S Russia, mainly in the cities. Outside USSR: Turkey (mainly Istanbul; Syria; Iran (mainly Teheran and Isfahan (Dzhulfa)); other countries of Near East; France; USA.

## 38. OSSETES

101 NAME: SELF-DESIGNATION; no general one, according to tribes: Ir (collective), Iron (sing.), Irättä (pl.); Dygur, Digor (coll.), Dyguron, Digoron (sing.); Tuallag (sing.), Tuallägtä (pl.).
ENGLISH VARIANTS: Ossetes; for the language: Ossetian, Ossetic.
RUSSIAN DESIGNATIONS: Osety, Osetiny.
OTHER DESIGNATIONS: (Georgian:) Osi; (German:) Ossen, Osseten.

161 NUMBER: 1897 171,716 (Russian census)
1926 272,272 (Russian census, ethn.)
267,019 (Russian census, ling.)
1939 354,500 (Russian census)

162 LOCATION: In the central Caucasus on both sides of the main chain, in the N along the upper Terek and its affluents on the left (Gizel'don, Ardon, Urukh) (North-Ossetian ASSR), in the S in the immediately adjoining part of the Georgian SSR (South-Ossetian AO), smaller groups also farther to the S, extending beyond the Kura river.

197 LANGUAGE: Ossetian (Iron ävzag) is a member of the Eastern (in older terminology, Northern) subdivision of the Iranian branch of the Indo-European language-family, to which branch belong also Persian, and, in the Caucasus, Tat, Talysh, and Kurdish. Ossetian has the

## 39. TALYSH

101 NAME: SELF-DESIGNATION: Tolysh.
ENGLISH VARIANTS: Talysh, Talish.
RUSSIAN DESIGNATIONS: Talyshi, Talyshintsy.

•161 NUMBER: 1897 35,291 (Russian census)
1926 77,323 (Russian census, ethn.)
80,629 (Russian census, ling.)
1931 89,398 (Azerb. upravl. nar.-khoz. ucheta.)
In Iran: 50,000 (estimate, B. V. Miller)

162 LOCATION: Along Caspian coast S of the River Viliazh-chai (rayons Lenkoran', Zuvand, Astara, and part of Massala, Azerbaidzhan SSR), extending into Persian territory up to Kepri-chal.

197 LANGUAGE: Talysh (Tolysha zyvon), like Tat, is a member of the NW subdivision of the Iranian branch of the Indo-European language-family, to which branch also belong Persian, and, in the Caucasus, Ossetian and Kurdish. The Talysh in the USSR are all bilingual and speak also Azeri, which is used as the literary language.

241 231 TRADITIONAL ECONOMY: Agriculture; horticulture; stock-raising; home industry.

795 RELIGION: Islam (Shii).

## 40. TAT

101 NAME: SELF-DESIGNATION: Tat.
ENGLISH VARIANTS: Tat; for the Jewish Tat: Mountain Jews, Judeo-Tats.
RUSSIAN DESIGNATIONS: Taty; for the Jewish Tat: Gorskie evrei.
OTHER DESIGNATIONS: (Turkish, for the Jewish Tat:) Dagh Chufuti; (German, for the Jewish Tat:) Bergjuden.

161 NUMBER: 1897 95,056 (Russian census)
1926 28,705 (Muslim Tat)(Russian census, ethn.)
21,471 (Jewish Tat)(Russian census, ethn.)
86,088 (Russian census, ling.)

162 LOCATION: On both slopes of the Eastern extension of the main Caucasian chain and on the Apsheron peninsula, in the coastal zone of the Caspian Sea between Apsheron and Kuba, SE of Kuba and NW of Shemakha (Azerbaidzhan SSR; Dagestan ASSR). The Jewish Tat are concentrated in the Area of Kuba, Derbent and Buinaksk; other settlements in the Groznyi and Nal'chik area and on the Kuban'.

197 LANGUAGE: Tat(zuhun Tāti), like Talysh, is a member of the NW subdivision of the Iranian branch of the Indo-European language-family to which branch also

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## 41. KURDS

101 NAME: SELF-DESIGNATION: Kurd
RUSSIAN DESIGNATION: Kurdy

• 161 NUMBER:

Kurd
1897 99,949 (Russian census)
1926 54,661 (Russ. cens., ethn.)
34,162 (Russ. cens., ling.)
1939 45,866 (Russian census)

Yezid (See under "Religion")
1897 14,726 (Russian census)
1926 14,523 (Russian census)

162 Distribution: Iran 1,500,000 to 2,000,000 (1950 estimate, Menges); Turkey 1,841,000 (1950 Turkish census); Iraq 800,000 (1947 estimate, Hourani); Syria 100,000 (1947 estimate, Hourani), 100,000 to 200,000 (estimate, Royal Inst. of Intern. Affairs); Afghanistan, Pakistan (numbers unknown); total 5,000,000 (estimate, Les langues du monde).

LOCATION: Southern Transcaucasia, in scattered groups, especially in the Armenian SSR and the SW part of the Azerbaidzhan SSR. There are also a small number of Kurds in the Turkmen SSR. (Scattered in Iran, especially the N frontier region; SE Turkey, NE Iraq.)

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## 42. AZERI TURKS

101 NAME: SELF-DESIGNATION: Türkler, Azerbayjanlilar; also tribal names (Shahsevenler, etc.).

ENGLISH VARIANTS: Turks, Azeri Tatars, Turks of Azerbaijan, Tatars of Azerbaijan, Azerbaijan Turks, Azerbaijanians.

RUSSIAN DESIGNATIONS: Tiurki, Azerbaidzhantsy, Azerbaidzhanskie Tiurki.

TURKISH DESIGNATIONS: Türkler, Azeri Türkleri, Azerbaycan Türkleri; also tribal names (Şahsevenler, etc.).

161 NUMBER: USSR

1897 1,506,540 (Russian census)
1926 1,706,605 (Russ. cens. ethn)
1,751,965 (Russ. cens. ling.)
1939 2,274,805 (Russian census)

Persia

Mid-thirties: 2,500,000 (estimate; Németh)
1950: 3,000,000 (estimate; Kazemzadeh)

Iraq

1950 over 100,000 (estimate; Halasi-Kun)

Distribution:

162 USSR: ca. 45 per cent
Persia: ca. 52 per cent
Iraq: ca. 3 per cent

## 43. TURKOMANS

101 NAME: SELF-DESIGNATION: Türkmenler.

ENGLISH VARIANTS: Turkmens, Turkmans, Turkomans of Stavropol', Trukhmens.

RUSSIAN DESIGNATIONS: Trukhmeny, Turkmeny.

TURKISH DESIGNATION: Türkmenler.

161 NUMBER: USSR:

Northern Caucasus, 1926: 8,000, (estimate, Russ. cens.)

USSR:
(with Northern Caucasus:)
1897 281,351 (Russian census)
1926 763,940 (Russ. cens. ethn.)
745,859 (Russ. cens. ling.)
1939 811,769 (Russian census)

Afghanistan:
1939 200,000 (estimate, Jarring)

Persia:
1955 over 500,000 (estimate, Halasi-Kun)

162 Main concentration in Central Asia; only a small group in the Caucasus.

LOCATION: Geographical: Northern Caucasus: Stavropol' upland (southward from Manych Canal between the Kuma and Yegorlyk rivers); in SW Central Asia.

## 44. KARAPAPAK

101 NAME: SELF-DESIGNATION: ----
RUSSIAN DESIGNATION: Karapapakhi
TURKISH DESIGNATION: Karapapaklar

• 161 NUMBER: USSR
1926 6,316 (Russian cens., ethn.)
6,311 (Russian cens., ling.)

Persia
mid-twenties: 15,000 (estimate, Mirza Bala)

162 Distribution:
USSR ca. 30 per cent
Persia ca. 70 per cent

LOCATION: Geographical: Transcaucasia: the area between the Kura and Arpachai rivers. Persia: the area around Sulduz on Lake Urmia.
Political-Administrative:
USSR: Akhalkalaki Uezd of the Georgian SSR, Leninakan Uezd of the Armenian SSR. Persia: Province of Azerbaijan.

197 LANGUAGE: Karapapak; belongs with Kipchak Turkic substrata to the Western Oghuz Turkic group, and differs very little from Azeri Turkic, Turkish, and Kashkay-Hamse (in the Georgian SSR it is often confused with Azeri Turkic (Azeri of Borchalino and Azeri of Akhalkalaki), whereas in Turkey it has been absorbed into Turkish and is no longer spoken)

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Kumik

## 45. KUMUK

101 NAME: SELF-DESIGNATION: Kumuklar
ENGLISH VARIANTS: Kumyk
RUSSIAN DESIGNATION: Kumyki
TURKISH DESIGNATION: Kumuklar

161 NUMBER: 1926 94,549 (Russian cens. ethn.)
94,909 (Russian cens. ling.)

162 LOCATION: Geographical: The northeastern slopes of the Greater Caucasus along the Aksai, Sulak, Shura, and Gubden rivers, and along the Caspian coast from Adzhi-Su to Derbent.

Political-Administrative: Dagestan ASSR (Makhachkala, Buynaksk, Izberbash, and Derbent okrugs), Groznyi Oblast (southern parts of the former Kizliar Okrug).

197 LANGUAGE: Kumuk; belongs to the Kipchak Turkic group, together with Crimean Turkic, Karachay, Balkar, Noghay, Kazan Turkic, Kazak, etc.); literary language since the 19th century; lingua franca in Dagestan ASSR northward from Derbent.

241 231 226 TRADITIONAL ECONOMY: Agriculture; cattle-breeding; fishing.

795 RELIGION: Islam (Sunni).

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## 46. NOGHAY

101 NAME: SELF-DESIGNATION: Noghaylar
RUSSIAN DESIGNATION: Nogaitsy
TURKISH DESIGNATION: Noğaylar

161 NUMBER:

USSR

Groznyi Oblast, 25,000 (1950 estimate, Jyrkänkallio)

Astrakhan Oblast (rayons along the Kuma) (unknown)

Cherkes Autonomous Oblast, 15,000 (1939 estimate, Shabad)

Astrakhan Oblast (rayons along the Volga) (unknown)

Crimean SSR (before 1945) (unknown)

Bulgaria

Dobruja 30,000 (1950 estimate, Jyrkänkallio)

162 Distribution: USSR: Groznyi Oblast, Astrakhan Oblast (rayons along the Kuma and Volga rivers), Cherkes AO; Crimean SSR (before 1945); Bulgaria: Dobruja.

LOCATION: Geographical: USSR: Northern Caucasus: between the Kuma and Terek rivers and northwards from the Kuma River; on the Zelenchuk River

## 47. KARACHAY

101 NAME: SELF-DESIGNATION: Karachayla
RUSSIAN DESIGNATION: Karachaitsy,
TURKISH DESIGNATION: Karaçaylar

161 NUMBER: 1897 27,233 (Russian census)
1926 55,123 (Russian census, ethn.)
55,349 (Russian census, ling.)
1939 75,737 (Russian census)

162 Distribution: Deported from the Caucasus in 1943. Present location unknown.

LOCATION: Geographical: Before 1943, on the northern slopes of the Greater Caucasus along the headwaters of the Kuban', Teberda, Zelenchuk, Laba, and Podkumok rivers.

Political-Administrative: Before 1943: Karachai AO.

197 LANGUAGE: Karachay; belongs to the Kipchak Turkic language group (which includes Crimean Turkic, Kumuk, Noghay, Kazan Turkic, Kazak, etc.), and is almost identical with Balkar; as a literary language, a common Karachay-Balkar language was used which was created in the Soviet period.

231 241 TRADITIONAL ECONOMY: Cattle-breeding; agriculture; handicrafts.

795 RELIGION: Islam (Sunni).

## 48. BALKAR

101 NAME: SELF-DESIGNATION: Malkarla
RUSSIAN DESIGNATION: Balkary
TURKISH DESIGNATIONS: Malkarlar, Balkarlar.

161 NUMBER: 1897 34,232 (Russian census)
1926 33,307 (Russian census, ethn.)
33,276 (Russian census, ling.)
1939 42,666 (Russian census)

162 Distribution: Deported from the Caucasus in 1943, present location unknown.

LOCATION: Georgraphical: Before 1943, on the northern slopes of the Greater Caucasus along the upper course of the Baksan, Chegem, and Cherek rivers.
Political-Administrative: Before 1943: Kabardino-Balkar Autonomous SSR (Balkar rayon).

197 LANGUAGE: Balkar; belongs to the Kipchak Turkic language group, along with Crimean Turkic, Kumuk, Noghay, Kazan Turkic, Kazak etc.) and is almost identical with Karachay; as a literary language, a common Karachay-Balkar language was used, which was created in the Soviet period.

231 241 TRADITIONAL ECONOMY: Cattle-breeding and some agriculture.

795 RELIGION: Islam (Sunni).

## 49. KALMYK

101 NAME: SELF-DESIGNATION: Kal'imaq, Oirot, Öirüt ("the Confederate"), Dürwün Öirüt ("The Four Oirot").
ENGLISH VARIANTS: Kalmuck, Kalmyk, Kalmack (also with initial C).
RUSSIAN DESIGNATION: Kalmyki, for the language: Kalmytskii iazyk.
OTHER DESIGNATIONS: (various Turkic languages:) Qalmaq, Qalmyq.

161 NUMBER: 1897 190,480 (Russian census)
1926 129,321 (Russian census, ethn.)
130,997 (Russian census, ling.)
1939 134,327 (Russian census)

162 Distribution: Deported from the Caucasus (1943), present location of this group unknown. Additional groups: the Sarat-Kalmyk in the Kirgiz SSR (2,773, Russian census, ethn., 1926); in the Mongolian People's Republic ca. 60,000 (estimate, Benzing); in China (number unknown); also emigrant groups elsewhere (USA ca. 3,000).

LOCATION: The largest group lived until 1943 in the Lower Volga area in the now abrogated Kalmyk ASSR. The Sart-Kalmyk live near Lake Issyk-kul' in the Tien Shan Mts. (Kirgiz SSR). Outside the USSR there are scattered groups of Kalmyk in a giant semicircle all around the E Mongolian area (Dzungaria, NW Tibet,

## 50. AISOR

101 NAME: SELF-DESIGNATION: Surai
ENGLISH VARIANTS: Chald(a)eans, Syrochald(a)eans, Assyrians.
RUSSIAN DESIGNATIONS: Aisory, Assiriitsy, Assuriitsy.
OTHER DISIGNATIONS: (Georgian:) Kaldeveli.

161 NUMBER: 1897 5,353 (Russian census)
1926 9,808 (Russian census, ethn.)
15,476 (Russian census, ling.)
1939 20,200 (Russian census)

162 LOCATION: Concentrated near Erevan', also scattered in other regions of Transcaucasia. Outside USSR: Iraq (esp. in Tur Abdin) and NW Iran.

197 LANGUAGE: Aisor is a New-Syrian dialect, belonging to the Aramaic subdivision of the Semitic language-family. Aisor has the status of a literary language in the USSR.

241 231 TRADITIONAL ECONOMY: Agriculture; cattle-breeding; crafts.

795 RELIGION: Nestorian and Jacobite Christian.

3: Anonymous U-4 (no date) 1920 RH1 Caucasia RH1



coast north of Derbent, are closely akin to the Azarbaijan Tatars. The *Turks* or *Osmanli* live chiefly in the Provinces of Kars and Batum. In the Province of Kars there are a few *Turcomans*.

To sum up for Transcaucasia, it may be said that the four important peoples are the Russians, Georgians, Armenians, and Tatars. It is upon these peoples and their mutual relations that the future of the country depends.

The official census of 1897 gave statistics of the various peoples in Transcaucasia. Though with regard to the more remote tribes these figures are only approximate, they are the best available and have served as a basis for all subsequent estimates. The distribution of the various peoples is shown in the following table:

GOVERNMENTS AND PROVINCES[1]

| | *Baku.* | *Daghestan.* | *Elisavetopol.* | *Kars.* | *Kutais.* | *Tiflis.* | *Chernomoria.* | *Erivan.* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Abkhasians | 2 | 28 | — | 7 | 59,469 | 46 | 2 | — |
| Armenians | 52,233 | 1,636 | 292,188 | 73,406 | 24,043 | 196,189 | 6,285 | 441,000 |
| Chechens | 10 | 757 | 13 | 63 | 46 | 2,207 | 5 | 3 |
| Cherkess | 18 | 37 | 10 | 71 | 165 | — | 1,939 | 1 |
| Czechs | 149 | 19 | 25 | 11 | 167 | 245 | 1,290 | 36 |
| Georgians | 1,616 | 375 | 1,239 | 526 | 343,929 | 465,537 | 976 | 566 |
| Germans | 3,430 | 261 | 3,194 | 430 | 1,065 | 8,340 | 748 | 210 |
| Greeks | 278 | 38 | 558 | 32,593 | 14,482 | 27,118 | 5,969 | 1,323 |
| Imeretians | 23 | 20 | 119 | 7 | 270,513 | 1,546 | 158 | 9 |
| Jews | 8,172 | 7,361 | 185 | 1,138 | 7,006 | 5,188 | 990 | 850 |
| Kabards | 23 | 31 | — | 19 | 7 | 14 | — | — |
| Karachais | — | 4 | 29 | 6 | 16 | 67 | — | 3 |
| Kumyks | 26 | 51,209 | 2 | 21 | 24 | 25 | 3 | 5 |
| Kurds | 8 | 22 | 3,042 | 42,968 | 1,824 | 2,538 | 22 | 49,389 |
| Lesghians | 62,972 | 450,912 | 22,601 | 524 | 446 | 43,094 | 72 | 124 |
| Lithuanians | 272 | 520 | 116 | 892 | 450 | 1,263 | 47 | 384 |
| Mingrelians | 39 | 10 | 37 | 10 | 238,655 | 498 | 304 | 13 |
| Moldavians | 48 | 66 | 105 | 46 | 197 | 198 | 923 | 29 |
| Nogai | — | 1,909 | — | 1 | — | 18 | — | 12 |
| Osmanli | 1,255 | 18 | 9 | 63,547 | 46,665 | 24,722 | 650 | 245 |
| Ossetes | 113 | 113 | 96 | 520 | 4,240 | 67,268 | 12 | 112 |
| Persians | 5,973 | 1,720 | 338 | 568 | 1,022 | 1,991 | 210 | 235 |
| Poles | 1,439 | 1,630 | 616 | 3,243 | 1,938 | 6,282 | 731 | 1,385 |
| Russians | 77,681 | 16,044 | 17,875 | 27,856 | 23,443 | 85,772 | 34,546 | 13,937 |
| Tatars | 485,146 | 32,148 | 534,086 | 2,347 | 750 | 107,383 | 291 | 313,176 |
| Tates | 89,519 | 2,998 | 1,753 | 6 | 34 | 16 | 2 | 709 |
| Turcomans | 74 | 9 | 4 | 8,442 | 8 | 12 | — | 1 |

[1] The Province of Batum and the District of Sukhum are included in the Government of Kutais. The District of Zakatali is included in the Government of Tiflis.

3: Anonymous U-4 (no date) 1920 RH1 Caucasia RH1



563 It will be seen from the above figures that Russians
162 form a majority in Chernomoria only, while the Armenians form a large majority in the Government of Erivan and the Province of Kars, the Georgians in the Governments of Kutais and Tiflis, the Tatars in the Governments of Baku and Elisavetopol, and the Lesghians in Daghestan.

## (6) Population.

### *Distribution and Density*

161 The Russian official census of 1897 gave the total population of Transcaucasia as about 5,565,000. Since then various estimates have been made, based upon this census and the yearly increase of the population so far as it could be ascertained.

*The Statesman's Year Book* for 1918 gives the following statistics (approximate) for the population on January 1, 1915:

| *Area.* | *Population.* | *Density per Square Mile.* |
|---|---|---|
| Baku | 1,119,600 | 75 |
| Batum | 186,000 | 69 |
| Chernomoria | 201,800 | 63 |
| Daghestan | 732,600 | 54 |
| Elisavetopol | 1,117,200 | 66 |
| Erivan | 1,034,800 | 96 |
| Kars | 403,000 | 56 |
| Kutais | 1,070,300 | 130 |
| Sukhum | 147,600 | 58 |
| Tiflis | 1,394,800 | 88 |
| Zakatali | 101,800 | 66 |
| Total | 7,509,500 | 79 |

From this it will be seen that the population is densest in the Governments of Kutais, Erivan, and Tiflis, where the soil is richest and agriculture is the general occupation. The density of the population in the Government of Baku is largely due to the existence of the oil-fields.

### *Towns*

361 *Tiflis* (population in 1913, 327,800) is the capital of
161 Caucasia and the largest town. Next in size is *Baku*

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In the 'black earth' steppes of Ciscaucasia the maxi- 132
mum rainfall is at the beginning of summer; on the eastern steppes, which extend along the Caspian Sea, the maximum is reached in March.

### (4) Sanitary Conditions

The science of hygiene is unknown in Caucasian villages, 758
and medical aid is absent or inaccessible in country dis- 164
tricts. Malaria is the characteristic disease of Caucasia, but small-pox, scarlet fever, measles, dysentery, typhus, and pneumonia are prevalent and cause many deaths.

In the fashionable health resorts, such as Kislovodsk, 529
Jelieźnovodsk and Pyatigozsk, there are very up-to-date sanatoria established on the latest German lines, to which people come from all parts of Russia to take the waters and the cure.

### (5) Race and Language

Russians form 34 per cent. of the people of Ciscau- 162
casia, and in the Government of Stavropol amount to 90 per cent. In the Province of Kuban 109 per 1,000 are Cossacks; in Terek the proportion is 179 per 1,000. Tatars live in the east and south-east, where they form 19·3 per cent. of the inhabitants. The remainder consists of Kalmucks, Turcomans, Nogai-Tatars, Armenians, Georgians, Germans, Poles, &c. (See also p. 8.)

### (6) Population

The population of the three Ciscaucasian provinces on January 1, 1913, was 5,470,600, distributed as follows:

| | *Rural Population.* | *Urban Population.* | *Total.* |
|---|---|---|---|
| Kuban . . | 2,667,000 | 244,800 | 2,911,800 |
| Stavropol . | 1,232,400 | 79,700 | 1,312,100 |
| Terek . . | 1,015,100 | 231,600 | 1,246,700 |

*Towns*

*Ekaterinodar* (population in 1897, 65,697, now about 161
107,000), the capital of the Province of Kuban, is 361

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## ETHNOLOGICAL AREAS

### Russians and Ukrainians; Cossacks; Turks

162 The different geographical landscapes which may be distinguished in the Caucasus -- the North Caucasian plains, the high mountain regions of the Great Caucasus and its valleys, the large Trans-Caucasian valley, and the Anti-Caucasus with its high plateaus extending behind it--do not coincide with the ethnological provinces of the entire area. The watershed on the Stavropol' plateau, constituting a climatic borderline, has also become an ethnological frontier which, however, has been effaced in the south of the plateau; west of it, Russians and Ukrainians, east of it Turkic-speaking peoples, most of them being Noghai. The reason for this, as we saw, was the pattern of expansion of the Russian and Ukrainian peasant settlers, who have not gone far into the steppes east of the Stavropol' watershed. In this arid zone agriculture is not possible without irrigation, whereas peoples living in a nomadic state and having a pastoral economy find the steppes adequate living grounds, provided that there is enough space for their needs, and that the area is not undergoing increasing desiccation. The 162 169 Russian immigrants have taken possession of the entire northwestern part of the Great Caucasus, which is now under Russian occupation up to the upper course of the Kuban. The area of the source rivers of the Kuban was peopled

162
167 by the Turkic Karachai until 1943 or 1944, when this land was given to the Svans and Mingrelians. From that point northwestward, the entire Great Caucasus is Russian and, in the lower regions approaching the Azov Sea, Ukrainian. Only a few remnants of the ancient inhabitants are left along the upper and central course of the Kuban: these are principally the Kabarda-Cherkess (Circassians) on the upper course, and the Adyghe-Cherkess farther down the river. On and near the upper Kuban, a few Noghai groups now live in villages. The above-mentioned Cherkess are the remnants of the Northwestern Cherkess, most of whose member-groups, the Bzhedukh, Ubykh, Abadzekh and Shapsug emigrated in 1865 and subsequent years to Turkey, for the most part. Many of those who remained have already been absorbed by the Russians. The Russian conquest started on a fairly large scale with the reign of Peter I, when the Russian Cossacks (kazaki, kozaki) began to appear in the North Caucasian plains at the same time as the campaigns were being waged against these far-flung outposts of the Osman Empire and its vassal state, the Khanate of the Crimea.

These Cossacks were <u>coloni sui generis</u>, who laid the foundations for the political and ethnical conquest and a not always

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peaceful agricultural penetration of these regions. They settled in stanitsy, "Cossack or warrior villages" (this term would better be translated by "posts"), a number of which, toward the end of the last century, often had 10,000-15,000 inhabitants each. These people had the peculiar double occupation of peasant and soldier.

The Great-Russian population has occupied the entire southern portion of the Stavropol plateau, the upper Kuma and its upper tributaries as far as the Malka and the T'erek, following the latter to the estuary from where it continues northward along the Caspian shore right to the Volga delta and Astrakhan. It has separated to a large extent the steppe peoples from the Caucasians proper, or the mountaineers (Russian: gortsy; Turkic: ta ly, taulu, or da lu), as they are often called. In the large "Bay of Vladikavkaz", the Russians have penetrated south of the T'erek line, and even across the Sundja river, driving a few wedges into the original population there; this expansion is carried out by occupying first the river banks. (The same method is seen, by the way, in the Russian conquest of Siberia; in the latter case geographical reasons were the motivation.) Thus, the Kabarda has been split up into two major regional groups, a larger, western and a smaller, eastern one; the Cherkess into three, a small western, a northern one along the southern banks of the

162 central T'erek, and a larger southern one
167 along the tributaries of the Sundja. Along the T'erek, below Vladikavkaz, the Oset'is have been split in a similar way, and many more examples could be adduced here. During the most hectic years of Stalin's absolutism, the bigger towns and cities having industrial enterprises were filled with Russians sent there as workers and specialists of all kinds, often only as specialists in national coercion in the event of war. In the Northwest and
[127] North Caucasian area, the people finally showed such an overwhelming enthusiasm for Hitler and his victorious "supermen" that entire nations, and not surprisingly quite a number of Russians with them, went over to the Nazi side, even before the spearheads of the German armies had reached them. Thus later on, after Hitler's defeat at Stalingrad, their defection had the well-known consequences: the "culprit nations" were punished in true Stalinist fashion, with the result that the ethnic map of the area was changed to a considerable degree.

Russian peasant villages were found even in the Anti-Caucasus; most of them are scattered all over the northern part of the area, mainly in valleys of the northern border mountains. But single Russian villages can be found as far as the two provinces of Kars and Ardahan, where the Russian population seems to have remained after their reannexation by Turkey, as suggested by a few place names.

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## The Caucasian Groups

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While the northwestern third of the Great Caucasus is completely peopled by Russians only, the central and southeastern thirds are exclusively the home of Caucasian peoples proper. This area begins at the source river system of the Kuban on the western slopes of the Elbrus massif, and extends without interruption down to the southeast, in the region of the Baba-dagh. At the northwestern end of this area, all around the Elbrus massif, the Turkic-speaking Karachai and Balkar lived until 1943 or 1944; in their stead, the area is now inhabited by a few Svans and Mingrelians. This is in the immediate vicinity of the Kabarda, along the western tributaries of the T'erek; the Kabarda are the easternmost people of the Northwestern Caucasians. Farther to the east is the large strip of Oset'is, who speak an East (or North) Iranian language and extend far into the area of the K'art'velian people of Trans-Caucasia, with a scattered group up in the valley of Tsagveri and Bakuriani, east of Borzhomi. East of the Darial gorge, chiefly along the central massifs and on the northern slopes, the Checheno-Ingush lived prior to their deportation to southern Kazakhstan in 1943-1944; further to the southeast follow the

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peoples of Dagestan, linguistically designated, like the Chechenians, as Northeast-Caucasians. These peoples reach the Caspian coast at only a few points around the Samur estuary and in the Kusari-Kuba district. The coastal zone is occupied as follows: from the area of Derbent southward, Turkic Azerbaidjanians; from approximately long. 48°E. northward, Turkic Kumyk; and approximately from Buinaki northward, live Russians. The entire southeastern part of the Caucasus, including the peninsula of Apsheron, is peopled by Azerbaidjanians and two nations already pushed back into the mountainous portions of that area: the Tat and the Talysh who speak a West Iranian language. (About half of the Tat are of Jewish religion and are often called "mountain Jews".)

Thus, in these two-thirds of the Caucasus, the extreme geographical variety is matched on the part of the population by an extreme variety of ethnological and linguistic aspects. Like the Kabarda and the Adyghe-Cherkess north of the Caucasus, there is another splinter of the ancient Northwestern Caucasians to the south, the Abkhazes. The majority of these people live south of the Caucasian ranges and along the Black Sea coast, northwest and southeast of ancient Dioskurias, the modern Sukhumi, mainly in the valleys of Bzipi and Kodor. The

162 main ranges of the Caucasus, to the north of
101 them, belong to the area of Russian population.

## Trans-Caucasia

In rather sharp contrast to the great multiplicity of the population of the alpine regions of the Caucasus, the wide Trans-Caucasian valley, as well as the Anti-Caucasus, are comparatively simple in their ethnological and linguistic composition. The eastern part of the area is preponderantly peopled by the Turkic Azerbaidjanians, deriving their name from the Caucasian land which they took over during the 11th century A. D. from Caucasian and Iranian peoples who at that time were under Arab overlordship. These Azerbaidjanians penetrated the valleys of the Kura and the Araxes, even beyond Tiflis and Erivan. Therefore, preponderantly non-Azerbaidjanian populations are found only in northern and central Armenia, the Armenians, and in Karabakh, where after the Armenians the Kurds are in the majority. In the region of Kars, the Azerbaidjanians and their closest relatives, the Osman Turks, the conquerors of Anatolia and thus of the Byzantine Empire, are found side by side.

## Armenians

162 The Armenians appear as strong minor-
563 ities all over Trans-Caucasia, along the Aghry-Chai and the southern slopes of the Great

7: Columbia U. S-4, 5 1956 RHl CaucasiaRHl
Georgia RI1

C. 162 563

Caucasus, in and around the cities of Nukha and Shemakha and along the northeastern slopes of the northeastern border mountains of the Anti-Caucasus. These are in the rural districts, mainly Armenian peasants, while numerous Armenians are found in the diaspora of all bigger Cauçasian and Trans-Caucasian cities. Some of these cities were founded by Armenians; for instance, Armavir, the important railroad hub in the Northwestern Caucasian area, which bears the name of one of the oldest known Armenian cities. It is interesting to note that the majority of the Armavir Armenians speak Cherkess as their everyday language. The Armenians who had received Christianity from the south, from Syria, before the rule of Constantine the Great, were exposed at various epochs of history to religious and political oppression and persecution, and are like the Jews, one of the oldest nations of refugees and emigres, whose members can be found all over the world. Their more compact diaspora groups live in Russia, Syria, Constantinople, Podolia (westernmost Ukraine), Vienna, Transylvania, Venice, Munich, Paris, and the United States.

C. [191]

## The K'art'velians

C. 162 563 G. 105

The central part of the Trans-Caucasian valley and the entire western part of Trans-

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C. 162 563 G. 105 Caucasia -- Colchis in a larger sense -- have for a long time been the home of one of the oldest nations of the Caucasus, the K'art'velians. This group has played a foremost role in the history of Caucasian culture. Their leading nationality is that of the Georgians, who call themselves K'art'veli. They were the first to be converted to Christianity, in the 4th century A. D., by Tsminda Nino, who came there from the south, from Armenia. With this event, Georgian history and literature begins. It may well be assumed that there was some culture in pre-Christian times which was dependent on that of Persia, as indicated by traces of an earlier K'art'velian fire cult as the expression of Zarathustrism. This was probably brought in by the Persians after their conquest of Trans-Caucasia, during the Akhaemenian dynasty.

C. G. [174]

C. 563 G. 105 Like Armenia, Georgia always resisted Islamic domination; although politically not always successful, it never became an Islamic country. This explains the old and intimate cultural, religious, and political ties with Byzantium and later with Russia as the substitute and continuation of the East-Roman theocracy. This guaranteed Georgia's cultural, religious, and political survival.

This region of Trans-Caucasia differs in many, if not all, respects from the vast

C. 563 G 105

a most crude way, which sometimes is found so obtrusive and shocking in many Oriental countries of the present epoch. The technical backwardness--actual or imagined--is thus often matched by a technocratic overemphasis which threatens to level out everything these countries have produced and contributed to their own and to common human culture.

## Georgians

C. G. 162 101

The K'art'velians or Georgians proper have been split into two groups, an eastern and western, by the intrusion of Oset'i from the north and the Azerbaidjanians from the southeast. The latter extend as far northwestward as the immediate vicinity of the modern capital of Georgia, Tiflis, (in Georgian: T'bilisi, "Hot Springs" from the stem tp'ili [Georgian] "warm;" common with Indo-European, cf. Slav. [Čech.] place-name Teplice, "Hot Springs," mentioned above; Lat. tepidus, "warm," etc.); and from Tiflis southeastward, the Azerbaidjanians hold the entire valley of the Kura (in Georgian: Mtkvari, Strabon's Kyros). The Georgians hold only the Aragvi valley (Strabon's Aragos), the upper Iora, almost the entire Alazani (Strabon's Alazonios) —this is Kakhet'ia, and the upper Kura valley. The Meskhi-Surami Range and the eastern and southern portion of Colchis, Imeret'ia (practically all the land at the left bank, i.e., south

C. G. [103]

C. G. 162 101 and east of the Rioni) are Georgian, and Imeret'ian and other west Georgian dialects are spoken there. To the Georgian area belongs also Adjaristan (Adžaristan), the valley of the Acharis-Tskhali, which borders in the south and west on Azerbaidjanian and Osman speaking peoples, and in the west, with the Laz people. The Adjarians (Acharians), like their neighbors, are of Mohammedan faith.

## T'ushuri, Khevsuri and P'shaveli

The northeasternmost Georgians, living in the alpine parts of the central Caucasus, are an interesting and distinct people. Although they speak East-K'art'velian dialects and are Orthodox Christians, the Georgians do not consider them as the same nation. The reasons are not only their inaccessibility and age-long seclusion and independence, but also customs and manners which in this way have been preserved from by-gone times. These remote people make up three tribes: the T'ushuri, Khevsuri, and P'shaveli, who live in the high valleys of the source rivers of the Andi-Koisu, Aragvi, and Argun, and of the Iora. In sharp contrast to other Caucasian peoples, blue eyes are not rare with them. Shields, spears, straight long swords, iron or steel helmets, coats of mail and armor were worn by many of them (usually the Khevsurs) as late as the nineteenth century, and in a few instances, even after the Russian Revolution.

C. G. [142] 411 713

Georgia RI1
Khevsur, Pschv,
Tushin

C. G. [713] Some had the sign of the cross upon their shields, so that they looked exactly like medieval European knights and Crusaders.

C. G. 764 171 Up in the country of the Khevsurs a few very ancient churches can be found; near these, often isolated, stand some typically Khevsurian tomb structures or burial chapels unique in the Caucasus. Funeral ceremonies held by the Khevsurs are (or were ?) often accompanied by horse races, an ancient custom of horse-breeding nomads of the steppes. (This custom is reminiscent of the "dokhia" [δόχια] of some Turkic tribes in the plains near the Altai, described by the Byzantine envoy Menandros Protector, who was sent in 568 to the Great-Khan of the Türküt in the Altai region, a territory which is now part of northwestern Mongolia.) Perhaps the Khevsurs borrowed this custom from the Alans, the nomadic ancestors of the present-day Oset'i.

## S'vanet'ians

C. G. 162 101 Another K'art'velian group which in its mountainous seclusion has preserved numerous ancient customs and traditions is the Svans (or Shvan, Strabon's Soanes [Σοάνες]), who live in the high valleys of the Ingur and Ts'khenis-Tskhali, just south of the central high massifs of the Caucasus, between Gvandra and Shkhara. Their language is the most archaic of all the K'art'velian tongues. The Svans are outstanding for their height; two meters is not rare.

C. G. [141]

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Georgia RI1

## Mingrelians

C.
G.
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In the northwestern. malaria-infested part of Colchis live the Mingrelians. In the region of Ochamchire, the area is interrupted by the southeastern strip of the Abkhaz, and another group of Mingrelians lives north and northwest of the city of Sukhumi. Occupationally, they do not differ from the Georgians. The charm and beauty of the Mingrelian women is always praised by Caucasians and foreigners alike.

## Laz

As their languages prove, the Mingrelians are the closest relatives of the Laz (or Chan, the Sannoi [ ] of Strabon). A very small minority of the Laz live on Soviet territory right at the frontier, near the estuary of the Chorokh; the vast majority live along the Black Sea coast, from the Chorokh estuary southwestward as far as the Turkish town of Pazar (or Atina) half-way from Batumi to Trapezunt (Turkic: Trabzon, Tarabzun).

## Minorities

C.
162

Each town and city of the Caucasus has a variety of minorities. The population of some towns seems to have consisted at certain

162 periods of minorities only, since none could be considered a majority. In most towns and cities, prior to the Russification period of the late Thirties and early Forties, no one nationality constituted a majority by itself; usually there were two or three. For example: Baku in 1929 had half a million inhabitants, 85% of whom were divided almost equally among Azerbaidjanians, Russians, and Armenians; the Azerbaidjanians were the most numerous, but exceeded the Russians and Armenians by an insignificant percentage only. The distribution of nationalities in Tiflis in 1929 was similar, the three major nationalities being the Georgians, Armenians, and Russians. On the other hand, a single group represented a strong majority in such places as Erivan, with a population of 62,000 in 1929, of whom 56,000 were Armenians, and 6,000 Turks and Azerbaidjanians. Vladikavkaz had a population of 74,000 some time before 1928, which was divided as follows: 57.8 % Russians, 10.5 % Armenians, 6.6 % Germans, 2.3 % Persians, 2 % Greeks, 1.5 % Jews, and 0.7 % Ingush. (cf. also the Tables.)

The following national minorities should be mentioned here: the Greeks, the Aisors, and the Germans.

## Greeks

563 The Greeks have been living on the west coast of the Caucasus since the time

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## I. Area and Population of Chief Political Divisions

| Name of Division | Area in square kilometers | | Population estimate (based on 1954 election districts) | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Astrakhan Oblast | 76,900 | | 750,000 | |
| Rostov Oblast | 62,500 | | 1,800,000 | |
| Krasnodar Krai | 85,000 | | 3,300,000 | |
| Adyge A | | 4,400 | | 300,000 |
| Stavropol' Krai | 99,100 | | 1,650,000 | |
| Cherkess AO | | 4,000 | | 150,000 |
| Kabardian ASSR | 11,800 | | 300,000 | |
| North Ossetian ASSR | 9,200 | | 450,000 | |
| Groznyi Oblast | 33,000 | | 600,000 | |
| Daghestan ASSR | 38,200 | | 900,000 | |
| Northern Caucasus | 415,700 | | 9,750,000 | |

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| Name of Division | Area in square kilometers | | Population estimate (based on 1954 election districts) | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Azerbaidzhan SSR | 85,700 | | 3,100,000 | |
| Nakhichevan' ASSR | | 5,200 | | 110,000 |
| Nagorno-Karabakh AO | | 4,500 | | 110,000 |
| Georgian SSR | 76,400 | | 3,550,000 | |
| Abkhaz ASSR | | 8,700 | | 330,000 |
| Adzhar ASSR | | 2,900 | | 200,000 |
| South Ossetian AO | | 3,900 | | 100,000 |
| Armenian SSR | 29,800 | | 1,500,000 | |
| Transcaucasia | 191,900 | | 8,150,000 | |

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## II. Per cent of Urban Population

| Name of Division | Urban Percentage |
|---|---|
| Astrakhan Oblast | no data |
| Rostov Oblast | no data |
| Krasnodar Krai | 24.1 (1939) |
| Adyge AO | 27.8 (1939) |
| Stavropol' Krai | no data |
| Cherkess AO | no data |
| Kabardian ASSR | 23 (1939) |
| North Ossetian ASSR | no data |
| Groznyi Oblast | 52 (year not given) |
| Daghestan ASSR | 25 (1950) |
| Azerbaidzhan SSR | 26.2 (1939) |
| Nakhichevan' ASSR | no data |
| Nagorno-Karabakh AO | no data |
| Georgian SSR | 30.1 (1939) |
| Abkhaz ASSR | 28.2 (1939) |
| Adzhar ASSR | 38 (1939) |
| South Ossetian AO | no data |
| Armenian SSR | 28.6 (1939) |

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## III. Population in Major Cities
(based on 1954 election districts)

| | |
|---|---|
| **ASTRAKHAN OBLAST** | |
| Astrakhan | 300,000 |
| **ROSTOV OBLAST** | |
| Rostov | 600,000 |
| Taganrog | 150,000 |
| Novocherkassk | 80,000 |
| Bataisk | 50,000 |
| **KRASNODAR KRAI** | |
| Krasnodar | 250,000 |
| Novorossiisk | 125,000 |
| Armavir | 100,000 |
| Maikop | 70,000 |
| Kropotkin | 50,000 |
| Sochi | 50,000 |
| Tuapse | 50,000 |
| Yeysk | 40,000 |
| **STAVROPOL' KRAI** | |
| Stavropol' | 100,000 |
| Piatigorsk | 75,000 |
| Kislovodsk | 50,000 |
| Cherkessk | 30,000 |
| Essentuki | 30,000 |
| Zheleznovodsk | 25,000 |
| Stepnoi | 25,000 |

Metropolitan area: Piatigorsk-Kislovodsk-Zheleznovodsk-Essentuki-Mineral'nye Vody-- 300,000

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•162 GROZNYI OBLAST

| | |
|---|---|
| Groznyi | 200,000 |
| Kizliar | 25,000 |

DAGHESTAN ASSR

| | |
|---|---|
| Makhachkala | 100,000 |
| Derbent | 35,000 |
| Khasaviurt | 30,000 |
| Izberbash | 25,000 |
| Kaspiysk | 25,000 |

Metropolitan Area: Makhachkala-Kaspiysk-- 150,000

AZERBAIDZHAN SSR

Baku--City proper (Dzhaparidzevskii, Oktiabr'skii, Gorodskoi, Dzerzhinskii, Kishlinskii, Voroshilovskii, Shaumianskii raions)-- 530,000

Baku, including suburbs within city limits-- 890,000

Baku-Sumgait Metropolitan Area-- 1,000,000

| | |
|---|---|
| Kirovabad | 140,000 |
| Sumgait | 50,000 |
| Mingechaur | 30,000 |
| Nukha | 30,000 |
| Lenkoran' | 20,000 |
| Evlakh | 20,000 |

Metropolitan Area: Kirovabad-Dashkesan-- 200,000

162

AZERBAIDZHAN ASSR (cont.)

Nakhichevan' ASSR

| | |
|---|---|
| Nakhichevan' | 20,000 |

Nagorno-Karabak AO

| | |
|---|---|
| Stepanakert | 10,000 |

GEORGIAN SSR

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Tbilisi | 580,000 | Metropolitan |
| Kutaisi | 100,000 | Area: Tbilisi- |
| Poti | 40,000 | Rustavi-- |
| Rustavi | 40,000 | 650,000 |
| Gori | 30,000 | |
| Chiatura | 20,000 | |
| Khashuri | 20,000 | |
| Telavi | 20,000 | |
| Tkibuli | 20,000 | |
| Zestafoni | 20,000 | |
| Zugdidi | 20,000 | |

Abkhaz ASSR

| | |
|---|---|
| Sukhumi | 50,000 |
| Tkvarcheli | 30,000 |
| Ochamchire | 20,000 |

Adzhar ASSR

| | |
|---|---|
| Batumi | 70,000 |

South Ossetian AO

| | |
|---|---|
| Staliniri | 20,000 |

ARMENIAN SSR

| | |
|---|---|
| Erevan | 340,000 |
| Leninakan | 115,000 |

162 ARMENIAN SSR (cont.)

| | |
|---|---|
| Kirovakan | 55,000 |
| Echmiadzin | 20,000 |
| Kafan | 15,000 |
| Alaverdi | 15,000 |

Metropolitan Area: Erevan-Zanga River-Sevan-- 500,000

Kafan-Kadzharan area: 25,000

Alaverdi-Shamlug area: 20,000

## Pattern of Settlement

.162 In the Northern Caucasus, the boundary line between the indigenous peoples and the Russian and Ukrainian immigrants lies generally along the Kuban'-Terek river line, with the more recent arrivals settled in the lowlands and the indigenous population in the uplands. There are two exceptions to this general statement: (1) in the extreme west, the Slavic immigrants have penetrated into the mountains in addition to the lowlands; (2) in the extreme east, the lowlands between the Terek and the Kuma rivers are dry semi-desert steppes suitable only for extensive grazing and are therefore very sparsely populated.

161 The average density in the Northern Caucasus is 30 persons per square kilometer. It rises to 50 and more persons, on the one hand, in the more fertile lowland sections and the valleys of major rivers -- the Kuban' and the Terek (in Northern Ossetia), and on the other hand, in industrial areas, such as the Groznyi oilfields. Lower densities of 10 persons and less per square kilometer are found in the higher mountains sections of the Caucasus and the arid steppes of the northeast. Generally speaking, the population is therefore found predominantly in the foothills of the Caucasus.

361 Two sharply different types of rural settlements are found. The Russian and

# ETHNIC GROUPS

## Introductory

•162 From an ethnological point of view the Caucasus is one of the most complex areas in the world. Nowhere else are so many different peoples found in such a comparatively small area. This is due to geographical factors. The Caucasus is situated between the Eurasian steppe belt in the North and the fertile crescent in the South. The North is the scene of successive nomadic waves spreading from Asia to Europe; the South is the scene of ancient sedentary civilizations, time and again overrun by the same nomads. In historical times, one can observe how remnants of nomadic groups, replaced by new invaders, find refuge in the inaccessible mountain gorges of the Great Caucasus, and how sedentary groups survive in the lowlands and on the plateaus of Transcaucasia, not without admitting considerable numbers of foreign migrants into their area. Similar events may have taken place in prehistoric times, but in the present state of Caucasian archeology no definite statements can be made on this point.

In any case, the ethnic diversity of the Caucasus as such is not new. Already Strabo (1st cent. A. D.) mentions that in the town of

•162 Dioskurias (the present Sukhumi) on the Black Sea coast, representatives of no less than 70 peoples, all speaking different languages, used to gather to carry on their trade; he also states that in Albania (i.e., Eastern Transcaucasia) twenty-six languages are spoken. Pliny the Elder (first cent. A.D.) relates that the Romans carried on their business in the Caucasus through eighty interpreters. The Arab geographers called the Caucasus jebel el-elsine, i.e., "Mountain of Languages." Nineteenth century Russian scholars have called the Caucasus a "gigantic ethnographical museum," and its linguistic diversity plays a role in the Soviet film "Oni vstretilis' v Moskve."

144 162 On the basis of historical facts combined with linguistic evidence the peoples of the Caucasus can be divided into two groups: indigenous and extragenous peoples. The former category includes the peoples that already lived in the Caucasus at the time of our earliest records and cannot on linguistic grounds (as can the Armenians) be shown to have come from outside. These peoples are referred to as Paleocaucasian, Ibero-Caucasian, or Caucasian proper. The second category includes the immigrant peoples, on the basis of linguistic affiliation subdivided into Indo-European, Altaic and Semitic. The present ethnic groupings and denominations in the Caucasus are in the main based on language divisions; these do not coincide with racial divisions as in many

144 cases populations have changed their language.
162 Again, the same cultural area may contain diverse ethnic groups.

101 Due to the fact that (1) many Caucasian peoples first became known under names given to them (or to part of them) by one or other of their neighbors, (2) several Caucasian peoples (in a linguistic sense) had no general self-designation but referred to themselves as "from such-and-such a village," and (3) in some cases the whole population of a larger area was referred to by a single name belonging to only one of the ethnic groups in it or by a descriptive term such as "mountaineers." Caucasian ethnic and linguistic nomenclature as found in the literature of the last 200 years is baffling to the unitiated. The list of "Peoples and Languages of the Caucasus" with its Index is intended to be a guide to this complex maze. 1

In the following, the peoples of the Caucasus are summed up. For details on each individual group, reference should be made to the list of "Peoples and Languages."

1. [cf. cat. 116, pp. 421-501 -- Analyst]

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Georgia RI I
Grusians

# I. PALEOCAUCASIAN PEOPLES

C. G. 162 101

On the basis of linguistic criteria the Paleocaucasian peoples fall into three groups: A Southern group with ca. 2,250,000 speakers, a North-Western group with ca. 350,000 speakers and a North-Eastern group with ca. 1,300,000 speakers.

C. G. 101

## A. South Caucasian Peoples

The peoples belonging to the Southern (Kartvelian, Iberian) group occupy the western and central part of the territory between the Great and Little Caucasus, i.e. the basins of the rivers Chorokh, Rioni, Ingur, the upper Kura, Iora and Alazani; this is the territory of the Georgian SSR. The Kartvelian group comprises four peoples: the Svan, the Mingrelians, the Laz and the Georgians.

a. The more than 2 million Georgians are not only by far the most numerous of the Paleocaucasian peoples, but also the only one with an old political tradition and a literary language that goes back into the 5th century A.D. They call themselves Kartveli, pl. Kartvelni, and their language Kartuli ena; from this is derived the term Sakartvelo denoting since the Middle Ages the Georgian state and political territory, and the newly formed adjective kartveluri applied to the South Caucasian languages and peoples as a

## II INDO-EUROPEAN PEOPLES

144 The Indo-European peoples whose
197 traditional territory is in the Caucasus belong to two branches of this family. The Armenians, the oldest non-indigenous people in the Caucasus, linguistically constitute an independent subdivision of Indo-European. The other Indo-European peoples in the Caucasus all belong to the Iranian branch of the Indo-Iranian subdivision: the Ossetes, Talysh, Tat and Kurds.

.162 (a.) Of the ca. 2 million Armenians in the USSR not more than 60 per cent live in the Armenian political units in southern Trans-Caucasia, that is, in the area of the upper Kura river, Lake Sevan, the middle Araks river (Armenian SSR) and on the eastern slopes of the Karabakh Mts. (High Karabakh AO). Of the remainder, the large majority live scattered in the Caucasus, in areas adjoining their political territory, in the western spurs of the Great Caucasus, in Azerbaidjan south of Shemakha, and in the cities. At various times considerable numbers of Armenians living outside of the Caucasus have immigrated to "Russian" Armenia (most recently after the Second World War). The Armenians were living in the Caucasus as early as the sixth century B.C., but the exact date of their arrival there is unknown; it may have preceded the first records by one or
000 two centuries. The Armenians call themselves

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Armenians
Osset

101 The Armenians call themselves Hai, pl. Haik, a name usually considered to have been that of their heros eponymos. The name "Armenia" goes back to Old Persian Armina which appears in the Behistun inscription of Darius I (sixth century B.C.) as the designation of one of the satrapies of the Achaemenian Empire. The Armenians, like the Georgians, are a people with an ancient literary culture. The Armenian-Gregorian Church is the oldest of the Christian churches; Armenian literature goes back to the fifth century A.D. Since the first centuries of our era the Armenians generally have not been independent; their policy has usually been to cooperate with Christian states against various Muslim empires.

.162 (b.) The more than 350,000 Ossetes live in the Central Caucasus on both sides of the main chain, in the north along the upper Terek river and its tributaries the Gizel-don, Ardon and Urukh, in the south in the immediately adjoining part of Georgia along the Liakhvi, Ksani and Aragvi rivers, extending southward
101 beyond the Kura river. The name "Ossetes" is derived from the Georgian Oseti referring to the country, the people being called Osi (older forms: Owsi, Owseti); this name is identical with the Yasy of the Russian chronicles and the As of the Arabic geographers. The As were either identical with, or the western subdivision of, the Alans, the last of the Iranian nomadic tribes in the Ponto-Caspian

101 steppe, the successors of the Scythians (eighth to third centuries B.C.) and Sarmatians (third century B.C. to third century A.D.). They were partly eliminated and partly driven into the Caucasian mountains by the Tatars in the thirteenth century. The name of the Alans -- like that of Iran -- goes back to the genetive plural of the word arya: aryānām; the same root is found in the names of certain Ossetian tribes: Ir, Alagir. In the Caucasus, the Ossetes soon became vassals of the Kabardians, by whose culture they were strongly influenced. Since they lived in the area of the main passes of the Central Great Caucasus, the Ossetes were among the first of the Caucasian mountaineers to be affected by the Russian expansion into the Caucasus.

.162 (c.) The Talysh, numbering ca. 90,000 in the Soviet Union, live along the Caspian coast south of the river Viliazh-chai, extending across the border into Iran up to Keprichal (their number in Persia is estimated at
101 50,000). The oldest mention of their name is found in the Armenian translation of the Romance of Alexander. Before the Russian-Persian wars, Talysh was a Persian province ruled by a special Khan; since the peace of Gulistan (1813) it has belonged to Russia.

101 (d.) The name Tat is applied both to the
162 Iranian-speaking Muslim population living on the eastern spurs of the Great Caucasus and on the Apsheron peninsula, and to the Jews

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162

who speak the same language; the latter, also known as "Mountain Jews" (Turkish: Dagh Chufuti) or Judeo-Tat are concentrated in the area of Kuba, Derbent, and Buinaksk and are found in smaller settlements in the Groznyi and Nalchik area and on the Kuban river. The Russian census of 1926 lists as ethnic groups ca. 29,000 Muslim Tat and ca. 21,000 Judeo-Tat, but gives the number of speakers of Tat as 86,000. The name "Tat" was originally a Turkic denomination of non-Turkic sedentary elements living in their midst. The history of the Tat is obscure; their presence in the Caucasus may go back to Sassanian times (third to seventh centuries) when Persia tried to strengthen her natural line of defense in the Caucasus by bringing Iranian colonists to the gateway along the Caspian Sea in the Derbent area.

(e.) Of the nearly 5 million Kurds living scattered over various countries in the Near and Middle East, only ca. 60,000 live in Soviet territory, most of them in the Armenian SSR and the southwestern part of the Azerbaidjan SSR. Their name is probably identical with that of the Kyrtioi, Cyrtii mentioned by classical authors in Media and Persia. Throughout their history, the Kurds have contained both nomadic and sedentary elements; they never formed a state but were grouped into a large number of tribul unions.

## III ALTAIC PEOPLES

With the exception of the Mongolian
144 Kalmyk, who were deported during the Second World War, all the Altaic peoples of the Caucasus belong to the Turkic branch of this family. The Azeri and Turcoman belong to the Oghuz Turkic, and the Kumuk, Noghay, Karachay, and Balkar to the Kipchak Turkic subdivision.

• 162 (a.) The ca. 2,750,000 Azeri in Soviet territory live in eastern Transcaucasia and in the coastal region of Dagestan, northward as far as Derbent. In the south, Azeri territory extends into northwestern Persia, where their number is estimated at 3 million.
101 The name "Azeri" comes originally from the classic denomination of the country, (Media) Atropatanae, and has become the name of the Azeri people only recently. The Azeri have occupied their present habitat since Seljuk times (eleventh century); their literature goes back to the fourteenth century. The Azeri Turks were originally the most important branch of the Oghuz Turks; but because of their geopolitical position their importance decreased to the advantage of the Ottoman Turks and the Persians.

162 (b.) The Turcomans (Russ. Turkmeny,
101 Trukhmeny) in the Caucasus number ca. 8,000; these Turcomans live divided in small groups

•162 on the Stavropol' upland (southward from the
101 Manych canal) and between the Kuma and Yegorlyk rivers. The main concentration of the Turcomans is in the southwestern part of Central Asia (Turkmen SSR ca. 800,000,
[167] Northern Iran over 500,000); the Turcomans immigrated to the Northern Caucasus comparatively recently from the Mangyshlak peninsula.

(c.) The Kumuk (ca. 95,000) live on the northeastern slopes of the Great Caucasus along the Aksai, Sulak, Shura and Cubden rivers and along the Caspian coast from Adzhi-su to Derbent. The date of their arrival in their present habitat is unknown; they have been there at least since the sixteenth century. The Kumuk have been vassals of Russia since the last quarter of the eighteenth century, but continued to be governed by their own rulers called shamkhals until 1867.

(d.) The more than 40,000 Noghay in the Northern Caucasus (their exact number is unknown) live mainly in the steppe between the lower Kuma and Terek rivers, south of the mouth of the Terek adjoining Kumuk territory, and on the right bank of the Kuban north of Cherkessk. They probably reached their habitat at the same time as the Kumuk.

(e, f.) Until 1943 the Karachay and Balkar (respectively ca. 76,000 and 43,000) lived on the northern slopes of the Great Caucasus, the former along the headwaters of the Kuban,

7:Columbia U. S-4, 5 1956 RHl Caucasia RHl
Karachai, Balkai
European Kalmyk

•162 101 Teberda, Zelenchuk, Laba and Podkumok, the latter along those of the Baksan, Chegem and Cherek rivers. Culturally, they were largely identical with the Circassians and other North Caucasian mountaineers, and thus occupied a special place in the Turkic world. The name of the Balkar may be connected with that of the Turkic Bulgarians who formed a state in the Azov region in the sixth and seventh centuries.

(g.) Until 1943 the nearly 134,000 Kalmyk lived in the lower Volga area, where they migrated from Central Asia in the first half of the seventeenth century. In 1771 a large part of them migrated back to Chinese Turkes-
[619] tan. They are divided into a number of tribes, the most important of which are the Torghüt (Torgout). The Kalmyk are Buddhists; their literary tradition goes back to the sixteenth century. They were used by the Russians as a Cossack force against the Crimean Turks who represented Ottoman interests. In 1943 the Kalmyk ASSR was abrogated and the Kalmyk deported. Their present fate is unknown.

7: Columbia U. S-4, 5 1956 RHI Caucasia RHI
Georgia RI I

# 1. GEORGIANS

C. G. 101 NAME: SELF-DESIGNATION: Kartveli, pl. Kartvelni. The name is applied to all the Kartvelian peoples (see below under "Language"); its derivate "Sakartvelo" denotes traditionally the Georgian state and political territory.

RUSSIAN DESIGNATION: Gruziny.

OTHER DESIGNATION: (Armenian:) Vratsi; (Turkish, Persian:) Gürdzhi; (Abkhaz:) Akýrtwa.

C. G. 161 NUMBER: 1897 1,097,000 (Russian census)
1926 1,564,333 (Russian census, ethn.)
1,610,458 (Russian census, ling.)
1939 2,248,566 (Russian census)

The 1939 figure includes the Mingrelians, Laz, and Svan. The Turkish census of 1945 lists 40,076 speakers of Georgian.

C. G. 162 LOCATION: Western and central part of the territory between the mountains of the Great and Little Caucasus, with the lower Alazani river as E border. Of this area are excepted (1) the territory NW of the lower Rioni and Tskhenis-Tskali (which is inhabited by Mingrelians, Svan, and Abkhaz) and (2) the part of the country SW of the lower Chorokh (which is Laz territory). On the other hand, the Georgians extend beyond the Little Caucasus in the SW, where they live in the basins of the upper Kura and Araks. Politically, the main mass lives in the Georgian SSR, extending into the

C. G. 162

adjoining districts of N Azerbaidzhan (Kakh rayon) and NE Turkey (districts of Artvin, Ardahan, Ardanuch, Olti). Isolated from the main body, speakers of Georgian (the Fereidan) constitute the population of 14 villages in the province of Isfahan, Iran.

C. G. 619 101

Tribal breakdown (with indication of Georgian names of tribes):

1. East Georgians: Kakhetians (K'akheli): easternmost part of Georgia, E of the Kura and Aragvi rivers. A special sub-dialect is spoken in the district of Kiziqi (Russ. Signakh) between the Yori and Alazani rivers; Kartlians (Kartleli): their area is that of Georgia minus those of the other tribes, it is subdivided into regions: Somkhiti, Dzhavakheti, Tao, Klardzheti, etc. ; Ingilo (Ingilo): between the Alazani and the main Caucasian chain; Tush (Tushi, Tushuri): on the upper course of the Andiiskoe Koisu; Khevsur (Khevsuri): on the upper course of the E Aragvi and Argun; Pshav (Pshaveli): S of the Khevsur on the Aragvi and upper Iora: Mokhev and Mtiul (Mokhevi, Mtiuli): on the upper Terek, W Aragvi and Ksani.

2. West Georgians: Imeretians (Imereli): between the main Caucasian chain, the Suram range, the Adzharo-Akhaltsikh range and the Tskhenis-Tskali river; Racha (Rach'a): on the upper Rioni; Lechkhum: W of Racha; Gurians (Guruli): S of the lower Rioni, attaining the Black Sea between Poti and Kobuleti; Adzhar (Ach'areli): S of the Gurians, E of Batumi. Speak the same dialect as the Gurians, but are Muslim.

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Georgia RI I

C. G. 197 LANGUAGE: Georgian (Kartuli ena) belongs with Mingrelian, Laz, and Svan, to the S Caucasian (or Kartvelian) language family. It has an old literary tradition going back to the 5th century A. D., and a script of its own.

SUBDIVISIONS: The Georgian dialects fall into two groups: E and W Georgian. E dialects: Kartluri (with sub-dialects Meskh and Dzhavakh), K'akhuri, Ingilouri, Tushuri, Khevsuruli, Pshauri, Mokhev, Mtiuli, (Fereidan in Iran). W dialects: Imeruli Rach'uli, Lechkhum, Guruli (including Adzhar), Imerkhev (in Turkey).

C. G. 241 231 TRADITIONAL ECONOMY: Agriculture, cattle-breeding; horticulture; viniculture; arts and crafts.

C. G. 795 RELIGION: Eastern Orthodox; Roman Catholic minority; only the Adzhar and part of the Ingilo are Muslim. There are a number of Georgian-speaking Jewish villages in C. G. [162] different parts of the Georgian SSR, totaling 21,471 persons (1926, Russian census), in Russian referred to as Gruzinskie evrei (Georgian Jews).

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Georgia RI I

## 2. MINGRELIANS

C. G. 101 NAME: SELF-DESIGNATION: Margali; own name of country: Odishi.

RUSSIAN DESIGNATIONS: Megrely, Megrel'tsy, Mingrel'tsy.

OTHER DESIGNATIONS: (Georgian:) Megreli, the country: Samegrelo; (Abkhaz:) Aghrwa; (Svan:) Myzan, the country: Zan

C. G. 161 NUMBER: 1897 239,625 (Russian census)
1926 242,990 (Russian census, ethn.)
284,834 (Russian census, ling.)

C. G. 162 LOCATION: Territory N of lower Rioni river and W of the Tskhenis-Tskali, extending along the Black Sea Coast from the mouth of the Rioni up to Ochemchiri (rayons Zugdidi and Senaki in W of Georgian SSR). Also in and around the cities of the Abkhaz ASSR.

C. G. 197 LANGUAGE: Mingrelian (Megreli nina) and the very closely related Laz form the so-called Zan member of the S Caucasian (Kartvelian) language group, which also includes Georgian and Svan. The language is not written, Georgian being used as the literary language.

SUBDIVISIONS: Two groups of dialects, which differ very little: West (Samurzakan-Zugdidi) and East Mingrelian (Senaki).

C. G. 241 TRADITIONAL ECONOMY: Agriculture; horticulture; viniculture; sericulture.

C. G. 795 RELIGION: Eastern Orthodox.

7: Columbia U. S-4,5 1956 RH1 Caucasia RH1•
Georgia RI1
(Turkish:) Lazi;
(Georgian:) Ch'ani,
the country: Ch'aneti.)

## 3. LAZ

C G 101 NAME: SELF-DESIGNATION: Lazi
RUSSIAN DESIGNATIONS: Lazy; for the language also: Chanskii iazyk.
OTHER DESIGNATIONS: (Turkish:) Lazi; (Georgian:) Ch'ani, the country: Ch'aneti.)

C G 161 NUMBER: 1926 643 (Russian census, ethn.)
730 (Russian census, ling.)
The Turkish census of 1945 lists 46,987 speakers of Laz, so that the overwhelming majority of them live in Turkish territory.

C G •162 LOCATION: Between the Chorokh river and the Black Sea coast up to the area of Pazar (Atina) on Turkish territory; also in the Chkhala basin (left tributary of the Chorokh on Russian territory), (Adzhar ASSR, within Georgian SSR).

C G 197 LANGUAGE: Laz (Ch'anuri nena) and the very closely related Mingrelian form of the so-called Zan member of the S Caucasian (Kartvelian) language-group, which includes also Georgian and Svan. The language is not written, Georgian being used as literary language in the USSR, Turkish in Turkey.

SUBDIVISIONS: Two dialect-groups; West (Vitse-Arkhava and Atina) and East Laz (Hopa, Chkhala).

C G 241 226 TRADITIONAL ECONOMY: Agriculture, fishing, trade.

C G 795 RELIGION: Islam (Sunni)

7: Columbia U. S-4, 5 1956 RHI Caucasia RHI
Georgia RI 1

## 4. SVAN

C. G. 101 NAME: SELF-DESIGNATION: Shwan, sing. Mushwän, Mushwni.

ENGLISH VARIANTS: Svan, Svanetians

RUSSIAN DESIGNATIONS: Svany, Svanety.

OTHER DESIGNATIONS: (Georgian:) Svani; the country: Svaneti

C. G. 161 NUMBER: 1897 15,756 (Russian census)
1926 13,218 (Russian census, ethn.)
13,142 (Russian census, ling.)

The 1926 numbers are very low and must be due to some misunderstanding. The Bol'shaia Sovetskaia Entsiklopediia (1st ed.) Vol. 50 (1944), p. 371, gives the number of the Svan as over 23,000.

C. G. 162 LOCATION: Two valleys S of Mt. El'brus, one of the upper Tskhenis-Tskali and its tributary the Kheledula (Sv. of the Dadiani), the other of the upper Ingur (West: Sv. of the Dadishkeliani, East: Free Sv.) Georgian SSR)

C. G. 197 LANGUAGE: The Svan language is a member of the S Caucasian (Kartvelian) language-family, to which belong further Migrelo-Laz (Zan), and Georgian, the latter languages forming one group as against Svan. The language is not written, Georgian being used as the literary language.

C G 63 SUBDIVISIONS: Historically, Svanetia fell into three parts, Svanetia of the Dadiani, Svanetia of the Dadishkeliani, Free Svanetia.

## 5. ABKHAZ

C.
G.
101 NAME: SELF-DESIGNATION: Aàpswa.

ENGLISH VARIANTS: Abkhaz(ians); for the tribes N of the Cauc. ridge: Abazinians.

RUSSIAN DESIGNATIONS: Abkhazy, Abkhaztsy; for the tribes N of the Cauc. ridge; Abazintsy, Beshkesek-Abaza.

OTHER DESIGNATIONS: (Georgian:) Apkhazi; (Svan:) Mibkhaz; (Turkish:) Abaza.

C.
G.
161 NUMBER: 1897 72,103 (Russian census)
1926 56,957 (Russian census, ethn.)
48,130 (Russian census, ling.)
1939 58,969 (Russian census)

These numbers do not include the Abaza on Russian territory (see below under "Subdivisions"), whose number was in 1926: 13,825 (ethn.), 13,057 (ling.) (Russian census). The Turkish census of 1945 lists 8,602 speakers of "Abaza" (i.e. Abkhaz).

C.
162 LOCATION: Black Sea coast S of the main Cauc. chain between the rivers Psou and Ingur (Abkhaz ASSR, within Georgian SSR). The Bzyb'-Abkhaz live around the river Bzyb', the Abzhui-Abkhaz around the river Kodor, the Samurzakan'-Abkhaz in the SE, bordering on Mingrelia. The Abaza tribes live in 15 villages N of the Cauc. chain at the sources of the rivers Kuban' and Zelenchuk (Cherkes AO, within RSFSR).

7: Columbia U.S-4, 5 1956 RHI Caucasia RHI
Adige, Kabardin
Cherkess

## 6. CIRCASSIANS

101 NAME: SELF-DESIGNATION: Adyghe.
ENGLISH VARIANTS: Circassians, Cherkes.
RUSSIAN DESIGNATIONS: Cherkesy (see also below under "Subdivisions").
OTHER DESIGNATIONS: (Abkhaz:) Azkhwa; (Ossete:) Käsgon, collective: Kasag (refers particularly to the Kabardians); (Georgian:) Cherkezi.

161 NUMBER:

Kabardians:

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 1897 | 98,561 | (Russian census) |
| 1926 | 139,925 | (Russ. cens. ethn.) |
| | 138,925 | (Russ. cens. ling.) |
| 1939 | 164,106 | (Russian census) |

Other Circassians:

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 1897 | 46,286 | (Russian census) |
| 1926 | 65,270 | (Russ. cens. ethn.) |
| | 64,195 | (Russ. cens. ling.) |
| 1939 | 87,973 | (Russian census) |

The Turkish census of 1945 lists 66,691 speakers of Circassian. A considerable number of Circassians live in Syria, Jordan and Irak.

162 LOCATION: 1. Upper Circassians: (Kabardians:) basins of the rivers Malka, Baksan, Cherek, and Upper Terek in the central Caucasus ("Great Kabarda"), a strip of land E of the Terek ("Little Kabarda"): these constitute the Kabardian ASSR. Also between the upper Kuban' and Zelenchuk rivers, included in the Cherkes AO. Smaller groups around Mozdok and in the E part of the

Adige, Kabardin, Cherkess

• 162 Adygei AO (Beslenei:) Two auls of the Cherkes AO: Beslenei and Bakozhile; two auls in the Uspenskii rayon (Krasnodar Krai): Kurgovskoe and Konovskoe; two auls in the Adygei AO: Khodzh' and Uliap.

2. Lower Circassians: S of the lower middle course of the Kuban' and in the basins of the Laba and Belaia; these in the Adygei AO (mixture of various tribes). Also SE of Tuapse and in the aul Suvorovo-Cherkesskii on the Taman' peninsula (Shapsug). Smaller groups scattered in the NW Cauc., among others near Armavir.

197 LANGUAGE: The Circassian language (Adyghèbze) belongs with Abkhaz and Ubykh (no longer spoken in the Caucasus) to the NW group of Caucasian languages. The two major dialects, Upper and Lower Circassian, both have the status of literary language, under the names "Kabardinskii" or "Kabardinocherkesskii", and "Adygeiskii iazyk" respectively (the last based on the Temirgoi dialect). A Lower Circassian dialect is spoken by the Armenians in the town of Armavir.

197 101 SUBDIVISIONS: Two main dialect-groups: Upper Circassian (Kabardian and Beslenei) and Lower Circassian (or Kiakh, with subdialects Bzhedukh-Temirgoi [the latter also called Chemgui], Shapsug, and Abadzekh). In Russian sources the Circassians in the Adygei AO are referred to as "Adygeitsy", those in the Cherkes AO as "Cherkesy", those in the Kabardian ASSR

7: Columbia U. S-4, 5 1956 RHI Caucasia RHI
Tushin

## 8. BATS

101 NAME: SELF-DESIGNATION: Batsaw, pl. Batsbi.
RUSSIAN DESIGNATIONS: Batsbiitsy, Tsova-Tush, Tush (due to incorrect naming by Güldenstädt)

161 NUMBER: 1926 7 (Russian census, ethn.)
2,459 (Russian census, ling.)

162 LOCATION: In winter and spring in the village Zemo Alvani on the Kakhetian Alazan' (near Telavi), in summer in the mountain meadows on the upper Kakhetian Alazan' and Tush Alazan' (Akhmet rayon, Georgian SSR).

197 LANGUAGE: Bats (Batsbe mot') forms, with Checheno-Ingush, the Veinakh group of the NE Caucasian languages. The language is not written, Georgian being used as literary language.

231 TRADITIONAL ECONOMY: Cattle-breeding.

715 RELIGION: Eastern Orthodox.

## 9. AVAR

C.A. 101 NAME: SELF-DESIGNATION: None for the people as a whole. Own designation of language: maharul mats'ᵊ ("mountain language") or Khᵊunz mats'ᵊ ("language of Khunzakh")

RUSSIAN DESIGNATIONS: Avartsy, Tavlintsy (the latter from Kumyk "Taulu" meaning "mountaineers" in general). The southern groups of Avar are also referred to as Dzhartsy.

OTHER DESIGNATIONS: (Lak:) Yaruchū, (Dargwa:) K'araqᵊan.

C.D. 161 NUMBER: 1926 158,769 (Russian census, ethn.)
158,922 (Russian census, ling.)
In the Bol'shaia Sovetskaia Éntsiklopediia (2nd ed.) Vol. 1 (1949), p. 62, the total number of Avar is given as ca. 167,000. The number of persons able to speak Avar is ca. 220,000 (estimate, Chikobava).

C.A. 162 LOCATION: Basins of lower Andi Koisu, and of the Avar Koisu; some groups isolated from the main body along the W tributaries of the Andi Koisu (rayons Gergebil', Gumbet, Gunib, Kazbek, Kakhib, Tliarata, Untsukul', Khunzakh, Charoda, all in the Dagestan ASSR). Also extending to the S slope of the main Caucasian chain (rayons Belokany and Zakataly, Azerb. SSR).

C.A. 197 LANGUAGE: The Avar language (mahárul mats'ᵊ Khᵊunz mats'ᵊ) forms with the Andi and Dido groups of languages one of the six main divisions of NE Caucasian (the

## 10. ANDI

C. D. 101 NAME: SELF-DESIGNATION: Qwannaw, pl. Qwannal

RUSSIAN DESIGNATIONS: Andii, Andiitsy (this name is also used to include, besides the Andi proper, the other peoples of the Andi group; cf. below under "Language").

OTHER DESIGNATIONS: (Avar:) Handísew, pl. Handál, the country: Handí.

C. D. 161 NUMBER: 1926 7,840 (Russian census, ethn.)
7,720 (Russian census, ling.)

C. D. 162 LOCATION: N of the Andiiskoe Koisu, at its bend eastward (auls Andi, Ghunkha, Ghaghatl, Rik'uan, Chankho, Zilo, Muni in rayon Botlikh and auls Kvankhidatl, and Khuset in rayon Vedeno, Dagestan ASSR).

C. D. 197 LANGUAGE: Andi (Qwannab mits·i) forms with Botlikh, Godoberi, Karata, Bagulal, Tindi, Chamalal, and Akhvakh, the so-called Andi subgroup of the Avaro-Ando-Dido group of the NE Caucasian languages. The language is not written, Avar being used as the literary language.

C. D. 231 438 TRADITIONAL ECONOMY: Sheep-raising, home industry (Caucasian felt cloaks, tapestries, goldsmithing).

C. D. 795 RELIGION: Islam (Sunni).

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Dagestan RH8

## 11. BOTLIKH

C.D.: 101 NAME: SELF-DESIGNATION: Buykhatli (gen. of Buykhe "the village B.").
RUSSIAN DESIGNATIONS: Botlikhtsy, Buiukhad.

C.D.: 161 NUMBER: 1926 3,354 (Russian census, ethn.)
2,789 (Russian census, ling.)

C.D. 162 LOCATION: Just N of the bend of the Andiiskoe Koisu, SW of the Andi area (rayon Botlikh, auls Botlikh and Miarso, Dagestan ASSR).

C.D. 197 LANGUAGE: Botlikh (Buykhatli mits') forms with Andi, Godoberi, Karata, Bagulal, Tindi, Chamalal, and Akhvakh, the Andi subgroup of the Avaro-Ando-Dido group of the NE Caucasian languages. The language is not written, Avar being used as the literary language.

C.D. 231 241 TRADITIONAL ECONOMY: Cattle-breeding, home industry, agriculture.

C.D. 745 RELIGION: Islam (Sunni).

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## 12. GODOBERI

CD 101 NAME: SELF-DESIGNATION: Ghibditl·i adami (i.e. "people of the village Ghidu (Godoberi").
RUSSIAN DESIGNATION: Godoberi-(ntsy).

CD 161 NUMBER: 1926 1,425 (Russian census, ethn.)
1,425 (Russian census, ling.)

CD 162 LOCATION: Just NW of the bend of the Andiiskoe Koisu, W of the Botlikh area (rayon Botlikh, aul Godoberi, Dagestan ASSR).

CD 197 LANGUAGE: Godoberi (Ghibditl·i mits·i) forms with Andi, Botlikh, Karata, Bagulal, Tindi, Chamalal, and Akhvakh, the Andi subgroup of the Avaro-Ando-Dido group of the NE Caucasian languages. The language is not written, Avar being used as the literary language.

CD 231 241 TRADITIONAL ECONOMY: Cattle-breeding; home industry; agriculture.

CD 795 RELIGION: Islam (Sunni).

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Dagestan RHI

## 13. KARATA

C. D. 101 NAME: SELF-DESIGNATION: Kirtl•e, pl. Kirtl•ei.
RUSSIAN DESIGNATIONS: Karatintsy, Karatai, Kirdi.
OTHER DESIGNATIONS: (Avar:) K'alalal.

C. D. 161 NUMBER: 1926 5,305 (Russian census, ethn.)
5,303 (Russian census, ling.)

C. D. 162 LOCATION: Just S of the bend of the Andiiskoe Koisu (N part of rayon Akhvakh, also rayons Andalaly and Vedeno (Dagest. ASSR). (1)

C. D. 197 LANGUAGE: Karata (Kirtl•i mats'i) forms with Andi, Botlikh, Godoberi, Bagulal, Tindi, Chamalal, and Akhvakh, the Andi subgroup of the Avaro-Ando-Dido group of the NE Caucasian languages. The language is not written, Avar being used as the literary language.

SUBDIVISIONS: Dialects: Karata proper Anchikh and Tokita.

C. D. 231 241 TRADITIONAL ECONOMY: cattle-breeding, home industry, agriculture.

C. D. 795 RELIGION: Islam (Sunni).

(1) auls Karata, Archo, Anchikh, Tokita, Mashtada, Rachabalda, Chabakoro.

## 14. BAGULAL

C.D. 101 NAME: SELF-DESIGNATION: Kwantl hekua, or Bagolal.

RUSSIAN DESIGNATION: Bagulaly; Bagvalal, Bogulal.

OTHER DESIGNATIONS: due to their dual self-designation, referred to both as Bagulal and Kvanada.

C.D. 161 NUMBER: 1926 3,054 (Russian census, ethn.)
3,053 (Russian census, ling.)

C.D. 162 LOCATION: S of the bend of the Andiiskoe Koisu, S of the Karata area (rayon Tsumada, auls Khushtada, Tlondoda, Kvanada; rayon Akhvakh, auls Gimerso, Tisi, Tlibisho, Dagestan ASSR).

C.D. 197 LANGUAGE: Bagulal (Bagulazul mits') forms with Andi, Botlikh, Godoberi, Karata, Tindi, Chamalal, and Akhvakh, the Andi subgroup of the Avaro-Ando-Dido group of the NE Caucasian languages. The language is not written, Avar being used as literary language.

SUBDIVISIONS: Dialects: Bagulal proper and Tlisi.

C.D. 231 241 TRADITIONAL ECONOMY: Cattle-breeding; agriculture; home industry.

C.D. 79 RELIGION: Islam (Sunni).

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Dagestan RH8

## 15. TINDI

CD 101 NAME: SELF-DESIGNATION: Idaraw hekwa
RUSSIAN DESIGNATIONS: Tindii, Tindiitsy, Tindal', Inderi (ntsy), Idi.
OTHER DESIGNATIONS: (Dido:) Bogozi, pl. Bogozibi.

CD 161 NUMBER: 1926 3,812 (Russian census, ethn.)
3,704 (Russian census, ling.)
1952 5,000 (estimate Gudava)

CD .162 LOCATION: Aul Tindi, on the E tributary of the Andiiskoe Koisu which separates the Bagulal group from the Khvarshi area; (rayon Tsumada, Dagestan ASSR). (1)

CD 197 LANGUAGE: Tindi (Idara mits' ) forms with Andi, Botlikh, Godoberi, Karata, Bagulal, Chamalal and Akhvakh the Andi subgroup of the Avaro-Ando-Dido group of the NE Caucasian languages. The language is not written, Avar being used as the literary language.

CD 231 241 TRADITIONAL ECONOMY: Cattle-breeding; agriculture; home industry.

CD 795 RELIGION: Islam (Sunni)

(1) Also auls Tisi, Echeda and Akhnada (rayon Tsumada) and Qedi (rayon Vedeno)

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## 16. CHAMALAL

CD 101 NAME: SELF-DESIGNATION: according to separate villages; as opposed to other peoples: Ch'amalaldu, pl. Ch'amalaldube, collective: Ch'amalali.
RUSSIAN DESIGNATION: Chamalaly.

CD 161 NUMBER: 1926 3,438 (Russian census, ethn.)
3,438 (Russian census, ling.)

CD .162 LOCATION: On the E side of the Andiiskoe Koisu, just below the bend; auls Verkhnii Gakvari (with sub-villages), Nizhnii Gakvari (with sub-villages), Agvali, Tsumada, Tsumada-Urukh, Richaganik, Gadyri (with sub-villages), Gachitl′, Gigatl′ (with sub-villages), Kvankhi (Tsumada rayon, Dagestan ASSR).

CD 197 LANGUAGE: Chamalal (Ch'amalaldub mits'•) forms with Andi, Botlikh, Godoberi, Karata, Bagulal, Tindi, and Akhvakh, the Andi sub-group of the Avaro-Ando-Dido group of the NE Caucasian languages. The language is not written, Avar being used as the literary language.

SUBDIVISIONS: Dialects: 1a. Gakvari (incl. Gakvari, Agvali, Tsumada, Tsumada-Urukh, Richaganik); 1b. Gadyri (incl. Gachitl′ ) and Kvankhi; 2. Gigatl′ .

CD 231 438 241 TRADITIONAL ECONOMY: Cattle-breeding; home industry (Caucasian felt cloaks, gold-smithing); agriculture.

CD 795 RELIGION: Islam (Sunni).

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Dagestan RH8

## 17. AKHVAKH

C D 101 NAME: SELF-DESIGNATION: Atluatl'i.
RUSSIAN DESIGNATION: Akhvakhtsy.

C D 161 NUMBER: 1926 3,683 (Russian census, ethn.)
3,683 (Russian census, ling.)

C D .162 LOCATION: Between Avarskoe Koisu and Andiiskoe Koisu, just at their bend to the E (rayon Akhvakh: auls Izani, Kudiiab-Roso, Tad-Magitl', Lologonitl'; rayon Kakhib: auls Tlenob, Tsekob; rayon Andalaly: aul Ratlub; all in Dagestan ASSR).

C D 197 LANGUAGE: Akhvakh (Atluatl·i mits·i) forms with Andi Batlikh, Godoberi, Karata, Bagulal, Tindi, and Chamaiai, the Andi subgroup of the Avaro-Ando-Dido group of the NE Caucasian languages. The language is not written, Avar being used as the literary language.

C D 231 241 TRADITIONAL ECONOMY: Cattle-breeding; agriculture; home industry.

C D 795 RELIGION: Islam (Sunni).

## 18. KHVARSHI

C. D. 101 NAME: SELF-DESIGNATION: Kedaes hikwa. RUSSIAN DESIGNATIONS: Khvarshiny, Khvarshintsy.

C. D. 161 NUMBER: 1926 1,019 (Russian census, ethn.)
1,018 (Russian census, ling.)

C. D. 162 LOCATION: On a S tributary of the Andiiskoe Koisu, SW of the Bagulal area (auls Khvarshi, Inkhokari, etc., Vedeno rayon, Dagestan ASSR).

C. D. 197 LANGUAGE: Khvarshi (Kedaes mits°, Inkhies mits', depending on village) forms with Dido, Kapucha, Khunzal, and Ginukh, the Dido subgroup of the Avaro-Ando-Dido group of the NE Caucasian languages. The language is not written, Avar being used as the literary language.

C. D. 241 231 TRADITIONAL ECONOMY: Agriculture; cattle-breeding.

C. D. 795 RELIGION: Islam (Sunni).

7:Columbia U. S-4, 5 1956 RH1 Caucasia RH1
Dagestan RH8
Didoi

## 19. DIDO

C. D. 101 NAME: SELF-DESIGNATION: Ts'ezi, pl. Ts'ezibi

RUSSIAN DESIGNATIONS: Didoi, Didoitsy, Tsezy.

OTHER DESIGNATIONS: (Georgian:) Dido; (Kakhetian-Georgian:) Tsunt'a "ragamuffin", a name also used by the Avar and several peoples of the Andi group.

C. D. 161 NUMBER: 1926 3,276 (Russian census, ethn.)
3,198 (Russian census, ling.)

C. D. 162 LOCATION: S of the upper Andiiskoe Koisu.

C. D. 197 LANGUAGE: Dido (Ts'ezias mets') forms with Khvarshi, Kapucha, Khunzal, and Ginukh, the so-called Dido subgroup of the Avaro-Ando-Dido group of the NE Caucasian languages. The language is not written, Avar being used as the literary language.

C. D. 231 241 326 TRADITIONAL ECONOMY: Cattle-breeding; agriculture; home industry (goldsmithing).

C. D. 795 RELIGION: Islam (Sunni).

## 20. KAPUCHA

C.D. 101 NAME: SELF-DESIGNATION: Kapuchias suko or Bezhtl·as suko, depending on the village.
RUSSIAN DESIGNATIONS: Kapuchiny, Bezhitiny.

C.D. 161 NUMBER: 1926 1,448 (Russian census, ethn.)
1,448 (Russian census, ling.)

C.D. 162 LOCATION: Upper basin of Avarskoe Koisu (rayon Tliarata, auls Bezhity, Khocharkhota, Tliadal' Dagestan ASSR).

C.D. 197 LANGUAGE: Kapucha (Bezhtl·alas mits·) forms with Khvarshi, Dido, Khunzal, and Ginukh, the Dido subgroup of the Avaro-Ando-Dido group of the NE Caucasian languages. The language is not written, Avar being used as the literary language.

C.D. 231 241 326 TRADITIONAL ECONOMY: Cattle-breeding; agriculture; home industry (goldsmithing).

C.D. 795 RELIGION: Islam (Sunni).

7: Columbia U. S-4, 5 1956 RH1 Caucasia RH1
Dagestan RH8

## 21. KHUNZAL

C. D. 101 NAME: SELF-DESIGNATION: ------
RUSSIAN DESIGNATIONS: Khunzaly, Gun(d)zaly, Nakhada.

C. D. 161 NUMBER: 1926 106 (Russian census, ethn.)
129 (Russian census, ling.)

C. D. 162 LOCATION: Auls Hunzib and Gharbuti (with former Nakhada) (rayon Tlarata, Dagestan ASSR).

C. D. 197 LANGUAGE: Khunzal forms with Khvarshi, Dido, Kapucha, and Ginukh, the Dido subgroup of the Avaro-Ando-Dido group of the NE Caucasian languages. The language is not written, Avar being used as the literary language.

C. D. 231 241 TRADITIONAL ECONOMY: Cattle-breeding; agriculture; crafts.

C. D. 795 RELIGION: Islam (Sunni).

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## 22. GINUKH

C.D. 101

NAME: SELF-DESIGNATION: -----
RUSSIAN DESIGNATION: Ginukhtsy

C.D. 161 NUMBER: 200 (estimate, Bokarev)

C.D. 162 LOCATION: Aul Ginukh, rayon Tliarata, (Dagestan ASSR). Majority had moved to rayon Vedeno by 1949 (village Kidero).

C.D. 197 LANGUAGE: Ginukh forms with Khvarshi, Dido, Kapuchi, and Khunzal, the Dido subgroup of the Avaro-Ando-Dido group of the NE Caucasian languages. The language is not written, Avar being used as the literary language.

C.D. 231 TRADITIONAL ECONOMY: Cattle-breeding; home industry.

C.D. 795 RELIGION: Islam (Sunni).

## 23. ARCHI

C. D. 101 NAME: SELF-DESIGNATION: Arshishuw, Arshishtuw.
RUSSIAN DESIGNATION: Archintsy.
OTHER DESIGNATIONS: (Lak:) Roch.

C. D. 161 NUMBER: 1926 863 (Russian census, ethn.)
859 (Russian census, ling.)

C. D. 962 LOCATION: Aul Ruch-Archi on the Khatar river, rayon Charoda (Dagestan ASSR).

C. D. 197 LANGUAGE: Archi (Arshatten ch'at) belongs to the Avaro-Ando-Dido group of the NE Caucasian languages; its exact position in this group is uncertain. The language is not written, Avar being used as the literary language.

C. D. 231 286 TRADITIONAL ECONOMY: Cattle-breeding; home industry (cloth and tapestry weaving).

S 795 RELIGION: Islam (Sunni).

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DagestanRH8
Lak

## 24. LAK

C.D. 101 NAME: SELF-DESIGNATION: Lak̆, Lakuchū
RUSSIAN DESIGNATIONS: Laki, Kazikumukhtsy.
OTHER DESIGNATIONS: (Avar:) Tumaw, pl. Tumal; Lezgian: Yakholshu

C.D. 161 NUMBER: 1926 40,380 (Russian census, ethn.)
40,336 (Russian census, ling.)
1955 well over 55,000 (estimate, Zhirkov).

C.D. 162 LOCATION: Basin of the upper Tleuserakh, Khatar, and Kazikumukhskoe Koisu (rayons Lak and Kula, separate villages in rayons Tsudakhar, Akusha, Rutul, Kurakh, Charoda and Dakhadaev). Since 1944 also in the valley of Yaryksu river (Novo-Lak rayon, Dagestan ASSR).

C.D. 197 LANGUAGE: Lak (lakū maz) forms with the Dargwa group of languages the Lak-Dargwa subdivision of the NE Caucasian languages, which include also Veinakh, Avaro-Ando-Dido, Samurian, Khinalug, and Udi. Lak has the status of a literary language in the Dagestan ASSR; the written language is based on the Kumukh dialect.

C.D. 231 241 438 TRADITIONAL ECONOMY: Cattle-breeding; production of leather goods and pottery; metal-work (weapons); agriculture.

C.D. 795 RELIGION: Islam (Sunni).

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Dagestan RH8
Dargin

## 25. DARGWA

CA 101 NAME: SELF-DESIGNATION: No general one (the term "Dargwa" refers originally to a type of political-administrative unit); according to villages: Ts'udq·ran, pl. Ts'udq·ur "person from Tsudakhar", Khurq·an, pl. Khuruq· "person from Khiurkila", etc.

RUSSIAN DESIGNATIONS: Darginy, Dargintsy; language also Khiurkilinskii iazyk.

OTHER DESIGNATIONS: (German:) for the language: Hürkanisch.

CA 161 NUMBER: 1897 130,209 (Russian census)
108,963 (Russian census, ethn.)
107,645 (Russian census, ling.)

The 1897 figure probably includes Kubachi and Kaitak.

CA 162 LOCATION: In the lower mountains between the rivers Kazikumukhskoe Koisu and Ullachai (rayons Sergokala, Akusha, Dakhadaev, Shuragat, Tsudakhar, most of Levashi; separate villages in rayons Karabudakhkent (Gubden, Gurbuki), Buinak (Kadar, Karamakhi, Chankurby), Gunib (Miamusi), Agul (Amukh, Chirakh), Dagestan ASSR).

CA 197 LANGUAGE: Dargwa forms with the closely related Kubachi and Kaitak the so-called Dargwa subgroup of the Lak-Dargwa group of the NE Caucasian languages. It has the status of literary language in the Dagestan ASSR; the written language is based on the Akusha dialect (Aq·usha midz).

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DagestanRH8

## 26. KAITAK

C. D. 101 NAME: SELF-DESIGNATION: Khaidaqlan, plur. Khaidaq.
RUSSIAN DESIGNATION: Khaidaki, Kaitagi, Kaitaki.

C. D. 161 NUMBER: 1926 14,430 (Russian census, ethn.)
14,469 (Russian census, ling.)

C. D. 162 LOCATION: Basin of Ulla-Chai, between the Dargwa and the Tabasaran areas (rayon Kaitak, S part of rayon Dakhadaev, Dagestan ASSR).

C. D. 197 LANGUAGE: Kaitak forms with the closely related Dargwa and Kubachi the so-called Dargwa subgroup of the Lak-Dargwa group of the NE Caucasian languages. The language is not written, Dargwa being used as the literary language.

C. D. 231 241 TRADITIONAL ECONOMY: Cattle-breeding; agriculture; home industry.

C. D. 795 RELIGION: Islam (Sunni).

## 27. KUBACHI

C. D. 101 NAME: SELF-DESIGNATION: Ughbug.
RUSSIAN DESIGNATION: Kubachintsy.

C. D. 161 NUMBER: 1926 2,322 (Russian cens., ethn.)
2,470 (Russian cens., ling.)

C. D. 162 LOCATION: Aul Kubachi (rayon Dakhadaev, Dagestan ASSR).

C. D. 197 LANGUAGE: Kubachi (Ughbughan hub) forms with the closely related Dargwa and Kaitak the Dargwa subgroup of the Lak-Dargwa group of the NE Caucasian languages. The language is not written, Dargwa being used as a literary language.

C. D. 231 326 TRADITIONAL ECONOMY: Cattle-breeding; goldsmithing; incrustation work.

C. D. 795 RELIGION: Islam (Sunni).

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Dagestan RH8
Lezgin

## 28. LEZGIANS

C. D. 101 NAME: SELF-DESIGNATION: Lezgí, pl. Lezgiar.

ENGLISH VARIANTS: Lezg(h)i, Lezg(h)ians.

RUSSIAN DESIGNATIONS: Lezginy, Kiurintsy, for the language: Kiurinskii iazyk. (The name Lezginy has often been used to refer to the Dagestan mountaineers in general.)

OTHER DESIGNATIONS: (Georgian:) Lek'i (in a wider sense referring to the Dagestan mountaineers in general); (German:) for the language: Kürinisch.

C. D. 161 NUMBER:

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 1897 | 159,213 | (Russian census) |
| 1926 | 134,529 | (Russian census, ethn.) |
| | 164,763 | (Russian census, ling.) |

C. D. 162 LOCATION: Basins of Gyulgeri-chai, middle and lower Samur and Shakh-Nabad rivers, i.e. the whole SE part of Dagestan and the adjoining part of N Azerbaidzhan. (Dagestan ASSR; Azerbaidzhan SSR).

C. D. 197 LANGUAGE: Lezgian (Lezgi ch'al) forms with Agul, Rutul, Tsakhur, Tabasaran, Budukh, and Dzhek, the Samurian subdivision of the NE Caucasian language group. It has the status of a literary language in the Dagestan ASSR; the written language is based on the Kiuri dialect.

SUBDIVISIONS: Three basic dialects: Kiuri, Akhty, Kuba.

## 29. AGUL

C. D. 101 NAME: SELF-DESIGNATION: Aghul, Aghulshuy
RUSSIAN DESIGNATION: Aguly

C. D. 161 NUMBER: 1926 7,653 (Russian census, ethn.)
7,653 (Russian census, ling.)

C. D. 162 LOCATION: Basin of upper Kurakh-chai and Gyulgeri-chai (Magudere), with affluents (rayons Agul and Kurakh, Dagestan ASSR).

C. D. 197 LANGUAGE: Agul (Aghul ch'al, Aghularin ch'al) forms with Lezgian, Rutul, Tsakhur, Tabasaran, Budukh, and Dzhek, the Samurian subdivision of the NE Caucasian language group. The language is not written, Lezgian being used as the literary language.

SUBDIVISIONS: Two dialects: Agul proper and Koshan.

C. D. 231 438 TRADITIONAL ECONOMY: Cattle breeding; home industry (production of cloth, tapestries, felt cloaks).

C. D. 795 RELIGION: Islam (Sunni).

## 31. TSAKHUR

C. D. 101 NAME: SELF-DESIGNATION: No general one; inhabitants of aul Tsakhur (Ts'akhur) call themselves Ts'akhighali, pl. Ts'akhby.
RUSSIAN DESIGNATION: Tsakhury.

C. D. 161 NUMBER: 1926 19,085 (Russian census, ethn.)
10,951 (Russian census, ling.)

C. D. 162 LOCATION: Samur basin W of its confluence with the Kara-Samur (Tsakhur rayon, Dagestan ASSR); also on the S slopes of the Caucasus in the area of Elisu (Azerbaidzhan SSR).

C. D. 197 LANGUAGE: Tsakhur (Ts'akhbishda miz) forms with Lezgian, Agul, Rutul, Tabasaran, Budukh, and Dzhek, the Samurian subdivision of the NE Caucasian language-group. The language is not written, Avar being used as the literary language in the Daghestan ASSR, Azeri in the Azerbaidzhan SSR.

C. D. 231 438 TRADITIONAL ECONOMY: Cattle-breeding; home industry (production of cloth, tapestries, felt cloaks).

C. D. 795 RELIGION: Islam (Sunni).

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## 32. TABASARAN

C.A. 101 NAME: SELF-DESIGNATION: Tabasaran zhvi, Tabarasan zhvi, Ghumghum zhvi.
RUSSIAN DESIGNATION: Tabasarantsy.

C.A. 161 NUMBER: 1926 31,983 (Russian census, ethn.)
29,726 (Russian census, ling.)

C.D. 162 LOCATION: Basin of Upper Rubas-chai and Upper Chirakh-chai (rayons Tabasaran and Khiv, Dagestan ASSR).

C.D. 197 LANGUAGE: Tabasaran (Tabasaran ch'al) forms with Lezgian, Agul, Rutul, Tsakhur, Budukh, and Dzhek, the Samurian subdivision of the NE Caucasian language-group. It has the status of a literary language in the Daghestan ASSR; the written language is based on the southern dialect.

SUBDIVISIONS: The language has two main dialects: North (Khanag) and South Tabasaran.

C.D. 241 438 TRADITIONAL ECONOMY: Agriculture; horticulture; home industry (weapon- and tool-making, silversmith's and coppersmith's work, tapestry-weaving).

C.D. 495 RELIGION: Islam (Sunni).

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## 33. BUDUKH

C.
D.
101 NAME: SELF-DESIGNATION: ----
RUSSIAN DESIGNATION: Budukhi, Budugi

C.
D.
161 NUMBER: 1926 1 (Russian census, ethn.)
1,995 (Russian census, ling.)

C.
D.
162 LOCATION: Mt. Shakhdag area, in the upper basin of the Kara-chai (Konakhkend rayon, Azerb. SSR).

C.
D.
197 LANGUAGE: Budukh forms, with Lezgian, Agul, Rutul, Tsakhur, Tabasaran, and Dzhek, the Samurian subdivision of the NE Caucasian language-group. The language is not written, Azeri being used as the literary language.

C.
D.
231
241 TRADITIONAL ECONOMY: Cattle-breeding; horticulture.

C.
D.
795 RELIGION: Islam (Sunni).

## 34. DZHEK

C.D. 101 NAME: SELF-DESIGNATION: -----
RUSSIAN DESIGNATION: According to villages; Dzheki, Kryzy, Khaputtsy, (Gaputlintsy, Khaputlintsy).

C.D. 161 NUMBER: 1926 Dzhek 590 Kryz 5 Khaput 12 (Russian census, ethn.)
All three groups together: 4,348 (Russ. census, ling.)

C.D. 162 LOCATION: Mt. Shakhdag area, in the basin of the upper right arm of the Kudial-chai (Konakhkend rayon, Azerbaidzhan SSR). Also daughter-settlements near the Caspian coast in the Khachmas area (Azerbaidzhan SSR).

C.D. 197 LANGUAGE: The Dzhek language forms with Lezgian, Agul, Rutul, Tsakhur, Tabasaran, and Budukh, the Samurian subdivision of the NE Caucasian languages. The language is not written, Azeri being used as the literary language.

SUBDIVISIONS: According to villages: Dzhek, Kryz, Khaput.

C.D. 231 241 TRADITIONAL ECONOMY: Cattle-breeding; agriculture; horticulture.

C.D. 745 RELIGION: Islam (Sunni).

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## 35. KHINALUG

C. D. 101 NAME: SELF-DESIGNATION: -----
RUSSIAN DESIGNATION: Khinalugi.

C. D. 161 NUMBER: 1926 105 (Russian census, ethn.)
1,540 (Russian census, ling.)

C. D. ●162 LOCATION: Shakhdag area, aul Khinalug (Khynalyk) on the upper right arm of the Kudial-chai (rayon Konakhkend, Azerbaidzhan SSR).

C. D. 197 LANGUAGE: Khinalug (Kättidmits) is a member of the NE Caucasian language-group to which there belong further the Veinakh, Avaro-Ando-Dido, Lak-Dargwa, and Samurian groups, and the Udi language. Khinalug is not written, Azeri being used as the literary language.

C. D. 231 TRADITIONAL ECONOMY: Cattle-breeding.

C. D. 795 RELIGION: Islam (Sunni).

## 36. UDI

C. 5: 101 NAME: SELF-DESIGNATION: Udi, Uti.
RUSSIAN DESIGNATION: Udiny.

C. 5: 161 NUMBER: 1897 7,100 (Russian census)
1926 2,455 (Russian census, ethn.)
2,762 (Russian census, ling.)

C. 5: 162 LOCATION: Villages Vartashen and Nidzh (rayons Vartashen and Kutkashen, Azerbaidzhan SSR), Oktomberi (Georgian SSR).

C. D: 197 LANGUAGE: Udi (Udi muz) is a member of the NE Caucasian language-group, to which there belong further the Veinakh, Avaro-Ando-Dido, Lak-Dargwa, and Samurian groups, and the Khinalug language. Though Udi was written before the revolution, it does not have the status of literary language, this function being fulfilled by Azeri.

C. D: 241 231 TRADITIONAL ECONOMY: Agriculture; cattle-breeding.

C. D: 795 RELIGION: Eastern Orthodox, Armenian-Gregorian.

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## 37. ARMENIANS

101 NAME: SELF-DESIGNATION: Hai, Pl. Haik.
RUSSIAN DESIGNATION: Armiane
OTHER DESIGNATIONS: (Georgian:) Somekhi; (Turkish:) Ermeni.

161 NUMBER: 1897 1,173,096 (Russian census)
1926 1,567,568 (Russian census, ethn.)
1,475,250 (Russian census, ling.)
1939 2,151,884 (Russian cenus)

• 162 Distribution: Main concentration in USSR (over 40 per cent of the Armenians in the USSR live outside the Armenian political units of the latter); Turkey: 61,000 (1950; Turkish census); Syria: 118,537 (1943; official estimate); Iran (number unknown); other countries of Near East (number unknown); People's Democracies: 80,000 (1949; estimate Bol'shaia Sovetskaia Éntsiklopediia); France: 70,000 (1952, estimate "Les langues du monde"); USA: 175,000 (1952, same source). Total number of Armenians 3,400,000 (estimate, same source).

LOCATION: S Transcaucasia, in the area of the upper Kura, Lake Sevan, the middle Araks and on the E slopes of the Karabakh Mts. (Armenian SSR; High Karabakh AO); scattered groups throughout the Caucasus and in S Russia, mainly in the cities. Outside USSR: Turkey (mainly Istanbul; Syria; Iran (mainly Teheran and Isfahan (Dzhulfa)); other countries of Near East; France; USA.

## 38. OSSETES

101 NAME: SELF-DESIGNATION; no general one, according to tribes: Ir (collective), Iron (sing.), Irättä (pl.); Dygur, Digor (coll.), Dyguron, Digoron (sing.); Tuallag (sing.), Tuallägtä (pl.).
ENGLISH VARIANTS: Ossetes; for the language: Ossetian, Ossetic.
RUSSIAN DESIGNATIONS: Osety, Osetiny.
OTHER DESIGNATIONS: (Georgian:) Osi; (German:) Ossen, Osseten.

161 NUMBER: 1897 171,716 (Russian census)
1926 272,272 (Russian census, ethn.)
267,019 (Russian census, ling.)
1939 354,500 (Russian census)

162 LOCATION: In the central Caucasus on both sides of the main chain, in the N along the upper Terek and its affluents on the left (Gizel'don, Ardon, Urukh) (North-Ossetian ASSR), in the S in the immediately adjoining part of the Georgian SSR (South-Ossetian AO), smaller groups also farther to the S, extending beyond the Kura river.

197 LANGUAGE: Ossetian (Iron ävzag) is a member of the Eastern (in older terminology, Northern) subdivision of the Iranian branch of the Indo-European language-family, to which branch belong also Persian, and, in the Caucasus, Tat, Talysh, and Kurdish. Ossetian has the

## 39. TALYSH

101 NAME: SELF-DESIGNATION: Tolysh.
ENGLISH VARIANTS: Talysh, Talish.
RUSSIAN DESIGNATIONS: Talyshi, Talyshintsy.

161 NUMBER: 1897 35,291 (Russian census)
1926 77,323 (Russian census, ethn.)
80,629 (Russian census, ling.)
1931 89,398 (Azerb. upravl. nar.-khoz. ucheta.)
In Iran: 50,000 (estimate, B. V. Miller)

162 LOCATION: Along Caspian coast S of the River Viliazh-chai (rayons Lenkoran', Zuvand, Astara, and part of Massala, Azerbaidzhan SSR), extending into Persian territory up to Kepri-chal.

197 LANGUAGE: Talysh (Tolysha zyvon), like Tat, is a member of the NW subdivision of the Iranian branch of the Indo-European language-family, to which branch also belong Persian, and, in the Caucasus, Ossetian and Kurdish. The Talysh in the USSR are all bilingual and speak also Azeri, which is used as the literary language.

241 231 TRADITIONAL ECONOMY: Agriculture; horticulture; stock-raising; home industry.

795 RELIGION: Islam (Shii).

## 40. TAT

101 NAME: SELF-DESIGNATION: Tat.
ENGLISH VARIANTS: Tat; for the Jewish Tat: Mountain Jews, Judeo-Tats.
RUSSIAN DESIGNATIONS: Taty; for the Jewish Tat: Gorskie evrei.
OTHER DESIGNATIONS: (Turkish, for the Jewish Tat:) Dagh Chufuti; (German, for the Jewish Tat:) Bergjuden.

161 NUMBER: 1897 95,056 (Russian census)
1926 28,705 (Muslim Tat)(Russian census, ethn.)
21,471 (Jewish Tat)(Russian census, ethn.)
86,088 (Russian census, ling.)

162 LOCATION: On both slopes of the Eastern extension of the main Caucasian chain and on the Apsheron peninsula, in the coastal zone of the Caspian Sea between Apsheron and Kuba, SE of Kuba and NW of Shemakha (Azerbaidzhan SSR; Dagestan ASSR). The Jewish Tat are concentrated in the Area of Kuba, Derbent and Buinaksk; other settlements in the Groznyi and Nal'chik area and on the Kuban'.

197 LANGUAGE: Tat(zuhun Tāti), like Talysh, is a member of the NW subdivision of the Iranian branch of the Indo-European language-family to which branch also

## 41. KURDS

101 NAME: SELF-DESIGNATION: Kurd
RUSSIAN DESIGNATION: Kurdy

161 NUMBER:

Kurd
1897 99,949 (Russian census)
1926 54,661 (Russ. cens., ethn.)
34,162 (Russ. cens., ling.)
1939 45,866 (Russian census)

Yezid (See under "Religion")
1897 14,726 (Russian census)
1926 14,523 (Russian census)

162 Distribution: Iran 1,500,000 to 2,000,000 (1950 estimate, Menges); Turkey 1,841,000 (1950 Turkish census); Iraq 800,000 (1947 estimate, Hourani); Syria 100,000 (1947 estimate, Hourani), 100,000 to 200,000 (estimate, Royal Inst. of Intern. Affairs); Afghanistan, Pakistan (numbers unknown); total 5,000,000 (estimate, Les langues du monde).

LOCATION: Southern Transcaucasia, in scattered groups, especially in the Armenian SSR and the SW part of the Azerbaidzhan SSR. There are also a small number of Kurds in the Turkmen SSR. (Scattered in Iran, especially the N frontier region; SE Turkey, NE Iraq.)

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## 42. AZERI TURKS

101 NAME: SELF-DESIGNATION: Türkler, Azerbayjanlilar; also tribal names (Shahsevenler, etc.).

ENGLISH VARIANTS: Turks, Azeri Tatars, Turks of Azerbaijan, Tatars of Azerbaijan, Azerbaijan Turks, Azerbaijanians.

RUSSIAN DESIGNATIONS: Tiurki, Azerbaidzhantsy, Azerbaidzhanskie Tiurki.

TURKISH DESIGNATIONS: Türkler, Azeri Türkleri, Azerbaycan Türkleri; also tribal names (Şahsevenler, etc.).

161 NUMBER: USSR

1897 1,506,540 (Russian census)
1926 1,706,605 (Russ. cens. ethn)
1,751,965 (Russ. cens. ling.)
1939 2,274,805 (Russian census)

Persia

Mid-thirties: 2,500,000 (estimate; Németh)
1950: 3,000,000 (estimate; Kazemzadeh)

Iraq

1950 over 100,000 (estimate; Halasi-Kun)

162 Distribution:

USSR: ca. 45 per cent
Persia: ca. 52 per cent
Iraq: ca. 3 per cent

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162 LOCATION: Geographical: Transcaucasia, Northern Caucasus along the Caspian Sea (northward as far as Derbent), northwestern Persia, southern Kurdistan (Iraq).

Political-Administrative: USSR: Azerbaidzhan SSR, Georgian SSR, Dagestan ASSR. Persia: Rizaiyeh, Azerbaijan, Khamseh, Kazvin, Ardelan provinces. Iraq: Erbil, Kirkuk, Sülaimaniya provinces.

197 LANGUAGE: Azeri Turkic; belongs to the Western Oghuz Turkic group and differs very little from Turkish and the Kashkay-Hamse languages; literary language since the 14th century; lingua franca in Transcaucasia, Dagestan ASSR, and northern Persia.

SUBDIVISIONS: Tribal: Settled Azeris; Nomadic Azeris (Iliyat). Dialectal: Northern (USSR); Southern (Persia).

244 231 438 TRADITIONAL ECONOMY: Agriculture; cattle-breeding; commerce; industry.

795 RELIGION: Islam (Shii, Sunni).

## 43. TURKOMANS

101 NAME: SELF-DESIGNATION: Türkmenler.

ENGLISH VARIANTS: Turkmens, Turkmans, Turkomans of Stavropol', Trukhmens.

RUSSIAN DESIGNATIONS: Trukhmeny, Turkmeny.

TURKISH DESIGNATION: Türkmenler.

161 NUMBER: USSR:

Northern Caucasus, 1926: 8,000, (estimate, Russ. cens.)

USSR:
(with Northern Caucasus:)
1897 281,351 (Russian census)
1926 763,940 (Russ. cens. ethn.)
745,859 (Russ. cens. ling.)
1939 811,769 (Russian census)

Afghanistan:
1939 200,000 (estimate, Jarring)

Persia:
1955 over 500,000 (estimate, Halasi-Kun)

• 162 Main concentration in Central Asia; only a small group in the Caucasus.

LOCATION: Geographical: Northern Caucasus: Stavropol' upland (southward from Manych Canal between the Kuma and Yegorlyk rivers); in SW Central Asia.

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Turcoman

162 (Location, continued)
Political-Administrative: Northern Caucasus: Stavropol' Krai (northern rayons), Rostov Oblast (southeastern rayons); Central Asia: Turkmen SSR, Kara-Kalpak ASSR, Afghanistan, Persia.

197 LANGUAGE: Turkoman; constitutes Eastern Oghuz Turkic; most nearly related Turkic language group: Western Oghuz Turkic (Turkish, Azeri, Kashkay-Hamse); several dialects agreeing with tribal subdivisions; literary language based on the dialect of Yomuts; literary language since the 18th century.

SUBDIVISIONS: Tribal: Trukhmen (Northern Caucasus); Teke, Yomut, Ersari, Sarik (Turkmen SSR); Chaudur (Kara-Kalpak ASSR); Salir (Afghanistan); Göklen (Persia)

231
241 TRADITIONAL ECONOMY: Cattle-breeding; agriculture.

795 RELIGION: Islam (Sunni).

7:Columbia U. S-4,5 1956 RH1 Caucasia
RH1

## 44. KARAPAPAK

101 NAME: SELF-DESIGNATION: ----
RUSSIAN DESIGNATION: Karapapakhi
TURKISH DESIGNATION: Karapapaklar

161 NUMBER: USSR
1926 6,316 (Russian cens., ethn.)
6,311 (Russian cens., ling.)

Persia
mid-twenties: 15,000 (estimate, Mirza Bala)

162 Distribution:
USSR ca. 30 per cent
Persia ca. 70 per cent

LOCATION: Geographical: Transcaucasia: the area between the Kura and Arpachai rivers. Persia: the area around Sulduz on Lake Urmia.
Political-Administrative: USSR: Akhalkalaki Uezd of the Georgian SSR, Leninakan Uezd of the Armenian SSR. Persia: Province of Azerbaijan.

197 LANGUAGE: Karapapak; belongs with Kipchak Turkic substrata to the Western Oghuz Turkic group, and differs very little from Azeri Turkic, Turkish, and Kashkay-Hamse (in the Georgian SSR it is often confused with Azeri Turkic (Azeri of Borchalino and Azeri of Akhalkalaki), whereas in Turkey it has been absorbed into Turkish and is no longer spoken)

## 45. KUMUK

101 NAME: SELF-DESIGNATION: Kumuklar
ENGLISH VARIANTS: Kumyk
RUSSIAN DESIGNATION: Kumyki
TURKISH DESIGNATION: Kumuklar

161 NUMBER: 1926 94,549 (Russian cens. ethn.)
94,909 (Russian cens. ling.)

162 LOCATION: Geographical: The northeastern slopes of the Greater Caucasus along the Aksai, Sulak, Shura, and Gubden rivers, and along the Caspian coast from Adzhi-Su to Derbent.

Political-Administrative: Dagestan ASSR (Makhachkala, Buynaksk, Izberbash, and Derbent okrugs), Groznyi Oblast (southern parts of the former Kizliar Okrug).

197 LANGUAGE: Kumuk; belongs to the Kipchak Turkic group, together with Crimean Turkic, Karachay, Balkar, Noghay, Kazan Turkic, Kazak, etc.); literary language since the 19th century; lingua franca in Dagestan ASSR northward from Derbent.

241 231 226 TRADITIONAL ECONOMY: Agriculture; cattle-breeding; fishing.

795 RELIGION: Islam (Sunni).

7:Columbia U. S-4,5 1956 RH1 Caucasia
Nogai RH1

## 46. NOGHAY

101 NAME: SELF-DESIGNATION: Noghaylar
RUSSIAN DESIGNATION: Nogaitsy
TURKISH DESIGNATION: Noğaylar

161 NUMBER:

USSR

Groznyi Oblast, 25,000 (1950 estimate, Jyrkänkallio)

Astrakhan Oblast (rayons along the Kuma) (unknown)

Cherkes Autonomous Oblast, 15,000 (1939 estimate, Shabad)

Astrakhan Oblast (rayons along the Volga) (unknown)

Crimean SSR (before 1945) (unknown)

Bulgaria

Dobruja 30,000 (1950 estimate, Jyrkänkallio)

• 162 Distribution: USSR: Groznyi Oblast, Astrakhan Oblast (rayons along the Kuma and Volga rivers), Cherkes AO; Crimean SSR (before 1945); Bulgaria: Dobruja.

LOCATION: Geographical: USSR: Northern Caucasus: between the Kuma and Terek rivers and northwards from the Kuma River; on the Zelenchuk River

162 between the upper Kuban' and Urup rivers. Crimean SSR (before 1945): Northern Crimea, Perekop. Bulgaria: Dobruja, Deli Orman area.

Political-Administrative: USSR: Groznyi Oblast (former Kizliar and Achikulak okrugs), Astrakhan Oblast (rayons along the Kuma and Volga rivers), Cherkes AO (Abazino-Nogai rayon), Crimean ASSR (before 1945). Bulgaria: former Shumen district.

197 LANGUAGE: Noghay; belongs to the Kipchak-Turkic language group, together with North Crimean Turkic, Karachay, Balkar, Kumuk, Kazan Turkic, Kazak, etc., literary language (since the Soviet period) based on the White Noghay, Black Noghay, and Central Noghay dialects; the other Noghay groups have given up the Noghay language.

SUBDIVISIONS: Dialectal: Black Noghay, Central Noghay (Groznyi Oblast, southern rayons of the Astrakhan Oblast); the Noghays of Crimea and those of Dobruja (Bulgaria) have given up their language in favor of South Crimean Turkic, whereas the Noghays around Astrakhan today speak Kazan Turkic.

231 241 TRADITIONAL ECONOMY: Cattle-breeding; agriculture (Bulgaria).

795 RELIGION: Islam (Sunni).

## 47. KARACHAY

101 NAME: SELF-DESIGNATION: Karachayla
RUSSIAN DESIGNATION: Karachaitsy,
TURKISH DESIGNATION: Karaçaylar

161 NUMBER: 1897 27,233 (Russian census)
1926 55,123 (Russian census, ethn.)
55,349 (Russian census, ling.)
1939 75,737 (Russian census)

162 Distribution: Deported from the Caucasus in 1943. Present location unknown.

LOCATION: Geographical: Before 1943, on the northern slopes of the Greater Caucasus along the headwaters of the Kuban', Teberda, Zelenchuk, Laba, and Podkumok rivers.

Political-Administrative: Before 1943: Karachai AO.

197 LANGUAGE: Karachay; belongs to the Kipchak Turkic language group (which includes Crimean Turkic, Kumuk, Noghay, Kazan Turkic, Kazak, etc.), and is almost identical with Balkar; as a literary language, a common Karachay-Balkar language was used which was created in the Soviet period.

231 241 TRADITIONAL ECONOMY: Cattle-breeding; agriculture; handicrafts.

795 RELIGION: Islam (Sunni).

## 48. BALKAR

101 NAME: SELF-DESIGNATION: Malkarla
RUSSIAN DESIGNATION: Balkary
TURKISH DESIGNATIONS: Malkarlar, Balkarlar.

161 NUMBER: 1897 34,232 (Russian census)
1926 33,307 (Russian census, ethn.)
33,276 (Russian census, ling.)
1939 42,666 (Russian census)

162 Distribution: Deported from the Caucasus in 1943, present location unknown.

LOCATION: Georgraphical: Before 1943, on the northern slopes of the Greater Caucasus along the upper course of the Baksan, Chegem, and Cherek rivers.
Political-Administrative: Before 1943: Kabardino-Balkar Autonomous SSR (Balkar rayon).

197 LANGUAGE: Balkar; belongs to the Kipchak Turkic language group, along with Crimean Turkic, Kumuk, Noghay, Kazan Turkic, Kazak etc.) and is almost identical with Karachay; as a literary language, a common Karachay-Balkar language was used, which was created in the Soviet period.

231 241 TRADITIONAL ECONOMY: Cattle-breeding and some agriculture.

79 RELIGION: Islam (Sunni).

7: Columbia U. S-4, 5 1956 RHI Caucasia RHI
European Kalmyk

## 49. KALMYK

101 NAME: SELF-DESIGNATION: Kal'imaq, Oirot, Öirüt ("the Confederate"), Dörwön Öirüt ("The Four Oirot").
ENGLISH VARIANTS: Kalmuck, Kalmyk, Kalmack (also with initial C).
RUSSIAN DESIGNATION: Kalmyki, for the language: Kalmytskii iazyk.
OTHER DESIGNATIONS: (various Turkic languages:) Qalmaq, Qalmyq.

161 NUMBER: 1897 190,480 (Russian census)
1926 129,321 (Russian census, ethn.)
130,997 (Russian census, ling.)
1939 134,327 (Russian census)

162 Distribution: Deported from the Caucasus (1943), present location of this group unknown. Additional groups: the Sarat-Kalmyk in the Kirgiz SSR (2,773, Russian census, ethn., 1926); in the Mongolian People's Republic ca. 60,000 (estimate, Benzing); in China (number unknown); also emigrant groups elsewhere (USA ca. 3,000).

LOCATION: The largest group lived until 1943 in the Lower Volga area in the now abrogated Kalmyk ASSR. The Sart-Kalmyk live near Lake Issyk-kul' in the Tien Shan Mts. (Kirgiz SSR). Outside the USSR there are scattered groups of Kalmyk in a giant semicircle all around the E Mongolian area (Dzungaria, NW Tibet,

7: Columbia U. S-4, 5 1956 RHI Caucasia RHI
Kalmyk

162 Ala-shan area, Ch'ing Hai province, China).

197 LANGUAGE: Kalmyk (Oirot) constitutes the W group of the Mongolian family of Altaic. It has a literary tradition going back to the 16th century.

SUBDIVISIONS: Dialects: Dörwöt, Torghūt (Torgout), and Buzāwa. Tribes: Torghūt, Khoshūt, Dörwöt (Dürböt, Dürbät, divided by the Russian Administration into the Great and Little Dörwöt), Khöit (Khōt), Tsoros, Dzūn-ghar ("left-wing army", "eastern") The Torghūt have always been considered the leading tribe.

[619]

233 231 226 TRADITIONAL ECONOMY: Nomadic pastoralism; sedentary stock-raising; (on the Volga:) fishing.

795 RELIGION: Lamaist Buddhism; (Sart-Kalmyk:) Islam (Sunni).

## 50. AISOR

101 NAME: SELF-DESIGNATION: Surai
ENGLISH VARIANTS: Chald(a)eans, Syrochald(a)eans, Assyrians.
RUSSIAN DESIGNATIONS: Aisory, Assiriitsy, Assuriitsy.
OTHER DISIGNATIONS: (Georgian:) Kaldeveli.

161 NUMBER: 1897 5,353 (Russian census)
1926 9,808 (Russian census, ethn.)
15,476 (Russian census, ling.)
1939 20,200 (Russian census)

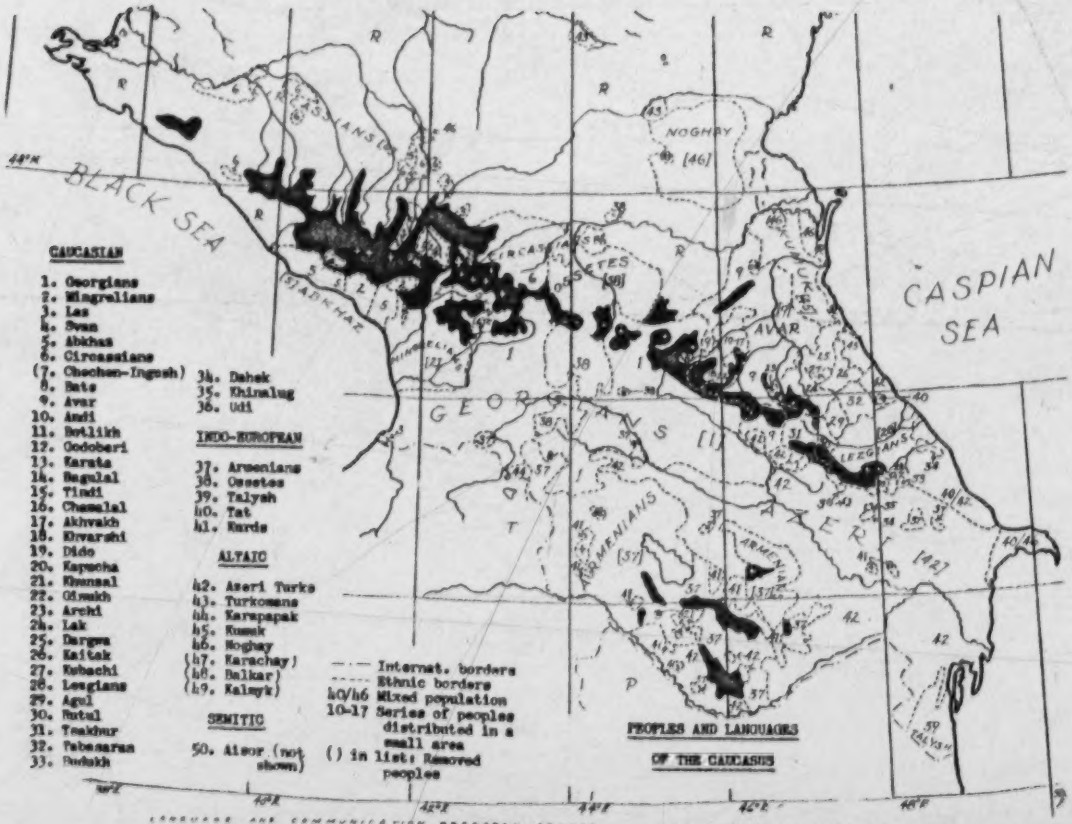
162 LOCATION: Concentrated near Erevan', also scattered in other regions of Transcaucasia. Outside USSR: Iraq (esp. in Tur Abdin) and NW Iran.

197 LANGUAGE: Aisor is a New-Syrian dialect, belonging to the Aramaic subdivision of the Semitic language-family. Aisor has the status of a literary language in the USSR.

241 231 TRADITIONAL ECONOMY: Agriculture; cattle-breeding; crafts.

795 RELIGION: Nestorian and Jacobite Christian.

162


BLACK SEA
CASPIAN SEA
NOGHAY
[46]
AVAR
LEZG
ARMENIANS
[57]
AZERI
[42]
GEORGIANS
CAUCASIAN
1. Georgians
2. Mingrelians
3. Laz
4. Svan
5. Abkhas
6. Circassians
(7. Chechen-Ingush)
8. Bats
9. Avar
10. Andi
11. Botlikh
12. Godoberi
13. Karata
14. Bagulal
15. Tindi
16. Chamalal
17. Akhvakh
18. Khvarshi
19. Dido
20. Kapucha
21. Khunzal
22. Gimukh
23. Archi
24. Lak
25. Dargwa
26. Kaitak
27. Kubachi
28. Lezgians
29. Agul
30. Rutul
31. Tsakhur
32. Tabasaran
33. Budukh
34. Dahek
35. Khinalug
36. Udi
INDO-EUROPEAN
37. Armenians
38. Ossetes
39. Talysh
40. Tat
41. Kurds
ALTAIC
42. Azeri Turks
43. Turkomans
44. Karapapak
45. Kumuk
46. Noghay
(47. Karachay)
(48. Balkar)
(49. Kalmyk)
SEMITIC
50. Aisor (not shown)
Internat. borders
Ethnic borders
40/46 Mixed population
10-17 Series of peoples distributed in a small area
() in list: Removed peoples
PEOPLES AND LANGUAGES OF THE CAUCASUS
LANGUAGE AND COMMUNICATION RESEARCH CENTER
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7:Columbia U. S-4,5 1956 RHl Caucasia RHl
Armenia RJl

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162

The population of Soviet Armenia is estimated to be close to 1,500,000 (1939 census, 1,280,000; 1947 estimate, 1,345,000). Of this total a little more than 85 per cent are Armenians, nearly all presumably in communion with the Armenian Apostolic Church. There are some 130,000 Azerbaijani Turks of the Shiite sect, and about 50,000 Kurds of the Shafiite sect. In addition, there are several thousand Yezidis (devil-worshippers), Nestorians, Russians and Georgians. No information is available concerning these minor groups and their religious institutions. Whatever places of worship the Russians, Nestorians, Georgians and Yezidis might have had prior to the Russian Revolution, they certainly are not in existence now.

C.
A.
346

The more numerous Kurds perhaps did have certain places of worship but none seem to remain today; at least there is nothing to indicate that they have such places. For the Azerbaijani Turks there was an old imposing and historic mosque in Erivan, a landmark in the city for centuries. It was still there twenty years ago, a relic of the old era. If still intact, it may be used by the several thousand Azerbaijanis of that city as well as by the Turks. Judging by the old order or organization, the titular spiritual head of the Azerbaijani Turks in Soviet Armenia and his followers there owe allegiance to the Grand Mufty (or the Chief Imam) in Baku. The Grand Mufty probably has his

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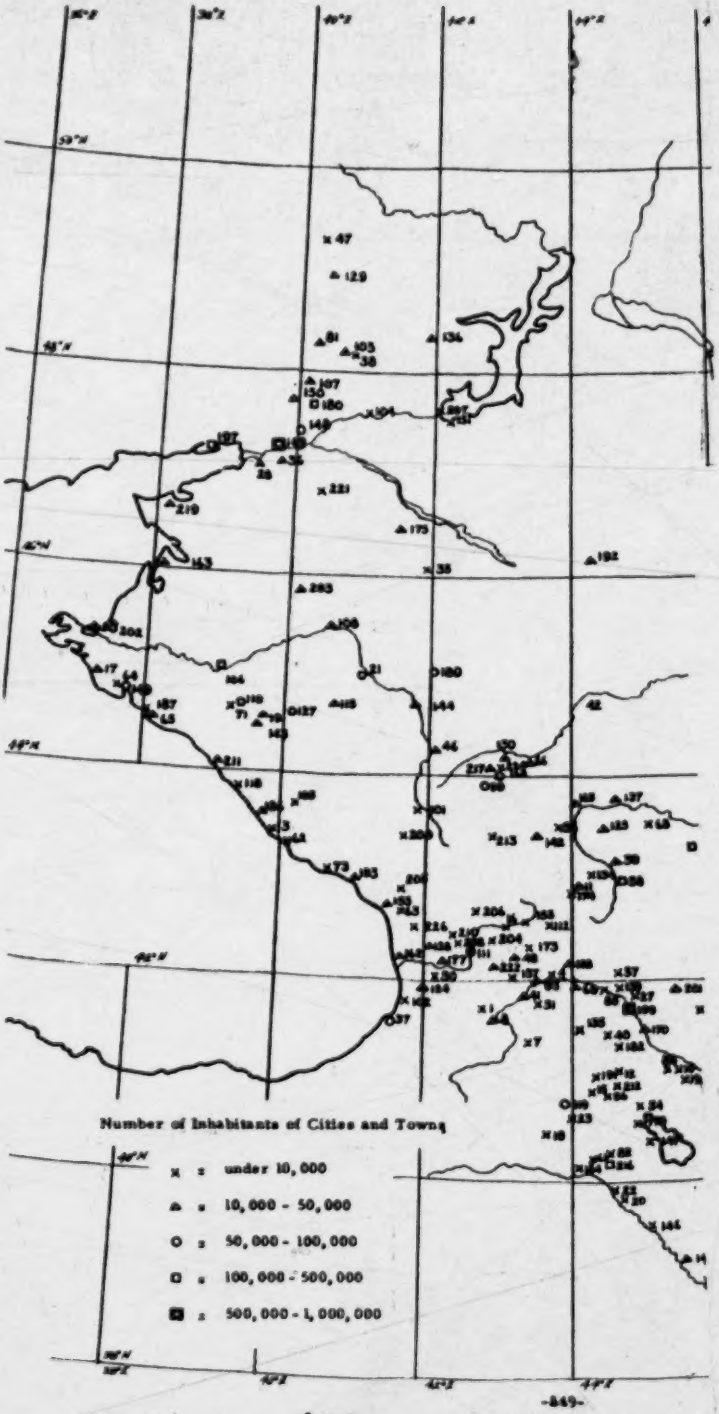




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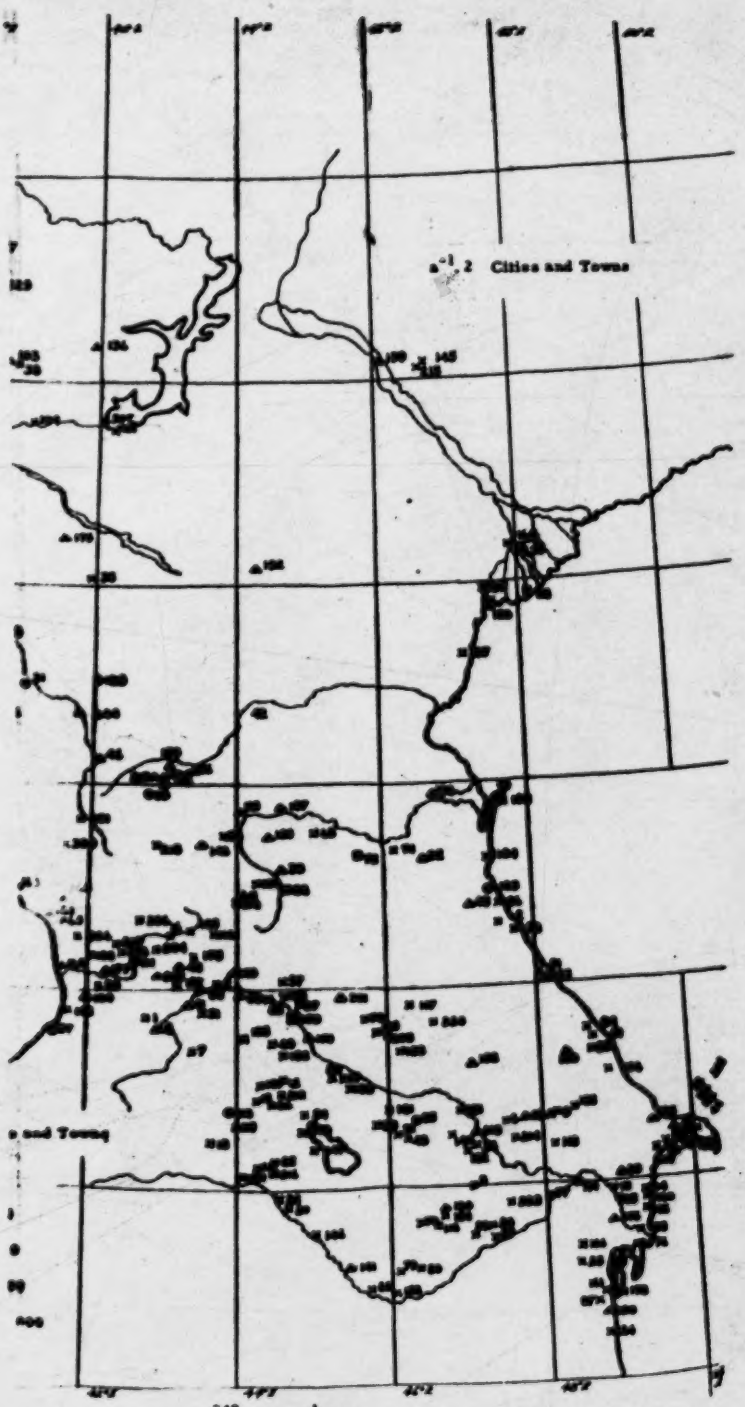




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101

3. *Poles*
4. *Bohemians* (and other Slavs)
5. *Germans*
6. *Greeks*
7. *Armenians*
8. *Kurds*
9. *Ossetes*
   a) Alaghir
   b) Kurtalinsk Ossetes
   c) Tagaurians
   d) Tualti, etc.
10. *Persians*
11. *Talysh*
12. *Tat*

**B. Mongols** (Kalmuks)

**C. Turks**

1. *Azerbaijani Tartars*
2. *Karachai*
3. *Kirghiz*
4. *Kumyks*
5. *Nogai*
6. *Osmanli Turks*
7. *Balkarians*
8. *Turkomans*
9. *Karapapaks*

**D. Semites**

1. *Aissores*
2. *Arabs*
3. *Mountain and other Jews*

**E. Finno-Ugrians**

1. *Esthonians*
2. *Mordovanians*

**Population of Caucasia**: Finno-Ugrians and Semites, 1.1% ; Turco-Mongols, 19.2% ; Indo-Europeans of Iranian stock, in the Caucasus since 1,000 B.C., 18.4% ; Indo-Europeans who immigrated in relatively recent times, 37.3% ; true Caucasians, 24%. 162

Esthonians : 2,400. Arabs : 900. Mt. Jews : 26,000. Other Jews : 24,000. Chaldeans : 12,000. Nogai : 23,000. Kumyks : 94,800. Karachai : 55,000. Balkarians : 33,000. Turkomans : 11,000. Karapapaks : 6,300. Azerbaijani : 2,274,000. Kalmucks : 134,000. Russians : 2,400,000. Ukrainians : 1,600,000. Poles : 4,000. Germans : 60,000. Greeks : 100,000. Moldovanians : 7,000. Armenians : 2,151,000. Ossetes : 354,000. Tat : 150,000. Talysh : 90,000. Kurds : 45,000. Persians : 50,000. West Cherkess : 88,000. East Cherkess : 164,000. Abkhaz : 58,000. Chechens proper : 407,000, Ingushi : 92,000. Bats : 2,500. Avars : 159,000. Andi : 7,700. Botlikh : 2,800. Godoberi : 1,400. Karatai : 5,200. Akhvakh : 3,700. Chamalal : 3,500. T'indi : 3,700. Dido : 3,200. Khvarshi : 1,000. Kapuchi : 1,500. Nakhada : 130. Laks : 40,000. Dargwa : 122,000. Kubachi : 2,400. Kurins : 165,000. Aghulians : 7,000. Budukh : 2,000. Dzhek : 10,000. Tabassaranians : 30,000. Rutulians : 12,000. Tsakhur : 11,000. Archi : 859. Udins : 2,800. Khinalugs : 2,000.

These figures are based on R. Bleichsteiner, "Die Völker des Kaukasus," *Asien-Berichte*, V (1944), Heft 22 ; R. Bleichsteiner, "Die kaukasische Sprachgruppe," *Anthropos*, XXXII (1937), pp. 61—74 ; *Izvestija* of April 29, 1940 ; A. Dirr, "Anthropologische und ethnographische Uebersicht über die Völker des Kaukasus," *Petermann's Mitt.*, LVIII (1912), No. 1, pp. 17—19. We have not included the less important non-Caucasian peoples as the Bulgarians, Bohemians, *etc.* It is to be noted also that the Caucasians living outside of the Caucasus are not included either, *e. g.*, only 700 Laz are indicated because the other 63,000 live in Turkey. The Gurians and Adzhars are included with the figure for the Georgians : some authors wrongly classify them as independent peoples.

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We may go a step further and say that if it is the wife who secures the family economically and religiously, the family will be respected by others in proportion to the number of mothers it has. In a word, the *social* status of the family depends on the economic and religious status, and these in turn depend very much on the number of wives. Doubtless, investment in wives is the best investment of any North Caucasian family.

Polygyny being part and parcel of the family organization of the North Caucasian peoples, we must, therefore, in seeking the origin of the institution, go back beyond Islamic times, beyond Christian and Avestic times, and perhaps beyond historical times. North Caucasian polygyny was born when the North Caucasian family organization was born.

A corollary to the question regarding the origin of polygyny in North Caucasia is the enquiry into the motives for polygynous unions. The sexual factor has relatively little significance. Not lust, not desire to have a young wife, not a surplus of women, but craving for a large family, for many labourers, for economic and religious prepetuation of the family, for the rise in social prestige—these are the motives that generally induce a man to marry a second wife.

(3) A glance at Table 5 under the columns "Usually restricted to bigyny" and "Enjoyed by rich alone" will reveal that plural marriages among the North Caucasian peoples and their neighbours are usually cases of *bigamy* and that polygyny is more the exception than the rule. This state of affairs would seem to contradict what we have just said about the importance of polygyny. Why is this all-important institution practiced only by a *few* and generally *limited* to one and at the most two additional wives? Why this difference in theory and practice? This fact is all the more striking because all our North Caucasian peoples are Mohammedans and according to the Koran, iv. 3 and Islamic tradition everyone is entitled to have up to four wives.

The first reason, and no doubt, the most important one is that Nature herself prevents universal polygyny. The relative number of males and females is dictated by a biological law, the sex ratio rarely exceeding 100:110 in favour of either sex.[33] Usually the ratio is 106 males to 100 females, but, we must remember, child mortality is far greater among boys than girls, so that in the long run the ratio of marriageable persons is about 100:100.[34] Nowhere in the world does it approximate a 1:2 ratio, which would be necessary to make bigyny a general practice.[35]

Theoretically speaking, a surplus of women could result in the Caucasus from blood-feuds, dangerous occupations, infanticide, and other major disturbances affecting the *male* population alone. Such a preponderance of female sex would necessitate many of them remaining unmarried or several women would be obliged to marry one man. But are there such major disturbances affecting the sex ratio in the Caucasus? Since the Soviet government prohibits polygyny and in recent decades polygyny has become extremely rare, it would seem much

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[33] R. H. Lowie, *An Introduction to Cultural Anthropology*, (New York, 1947), p. 243.

[34] Günther, *Formen und Urgeschichte der Ehe*, p. 100.

[35] R. H. Lowie, *Social Organization*, p. 113.

8: Lužbetak E-4 (no date) 1951 RHl Caucasia RHl



162 more methodologically correct to study the relation of sex ratio to polygyny in 595 *pre-Soviet* times. The Russian Imperial Geographic Society published the following statistics for the year 1897 in the *Isvěstija Kavkazskago Otděla* (XII [1898], pp. 27f). These statistics are sufficiently reliable, and even if they disagree with other statistics of this period, the discrepencies do not affect our essential argument: the sex ratio is a serious hindrance to the practice of polygyny.[38]

**TABLE 6**

**Population of Caucasia in 1897**

A. North Caucasus

| GOVERNMENT | PROVINCE (County) | MALES | FEMALES | TOTAL |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Kuban | | 976,900 | 945,873 | 1,922,773 |
| | Ekaterinodar | 124,789 | 119,138 | 243,927 |
| | Batalpashinsk | 110,824 | 107,401 | 218,225 |
| | Yeysk | 139,923 | 136,713 | 276,636 |
| | Maikop | 145,138 | 139,030 | 284,168 |
| | Kavkaz | 126,565 | 122,736 | 249,301 |
| | Labinsk | 155,615 | 152,222 | 307,837 |
| | Teminsk | 174,046 | 168,633 | 342,679 |
| Terek | | 487,489 | 445,996 | 933,485 |
| | Vladikavkaz | 73,461 | 64,372 | 137,833 |
| | Grozny | 119,615 | 108,033 | 227,648 |
| | Kizlyar | 51,715 | 48,035 | 99,750 |
| | Nalchik | 53,202 | 49,721 | 102,223 |
| | Pyatigorsk | 93,403 | 96,801 | 180,204 |
| | Tsunezhensk | 59,122 | 56,775 | 115,897 |
| | Khasan-Yurt | 36,971 | 32,259 | 69,230 |
| Stavropol | | 446,963 | 429,335 | 876,298 |
| | Stavropol | 84,473 | 81,732 | 166,205 |
| | Alexandropol | 91,758 | 89,146 | 180,904 |
| | Medveyzhensk | 117,761 | 115,999 | 233,760 |
| | Novogrigoryevsk | 126,583 | 121,861 | 248,444 |
| | Others | 26,388 | 20,597 | 46,985 |

[38] Besides the statistics of the Russian Imperial Geographic Society of 1897 which we quote below, there are also the following collections of statistics for this period: *Pamjatnaja knižka* (1895), pp. 165—405, which contains very detail statistics of Daghestan indicating the number of households, male and female population of each village; SSKG, V (1870), pp. 51—58, VI (1872), appendix pp. 1—65, VIII (1875), pp. 1—17 (Sostav naselenija Dagestanskoj Oblasti), IX (1876), pp. 20—29 for Andi Province, pp. 4—19 for Western Daghestan, pp. 52 ff for Sakataly; *Sbornik svědenij o Kavkazě*, nine large quarto volumes edited by a special statistical committee under the capable leadership of Seidlitz, especially useful are volumes V (1879) and VIII (1885); *Zapiski Kavkazskago Otděla Imperatorskago Russkago Geografičeskago Obščestva*, V (1862), pp. 135—151 for general statistics, VIII (1873), pp. 1—49 for Daghestan, XVIII (1896); *Terskij Sbornik*, II (1892), pp. 98—102.

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| GOVERNMENT | PROVINCE (County) | MALES | FEMALES | TOTAL |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Daghestan | | 300,155 | 286,481 | 586,636 |
| | Temir-Khan-Shura | 51,127 | 42,716 | 93,846 |
| | Avar Province | 18,732 | 18,498 | 37,230 |
| | Andi | 23,546 | 23,447 | 46,993 |
| | Gunib | 28,641 | 29,953 | 58,594 |
| | Dargwa | 40,514 | 41,949 | 82,463 |
| | Lak (Kazikumukh) | 26,368 | 27,297 | 53,665 |
| | Kaitago-Tabassaran | 47,547 | 42,159 | 89,706 |
| | Kurin | 39,308 | 37,241 | 76,549 |
| | Samur | 24,372 | 23,221 | 47,593 |

## B. South Caucasus

| GOVERNMENT | PROVINCE (County) | MALES | FEMALES | TOTAL |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Tiflis | | 526,349 | 432,826 | 958,775 |
| | Tiflis | 133,459 | 94,321 | 227,780 |
| | Akhalkalak | 38,754 | 34,608 | 73,362 |
| | Akhaltsikh | 37,479 | 31,665 | 69,144 |
| | Borchalinsk | 104,183 | 87,473 | 191,656 |
| | Dushet | 37,667 | 32,258 | 69,925 |
| | Telav | 34,633 | 30,516 | 65,149 |
| | Tioneti | 18,894 | 17,944 | 36,438 |
| | Signakh | 53,950 | 46,147 | 100,097 |
| Kutais | | 567,353 | 508,468 | 1,075,861 |
| | Kutais | 115,395 | 107,932 | 223,327 |
| | Artvinsk | 29,575 | 26,881 | 56,456 |
| | Batum | 50,832 | 34,744 | 85,576 |
| | Zugdidi | 60,577 | 57,046 | 117,623 |
| | Lekhgumsk | 25,987 | 24,530 | 50,517 |
| | Ozurgeti | 47,018 | 45,194 | 92,212 |
| | Rachinsk | 37,728 | 35,014 | 72,742 |
| | Tsenaksk | 61,558 | 57,626 | 119,184 |
| | Sharopansk | 83,558 | 74,168 | 157,726 |
| | Sukhum | 55,165 | 45,333 | 100,498 |
| Baku | | 437,779 | 351,880 | 789,659 |
| | Baku | 104,420 | 73,186 | 177,606 |
| | Gerkchaysk | 50,507 | 50,156 | 109,663 |
| | Dzhevatsk | 48,789 | 36,267 | 85,065 |
| | Kuba | 61,732 | 50,469 | 112,200 |
| | Shemakha | 66,547 | 57,063 | 123,610 |

162
595

| GOVERNMENT | PROVINCE (County) | MALES | FEMALES | TOTAL |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Elizabethpol | | 479,433 | 392,124 | 871,557 |
| | Elizabethpol | 90,053 | 72,125 | 162,178 |
| | Aresh | 33,938 | 28,979 | 62,917 |
| | Dzhevanshirsk | 37,602 | 29,403 | 67,005 |
| | Dzhebraysk | 37,001 | 30,122 | 67,123 |
| | Tsangezursk | 77,074 | 64,990 | 142,064 |
| | Kazakh | 64,117 | 48,351 | 112,468 |
| | Nukhinsk | 63,129 | 53,933 | 117,062 |
| | Shusha | 76,519 | 64,221 | 140,740 |
| Erivan | | 429,689 | 375,068 | 804,757 |
| | Erivan | 69,588 | 57,484 | 127,072 |
| | Alexandropol | 88,443 | 74,992 | 163,435 |
| | Nakhichevan | 53,466 | 47,476 | 100,942 |
| | Novobayazetsk | 64,225 | 59,614 | 123,839 |
| | Surmaly | 47,391 | 41,453 | 88,844 |
| | Sharup-Daralagezsk | 40,968 | 35,014 | 75,982 |
| | Echmiadzin | 65,608 | 59,035 | 124,643 |
| Chernomorsk | | 31,760 | 22,468 | 54,228 |
| | Novopossiysk | 19,810 | 13,945 | 33,955 |
| | Tuapsinsk | 4,346 | 3,674 | 8,020 |
| | Sochinsk | 7,604 | 5,549 | 13,253 |
| Kars | | 162,723 | 129,775 | 292,498 |
| | Kars | 76,845 | 58,539 | 135,384 |
| | Ardagan | 34,933 | 30,734 | 65,667 |
| | Kagyzmansk | 33,838 | 25,888 | 59,726 |
| | Olti | 17,107 | 14,614 | 31,721 |

## C. Total

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Total in NORTH CAUCASUS | 2,211,507 | 2,107,685 | 4,319,192 |
| Total in SOUTH CAUCASUS | 2,674,547 | 2,249,956 | 4,929,503 |
| ENTIRE CAUCASUS | 4,891,054 | 4,357,641 | 9,248,695 |

A closer examination of these statistics will show that in Northwest Caucasus the female population is *smaller* than the male. However the disproportion is not considerable, varying between 100:102 to 100:104.7. In other words, towards the close of the last century there was, according to our statistics, not only no surplus of women but not enough for every man to have *one* wife.

8: Lužbetak E-4 (no date) 1951 RH1 Caucasia RH1



This deficiency of female mates is certainly one of the main reasons for the infrequency of polygyny despite the great value placed on the institution. 162

The statistics given for Chechnia reveal a similar situation. And, according to Vertepov, the disproportion was especially great in Ingushetia, 115 men to every 100 women.[37] This is indeed striking because Grabovskij claimed, as we have seen, that plural marriages were "very frequent" in the last quarter of the nineteenth century.[38] "Many" Ingushi had two wives and sometimes three.[39] Even "poor" Ingushi had additional wives.[40] The frequent cases of polygyny in Ingushetia in spite of the unusual surplus of men can perhaps be explained by the strict obligation of the widow to marry her deceased husband's brother. According to Kovalevskij, the levirate among the Chechens was, practically speaking, an obligation, whereas among the Lesghians it was facultative *(infra*, pp. 71 f). Levirate would also explain why even "poor" Ingushi were polygynists; it would also explain why "many" Ingushi had more than one wife. 595 [87]

The sex ratio of the Lesghians, as presented in our statistics, differs somewhat from that of the rest of the Caucasians. Here, in Daghestan, we do have districts with a preponderance of female sex, but it must be noted, the difference is so small that the surplus women could hardly make polygyny a frequent practice. Thus the Avar, Andi, Gunib, Dargwa, Kazikumuk, Kurin and Samur provinces all have practically a 100:100 ratio. The Kaitago-Tabassaran Province has the highest proportion in favour of women, but the difference 100:105 is insignificant. Hence, the balance between the male and female population is a contributing factor to the infrequency of polygyny.[41]

But besides this biological reason there is the universally valid economic reason. Supposing that there were a surplus of women in the Caucasus, there would still be great financial difficulties that would prevent polygyny from becoming general. The poor Caucasian considers himself quite fortunate if he manages to gather enough jingling rubles or mooing cows to purchase one wife, let alone a second or a third.[42] In fact, even the rich Caucasian would find it difficult to purchase a second wife, because the bride price always corresponds to the economic and social position of the contracting parties. Ladyženskij expressly maintains that what keeps the Kabardian and the Cherkess in general 595 583

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[37] G. Vertepov, "Ingušī," *Terskij Sbornik*, II (1892), No. 2, p. 99.

[38] Grabovskij, "Ekonomičeskij i domašnij byt žitelej gorskago učastka Inguševskago okruga," SSKG, III (1870), p. 21. Dubrovin is of the same opinion: *Istorija*, Tome I, Bk. I, p. 430.

[39] Grabovskij, *l. c.*

[40] Grabovskij, *l. c.*

[41] In 1926 the sex ratio for Daghestan was practically a perfect balance, 100:103 in favor of the female sex (383,000 males to 405,000 females). F. Nansen, *Through the Caucasus to the Volga*, p. 96.
According to official statistics of 1930 there were more men than women living in the *cities* of Daghestan (1,000 men to 931 women); in the country the proportion was 1,000 men to 1,048 women. R. Kherumian, "Contribution à l'Anthropologie du Caucase," *L'Anthropologie*, LII (1948), No. 1—2, p. 44.
It seems to be quite natural that the city population should show a preponderance of male sex: a considerable portion of the city population are labourers and merchants from various parts of Caucasia, Russia, and Armenia.

[42] A. Ladyženskij, FT, p. 195.

menfolk as gentlemen of leisure, the women bearing the burden of the family work practically by themselves.[38] 462

The NORTHEASTERN CAUCASIANS. Practically all the work in the house and in the field is done by the women, while the men usually just stand idly by. The tasks done by the men are generally only seasonal, such as hay-cutting, woodchopping, and ploughing. The women, on the other hand, must slave day after day, doing very strenuous work. And even when they have finished their work out in the field and their other chores, they are kept busy sewing and mending clothes, etc. In a word, life in Chechnia and Ingushetia is that of busy bees and lazy drones.[39] Of course, today there is a marked improvement in the position of the female sex. Even if we allow for the frequent exaggeration of pre-Soviet explorers and *adat* collectors, we cannot deny that the Ingush women were obliged to bear a terribly disproportionate share of the family work. In "The Collection of *Adats* for the Ingush Province of the 1860's" we read: "Only very recently the natives of the Ingush Province, according to an ancient custom, considered the woman a work-animal, a 'thing,' not a being possessing human personality."[40] Vertepov in his monograph on the Ingushi attributes the disproportion in the Ingush sex ratio to the disproportionate division of work. His supposition is confirmed by the fact that the Ingushi of the plains have a much more equal division of labour and at the same time the sex ratio is much more normal.

TABLE 17

Ingush Sex Ratio (Vertepov, "Inguši," **Terskij Sbornik**, II [1892], No. 2, p. 99) [162]

| Location | Male | Female | Sex Ratio |
|---|---|---|---|
| Mountains | 53.5% | 46.5% | 115 : 100 |
| Lowlands | 51.2% | 48.8% | 104.9 : 100 |

The mountaineers of Daghestan belong to the same class of "idlers" as the other North Caucasians.[41] The Avar women must carry loads of wood and hay sometimes from great distances, while the men only idle their time away. Women carry as much as 120 pounds (three *puds*) at a time.[42] L'vov has painted the lot 562

[38] Dubrovin, *Istorija*, I, ii, p. 42.

[39] Baddeley, *op. cit.*, I, pp. 60, 93; Dubrovin, *Istorija*, I, i, p. 437; R. Erckert, *Der Kaukasus*, p. 137; Engelhardt und Parrot, *Reise in die Krym und den Kaukasus*, I, p. 242; Klaproth, "Voyage au Mont Caucase," *Nouvelle Bibliotheque*, XI, p. 175.

[40] Leontovič, II, p. 169, § 115: "Ekče ves'ma nedavno tuzemcy, naseljajuščie Ingulevskij okrug, po obyčaju dobrago starago vremeni smotreli na ženščin, kak na rabočij skot, sčitali ženščinu velč'ju, ne podozrevaja v nej nikakoj čelovečeskoj ličnosti."

[41] Cf. Omarov, "Kak živut Laki," SSKG, IV (1871), pp. 1—24, where find long detailed account of harvest and work out in field.

[42] Abercromby, *A Trip through the Eastern Caucasus*," p. 101.

8: Lužbetak

RH1 Caucasia RH1

191
162

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| A | B | C |
| D | E | F |

Chart of position of
Sections of end map.

[Facing end map]

8: Lužbetak E-4 (no date) 1951 RHl Caucasia RHl



MAP III

795
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# Islamism in the Caucasus and Neighbouring Territory

**Abbreviations:** A. = Autonomous Territory of the Adyghé
Abkh. = Abkhazia
Chech. = Chechnia
K. = Karabagh
K. B. = Kabarda-Balkaria
Kch. = Karachai
O. N. = North Ossetia
O. S. = South Ossetia

Sunnites in the majority
Shiites in the majority
Islamites (Sunnites and Shiites) in the minority

After G. Zawadowski, "Situation de l'Islam en U.R.S.S. (1939—1945)," *En Terre d'Islam*, XXI (1946), No. 33.

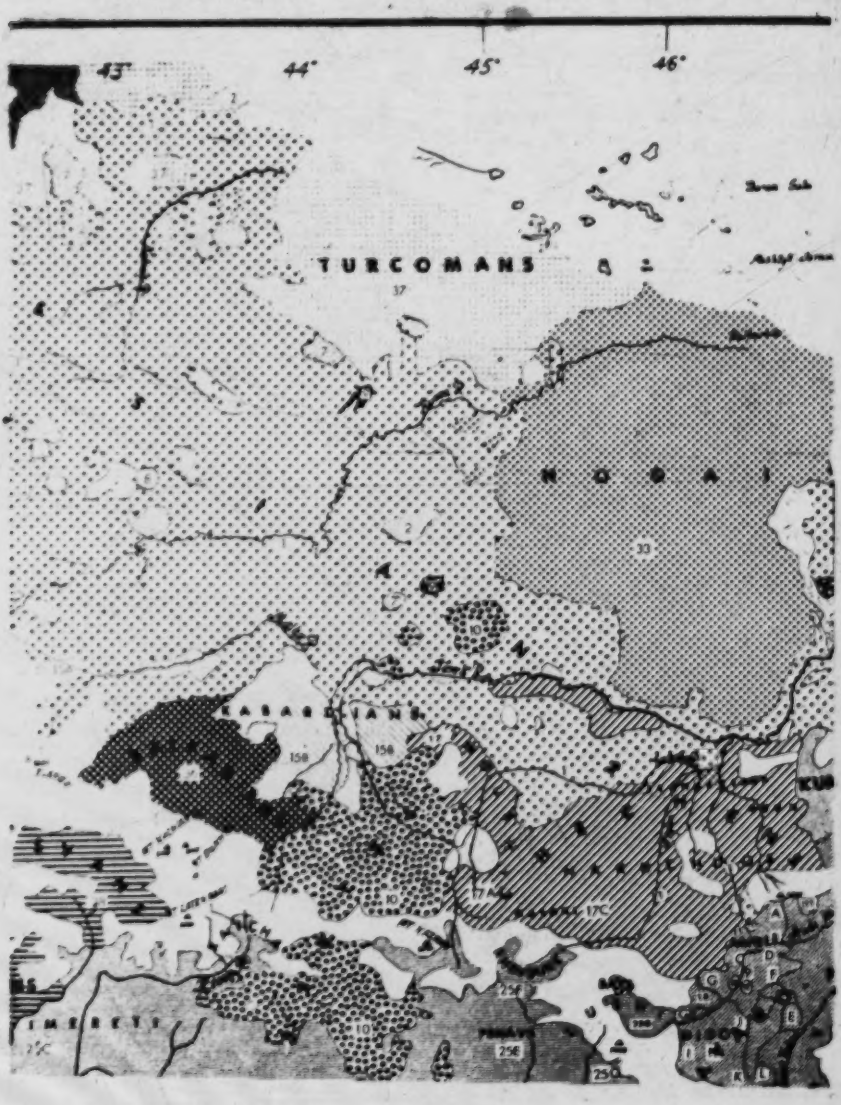
8: J ühetak E-4 (no date) 1951 RHI Caucasus RHI

191
162

[End map A]

8: Lużbetak E-4 (no date) 1951 RH1 Caucasia RH1

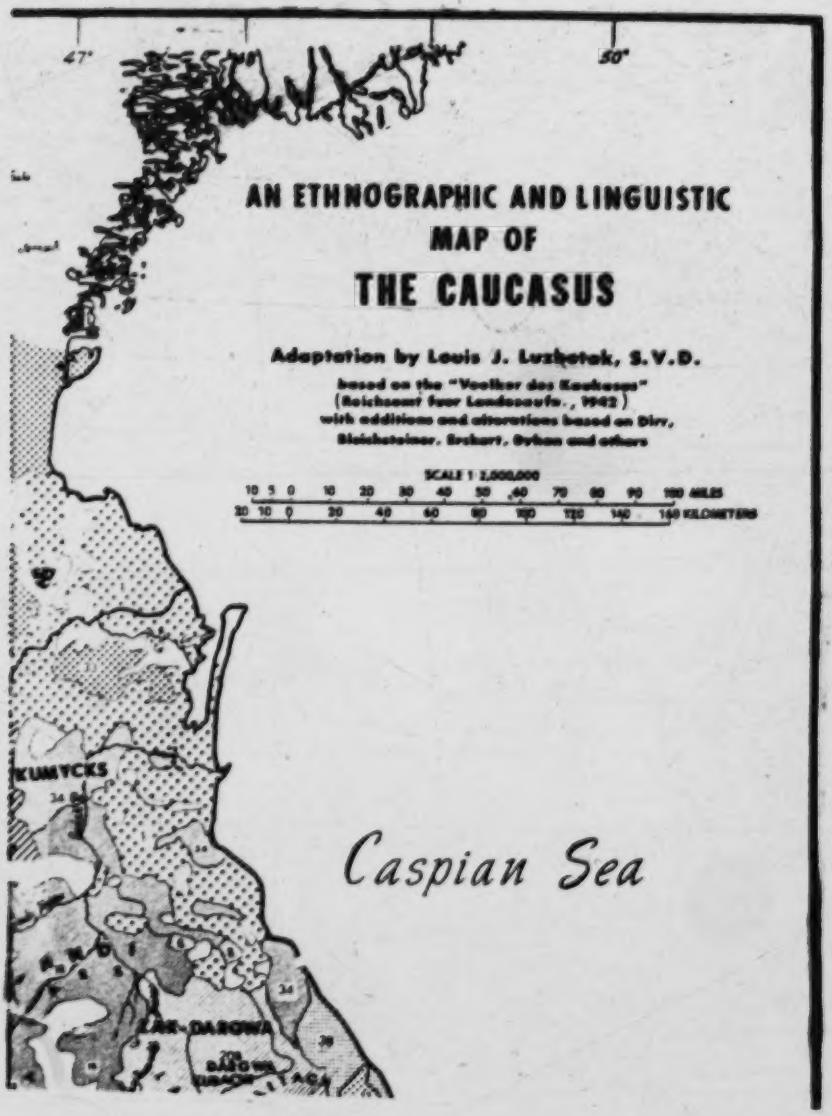
191
162




[End map B]

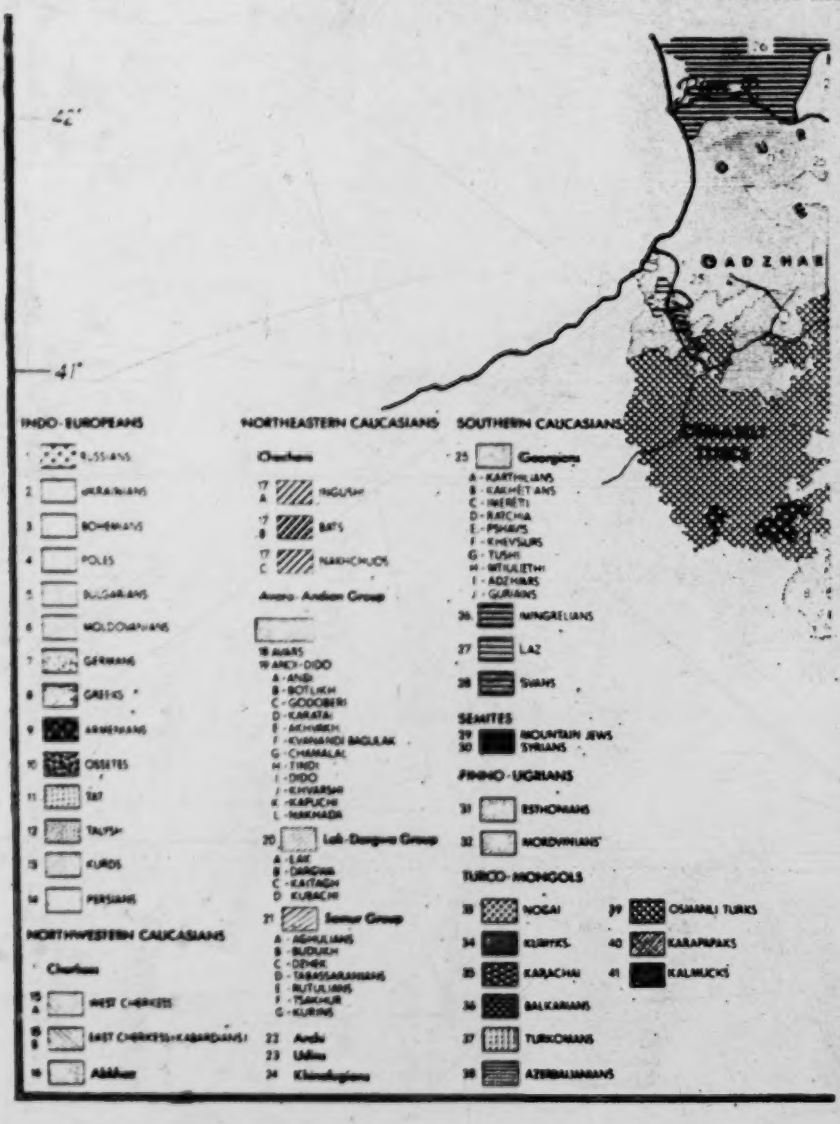
S: Lužbetak E-4 (no date) 1951 RHI Caucasia RHI

191
162




[End map C]

191
162




[End map D]

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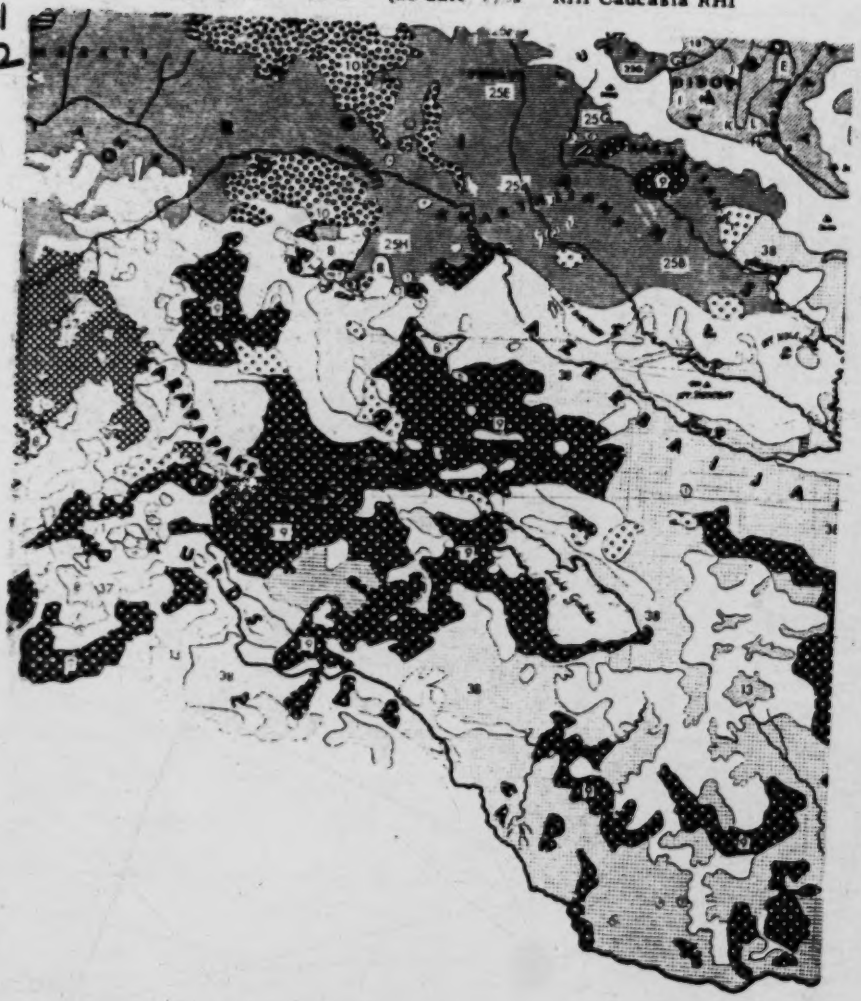
162

8: Lutbetax E-4 (no date RH1 Caucasia RH1




[End map E]

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162

S: Lużbetak E-4 (no date) 1951 RHI Caucasia RHI

[End map F]

21: Kolarz J-4 (no date) 1952 R1 Soviet Union R1
Caucasia RH2



Republic aggregating approximately 1,500,000 inhabitants. This Republic – officially called 'Autonomous Mountain Socialist Soviet Republic' – (Gorskaya A.S.S.R.) – was formed by a decree of January 20th, 1920. Its capital was the city of Vladikavkaz. The Republic* comprised no fewer than seven different Caucasian peoples: Kabardinians, Chechens, Circassians (Cherkess), Ingush, Ossetins, Balkars and Karachay.

In its original form the Mountain Republic remained in being for only about twenty months. The Russian communist rulers apparently felt that the promotion of unity among the North Caucasus peoples was not in the interest of Soviet centralism and that it was safer to have them split up again into several single units. The disintegration of the Mountain Republic started in September 1921 when the Kabardinians were given a special Autonomous Province. In January 1922 three more peoples seceded from the Republic. The Balkars were made to join the Kabardinian Autonomous Province and the Karachay and the Cherkess were given a joint Autonomous Province. In December 1922 the Chechens were induced to set up an Autonomous Province of their own, which left only the Ossetins and the Ingush, in the Mountain Republic. In July 1924 both these peoples were endowed with separate territorial units of their own. The experiment of a united North Caucasus Republic was thus finally terminated. Administrative changes in the Northern Caucasus continued even after the end of the Mountain Republic. In April 1926 the Karachay-Cherkess Autonomous Province was divided into two provinces; and in January 1934 the Ingush merged with the Chechens into a single Autonomous Province.

The autonomy which the Northern Caucasus peoples had enjoyed existed very largely on paper. In reality they were administered up to 1934 from Rostov, the capital of the huge North Caucasus Territory, which was almost as large as Great Britain and Eire combined. The Executive Committee of the North Caucasus Territory (Krayispolkom) was entitled to overrule any decisions taken by the various Autonomous Provinces. In 1934 the Soviet bureaucracy administering the multinational parts of the North Caucasus region moved from Rostov to Vladikavkaz. Only in December 1936 did the mountaineers gain a greater say in the management of their affairs through the transformation of three Autonomous Provinces into Republics (Kabardinian-Balkar A.S.S.R., Chechen-Ingush A.S.S.R. and Northern Ossetin A.S.S.R.).

The repeated shifting of the Northern Caucasus peoples from one territorial unit to another had left untouched the real problem: how to make the mountaineers into reliable Soviet citizens and how to associate them with the socialist transformation of society. The continual changes in the administrative boundaries had hindered rather than encouraged these tasks. They had rendered particularly difficult the recruiting of administrative personnel from among the local peoples and the intro-

* [Cf. category 642, p. 182 -- Analyst]

Ca 771 [870] during the summer holidays all that the Soviet authorities wished them to disregard. A number of Ingush party and Communist Youth League members, instead of working against the influence of religion, used themselves to go to the mosques to pray.[7]

Ca 647 191 The difficulties existing between the Soviet authorities and the Chechens and Ingush[1] were not exclusively due to the Bolshevik failure to understand the importance of the religious factor in the life of the mountaineers. There were also extraordinary difficulties of a technical nature, due to the fact that the directives of the central administration were issued in the Russian language and therefore did not reach the Chechen-Ingush masses. Being unable fully to understand the orders received, the local Soviet organs either could not carry them out, or falsified the decisions of the party and of the administration.[8]

## GROZNY – THE OIL CITY

Ca 178 It was the tremendous dead weight of the predominantly Russian capital of Chechenia that prevented the implementation of any genuine Chechen autonomy and finally spelled the doom of the Chechen people. The actual liquidation of the Chechens would probably not have occurred had not the largest town in their homeland become an oil city, and indeed, one of the most important oil centres of the U.S.S.R.

Ca 315 SU 315 This oil city had developed out of the little fortress of Grozny.[2] Although Grozny oilfields had been discovered as early as 1833, they were hardly exploited at all in the nineteenth century. In 1912, however, they already supplied 11·5 per cent of the entire Russian oil. Between 1913 and 1917 this figure had risen to 16·7 per cent, and in the following four years to nearly 25 per cent. By 1937 the proportion of Grozny oil to total Russian oil production had fallen to 9·25 per cent, but in terms of absolute figures this output represented an increase of 234 per cent, compared to that before the First World War. The development of Grozny as an oil centre made for an increase of the population on an 'American scale'. In 1890 the place had no more than 6,000 inhabitants, against 34,067 in 1913, 97,095 in 1926 and 172,468 in 1939. It need hardly be added that the Chechens and Ingush, peoples consisting of shepherds and peasants, could not contribute anything worth mentioning to the rise of the town which was styled, almost ironically, 'Capital of the Chechen-Ingush A.S.S.R.'. Among the oilworkers of Grozny there were probably at no time more than one-tenth of 'natives', and until 1936 there were but 9·7 per cent.

Ca 361 162

Ca 177 S.U. 563 Unlike so many cities in the Soviet Union, Grozny never changed its name under the Soviet régime, despite the imperialistic history connected with it. As a matter of fact, it was the Soviet oil city of Grozny which spelled the doom of the Chechens and not the little fortress which

1 [Cf. category 116, pp. 186-188, R1 Sov. Union; 21: Kolarz - Analyst]
2 [Cf. category 116, p. 186, R1 Sov. Union; 21: Kolarz - Analyst]

21: Kolarz J-4 (no date) 1952 R1 Soviet Union R1
Caucasia RH1
[asset]



territory comprising 1,200 square miles was a national triumph for Georgia, for it enabled her, for the first time, to spread out to the north of the Caucasus.

S.U. 563 634

## A 'GOOD' PEOPLE – THE OSSETINS

After the expulsion of the Chechens from their homeland the Ossetins became the largest mountain people of the Northern Caucasus. In 1939 there were altogether 354,000 Ossetins in the U.S.S.R. of whom slightly less than two-thirds lived in the Autonomous Republic of Northern Ossetia, with which we are here primarily concerned, and about one-third in the Southern Ossetin Autonomous Province of Georgia. The two Ossetin territories adjoin each other and it would have been logical to amalgamate them into a single Autonomous Republic. Representatives of the two Ossetias went to Moscow in October 1925 to discuss the unification of their people with the Soviet central Government and personally with Stalin whose own mother is of Ossetin origin. This discussion which is briefly referred to in the seventh volume of Stalin's complete works, was inconclusive. The unification of the Ossetins would have been possible only at the expense of Georgia and the Kremlin was apparently not prepared to harm the interests of one of the constituent republics of the U.S.S.R. for the sake of a minor nationality.

Ca. 101 [62] 642 S.U. 563 631

Czarist and Bolshevik authorities agree in their appraisal of the comparatively peaceful and placid Ossetins, no less than in their judgment on the turbulent Chechens. Of course, both régimes had encountered difficulties among the Ossetins, too, but never on the same scale as in the case of other Caucasus mountain peoples.

Ca. 181

Czarist Russia started the conquest of the Ossetins in the period of Catherine II and skilfully exploited the class differences among them as well as their hostility toward their western neighbours – the Kabardinians. Many Ossetins considered the establishment of Russian rule as a safeguard against the danger of attacks by more warlike mountain peoples. Ossetin folk-songs of the early epoch of Russian conquest reflect a pro-Russian spirit and state unequivocally that living under Russian rule was identical to living in peace.

Ca. 175 177

The Ossetins appreciated that Russian occupation and protection enabled them to settle in the plain from which they had been driven by the Kabardinians. Part of that re-settlement had already started in the second half of the eighteenth century. The major part of the re-settlement action was, however, carried out much later, between the twenties and the forties of the nineteenth century.

The Ossetins were of use to Russia not only as settlers, but also as soldiers. As early as the last years of the eighteenth century a number of Ossetin officers distinguished themselves in Prince Potemkin's army in

Ca. 175 177 actions against the Turks. An Ossetin Major-General, K. Zankisov, fought in Poland against the insurgents of 1863–4 and he was by no means the only Ossetin Major-General of that epoch. Furthermore, an 'Ossetin Division' became famous in the course of the Russo-Turkish War in 1877–8, when General Skobelev described its 'chivalrous gallantry' as being 'above any praise'.[12]

Ca. 177 538 Russian cultural work among the Ossetins started much earlier than among other mountain peoples. The first book to appear in the Ossetin language was printed in Moscow in 1798; its object was to serve as a kind of introduction to the study of the Bible. A long period of fruitful association with the Russians and the general peaceful approach of the Ossetins towards Russian military and political rule made them more open to the acceptance of Russian preponderance. The Ossetins were, as a matter of fact, the only people of the Northern Caucasus to produce a great writer in the person of Kosta Khetagurov (1859-1906) who was half Russianized himself and wrote in both the Ossetin and Russian languages. The Soviet régime greatly popularized Khetagurov as a symbol of Russian-Ossetin synthesis, which he undoubtedly was. He had a complete Russian education, had studied at St. Petersburg and was strongly influenced by such progressive Russian writers as Herzen and Chernishevsky, which makes him particularly acceptable from the Soviet point of view.

Ca. 423 668 474 681 Until the Ossetins gave proof of their loyalty to Russia during the war the Soviet régime had had to overcome Ossetin resistance to both the establishment of collective farms and the suppression of tribal customs. During the period of the collectivization Ossetin peasants waged a sort of guerilla warfare against 'socialist property' and while outwardly accepting collectivization, tried to transform the Kolkhoz into an instrument of their respective clans. Ossetin chairmen of collective farms and officials of local Soviets seem to have acted on the principle 'I decide who is a kulak and an enemy of the State and who is not'. Thus, at least during its initial stage, collectivization in Ossetia became a downright farce. Persons belonging to a rival clan were rendered innocuous by being denounced as kulaks; real kulaks, on the other hand, were promoted to the rank of respectable Soviet citizens if they happened to belong to the clan dominating the local village council or the collective farm concerned.[13]

Ca. [725] 631 162 S.U. 563 634 All such 'incidents' were forgotten when the Ossetins redeemed their reputation by their brilliant war record. In the fighting which resulted in the dislodgement of the Germans from the approaches to the Caucasus, Ossetin partisans operating from behind the enemy lines greatly assisted the Red Army.[14] As a mark of appreciation for their loyalty, the Soviet Government allowed the Ossetins to increase substantially the territory of their national republic. A decree of April 8th, 1944, stipulated

21: Kolarz J-4 (no date) 1952 R1 Soviet Union R2
[Osset]
[Kabardin]
Caucasia RH1



that three districts were to be added to the Northern Ossetin A.S.S.R. in their entirety as well as parts of three other districts. The major portion of this new Ossetin territory was sliced off the Stavropol Territory, but a section of it came from Ingushetia, which had occupied the western border area of the Chechen-Ingush A.S.S.R. In this way the Northern Ossetin A.S.S.R. grew from 2,390 square miles before the war to 3,250 square miles. This territorial change altered the ethnographic character of the Republic, for together with its new territories Ossetia received a fairly large number of Russians who mostly lived in the two new 'Ossetin' towns, Mozdok and Malgobek. Russian communists thus obtained a greater say in the running of the Northern Ossetin A.S.S.R. at the expense of their Ossetin comrades. In the small Northern Ossetin Republic of the inter-war period (an Autonomous Province until 1936) the Ossetins had formed 84 per cent of the entire population against 13·4 per cent Russians and Ukrainians. In 'Greater Ossetia' however, the percentage of the Ossetins may have dropped to about 60 per cent while the Slav share may have increased accordingly.

Ca. 631 S.U. 563 634 Ca. [131]

In addition to the territorial expansion of Ossetia the Soviet Government made still another 'concession' to the Ossetins. The capital of the republic, Vladikavkaz, was allowed to assume the Ossetin name of Dzaudzhikau – a worthless gesture since Russian predominance in the town was not affected by the change of its name. Dzaudzhikau remained that which was implied in its former name of Vladikavkaz, meaning 'Ruler of the Caucasus'. It continues to be one of the centres from which Russian administration exercises its control over the mountaineers.

Ca. 103 633

## RE-EDUCATION OF THE KABARDINIANS

The Chechens and the Ossetins represent the two extremes in the attitude of the local Caucasus peoples towards the Russians – the most irreconcilable resistance in the case of the Chechens, and the most far-reaching appeasement in the case of the Ossetins. The Kabardinians, forming part of the once powerful Circassian group which had been broken up by Russian colonization and conquest, stand between these extremes. In the Second World War their attitude was not beyond reproach. The Kabardinians had their deserters and traitors, but the Soviet Government did not consider they were bad enough to justify the abolition of their Autonomous Republic.

Ca. 609 687

During the important administrative reorganization which took place in the Caucasus towards the end of the Second World War, the Kabardinian A.S.S.R. was diminished by only 300 square miles, which were incorporated into Georgia. This, however, was not meant to be a punishment for the Kabardinians, but was directed against the Balkars who had inhabited the area in question. The small administrative reform

Ca. [631] [131] S.U. 563 634 687

[Cf. category 116, pp. 185 ff., R1 Sov. Union — Analyst]

ment on 'serious shortcomings and mistakes' committed in Kabarda in 871
the field of national policy. It stressed that conditions in Kabardinian 191
education were in conflict with the constitution of the A.S.S.R., which stipulated the right of the Kabardinian people to schools in their own language.

Although the Kabardinians are by far more numerous and advanced 875
than the peoples of the Soviet Far North, they suffer from the same acute shortage of national teaching-personnel which has been fatal to the national culture of many a minor Soviet nationality. Thus in 1948, the Kabardinian teachers' training college at Nalchik had but fifty-six Kabardinians out of a total of 559 students.[17]

It is to be expected that the survival of a truly Kabardinian culture 167
and Kabardinian language will become even more remote with the 162
increasing pressure of Slav colonization. Between 1926 and 1935 alone the number of Russians and Ukrainians in the Kabardinian A.S.S.R. more than doubled; it increased from about 37,000 to 93,000. This increase was partly due to immigration, partly to the inclusion in Kabarda of a number of Cossack villages in 1932. After the war the numerical relation between 'natives' and colonists changed to the detriment of the former, owing to the forcible departure of the Balkars.* Moreover more Russian colonists came into the country to staff new factories springing up around Nalchik.

* [Cf. category 631, p. 193 - - Analyst]

THE CIRCASSIANS – A RESERVE OF SOVIET MIDDLE EAST POLICY

For the benefit of the remnants of the Circassian people,* the Soviet 631
Government set up two Autonomous Provinces in the western part of 162
the North Caucasus area; the Cherkess Province in the Caucasus foothills and the Adyge Province in the Kuban plain.

Surrounded as they are on all sides by Russian territories these two national units have little chance of long-term survival. This applies in particular to the Adyge Province, whose capital – Maikop – used to be [361]
the third largest Russian oil centre after Baku and Grozny, before the development of the 'second Baku' between the Volga and the Urals.

Originally, Maikop was not included in the Adyge Province, which had a small Adyge majority in its initial stage (55·7 per cent various branches of Adyge, 42·7 per cent Russians and Ukrainians, and the rest made up of other Europeans and Armenians). The size of the Province was increased, however, before the war and the Adyge thus found themselves in the position of a minority. In 1930 the Adyge Province [141]
won doubtful 'fame' owing to its extraordinarily high percentage of disfranchized people. This was due to the arbitrary action of the local Soviet authorities, who had indiscriminately interpreted the terms of 'kulak', 'capitalist' and 'reactionary' with the result that 12 per cent of the entire adult population of the Province were deprived of their civic rights. — * [Cf. Cat. 116, p. 182, 193 Sov. Union-Analyst]

21: Kolarz J-4 (no date) 1952 R1 Soviet Union R1
[Cherkess] Caucasia RH1
Daghestan RH8



entire adult population of the Province were deprived of their civic rights.

Ca. 162 The Circassian (Cherkess) Autonomous Province is inhabited by three small Northern Caucasus peoples – the Cherkess, the Nogai Tartars and the Abazintsy, apart from Slav colonists. In 1933 the three indigenous peoples had a narrow aggregate majority over the Russians and Ukrainians.

Ca. 167 S.U. 563 648 Although the Circassians, as a people, have no political future in Soviet Russia itself, they may still be of service to the Soviet diplomacy. There are Circassians living in Turkey, Palestine, Syria and Transjordan. They are all descendants of the very Circassians whom the Czarist authorities forced to leave Russia in the sixties of the nineteenth century. In Turkey the Circassians have largely become one with the Turkish people, but in the Arab countries they still form distinct communities. In Palestine they have kept to their own customs and language, and do not inter-marry with the Arabs. The Syrian Arabs dislike the Circassians, of whom both Turks and French had made use against the indigenous population of the country. In Transjordan, too, the Circassian minority has preserved its individuality.[18]

The survival of Circassian national sentiments in Syria, Palestine and Transjordan may tempt the Soviet Union to create a 'Circassian problem'. Soviet propaganda may try at a given moment to arouse interest for the 'old country' among the Circassians in the Arab world. It should not be too difficult for Russia to spread among the Middle Eastern Circassians the story of the rebirth of the Circassian people in the U.S.S.R., and of the existence of 'Circassian States' therein. Having done this preparatory work Russia may either encourage Circassian re-immigration into the Caucasus or she may use the Circassian on the spot as one of several trump cards Russian imperialism holds in reserve in the Middle East.

S.U. [208]

## RUSSIA'S MOST POLYGLOT COLONY: DAGHESTAN

S.U. 634 563 [103] Da. 103 Daghestan represents the most difficult problem which the Soviet nationalities policy has to face, not only in the Caucasus, but in the Soviet Union as a whole. The very name of the Daghestan A.S.S.R. indicates that the country occupies a special position in the U.S.S.R. It is the only Autonomous Socialist Soviet Republic which does not bear the name of a people but of a territory.

Da 563 131 Daghestan is one of the most polyglot countries of the world. Ethnologists record that its roughly 1,000,000 inhabitants are split up into thirty-two nationalities, in a territory of only 14,600 square miles.* The

* In its original form Daghestan covered 19,800 square miles. In 1938 the Soviet Government separated from Daghestan parts of its lowlands with their predominant Ukrainian-Russian population, and its territory was thus reduced to about 13,000 square miles. After the war, Daghestan 'inherited' from Chechenia 1,600 square miles.

21: Kolarz J-4 (no date) 1952 R1 Soviet Union R1
Kurd MA 11
Caucasia R#1



evaluation of the Kurdish factor. From the cultural point of view the Kurds were still an unwritten sheet of paper. Soviet Russia, so the communist strategists may have argued, thus stood the chance of exercising a paramount influence on the development and the character of a future Kurdish culture, if she only tried. S.U 563 648

The raw material for such a Soviet experiment was the small Kurdish minority in Transcaucasia. The exact number of the Kurds in Soviet Russia is as difficult to ascertain as their number in any other country. Officially Russia had only 54,700 Kurds in 1926 and 45,800 in 1939, but unofficial pre-war data recorded as many as 80,000, of whom 40,000 were in Azerbaidzhan, 23,000 in Armenia and the rest in Georgia and Turkmenistan. Only in Armenia and Azerbaidzhan were the Kurds a political problem. K [161] Ca. 563 [162]

For a long time neither Azerbaidzhani nor Armenian communists seemed to have grasped the importance of the Kurds within the framework of a far-sighted Soviet policy in the Middle East.[1] They either neglected the Kurdish minorities living in their respective republics or even tried to deprive them of their national character.

The Armenian communists disliked the Kurds in view of the role which the latter had played in the Armenian massacres, and thus showed not the slightest interest in their well-being and their mobilization for the Soviet State. Kurds in Armenia were not entrusted with political and social work, no skilled workers were recruited from among them and Kurdish peasants were not even organized into collective farms.[54] In 1936, the Soviet central Government strongly reprimanded the Armenian communists for letting national animosities interfere with their Kurdish policy.

All the mistakes which local Transcaucasian authorities committed in handling the Kurdish question in the inter-war period proved to be unimportant at a moment when Russia was able to use the Kurdish issue on a big scale. Her success in handling the problem was then indisputable. Colonel W. G. Elphinston, who was in charge of Kurdish affairs as a British Middle East Intelligence Officer, said that the effects of propaganda in the Kurdish language originating in the Kurdish community in the U.S.S.R. made themselves felt as far away as Syria, and communist pamphlets in Kurdish penetrated as far as Cairo.[55] S.U. 563 725

The Kurdish group outside the U.S.S.R. most directly affected by Russian policy and propaganda were the Persian Kurds whose country was occupied by the Red Army between 1941 and 1946. The Soviet occupation authorities did not spread communist ideas among the Kurds; they did not propagate collectivization and nationalization. All they aimed at was to make the Kurds respectful to Soviet Russia, the Russian Army and Stalin. The Kurdish Republic set up with Russian help in 1946 under Quazi Mohammed as Prime Minister was a national S.U. 563 648 K 648 642

1 [Cf. cat. 116, pp. 250-251, R1 Sov. Union -- Analyst]

23: Shabad N-4 (no date) 1951 Rl Soviet Union Rl
Caucasia RH1

 SU 137 C 137

steppe, extending as far as the Kuban' River; north of that stream it follows the fertile black-earth steppe, which continues to the lower Don. In the northeast, however, the decrease in precipitation is evidenced by a gradual change to the dry wormwood steppe, with salt flats, shifting sands, and bitter-salt lakes, forerunners of the Caspian semi-desert in the east.

SU 162 C 162

The population of the Lower Don and Northern Caucasus is more than 9 millions, giving an average density of 65 per square mile. The greatest concentration of the population is north of the Kuban'-Terek line, in the steppes, where Russians and Ukrainians predominate. These two ethnic groups came to this region from the north in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries and constitute at present nine tenths of the total population. The Russians settled mainly in the eastern steppes, the Ukrainians along the Kuban' River. South of the Kuban'-Terek line live the indigenous mountain peoples of the Greater Caucasus; the Adyge (Cherkess or Circassians), Kabardinians, Ossetians, Avars, Laks, and others. The Slavic groups live in large administrative divisions, such as Rostov and Groznyy oblasts, Krasnodar and Stavropol' krays, while the many mountain peoples are organized in autonomous units, varying in importance and size, on the northern slope of the Greater Caucasus.

SU 728 C 728

Four ethnic groups of the Northern Caucasus lost their national identity and were resettled in other parts of the USSR following their alleged collaboration with the Germans during the Second World War. The autonomous oblast of the Karachay was dissolved in 1943, and part of its territory was given to Stavropol' Kray, while the southern portion, including the capital, Mikoyan-Shakhar (now Klukhori), was ceded to the Georgian SSR. The Balkar nationality, which constituted 16 percent of the population of the Kabardino-Balkar Autonomous SSR, was dissolved in 1943, and a section of its territory, in the southwest of the republic, was transferred to the Georgian SSR. The republic became the Kabardinian Autonomous SSR. The Chechen-Ingush Autonomous SSR was also dissolved in 1943 because of the alleged fifth-column activities of its two main ethnic groups, the Chechen and the Ingush. The greater portion of the territory became part of the newly created Groznyy Oblast and the adjacent North Ossetian Autonomous SSR (west), Georgian SSR (south), and Dagestan Autonomous SSR (east) each received strips of land along the frontiers.

The Kuban' steppes are among the chief grain-producing regions of ooo

23: Shabad N-4 (no date) 1951 R1 Soviet Union R1
Caucasia RH1



in a southwestern suburb of Krasnyy Sulin. The former plays an important role in the mechanization of the coal-mining operations. Before the Second World War, more than 10 percent of the Donbas coal was mined within Rostov Oblast.

On the basis of the coal resources, heavy industry is operating metallurgical plants at Taganrog and Krasnyy Sulin. Rostov is the home of *Rossel'mash*, the largest agricultural machinery plant of the USSR. Agricultural implements are also manufactured at Morozovsk. Other centers engaged in the production of machinery and metal products are Taganrog, Novocherkassk, Glubokiy, and Likhovskoy (at Likhaya station).

In the northern grain-growing district, wheat and sunflower are the dominant crops. Toward the southeast, barley and mustard become important; further on, toward the Caspian Lowland, the emphasis shifts to stock raising. Horses and meat cattle are gradually replaced by sheep in the drier areas. Cotton is grown to some extent in the south and the southeast. Several Cossack villages along the Don River, notably Tsimlyanskaya and Razdorskaya, have extensive vineyards. In a wide zone through the urban and heavily industrialized section of Taganrog-Rostov-Shakhty, truck gardening and the raising of dairy cattle are the principal agricultural activities. The principal agricultural centers are Millerovo and Chertkovo in the north and Sal'sk (with near-by Gigant state farm, one of the largest grain farms of the USSR) in the southeast. These and other towns throughout the oblast mill flour, extract sunflower oil, and process tobacco. The fish catch of the Don delta and adjacent Taganrog Gulf is processed at Azov, a small port southwest of Rostov.

Rostov Oblast is settled by Russians and a Ukrainian minority. Prior to the Second World War some Kalmyk elements were organized into a Kalmyk national rayon, northwest of Zimovniki. In 1944, following the abrogation of the Kalmyk Autonomous SSR, the rayon was also abrogated, and presumably the population was resettled elsewhere. In this connection, Rostov Oblast also acquired the westernmost section of the former Kalmyk Autonomous SSR.

Rostov lies on the elevated, right bank of the Don River at the head of the delta. Thanks to its favorable location at the junction of trade routes between the Black Sea, the Volga, the Ukraine, the European Center, and the Northern Caucasus, it developed early into an important commercial center and transportation hub. With the construction of the

23: Shabad N-4 (no date) 1951 R1 Soviet Union R1
Caucasia R41



SU 133 C 133 The entire Kray, with the exception of the mountains in the south and the dry steppes in the east, is covered with black earth of the highest grade. The soil conditions and the warm, humid summer climate combine to make the Kuban' region one of the most fertile agricultural regions of the USSR, able to provide a large number of products. In the southwest, along the Black Sea littoral, the subtropical, winterless climate favors the growth of citrus fruits, tea, and similar warm-weather crops. The mountainous portion of the region also presents factors favorable to the development of the economy. The left affluents of the Kuban', the Belaya, the Laba, and the Urup rivers, as well as the upper course of the Kuban' itself are potential sources of hydroelectric power. A rich petroleum-bearing area extends from the Taman' peninsula to the Belaya River along the northern foothills of the Greater Caucasus. Along the Black Sea, southeast of Novorossiysk, extensive marl deposits furnish an important basis for the cement industry. The region also includes the forested slopes of the Caucasus that are covered with oak and chestnut, two valuable types of wood. The Sea of Azov, finally, is rich in fish along the shallow northwest coast of Krasnodar Kray.

SU 162 C 162 The population of the region is predominantly Russian. It includes also large numbers of Ukrainians and Adyge (Cherkess or Circassians), the latter being organized into an autonomous oblast. The Cossacks are concentrated in large villages along the Kuban' River.

SU 496 C 496 The Russian settlement and consequent economic development received their most vigorous impetus from the construction of the Rostov-Baku railroad in the 1870's. During the twenty-five years following the completion of the line the population of the Kuban' district increased twice, and the area under cultivation fivefold. Mechanization was introduced early by the well-to-do peasants, who owned most of the land prior to collectivization. After the adoption of rationalized agriculture, spring wheat and sunflowers were assigned to the dry northern steppes, where the black-earth and chestnut soils suffer from drought in summer and are covered only by a thin snow cover in the winter months. The richest agricultural area lies along the Kuban' River. There, among vast expanses under winter wheat, barley, and corn, large areas are producing garden produce, melons and pumpkins, and fodder crops. The principal old industrial crops are sunflower and tobacco; during recent years cotton, *kenaf*, soy beans, castor beans, and essential-oil-bearing plants were introduced. Rice has been acclimatized in the swampy lowlands bordering on the Kuban', between Krasnodar and the delta. Livestock raising is more intensive here than it is along the Don and in the

SU 241 C 241

[1. Krasnodar Kray--Analysis]

23: Shabad N-4 (no date) 1951 R1 Soviet Union R1
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Caucasia RH1



SU 438* A 438

Maykop on the Belaya River, at the north foot of the Caucasus, is the center of the oil field of Neftegorsk and Apsheronsk, more than 30 miles southwest. The city has a small-scale metallurgical industry and produces machine tools, agricultural and lumbering machinery, furniture, tobacco, canned goods, and meat.

## Stavropol' Kray

**Capital, Stavropol'; area, 29,600, population, 1,500,000**

SU 133* C 133

Stavropol' Kray reaches to the crest of the Greater Caucasus only in its extreme southwestern portion along the upper Urup, a left affluent of the Kuban'. The basic portion of the region lies in the northern foothills of the Caucasus, the so-called Stavropol' upland, and in the dry steppes to the northeast. The watershed between the Caspian and the Black Sea basins passes roughly along the Stavropol' meridian, near the western border of the kray. Due to this circumstance, only a narrow strip of territory along the western boundary receives the benefit of the humid westerly winds blowing from the Black Sea. The rest of the area, east of the Stavropol' upland, is characterized by a dry climate. The yearly precipitation decreases from 16 inches in the west to 8 inches in the east; insolation and summer heat are very pronounced. Consequently, water courses are poorly developed, and trees are entirely absent. In the western and central portions fertile black-earth and chestnut soils predominate; only in the extreme east does the region have a semi-desert character.

SU 162 631 C 162 631

The population of the region is predominantly Russian, with a strong Ukrainian admixture. In the southwest lives another section of the Cherkess, or Circassian, ethnic group, which is organized into the Cherkess Autonomous Oblast. This region, now known as Stavropol' Kray, was first organized within its present approximate limits in 1924, when it was called North Caucasus Kray. In 1937 it was renamed Ordzhonikidze Kray; it received its present designation in 1943. Prior to the Second World War, it also included the Karachay Autonomous Oblast, a division located in the southwest on the slopes of the Greater Caucasus. This autonomous unit, with an area of 3,800 square miles and a population of 150,000, had been constituted in 1926, when it was separated from the original Karachay-Cherkess Autonomous Oblast (formed in 1922). The Karachay, a Turkic people who constituted about one half of the population of the autonomous unit, were among those accused of collaboration with the Germans during the Second World War. In 1943 the nationality was abrogated, the people were dis-

SU 728 631 C 728 631

23: Shabad N-4 (no date) 1951 Rl Soviet Union Rl
Caucasia RH1

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in the various sections; generally it is less than 12 to 14 inches a year, 5u 132
necessitating irrigation methods in the low-lying Aras valley. 5u

Vegetation types throughout Transcaucasia vary in accordance with 137
the predominant climate. Along the Black Sea coast the high tempera- C
tures and humidity lead to the development of a very luxurious and dense 137
vegetation, forming nearly inaccessible jungles in some sections. The trees, which are largely of Western and Central European origin, reach an exceptionally large size. In spite of the vegetation cover, there is much erosion in this area and the streams are very muddy. Among the most common garden plants are magnolia, cactus, eucalyptus, tangerine, orange, lemon, olive, tea, bamboo, and assorted palms. The dry steppe vegetation of eastern Transcaucasia, with its salt flats and a meager plant cover (consisting chiefly of wormwood, saltwort, and thorny bushes), is in sharp contrast to the small subtropical zone in the Lenkoran' lowland, where the very hard and dense ironwood is most important. The ranges and gorges in the Armenian plateau are covered with deciduous trees; the steppes on the plateau have a rather rich grass cover. In addition to animals commonly found in the Greater Caucasus, the fauna of Transcaucasia includes Mediterranean and Iranian species such as the porcupine and the dzheyran-antelope, and in the steppes, numerous rodents. In the Talysh range leopards and occasionally hyenas and tigers are encountered. Along the Lenkoran' littoral there are many aquatic birds for which a reserve has been created at Kizyl-Agach. 5u

The population of Transcaucasia belongs to a large number of ethnic 162
groups. The Georgian group includes the Georgians proper, and many C
smaller related nationalities, such as Svans, Khevsurs, Pshaves, Imere- 162
tians and Adzhars; the Iranian group comprises the Ossetians, the Kurds, and the Talysh people, and the Abkhaz form a branch of the Caucasian group. The Georgians and the Armenians are the most numerous. Eastern Transcaucasia is settled by the Azerbaijan people of the Turkic group, who migrated to this area from the northeast from beyond the Caspian Sea.

The total population of Transcaucasia (about 8,100,000 people) is distributed quite irregularly, due to relief and climatic factors. Most sparsely settled are the Greater and the Lesser Caucasus ranges and the dry steppes in the eastern sections, while the Black Sea littoral of the Georgian SSR and the Rion valley show the greatest population density.

3: Anonymous U-4 (no date) 1920 RH1 Caucasia RH1



132 vegetation is abundant, and near the sea semi-tropical in its luxuriance.

East of the Suram Mountains the climate is dry, with extremes of heat and cold. The summer is oppressively hot, particularly in the Kura valley. The Caspian basin, as a whole, suffers from drought, and in the Baku district violent sand and dust storms are common.

The climate in the Armenian Highlands shows characteristics similar to those of the two areas above described. At Alexandropol snow lies till the middle of April, spring lasts a fortnight, and the summer parches the country to the condition of a desert. The Aras valley has a somewhat less rigorous climate.

Recent climatic statistics for the three areas are shown in the table given on p. 7.

### (4) Sanitary Conditions

[144] 164 Sanitation in anything like the modern sense of the word is practically unknown in Transcaucasia. Medical facilities, except in the larger towns, are practically non-existent. Constant epidemics of malaria are caused by the marshy conditions prevailing on the Black Sea coast, and in the valleys of the Rion, Aras, and Kura. Goitre and epilepsy are common among the natives of Svanetia. Leprosy occurs among the poorer classes of the Persian population. Elisavetopol is notorious for the so-called Sartian sickness, a kind of skin eruption.

### (5) Race and Language

563 197 Of the numerous peoples represented in Caucasia, 101 some belong to the white race, others to the Mongolian or yellow race.

I. The inhabitants who are of white race belong to the Indo-European, Semitic, or Caucasian families.

*Indo-European Family.*—Everywhere there are *Russian* officials, merchants, and soldiers, and there are also large numbers of peasants, who are either voluntary colonists or religious exiles from European Russia. They speak both Great and Little Russian.

3: Anonymous U-4 (no date) 1920 RH1 Caucasia RH1



In the 'black earth' steppes of Ciscaucasia the maxi- 132
mum rainfall is at the beginning of summer; on the eastern steppes, which extend along the Caspian Sea, the maximum is reached in March.

### (4) Sanitary Conditions

The science of hygiene is unknown in Caucasian villages, 758
and medical aid is absent or inaccessible in country dis- 164
tricts. Malaria is the characteristic disease of Caucasia, but small-pox, scarlet fever, measles, dysentery, typhus, and pneumonia are prevalent and cause many deaths.

In the fashionable health resorts, such as Kislovodsk, 529
Jelieźnovodsk and Pyatigozsk, there are very up-to-date sanatoria established on the latest German lines, to which people come from all parts of Russia to take the waters and the cure.

### (5) Race and Language

Russians form 34 per cent. of the people of Ciscau- 162
casia, and in the Government of Stavropol amount to 90 per cent. In the Province of Kuban 109 per 1,000 are Cossacks; in Terek the proportion is 179 per 1,000. Tatars live in the east and south-east, where they form 19·3 per cent. of the inhabitants. The remainder consists of Kalmucks, Turcomans, Nogai-Tatars, Armenians, Georgians, Germans, Poles, &c. (See also p. 8.)

### (6) Population

The population of the three Ciscaucasian provinces on January 1, 1913, was 5,470,600, distributed as follows:

| | *Rural Population.* | *Urban Population.* | *Total.* |
|---|---|---|---|
| Kuban . . | 2,667,000 | 244,800 | 2,911,800 |
| Stavropol . | 1,232,400 | 79,700 | 1,312,100 |
| Terek . . | 1,015,100 | 231,600 | 1,246,700 |

*Towns*

*Ekaterinodar* (population in 1897, 65,697, now about 161
107,000), the capital of the Province of Kuban, is 361

*133 westerly course slightly north of lat. 45°N.; therefore, before flowing into the Kuban it receives quite a few tributaries--the Fars, Ul, Giyaga, and, a short distance before the confluence with the Kuban, the Psenafo. The Laba also has one tributary from the right, the Sinyukha with its tributary, the Chamlik. The tributaries of the Kuban farther to the west become smaller and shorter the longer we continue in that direction, as the Kuban approaches the Caucasus more and more closely and the latter subsides to an ever-greater extent; as a result, the size of the individual drainage systems diminishes accordingly. West of the Laba system is the Belaia system, with its eastern source river Nisha, and its western tributaries Kurdjips and Pshekha, the sources of which are in and near the Oshten-Fisht massif (given on the map of 1916 as the Nagoi-Koshka-Tuba group); immediately west is the Pshish, flowing through a rather deep incision in the Caucasus range, west of which there are no elevations
*133 above 1000 m. The sources of the Pshish, the
•164 larger ones being the Psekups, Afips, and Khabi, are rather insignificant; some of the smaller ones do not reach the Kuban at present but ooze out into swamps flanking the lower course of the Kuban from the Psenafo confluence on, thus making the Kuban valley a rather unhealthy area. This is also true of the swamp regions along the lower Terek, Kuban, Manych, or the entire Caspian littoral;

*133 malaria is a most common disease in these
• 164 places. Up to 1934, sanitation had made no particular progress there.

## The Black Sea Drainage System, Except for the Rioni

*133 Typical of the steep Black Sea coast of the Caucasus in its northwestern portion are small water courses which, the farther southeast we go, take on the character of Alpine creeks and torrents. Only southeast of the Pshish incision and the city of Tuapse do we find several more sizeable water courses: the Psezuapse, about 40 km. southeast of Tuapse; the smaller rivers Shakhs and Svechi, emptying near Sochi; the larger Mzimta, reaching the sea near Adler; and the Bzipi (Russian Bzyb ), forming at its estuary an alluvial gravel fan 20 km. south of the town of Gagra (Russian Gagry). The Bzipi has its sources south of the main range and south of the Zelenchuk sources, and for about 70 km. it has a western direction similar to that of most of the rivers rising from the southern slopes of the Caucasus and having a generally latitudinal direction. The Kodor River, with its estuary about 25 km. southeast of the city of Sukhumi, has its sources between the main range of the Caucasus and the Kodor range, the southern parallel range. Its eastern source river is the Gvandra, coming from the southern slopes and glaciers of Mt.

3: Anonymous U-4 (no date) 1920 RH1 Caucasia RH1



(population in 1913, 237,000). Other important towns 361 are *Novorossiisk* (66,700), *Elisavetopol* (63,400 in 1910), 161 *Kutais* (53,900), *Batum* (46,000), and *Erivan* (34,000). For further particulars concerning these see below, pp. 42 and 77.

### *Movement*

Recent statistics are not available, but the annual 161 rate of increase can be roughly estimated at 60,000. 165 It is probable that the Armenians increase at a more rapid rate than the other nationalities in Transcaucasia. The death-rate, particularly among children, is certainly high; for this the unhealthy climate in the west, the rigorous winters in the east and central parts, and the ignorance of the natives are responsible.

Accurate statistics of emigration are not available. 167 Since the great migration of the Cherkess (to Anatolia) and other Mohammedan tribes (to Turkey), which depopulated much of the western coast in the latter half of the nineteenth century, emigration has tended to be spasmodic. A certain number of Armenians emigrate to America. Many tribes still live what is practically a nomadic life; and for those who are not too proud to do manual labour the towns form a continual attraction.

Immigrants are largely Russians, both official and non-official. The latter come very largely from South Russia and settle in the central governments or, for industrial purposes, at Baku. There is a small annual influx of foreigners, but not to the same extent as in Ciscaucasia. Periodically there have been Armenian immigrations from Turkish Armenia, though these have lately been regarded unfavourably by the Government.

## *CISCAUCASIA*

### (1) Position and Frontiers

Ciscaucasia, a district of European Russia, is the 131 northern part of the region of Caucasia. It is bounded on the west by the Black Sea and the Sea of Azov;

5: Allen H-4 (no date) 1923 RH1 Caucasia RH ⊥



At that time anti-Russian feeling was strong in England
175 and a number of fantastic propositions for the dismemberment
648 of the Muscovite Empire were being published. So influential a man as Lord Stratford de Redcliffe advocated the creation of an independent Circassia at the time of the Treaty of Paris, and in 1862 a number of enthusiastic public meetings at Dundee, Preston and elsewhere welcomed Cherkess deputies, who had come to England to petition the intervention of the Queen. But these efforts were of no avail. The Kars and Ingur campaigns had convinced responsible British statesmen that it was too late to attempt to retard the Russian absorption of the Caucasus, and the Treaty of Paris, by ignoring "the Circassian Question," gave the sanction of Europe to the Russian
175 position in those regions.

[668] In 1859 Shamil, deserted by his followers, and surrounded
[59] by Russian forts, was driven from his last stronghold, Veden. Accompanied only by a hundred faithful *murtazeks*, he fled to the mountainous aul of Gunib in Southern Daghestan, where he subsequently surrendered.[1] The war-weary mountaineers had everywhere laid down their arms; the Russian conquest of the Eastern Caucasus was complete.

Five years later, in 1864, the last resistance of the Cherkesses
175 and Abkhazians was crushed. Nearly 500,000 of these un-
727 fortunate people, together with 100,000 Chechens, emigrated subsequently to Turkey, where the greater number died of disease and starvation.[2] They left their mountain homes a desert, but their place was gradually filled by Bohemian and Cossack immigrants.

During the Russo-Turkish War of 1877–8 there was some unrest amongst the remnants of the western tribes, but Turkish attempts to raise a general insurrection of the Mussulman mountaineers were ineffectual. As a result of the war, the Russians, by the Treaty of Berlin (1878), obtained almost the last remaining areas inhabited by the Caucasian races, Batum and the Ajar hills.

[1] After exile at Kaluga and Kiev, he died on a pilgrimage, at Medina, in 1871.

[2] Some thousand Cherkesses—Chapsughs, Ulikhs, Kabardans and Abkhazians
• [66] —are settled in the vilayet of Sivas, others in that of Bitlis. The Chechens, after causing much trouble in the vilayets of Kars and Erzerum, finally scattered about the region of Bitlis, Van and Mush, while others settled in the vilayet of Diarbakr.

1 [i.e., during the Crimean War -- Analyst]

•166 The government has been promoting resettlement in areas newly won for cultivation, such as the drained sections of the Colchis marshes and the irrigated parts of the dry steppes, such as the Samgora irrigation district near Tbilisi.

161 In Azerbaidzhan, the average density is 37.3 persons per square kilometer. The densest population areas are the oil-producing Apsheron Peninsula with Baku, the growing Kirovabad industrial district, and the subtropical Lenkoran' lowland. The average density in these areas is between 50 to 100 persons per square kilometer. Sparse settlement characterizes the dry steppes (Mili, Shirvan, Mugan, Saliany). The Nakhichevan' ASSR has a density of 25 to 50 in the valley of the Araxes River and 1 to 10 in the northern uplands. Most of the population of the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast is concentrated in the area's northeast and southeast corners, i.e. the Terter River Valley and the lowland parts of the Oblast. The rest of Azerbaidzhan, in particular the valley of the Kura River, has an average density of 25 to 50.

The average density of Armenia is 42.7 persons per square kilometer, higher than in Azerbaidzhan, but lower than in Georgia. The population is largely concentrated in the valley of the Araxes River, with the Erevan basin and the Leninakan plateau. The sparsest settlement is found in the southeast -- the Karabakh plateau -- and other parts of the Armenian highlands.

3: Anonymous U-4 (no date) 1920 RH1 Caucasia RH1



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## *CISCAUCASIA*

### (1) Position and Frontiers

Ciscaucasia, a district of European Russia, is the northern part of the region of Caucasia. It is bounded on the west by the Black Sea and the Sea of Azov;

3: Anonymous U-4 (no date) 1920 RH1 Caucasia RH1



for industrial work; many of them, especially those of the mountainous districts, are very backward (as are also the Kurds and Ossetes), but the Lesghians and Gruzians are reliable and hard-working, and constitute the best native labour supply. The Armenians, on the other hand, find their most congenial employment in trade and usury, though a good many of them are employed on the oil-fields; the Russian colonists make good agriculturists, but are often idle and intemperate; while the Tatars, who in general are farmers and breeders of sheep and cattle, are also the predominant element on the Baku oil-fields. 463 181

The native labour supply, however, is insufficient for the country's requirements on the oil-fields and elsewhere, and there has been a considerable *immigration* for some years past, the chief sources being as follows: 464 167

(i) *Russian.* — When Transcaucasia came under Russian rule in 1878, the State replaced the many Abkhasians and Circassians who left the country by considerable numbers of Russian colonists. Russian settlers have been planted by the State on the reclaimed lands of the Mughan and Mil steppes. There is a seasonal movement of some 300,000 labourers from Central Russia into Ciscaucasia for the harvest. *Artels*, or combines of Russian skilled workers, numbering from 10 to 50 persons, move about the country undertaking various sorts of contract work, and earn high wages.

(ii) *Armenian.*—Except in the two or three years following the establishment of the Young Turk Government, there has been a steady stream of immigration from Turkish Armenia to the Caucasus. This immigration increased during the persecution of the Armenians in 1915, but the fate of the refugees since the Turco-German occupation of the Caucasus is uncertain. Echmiadzin, in the Government of Erivan, the residence of the Armenian Patriarch, was regarded as the national capital of the Armenians.

(iii) *Turkish* labour is imported for the tea plantations on the Black Sea coast, and for the copper mines in the Batum district.

3: Anonymous U-4 (no date) 1920 RH1 Caucasia RH1



464 (iv) *Persians* go to the Baku oil-fields as tub-cleaners,
167&c.

(v) Induced by the demand for labour on railway construction and other public works, a considerable number of *Italians* immigrated into Transcaucasia about the middle of last century, and remained there in scattered communities. There is also a small seasonal immigration of Italians, chiefly masons, road-makers, and sculptors, which increases whenever new public works are taken in hand.

(vi) A few *Greeks* enter Caucasia, mainly to work in the copper mines.

(vii) There are a few villages inhabited by *German* immigrants of long standing, representing, as in Hungary, early German efforts at colonization.

167 There has been no *emigration* worth mention since the beginning of the present century, except that in 1910 a number of Turkish Armenians returned to their native country, hoping that the Young Turk revolution would secure better political conditions for their race.

### (*b*) *Labour Conditions*

466 Since the revolutionary disturbances at Baku in 1902–5 (see above, p. 29) the conditions of labour in the Caucasus have steadily improved, in spite of the difficulties placed in the way of labour organization
468 by the diversity of nationalities involved. There have been frequent strikes. In 1913 manganese miners, case and can factory hands, copper miners at Dzansul, dock labourers at Poti, and the employees of the Russian Steam Navigation and Trading Company struck for shorter hours, increased pay, and better housing. These movements met with varying degrees of success; an average advance of 30 per cent. in the rate of wages was effected and an eight-hours day was generally conceded. In May 1914 there was a general strike on the Baku fields, the demands including recognition of workmen's committees, better conditions both in the workshops and in the workers'

103 Caucasians also call the Pontos the "Black Sea" (Georgian Šavi Zγva).

Later, in Arabic and Persian geographical and historical literature, forms of the name of these mountains such as Qabaq, Qabuq (?) appear, and a similar form Qāf or Qāp, becomes the general term for the Caucasus throughout the Near and Middle Eastern Islamic world (in Turkic Qāf daγlary, etc.), forms which have some slightly remote relationship with the old Iranian and Western term.

181 For a long time the Caucasus was, and
132 in a certain sense still is, a great divide between two rather different worlds: on the one hand, Trans-Caucasia, which is culturally Mediterranean and Near Eastern, and climatically arid and sub-tropical; and on the other, the North-Caucasian plains, a cultural no-man's land, the transitory roaming-grounds of nomadic peoples, and climatically belonging to the continental zone of the vast East European plains. The steppes of the northern
133 Caucasian triangle between Don-Volga and the
• 167 Caucasus have been, down to the last two centuries, the battlefields between ever-changing nomadic conquest groups, arriving one after the other in an almost unending sequence out of the high plains of Central and Eastern Asia, trying to force their way into the territories of the Persian or the Roman Empires, which had their outer defenses established in these plains. But even prior to those movements,

133 which start with the Great Migrations, and
•167 during which, time and again, conquering peoples forced their way around or even through the Caucasus Mountains, the North Caucasian steppes and Caucasian lands were the scene of movements of entire nations or of organized armies of one or the other of early Mediterranean or Near Eastern empires. But they found the huge range an insurmountable barrier closing off the entire isthmus between the Black Sea and the Caspian Sea from one end to the other. And it proved very difficult to circumvent this huge natural fortificatory wall because of the narrow passage between mountains and seashore. While the west coast offers the greatest obstacles, the east coast has on its longer extent, along the mountains fanning out towards the northern Caspian basin, a slightly larger strip of land which would serve as a pathway--with only one narrow spot where the fortress of Derbent (Darubanda in Georgian, from Old-Iranian Daru-banda, "door-band" or "closed doors") is situated, built at a very early epoch.

144 The Caucasus is not only a divide but a refuge as well for ethnic groups which have succumbed to pressure, and have had to retreat from large valleys or plains where they were being attacked or gradually displaced and finally doomed either to extinction or flight. Like the Alps, the Elburz, the Hindukush, or Himalaya Mountains, the Caucasus shelters relic peoples from groups which a

## ETHNOLOGICAL AREAS

### Russians and Ukrainians; Cossacks; Turks

162 The different geographical landscapes which may be distinguished in the Caucasus--the North Caucasian plains, the high mountain regions of the Great Caucasus and its valleys, the large Trans-Caucasian valley, and the Anti-Caucasus with its high plateaus extending behind it--do not coincide with the ethnological provinces of the entire area. The watershed on the Stavropol' plateau, constituting a climatic borderline, has also become an ethnological frontier which, however, has been effaced in the south of the plateau; west of it, Russians and Ukrainians, east of it Turkic-speaking peoples, most of them being Noghai. The reason for this, as we saw, was the pattern of expansion of the Russian and Ukrainian peasant settlers, who have not gone far into the steppes east of the Stavropol' watershed. In this arid zone agriculture is not possible without irrigation, whereas peoples living in a nomadic state and having a pastoral economy find the steppes adequate living grounds, provided that there is enough space for their needs, and that the area is not undergoing increasing desiccation. The 162 • 167 Russian immigrants have taken possession of the entire northwestern part of the Great Caucasus, which is now under Russian occupation up to the upper course of the Kuban. The area of the source rivers of the Kuban was peopled

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167 by the Turkic Karachai until 1943 or 1944, when this land was given to the Svans and Mingrelians. From that point northwestward, the entire Great Caucasus is Russian and, in the lower regions approaching the Azov Sea, Ukrainian. Only a few remnants of the ancient inhabitants are left along the upper and central course of the Kuban: these are principally the Kabarda-Cherkess (Circassians) on the upper course, and the Adyghe-Cherkess farther down the river. On and near the upper Kuban, a few Noghai groups now live in villages. The above-mentioned Cherkess are the remnants of the Northwestern Cherkess, most of whose member-groups, the Bzhedukh, Ubykh, Abadzekh and Shapsug emigrated in 1865 and subsequent years to Turkey, for the most part. Many of those who remained have already been absorbed by the Russians. The Russian conquest started on a fairly large scale with the reign of Peter I, when the Russian Cossacks (kazaki, kozaki) began to appear in the North Caucasian plains at the same time as the campaigns were being waged against these far-flung outposts of the Osman Empire and its vassal state, the Khanate of the Crimea.

These Cossacks were <u>coloni sui generis</u>, who laid the foundations for the political and ethnical conquest and a not always

162 167 peaceful agricultural penetration of these regions. They settled in stanitsy, "Cossack or warrior villages" (this term would better be translated by "posts"), a number of which, toward the end of the last century, often had 10,000-15,000 inhabitants each. These people had the peculiar double occupation of peasant and soldier.

The Great-Russian population has occupied the entire southern portion of the Stavropol plateau, the upper Kuma and its upper tributaries as far as the Malka and the T'erek, following the latter to the estuary from where it continues northward along the Caspian shore right to the Volga delta and Astrakhan. It has separated to a large extent the steppe peoples from the Caucasiars proper, or the mountaineers (Russian: gortsy; Turkic: ta ly, taulu, or da lu), as they are often called. In the large "Bay of Vladikavkaz", the Russians have penetrated south of the T'erek line, and even across the Sundja river, driving a few wedges into the original population there; this expansion is carried out by occupying first the river banks. (The same method is seen, by the way, in the Russian conquest of Siberia; in the latter case geographical reasons were the motivation.) Thus, the Kabarda has been split up into two major regional groups, a larger, western and a smaller, eastern one; the Cherkess into three, a small western, a northern one along the southern banks of the

162 central T'erek, and a larger southern one
167 along the tributaries of the Sundja. Along the T'erek, below Vladikavkaz, the Oset'is have been split in a similar way, and many more examples could be adduced here. During the most hectic years of Stalin's absolutism, the bigger towns and cities having industrial enterprises were filled with Russians sent there as workers and specialists of all kinds, often only as specialists in national coercion in the event of war. In the Northwest and
[127] North Caucasian area, the people finally showed such an overwhelming enthusiasm for Hitler and his victorious "supermen" that entire nations, and not surprisingly quite a number of Russians with them, went over to the Nazi side, even before the spearheads of the German armies had reached them. Thus later on, after Hitler's defeat at Stalingrad, their defection had the well-known consequences: the "culprit nations" were punished in true Stalinist fashion, with the result that the ethnic map of the area was changed to a considerable degree.

Russian peasant villages were found even in the Anti-Caucasus; most of them are scattered all over the northern part of the area, mainly in valleys of the northern border mountains. But single Russian villages can be found as far as the two provinces of Kars and Ardahan, where the Russian population seems to have remained after their reannexation by Turkey, as suggested by a few place names.

177 even military convoys. By diverting these people to agriculture, order was finally established, resistance on any sort of wide or dangerous level was broken; thus the conditions for the ultimate incorporation of those national groups into the large Russian family were created.

167 174 Since Caucasian studies are still very much in an incipient stage, it is not possible to trace the different waves in which the historical and present-day Caucasian peoples came to their habitats. Where historical sources are missing, the chief help comes from linguistics.

The Eastern Slavs, coming from the north, were the last wave of immigrants and conquerors (18th to 20th centuries). They were preceded by the Turkic-speaking peoples (11th-14th centuries), who in turn came later than the Alanoi-Aorsoi, the forebears of the Oset'i (1st-3rd centuries A. D.). Events prior to that time are unclear. It is impossible to say whether groups of the Skythai, or Sauromatai (6th-1st centuries B. C.) went to the Caucasus, though this might be indicated by a remark of Strabon's (Book XI. chapter 3). And with this, we are in pre-Christian times.

In the south, history goes much farther back, but only insofar as it deals with one of the ancient Semitic or Anatolian (Hittite, etc.) cultures. Therefore, there are enormous gaps for the Caucasus proper, and the peoples who migrated there from the south. The campaigns of Alexander the Great bypassed the Caucasus,

so that direct historical information is lacking about this period as well as all the preceding centuries. But during those times, the present-day and historically-known Trans-Caucasian peoples had already been in the area for a long time. Thus, we can distinguish five historical waves: 1) the Russian; 2) the Turkic, coming from Turkestan and Central Asia via Iran; those were the so-called Oghuz Turks, from whom the Saldjuqs, the Osmans, and the Azerbaidjanians stem; 3) the Arabic, less an ethnic than a political wave, like the Mongolians in the 1220s; 4) the Iranian, probably consisting of different phases which, if named after political units, could be called Sasanian, Akhaemenian and pre-Akhaemenian; 5) that of the Indo-European Armenians (Hajk ), who superseded the Proto-Armenians, at least a strong group of whom descended from Urartu. This early fifth wave occurred at a time when the K'art'velians, or at least Proto-K'art'velians, had long since been at home in the regions they occupy today, the southwestern triangle of Trans-Caucasia, called by Strabon

("country of the Moskhoi," the Meshekh [Masak] of the Old Testament). At this early Proto-Armenian period, in the early centuries of the second millenium B. C., the ancestors of many of the northwestern and northeastern Caucasian peoples were already living in, or at least near, their present-day dwelling places--perhaps not in the inaccessible, high alpine valleys of the Caucasus, but in the

167 fertile plains at the foot of the mountains. But
174 the periods referred to above as those of the 4th and 5th waves, present us with an enormous number of riddles which can only be tackled (if they ever are) with the help of linguistics and archaeology.

7: Columbia U. S-4,5 1956 RH1 Caucasia RH1
Adige
Kabardin

101 rivers Malka, Baksan, Cherek and Upper Terek (Kabardian ASSR); between the Upper Kuban and Zelenchuk rivers (Cherkes AO) and south of the middle course of the Kuban and in the basins of the Laba and Belaya. Smaller groups are scattered in the whole N. W. Caucasus, between and around these concentrations.

[167] The Circassians, now numbering a little over 250,000, were much more numerous before the Russian conquest which caused 3-500,000 of them to emigrate to Turkey. Their self-designation "Adyghe" was first recorded by the Genoese Georgio Interiano (first half of 16th cent.); the Kievan chronicle knows them as Kasogy (and in Ossete the Kabardians are still called Käsäg). Strabo knew in the N.W. Caucasus the Zygoi (other forms: Zikchoi, Zinchoi), a name which may reflect the Circassian word ts'ykhw meaning "human being." The connection of the name "Circassian" (from Ital. Circassi, cf. Turkish, Russian, etc. cherkes) with the ancient Kerketai known already to Hellanikos (5th cent. B.C.) is doubtful.

The Eastern (or Upper) Circassians (in the territory of the present Kabardian ASSR) are known as Kabardians; these were the most numerous and the most warlike of all the Circassian tribes. Of all the N. Caucasian peoples their society developed the most pronounced feudal traits; in the 15-18 centuries they

people living in the village Zemo Alvani on the Kakhetian Alazani, among the Georgian mountain tribe of the Tush (therefore they were formerly erroneously called Tsova-Tush), and a number of tribes whose dialects show common innovations as compared to Bats. Some are nearly extinct, e.g. that of the Karabulak who by 1870 had almost all emigrated to Turkey. The remaining dialects fall into two groups, the Chechen and the Ingush, numbering respectively ca. 408,000 and 92,000 who until 1944 lived between the middle course of the Terek and the Great Caucasus in the Chechen-Ingush ASSR. All Chechen call themselves Nakhchuo (pl. Nokhchiy); the name Chechen came up in the 17th century among the Russians, who applied the name of one aul (Chachan) to the whole people. The older history of the Veinakh peoples is quite unknown; they lived in self-governing communities and had not developed any class distinctions when the Russians came into contact with them. In 1944, the Chechen-Ingush ASSR was abolished and its population deported to Kazakhstan, where it has since received some official recognition (1955) by the issuing of a Chechen language newspaper.

b. The peoples speaking Avaro-Ando-Didoic languages occupy the western part of

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101 on the Stavropol' upland (southward from the Manych canal) and between the Kuma and Yegorlyk rivers. The main concentration of the Turcomans is in the southwestern part of Central Asia (Turkmen SSR ca. 800,000, [167] Northern Iran over 500,000); the Turcomans immigrated to the Northern Caucasus comparatively recently from the Mangyshlak peninsula.

(c.) The Kumuk (ca. 95,000) live on the northeastern slopes of the Great Caucasus along the Aksai, Sulak, Shura and Cubden rivers and along the Caspian coast from Adzhi-su to Derbent. The date of their arrival in their present habitat is unknown; they have been there at least since the sixteenth century. The Kumuk have been vassals of Russia since the last quarter of the eighteenth century, but continued to be governed by their own rulers called shamkhals until 1867.

(d.) The more than 40,000 Noghay in the Northern Caucasus (their exact number is unknown) live mainly in the steppe between the lower Kuma and Terek rivers, south of the mouth of the Terek adjoining Kumuk territory, and on the right bank of the Kuban north of Cherkessk. They probably reached their habitat at the same time as the Kumuk.

(e, f.) Until 1943 the Karachay and Balkar (respectively ca. 76,000 and 43,000) lived on the northern slopes of the Great Caucasus, the former along the headwaters of the Kuban,

21: Kolarz J-4 (no date) 1952 R1 Soviet Union R1
Caucasia RH1



that Russia would not fight for the barren Caucasus mountains if she were really as great and mighty as was sometimes asserted by some mountaineers who had seen her immensity and later returned to their own people.[1]

## THE FIRST EXODUS OF THE MOUNTAINEERS

The mountaineers of the Western Caucasus – the Circassians or the Adyge – who had lived close to the shores of the Black Sea, occupied particularly important strategic positions. In every war which Russia waged against Turkey the fearless Circassians had constituted a grave menace in the immediate rear of the Russian Caucasus front. The alternatives, from the Russian point of view, therefore, could only be either the total surrender or the total annihilation of the Circassians. As only a minority of the Circassians were ready to accept surrender, a mass migration of the Circassians to Turkey appeared the only possible 'solution', both to the Russian conquerors and the Circassians themselves, whose indomitable spirit of freedom could not be reconciled with Russian rule.

Thus between 1861 and 1864 about 500,000 Circassians left the Caucasus; but owing to starvation, disease and the hardships of the journey in overcrowded vessels, it is said that only half of them ever reached Turkey alive. Referring to this trek of the Circassians a semi-official Russian publication admitted that 'a calamity of such proportions has rarely befallen humanity'.[2] This great exodus of the Circassians disposed of the problem of nationalities in large areas of the western part of the North Caucasus region and opened them up to Russian, Ukrainian and Armenian colonization.

After the departure of the Circassians a great deal still remained to be done in the North Caucasus region from a Russian national point of view. Although thousands of Chechens, Nogai Tartars and Ossetins had likewise participated in the great exodus, these and other peoples of the Central and Eastern Caucasus continued to be a source of uneasiness to the Russian State. Complete Russian victory over the rebellious mountaineers was achieved only under the Soviet régime.

## THE ADMINISTRATIVE CHAOS IN THE SOVIET CAUCASUS

The Russian communist leaders came to the Northern Caucasus with progressive ideas and plans for raising the material and cultural level of its peoples. The Soviet Government was originally even determined to give the small mountain peoples a chance to combine their forces and thus become a political factor of some importance. In accordance with the wishes of the more advanced mountaineers the Soviet Government decided that there should be one United Northern Caucasus

21: Kolarz J-4 (no date) 1952 R1 Soviet Union
Caucasia RH1
[Chechen]



563 175 describing them as the 'most active and strongest opponents of the Czarist Government during the conquest of the Caucasus'. The Russians suffered extensive and costly disasters at the hands of this people, who were unequalled in forest warfare.

Ever since the time of Peter the Great, the Chechens have challenged the Russian Empire, but from 1818 onwards their resistance to Russian rule assumed major proportions. In that year General Yermolov built [103] a fortress to subjugate more easily the land of the Chechens. He called the new fortress 'Grozny', meaning 'menacing' and 'formidable'. The name of Grozny had a deeper meaning than might appear at the first glance: it was the symbol of a political programme that Yermolov defined in the following words: 'I wish that the terror of my name should guard our frontiers more potently than chains of fortresses, that my word should be for the natives a law more inevitable than death'. Grozny became Yermolov's headquarters, and it was from Grozny that countless Russian expeditions set out 'to punish raiders, avenge defeats, establish new posts, relieve beleaguered garrisons, or rescue retreating bands and armies'.[4] The Russian campaign against Chechenia reached its climax in 1840, at the time of the great Chechen rising under the leadership of Imam Shamil. The breakdown of Shamil's fanatical Moslem movement led to the gradual submission of the Chechens in the years 1857-59.

175 The Russian authorities knew well that these new subjects of the Czar, after all the trouble they had caused, would not easily reconcile them- 167 selves to the loss of their freedom; so an attempt was made to settle the 'Chechen problem' by a double transfer of population. Immediately after the conquest the inhabitants of forty-four auls (mountain villages) were transplanted from the mountains to the plains, where they could more easily be controlled. The more rebellious ones were forced to emigrate to Turkey, where they were given hospitality on the express demand of the Russian Government. In the summer of 1865, 39,000 Chechens, one-fifth of the entire Chechen population at that date, left Russia. Those who stayed behind did not remain quiescent. In 1877 there was another wave of unrest following the outbreak of the Russo-Turkish War, and more trouble in 1886. A Russian monograph on the Chechens, published in 1894, said that they could not yet be considered 'fully pacified'; they still looked across the border to Turkey whither many more dreamed of emigrating.[5] The emigration of the 39,000 had not eliminated the 'Chechen problem', for the birthrate of these Chechens was particularly high, far above the average in the Russian Empire.

## CHECHEN-INGUSH MOSLEM OPPOSITION

669 The immediate consequence of the October Revolution in Chechenia was a revival of violent nationalism and religious fanaticism among the

ment on 'serious shortcomings and mistakes' committed in Kabarda in 871
the field of national policy. It stressed that conditions in Kabardinian 191
education were in conflict with the constitution of the A.S.S.R., which stipulated the right of the Kabardinian people to schools in their own language.

Although the Kabardinians are by far more numerous and advanced 875
than the peoples of the Soviet Far North, they suffer from the same acute shortage of national teaching-personnel which has been fatal to the national culture of many a minor Soviet nationality. Thus in 1948, the Kabardinian teachers' training college at Nalchik had but fifty-six Kabardinians out of a total of 559 students.[17]

It is to be expected that the survival of a truly Kabardinian culture 167
and Kabardinian language will become even more remote with the 162
increasing pressure of Slav colonization. Between 1926 and 1935 alone the number of Russians and Ukrainians in the Kabardinian A.S.S.R. more than doubled; it increased from about 37,000 to 93,000. This increase was partly due to immigration, partly to the inclusion in Kabarda of a number of Cossack villages in 1932. After the war the numerical relation between 'natives' and colonists changed to the detriment of the former, owing to the forcible departure of the Balkars.[1] Moreover more Russian colonists came into the country to staff new factories springing up around Nalchik.

1 [Cf. category 631, p. 193 - -Analyst]

## THE CIRCASSIANS – A RESERVE OF SOVIET MIDDLE EAST POLICY

For the benefit of the remnants of the Circassian people,[2] the Soviet 631
Government set up two Autonomous Provinces in the western part of 162
the North Caucasus area; the Cherkess Province in the Caucasus foothills and the Adyge Province in the Kuban plain.

Surrounded as they are on all sides by Russian territories these two national units have little chance of long-term survival. This applies in particular to the Adyge Province, whose capital – Maikop – used to be [361]
the third largest Russian oil centre after Baku and Grozny, before the development of the 'second Baku' between the Volga and the Urals.

Originally, Maikop was not included in the Adyge Province, which had a small Adyge majority in its initial stage (55·7 per cent various branches of Adyge, 42·7 per cent Russians and Ukrainians, and the rest made up of other Europeans and Armenians). The size of the Province was increased, however, before the war and the Adyge thus found themselves in the position of a minority. In 1930 the Adyge Province [441]
won doubtful 'fame' owing to its extraordinarily high percentage of disfranchized people. This was due to the arbitrary action of the local Soviet authorities, who had indiscriminately interpreted the terms of 'kulak', 'capitalist' and 'reactionary' with the result that 12 per cent of the entire adult population of the Province were deprived of their civic rights. — 2 [Cf. cat. 116, p. 182, R1 Sov. Union-Analyst]

21; Kolarz J-4 (no date) 1952 R1 Soviet Union R1
[Cherkess] Caucasia RH1
Daghestan RH8



entire adult population of the Province were deprived of their civic rights.

Ca. 162 The Circassian (Cherkess) Autonomous Province is inhabited by three small Northern Caucasus peoples – the Cherkess, the Nogai Tartars and the Abazintsy, apart from Slav colonists. In 1933 the three indigenous peoples had a narrow aggregate majority over the Russians and Ukrainians.

Ca. 167 S.U. 563 648 Although the Circassians, as a people, have no political future in Soviet Russia itself, they may still be of service to the Soviet diplomacy. There are Circassians living in Turkey, Palestine, Syria and Transjordan. They are all descendants of the very Circassians whom the Czarist authorities forced to leave Russia in the sixties of the nineteenth century. In Turkey the Circassians have largely become one with the Turkish people, but in the Arab countries they still form distinct communities. In Palestine they have kept to their own customs and language, and do not inter-marry with the Arabs. The Syrian Arabs dislike the Circassians, of whom both Turks and French had made use against the indigenous population of the country. In Transjordan, too, the Circassian minority has preserved its individuality.[18]

The survival of Circassian national sentiments in Syria, Palestine and Transjordan may tempt the Soviet Union to create a 'Circassian problem'. Soviet propaganda may try at a given moment to arouse interest for the 'old country' among the Circassians in the Arab world. It should not be too difficult for Russia to spread among the Middle Eastern Circassians the story of the rebirth of the Circassian people in the U.S.S.R., and of the existence of 'Circassian States' therein. Having done this preparatory work Russia may either encourage Circassian re-immigration into the Caucasus or she may use the Circassian on the spot as one of several trump cards Russian imperialism holds in reserve in the Middle East.

S.U. [208]

## RUSSIA'S MOST POLYGLOT COLONY: DAGHESTAN

S.U. 634 563 [103] Daghestan represents the most difficult problem which the Soviet nationalities policy has to face, not only in the Caucasus, but in the Soviet Union as a whole. The very name of the Daghestan A.S.S.R. indicates that the country occupies a special position in the U.S.S.R. It is the only Autonomous Socialist Soviet Republic which does not bear the name of a people but of a territory.

Da. 103

Da 563 131 Daghestan is one of the most polyglot countries of the world. Ethnologists record that its roughly 1,000,000 inhabitants are split up into thirty-two nationalities, in a territory of only 14,600 square miles.* The

* In its original form Daghestan covered 19,800 square miles. In 1938 the Soviet Government separated from Daghestan parts of its lowlands with their predominant Ukrainian-Russian population, and its territory was thus reduced to about 13,000 square miles. After the war, Daghestan 'inherited' from Chechenia 1,600 square miles.

21: Kolarz J-4 (no date) 1952 R1 Soviet Union R1
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TRANSCAUCASIA Kurd MA11

was 'unsuitable' and in the end the Russian alphabet was re-introduced.

S.U. 563 648 Ca. 563 167 Many 'Soviet Assyrians' disliked the anti-religious policy of the Bolsheviks, the continuous experiments which the Soviet authorities made with Assyrian cultural life, as well as the entire communist social system. A large number of Assyrians therefore left Russia for Iraq in the period between the wars to join the Assyrian levies under British command.

During and after the Second World War Soviet Russian power politics made use of the Assyrians of Northern Persia. Although their number was small Soviet occupation authorities mobilized them, together with local Armenians, in support of the pro-Russian autonomous régime established in Tabriz. After the withdrawal of the Red Army troops the Persian Assyrians suffered together with all other groups of the population in whom the Russians had shown particular interest.

## RUSSIA AND THE KURDISH PROBLEM

The small number of Assyrians in Middle Eastern countries (30,000 in Iraq, 9,000 in Syria, 25,000 in Persia) indicates that Russia coulduse them only for very limited purposes. The Kurds may become a more redoubtable instrument in Russian hands. They are one of the most important factors in the Middle East. How many Kurds are there altogether? This purely statistical question is in itself part of the 'Kurdish problem'. In Turkey, for instance, official data referring to 1945 say that their number in that country does not exceed 1,900,000, but sources more favourable to the Kurdish national point of view speak of 4,000,000 Turkish Kurds. It is significant that this latter figure is approvingly quoted in a Russian monograph on Turkey.[53] In addition, there are 800,000 Kurds in Iraq, 700,000 in Persia and 200,000 in Syria.

K. 161

S.U. 563 648 The four States with a Kurdish population are bound to draw closer to each other for military, geographical, political and economic reasons. The Kurdish question common to all of them to a greater or lesser degree may prove to cement their unity. Russia's interests are the exact opposite of those of the four Middle Eastern countries with Kurdish minorities. Russia is a bitter opponent of any kind of federation on her borders. What she wants is not Kurdish cement but Kurdish dynamite.

For a long time Soviet Russia had had no real Kurdish policy. The strength of Britain in the Middle East prevented both the Soviet Government and the Comintern from playing the Kurdish card. In Russian communist eyes the Kurds were but a 'counter-revolutionary force', a tool of British imperialism intended to embarrass Turkey, the Arab world and even the Soviet Union itself.

But even at the time when leading Soviet quarters still held this negative view on the Kurds, they envisaged the possibility of a change in the

144 long while before had largely perished or vanished; and of all countries on the earth, it is in the Caucasus that the greatest number of relic peoples has been preserved down to the present.

101 The significance of the Caucasus in the history of human culture is unique; there
d71 is no comparison with any of the other mountain ranges mentioned, which share with the Caucasus the quality of a divide and a refuge. Every ancient civilization famous for its mythology survives in Dagestan down to our days. Trans-Caucasia and the region of Maikop in the northwestern foothills of the mountains, both integral parts of the Caucasus and ancient Caucasian lands, are, like Dagestan, the home of very ancient metal-working societies. Quite a few terms for metals and tools in Indo-European, Semitic and other Near and Middle Eastern languages are of Caucasian origin. The primordial cultural significance of the Caucasus finds eloquent expression in the classical myth of Prometheus, the fire-bringer. But it is not only pre-historical or early historical cultures that are at home in the Caucasus; historical cultures of a considerable age, surviving in the tradition of the two groups of ancient inhabitants of Trans-Caucasia --the Georgians and the Armenians--are also to be found there.

## HUMAN GEOGRAPHY

### Distribution of Settlements

172 The primary inhabitants of the Caucasus, the Caucasians proper, are ancient. They have been there since time immemorial, and the Caucasus was known to the peoples of the Ancient Near East from the dawn of their history.

Human settlements in Caucasian lands go back well into prehistoric times. In those early epochs people were living not only in the larger Trans-Caucasian valley, but also in the northern part of the Great Caucasus. Since no systematic archeological research on a large scale has been done so far, almost all archeological discoveries have been made accidentally. It may well be imagined how rich the yield of systematic archeological research would be in countries whose history is connected with that
172 of the Ancient Near East. Of particular in-
171 terest are the Bronze Age finds; those of the T'rialet'i culture in Trans-Caucasia, and in the northwestern part of the Great Caucasus, those of the Maikop area. The objects of major interest are swords and daggers of the Caucasian type, the famous short-sword akinákes (Abkhaz-Cherkess aqama, which designates the present-day kinzhal, also a loan word in Russian), and ornamented standard-tops, usually in the shape of an animal. They exhibit a

172 highly developed metal culture and a refined
.171 craftsmanship. Typical of the finds of the Maikop area is the representation of animals, often of animals fighting with each other: stags or elks attacked by tigers or leopards, etc. They exhibit a peculiar style or stylization which has led this genre of art to be called the animal style, also the style of animal fight (von Strzygowski); the style seems to have as its center, or at least one of its earliest centers, this part of the Caucasus. In the south of the Maikop area there is found another commonly represented motif, animal standards--representations of animals serving as an ornament on the top of (probably tribal) standards; these can be connected with earlier objects of the Urartu culture around Lake Van, often called Chaldean culture. The animal style is found all over eastern Europe and northern Asia, and is therefore called the Eurasian animal style. It seems to have spread from the Maikop area, or perhaps even from the Chaldean lands on Lake Van, to the middle course of the Kama, west of the Urals; and then to have migrated all across the West Siberian plains to the Altai mountains and the Minusinsk Basin--through which the upper Yenisei streams--north of the Sayan Mountains. There it shows a rich local development which is also typical of the Bronze Age in south-central Siberia. From there it has

172 continued its migration southeastward as far
171 as Noyon (Noyin)-Ola in Mongolia, and finally into northern China. Thus we see a pre-historic cultural connection between the Caucasus and north central Asia and the Far East; this connection took place in the Bronze Age, probably the later Bronze Age, and consisted at least in a cultural transmission over a distance rarely observed during any historical period down to the beginning of the modern
174 age. In mythical and legendary traditions,
101 peoples of the Caucasus were known to the ancient Mesopotamians, the Assyro-Babylonians, and the Hebrews of the Old Testament as the Gimirru or the Gomer. This name survives well into classical antiquity, when there are repeated mentions of the Kimmerioi as living on the northern and northeastern shores of the Black Sea, and after whom the Strait of Kerch and Taman was called the Kimmerian (or Cimmerian) Bosporus. It is quite possible that this same name is found again in that of Crimea. Peoples living in or near the Caucasus were the Togarma and the Gog and Magog of the Old Testament.

174 The lands of the Caucasus in a larger sense remained without any literature or historiography of their own until Christian times, i.e., until the time of their own conversion to Christianity in the 4th and 5th centuries. But before this time they were in the immediate

Georgia RI I
Khevsur, Pschv,
Tushin

C. G. [713] Some had the sign of the cross upon their shields, so that they looked exactly like medieval European knights and Crusaders.

C. G. 764 171 Up in the country of the Khevsurs a few very ancient churches can be found; near these, often isolated, stand some typically Khevsurian tomb structures or burial chapels unique in the Caucasus. Funeral ceremonies held by the Khevsurs are (or were ?) often accompanied by horse races, an ancient custom of horse-breeding nomads of the steppes. (This custom is reminiscent of the "dokhia" [δόχια] of some Turkic tribes in the plains near the Altai, described by the Byzantine envoy Menandros Protector, who was sent in 568 to the Great-Khan of the Türküt in the Altai region, a territory which is now part of northwestern Mongolia.) Perhaps the Khevsurs borrowed this custom from the Alans, the nomadic ancestors of the present-day Oset'i.

## S'vanet'ians

C. G. 162 101 Another K'art'velian group which in its mountainous seclusion has preserved numerous ancient customs and traditions is the Svans (or Shvan, Strabon's Soanes [Σοάνες]), who live in the high valleys of the Ingur and Ts'khenis-Tskhali, just south of the central high massifs of the Caucasus, between Gvandra and Shkhara. Their language is the most archaic of all the K'art'velian tongues. The Svans are

C. [141] outstanding for their height; two meters is not rare.

8:
773 on the top of the mountain. When he had grown
177 up and had to return to his family, the eagle gave him one of his feathers, with the advice to set fire to it in case of imminent danger. Then the eagle would appear at once and bring help. In fact, this need for help arose, when the birth of Rustam caused great difficulties and danger to his mother's life. As soon as his father had kindled the feather, the eagle appeared, foretold the birth of a huge heavy child, a future hero, and declared the necessity of performing a Caesarian operation. Among the instructions for treating the mother's wound, rubbing it with the feather of the eagle is mentioned. The appearance of the eagle immediately after one of his feathers has been set on fire at a time of peril, and the magical healing power of the feather when a wound is rubbed with it, are distinctly reflected in the two stories handed down in non-Iranian languages. It is noteworthy that this motif of the eagle and his magical feather also occurs in a story of an Iranian tribe, the Bakhtiyaris. But it is also found in a passage of the Avesta, the holy stripctures of the Zoroastrians, and it has been previously stated by the present author that this conception played an important part in the ritual of ancient India and is also widespread in the folklore of modern India. (See Bernhard Geiger, Die Amesha Spentas, pp. 73f.)

8:
773 The legend of Prometheus also deserves
171 our special attention. It is transmitted in Ossetic and in some of the Caucasian languages.

C
O.
773 (See the German translations in A. Dirr's
171 Kaukasische Märchen, [Jena 1920], pp. 236-248.) According to the Ossetic version, a godless oppressor by the name of Amiran was punished by God, who ordered him placed in chains and closed up in a cave. A shepherd who was wandering around in the mountains heard the cried of pain uttered by the titan Amiran who was trying deparately, but in vain, to free himself from the fetters. After some time, the shepherd suddenly found an opening leading into the inside of the cave. He made futile attempts to hand to the titan the extremely heavy sword which was lying at his side. Then the shepherd was asked by Amiran to fetch from his own house the hearth chain by which the kettle hangs over the fire, and he is warned not to speak a single word on his way back to the mountain; for otherwise his help would be in vain. However, the shepherd's wife, plagued by curiosity, urged him incessantly to tell her the purpose of carrying the hearth chain to the mountains. (For a chain above the hearth and the sinfulness of its removal, see above.[1] He remained silent, but at last could not refrain from telling her to keep quiet; he would tell her the reason later. Because he broke the proscribed silence, the entrance of the cave in which he had found the titan, closed up, and the titan could no longer be freed. He remained chained to the rock. Food and water were brought to him by a raven. Whenever

[1] [cf. cat. 116, p. 566 -- Analyst]

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Prometheus attempts to break his fetters, groaning and wailing, the mountains shake, the earth shivers, thunder rumbles and rocks fall down into the valleys. He will remain imprisoned and suffering until God delivers him.

582 The NORTHWESTERN CAUCASIANS. No one will take it amiss if an old Kabardian marries a young girl. Although the Cherkess tribes along the coast of the Black Sea strongly discourage such pairing, disparity of age is not considered a marriage impediment.[167] While on his expedition in Circassia in 1927, Ladyženskij found no case of a young *man* marrying an old lady.[168]

Taking the Avars as an example of the NORTHEASTERNERS—marriages between rich old men of 50 to 60 and girls of 12 were not uncommon in the last part of the nineteenth century.[169]

Although neither customary nor Islamic law establish an absolute minimum age,[170] the *adats* sometime determine a *relative* marriage age. Thus a young man sometimes may not marry before his older brother, as is the case, for example among the Chechens[171] and the Cherkess.[172] Only if his brother happens to be far from home and gives his explicit permission, may he marry. Anyone acting [428] contrary to this customary law would *ipso facto* lose all rights to the family inheritance. In spite of this heavy sanction, the bride-price *(kalym)* would be paid for the offender and the marriage would be considered valid. The *adats* of the Cherkess are even stricter about girls marrying before their older sisters. To marry without her parents' permission before her older sister would bring upon her the curse of the family ; in fact, they would even refuse the " filthy " brideprice. The motive behind these customs is to assure a marriage for the older members of the family before they become too old.[172a]

## 2. Debt as an Impediment

[426] According to the adat collection of the Dzher, Kist, Galgai, Tsori, Ingushi and Karabulak tribes a father may not give his daughter in marriage to anyone before he receives permission from his creditor.[173]

## 3. The Obligation of Proving One's Bravery before Marriage

171 582 Baddeley informs us of another very peculiar marriage impediment. " In Deedo-land, formerly, no man would give his daughter or sister in marriage to a suitor who had not at least one Georgian right hand or arm nailed to the wall of his dwelling."[174] This was, no doubt, intended as a proof of the lover's mettle before the father of the girl would give his consent.[175] Such tests as a *conditio sine qua non* for marriage are found throughout the world, sometimes

[167] Ladyženskij, FT, pp. 196 f. Castagné, *op. cit.*, p. 259.

[168] Ladyženskij, *op. cit.*, p. 196.

[169] L'vov, " Domašnjaja i semejnaja žizn etc.," p. 20 *note*.

[170] This is especially evidenced by the widespread practice of infant betrothal and marriage in the North Caucasus and neighbourhood (*infra*, pp. 76, 78 ff).

[171] Erckert, *Der Kaukasus*, p. 118.

[172] Ladyženskij, *op. cit.*, p. 196.

[172a] *Ibid.*

[173] Leontovič, FT, p. 112, [illegible]

[174] Baddeley, *The Rugged Flank of Caucasus*, [illegible]

[175] The [illegible] is not [illegible]

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consisting merely in killing a wild animal (*e. g.*, the Yukaghir) or sometimes in killing a man (*e. g.*, the Yoruba of West Africa).[176] Taibout de Marigny[177] describes how a Cherkess maiden would ridicule her would-be lover with the taunt "Why you haven't even stolen a cow yet and you want to marry me." And Herodotus, speaking of the Sauromatians, the probable ancestors of the Ossetes, informs us that the virgins could not marry till they had killed at least one enemy, or according to Hippocrates, three.[178] The Ossetine poet, Kosta Chetagurov, describes a custom of the nineteenth century according to which the suitor would have to live with his future bride's family from two to four weeks, during which time he would have to convince them that he is a true gentleman, clever, and reliable, in a word, possessing all qualities expected of a good husband.[179]

582 [171]

### 4. Impediments of Physical and Mental Deficiency

In Circassia venereal diseases, insanity, and impotency impede marriage.[180] The extent of these and similar impediments have unfortunately not yet been investigated.

### 5. Impediment of Divorce and Widowhood

The incapacity of a divorcée to contract a second marriage is indeed a very rare impediment and is usually only temporary. We find such an impediment in Armenia and in Khevsuria, and of these two cases we shall speak at length when treating the Caucasian divorce laws. A refusal to enter upon a levirate marriage may entail such an impediment (*infra*, pp. 71 f). In parts of Caucasus where Islamic law prevails there is of course the temporary prohibition for widows and divorcées to marry before their "waiting period" (*'iddah*) is over. When a husband dies, the widow is obliged to wait at least four months and ten days before she may remarry (Koran, ii. 234). A divorcée may not remarry before she has had three menstruations (*kurû*); in the case of older women, the *'iddah* is set at three months.[181]

582 587

Although customary law does not prohibit second marriages, they are looked upon everywhere in the Caucasus as inferior. The bride-price is considerably smaller and the nuptials take place without the customary solemnities.[182]

[176] Cf. Briffault for other examples, *The Mothers*, II, pp. 184 f.

[177] *Voyage en Circassie 1835*, p. 55.

[178] Baddeley, *op. cit.*, I, p. 13, *note* 1.

[179] N. F. Takoeva, "Kosta Chetagurov—narodnyj poet osetin etnograf-kavkazoved," SE, 1949, No. 2, p. 125.

[180] Ladyženskij, FT, p. 199.

[181] Koran, ii. 228; lxv. 4. Cf. Juynboll, *op. cit.*, p. 222.

[182] *Infra*, pp. 121, 131.
See also O. Karanailov, "Aul Čoch," SMOMPK, IV (1884), No. 2, p. 16. Vasil'kov, "Očerk byta temirgoevcev," SMOMPK, XXIX (1901), No. 1, p. 102.

| Dialect | Kalym | Source |
|---|---|---|
| Kyrt | [illegible] | Dzamtsev, II, p. 118, §§ 181. |
| Dzherakh | [illegible] | Dzamtsev, II, p. 116, §§ [illegible] |
| Sadha | [illegible] | Dzamtsev, II, p. 125 [illegible] |
| Ingush | [illegible] | Grabovskii, op. cit., p. [illegible] |

The [illegible] speak of [illegible] and not [illegible] the approximate value in [illegible] based on Grabovskii's estimate of [illegible] in 1894.

Before we pass [illegible] to the Lezghian group we wish to mention an interesting form of kalym, [illegible] which can be found in various parts of the world.[illegible] We refer to the practice of marrying two deceased persons. Toward the end of the ninth century [illegible] observed that "if one Ingush lost a son and another an unmarried [illegible] the father of the deceased girl would approach the family of the [illegible] and say: 'Your son may likely still doesn't have a wife. I'll give you my daughter, who passed away some time ago, provided that you give me [illegible] rubles as kalym.' In such a case the father of the dead son will [illegible] refuse. The kalym in such cases generally lower than usual."[illegible]

When [illegible] the Lezghians we must keep in mind that we are dealing with a [illegible] and Islamic law, much more so than the rest of the Caucasus. We must also remember that there are local and temporal variations [illegible] taken into account. There are four distinct financial transactions [illegible] with Lezghian marriages: (1) genuine bride purchase, (2) symbolic bride purchase, (3) [illegible], (4) the *kalym*, a guarantee against divorce.

Many recent and older authors speak of a "very trivial bride price."[illegible] Abercromby, for example, reports that the *kalym* of the Avars was no more than two rubles and eighty kopeks.[illegible] Hahn claims to have found it as low as 25 kopeks.[illegible] Before Shamyl's time it was supposed to have been possible to "purchase" a wife for a trifle; at Ishal, for instance, for 36 quarts (12 *garncy*) of wheat; in Bahulal it was only one *sab* (about 20 pounds) of grain; in Untsukul it amounted to one ruble.[illegible] Despite the poverty of the mountaineers, the *kalym* is so insignificant that to classify it under "bride-price" would be incorrect. This is not a case of bride purchase at all, but rather a formality or symbol, which may be at most a *vestige* of actual marriage by purchase.

[illegible] For the custom among the Chinese see Vanicelli, *La Familia Cinese*, pp. 393—403; among the Germans of the Volga see E. G. Kagarov, "Venčanie pokojnikov u nemcev Povolž'ja," SE, 1936, No. 1, pp. 106 ff. O. Schrader, *Totenhochzeit*, 1904.

[illegible] Potoski, *op. cit.*, II, p. 127.

[illegible] B. Dalgat, "Die alte Religion der Tschetschenen," *Anthropos*, III (1908), p. 737.

[illegible] For instance, F. Nansen, *op. cit.*, p. 104; Byhan, *op. cit.*, p. 191; Kovalevskij, *Zakon*, II, p. 178.

[illegible] *op. cit.*, pp. 96, 101. The "bride-price" was therefore only 5 s. 10 d., less than $ 1.00.

[illegible] Hahn, "Putešestvie v Kadhetiju i Dagestan," SMOMPK, XXXI (1902), p. 93.

[illegible] A. Runovskii, "Kodeks Šamilja," *Voennyj Sbornik*, XXIII (1862), No. 4, p. 347.

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for the family accruing from such a purchase. And as anywhere else in the world, only *good* brides were bought. The fact that a girl was purchased was a kind of flattery and even a definite proof of her good standing. The "price-tag" remained attached to her for the rest of her life, and in it she could find sufficient food for her vanity and self-complacency.

*Kebin* occupies a middle position between an actual bride-price and a dowry. Like a dowry it aims at being a security for the bride's future, and like the dowry it is given to the *bride* and not to her family. On the other hand, it resembles the bride-price in as much as it is paid by the *groom's* family, it is accompanied with much bargaining, and, finally, the amount is determined according to the same standards as the bride-price.

We have said above that through the influence of Russian and Islamic law bride purchase has become more and more like a guarantee against divorce or security in case of widowhood. However, we did not wish to say that before the coming of Islamism or of the Russians there was no economic security given to the bride. A less developed and relatively small dowry or *kebin* could have existed in the Caucasus long before Islamic *mahr* "received full approbation from Allah." We know that, independently of Islamism, the position of the female sex was greatly improved by a dowry, e. g., among the Japanese, Chinese, Ancient Germans, Kelts, and Babylonians. The Romans and the Greeks regarded a marriage without a dowry practically as concubinage.[58] If it could exist among these peoples independently of Mohammed, it could have existed in the Caucasus independently of Islamism as well. In fact we find a kind of dowry in North Caucasus in the practical wedding gifts given to the bride by her family.[59] Of course, a large dowry is out of place in such a strongly exogamous society as we find in the greater part of North Caucasia, for the family property must remain within the family. On the other hand, from our description of the wedding customs we shall be able to observe the relatively important rôle these gifts play in the endogamous part of North Caucasus.

In conclusion, it is worth noting that bride purchase in the strict sense of the word fits into the Caucasian economic form of life quite well. Though bride wealth is found equally in mother-right and father-right societies, bride purchase in the strict sense is an institution found almost exclusively in pastoral societies or in societies that have been greatly influenced by pastoral peoples, or that have passed through pastoral stages, such as we find in Africa, Asia, and Europe. We do not find the bride-*price* in Australia, Melanesia, Polynesia or in America.[60]

## § 2. BY CAPTURE

"Bride capture" is just as much a blanket term as "bride purchase." Here too we must distinguish between genuine bride capture and various forms

[58] Schmidt-Koppers, *Völker und Kulturen*, p. 310.

[59] Amirov, "Sredi gorcev severnago Dagestana." SSKG, VII (1873), p. 30 f.

[60] R. Briffault, *op. cit.*, II, p. 218; Westermarck, *History of Marriage*, II (1925), pp. 278 ff.

000 to wife, a change more sensibly felt among pastoral peoples than in any other society.

585 (5) The virginity test, too, though not restricted to pastoral peoples,[105] is very characteristic of their culture. The North Caucasians, all with only the [171] Chechens as possible exception,[106] still have, or at least have had, the virginity test as an essential part of the wedding. The marriage remained uncertain till the bride passed or failed this examination.

It would certainly be of great interest to discover the meaning of and motive behind this practice. There is, of course, no universal explanation for the custom. What motivated the Nigerian tribes to introduce the practice need not be identical with the motives of the Chinese of Kwangtong or of the tribes of Samoa, of the Sakalavas of Madagascar or of the Slavs.

585 836 To understand the Caucasian virginity test we must put aside our Western notions regarding the value of the physical integrity of a bride and try to get behind the mind of the North Caucasian, behind the economic, social, and religious standards of the *Caucasians*.

Negatively stated, the virginity test of the Caucasians is in itself no proof of a high esteem for the *virtue* of chastity, for even if it can be proven that the loss of corporal integrity was caused by an accident, the value of the bride seems not to differ from the girl who lost it through actual illicit intercourse. Among the Akhvakh (Daghestanians) a guest or lover might do to a maiden what he wished provided that the hymen remained intact.[107]

[611] Since the perpetuation of the family property and especially of the family cult depends on legitimate male children, there will always be uncertainty about the fatherhood of the first male child if the hymen is found perforated before the consummation of marriage. The groom's family would be constantly haunted by the thought that a stranger (the first-born male child) may become the head of the family. In a word, the economic and religious importance of the first-born male child may have been responsible for the high esteem for virginity and for the necessity of a proof of virginity on the wedding night.[108]

This attitude toward the inviolateness of the maidenhead has been, no doubt, responsible for many other Caucasian observances. The *kalym*, for example, is much higher for a maiden than a widow or divorcée. This fact, in

[105] For a large number of examples and bibliography see Briffault, *The Mothers*, III, pp. 333—345. See also Schmidt-Koppers, *Völker und Kulturen*, pp. 209 f.

[106] But even here we do not have a positive proof for the non-existence of the virginity test. Mere silence of older authors is *indicative* of the absence of the practice, but it certainly is no proof. The neighbouring Ossetes, Tartars and Mountain Georgians have the custom too.

[107] An accidental rupture of the hymen is much more frequent in the Caucasus than one might be inclined to believe. From early childhood the girl is obliged to do difficult work, to carry heavy loads, to climb and slide down steep, rocky slopes, covered with briers, etc., which might at any unexpected moment rob the girl of her most valued possession. Dubrovin, after referring to these possibilities, points out that frequent ritual washing, which begins quite early in life, can explain many a case too (*Istorija*, I, i, p. 572). For the practice of the Akhvakh, see *infra*, pp. 181 f.

[108] A similar explanation has been suggested by Briffault for the custom in various parts of the world. In any case, it does explain the practice among the Caucasians.

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# III. THE FAMILY

## Chapter IX

## The Offspring

### § 1. CONCEPTION

833 Herodotus has accused the Lesghians of copulating "in public as beasts are wont to do."[1] Such an accusation, however, is absolutely false. Even the slightest sign of affection between husband and wife is tabooed by customary law throughout the Caucasus, except, of course, in strictest secrecy.[2]

Owing to the delicate nature of the subject, very little material has been gathered by the explorers, even though these matters may have a deep sociological significance, as, for example, the extent of birth control, or a psychological and religious significance, such as, for example, the extent of sexual taboos, voluntary abstinence, etc.

841 171 Astoundingly widespread is the taboo of marital intercourse at times of menstruation. A glance at Frazer's or Westermarck's classical works[3] will suffice to convince us of the universality of this prohibition. This same horror of menstruous blood is found in the Caucasus also. However, very little data are at our disposal. We are not told how long these "monthly" periods last, nor the extent of the horror. The Pshavs and the Khevsurs have little stone hovels (*samretlo*) situated in an open field,[4] (or now usually next to the home),[5] where the unclean woman must stay during her monthly periods. Kovalevskij attributes the practice to Zoroastrianism.[6] He does not seem to be aware that such segregation and "hovels" are found in other parts of the world, where Zoroastrianism has never been known. The fact that the "unclean" woman must wash herself in cow's urine,[7] however, most probably has been taken over from the ancient Iranian religion.

[1] Potocki, *Voyage dans les steps d'Astrakhan et du Caucase*, I, p. 240.

[2] Cf. *infra*, pp. 63, 175 f.

[3] Frazer, *The Golden Bough* (abridged), pp. 207—210; 595—607. Westermarck, *Ritual and Belief in Morocco*, I, p. 230.

[4] Baddeley, *op. cit.*, I, p. 236.

[5] Hahn, *Bilder aus dem Kaukasus*, pp. 72 f.

[6] Zakon, I, pp. 98 f.

[7] Cf. Zakon, I, pp. 83—122.

The ancient Iranian religion considered cows as sacred animals.

p.138

562 [606] respect her rights. Chechen women enjoy considerably more freedom than do the women in Daghestan.[68] But even the Lesghian women are not entirely without rights. We have seen how in matters regarding engagement and marriage the mother plays an important part. This may be a vestige of an ancient mother-right culture.

The SOUTHERN CAUCASIANS. Despite the slavish condition to which the South Caucasian *adats* condemn the female sex, the women are given certain unusual privileges, enjoyed not even by the menfolk. In Khevsuria[69] and Svanetia,[70] just as in W. Circassia[71] and OSSETIA,[72] a woman is able to put an end to a savage duel by a mere word or by her very presence. The Svan need but touch her and he is, at least temporarily, secure even in the presence of his bitterest enemy.[73]

Finally, we should not forget that the women are the official owners of their engagement and wedding gifts, and if divorced, also of the *kebin*.[74]

## § 4. PROBLEMS

562 [608] [17] The two main problems of this chapter are: (1) Why must the women do most of the work? (2) Why is the status of women throughout the Caucasus so unfavourable? These questions can be answered only in the light of our entire study and in the light of the entire culture of the North Caucasians. Her unfavourable and still privileged position as mistress of the house and as an asylum for any murderer resembles very closely the condition of the women in a society such as that found among pastoral nomads of Asia. It is indeed difficult to determine just in how far the pastoral nomads of Asia are responsible for the status of women in North Caucasus and in how far the general economic conditions among the mountaineers have contributed to the position of the female sex. Here we wish to point out one important contributing factor, viz., blood-feuds. By no means do we maintain that this is the *most* important or the *only* factor; it is, however, *a very important* one. Any mountaineer may object to the accusation that he is an idler by saying: "We men are constantly exposing our lives for our wives and children, while the women are able to work in peace and security. How can we be soldiers and farmers at the same time?" Amirov heard the same argument used in Kaitago-Tanasaran, where formerly there was hardly a man in all Kaitago that had not killed or cooperated in killing another man. As a consequence of feuds, the men had to be constantly on the lookout, constantly hiding, and frequently

[68] B. Plamböke, *Die Tschetschenen*, p. 33.
[69] Esad Bey, *op. cit.*, p. 267.
[70] Dur, FT., p. 43.
[71] Mourier, *Guide au Caucase*, I, p. 136.
[72] N. P. Takoeva, "Kosta Chetagurov — narodnyj poet osetin etnograf-kavkazoved," SE, 1949, No. 2, p. 129.
[73] Dur, *l. c.*
[74] Kovalevskij, *Zakon*, I, p. 143.

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77.58 58 have been felt either exclusively among the Southern Caucasians or have not been very great. The Roman-Byzantine influence was passed on to the North Caucasian tribes mainly through the Armenians and Georgians, which, however, did not affect their customary laws to any appreciable extent. Kovalevskij had a tendency to overemphasize these influences: he believed, for example, that the practice of offering an engagement gift to the bride or her family was of Roman-Byzantine origin,[1] and that the status of the Caucasian women had been greatly affected by Byzantine law.[2]

## § 2. MARRIAGE AND THE FAMILY OF THE CAUCASIANS IN THE LIGHT OF ANTHROPOLOGY

### 1. Analysis of Caucasian Adats: Predominant Character of North Caucasian Marriage and Family Customary Laws That of a Pastoral Nomadic Civilization

53 After having removed the above-mentioned historical influences and changes from the marriage and family laws of the Caucasians, we now arrive at a more or less pure adat-law. Considering the marriage and family customary laws as a whole, we must conclude that we have before us a typically pastoral nomadic[3] marriage and family, and this although there are no pastoral nomads in the Caucasus in the strict sense of the word. Though some of the elements we shall [illegible] are also found in other cultures (for example, adultery is [illegible] severely by food gatherers as by pastoral nomads), it is [illegible] will be stress but rather the entire institution [illegible] marriage and family [illegible] as whole. It should also be noted that the [illegible] is a composite and general one; for details, therefore, [illegible] the references given.

[illegible] We have seen, for example, how wide-spread *polygyny* was among the [illegible] We fully agree with Briffault, who has shown that all [illegible] which have passed "through a prolonged pastoral [illegible] are exceptionally in the highest degree polygamous."[11]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible] pp. 1193. He treats of these influences in detail in *op. cit.*, I, pp. 83—122.

[illegible] nomads we understand the various customs and laws commonly found among [illegible] nomads. Turco-Mongols and Indo-Europeans. Many of the components of [illegible] Hamite culture are also pastoral nomadic. Whether the pastoral nomadic [illegible] immediately following upon the food-gathering stage, being the [illegible] or only secondary or even tertiary (i. e., the result of later [illegible] a further development of a pastoral-agrarian culture) does not affect our [illegible] of our conclusions.

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(5) and the *patria potestas* in the extreme form as found in North Caucasia are also typically pastoral nomadic.

(6) The father alone has the right *to choose a mate* for his children, and boys are given more consideration in the choice than the girls.[18]

(7) The *kalym* price, though found in other cultures also, has a typically pastoral character in the Caucasus, since it is measured mainly in cattle and horses.[19] Bride wealth as a price in the strict sense of the word is found almost exclusively among pastoral peoples.[20]

(8) *Bride stealing*[21] is a common practice among pastoral nomads. All Turco-Tartars, Indo-Europeans, and the Semites have or at least have had frequent recourse to marriage by capture.

(9) The various *(segregation) prohibitions*:[22]

(10) the segregation of the bride in a special hut (*anthira*), the obligation of the young man to cover his entire head and face except for an opening for his eyes,[23] the obligation of the bride and groom to hide during the wedding,[24] the bride's veiling, temporary seclusion, the post-nuptial obligation of the couple not to appear together before their parents or older brethren,[25] all these customary laws are in no way a vestige of former group marriage, fraternal polyandry, bride capture and the like, as we have sufficiently refuted above, but they are most likely an expression of the *covering modesty peculiar to pastoral peoples*, a reaction to the "great change" from single to married life, more strongly felt among pastoral nomads than any other peoples.

(11) It is the male who *proposes to the female and not vice versa*,[26] likewise a phenomenon found invariably among pastoral nomads.

(12) The *great joy at the children, especially for boys*,[27] although found in other cultures, reaches its highest point among pastoral nomads. Connected with this craving after male children is the custom of marrying a second wife in case the first is sterile or "unable" to bear male offspring.

(13) The *wedding customs*[28] are typically pastoral nomadic in character: dramatization of bride capture, horse-racing, the proof of virginity with subsequent rejoicing if the bride is found "chaste," or mutilation and execution if found "unchaste," the special ceremonies and wishes for fertility, especially for the birth of many male children, the triple encircling of the fireplace, etc. are all typically pastoral nomadic.

[18] *Supra*, pp. 183—186.
[19] *Supra*, pp. 79—81.
[20] *Supra*, pp. 82—91.
[21] *Supra*, p. 91.
[22] *Supra*, pp. 91—96.
[23] *Supra*, pp. 106—110.
[24] Seidlitz, "Die Abchasen," *Globus*, LXVI (1894), p. 40.
[25] *Supra*, p. 124.
[26] *Supra*, p. 166. For similar customs among the ancient Indo-Europeans see *infra*, p. 198.
[27] *Supra*, pp. 100—106.
[28] *Supra*, pp. 124, 139 ff.
[29] *Supra*, pp. 126—128, especially Table 16.

1 [i.e. a trait found among the Caucasians--Analyst]

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(14) Then there is the fact that *a woman constitutes an asylum* for any murderer,[25] a fact found among the North Caucasians as well as among the Asiatic nomads.

(15) The *adats regarding divorce*,[26]

(16) the *penalties for sexual offenses*;[27]

(17) the *division of labour*,[28] allowing men plenty of time for loafing, sport, and raids,

(18) and many other *adats which place the female sex at a great disadvantage*[29] remind us very much of a pastoral society.

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(19) Then, of course, there are the many other features of the North Caucasian marriage and family *adats* which we have been able only to touch upon rather superficially, for they refer to the joint-family and kinship in general rather than to the biological family. The North Caucasian society, for example, has had till recently a *patriarchal joint-family organization*[30] very similar to that found among pastoral nomads. Just as among the Indo-Europeans and the Turco-Mongols the central interest of the North Caucasian has been, and in places still is, the joint-family. According to the *adats*, the individual family, till it becomes independent, plays a very subordinate part in society. The tribe and state mean but little. Crimes, criminals, and penalties in the strict sense of the word are of very recent origin; any damage done to the sib (not so much to any individual), whether accidental or intentional, are the only form of "crime" found in the *adats*. The reparation of the damages made by the "offending" sib (not the individual who inflicted the harm) corresponds to our concept of penalty. We have also said very little about the *inheritance rights* of the mountaineers of North Caucasia, for to speak of inheritance without first describing the joint-family and kinship *adats* would be impossible. It seems that originally, just as is the case in pastoral nomadic societies, the rights were restricted to the male children with special privileges reserved for the first-born son. Finally, there is hardly another place in the world where *blood-feuds* are so common as in the Caucasus, and, we know, pastoral nomadic peoples have always been fond of settling their quarrels in this particular manner, more so than any other people. In a word, we are dealing with a "pastoral nomadic" marriage and family when we deal with North Caucasian marriage and family *adats*.

We must however, keep in mind that there are different zones of intensity of nomadic traits: in North Caucasia the most pastoral nomadic in character are the marriage and family of the Cherkess; then perhaps follow those of the Abkhaz, then the Chechens, and finally the Lesghians. The Ossetine *adats* are perhaps even more typically pastoral nomadic than those of the Cherkess. The Kumykian and Nogain *adats*, as well as those of other Turco-Mongols of North Caucasus,

[25] op. cit. pp. 115.
[26] op. cit. pp. 135—137.
[27] op. cit. pp. 165—170, 181.
[28] op. cit. pp. 156—159.
[29] op. cit. pp. 112—116.
[30] op. cit. pp. 44-1.

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are also typically pastoral nomadic. The South Caucasians, of course, possess considerably less pastoral nomadic traits than do our North Caucasians. 171

## 2. Temporal and Causal Designation

That the marriage and family customary laws of the various North Caucasian mountain tribes should be so distinctly pastoral nomadic demands an explanation. When, why and how have these *adats* acquired such a character? 174

A final answer to this problem is impossible without first having solved the problem of race, original home, and many other related problems regarding the *individual* tribes, such as their early migrations, cultural contacts, and their history in general. Moreover, not only is Caucasology still in its infancy, but the Caucasus is itself one of the most culturally complicated areas in the world. Immediately south of the Caucasus we have the great ancient cultural centres (Ancient Near East!); immediately north of the Caucasus we have the steppes, the scene of many an early migration; finally, the Caucasus itself was used during these migrations as a corridor and sometimes as a place of refuge. In an attempt to determine the causal and temporal relations of what we termed "pastoral nomadic" it is very essential not to assume more than our present knowledge of the Caucasus will allow us. We wish therefore only to throw some light upon the problem and to offer a partial solution.

But what do we know about the origin, the original home, the early migrations, cultural contacts, and history of the North Caucasian peoples and tribes? Very little indeed! We know only that the North Caucasian mountaineers lived elsewhere formerly and that they would never have settled in their present isolated mountain villages if they had not been forced to do so by their enemies. We also know that these migrations began long before the ancient Greek and Latin writes became aware of their existence.

Fortunately, prehistory offers us some useful information toward the solution of our problem. The abundance of finds in North Caucasus, Southeastern Europe and Southwestern Asia leave no doubt about this region being the home of a highly-developed pastoral nomadic civilization. It is here that the original home of the Indo-Europeans most likely is to be sought, and, as Vambéry pointed out almost seventy-five years ago,[33] the original home of the Altai nomads may have extended up to the Caspian Sea, the immediate vicinity of North Caucasus.

The steppes immediately north of the Caucasus was a stage on which various pastoral peoples repeatedly appeared, acted their parts, and then disappeared behind the scenes, giving way to other nomadic hordes more powerful than themselves.[34] The powerful nomadic Scythians (c. 800—300 B.C.)[35] were

[33] *Die primitive Kultur des turko-tatarischen Volkes*, p. 14.

[34] F. Hančar, "Die Beile aus Koban in der Wiener Sammlung kaukasischer Altertümer," *Wiener Prähistorische Zeitschrift*, XXI (1934), pp. 12 ff; Hančar, "Kaukasus-Luristan," *Eurasia Septentrionalis Antiqua*, 1934, Minns volume, pp. 47—112.
W. Schmidt, *Rassen und Völker*, II, pp. 174—196.

[35] Cf. E. H. Minns, *Scythians and Greeks*, Cambridge, 1913.
M. I. Rostovtzeff, *Iranians and Greeks in South Russia*, Oxford, 1922.

174 was the procreation of children, but especially of sons, who would one day become the performers of the sacred rites connected with ancestor worship. The cult for the departed was connected with the cult of the fireplace and was looked upon as the most sacred duty of the individual and of the family. Since the members of the same sib were descendents of the same ancestors, they were bound to one another in life and in death. This solidarity explains the frequency of family feuds, for blood-revenge was considered a very sacred duty. Polygyny was relatively common; polyandry, however, was taboo. The proof of virginity, the levirate, and the regulations regarding divorce and many other matters are very similar to those still in practice among the Ossetes of the Caucasus. It is indeed worthy of note that the Ossetine *adats* differ but slightly from the customary laws of their ancestors, while, as we have observed throughout the present study, the North Caucasians, especially the Cherkess, the Abkhaz, and the Ingushi differ but little from their neighbours, the Ossetes.[46]

[177] The contact with the Indo-Europeans, especially with the Ossetes and their ancestors, must have been very important. We need but think of the powerful Scythians and then, later on, of the Alans who made their presence felt as far east as China and as far west as Spain. Many of the customs, especially of the Cherkess, Abkhaz, and Ingushi have certainly been borrowed from the Ossetes; the many legends about ancient heroes, especially the so-called Nart-stories, the many a godlet now worshipped by the North Caucasian are certainly of Indo-European origin.

[178] If we now compare the Turco-Mongolian society with that of the North Caucasians and ancient Indo-Europeans we shall find a striking similarity in the family organizations of the three groups.[47] To point out a few of the more

[46] Among some practices of the ancient Indo-Europeans might be mentioned child-marriages, the *couvade*, the obligation of the bride to keep silence, the custom of veiling and covering the bride's face, mother-in-law abstinence, etc. See especially E. Hermann, "Die Eheformen der Urgermanen," *Nachrichten der Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen*, pp. 39—62. We have based our description of the ancient Indo-European family on: Koppers, *op. cit.*, pp. 3—41; A. Nehring, *l. c.*; Cf. Schrader, *op. cit.*, *passim*; E. Hermann, *op. cit.*, *passim*; [illegible] (Hirt), *op. cit.*, pp. 17—43.

The ancient Slavs countenanced polygamy, a custom that continued to the tenth century A. D. Polygyny, however, was a privilege of the rich. The impediment of consanguinity and disparity of social rank were strictly insisted upon. Girls would be married off against their wills. We also find the *inokaestvo* among the ancient Slavs. A wife was acquired either by purchase or capture. A distinction between a joint-family (*rodovaia or bolsaia semia*) and the individual (*nepriiatna ili malaia semia*) was made, with a patriarch (*starpsta* or *starshina*) at the head. It is also interesting to note that the same concept of a household is found in Russia as in North Caucasia, namely "fireplace." Blood-feuds, bloodwite, the dominant position of the female sex, the *patria potestas* and many other features of the Slavic family life very closely resemble the Caucasian society. Ancestor worship centred round the fireplace and the male head of the joint-family was the family priest. Vestiges of the cult are still to be found in Ukraine (E. Ellinet, *History Origin and Social Development of Family Life in Russia*, pp. 2 & [illegible]). For more about the Slavic family organization see Zdenko Vinski, *Die südslavische Grossfamilie in ihrer Beziehung zum asiatischen Grossraum*. Many of these elements are still found among the Armenians, Persians, Kurds, etc.

[47] See Koppers, *op. cit.*, p. 15; A. Nehring, *op. cit.*, pp. 169—173. As W. Schmidt pointed out more than 20 years ago in his *Völker und Kulturen*, elements of the pastoral nomadic civilization are also found among the Hamito-Semitic peoples.

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essential parallels—characteristic of the Turco-Mongolian family are: the almost complete absence of mother-right and totemistic practices, the emphasis placed on the joint-family and the male members, special rights for the first-born son, importance of the male head of the family and the *patria potestas*, the disadvantageous position of the female sex, blood-feuds, exogamy, the *kalym*, which is usually paid in live-stock, the dread of incest, the severe penalties for sexual offenses, fireplace ceremony at weddings, the high esteem for the bride's virginity, the unusual craving for male children, the importance of the bridal processions, etc.

There is also a religious connection between the North Caucasians, the Indo-Europeans, and the Turco-Mongols, a connection that confirms our claim of the existence of a social connection between the three groups. It is not only the *similarity* of the religions of the three groups that we must keep in mind but also the intimate connection, the *organic* connection, between the nomadic social and religious forms. The solidarity which exists among the members of a sib, the great longing for male children, blood-feuds, the levirate, the *patria potestas*, the wedding custom of walking around the fireplace, and many other practices are fundamentally connected with ancestor worship and cult for the dead. Ancestor worship is one of the essential features of the religion of the Indo-Europeans, the Turco-Mongols, and the North Caucasians. Moreover, among all three groups ancestor worship is linked up with the worship of the fireplace. Another very essential part of the pastoral nomadic religion was the custom of sacrificing horses. W. Koppers has shown the great similarity between the horse-sacrifices of the Indo-European and Altai peoples;[48] R. Bleichsteiner proved beyond question the existence of the practice throughout the highlands of Caucasia.[49] Horse-sacrifices among the Indo-Europeans and the North Caucasians are certainly of Inner Asiatic origin.

Thus we see that even though the North Caucasians are not pastoral nomadic in the economic sense—the economy of the steppes is impossible in the mountains, especially in the unfertile valleys of the Caucasus—they are pastoral nomadic in their social organization. *A connection between the North Caucasian society and that of Inner Asia is beyond question.*

### 3. Vestiges of More Ancient Cultures In the Marriage and Family Customary Laws of the North Caucasians

As is only natural, the deeper we delve into the history of the marriage and family *adats* the more obscure the history becomes.

First of all there are the so-called mother-right vestiges which we must consider. It is interesting to note that the intensity of these vestiges among the three different groups of Caucasians (Northwestern, Northeastern, and Southern)

[48] W. Koppers, *op. cit.*, pp. 12 f, 18—22. See also W. Koppers, "Pferdeopfer und Pferdekult der Indogermanen," *Wiener Beiträge zur Kulturgeschichte und Linguistik*, IV (1936), pp. 280—411.

[49] "Rossweihe und Pferderennen im Totenkult der kaukasischen Völker," *Wiener Beiträge zur Kulturgeschichte und Linguistik*, IV (1936), pp. 412—495.

Northwesterners" and "North Caucasians." In our present study we have considered the use of such terms quite permissible, for we have spoken of periods of *adat*-history during which the laws were more or less uniform. But were the marriage and family customary laws so uniform *before* the pastoral nomadic influences set in? What were these laws like? That is the problem of the future. It is a problem which cannot be solved by one man alone, nor can it be solved by one branch of Caucasology alone. It is a problem all branches and all students of Caucasian culture must solve together, not today, not tomorrow, but perhaps only after many decades of intense work.[70]

[70] In solving this problem the Caucasologist may not overlook the results of D. J. Wölfel's many years of research regarding the culture of peoples possessing similar economic forms of life as we find in the Caucasus today.

Prof. Wolfel has traced two extensive Neolithic pastoral-agrarian cultures from Ireland, down to Southern France, Spain, Switzerland, Tyrol, the Carpathian Mountains, the Balkans, the Mediterranean region, especially what he terms "White" Africa, Caucasus, the Near East up to the Himalayas. In Europe the cultures are certainly pre-Indo-European, while in Africa they are pre-Hamitic. In the Caucasus, Africa, and Near East they must have preceded the flourishing cultures of Egypt, Assyria, etc., in other words, certainly before the fifth millenium B. C.

There are two cultures in question: the "Ziehbauerkultur" and the "Gebirgsbauerkultur." Both economies are known to the Caucasians!

The "Ziehbauer" are semi-nomadic peoples with summer-pastures in the mountains and winter pastures in the lowlands, sometimes several hundred miles apart. They have permanent houses in villages situated on the side of a mountain, where they live whenever not actually with their herds. Originally only sheep and goats were raised, and today usually only sheep and goats are taken from their summer to their winter pastures. These semi-nomads have special customary laws regarding the pastures as well as the strip of land used by the flocks when passing from one pasture to another. These pastoral peoples are at the same time agrarians: their fields are located near their villages, and sometimes they even plough-up a patch near the winter-pasture. This particular economy is spread over "White" Africa, the mountain countries of the Mediterranean, in Spain, especially in the Pyrenees, in France, the Balkans, among the Slavs, in Greece, Iran, and the Caucasus.

The "Gebirgsbauerkultur" differs from the former culture in as much as large cattle and not sheep or goats are the main domestic animals. The second difference lies in the fact that these pastoral-agrarians have only summer-pastures (in the highlands), the stall and fodder replacing the winter-pastures. This culture possesses peculiar wooden containers, and distinctive forms of cheese and butter. The typical house is a rectangular building, sunk partly into the side of the mountain; the walls of the groundfloor are of stone while the upper story has wooden walls. The beams between the two stories project in front forming a balcony. The towers, which are so commonly seen in Caucasian villages, are also found in other parts of the world where this particular form of economy is met with. The towers are not only used for defense among these warlike peoples but also as store-rooms. The culture is spread over "White" Africa, among the Basques, in the Alps, Scandanavia, British Isles, the Carpathian Mountains, the Balkans, the Caucasus and in the mountains of Central Asia. (Cf. D. J. Wolfel, "Die Hauptprobleme Weissafrikas," *Archiv fur Anthropologie*, XXVII (1942), No. 4.)

According to Prof. Wolfel the *mohacestvo*, fosterage, and not a few of the elements we have classified as coming into the Caucasus from Inner Asia are social phenomena peculiar to these Neolithic cultures.

We wish now to enumerate a number of marriage and family customs which seem to hint at some sort of actual relationship with the "Zieh-" or "Gebirgsbauer."

Prof. Wolfel, for example, has called my attention to a parallel of the Cherkess and Ossetine sonset-ceremony (*supra*, p. 113) found in Tyrol. E. Westermarck (Marriage Ceremonies in Morocco, London, 1914, p. 232) mentions a custom according to which the groom is obliged to serve [illegible] before the consummation of marriage.

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## 4. Retrospect

(1) *The marriage and family customary laws of all North Caucasian tribes are astoundingly similar.*

(2) *Their marriage and family adats agree essentially with those of their Caucasian and non-Caucasian (Turco-Mongolian and Indo-European) neighbours.*

(3) *This similarity must be attributed especially*[78] *to common unifying principles.*

(4) *In historical times the unifying principles in question were: Russian (Soviet and pre-Soviet) influences, Islam, Christianity, Roman-Byzantine law, Avesta.*

(5) *The great similarity in marriage and family adats of the North Caucasians must be attributed especially to pastoral nomadic influences originating in Inner Asia.*

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Other parallels which I have found in Westermarck's work and which will serve to prove that the oldest cultures of Caucasia cannot be studied without keeping Prof. Wölfel's theory in mind are the following: (1) the frequent use of honey in connection with marriage (*op. cit.*, p. 29); (2) the custom of placing a raw egg in bowl of grain (*op. cit.*, p. 96) and scattering the grains. In this case, however, the sister of the bride does the scattering. (3) The crossing of swords to protect the bride from evil spirits (*op. cit.*, pp. 99, 108, 123, 152, 162) is also found in the Caucasus (*supra*, p. 122); however, this custom may have come by way of Islamism. (4) The bride and groom eat sheep's liver to insure concord and love (*op. cit.*, p. 101; *supra*, p. 117); in the Caucasus sheep's heart is eaten instead. (5) Stones are thrown at a shrine by the participants of the wedding procession. Westermarck interprets this custom as a means of driving away and killing the Yiblis; among the Ossetes the shrine is pelted as a fertility rite. (6) In the Caucasus flour is poured on the bride (*supra*, p. 118); in Morocco flour is smeared on the groom (*op. cit.*, p. 147) and milk is poured on the bride. In these ceremonies in both countries it is the whiteness of milk and flour that is stressed, white representing nuptial joy. (7) In the Caucasus a little boy is placed in the lap of the bride so that she may soon become the mother of a boy; in Morocco a boy is placed immediately behind the bride as she rides in the procession from her home to that of her groom. (8) Then there are such customs as giving the bride a stroke as a sign of her husband's authority over her. (*Supra*, p. 119), *op. cit.*, pp. 158 f.) In Palestine this blow is given with a stick as soon as the bride crosses the threshold. (9) Or again, there is the custom of throwing stones at the bride when the procession begins to leave her father's home (*op. cit.*, pp. 176 f); in the Caucasus, among the Andi, we find the custom of throwing filth at her (*supra*, p. 119). (10) After the virginity test has taken place—just as is the case in the Caucasus—the hymenal blood on the garment is exhibited or a gun is fired announcing her virginity (*op. cit.*, pp. 256 f, 242, 254); but this custom may easily be of Semitic or Hamitic origin. (11) As soon as the bride arrives, her mother-in-law offers her some milk (*op. cit.*, pp. 194, 210); in the Caucasus she smears honey on the bride's lips (*supra*, p. 124).

There are of course other similarities that might be mentioned, but these are probably of Islamic, Arabic, or Hamitic origin. Some of the Hamitic practices (and therefore pastoral nomadic!) are: (1) on the wedding day or shortly before fetching the bride, the cloak of the groom is pulled over his face, just as among the Abkhaz (*op. cit.*, pp. 102, 105 f, 112; *supra*, p. 123); (2) on arriving at her new home, the bride must immediately hide behind a curtain, attended to only by a few female friends (*op. cit.*, p. 105; *supra*, p. 124). (3) A. Hanoteau and A. Letourneux, *La Kabylie et les coutume kabyles*, 1893, mention a number of other pastoral nomadic elements. (See especially volume II, pp. 149, 154, 177, 187, 188, 191, 219.)

## HUMAN GEOGRAPHY

### Distribution of Settlements

172 The primary inhabitants of the Caucasus, the Caucasians proper, are ancient. They have been there since time immemorial, and the Caucasus was known to the peoples of the Ancient Near East from the dawn of their history.

Human settlements in Caucasian lands go back well into prehistoric times. In those early epochs people were living not only in the larger Trans-Caucasian valley, but also in the northern part of the Great Caucasus. Since no systematic archeological research on a large scale has been done so far, almost all archeological discoveries have been made accidentally. It may well be imagined how rich the yield of systematic archeological research would be in countries whose history is connected with that
172 of the Ancient Near East. Of particular in-
171 terest are the Bronze Age finds; those of the Trialeti culture in Trans-Caucasia, and in the northwestern part of the Great Caucasus, those of the Maikop area. The objects of major interest are swords and daggers of the Caucasian type, the famous short-sword akinakes (Abkhaz-Cherkess aqama, which designates the present-day kinzhal, also a loan word in Russian), and ornamented standard-tops, usually in the shape of an animal. They exhibit a

.172 171 highly developed metal culture and a refined craftsmanship. Typical of the finds of the Maikop area is the representation of animals, often of animals fighting with each other: stags or elks attacked by tigers or leopards, etc. They exhibit a peculiar style or stylization which has led this genre of art to be called the animal style, also the style of animal fight (von Strzygowski); the style seems to have as its center, or at least one of its earliest centers, this part of the Caucasus. In the south of the Maikop area there is found another commonly represented motif, animal standards--representations of animals serving as an ornament on the top of (probably tribal) standards; these can be connected with earlier objects of the Urartu culture around Lake Van, often called Chaldean culture. The animal style is found all over eastern Europe and northern Asia, and is therefore called the Eurasian animal style. It seems to have spread from the Maikop area, or perhaps even from the Chaldean lands on Lake Van, to the middle course of the Kama, west of the Urals; and then to have migrated all across the West Siberian plains to the Altai mountains and the Minusinsk Basin--through which the upper Yenisei streams--north of the Sayan Mountains. There it shows a rich local development which is also typical of the Bronze Age in south-central Siberia. From there it has

172 continued its migration southeastward as far
171 as Noyon (Noyin)-Ola in Mongolia, and finally into northern China. Thus we see a pre-historic cultural connection between the Caucasus and north central Asia and the Far East; this connection took place in the Bronze Age, probably the later Bronze Age, and consisted at least in a cultural transmission over a distance rarely observed during any historical period down to the beginning of the modern
174 age. In mythical and legendary traditions,
101 peoples of the Caucasus were known to the ancient Mesopotamians, the Assyro-Babylonians, and the Hebrews of the Old Testament as the Gimirru or the Gomer. This name survives well into classical antiquity, when there are repeated mentions of the Kimmerioi as living on the northern and northeastern shores of the Black Sea, and after whom the Strait of Kerch and Taman was called the Kimmerian (or Cimmerian) Bosporus. It is quite possible that this same name is found again in that of Crimea. Peoples living in or near the Caucasus were the Togarma and the Gog and Magog of the Old Testament.

174 The lands of the Caucasus in a larger sense remained without any literature or historiography of their own until Christian times, i.e., until the time of their own conversion to Christianity in the 4th and 5th centuries. But before this time they were in the immediate

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197 114 Professor Marr and other linguists who have tried to establish a relationship between the Caucasian languages and the dead languages of Near East were actually attempting the impossible: no one knew (or knows today) what "Proto-Caucasian" might be, and this unknown language was being related to other unknown or little-known languages like Etruscan, Sumerian, Mitani, Elamitic, Lydian, Lycian, Cilician, Carian and Cappodocian.[25] A relationship between Basque and Abkhazian and South Caucasian is quite possible but not yet certain.[26] Similarly, the Burushaski language of Hindu Kush has doubtless many striking features in common with the languages of Daghestan,[27] but to say that these languages originated from a common parent-language is to assume more than has been proved.

Nevertheless these attempts were not totally fruitless. The intense research work carried out especially by the Marr School has brought to light not a few common and mutual influences. Even though we must reject as unfounded the claim of Bork, Winkler, Hüsing, and others that Elamitic is *related* to Caucasian, we cannot deny the strong mutual influence between ancient Georgian and Elamitic. The same holds in regard to Mitani and the language of Urartu: affinity to Georgian may be denied, but the *influences* common to ancient Georgian, Mitani and Urartu may not.

## § 4. PREHISTORY

### 1. Lower and Middle Paleolithic

172 There can no longer be any doubt about North and South Caucasus being inhabited since early Paleolithic times, as the prehistoric sites of Yshtakh, Kyurdzhi, Aragas, Odzhrudzhi and Ilskaya testify. The famous Mt. Yashtukh site was an accidental discovery made by Zamiatnin in 1934, about three miles north of the city of Sukhum.[28] These Lower Paleolithic remains include wonderfully formed side-scrapers, points from large flakes, and some fist hatchets (11 cm. long and 7 cm. wide). The Yashtukh artifacts are characterized by

[25] M. Tierchen, "Sumerian and Georgian," *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, (1913), pp. 1[illegible]–1[illegible]. M. Tierchen, "Rassen- und Kulturprobleme des Kaukasus," Heft 1 der Veröffentlichungen der deutsch-georgischen Gesellschaft.

[26] Bork, "Die Mitanisprache," MVAG XIV (1909), pp. 1—128.

A. Trombetti, *Einleitung in das Studium der baskischen Sprachen*, p. iv.

H. Winkler, *Die Sprache der zweiten Kolonne der dreisprachigen Inschriften und das Altaische*, Breslau, 1896.

C. Hüsing, "Die Sprachen Elams," 86 *Jahresbericht der Schles. Gesellschaft für Vaterländische Kultur*, Breslau, 1908.

C. Hüsing, *Die einheimischen Quellen zur Geschichte Elams*, Part I, Leipzig, 1916.

G. Hüsing, "Der Zagros und seine Völker," *Der Alte Orient*, VIII (1908), No. 3—4. E. Speiser, *Mesopotamian Origins*, London, 1930.

G. Dumézil, "Langues caucasiennes et basque," *Festschrift für Herman Hirt*, Heidelberg, 1936, Vol. II.

R. Bleichsteiner, "Die Verwandtschaftsbeziehungen des Baskischen," WZKM, 1931.

N. Bouda, *Baskisch-Kaukasische Etymologien*, Heidelberg, 1949.

K. Bleichsteiner, "Die werschikisch-burschikische Sprache," *Wiener Beiträge zur Kulturgeschichte und Linguistik* I (1930). Cf. also D. L. Lorimer, *The Burushaski Language*, Oslo, 1935.

[28] N. Zamiatnin, "Novyie danyye po paleolitu Zakavkaz'ia," SE, 1935, No. 2.

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their crude chipping, broad, short, irregular, triangular flakes, and are of the Clactonian and Levalloisian culture level.[29]

Zamjatnin is responsible also for the discovery of the Paleolithic site at Kvurdere near Psyrzkha, likewise in Abkhazia. The remains closely resemble the stone industry of Yashtukh and the Clactonian and Levalloisian types of Northern France, Belgium, and England.[30]

Zamjatnin again discovered a third Paleolithic site, about 50 miles south of Kvurdere, at Ochemchiri, on the coast of the Black Sea. The stone industry resembles that of Ilskaya (N. Caucasus) and is of the Middle Mousterian level.[31]

It is to be noted that these three sites are in Abkhazia, where a considerable number of other Paleolithic artifacts have been discovered. In 1934—35 as many as 15 sites were located in this relatively small area; eight of which are most likely Acheulean and seven Mousterian.[32]

And now, leaving Abkhazia and going north to the Province of Kuban, we find the site of Ilskaya, the very first Paleolithic discovery ever made in the Caucasus. Since Baron de Baye, its discoverer, was unable to make a thorough investigation of the site, other prehistorians later tried to continue the work begun by de Baye. Attempts to rediscover the site by N. J. Krištafovič (1903) and S. A. Krukowski (1916) were complete failures. Nine years later Zamjatnin was successful in locating the site, and then in 1926 and 1928 extensive and systematic excavations were undertaken under the able direction of A. A. Miller.[33] The finds at Ilskaya were very numerous and included typical points, drills, gravers, sidescrapers, and a few artifacts resembling fist hatchets. The Ilskaya remains show fine marginal retouching. The discoveries of 1928 established beyond question that bone also had been used as material for tools. The great variety of form, the one-sided marginal retouching (by pressure as well as by strokes), and the advanced stone technology in general are clear indications that Ilskaya is a highly developed Mousterian station,[34] and like Ochemchiri must be classified as Middle Mousterian. Judging by the large amount of animal remains, Ilskaya must have been an excellent hunting ground.

We have another Middle Mousterian site, in the Aragaz district (Transcaucasia), between Erivan and Leninakan. Here J. de Morgan came across a large number of Obsidian specimens: typical Mousterian points and sidescrapers, small fist hatchets, and discoid nuclei. Heavy marginal retouching characterize these artifacts.[35]

A number of Protolithic discoveries have been made in Crimea: the lower stratum at Kiik-Koba is Pre-Mousterian, while the upper is early Mousterian;

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[29] F. Hančar, *Urgeschichte Kaukasiens*, pp. 69—73.

[30] Zamjatnin, *op. cit.*, p. 123.

[31] *ibid.*

[32] Hančar, *op. cit.*, p. 74.

[33] S. N. Zamjatnin, "Station mousterienne à Ilskaya, province de Kouban," *Revue Archeologique*, (Paris), 1929, pp. 282—295. Cf. Hančar, *op. cit.*, pp. 79—91.

[34] F. Hančar, *op. cit.*, p. 88.

[35] Hančar, *op. cit.*, pp. 75—78.

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172 Chokdhura is likewise Early Mousterian, while Shaitan-Kopa (upper and lower) is Late Mousterian.[36]

## 2. Upper Paleolithic

A considerable number of Upper Paleolithic sites have been discovered in the Caucasus. Without going into detail we shall present a short survey of the Upper Paleolithic in the following table.

TABLE 3

**Upper Paleolithic Sites in Caucasia**

| SITE | CIVILIZATION | DISCOVERER | SOURCES |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1. Kheragha-Kide | Early Aurignacian | Krukowski, 1915 | Hančar, *op. cit.*, pp. 138 f. |
| 2. Mamvely | Late Aurignacian | Zamiatnin, 1934 | Hančar, *op. cit.*, pp. 139 f. |
| 3. Tam Klisfa | Mousterian-Aurign. | Krakowski, 1918 | Hančar, *op. cit.*, p. 139 |
| 4. Kurgan [illegible] Ukraine, Basarskyi, Radom Vinkov (gen.) | Mix Aurignacian | R. K. Schmidt and Kozłowski, 1914 | Obermeier, Ebert's Reallexikon, VI, p. 263 |
| 5. Gvardzilas-Kide | Early Capsian | Krukowski, 1916—1917 | S. A. Krukowski* |
| 6. Dzudzuvali | Late Aurignacian | Nioradze, 1926 | G. K. Nioradze** |
| 7. Stanitsa Severnaya | | North Caucasian Expedition, 1926 | Lunin,*** Hančar, *op. cit.*, p. 154 f. |
| 8. Stanitsa Bryuzkinsk 1914 | | | Hančar, *op. cit.*, p. 154 |
| 9. Shi-Lakhura | Tardenoisian (?) | A. A. Miller, 1925 | A. A. Miller† |

* S. A. Krukowski, "Pešchera Gvardzilas-Kide v Rgani," *Izv. Kavkaz. Muzeja*, X (1916—1917), Tiflis, pp. 1—5.

** G. K. Nioradze, "Paleolitičeskaia Gruzijeni," *Transactions*, V, pp. 227—236.

*** V. Lunin, "Arheologičeskie raskopki i razvedki na Severnom Kavkaze v 1927 g.," *Materialy po arheologii rajonov*, Rostov, 1928.

† A. A. Miller, "Kratkii otčet o rabotach Severo-Kavkazskoj ekspedicii Akademii Istorii Material'noj Kul'tury v 1924 i 1925 gg." *Soobščenia Gosudarstvennaia* Akademiia Istorii Material'noi Kul'tury, Leningrad, 1936, p. 81. For the above data and further details see Hančar, *op. cit.*, pp. 138—158.

** Hančar, *op. cit.*, pp. 31—69.

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It is beyond the least shadow of doubt that Paleolithic food gatherers inhabited the coast of Abkhazia and the regions of Kuban and Rion. The Mousterian people of Caucasia must have been excellent hunters, if we are to judge from the large amount of skeletal remains of wild animals found at the various sites, especially remains of bison, mammoth, wolves, foxes, etc. Hunting was by far more important economically than plant gathering. The horde was the social unit of the Mousterian Caucasians, each horde numbering perhaps 50 to about 100 individuals. The dead were buried with great care and reverence; a heap of flint flakes was usually placed at the side of the corpse, a fact clearly showing that these hunters believed in an hereafter, where they would continue their venatorial life.[37] The Mousterian hunters of the Caucasus belonged to the Neanderthal race and possessed the same material culture, economy, sociology, and ideology as the Crimeans and Neanderthal men of Southern France.[38]

The late Paleolithic period was cold and uncomfortable. Nevertheless, there was still enough plant-life to insure sufficient prey for the hunters. As protection against the cold, men began to seek shelter in caves and grottoes. They were no longer the wandering hunters of old, but lived in semi-permanent dwellings. Their hunting equipment was greatly improved and thus hunting itself was simplified, giving them leisure and plenty of time for art, for not until the Aurignacian do we find signs of ornamentation and rock engravings.[39]

### 3. Mesolithic (Azilian-Tardenoisian)

With the change of climate, the Azilian-Tardenoisian epoch saw great changes in fauna and flora, and the corresponding changes in economic life. The Azilian Caucasians, however, continued to live in Aurignacian dwellings, the first change in this regard being noticeable only in the Tardenoisian. Microliths and arrow-heads begin to play a very important part. The Azilian-Tardenoisian hunters used bows, harpoons, and lances, but in spite of the improved implements, hunting did not constitute the most important means of livelihood; for, with the disappearance of ice, plant-life, larvae, insects, and especially snails abounded, making food gathering more important than hunting.[40] Because the main food was easily available, the dwellings were more or less permanent. The camps, of course, were seasonal. It was during this period that the dog was domesticated, a fact which greatly facilitated the hunting of such animals as the wild pig and deer, and, whenever necessary, the dog was slaughtered and consumed.[41] Among the more important Azilian sites are those of Gvardzhilas-Klde, Shan-Koba, and Syuren II; the more important Tardenoisian sites are those of Kukrek, Kizil-Koba, Upper Shan-Koba, Cherkess-Kermen, and Fatma-Koba.[42]

[37] I. I. Meščaninov, *Vvedenie v jafetiologiju* (Leningrad, 1927), pp. 14 f.
[38] Cf. Hančar, *op. cit.*, pp. 167 ff., 172, 174, 178.
[39] Cf. Hančar, *op. cit.*, pp. 185 f.
[40] The importance of snails as food is evidenced by the large amount of shells found in the Tardenoisian stratum of Shan-Koba.
[41] Hančar, *op. cit.*, pp. 202 f.
[42] For an excellent survey of these finds see Hančar's Tabelle XII, *op. cit.*, p. 197.

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## 4. The Neolithic Civilization

172 Among the more important Neolithic sites of the Caucasus area are those of Erivan (River Tsanga), Shamiramalti, Nakhichevan, Novorossisk, and *Kurgan I* of Nalchik.[43]

This period saw flourishing vineyards, vegetable gardens, and orchards spring up in southern and western Caucasus. The hunters and food gatherers have become agriculturalists, but unlike the European Neolithic population, they have immediately learned the use of metal. Owing to the proximity of the Caucasians to the great cultural centres, and to the rich deposits of copper in the Mountains, a typical Neolithic without the knowledge of metal has perhaps *never* existed in the Caucasus. Nevertheless, we have here a *true* Neolithic, for the distinguishing feature of the Neolithic is neither metal nor the megaliths, but the economic change from food gathering to food production. Even the vishaps, dolmens, and the Cyclopian constructions, which some falsely classify as Neolithic on account of their Megalithic character, are, doubtless, only pseudo-Neolithic and belong to a more recent period.[44]

The Neolithic inhabitants, it should be noted, were not only agrarians but also animal-breeders, who raised pigs, sheep, cattle, horses, and perhaps donkeys.[45]

Hunting retained much more of its former importance in North Caucasus than it did in Transcaucasia. Most probably the social organization of northern and southern Caucasus was matriarchal.[46]

The Caucasian Neolithic ushers in the abundant use of obsidian, a phenomenon which continues to the time of the Scythian domination over North Caucasus. That obsidian should become such an important material may very well be attributed to various factors: the needs arising from the new economic life, the nature of obsidian itself (its sharp, glassy edges), and the abundance of obsidian in the Caucasus. These obsidian objects are clear evidence of a vigorous agrarian civilization.[47]

## 5. Copper Age, etc.

Caucasian Copper Age sites are numerous indeed. To mention but a few—there are, for example, the so-called princely burial mounds of Ul, Kostromskaya, Maikop, and Vozdvizhenskaya; then there are the ordinary graves and the numerous finds as those of Privolnoe, Kostromskaya, Dolinskoye, and Staromyshastovskaya.[48]

The sites may be divided into three distinct groups: the Nalchik, the Kuban (Maikop, Novosvobodnaya-Tsarskaya, Vozdvizhenskaya, etc.), and Kuban-Terek group.

[43] Hančar, *op. cit.*, pp. 211—228.

[44] Hančar, *op. cit.*, p. 212; "Aus der Problematik Urartus," Archiv Orientální XVII (1949), Part I, p. 306.

[45] Hančar, *Urgeschichte Kaukasiens*, p. 238.

[46] For detailed account of the Caucasian Neolithic see Hančar, *op. cit.*, 211—241.

[47] Cf. Hančar, *op. cit.*, pp. 236 f.

[48] Hančar, *op. cit.*, pp. 242—289.

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TABLE 4

**The Copper Age in North Caucasia***

| STAGES | NALCHIK | KUBAN*** | KUBAN-TEREK |
|---|---|---|---|
| LOCATION | Nalchik area | Northwestern Caucas. | North Cauc. Foreland |
| ECONOMY | Hunting (with some primitive hoe culture)** | Cattle-breeding and trade (some hoe culture and perhaps hunting)** | Sheep-, goat-, and horse-breeding, and a highly developed hoe culture** |
| SOCIETY | Probably matriarchal sibs | Probably matriarchal sibs; however, distinct rise of male importance through leadership in trade, war, and religion | Probably matriarchal sibs with rise of male importance through trade, metallurgy, and cattle-breeding |
| METALLURGY | First acquaintance with copper (sc., through import) | Import of copper objects; beginning of own copper work | Highly developed local metallurgy |
| EXTRA-CAUCASIAN RELATIONS | | Intensive trade with cultural centres of ancient Near East; sudden cessation of same | Temporary trade relations with the Danube peoples |

* Based on Hančar, *op. cit.*, p. 405.

** Non-nomadic.

*** The Kuban finds date from 2400—1900 B. C. See Hančar, "Alaca Höyük," *Wiener Beiträge zur Kunst- und Kulturgeschichte Asiens*, XI (1938), pp. 27—35.

The most important Transcaucasian site is that of Tsalka, west of Tiflis, which dates from about 1800—1500 B. C.[49]

The Bronze Age finds are extremely numerous. A "Bronze Age" in the sense in which we find it in other parts of the world cannot be referred to the Caucasus. The Kuban-Terek stage of the Copper Age already had the knowledge of bronze.

The Cimmerian kingdom (c. 1000 B. C.) and the Scythians (700—300 B. C.) now appear on the scene.[50]

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[49] Hančar, "Die bemalte Keramik Transkaukasiens im Lichte neuer Funde," *Archiv für Orientforschung*, (Berlin), XIV (1944), No. 5—6, p. 288.

[50] Cf. Hančar, "Die Ausweitung unseres Geschichtsbildes durch die sowjetische Urgeschichtsforschung," *Blick nach Osten*, 1949, No. 1—2, pp. 51—61.
E. H. Minns, *Scythians and Greeks*, Cambridge, 1913.
M. I. Rostovtzeff, *Iranians and Greeks in South Russia*, Oxford, 1922.
Hančar, "Hallstatt-Kaukasus, ein Beitrag zur Klärung des Kimmerierproblems," *Mitteilungen der Österreichischen Gesellschaft für Anthropologie, Ethnologie und Prähistorie*, LXXIII-LXXVII (1947), pp. 152—167.

[825 cont.]

iranians (cf. p. 674 f. [untranslated]) and accordingly are called by the Tatar āzade khalkh' or khelaiq (= free people), as are all Lezgin, in contrast to the Tāt, who are called raiyat khelaiq (= subject people). Their name is related to that of the central Asian Tajik (see Vol. II, 1, pp. 412 ff.), and their language is close [Fig. 504 appears here] [826] to modern Persian: it is also spoken by the mountain Jews in Dagestan and on the Terek. In their old cemeteries and near their villages there are isolated ruins of buildings that indicate Christianity in former times. Their relatives, the Talysh in humid, hot Lenkoran on the Caspian Sea, surrounded by Azerbaijani and Tatars, speak another variety of modern Persian that is supposed to contain much Old Persian.

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As late as the first half of the nineteenth century, a remnant of the Old Persians, adherents of the teachings of Zoroaster or Zerdusht, the Geber, lived on the plain of Surakhane or Ateshga (= fire-land) near Baku, where a temple stood, in which they worshiped the eternal fire fed by a natural gas source. They had moved here from Persia after they had been driven from there and their main temple on the mountain near Yesd destroyed; they gradually

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Fig. 504. Two-wheeled carriage, Baku region.

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## § 5. History

000 Just as we have omitted the Cimmerian problem and the many interesting facts regarding the Scythians when speaking of the archaeology of the Caucasus, so too in our historical survey we must omit many an important fact and problem. We wish here merely to present a short sketch, as a preliminary orientation. We shall have occasion to speak of certain periods more in detail later on.

175 [178] The NORTHWESTERNERS. According to legend, the Cherkess were at one time a powerful pastoral people, occupying an extensive area north of the Caucasus. Although it is impossible to say just when the Cherkess immigrated and from where, we do know that they must have made the Caucasus their home long before the ancient writers were aware of their existence. The Latin and Greek writers speak of them as the Zygoi, Zinkhoi, Syndi, Kerketaioi, and Kerketai. It seems that from very early times enemies had been driving the Cherkess towards the mountains. In the fourteenth century of our era, the coastal tribes were forced farther south, till they finally occupied a sector between various Turco-Tartaric peoples, the Nogai, Kumyks, Karachai, and Taulu. The land they occupied was called Kabarda and they are known today as the Kabardians. In 1777 the Russians drove the remaining Cherkess beyond the Kuban, Malka, and Terek, and finally completely conquered them. Rather than submit to the Russian czar, a large number of Northwesterners (400,000 strong, Cherkess, Abkhaz, and all the Ubykhs) preferred to leave their homeland and migrate to Asia Minor, Syria, and the Balkans.

The Abkhaz were known to Pliny and Arrian as the Apsils and to the Georgian Chronicler as Ap'shili and Ap'sari. In the first centuries after Christ the Abkhaz were subjects of the Georgian kings; then of the Laz; then in the eighth century of their own independent kings; in the tenth century they again became subjects of Georgian kings, through marriage of the respective royal families. They were finally subjected to the Russians in 1863.

The Northwesterners were Christianized, according to Vakhtang's Chronicle, about A. D. 40. This report of course is not reliable. It is a fact, however, that they became Christians after the Byzantine occupation of the coastal cities. Emperor Justinian is supposed to have built a large church at Pitzunda, which became the seat of the Abkhazian *katholicos* ("patriarch" or "archbishop"). In the last decades of the seventeenth century all the Abkhazian tribes (with the exception of the Samursakhanians) became Mohammedans. The Cherkess were also Christians, before their conversion to Islamism in the eighteenth century.

The NORTHEASTERN CAUCASIANS. The origin of the Chechens and their early history is unknown. They too were Christianized quite early, perhaps in the fourth century. They accepted the Koran in the seventeenth and eighteenth century; the Ingushi, however, were not completely converted to Mohammedanism till 1862. The Chechens, we also know, have been constantly menaced by the Turco-Mongols since the time of Chingis-Khan. Later they even invited foreign princes to rule over them and defend them against the Kumyks and Kabardian raiders. Last century they fought valiantly against the Russians in the Murid wars under the leadership of Gazi-Mollah and Shamyl.

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/For an historical account of Caucasia, see cat. 116, pp. 266-306; for maps showing the political boundaries of various periods, see cat. 116 pp. 311-358./

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## GEOGRAPHICAL SETTING

### INTRODUCTION

174 The Caucasus was known to classical antiquity from the earliest times on. Not only in early Greek history, but in the epic and legendary traditions of Greekdom the Caucasus plays a great role. It was the home of Prometheus, who against the wish of the gods betrayed the secret of fire to man, and who, for this transgression, was cruelly punished by the gods in the Caucasus Mountains. The Argonauts sailed to the land of Colchis on the Caucasian shores of the so-called "Hospitable Sea," the Pontos Euxeinos, to take the Golden Fleece. It was through those early contacts of the Greeks or their Mediterranean predecessors with the Caucasian world that they became acquainted with wine and viniculture and many other amenities previously unknown to the West. The Caucasus was a fabulous land, a land of promise and attraction, to which not only the Greeks succumbed, as is well known from history. The contacts of classical antiquity with the Caucasus were maintained and strengthened through the many Greek colonies established between the 8th and 4th centuries B. C., all along the coast of the Black Sea. The cities and ports which these Greek merchants and travelers built still exist today,

•74 the majority of them with their names only slightly altered. The populations of these ancient Greek colonies were usually multinational, within which the Greek element still today has a certain percentage and represents a cultural zone.

103 The seafaring traveler from the West sees these mountains slowly emerging from the sea, their white peaks rising to the skies, as the ship advances to the East until it drops anchor in one of the ports of Colchis. They were from the oldest times known to the Greeks and thus to the entire West under the name of Kaukasos, from which comes the Latin Caucasus, taken over by all European languages. This name is not of Caucasian origin - the Caucasians proper have no general term for their home mountains - but it may be well derived, as Joseph Markwart showed about thirty years ago, from the ancient Iranian Krou-kasis ("ice-covered," "ice resplendent"). While several peoples speaking Iranian languages dwell today in the Caucasus Mountains, it seems that at those remote times Iranians were permanently living not in the Caucasus, but in the nearby areas southeast, east, and north of it. This is parallel with the name of the Black Sea, whose Greek name mentioned above is a euphemistic alteration of an earlier Greek form Pontos Axeinos, itself being a popular etymology of the original ancient Iranian term axšaena "black." The present-day

172 continued its migration southeastward as far
171 as Noyon (Noyin)-Ola in Mongolia, and finally into northern China. Thus we see a pre-historic cultural connection between the Caucasus and north central Asia and the Far East; this connection took place in the Bronze Age, probably the later Bronze Age, and consisted at least in a cultural transmission over a distance rarely observed during any historical period down to the beginning of the modern
174 age. In mythical and legendary traditions,
101 peoples of the Caucasus were known to the ancient Mesopotamians, the Assyro-Babylonians, and the Hebrews of the Old Testament as the Gimirru or the Gomer. This name survives well into classical antiquity, when there are repeated mentions of the Kimmerioi as living on the northern and northeastern shores of the Black Sea, and after whom the Strait of Kerch and Taman was called the Kimmerian (or Cimmerian) Bosporus. It is quite possible that this same name is found again in that of Crimea. Peoples living in or near the Caucasus were the Togarma and the Gog and Magog of the Old Testament.

174 The lands of the Caucasus in a larger sense remained without any literature or historiography of their own until Christian times, i.e., until the time of their own conversion to Christianity in the 4th and 5th centuries. But before this time they were in the immediate

.174 sphere of interest of expanding political units in their vicinity. We do not know exactly how far the armies of the Assyrian and Babylonian empires penetrated the plateaus of the Van area to the north and northeast; but the later Assyrian empire, under Sargon II (721-705 B.C.), conquered the mighty realm of Urartu, which comprised all of Armenia, except for Lake Sevan. Later, the Medes and Persians were very much interested in the Caucasus, but only under the Akhaemenians did Trans-Caucasia become a part of their empire. But the conquest of the Akhaemenian empire by Alexander the Great included only Armenia. Although Armenia, as well as the other Trans-Caucasian lands, remained de facto independent, they were de jure provinces or vassal states of the Roman (and later the Byzantine) empire. The Caucasus was drawn into all subsequent political and cultural developments of the Mediterranean as well as of the Near and Middle Eastern world, in which it occupied a very important position in almost all respects.

While the Caucasus in late pre-historic and early historic times played only a marginal role, apparently remaining scriptless and thus deprived of a literary expression of its own, it seems to have always been a center of mining and metal work. The Caucasus may well be considered the oldest center of metallurgy in the entire Western civilization, i.e.,

-174 the ancient Semitic and Caucaso-Anatolo-Mediterranean world. This is evidenced by data in classical literature as well as in the Old Testament; thus, the prophet Ezekiel speaks of the Yavan, Thubal and Meshekh (Mašak), who furnished the markets of Israel with metal (27:13). The Yavan are the Ionian Greeks, the Thubal are the Tibarenoi and the Meshekh the Mushku (Musku) of the Akkadians and the Moskhoi ( ) of classical antiquity (cf. e.g. Strabon, books XI and XII). The name of the latter survives in Georgia in that of the Meskhi-Surami range. Greek writers mention the peoples of the Khalybes ( : Xenophon: Anabasis, V, 5, 1) and Mossynoikoi ( : Xenophon, ibid., V, 4, 30-34, and Pseudo-Aristotle) as iron workers, and in Greek, metals are named after them: : "steel", and : "brass". German "Messing". In view of this, the fact that so far in Caucasian lands or in Eastern Anatolia no mines left by these ancient metal-working peoples have been found, can be explained only by the lack of systematic archeological research in that domain, as has been mentioned above. These mines are explicitly mentioned by the ancient writers. Thus, Strabon speaks of the mines of the Khaldaioi of his time who, as he states, were in ancient times called Khalybes; at the present, Strabon says, they are mining iron, but in former times it was

.174 also silver (XII, 3, 19). In connection with the Iberes, the K'art'velians, he mentions gold mines, and thinks that because of the working of gold mines also by the Western Iberians (Iberes hesperioi) in the Iberian Peninsula, both nations, however far distant, had the same name (XI, 2, 19). Terms for metals and different types of metal work as found in the historical languages of the Semitic, Indo-European, and other groups in that entire area are not of homogeneous origin, but are, as a rule, loan words taken over at an earlier period from a language or languages of earlier inhabitants of the eastern parts of Anatolia and the Caucasus or regions immediately adjacent to Caucasian lands. So far, no historical traces of these ancient languages, which once had furnished the languages of their neighbors or conquerors with so many cultural expressions, have been found; but their relatives or descendants survive in a number of language families and languages which were spoken in that vast Mediterranean area from the Iron Gate in the Caucasus, on the Caspian Basin, to the Columns of Hercules, on the Iberian peninsula, and most of which were superseded at the dawn of history by the Semitic and Indo-European languages of the conquerors: languages such as Basque in the Pyrenees, Ligurian and Rhaetian in the Alps, Etruscan in Italy, the many pre-Greek languages in Greece, on the Aegean Islands, and

.174 in Anatolia, and the Caucasian languages (and perhaps a few others too) are the remainders of these ancient cultural inhabitants of the Ancient West. It is not fortuitous that the two relic groups of that ancient language system survive to this day precisely in mountains, in the Pyrenees and the Caucasus.

Mountains have been chosen time and again by retreating peoples as a refuge in which to escape domination, absorption, or even annihilation. In historical times in the West this was the case with the Ligurians and Rhaetians, who survived longest in the Alps; and in the East, with all the peoples of the Caucasus whom we consider Caucasians proper, or the Caucasian aborigines. These peoples escaped absorption only to the extent that they lived in the mountains, or at least near them and under their immediate protection. Such movements to the mountains took place repeatedly at different intervals and different historical periods. One of those movements is that of the As or Oset'i, who were dispersed Alans from the north of the Black Sea-Caspian steppes; they did not participate in one of the great migratory movements of their people, which led them, along with their Germanic allies, to the Rhine, Gaul, Spain, and finally to North Africa. Another was that of the Avars, who may have received their name from the remainder of the Mongolian

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74 Avars, who in the middle of the sixth century A. D. marched through the Iron Gate of Derbent, coming from Central Asia and heading westward with the goal of the conquest of the Roman Empire. In the Caucasus these Avars then assimilated with their neighbors, such as the Khaidak, west and northwest of Derbent, whose Mongolian or partly Mongolian ancestry shows in their vocabulary. We may also mention the Turkic Karachai and Balkarians, the only Turkic people all of whom actually live in the mountains, where they were compelled to retreat by force majeure; and similarly, the Kumyk in the northeast of Dagestan, only some of whom live in the mountains. The languages of the two latter groups have so far not been absorbed by any of the neighboring Caucasian languages.

But by no means all of those who had sought protection in or near the mountains survived; we need only think of the many peoples who were absorbed by the later Armenians --the Alarodians, the Khalybes, the Khaldaioi; or of the Caucasian Albanians, the Alvank' ( ), who lived in Karabakh and Shirvan, and disappeared shortly after the Arab conquest; or of the majority of the Northwest-Caucasian peoples who in the nineteenth or twentieth centuries had to yield to Russian pressure.

This accounts for the extraordinary, almost legendary richness and variety of

.174 nationalities and languages in this small area, a variety further increased by the coexistence of ethnical traditions, religions, and other cultural features. Abu-'l-Feda calls the Caucasus the "Mountain of the languages." Strabon, whose mother was a Georgian, in describing the Black Sea coast of the Caucasus and its cities and towns, speaks of the cities of Dioskurias (its modern name being Sukhumi, an old Greek colony dating, like the neighboring Pityus*, from the early Ionian colonization phase of the 8th-7th century B.C.). Dioskurias, Strabon says, is located at the beginning of the isthmus between the Black Sea and the Caspian, and is an important port and market place for all the neighboring Caucasian peoples, seventy of whom meet here-some people say even 300, but Strabon adds that these are people who do not particularly care for reality. All these people speak different languages, since they live scattered and unblended in independence and ferocity (Strabon. Geography, Book 11, Chap. 16). A short time later, Pliny, in speaking of Pompey's campaigns (derogatorily called by Strabon a "robbery war," op. cit., Book 11, Chap. 6.), stated that Pompey needed 130 interpreters for his enterprise.

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* , Georgian Biciunta, Russified as Pitsunda, at the estuary of the Bzipi, south of Gagry.

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C. 162 563 G. 105 Caucasia -- Colchis in a larger sense -- have for a long time been the home of one of the oldest nations of the Caucasus, the K'art'velians. This group has played a foremost role in the history of Caucasian culture. Their leading nationality is that of the Georgians, who call themselves K'art'veli. They were the first to be converted to Christianity, in the 4th century A. D., by Tsminda Nino, who came there from the south, from Armenia. With this event, Georgian history and literature begins. It may well be assumed that there was some culture in pre-Christian times which was dependent on that of Persia, as indicated by traces of an earlier K'art'velian fire cult as the expression of Zarathustrism. This was probably brought in by the Persians after their conquest of Trans-Caucasia, during the Akhaemenian dynasty.

C. G. [174]

C. 563 G. 105 Like Armenia, Georgia always resisted Islamic domination; although politically not always successful, it never became an Islamic country. This explains the old and intimate cultural, religious, and political ties with Byzantium and later with Russia as the substitute and continuation of the East-Roman theocracy. This guaranteed Georgia's cultural, religious, and political survival.

This region of Trans-Caucasia differs in many, if not all, respects from the vast

778 after the oil industry had begun to exploit the
177 wells of Apsheron, natural gas was also made use of, with the result that after 1887, the regular religious services at the temple were discontinued. Above the entrance to the fire temple there is a Sanskrit inscription set into the wall, although upside down; however, the inscription does not contain any data as to the erection of the temple or of the particular place in India with which it was intimately connected.
101 The fire worshippers of Surakhany were called
177 Multani, and though no literary sources on this name have come to my attention, this is a hint as to the origin of these fire worshippers, who may have come from the city of Multan on the Chenab, a tributary of the Indus in present-day Pakistan. Evidently, this city was the home of the Parsi founders of that trading colony in or near Baku. These Multānī could hardly be called a national minority in the Caucasus; they are to be considered rather as temporary residents, unlike the Greeks of the ancient Ionian colonies.

## Conclusion. Ethnical History

174 Thus, we see the older inhabitants of the Caucasus living in the higher regions of the Great Caucasus and in Dagestan and the southern and southwestern parts of Trans-Caucasia. These peoples have been living in the Caucasus since pre-historic times. In many instances, we can distinguish among them early and more

174 recent layers of population. The older peoples all show an intimate connection with the south, the plateaus of Anatolia and Iran, and the adjacent plains of Mesopotamia. Somewhat more recent in this Trans Caucasian world are the Iranians and the Armenians, however, they still are old as compared with the Turkic invaders of the recent past, as we must designate the Azerbaidjanians.

A foreign conquest in this region does not always result in the retreat or pushing back of the indigenous peoples into the high mountains. As a consequence of the Russian conquest, one hundred years ago, some of the Caucasian mountain peoples were forced, in varying proportions, to leave the mountains and descend into the lower valleys of their rivers, or even into the adjacent North Caucasian plains, and to become agricultural settlers. This was not easy, and was done in response to both persuasion and coercion. Finally, the majority of the Oset'i, a great number of the Chechen and Ingushes (the latter always much feared by the Russians), and last but not least, the Cherkess and Kabarda who did not emigrate, became peaceful peasants also. This was the only way in which the Tsarist government could stop the incessant guerrilla warfare in the mountains and the resistance of the Caucasians, which had continued even after the defeat of Shamil in 1855, in the form of continual robberies, and attacks on peasants, transports, or

177 even military convoys. By diverting these people to agriculture, order was finally established, resistance on any sort of wide or dangerous level was broken; thus the conditions for the ultimate incorporation of those national groups into the large Russian family were created.

167 174 Since Caucasian studies are still very much in an incipient stage, it is not possible to trace the different waves in which the historical and present-day Caucasian peoples came to their habitats. Where historical sources are missing, the chief help comes from linguistics.

The Eastern Slavs, coming from the north, were the last wave of immigrants and conquerors (18th to 20th centuries). They were preceded by the Turkic-speaking peoples (11th-14th centuries), who in turn came later than the Alanoi-Aorsoi, the forebears of the Oset'i (1st-3rd centuries A. D.). Events prior to that time are unclear. It is impossible to say whether groups of the Skythai, or Sauromatai (6th-1st centuries B. C.) went to the Caucasus, though this might be indicated by a remark of Strabon's (Book XI, chapter 3). And with this, we are in pre-Christian times.

In the south, history goes much farther back, but only insofar as it deals with one of the ancient Semitic or Anatolian (Hittite, etc.) cultures. Therefore, there are enormous gaps for the Caucasus proper, and the peoples who migrated there from the south. The campaigns of Alexander the Great bypassed the Caucasus,

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so that direct historical information is lacking about this period as well as all the preceding centuries. But during those times, the present day and historically-known Trans-Caucasian peoples had already been in the area for a long time. Thus, we can distinguish five historical waves: 1) the Russian; 2) the Turkic, coming from Turkestan and Central Asia via Iran; those were the so-called Oghuz Turks, from whom the Saldjuqs, the Osmans, and the Azerbaidjanians stem; 3) the Arabic, less an ethnic than a political wave, like the Mongolians in the 1220s; 4) the Iranian, probably consisting of different phases which, if named after political units, could be called Sasanian, Akhaemenian and pre-Akhaemenian; 5) that of the Indo-European Armenians (Hajk), who superseded the Proto-Armenians, at least a strong group of whom descended from Urartu. This early fifth wave occurred at a time when the K'art'velians, or at least Proto-K'art'velians, had long since been at home in the regions they occupy today, the southwestern triangle of Trans-Caucasia, called by Strabon ("country of the Moskhoi," the Meshekh [Masak] of the Old Testament). At this early Proto-Armenian period, in the early centuries of the second millenium B. C., the ancestors of many of the northwestern and northeastern Caucasian peoples were already living in, or at least near, their present-day dwelling places--perhaps not in the inaccessible, high alpine valleys of the Caucasus, but in the

167 fertile plains at the foot of the mountains. But
174 the periods referred to above as those of the 4th and 5th waves, present us with an enormous number of riddles which can only be tackled (if they ever are) with the help of linguistics and archaeology.

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A brief explanation for each one of these facts may be in place here. (1) That our tables should show the lowest cephalic indices for the Indo-European populations of the Caucasus is to be expected, for the pure Indo-European stock was dolichocephalic. The Scythians, Alans and early Ossetes till the ninth century A. D. were undoubtedly dolichocephalic.[9] (2) That the highest brachycephalism should be found by the Georgians and Lesghians offers no serious problem, for it is certain from other anthropometric data, that at least the Georgians and practically all Lesghians form an anthropological unit. (3) To explain the near-mesocephaly and the (4) variability of certain ethnic groups in the Caucasus is still a difficult unsolved problem. About 50% of the population of the Caucasus is brachycephalic and only 18% dolichocephalic, while the neighbouring South (ancient Asia Minor especially) is overwhelmingly brachycephalic too. It is quite probable that the mesocephalic tendency of the Mingrelians (81.4), Imeretians (80.9 and 81.4), Khevsurs (80.7), Chechens (80.4), Adyghe (81.4) and Abasians (82.7) can be explained to a large extent[10] by a struggle between two unequal forces, dolichocephalic waves from the North and brachycephalic waves from the South. The variability of the indices of the Cherkess tribes (78.5, 82.1, 83, 83.6, 83.8, 84.5) may perhaps be due to the fact that some groups have been subject to the dolichocephalizing waves to a lesser degree than others. The main dolichocephalic waves seem to be especially, though not exclusively, of Aryan origin. Contact with the Indo-Europeans from the earliest times cannot be denied. The Caucasus may very well have been a corridor between Europe and Asia Minor for the Aryan migrations. R. Forrer (*Zeitschrift der deutschen morgenländischen Gesellschaft*, LXXVI, p. 247) is of the opinion that the Aryans, coming from the North, passed through the Caucasus as early as the first half of the third millenium B. C. Kretschmer (*Zeitschrift für vergleichende Sprachforschung*, LV, p. 97) and B. Hrozny (*Archiv Orientální*, III, p. 294) similarly maintain that the Indo-Europeans used the Caucasus as their route to the Near East, however, somewhat later than Forrer's conjecture, about 2000 B. C. Other well-known scholars of the Indo-European question, e. g., H. Frankfort (*Studies in Early Pottery of the Near East*, I, p. 158), E. Meyer (*Sitzungsberichte der preußischen Akademie der Wissenschaften*, 1925, p. 249), F. Schachermeyr (*Wanderungen und Ausbreitung der Indo-Germanen im Mittelmeergebiet*, Hirt-Festschrift, Heidelberg, 1936, I, pp. 235, 239)[11] believe that the Caucasus was undoubtedly used during the Indo-European migrations. Hybridization between the brachycephalic Caucasians and the dolichocephals must have begun quite early, as some of the prehistorical graves discovered in central Caucasus containing male dolichocephalic skulls and female

[9] C. S. Coon, *op. cit.*, p. 200.

[10] We wish to emphasize the words "to large extent." By no means do we wish to explain the complicated problem entirely by one factor alone. There was, for example, contact with the Turco-Mongols, *north* of the Caucasus, who were *brachycephalic*. Traces of this contact are noticeable especially in the Cherkess. Cf. R. Bleichsteiner, "Die Völker des Kaukasus," *Asien-Berichte*, V (1944), Heft 22, pp. 4 f. For example, there are also the Cro-Magnon race and the East Mediterranean dolicocephals who must be considered. Cf. R. Bleichsteiner, *op. cit.*, p. 5.

[11] Cf. F. Hančar, *Urgeschichte Kaukasiens*, pp. 355 f., who cites the above-mentioned authoris.

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brachycephalic remains testify. In other words, from these finds it is evident that crossing was not uncommon already during the Bronze Age.[12] Very important racially was the contact with the Cimmerians and Scythian-Sarmatian populations, who for centuries lived in the Caucasus, till in the fourth century B.C. they were driven southward to Subartu.[13] Some present-day Ossetine-speaking tribes are not of Indo-European origin while practically all have a strong non-Indo-European strain.[14]

According to C. S. Coon, "The Caucasic-speaking peoples as a whole, from an anthropometric standpoint, represent a blend between a local Alpine racial nucleus and several kinds of Mediterraneans. The Georgians and the Lesghians are the most Alpine, the Cherkesses the least so. The facial dimensions preclude, in most groups, the presence of a long-faced Irano-Afgan element in any quantity; except among the Cherkesses, the head size, with mean lengths in the low 180's, limits the possible Mediterranean elements to the smaller-headed varieties. These are apparently both Danubian and Cappodocian; there is too much true facial Dinaricism for the Danubian to be the only factor, and too much blondism and nasal concavity for the Cappadocian."[15]

## § 3. LINGUISTICS

Perhaps nowhere in the world will one find such an intricate mosaic of languages as in the Caucasus. Today there are about 40 different Caucasian languages, and formerly the number must have been much greater. Strabo (xi, 4—16) speaks of seventy languages along the coast of the Black Sea and in Albania, that is, in Azerbaijan- and Armenian-speaking countries of today. Pliny speaks of 300 different languages at Dioscurias which necessitated 80 interpreters. Abulfeda calls the Caucasus "The Mountain of Tongues" and Thomas Artsruni, the Armenian historian of the tenth century, writes that "72 different nations inhabit the Caucasus."

These languages fall into three sharply distinct groups: the Northwestern, the Northeastern, and the Southern. (See pp. 1—4.)

### 1. Phonetics

The vowel system of all three groups, but especially of the Northwestern group, is very poorly developed. In Abkhazian there are only two basic vowels *a* and *ə*.[16] The preponderance of consonants over vowels is less marked in the Northeastern languages: the Chechen, Avaro-Andi, and Lak languages have the five *a, e, i, o, u*, vowels, and some languages, for example Kurin and Aghulian, have the equivalent of something between the German umlauts *ä, ö, ü*, and *i, o, u*.[17] The vowel system of the Southern group is the richest of the three.

[12] R. Biedermann, "Kaukasische Völker," *Ebert's Realleksikon*, VI, p. 213.
[13] R. Biedermann, "Die Völker des Kaukasus," *Asien-Berichte*, V (1941), No. 22, p. 4.
[14] A. Bashmakoff, *op. cit.*, p. 32. See his analysis of the racial problem, *op. cit.*, pp. 28—38.
[15] C. S. Coon, *op. cit.*, pp. 631 f.
[16] R. Biedermann, "Die kaukasische Sprachgruppe," *Anthropos*, XXXII (1937), p. 65.
Dirr assigns four basic vowels to Abkhazian. *Einführung in das Studium der kaukasischen Sprachen*, p. 19.

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are also typically pastoral nomadic. The South Caucasians, of course, possess considerably less pastoral nomadic traits than do our North Caucasians. 171

## 2. Temporal and Causal Designation

That the marriage and family customary laws of the various North Caucasian mountain tribes should be so distinctly pastoral nomadic demands an explanation. When, why and how have these *adats* acquired such a character? 174

A final answer to this problem is impossible without first having solved the problem of race, original home, and many other related problems regarding the *individual* tribes, such as their early migrations, cultural contacts, and their history in general. Moreover, not only is Caucasology still in its infancy, but the Caucasus is itself one of the most culturally complicated areas in the world. Immediately south of the Caucasus we have the great ancient cultural centres (Ancient Near East!); immediately north of the Caucasus we have the steppes, the scene of many an early migration; finally, the Caucasus itself was used during these migrations as a corridor and sometimes as a place of refuge. In an attempt to determine the causal and temporal relations of what we termed "pastoral nomadic" it is very essential not to assume more than our present knowledge of the Caucasus will allow us. We wish therefore only to throw some light upon the problem and to offer a partial solution.

But what do we know about the origin, the original home, the early migrations, cultural contacts, and history of the North Caucasian peoples and tribes? Very little indeed! We know only that the North Caucasian mountaineers lived elsewhere formerly and that they would never have settled in their present isolated mountain villages if they had not been forced to do so by their enemies. We also know that these migrations began long before the ancient Greek and Latin writes became aware of their existence.

Fortunately, prehistory offers us some useful information toward the solution of our problem. The abundance of finds in North Caucasus, Southeastern Europe and Southwestern Asia leave no doubt about this region being the home of a highly-developed pastoral nomadic civilization. It is here that the original home of the Indo-Europeans most likely is to be sought, and, as Vambéry pointed out almost seventy-five years ago,[33] the original home of the Altai nomads may have extended up to the Caspian Sea, the immediate vicinity of North Caucasus.

The steppes immediately north of the Caucasus was a stage on which various pastoral peoples repeatedly appeared, acted their parts, and then disappeared behind the scenes, giving way to other nomadic hordes more powerful than themselves.[34] The powerful nomadic Scythians (c. 800—300 B.C.)[35] were

[33] *Die primitive Kultur des turko-tatarischen Völker*, p. 14.

[34] F. Hančar, "Die Beile aus Koban in der Wiener Sammlung kaukasischer Altertümer," *Wiener Prähistorische Zeitschrift*, XXI (1934), pp. 12 ff; Hančar, "Kaukasus-Luristan," *Eurasia Septentrionalis Antiqua*, 1934, Minns volume, pp. 47—112.
W. Schmidt, *Rassen und Völker*, II, pp. 174—196.

[35] Cf. E. H. Minns, *Scythians and Greeks*, Cambridge, 1913.
M. I. Rostovtzeff, *Iranians and Greeks in South Russia*, Oxford, 1922.

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174 the first nomads to establish themselves in the Caucasus, after having forced the Cimmerians (c. 1000 B.C.) into the background. The Scythians were predominantly a pastoral people, while the tribes they subjected were agriculturalists. Then we see new waves of Indo-Europeans, the Sarmatians, sweep over the Scythian country (c. 300 B.C.—A.D. 200); we see the Maeotes, Sindae, Sauromatians, etc. submitting to the newcomers.

175 This contact with the nomadic civilization continued up to our own times. To recall some of the history of this region—in the first century B.C. Crimea and the northern coasts of the Black and Azov Sea belonged to the Roman Empire. It was in this region that the Goths appeared. In the fourth century the Huns became the masters of the region north of the Caucasus. In the sixth century the Khazars,[36] Avars,[37] and the Bulgars appeared in North Caucasus; in the ninth century we meet the Magyars there; in the eleventh century the Kumans,[38] and in the thirteenth and fourteenth century the Mongols, driving the inhabitants of the Caucasus higher and higher into the mountains. In the fifteenth century the Turks conquered Crimea, and the Georgian kings were made tributary to the Mongols.

[10] A glance at our ethnographical map of the Caucasus will suffice to convince us that the situation today is essentially the same: today the North Caucasians live in very close contact with peoples who, originally if not any longer, possessed a typically nomadic culture. The Mountain Tartars (Balkarians) are most probably descendents of the Khazars or Volga-Bulgars. The Karakaitaghs seem to be turkized Mongols. The Nogai are descendents of the Golden Horde. And besides these originally Asiatic nomads we find in the Caucasus such peoples as the Kalmucks, Kumyks, etc.

177 ? 58 This constant contact with nomadic societies perhaps from the very beginning of pastoral nomadism—certainly since the Scythian period almost 3000 years ago—throws light upon the intricate problem: Why, how and when did the North Caucasian marriage and family customary laws become so pastoral nomadic? This contact, although not sufficient to *solve* the problem, can and actually does shed considerable light upon the *adats* of the North Caucasians.

177 59 But it is not only the contact we must consider but the actual similarity of the family organization. We shall therefore briefly describe the ancient Indo-European family and then the common features of the Altai society. Physical anthropology has shown that the Caucasians have mixed (racially) with nomadic peoples coming from the North;[39] linguistics proclaims the same

[36] [illegible], "Die Auswertung unseres Geschichtsbildes durch die sowjetische Urgeschichtsforschung," *Eurasia Septentrionalis Antiqua*, Nos. 1—2, pp. 51—61; "Hallstatt-Kaukasus, ein Beitrag zur Deutung des Kimmerierproblems," *Mitteilung der Oesterreichischen Gesellschaft für Anthropologie, Ethnologie und Prähistorie*, LXXIII—LXXVII (1947), pp. 152—167.

[37] Also the rulers, if not all Khazars, were Turks.

[38] The Avars have no connection with the Lesghians bearing the same name. The Avars mentioned here are proto-Mongols, and therefore neither Turks nor true Caucasians.

[39] The Kumans are also known as the Kypchaks, or, as the Russians sometimes call them, the "Polovtsy."

[39] [illegible], pp. [illegible]. The Ossetes, for example, especially certain tribes, have a strong Caucasian strain. Many centuries ago some Ossetine groups have been actually Georgianized.

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in regard to their languages;[40] cultural anthropology, as our study clearly shows, must admit a very strong cultural connection between the North Caucasians and the various nomadic peoples with whom they have been in contact. 174 59

Although there is still much controversy connected with the complicated Indo-European problem, there is almost complete harmony when the marriage and family customary laws are being described.[41] E. Hermann[42] and O. Schrader[43] are no doubt responsible for this harmony. 174 59 58

The first remarkable fact about the Indo-European society is the essential absence of totemism and mother-right practices.[44] Indo-European social life (and, we ought add, religion and economy) centred round (1) the joint-family and (2) especially its male members. Although a distinction was drawn between a biological and an undivided family, the biological family was of little significance except in connection with the undivided family to which it belonged. All property belonged to the joint-family, at the head of which was the patriarch. He enjoyed the *patria potestas* in the strict sense of the word. His wife (or wives, as the case may be) was subject to him in all things. Juridically speaking, her condition and that of all female members of the family hardly differed from that of little children. Women had no part in public affairs, no part in sacrifice. In fact, women were hardly better off than slaves. Inheritance rights were reserved for the male members of the family; the first-born had very special rights. Purity of blood of all members of the joint-family was greatly insisted upon. This seems to have been the main reason why a woman was generally punished with death for a serious offense.[45] This was also most probably the reason for the custom of placing a new-born child on the ground and inviting the father to pick it up as a sign that he recognized it as his own. The girls of the family had no freedom of choice in mating; they were either captured, or, as was generally the case, they were sold off, so to speak, to the highest bidder. The bride price consisted mainly in cattle. The main matrimonial impediments were those of consanguinity and disparity of social rank. The marriage was, of course, patrilocal. The chief marriage ceremonies were those of the triple encircling of the fireplace and the bridal procession (uxorem ducere, γυναῖκα ἄγεσθαι). Virginity of the bride was very highly esteemed. The chief purpose of marriage

[40] We need but recall such important words as *aul, kalym, adat*, etc. The language of the Ossetes contains many Caucasianisms; on the other hand, the Caucasian languages clearly show Indo-European contact.

[41] Compare, for example, the description of the Indo-European family organization as presented in Dr. Wolfgang Philipp's *Weiberherrschaft oder Mutterrecht* (Ost-Europa Verlag, Königsberg and Berlin, 1942), a Nazi publication, with that of Prof. W. Koppers, "Die Indogermanenfrage im Lichte der historischen Volkerkunde," *Anthropos*, XXX (1935), No. 1—2, pp. 8—11, or of Alphons Nehring, "Studien zur indogermanischen Kultur und Urheimat," *Wiener Beiträge zur Kulturgeschichte und Linguistik*, IV (1936), pp. 167—181.

[42] "Die Eheformen der Urindogermanen," *Nachrichten von der Gesellschaft der Wissenschaft in Gottingen, Berlin*, 1934; also "Die Eheformen der Urindogermanen," *Forschungen und Fortschritte*, X (1934), p. 235.

[43] *Reallexikon der indogermanischen Altertumskunde*, Berlin, 1929, 2 volumes.

[44] W. Koppers, *op. cit.*, p. 8.

[45] Men involved in sex offenses were generally not punished.

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174 was the procreation of children, but especially of sons, who would one day
53 become the performers of the sacred rites connected with ancestor worship.
59 The cult for the departed was connected with the cult of the fireplace and was looked upon as the most sacred duty of the individual and of the family. Since the members of the same sib were descendents of the same ancestors, they were bound to one another in life and in death. This solidarity explains the frequency of family feuds, for blood-revenge was considered a very sacred duty. Polygyny was relatively common ; polyandry, however, was taboo. The proof of virginity, the levirate, and the regulations regarding divorce and many other matters are very similar to those still in practice among the Ossetes of the Caucasus. It is indeed worthy of note that the Ossetine *adats* differ but slightly from the customary laws of their ancestors, while, as we have observed throughout the present study, the North Caucasians, especially the Cherkess, the Abkhaz, and the Ingushi differ but little from their neighbours, the Ossetes.[40]

[177] The contact with the Indo-Europeans, especially with the Ossetes and their ancestors, must have been very important. We need but think of the powerful Scythians and then, later on, of the Alans who made their presence felt as far east as China and as far west as Spain. Many of the customs, especially of the Cherkess, Abkhaz, and Ingushi have certainly been borrowed from the Ossetes : the many legends about ancient heroes, especially the so-called Nart-stories, and many a godlet now worshipped by the North Caucasian are certainly of Indo-European origin.

[178] If we now compare the Turco-Mongolian society with that of the North Caucasians and ancient Indo-Europeans we shall find a striking similarity in the family organizations of the three groups.[41] To point out a few of the more

[40] Among other practices of the ancient Indo-Europeans might be mentioned child-marriages, the *muhaéitio*, the obligation of the bride to keep silence, the custom of veiling and covering the bride's face, mother-in-law inheritance, etc. See especially E. Hermann, "Die Eheformen der Urindogermanen," *Nachrichten der Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen*, pp. 39—62. We have based our description of the ancient Indo-European family on : Koppers, *op. cit.*, pp. 8—11 ; A. Nehring, *l. c.* ; O. Schrader, *op. cit., passim* ; E. Hermann, *op. cit., passim* ; W. Philipp, *op. cit.*, pp. 17—45.

The ancient Slavs countenanced polygamy, a custom that continued to the tenth century A. D. Polygyny, however, was a privilege of the rich. The impediment of consanguinity and of disparity of social rank were strictly insisted upon. Girls would be married off against their wills. We also find the *muhaéitio* among the ancient Slavs. A wife was acquired either by purchase or capture. A distinction between a joint-family *(rodovaja or boliaja semja)* and the individual *(ocobnaja or malaja semja)* was made, with a patriarch *(starosta or starabina)* at the head. It is also interesting to note that the same concept of a household is found in Russia as in North Caucasia, namely "fireplace." Blood-feuds, bloodwite, the disadvantageous position of the female sex, the *'patria potestas* and many other features of the Slavic family life very closely resemble the Caucasian society. Ancestor worship centred round the fireplace and the male head of the joint-family was the family-priest. Vestiges of the cult are still to be found in Ukraine (E. Ellnett, *Historic Origin and Social Development of Family Life in Russia*, pp. 2 ff.). For more about the Slavic family organization see Zdenko Vinski, *Die indiakvidse Grossfamilie in ihrer Beziehung zum asiatischen Grossraum*. Many of these elements are still found among the Armenians, Persians, Kurds, etc.

[41] See Koppers, *op. cit.*, p. 15 ; A. Nehring, *op. cit.*, pp. 169—173. As W. Schmidt pointed out more than 20 years ago in his *Völker und Kulturen*, elements of the pastoral nomadic civilization are also found among the Hamito-Semitic peoples.

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essential parallels—characteristic of the Turco-Mongolian family are: the almost complete absence of mother-right and totemistic practices, the emphasis placed on the joint-family and the male members, special rights for the first-born son, importance of the male head of the family and the *patria potestas*, the disadvantageous position of the female sex, blood-feuds, exogamy, the *kalym*, which is usually paid in live-stock, the dread of incest, the severe penalties for sexual offenses, fireplace ceremony at weddings, the high esteem for the bride's virginity, the unusual craving for male children, the importance of the bridal procession, etc.

There is also a religious connection between the North Caucasians, the Indo-Europeans, and the Turco-Mongols, a connection that confirms our claim of the existence of a social connection between the three groups. It is not only the *similarity* of the religions of the three groups that we must keep in mind but also the intimate connection, the *organic* connection, between the nomadic social and religious forms. The solidarity which exists among the members of a sib, the great longing for male children, blood-feuds, the levirate, the *patria potestas*, the wedding custom of walking around the fireplace, and many other practices are fundamentally connected with ancestor worship and cult for the dead. Ancestor worship is one of the essential features of the religion of the Indo-Europeans, the Turco-Mongols, and the North Caucasians. Moreover, among all three groups ancestor worship is linked up with the worship of the fireplace. Another very essential part of the pastoral nomadic religion was the custom of sacrificing horses. W. Koppers has shown the great similarity between the horse-sacrifices of the Indo-European and Altai peoples;[48] R. Bleichsteiner proved beyond question the existence of the practice throughout the highlands of Caucasia.[49] Horse-sacrifices among the Indo-Europeans and the North Caucasians are certainly of Inner Asiatic origin.

Thus we see that even though the North Caucasians are not pastoral nomadic in the economic sense—the economy of the steppes is impossible in the mountains, especially in the unfertile valleys of the Caucasus—they are pastoral nomadic in their social organization. *A connection between the North Caucasian society and that of Inner Asia is beyond question.*

### 3. Vestiges of More Ancient Cultures In the Marriage and Family Customary Laws of the North Caucasians

As is only natural, the deeper we delve into the history of the marriage and family *adats* the more obscure the history becomes.

First of all there are the so-called mother-right vestiges which we must consider. It is interesting to note that the intensity of these vestiges among the three different groups of Caucasians (Northwestern, Northeastern, and Southern)

[48] W. Koppers, *op. cit.*, pp. 12 f, 18—22. See also W. Koppers, "Pferdeopfer und Pferdekult der Indogermanen," *Wiener Beiträge zur Kulturgeschichte und Linguistik*, IV (1936), pp. 280—411.

[49] "Rossweihe und Pferderennen im Totenkult der kaukasischen Völker," *Wiener Beiträge zur Kulturgeschichte und Linguistik*, IV (1936), pp. 412—495.

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611 114 a further development of this stage with the avunculate as a link between matriarchy and patriarchy."[8] Although the modern Soviet ethnologist is very cautious about what he terms "matriarchal," it is the universality of matriarchy that must be rejected as unfounded.

174 611 Linguists, especially of the Marr School, have pointed out other vestiges of mother-right in the Caucasus, thus confirming our ethnological argument.[9]

Prehistory, too might be able to offer some valuable data, but unfortunately the prehistorian has no way of establishing a connection between his discoveries and the culture of any North Caucasian people. Nevertheless, we can use the prehistorical data at least as a negative argument: the prehistorical discoveries do not exclude the existence of an older, more or less strong mother-right influence. On the contrary, the finds confirm such an opinion. The Copper Age discoveries of the Nalchik, Kuban, and the Kuban-Terek stages point to a society with a matriarchal sib organization.[10]

In other words, we cannot deny the existence of so-called mother-right vestiges, but compared to the numerous typically pastoral nomadic traits in the marriage and family customary laws of the North Caucasians they are quite rare. Nevertheless, the mother-right vestiges are sufficient in number to be a good indication that the family organization was much more matriarchal prior to the influences from Inner Asia than afterwards.[10]

We may ask ourselves the following two important questions: Why are the northwestern marriage and family *adats* the most "pastoral nomadic," the southern the least so, while the northeastern occupy a middle position? Why should the number of so-called mother-right traits be found in the three groups precisely in the reverse order? Caucasology is still too young to allow anyone to venture upon a final and complete solution. Here too we are able to offer only a partial solution.

174 The NORTHWESTERN CAUCASIANS. The true origin of the Cherkess is uncertain. It seems that at one time they were a powerful pastoral people, occupying a vast area, the entire North Caucasian foreland and a large sector of southeastern Europe. The Cherkess legends frequently refer to the steppes, to customs and usages of a distinctly steppe culture.[11] Later on their relations with the various nomadic peoples in this region, especially with the Scythians, Sarmatians, Alans—not to mention the more recent relations with the Ossetes, and Turco-Mongols—were by far closer than were those of the other Caucasians. This hypothetical origin and economic life of the Cherkess

[8] Cf. M. O. Kosven, "Avunkulat," SE, 1948, No. 1, pp. 1—46. Also the following by the same author: "Perežitki matriarchata u narodov Kavkaza," SE, 1936, No. 4—5, pp. 211 ff.; *Matriarchat, Istorija Problemy*, Izkatel'stvo akademii nauk SSSR, Moskva-Leningrad, 1948, 224 pages; "Ob archivnych materialach po etnografii SSSR," SE, 1936, No. 1, pp. 132—135. See also H. P. Dyrenkova, "Perežitki materinskago roda u altajskich tjurkov," SE, 1937, No. 4, pp. 18—45.

[9] See Table 4.

[10] It is interesting to note that the last two stages of the Caucasian Copper Age (the Kuban and the Kuban-Terek stage) begin to show a distinct rise of male importance through leadership in trade, religion, metallurgy, and cattle-breeding.

[11] R. Bleichsteiner, "Kaukasische Völker," *Reallexikon der Vorgeschichte*, VI, p. 255.

[Cf. cat. 116, pp. 199 f. -- Analyst]

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and the contact with pastoral nomads is certainly a good explanation for the fact that the Cherkess marriage and family are the most pastoral nomadic of all North Caucasians.

The origin of the Abkhaz is a veritable mystery. Baschmakoff's conjecture that they came from Anatolia and that only later on, some time in the first millenium B. C., were Cherkessized in their common struggle against powerful Colchis, is indeed possible, but unfortunately there is very little evidence to support this theory.[72] In any case, we must admit that the Cherkess have exerted a very great influence on the Abkhaz.

The NORTHEASTERN CAUCASIANS. The original home of the Chechens and the Lesghians is also uncertain. It seems, however, that both the Chechens and the Lesghians came from the South rather than from the North. According to A. Dirr the brachycephalic Caucasians migrated from the South,[73] and, as we have seen in our general introduction,[74] the Lesghians are among the most brachycephalic peoples of all Caucasus. Moreover, the traditions of the Chechens and the Lesghians favour a southern origin. It is quite probable that some Georgian tribes, after themselves having been driven into the lowlands of Southern Caucasia from their original home somewhere in Asia Minor, forced the Northeasterners into the mountains who were eventually forced to settle on the northern slopes of the Caucasus.

If we accept the hypothesis of a southern origin, the fact that the Northeasterners possess by far less pastoral traits and more mother-right vestiges in their marriage and family customs than do the Northwesterners becomes at once much more intelligeable: on the one hand their contact with the Asiatic pastoral cultures was shorter and less intense than was that of the Northwesterners living north of the mountain range in the lowlands; on the other hand their proximity to Asia Minor and their close connection with the South Caucasians subjected them more to mother-right influences.

What we have just said about the Northeasterners holds even more for the SOUTHERNERS: the pastoral nomadic influences were the remotest, shortest, and weakest among them, whereas their contact with the civilizations of Asia Minor was the most intense.

The great problem, which future fieldwork and intensive study and cooperation of scholars interested in the various fields of Caucasology alone will solve, is to discover the aspect of the marriage and family laws of the North Caucasians prior to the changes brought about by pastoral nomadism. Perhaps the new lively interest of the Soviet scholars in the ethnogenesis of the peoples of the U.S.S.R. will contribute not a little toward the solution of the problem. The problem must, of course, be approached *systematically*, considering each tribe *individually* and avoiding as much as possible such general expressions as

[72] A. Baschmakoff, *Cinquante siècles d'évolution ethnique autour de la mer Noire*, p. 13. It is indeed striking that the Abkhaz language occupies a middle position between the Northwestern and Southern languages, and similarily between the Northwestern and Northeastern languages.

[73] A. Baschmakoff, *op. cit.*, p. 37.

[74] *Supra*, p. 9.

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MAP IV

# Peoples of Ancient Caucasus

After A. Sanders, *Kaukasien*, pag. 23

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# II. POLITICAL HISTORY

## Chronological Summary

175

B. C. 323. Conquest by Alexander the Great.
302–237. Pharnawaz expels the Macedonians.
C. A. D. 318. Introduction of Christianity. Conflict with Persia.
371. Shapur II of Persia subdues the country.
446. Vakhtang I. Alliance with Persia.
571. Beginning of Bagratid dynasty.
640–734. Spread of Mohammedanism by the Arabs.
1048–64. Incursions of the Seljuk Turks.
1099–1125. Reign of David II.
1184. Accession of Tamara.
1236. Invasion of Ghenghiz Khan.
1386 and 1393–94. Invasions of Tamerlane.
1442. Partition of Georgia by King Alexander I.
1492. First appeal for Russian assistance.
1586. Defensive treaty with Russia.
1619. Russian intervention between Shah Abbas I and Teimuraz of Kakhetia.
1638. Mingrelia swears allegiance to Russia.
1650. Imeretia swears allegiance to Russia.
1717. Commercial treaty between Peter the Great and Persia.
1722. Russian expedition in the Caucasus.
1724. Russo-Persian Treaty. Cession of Caspian provinces to Russia.
1734. Surrender of Caspian provinces to Persia. Restoration of Bagratid dynasty.
1769. Heraklius obtains Russian assistance against the Turks.
1783. Treaty of Georgievsk. Heraklius declares himself vassal of Russia.
1801. Annexation of Georgia by Russia.
1813. Treaty of Gulistan between Russia and Persia.
1828. Peace of Turkmanchay. Final peace with Persia. War between Russia and Turkey.
1829. Peace of Adrianople.
1830. Risings in Daghestan.
1859. Surrender of Shamyl and his tribesmen.
1877. Russo-Turkish War. Ineffectual risings in the Caucasus.
1878. Treaties of San Stefano and Berlin. Acquisition of Batum, &c. Development of Baku oil-fields.

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175 1902–5. Riots in Baku. Rising in Georgia.
1917. Treaty of Brest-Litovsk. Batum, &c., ceded to Turkey.
1918. Georgian, Armenian, and Daghestan Republics established.

## (1) *Early History*

103 THE Caucasus was well named by the Arabs 'Jebel Assuni', the Mountain of Languages, for the great range shelters as many different tongues as the famous Tower of Babel.

The lands stretching from the valley of the Phasis (Rion) north-eastwards were known to the ancients as Colchis and Iberia. The name 'Georgia' came later to be applied to the kingdom whose nucleus is covered roughly to-day by the Government of Tiflis; at the height of its power Georgia ruled from the Caucasus to the Aras (Araxes), and from the Black Sea to the Caspian.

175 Recognized history begins with the conquest of the country by Alexander the Great in 323 B.C., and the subsequent expulsion of the Macedonian governors by Pharnawaz, son of a prince of the original dynasty and a Persian mother. The chronicles of the period that follows make constant mention of the Abkhasians, who held the Black Sea coast and range from the Phasis north-westwards; of the Asses or Osses (Ossetes), a Median tribe whose territory lay in the hills from Mount Elbruz to the Dariel Pass; and of the incursions of Mongol Khazars and Alans from the steppes of the Caspian Sea, to meet which the fortress of Dariel was built at the northern end of the defile in 140 B.C. Persia, in war and peace, was the predominant factor, though her hold on the allegiance of Caucasia was insecure.

At a later period the introduction of Christianity, about A. D. 318, reopened the conflict with Persia. Shapur II ravaged the country in 371, and the general left by him to hold the conquered lands built a fortress on the site of the present city of Tiflis.

The Georgians now began to seek help from their co-religionists in the Roman Empire, but Persia was

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too near at hand to be resisted; and, when in 446 175 a strong king—Vakhtang I—arose in Georgia, although he re-established Christianity, he adopted a policy of union with Persia and assisted in the campaigns against the Roman Emperor Jovian. Vakhtang not only achieved great military successes, but built schools for his subjects and strengthened his frontiers. He also transferred the capital from Mtskhet to Tiflis.

### (2) *Bagratid Dynasty. Struggle with Islam*

The line of Vakhtang failed in the sixth century; and, Byzantium's power being then in the ascendant, the Georgian throne was filled in 571 by a nominee of the Greek Emperor, one Guram, a Bagratid, whose descendants held the Georgian crown for the next twelve centuries. The supremacy of Byzantium in the Caucasus, always fiercely challenged by Persia, was finally extinguished by the Arabs, who from 640 onwards constantly invaded the Caucasian States and spread Islam amongst the pagan mountaineers. The successes of Musslimieh in 684 and of Abu Moslem in 734 ended in the undisputed sovereignty of the Caliphate; the Bagratid dynasty was, however, confirmed in the possession of the Georgian throne.

In the eleventh century the Seljuk Turks under Toghrul Bey and Alp Arslan twice laid Karthli (Georgia) waste, forced the king to embrace Islam, and sacked Tiflis. But the Georgians still resisted and clung to Christianity; they regained their religion and their freedom under David II, who bears the title of Restorer (1099–1125). The constant wars and invasions had split the country into separate kingdoms; cities and surrounding regions bestowed on emirs, vassals of the Seljuks, constituted a bewildering crowd of Moslem principalities, with each of whom in turn Christian Georgia was at war. The distant successes of the Crusaders had their effect on the Caucasus, and, fighting courageously against the encroaching Moslems, the Bagratid kings gradually won back their lost lands.

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175 The great-granddaughter of David II, Thamar or Tamara, succeeded her warlike father Giorgi III in 1184 and cleared her country of invaders from the Caucasus to the Aras. Her son, Giorgi Lashi, 1212–23, added Gandja (now Elisavetopol) to Georgia; but his sister and successor, Rusudan, offended the Sultan of Khorasan, and his vengeful invasion was followed in 1236 by that of the hordes of Ghenghiz Khan, who ravaged the country and carried off Rusudan's son as hostage. Georgia next passed through the hideous devastations of Tamerlane in 1386 and 1393–4. Alexander I freed the country from Tatar rule (1413–42), but, having united Georgia as in the days of Pharnawaz, Vakhtang, and Tamara, he committed the irreparable error of dividing it between his three sons. Civil war broke out, and Guria, Mingrelia, Svanetia, and Abkhasia were lost for ever to the Georgian kings. Too weak to maintain themselves, the various states became the pawns of the Porte and Persia, the Turks taking Trebizond and Sukhum and establishing their hold on Mingrelia, Guria, and Imeretia, the larger portion of which territories accepted the Moslem faith. Karthli and Kakhetia, nominally under Persian vassalage, cast about for help.

### (3) *Growth of Russian Influence*

On the northern side of the Caucasus, where the Khazars, now displaced by the Tatar hordes, had ruled, the growing power of Russia was making itself felt.

So early as 1492 the King of Kakhetia had sought Russian assistance against the Turks and Persians; and outposts of this new power appeared in the valley of the Terek in 1505, in the shape of Cossacks of Riazan, who, at first fugitives from their Tsar's wrath, were in 1579 holding territory near the present Grozni in the name of the Tsar, Feodor Ivanovich. Alexander II of Kakhetia appealed to him for help against the Tatar Shamkhal of Tarku; and in 1586 a treaty was concluded in which the Tsar exacted a yearly tribute in return

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for his assistance. Co-operation between the new allies broke down at the first effort, which resulted in the annihilation of the Russians on the Sulak; and, although the Tsar assumed the titles of 'Lord of the Iberian Lands, of the Tsars of Georgia and of Kabarda', further defeat in 1604, at the hands of the Russian generals Burtuvlin and Pleshchagev, was a poor confirmation of these claims. The Georgians, however, continued to look for Russian intervention. In 1619 Teimuraz of Kakhetia, then in hiding, obtained the Tsar's intercession with Shah Abbas I of Persia, who had driven the last king, Alexander, from his throne on suspicion of treachery. 175

Mingrelia in 1638, and Imeretia in 1650, swore allegiance to Russia in return for help against the Porte, which the Tsars were not able to furnish; and the appeal of Vakhtang VI of Kakhetia to Peter the Great was little more efficacious. With a view to establishing trade with India by way of the Volga and Caspian, Peter had made a treaty with Persia in 1717, and he undertook an expedition in 1722 ostensibly to avenge an affront to his traders by the Lesghians, who were in revolt against Persia, then in the throes of the Afghan invasion. The expedition was, in fact, merely a pretext for annexing the Caucasian possessions of Persia. Peter took Derbent and Tarku, and established further Cossack settlements between the Térek and those of the Grebentsi, as the Cossacks about Grozni were termed; the treaty concluded by Peter with Turkey and Persia in 1724 gave to Russia Derbent, Baku, Daghestan, Astarabad, and Mazandaran, but acknowledged Turkey's suzerainty over Georgia. After the Persian revolution of 1734, however, Russia surrendered her Persian provinces to Nadir Shah, who expelled the Turks from Georgia, and restored the Bagratid dynasty. The Cossack settlements in the Caucasus remained and increased, gradually including Kumyks, Chechens, and Kabards. In 1763 the Prince of Little Kabarda became an Orthodox Christian and swore allegiance to the Tsar; and the fort of Mozdok was built for his protection

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175 against the Lesghians. While Russia's influence grew in the east, in the western Caucasus the Ottomans took tribute from the Cherkess (Circassians) and the Abkhasians (nominally of the Moslem faith), continued to dominate Mingrelia and Imeretia, and held, as a Pashalik of the Empire, Akhaltsikh, the centre of the slave-trade in Georgian boys and girls. In 1769 King Heraklius (Irakli) of Georgia made an effort to shake off the Turk. Brother-in-arms of Nadir Shah, whom he had accompanied on an expedition to India (1738–39), and who had bestowed on him the crowns of Karthli and Kakhetia in return for his successful campaigns against the Lesghians, Heraklius, though the vassal of Persia, knew her to be helpless from internal troubles, and therefore made an agreement with Russia, which procured him the support of an army under Count Totleben in his effort to deliver Imeretia. Totleben left Heraklius to subdue Akhaltsikh alone, relieved Kutais, failed at Poti, and returned to Russia without accomplishing anything of value. Heraklius continued a valiant struggle against the Turks and the Daghestan tribes, their allies, until Russia's conquest of the Crimea in 1783 again awoke hopes of aid. By the Treaty of Georgievsk (1783) he openly acknowledged himself vassal of the Empress Catherine, who was steadily increasing her grasp of the Caucasus. Vladikavkaz was founded in 1785 on the site of the Ossetian village, Zaluch, adding another link to the chain of forts stretching from the Caspian to the Azov. Ten years later Persia was again strong enough to attempt the recovery of her lost suzerainty; in 1795 Aga Mohammed Khan suddenly marched on Georgia, and, while the Russian general, Count Gudovich, remained inactive, Tiflis was sacked and the country put to fire and sword. Not until the autumn of 1795, when the disaster was complete, did troops under Zubov attack and defeat the Persians at the mouth of the Kura. The Emperor Paul recalled his army next year, and Heraklius died in 1798, leaving his country a prey to Turk and Persian.

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### (4) *Annexation of Georgia*

His son and successor, Giorgi XIII, was utterly unable 175
to cope with the situation, and, in their extremity, the Georgian nobles offered the country to the Tsar. The deed of surrender was signed by the King in 1799, and in 1801 Georgia, Mingrelia, Guria, and Imeretia were declared by the Tsar Alexander I to be Russian provinces. The royal family, except some insurgent members of it, were transferred to Russia, where they received estates and pensions. A Georgian noble, educated in Russia, Prince Tsitsianov, was made Governor of the new territories; the Georgian Church was incorporated with the Russian; the Russian code of laws was established, but modified and adapted at first to national custom and the code of Vakhtang VI.[1] The poverty of Georgia necessitated a large Russian subsidy to maintain the government and troops, the very small existing revenue being devoted to the gradual restoration of the towns. Tsitsianov began the great military road by the pass of Dariel between Vladikavkaz and Tiflis in 1804, stormed Gandja, 1805, and perished before Baku. The Turks held Imeretia against Russia, assisted by King Solomon until his death in 1815; the small kingdom was then absorbed into the other provinces.

### (5) *Treaty of Gulistan*

War continued between Russia and Persia for the possession of Karabagh[2] and Shirwan[3] until 1813, when the Treaty of Gulistan finally ceded them to Russia, together with Sheki, Talish, Gandja, Kuba, and Derbent. It remained to hold the new territories, where the Moslems of Daghestan and Chechnia defied Russia's power for half a century to come. The Cossacks were the means chiefly relied on to overawe

[1] This was superseded by the Russian Code in 1841.
[2] Now the Shusha, Jevanshir, Sangesur, and Jebrail districts.
[3] Now the Shemakha, Geokchai, and Jevat districts of the Baku Government.

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175 the independent mountaineers; forts along the Terek and the Sundja were multiplied. General Yermilov, appointed Governor and commander-in-chief in 1816, grappled with the problem in a spirit of ferocious severity that even outdid that of the tribesmen. The Lesghians were the first to feel the weight of his hand, next the Chechens; but the sullen quiet his methods for the moment produced was broken by war with Persia in 1826.

### (6) *Wars with Persia and Turkey*, 1826–9

Yermilov's strange inactivity at the outset of hostilities caused his recall and the appointment of Prince Paskievich, whose capture of Erivan and other successes resulted in the Peace of Turkmanchay in 1828, by which Russia acquired the khanates of Erivan and Nakhichevan. Paskievich then devoted himself to the Turkish campaign, Russia having taken up the cudgels for Greece. Kars and Akhaltsikh fell successively; and Paskievich, recruiting his ranks from Tatars and Armenians in Transcaucasia, supported by Guria, hitherto suspected of Turkish sympathies, advanced into Armenia and occupied Erzerum. When he retired at the Peace of Adrianople in 1829, the fortresses of Akhalkalaki and Akhaltsikh and the greater part of the pashalik of Akhaltsikh were added to Russia.

### (7) *Muridism; War with the Tribes in Daghestan and Chechnia*, 1830–59

The Mohammedan tribes who had risen in the hills in response to Turkey's call to arms now absorbed Russia's attention. On the extreme west, from the mouth of the Kuban to Mount Elbruz, the Cherkess and Abkhasians, in communication with Turkey by the Black Sea, kept up desultory warfare until 1864. The chief threat to Russia's supremacy lay, however, in the east, in the regions of Chechnia and Daghestan, where the doctrine of Muridism, inciting the tribes to a holy

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war against Russia, was preached by the Imams175 Kaza Mullah, Hamzad Bek, and Shamyl, and in time united the tribesmen from the Caspian to the Dariel Pass. Between the two districts lay tribes submissive to Russian authority, the Khevsurs, Pshavs, Tushes, Svanetians, Ossetes, and Kabards. The forts stretching from the Sea of Azov to the Caspian were held by Cossacks, organized into various *voiskos*, which from 1832 each represented a regiment and became part of the Imperial military organization. The Cossacks kept up the roads and the postal service, provided maintenance for the drafts of Imperial troops sent to reinforce the line, and cultivated the land, drawing labour from the friendly tribes, who were obliged to give their services for fixed periods. The Cossack himself was soldier and farmer in one, ploughing his fields with his gun at his side, ready for the signal of cannon-shots that collected the settlers—two were a call to arms, four signified a raid, eight an attack in force—signals which in case of need were passed from fort to fort. The enemy around them was brave, desperate, animated by religious fervour and by the fierce doctrines and examples of Kaza Mullah, slain at Ginri in 1831, and his disciples, Hamzad Bek and Shamyl, the latter of whom became leader in 1834 and began in failure, through the defection of the Avars, the most powerful of the Daghestan tribes. Four years later, Shamyl's efforts won back the Avars, and by 1845, in spite of frequent reverses, his word swayed the whole country-side.

The absence of roads and the length of the Russian line of communications favoured the tribesmen operating, in Daghestan, on a wild barren plateau intersected by deep ravines, and in Chechnia amid hills covered with dense forests. Punitive expeditions had no lasting effect. The one undertaken by Prince Vorontzov in 1845 against Shamyl's Chechnian stronghold, Dargo, resulted in the loss of two-thirds of the Russian troops in a terrible return march through the forest, and increased the Murids' confidence. Next

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175 year Shamyl broke past the Sundja forts and appeared in Kabarda; but the aid of the western Caucasus failed him. The Russians now adopted a plan, conceived by Yermilov's lieutenant, Veeliamenov, but never before put in practice—that of gradually advancing the Russian defensive line, and of systematically clearing away the forests as the troops closed in on Shamyl. So well aware was the Imam of the value of the screening trees that his law ordained the death of any Murid who should fell one.

Prince Vorontzov's operations were delayed by the events of the Crimean War, made memorable in these regions by General Williams's defence of Kars for five months against overwhelming numbers. The tribesmen took no concerted action with Turkey, and, in spite of the awe Shamyl still inspired, his severity was gradually loosening his hold. Veden, his second stronghold, was captured in 1858, and his escape to the valley of the Andi Koisu only delayed his capture to the following autumn, when he was surrounded at Gunib and taken prisoner by Prince Bariatinski. All the tribes laid down their arms; the reluctant submission of the Abkhasians and Cherkess followed in 1864. These peoples steadily migrated to Turkish territory.

### (8) *War with Turkey*, 1877

When war again broke out in 1877 between Russia and the Porte, Daghestan, Chechnia, Circassia, and Abkhasia rose in response; but there was again no concerted action, and the tribes soon quieted down after the signing of peace. The Treaties of San Stefano and Berlin (1878) added to Russia Kars, Bayazid, the country as far as Soghanlu Dagh (including the valuable rock-salt mine of Kulp), Ardahan, and Batum, which was declared a 'free port' and attracted commercial enterprise. The Baku oil-fields, exploited now by foreign capital, opened up an undreamt-of source of wealth, by which Tatars and Armenians chiefly profited. The Georgians took little part in these

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developments; the people, brave and energetic in national emergencies, were unenterprising and unambitious; the nobles, much impoverished by the Act of Emancipation which restricted their right to the labour of the people, lived on their estates or served in the army; Armenians and Tatars were the energetic elements of the very heterogeneous populations, and many amassed huge fortunes in the oil-fields or concerns connected with them. 175

### (9) *Revolutionary Movement*, 1902–6

It was among these elements that trouble first broke out (1902–5) in the terrible riots at Baku at the time of general unrest in Russia which followed the war with Japan. Political agitation had its effect on the western Georgians, awaking dreams of autonomy which the ill-judged government of the last few years had put them in a state to welcome. The Caucasus was placed under martial law; the outbreaks in the Government of Kutais were suppressed with the utmost severity by General Alikhanov; and during 1906 tranquillity was generally restored. But neither the oil-fields of Baku nor the trade of the port of Batum recovered their former prosperity; and the attitude of the Armenians, whose schools and cherished Church property were threatened by the Russian Government's policy of nationalization, continued to be resentful, while the Pan-Islamic sympathies of the Tatars were carefully encouraged by Turkey.

### (10) *Effect of the Great War*, 1914–18

With the outbreak of the European War in August 1914, the old antagonism of Christian against Moslem reappeared. Russia's successes in Armenia at first held in check the Mohammedan element in her midst; but, after the internal revolution of March 1917, the situation became increasingly difficult. Though till that date Georgians and other Transcaucasians alike

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175 had fought gallantly in the Russian armies, an anti-Russian spirit now began to make itself felt, and in May 1917 Georgia proclaimed the spiritual independence of her Church. Meanwhile, after a period of internecine war, the mountaineers of Daghestan formed a separate republic, which was peaceably disposed towards the temporary republic created in Transcaucasia (see p. 33), where Armenians and Georgian were loyally upholding the Allied cause and keepin the gates against Turkey.

In Georgia the movement for autonomy had been rapidly growing ; and on May 26, 1918, two hours after the dissolution of the Transcaucasian Diet—which had been formed from Georgians, Armenians, and Tatars to uphold some form of order—the Georgian National Council, elected in the previous November, proclaimed the independence of their country. Within a week or two, cut off from supplies, and without resources, with the Baku Tatars actively assisting Turkey in the East, the Georgian Republic was obliged to fulfil the terms of the Treaty of Brest-Litovsk and cede to Turkey the disputed districts of Batum, Ardahan, Akhalkalaki, and Akhaltsikh.

Meanwhile the Armenians and Tatars also claim to have established separate independent republics, with capitals respectively at Erivan and Baku. The capital of the Georgian Republic is at Tiflis.

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175 The influence on history of this formidable range of the Caucasus has been profound. To the Ancients the Caucasus represented the confines of geographical knowledge; all that lay beyond was mystery and darkness, "the Land of Gog and Magog." The Caucasus protected Southern Asia like a wall. It divided the Eastern World into two: to the north was the land of the Nomads, while to the south the peoples of the Mesopotamian river-valleys and of the Mediterranean coast-lands developed their civilisations, for centuries undisturbed. And when during the first millennium B.C. the Aryan tribes broke in upon the Mediterranean and Semitic races, the Caucasus, as a rampart along the bridge between the Euxine and the Caspian, deflected their course. The Aryans were compelled, by a great circular movement, to sweep down on Iran and India by the steppes to the east of the Caspian, and to enter Asia Minor by Scythia, Thrace and the Bosporus. A thousand years later a fresh wave of nomads, Teutonic, Slavonic and Turki, found the Caucasus obstructing their road into Persia and Roman Asia, and rode on across Scythia into the Balkans and Western Europe. And after another thousand years Seljuk Turks and Mongols, by breaking into the Perso-Arab Empire on its north-eastern frontier, at last took the wall by a great flank march.

175 133 There were two gaps in the mountain-wall which gave possible access to the south to an invader from the north. The first was the deep gorge through the central mountains, the Daryal—Dar-i-Alan, the "Alan road," the Iberian Gates of the Ancients; the second was the swampy littoral of the Caspian, which constituted a passage-way between the mountains and the sea, and which at one point—the Derbend of the Persians, the Bab-al-Abwab of the Arabs, the Caspian Gates of the Romans—narrowed to two miles. These two points every energetic ruler of Iran or Armenia was careful to control. Hence the valley of the Kur constituted a frontier march to the kings of South-west Asia, and its history is mainly a history of war, of incursions by the northern peoples and of counter-attacks against them, or of mutual rivalry for control on the part of the rulers of Iran and Asia Minor.

As the Caucasus was the strategic focus of the struggle between the settled folk of Southern Asia and the nomads of the northern plain, so the Armenian Plateau was the subject of perennial conflict between the rulers of Asia Minor and of Persia. From Lake Gökcha (Sevan) to the Taurus the Armenian passes command all the roads into Persia, Meso-

1 [see cat. 116, p171 -- Analyst]

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potamia, Syria and Egypt, and from the Anti-Taurus to the 175
upper waters of the Halys and the Lycus they give access to 133
all Western Asia Minor, the wealthiest lands of the lords of Constantinople. Thus, both for reasons of trade and of war, neither the rulers of Iran nor of Asia Minor have dared to allow their rival to establish control of the Armenian Plateau. The history of Armenia and the adjacent lands is therefore mainly a record of a tedious and always indecisive struggle for control between their neighbours of the West and of the East. Rome and Parthia, Byzantium and Persia, Byzantium and the Eastern Khalifat, Seljuk and Mongol, Osmanli and Persian, have in turn fought for the control and have wasted their manhood and their wealth in the struggle. In all these wars the valleys of the Rion and the Kur have constituted a route by which the western and eastern combatants have endeavoured alternately to outflank the other.

If these age-long wars were exhausting to the contending 175
Empires, they were disastrous to the peoples inhabiting the disputed lands. They have had a radical effect on the development of the two suffering races, Armenians and Georgians. The history of these two races may be divided into three phases: firstly, the long periods when they were under the political influence, but not under the direct domination, of their eastern, western or northern neighbours; secondly, the shorter period when they were under the actual rule of a foreign race, and formed an integral part either of the Arab, the Byzantine, the Mongol, the Turkish, the Persian or the Russian Empires; and thirdly, the brief periods when political upheavals affecting one or all of their neighbours have allowed them to establish their complete independence.

And if Armenian and Georgian history is mainly a record 181
of treachery, violence and cruelty, it is well to remember that both races were involved in a struggle in which they had no interest, and in which each combatant came as an invader. Also it must be remembered that perpetual warfare prevents the development of all culture, and produces as the dominant types, not the progressive statesman, the enlightened scholar, the prosperous merchant, and the industrious peasant, but the ambitious soldier of fortune, the time-serving politician who must always apprehend a change of masters, the merchant who has no security for his trade and must bribe for his safety, and the peasant driven desperate by oppression, who finds brigandage or service in foreign armies more remunerative than sowing for the invader to reap or burn.

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# A. HISTORY

## SECTION I—GEORGIA AND THE CAUCASUS

### I

### A GLANCE AT CAUCASIAN HISTORY UP TO THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

175 THE earliest inhabitants of Transcaucasia appear to have been a semi-troglodytic race of neither Semitic, Aryan nor Turanian stock. It is reasonable to suppose that the tribes were linguistically and physically connected with, and under the occasional political influence of, the Hittites, whose sway extended over Western and Central Asia Minor, and who then (*c.* 1100 B.C.) represented the most cultured portion of the races of that portion of the globe.

Several centuries before the Christian era the influx of Aryan tribes from the west and of Semitic peoples from the valleys of Mesopotamia had assimilated these early tribes; and Trans-Caucasia passed with the rest of Western Asia under the domination of the Persian King of Kings. From henceforward its history was fated to be a succession of invasions and counter-invasions which left it little peace and little time for normal development.

Persian control and cultural influence lasted for some 300 years, until the victories of Alexander of Macedon removed the overlord and eventually left a somewhat legendary King Pharnavaz trying to organise an independent kingdom in what is now Georgia—but in vain. The country next fell under the sway of Mithridates King of Pontus; and the defeat of the latter by Pompey in 65 B.C. brought Transcaucasia into direct relations with the Roman world and with the Greeks, who through their traders had founded colonies in the rich West Georgian lands of Colchis and Phasis as early as the seventh century B.C. Commerce of East and West gradually began to open up the country; but its development was delayed by the

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perpetual wars between the Eastern Roman and Persian Empires which for so many years ravaged the fair lands of Asia Minor. 175

The first important period in Caucasian history is the latter half of the fifth century, when a powerful local king, Vakhtang Gurgaslan (434–467), finally established the supremacy of the new Christian religion, and removed his capital from Mtskhet to its present site at Tiflis. A hundred years later Western Georgia[1] became a Roman province under Justinian; and in 622 the severe defeat of the Persians by the Emperor Heraclius bred hopes of a long period of tranquillity. [795]

But in vain. Only fifteen years later an invasion of Arabs from the south overran the country, and the Moslem conquerors penetrated even into the mountain-ranges of the Caucasus itself. They failed, however, to establish themselves west of the Suram ridge, and under the rule of their own Bagratid Kings the Georgians to the west and south-west flourished amazingly. The next invasion was that of the Seljuks in 1072; but the First Crusade attracted these unwelcome visitors away to defend the south-west, and a Golden Age of comparative prosperity ensued for Georgia, lasting for 120 years and more. Of the monarchs who reigned during that era none is more celebrated than the wonderful Queen Thamara, of whom legend has made an almost celestial figure of beauty, wisdom and virtue. And indeed she appears to have been a woman remarkable for her moderation, humanity and personal culture. At her death in 1212 Georgia was predominant in the Caucasus, her authority extending from the Black Sea almost to the Caspian, and from the main range of the Caucasus to the Araxes and the Upper Chorokh.

Her successors were not so fortunate. Eight years after her death a vast horde of Mongols appeared from the south-east, where, after pursuing the fugitive Shah Ala-ud-Din to the Caspian, they had devastated all Northern Persia. In the following year they advanced on Tiflis and cut to pieces a Georgian army which had rapidly been collected by King Giorgi Lasha. In 1223 they reappeared, ravaged Southern Georgia and moved on into Russia by the gap of Derbend. On this Queen Rusudan, daughter of Thamara, took advantage of the recent Persian disaster and attacked the Persians. She was however heavily defeated by Shah Jelal-ud-Din, who advanced to Tiflis and sacked it. Five years afterwards the

[1] The name of Jorzan, a tribe in the Upper Kur Valley, appears first to have been applied by the Arabs to the whole country. The name Georgia is in no way derived from the Greek.

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175 Mongols came back and occupied the country; and had it not been for the tact of one of the nobles (Avak Mkhargrdzelidze by name) in securing the patronage of the great Khan Ogotai, the land would have been overwhelmed in the general ruin of Central Asia and Persia. By 1247 the whole of Georgia had passed definitely under the control of the Mongols. The latter however left the administration in the hands of the natives, contenting themselves merely with taking heavy tribute from the country, commandeering whatever happened to suit their fancy, and compulsorily enrolling in their forces large numbers of the young men, many of whom were by no means averse from a life of fighting and opportunities for plunder and distinction.

During the middle third of the fourteenth century conditions in Georgia steadily improved; but at the end of that century she again received a heavy set-back through the invasion of Timur Leng (Tamerlane), who ravaged the country during the last decade, and through the appearance of the Black Death, which swept away thousands of the inhabitants. Meanwhile the Osmanli had appeared on the scene, and the old struggle for the Armenian Plateau began again, this time between the Persians and the followers of Othman. The seizure of Constantinople by the Turks in 1453 cut off the Caucasians from all contact with Western civilisation, and the Georgians were for a time hard set to maintain their religion and their existence against attacks by the Moslem nations on either side of them. None of these combatants however permanently held Central Transcaucasia, and the Georgian princes of Mingrelia, Imeretia, Karthalinia and Kakhetia, by opportunist diplomacy and careful treachery, succeeded in maintaining a limited independence. But the difficulties incurred by alternately conciliating and defying the Sultan or the Shah required that the different parts of the country should be sufficiently independent of the others to be able to pursue an exclusive policy in accordance with local conditions and with their comparative propinquity to Persian or Turk. Thus the former Kingdom of Georgia was divided into seven or eight mutually independent districts, all owing allegiance in varying degrees to one of the two Mussulman Empires, and all loosely united by common ties of religion and language.

It would be wearisome to record at length the details of the sordid history of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, and it will be sufficient to indicate the broader division of the principalities and the respective positions of the two

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Mussulman States towards the close of the seventeenth century.

Persia at that time exercised a comparatively effective suzerainty over the Mussulman Khans of Eastern Transcaucasia, and controlled on her northern frontier Derbend, and on her western the fortresses of Ganja and Erivan, respectively commanding the routes into North-west Persia by the valleys of the Kur, the Arpa Chai, and the Araxes. The King of Karthalinia and Somkhetia, a descendant of Giorgi, son of Alexander, the last King of all Georgia, was the vassal and nominee of the Persian Shah, and was under the obligation to profess an official devotion to the tenets of Islam. The King of Kakhetia, a descendant of Alexander's son Dmitri, was also a vassal of the Shah, but—owing to the remoteness of his possessions and to the proximity to the mountains of his chief towns, Telav and Signakh—was less pliant and often defiant. In the region south of Daryal the family of Bibelur, Kabards by extraction, and *eristavs*[1] of Ksan and the Araghva, were virtually independent of both the Kings of Karthalinia and of Kakhetia. To the west, in the upper valleys of the Rion and the Ingur, the Svanetians remained almost isolated from the Georgians of the south, and virtually independent under the Dadians—the Georgian family of Ghelovani—until the end of the seventeenth century, and later the Kabardan family of Dadish Kilian. To the south-east of Svanetia the district of Radsha, under eristavs of the family of Chkeidze, were nominal dependents of the Dadians of Mingrelia. To the north-west the Abkhazians maintained complete independence, under princes of the family of Sharvashidze, claiming descent from members of the family of the Shirvan-Shah exiled to Abhazia during the reign of David the Restorer. In South-western Georgia Turkish influence was predominant.

During the sixteenth century the Turks had occupied the valley of the Chorokh; Ahkaltsikh had fallen into their hands in 1545; Ardahan and Ardanuch in 1550; two years later they had built a fortress at Kars, to command any Persian advance from Erivan up the valley of the Arpa Chai. The Georgian mountain-tribes of the Chorokh region, Lazes and Ajars, became completely Muhammadanised, and the Georgian family of Jaquel, *Atabegs* of Akhaltsikh, acquired the position of hereditary Pashas of the fortress of Akhaltsikh. The Turks never established themselves beyond the Ajar hills; and for this Sir John Chardin gives as a reason that the staple diet of

[1] Nobles.

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175 the lowlanders—pork and wine—was unsuitable to the soldiers of the Khalif and unfavourable to the propagation of Islam. However this may be, Guria, the lowland strip between the Ajar hills and the Rion, was tributary to the Turks, and the Guriels, of the Svanetian family of Varvanidze, whose seat was Ozurgeti, generally brought a contingent into the field to support the Pasha of Akhaltsikh. The Dadians of Mingrelia, of the family of Chikhovan, and the Kings of Imeretia, descendants of David Narin, with their seat at Kutais, were subject to the Turks in approximately the same degree as the rulers of Karthalinia and Kakhetia were to the Persians, and in such a position were alternately the allies and the victims of the Sultan.

To sum up—at the end of the seventeenth century the Persians ruled South-eastern Transcaucasia and dominated Karthalinia and Kakhetia; the Turks held the valley of the Chorokh and virtually controlled Guria, Mingrelia and Imeretia. The northern districts of the Araghva, Svanetia and Abkhazia were in practice independent. Finally, the mountain tribes—the Cherkesses, Kabards, Ossets, Chechens, and Lesghians—recognised no authority, but alternately raided the territories of, or allied themselves with, one or other of the three Bagratid Kings in Georgia.

## II

### SOCIAL ORGANISATION, MANNERS AND CUSTOMS 1

101 It will have been noticed that the above historical sketch deals chiefly with Georgia—that somewhat vague but fertile territory lying south of the Caucasian Range and watered by the Rion to the west and the upper stream of the Kur and its tributaries to the east—whilst little or no space has been devoted to the inhabitants of the mountains themselves. The reason is fairly apparent, for we may say that these mountain tribes, at all events during the period with which we have been dealing, have had no history worth recording. Living as they did in their rough mountain fastnesses, cut off from each other not only by the difficulties of their surroundings but by the immense variety of different languages that they spoke, the only matter of interest in their communications with the outer world lay in the spheres of commerce and religion; and on these we shall touch in the process of description.

The mountain tribes of the Caucasus may be classified for practical purposes in two main groups, those of the Western

1 [see cat. 116, pp. 169-176 -- Analyst]

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## III

## THE COMING OF THE RUSSIANS

At the beginning of the sixteenth century, when the Tsars 175
of Moscow had finally thrown off the yoke of the Golden Horde and established a nucleus of the Russian State, they found themselves confronted on the west by an aggressive Poland, dominating many hundreds of miles of Russian land, on the north-west by a Sweden which controlled all the Baltic coast, on the south by a Turkey which choked any development towards the Black Sea. Each of these three Powers in turn aspired to dominate Russian politics; the first two supported their pretenders to the Russian Crown, the third periodically sent the Crim Khans to burn Moscow, Kursk or Orel, and ravage all the broad lands around. In such circumstances did the Muscovite Tsars evolve the vast strategic plan the ultimate object of which was to be the control of their own gates—of the Baltic and the Black Seas. And the history of Russian expansion has been the history of the development of this plan, of the great agricultural lords of Muscovy directing the march of their peasant soldiers towards the river-mouths, that they might sell their grain and hides and minerals without the warranty of Swede or Pole or Turk.

On the vast southern front of the Russian State the expansion assumed the form of a struggle with the Ottoman Porte for the control of the Black Sea, which may be divided into two phases: the wars to acquire the Crimea and the mouths of the Don, Dnieper and Dniester; and the wars to secure the western and eastern flanks and the fortress commanding the entrance to the inland sea—the Balkans, the Caucasus and Constantinople.

The first bands of Cossacks, the forerunners of the Russians, 175
appeared in the steppes to the north of the Caucasus in the 563
beginning of the 16th century. They settled along the northern banks of the Sunja, and along the Lower Terek, founding Tarku and Andreyevo. These received the names of Grebenski (*greben*, "a ridge") and Terek Cossacks. They mixed much with the adjoining Kabardan and Chechen tribes, and acquired many of their customs and methods of agriculture. "The Cossacks of that day," says Baddeley, "were probably at most the equals in civilisation of the Chechens and Kumiks, and certainly the inferior of the Adighé, to whom belonged

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175 563 the Kabardian princes and people." It was not until the beginning of the eighteenth century that the Grebentsi and Terek Cossacks felt the effective power of the Tsar, but in 1712 Peter the Great's celebrated admiral, Apraxin, received their official submission, and five years later they furnished a contingent for the ill-fated Khivan expedition of Bekovich-Cherkasski.

175 The gradual approach of Russia to the Northern Caucasus was of considerable interest to the Georgian princes. They saw in allegiance to the Tsar an alternative to the humiliating necessity of perennially seeking the patronage or protection of either of the two Mussulman Powers, and the more patriotic looked forward to the possibility of liberating and reuniting their country with the support of the great Orthodox Tsar. As early as 1586 King Alexander of Kakhetia had applied for Russian help against the Shamkhal of Tarku. A Russian expedition under the Boyar Khvorostin was cut to pieces by the Shamkhal (1594), but Tsar Feodor Ivanovich nevertheless assumed, somewhat prematurely, the title of "Lord of the Iberian Land, of the Tsars of Georgia, of Kabarda, of the Cherkess and Mountain Princes." The Shamkhal destroyed another Russian force in 1599, and the brief *rapprochement* between Russia and Georgia was terminated by the death of two of the principals to a dual marriage which had been intended to unite the families of Tsar Boris Godunov and of the Karthalinian Bagratids.

Throughout the seventeenth century intrigues continued without any definite results between the Russians and the Georgian princes. The heroic King Taimuraz of Kakhetia spent a long and arduous life in a struggle against the Persians and in vain journeyings both to Constantinople and to Moscow, to solicit foreign assistance. The Russians sent a mission on one occasion to Kutais (1653), and a few years later (1664) intervened at Isfahan in favour of a Georgian King who had, as a matter of fact, already been assassinated. But throughout the seventeenth century they had not the power, had they the will, to try conclusions with Persia or Turkey in Transcaucasia.

In 1722 Peter the Great, having pursued a chequered career of conquest against the Swedes on the Baltic and the Turks on the Black Sea, directed his attention to Persia and the Caspian. In Persia the last of the Safavid Shahs were confronted with civil war and a desperate Afghan invasion, and Peter took advantage of the anarchy by making an attack on Russian property at Shemakha the excuse for invading the

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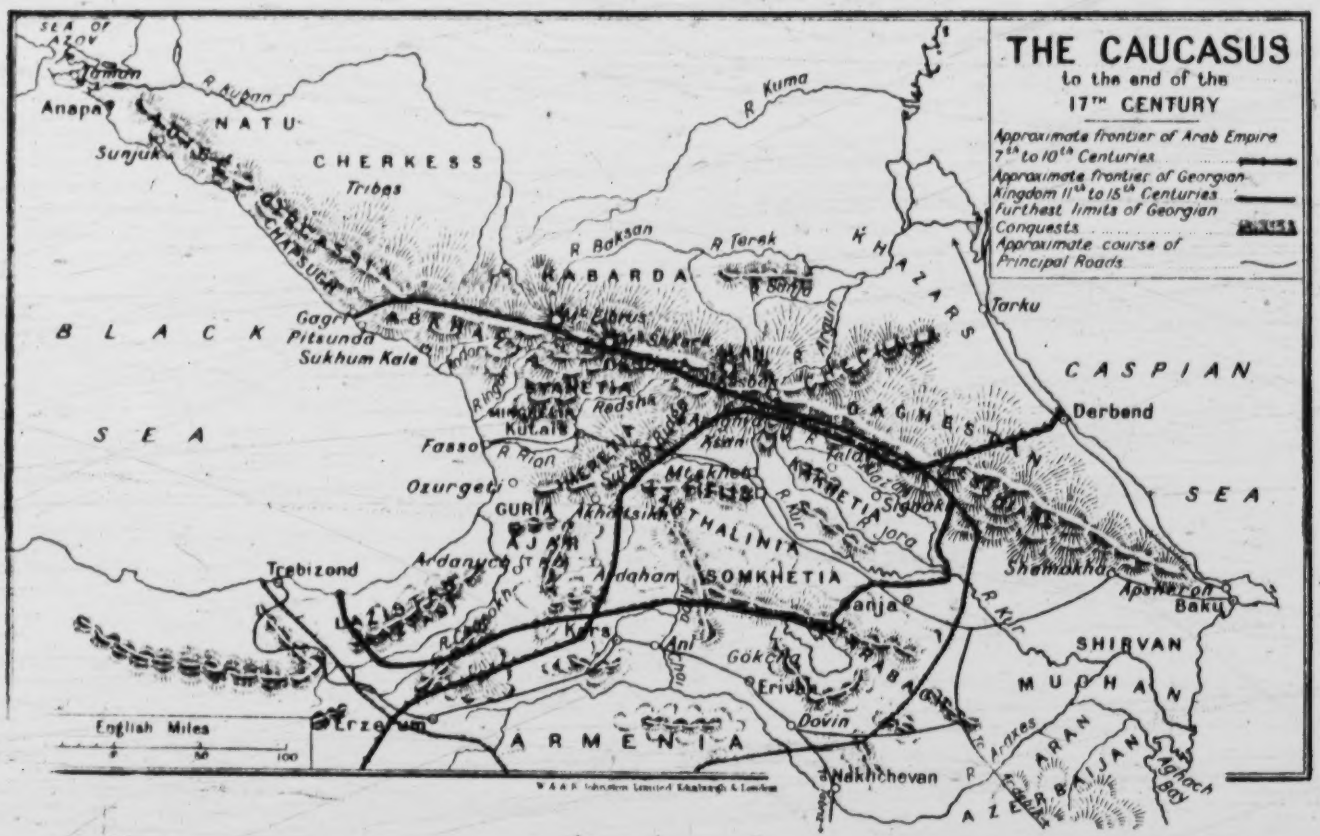


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●175 North-western Provinces of the Shah. The objects of his campaign were essentially maritime—i.e. the control of the Caspian littoral—and he confined his operations to the coast without interesting himself in Georgian affairs.

In the late summer of 1722 Peter sailed with a flotilla from Astrakhan, supported by about 30,000 regular troops and 70,000 Cossacks, who moved along the coast. He occupied Tarku, the Shamkhal's capital, unopposed, and after defeating the Utsmi of Karakaitagh received the submission of Derbend. In the autumn Peter returned to Moscow, but in the following year General Matushkin occupied the Khanates of Baku and Shirvan (capital Shemakha) and Resht, with all the Persian littoral of Gilan and Mazanderan. At the same time the Turks, acting in alliance with the Russians, occupied Tiflis, Erivan, Tabriz and Hamadan.

Hostilities dragged on until 1732. Peter was then dead, and the military power of Persia was revived under Nadir Shah, who had inflicted several defeats on the invading Turks. Further, the Russians were suffering severe casualties from malaria along the unhealthy southern coast of the Caspian. Accordingly in 1732, by the Treaty of Resht, the Empress Anne restored to Persia all territories south of the Kur. Three years later, war with Turkey on the Danube being inevitable, the Russians consented to retire to the Terek, leaving Baku and Derbend to Nadir Shah (Treaty of Ganja, 1735). This surrender was occasioned by the fear of a Turko-Persian coalition against them in Transcaucasia, and with the object of allowing Nadir to establish himself in Georgia to the disadvantage of the Turks.

For nearly a quarter of a century the affairs of Europe occupied the whole military strength of Russia, and the defence of Russian interests in the Caucasus was left to the plucky Cossack settlers along the Terek.

In 1763 the Treaty of Versailles achieved a temporary settlement of the affairs of Western Europe, and left Austria, Prussia and Russia free to pursue their schemes in the East. The Russian Empress, Catherine II, immediately began to develop the expansionist policy of Peter the Great, on her western frontier by the partition of Poland and on her southern frontiers by an attempted dismemberment of Turkey.

On the eastern side of the Black Sea the Russians, in preparation for a war with the Turks, began to strengthen the Cossack Line, and in 1765 built Mozdok, a proceeding which incurred the hostility of the Kabards.

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175 The situation in Transcaucasia had, since the Treaty of Ganja, been modified in favour of the Turks. The death of Nadir Shah (1747) flung Persia again into anarchy, and while the Turks entered all Western Georgia and reoccupied Kutais and Shorapan, the Karthalinian King Taimuraz and his son Irakli made themselves independent in Tiflis and seized the Mussulman towns of Erivan and Ganja. Taimuraz however was no less hostile to the Turks than to the Persians, and in 1760 he undertook a visit to Russia, where he died.

When the first Russo-Turkish War broke out in 1768, the Turkish troops on the Kuban coast attacked the Cossack Line, while their Kabardan allies sacked Kisliar, on the Caspian. On the other hand Todleben, the celebrated captor of Berlin (in 1760), crossing the Daryal with 400 men and four guns, entered Tiflis (1769). In conjunction with Georgian forces he then ousted the Turks from Kutais and Bagdat and laid siege to the Turkish fort at Poti. But here mutual differences between the Kings of Imeretia and Karthalinia and the Russian General made further operations impossible, and the Russians retired to the Line. By the Treaty of Kuchuk Kainarji (1774) both Turks and Russians were to leave Imeretia and Mingrelia independent.

During the period of fifteen years which elapsed before Russo-Turkish hostilities were renewed the Russians were engaged in strengthening and extending the Cossack Line, and in consolidating their influence in the Northern Caucasus by expelling the natives and encouraging the settlement of Cossack families. The fortresses of Ekaterinograd, Giorgievsk and Stavropol were founded, and a line of forts and Cossack villages united Mozdok with the Sea of Azov.

By the Treaty of Kuchuk Kainarji the Russians had expelled the Turks from the Crimea, and in 1784 they definitely annexed that peninsula. Nevertheless the Turks still controlled the whole eastern coast of the Black Sea, and held fortified posts at Anapa, Sukhum-Kale, Anaklia, Poti and elsewhere. These posts were a continual menace to the Russians, for their possession enabled the Turks to communicate with, to arm and to incite the mountain tribes.

The aggressive policy of Russia in the Northern Caucasus had already begun to disturb the minds of all the tribal chiefs, and, mutually hostile as they had always been, they gradually began to tend to combination, and, for lack of common ideals of national patriotism, Islam became the organ of their union. The brutal massacre of the Nogai Tatars at Yeisk in 1784, a

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sequel to the annexation of the Crimea, at last roused the tribes to common action. The remnants of the Nogais and the Cherkesses attacked the Russians in the Western Caucasus. But next year a sinister development occurred farther to the east. A prophet, Sheikh Mansur,[1] suddenly appeared at Aldi in Chechnia, preaching a Ghazavat or Holy War against the Christians. A Russian force took and burnt Aldi, but Sheikh Mansur later attacked in the forests and practically annihilated it. The news of his success brought him thousands of followers from Kabarda, Chechnia, Daghestan and the Kumik steppe, and he proceeded to attack Kisliar and other Russian forts. He was, however, defeated at Tatarub in Kabarda, and his heterogeneous force scattered. Sheikh Mansur then fled to the Western Caucasus, where he was welcomed by the Cherkesses.

In 1787 hostilities between Russia and Turkey were renewed, and the Russians sent three columns against the Cherkesses, which succeeded in breaking up their bands. Sheikh Mansur took refuge with the Turks at Anapa, against which stronghold the Russians made two unsuccessful attacks (1788 and 1789). As a result of these failures the Turks took the offensive, and the Seraskier Batal Pasha, landing in the Kuban, advanced against the weak and demoralised Russians with a force of 40,000 men. He was however defeated by the comparatively insignificant corps of Generals Hermann and Rosen, and next year (1790) the Russians stormed Anapa. Here Sheikh Mansur was at last trapped, and sent to end his days in the monastery of Soloviets on the White Sea. A year later the Treaty of Jassy terminated the war, and restored to Turkey her losses in the Kuban.

Meanwhile the Russians had become involved in heavy liabilities in Transcaucasia. In 1783 Irakli II—whose dominions included all Karthalinia and Kakhetia—fearing the revival of Persian aggression against Georgia, concluded with Catherine's representative the Act of Gori (July 24) by which he recognised the suzerainty of Russia, conditional on the support of Russian troops. Count Paul Potemkin, a cousin of the Empress's favourite, who had recently been appointed first Viceroy of the Caucasus, immediately proceeded to consolidate the alliance by the construction of a military road across the Daryal Pass, and a fort at the northern embouchure,

[1] The origin of this remarkable man is obscure. He is supposed to have been an Italian renegade from Montferrat, the son of a notary. See Baddeley, pp. 47-9 and note.

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175 which received the name of Vladikavkaz—"Conqueror of the Caucasus."

In the late autumn a garrison of two Russian battalions with four guns arrived at Tiflis. "The day was cold and gloomy, and the shivering Georgians remarked that their new friends had brought their climate with them; but they had brought something else, it was thought—or at least hoped—permanent protection, that is against the Tatars and Persians—and the sorely-tried inhabitants of Tiflis rejoiced accordingly."[1] On January 25, 1784 Catherine's Proclamation of suzerainty over Georgia was published, but the Russian troops were soon afterwards withdrawn, and King Irakli was left to his own resources.

In 1795 the new Persian Shah, Agha Muhammad Khan, prepared to re-establish Persian influence in the whole of Transcaucasia. He laid siege to the Georgian fortresses of Erivan, Shusha and Ganja, defeated a Georgian army in the field, and delivered up Tiflis to a six days' sack. The gallant old Irakli, deserted by all his sons, fled to Ananur, where he organised a small army and next year recaptured Tiflis. The Russians now intervened and occupied all the country as far as the Araxes, but the accession of the Emperor Paul caused a reversal of policy, and they suddenly retired to the Terek. The Persians again prepared to invade Georgia, but the murder of Agha Muhammad (1797) delayed operations. The new King of Georgia, Giorgi XIII, appealed for Russian protection, while his brother, Alexander, who pretended to the throne, joined the Persians. The latter, in conjunction with a Lesghian horde under Omar, Khan of the Avars, invaded Georgia but the arrival of a Russian force caused them to retire, while Omar was defeated at the junction of the Jora and the Alazan.

The danger was past, but Giorgi, who lay dying of dropsy at Tiflis, sent an embassy to St. Petersburg to beg the Emperor Paul to accept the Georgian Crown. On December 18, 1800 the Emperor's manifesto in compliance was published.

In 1803 Prince Tsitsianov, a Georgian by extraction, came to Tiflis to organise the Russian administration. He proved a most vigorous and capable man, and during his brief régime he did much to establish the power of Russia in Transcaucasia. "He found his unhappy country, untaught by the bitter past, still a prey to internal dissensions. . . . Convinced, therefore, that the safety and future well-being of the Khartvel race depended on the reunion of its component parts under Russian

[1] Baddeley, p. 21.

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rule, he exerted himself whole-heartedly for the extension of that rule."[1]

During the following ten years Russian power was consolidated and extended in the Caucasus by a number of brilliant officers, who successfully overcame the enormous difficulties involved in the organisation of the devastated Georgian Provinces, in the subjugation of mountain-tribes, and in resistance to the greatly superior military forces of Persia and Turkey. At this time Russia was engaged in a series of foreign wars which required the concentration of all her strength in Europe, with the result that the armed forces at the disposal of the authorities in the Caucasus were always ridiculously inadequate. "One hardly knows which to wonder at most," comments Baddeley, "the heroic tenacity of the Muscovite troops under such leaders as Kotliarevski, Portniagin and others, or the hopeless incompetence of the various Mussulman Powers, great and small, who, with everything in their favour, not only failed to throw back the northern invaders to the line of the Terek and the Kuban, but, beaten time after time by vastly inferior forces, lost ground in every direction."

To summarise the Russian operations during the years 1803 to 1813: in 1803 the Dadian of Mingrelia[2] was induced by Tsitsianov to surrender his sovereignty to Russia; in 1804 Imeretia was proclaimed a Russian Province, although it was not finally annexed until 1810; in the same year the turbulent Jaro-Bielokanis submitted, and the petty Lesghian sultanates of Elisu and Samukh were annexed; the Russians also occupied the Tatar Khanates of Ganja, Shusha and Nukha. But in 1806 Tsitsianov was assassinated during an unsuccessful attempt to take Baku; and in 1812 a Persian victory at Sultanbuda, and Georgian risings at Tiflis, Telav and Signakh seriously threatened Russian rule in the Caucasus at the moment when Napoleon was marching on Moscow. In the same year however the repulse of an Osset advance on Tiflis, the final defeat of the Georgian pretender Alexander in Daghestan, and a great victory won by Kotliarevski over a superior Persian force at Aslanduz on the Araxes restored the situation. In 1813 the discomfiture of the Persians was completed by Kotliarevski's occupation of Lenkoran, the capital of the Khanate of Talish and by the defeat of the Khan of Erivan. Finally, through the intervention of Sir Gore Ouseley, the British Minister at Tehran, the Treaty of Gulistan was concluded between Persia and

[1] Baddeley, p. 63.
[2] Svanetia was only formally incorporated in the Russian Empire in 1833.

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175 Russia. Persia ceded the Khanates of Karabagh (Shusha), Ganja (renamed by the Russians Elisavetopol), Sheki (Nukha), Shirvan (Shemakha), Derbend, Kuba and Baku, together with Lenkoran and part of the Khanate of Talish. Further, Persia relinquished all claims over Georgia, Mingrelia, Imeretia and Abkhazia.

During the same year the Russians subdued the Khevsars, capturing their stronghold, Shatil.

A campaign with varying fortunes had been waged against Turkey from 1807 to 1812, in the course of which the Russians had taken Anaklia and Anapa (1807), Poti (1808) and Akhalkalaki (1811), while they received the submission of Guria and Abkhazia with Sukhum Kale in 1810. In 1812 however the Emperor Alexander I, anxious for Turkish neutrality during the war with Napoleon, concluded the Treaty of Bucharest, by which Anapa, Poti and Akhalkalaki were restored to the Turks.

In 1825 Abbas Mirza, the able and ambitious son of Fath' Ali Shah, made one more attempt to recover the possessions of Persia in Transcaucasia. He was angry at the arrogant and uncompromising attitude of the Russian Viceroy Yermolov with regard to certain outstanding details of the Treaty of Gulistan, and further was confident that risings among the mountain-tribes and the discontents among the Tatar begs in the newly-annexed Khanates would seriously jeopardise the Russian position. The campaign opened well for the Persians. The distinguished Yermolov acted with strange irresolution, and he lacked regular reserves; a small Russian force capitulated at Akh-Kara-Chai; Ganja and Lenkoran fell; and Baku, Shusha and Gumri (Aleksandropol) were blockaded. However, with the arrival of Paskievich (1826) in the Caucasus and the virtual dismissal of Yermolov the situation changed. The Persians were defeated at Shamkhor and Akstafa; and Paskievich laid siege to Erivan and occupied Nakhichevan. A Persian attack on Echmiadzin was repulsed; and while Erivan capitulated, a small Russian force seized Tabriz, the provincial capital of Abbas Mirza. The Russians then advanced to Urmia and Ardebil, and Abbas Mirza sued for peace. The Treaty of Turkmanchai (1827) gave the Khanates of Erivan, Nakhichevan and Southern Talish to Russia, and finally confirmed the exclusion of Persia from Transcaucasia.

In the following year a Russo-Turkish war broke out, and the Russians after two campaigns succeeded in occupying Anapa, Guria with Poti, and the Pashalik of Akhaltsikh with

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the towns of Akhaltsikh, Akhalkalaki and Khertvis; and advanced as far as Erzerum and Baiburt. By the Treaty of Adrianople (1828) Russia remained in possession of Anapa, and all Guria and the Pashalik of Akhaltsikh. 175

Thus, in three-quarters of a century of war the Russian frontiers had been advanced from the Kuban and the Terek to the Chorokh and the Araxes, and she came into the possession of a territory whose economic possibilities had yet to be realised and whose strategic position gave to her the opportunity of dominating the policies both of Persia and of Turkey.

## IV

## THE MOUNTAIN WAR (1816–1864)

DURING the thirty years in which the conquest of Transcaucasia was in process, the Russians were engaged simultaneously in organising the vast territories in the North Caucasus which had come under their rule through the gradual settlement of Cossack bands, the expulsion of the native nomad tribes, and the exclusion of the Turks. Until the middle of the eighteenth century the Cossacks of the Terek had been virtually independent and associated freely with the native tribes, with whom they came into conflict in mutual raids, but with whom their relations were no more hostile than were those of the tribes with each other. But as the power of the central authority increased, the dividing line between the Cossacks and the Caucasian tribes became more distinct. On the one hand the Cossacks were organised into *voiskos* or military divisions, and in 1816 forfeited the right of electing their own *atamans*. On the other hand the native tribes, who had fraternised with the free Cossack communities, regarded with suspicion that Muscovite Government which had treated with such harshness the Lowland Tatars and which seemed determined to check the raiding expeditions which had been their occupation for centuries. 175 563 721

Further, the Turkish wars and the constant propaganda of Mussulman mullahs tended to accentuate their distrust and to arouse their fanaticism. The continued independence and hostility of the mountaineers were intolerable to the Russian Government. On the one hand the raids of the mountaineers caused considerable harm to the prosperity of the colonists; 175 721

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175 on the other the military power of the tribes was a constant menace to the difficult line of communications with Transcaucasia, a menace the more dangerous when considered in conjunction with the friendly relations between the mountaineers and the Turks, and the latter's naval control of the Black Sea. In 1816 therefore, when Yermolov became Viceroy of the Caucasus, Russia's military obligations in Europe and in Persia being for the moment eased, it was decided to undertake the reduction of the mountain tribes.

726 175 The operations[1] which extended along the whole length of the Cossack Line, a length of over 450 miles, were divided into three groups. On the right flank, the Cherkesses and Abkhazians were to be attacked; on the centre, the Kabards and Ossets; on the left flank the Chechens and the tribes of Daghestan. Of these three groups, the task allotted to the troops on the left flank was the most difficult. The western tribes though brave were not numerous; their strength had been sapped by a plague originally introduced by Turkish sailors, while the central tribes, Kabards and Ossets, had already received some severe lessons and gave little further trouble. The Chechen tribes, however, were numerous and capable guerrilla fighters, while the thick forests covering their hills made difficult any general advance. Daghestan presented still more formidable obstacles. The area inhabited by the troublesome tribes consisted, as we have seen, of a narrow strip of littoral along the Caspian coast and an elevated table-land, through which a large number of streams had cut channels of a great depth, the whole rising south and west to lofty mountain chains, with several peaks of over 13,000 feet in height. The Lesghians, further, were the most 726 361 175 numerous—at the beginning of the war they are estimated to have numbered nearly 2,000,000—and the most highly organised of all the tribes. And when threatened by superior forces, they would retire into their *auls* or fortified villages, situated on the most inaccessible parts of the mountains. These villages were so placed that the artillery of those days could seldom be brought to bear with effect on them, and their capture was only possible by storm—" a formidable business when every individual house has its garrison of desperate men, and still more desperate women. . . . The houses were of stone, two stories high; . . . they were disposed, as far as possible, amphitheatre-wise, so as to enfilade one another, the streets being tortuous and barely wide enough for two horsemen to ride abreast; straddled, too, in places by a house furnished

[1] [i.e., in the Mountain War of 1816-64; see cat 116, p 199 -- Analyst]

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with a wooden bar or portcullis, making passage impossible until the defenders posted there had been ousted or killed." [1] 726 361

In 1818–20 Yermolov commenced operations against the Chechens by the construction of the forts of Grozni ("Threatening") and Vnezapnaia ("Fort Surprise"), while the Armenian General Madatov reduced the Lesghian Khanates of Sheki (with Nukha), Kiuri (with Akhti), Tabasseran, Kara-Kaitagh, Kazi-Kumukh, Khuntzakh (the capital of the Avar), and Akusha (the capital of the Dargo) Khans. In 1822 the central part of the Line was advanced into the Kabardan country, and the tribesmen, ravaged by a fourteen-years' plague, were reduced with cruel severity. Two years later the Chechens were attacked, but succeeded in inflicting several small defeats on the Russians. 175

The tribes were thoroughly roused by the brutal methods of the Russians, who had marched over their hills, burning auls, carrying off flocks, destroying crops and levelling trees, and there now arose at Ghimri in Avar Daghestan two preachers, Kazi [2] Mullah and Sheikh Shamil, who initiated a movement, Muridism, which at first advocated religious reform, temperance and the cessation of blood-feuds, but soon developed into a fierce agitation, at once religious and political, against the Russians. A common danger had at last united the warring tribes, and the leaders of the movement appealed to that fanatical religious feeling which alone could bind together peoples lacking common national traditions and ideals. Shamil was the more remarkable, although Kazi Mullah, until his death, overshadowed him as Imam, or secular head of the Murids. Desperately brave, a devoted husband and father, Shamil was at the same time cruel, treacherous, and jealous of the success of his subordinate chiefs. He frequently showed himself not only a skilful partisan-leader but a clever strategist, while his success in uniting the tribes was due as much to his administrative and organising ability as to his personal magnetism and power of rousing the religious fervour of the mass of the mountaineers by rhetoric and by a clever assumption of religious sanctity. In the latter respect he has been compared to Muhammad, for he showed a deep knowledge of psychology and an understanding of dramatic effect in the mysterious ceremonies, personal flagellations and supposed communings with the Prophet by which he imposed on the credulity and ignorance of his followers. But as his courage, organising ability and cunning laid the foundations of his 175 668 159

[1] Baddeley, ch. xxxii.

[2] Properly Ghazi.

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175 success, so his cruelty, tyranny, injustice, jealousy and nepotism
668 encompassed his downfall. He alone was responsible for the
159 resistance against the best troops and generals of Russia during more than twenty-five years, but he too by his exactions and merciless discipline destroyed the *moral* of the mountaineers and the prestige of the Murids, and brought about the development of that state of mind which eventually made the tribes whom he had led in victory and defeat ready to desert him and to submit to Russian rule.

175 The history of the Russian war against the mountaineers
726 is largely one of raids and counter-raids, of cruel destruction
668 of crops and villages, of massacres and desperate sieges. In outline it may be divided into three phases: (1) 1829–39—including the campaigns of the first and second Imams, Kazi Mullah (1825–32) and Hamzad Beg (1832–4), the election of Shamil as third Imam and the apparent extinction of his power after the Russian capture of his stronghold Akhulgo (1839): (2) 1840–49—covering the period of Shamil's greatest victories, when his authority extended from the Caspian to the Daryal and from Elisu to the walls of Grozni; and (3) 1850–59—when Shamil's popularity was gradually waning, and when the Russians were encroaching into the hitherto impassable mountains by a plan of campaign directed rather against nature than against Shamil, which comprehended the systematic levelling of forests and building of roads and bridges.

Space fails us wherein to describe the operations and the desperate fighting that took place during the first two of these periods. But an account of an eye-witness of the destruction of the great aul of Gerrienchug may be taken as showing the typical and magnificent courage of the mountaineers and the difficulties with which the Russians had to contend. "When the aul was in flames," says the narrator, "the Russian commander proposed to grant quarter to the survivors. The defenders listened to the proposal, conferred together for some minutes, and then a half-naked Chechen, black with smoke, came out and made a short speech, followed by a volley from all the loopholes. What he said was to this effect: 'We want no quarter; the only grace we ask of the Russians is to let our families know that we died as we lived, refusing submission to a foreign yoke.' Orders were now given to fire the houses from all sides. The sun had set and the picture of destruction and ruin was lighted only by the red glow of the flames. The Chechens, firmly resolved to die, set up their death-song, loud at first, but sinking lower and lower as their

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numbers diminished under the influence of fire and smoke." 175
"With hearts like stones," concludes the narrator, "the victors 726
sought the refuge of their tents; and maybe more than one 668
in the depth of his being asked himself, why must such things be? Is there no room for all on this earth, without distinction of speech or faith?"[1]

During the third period (1850–59) the Russians confined 175
themselves to the reduction of the Murids by slower but very 668
efficacious means. In the south they built forts to protect the native States from all invasions; on the north they gradually advanced through Chechnia, and pursued a persistent policy of destroying the forests and of removing the mountain population to the northern steppe. At the same time Shamil's influence was waning. His tyranny bore heavily upon the villagers who, further, were weary of the constant warfare of a nature very different from their traditional raids; and his jealousy and nepotism alienated his lieutenants, the most famous of whom, Haji Murad, deserted to the Russians in 1851, as the result of a plot formed by Shamil against his life.

Simultaneously with the campaign against the eastern 175
tribes the Russians had been engaged in long and tedious hostilities with the Cherkesses and Abkhazians. But the fighting in the Western Caucasus at no time attained to the intensity of that in Daghestan.

The Crimean War, which broke out in 1853, failed even to [66]
revive the fortunes of Shamil. The gross incompetence of [159]
the Turkish commanders in Armenia gave him little opportunity for co-operation, and he confined himself to two inconsiderable raids into Kakhetia. On the west the British fleet bombarded the Cossack posts along the coast, which afforded some relief to the Cherkesses, who still maintained a guerrilla war there.

In the autumn of 1855 a Turkish army of 20,000 men, under Omar Pasha, landed at Sukhum Kale, and after defeating a small Russian force on the Ingur advanced on Kutais. But the autumn rains made further operations by the badly-equipped Turkish army impossible, while the Mingrelians—much to the disgust of Laurence Oliphant, who was accompanying Omar—received the Turks with marked lack of enthusiasm. Omar reached Sugdidi, but was compelled to retire into winter quarters at Sukhum, whence his troops were withdrawn on the conclusion of the war.

At that time anti-Russian feeling was strong in England,

[1] Baddeley, pp. 373–4.

At that time anti-Russian feeling was strong in England

175 and a number of fantastic propositions for the dismemberment
648 of the Muscovite Empire were being published. So influential a man as Lord Stratford de Redcliffe advocated the creation of an independent Circassia at the time of the Treaty of Paris, and in 1862 a number of enthusiastic public meetings at Dundee, Preston and elsewhere welcomed Cherkess deputies, who had come to England to petition the intervention of the Queen. But these efforts were of no avail. The Kars and Ingur campaigns had convinced responsible British statesmen that it was too late to attempt to retard the Russian absorption of the Caucasus, and the Treaty of Paris, by ignoring "the Circassian Question," gave the sanction of Europe to the Russian position in those regions.

175 In 1859 Shamil, deserted by his followers, and surrounded
[66] by Russian forts, was driven from his last stronghold, Veden.
[59] Accompanied only by a hundred faithful *murtazeks*, he fled to the mountainous aul of Gunib in Southern Daghestan, where he subsequently surrendered.[1] The war-weary mountaineers had everywhere laid down their arms; the Russian conquest of the Eastern Caucasus was complete.

Five years later, in 1864, the last resistance of the Cherkesses
175 and Abkhazians was crushed. Nearly 500,000 of these un-
727 fortunate people, together with 100,000 Chechens, emigrated subsequently to Turkey, where the greater number died of disease and starvation.[2] They left their mountain homes a desert, but their place was gradually filled by Bohemian and Cossack immigrants.

During the Russo-Turkish War of 1877–8 there was some unrest amongst the remnants of the western tribes, but Turkish attempts to raise a general insurrection of the Mussulman mountaineers were ineffectual. As a result of the war, the Russians, by the Treaty of Berlin (1878), obtained almost the last remaining areas inhabited by the Caucasian races, Batum and the Ajar hills.

[1] After exile at Kaluga and Kiev, he died on a pilgrimage, at Medina, in 1871.

[2] Some thousand Cherkesses—Chapsughs, Ubikhs, Kabardans and Abkhazians
[66] are settled in the vilayet of Sivas, others in that of Bitlis. The Chechens, after causing much trouble in the vilayets of Kars and Erzerum, finally scattered about the region of Bitlis, Van and Mush, while others settled in the vilayet of Diarbakr.

1 [i.e., during the Crimean War -- Anal. ed.]

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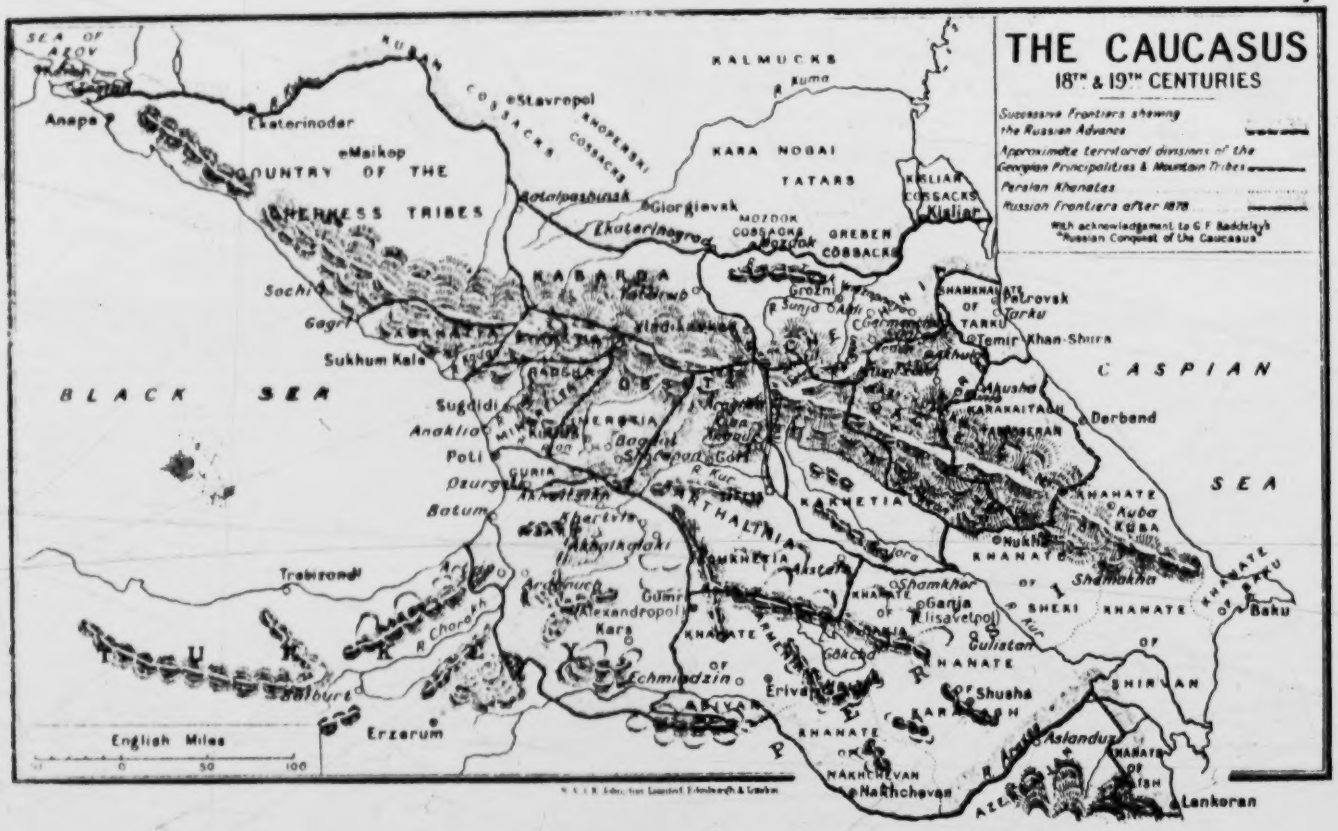


[facing p. 204]

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## V

## NATIONALISM AND SOCIAL REVOLUTION, 1811–1917

175 THE tendencies and results, good and bad, of the Russian system are demonstrated in the history of Russian rule in the Caucasus. The Russians at the beginning of the nineteenth century assumed control of a country whose condition was possibly more anarchical than that of any other part of Asia, whose population was being gradually exterminated by war, plague and famine, whose political organisation and culture had almost collapsed into utter ruin and whose economic possibilities had been completely neglected.

Firstly they gave to the Transcaucasus a military security which it had never before enjoyed. For a hundred years no hostile army approached Tiflis. Consequently it may be claimed that the Russian régime not only gave to the Georgians and Armenians the possibility of developing national prosperity in peace, but preserved those peoples from the virtual extinction which has been the fate of the Armenians and other Christian races whose country lies beyond the Russian borders.

Secondly, Russian rule tended to improve the condition of
175 the individual. The aristocracy, who during the period of
565 Persian hegemony had led lives of idle luxury and undignified subservience to their Mussulman lords, found careers, which were at least healthier and wider, in service in the Russian Army and Civil Service. The peasants, whose lot still left much to be desired, gained on the one hand by the abolition of serfdom within the Russian Empire (1864), on the other by the increased prosperity which followed the development of communications, the establishment of schools and the introduction of modern methods of agriculture. And there developed a prosperous middle-class, for the most part Armenian and Russian, whose political rôle in the Caucasus became increasingly important.

Lastly, the peace imposed by Russian arms permitted the development of the economic resources of the country, with its subsequent general increase of prosperity and population.

But the inherent shortcomings of Russian rule were pro-
643 ductive of grave troubles. The administrative policy was one
631 of centralisation. Until 1882 the Caucasus was ruled by a Viceroy nominated by the Tsar and possessing supreme civil

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# CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE

| | |
|---|---|
| B.C. | |
| 11th to 6th Cent. | Period of Semitic predominance in South-east Asia Minor, and of Aryan invasions. The Caucasians are driven gradually eastward into the basins of the Kur and Aras. The Cimmerians (later the Alans) probably displace the Kabards and Cherkesses from the steppe north of the Caucasus. |
| 6th to 4th Cent. | Persians predominant in Transcaucasia. Development of a feudal system in Iberia.[1] Writing said to have been introduced by King Pharnavaz. |
| 4th to 2nd Cent. | Iberians,[1] Colchians and Albanians[1] virtually independent. Period of much Hellenic commercial activity in the Euxine. |
| 112-64 | The kingdom of the Pontine Arsacids. |
| 64 | Roman suzerainty established over the Albanians, Iberians, and Colchians. |
| A.D. | |
| 1st to 7th Cent. | Period of Roman and Persian struggle for the control of Armenia and Transcaucasia. The kingdoms of Lazica, Iberia and Aghovania subject alternately to Rome and Persia. The barbarian tribes, Alans, Huns, Khazars and others constantly invade the lowlands by the Caspian Gates. The Persians try to establish a defensive line from Derbend to Daryal, to which the Romans occasionally make financial contributions. Christianity introduced into Georgia (4th to 5th centuries) and the Greek Emperors found many churches in the western regions (Pitsunda, Nakalevi, etc.). |
| 628 | Conclusion of last Græco-Persian War. |
| 637 | The Arabs, under Habib, take Erzerum. |
| 639 | Stephanos nominated King of Iberia by the Emperor Heraclius. |
| 639-51 | The Arabs capture Nakhichevan, Dovin, Derbend and Tiflis. Stephanos driven East of the Suram Mountains. The Dido and other Lesghian tribes conquered. |
| 651-733 | Wars between the Arabs and Khazars. Finally Mervan the Obstinate re-establishes the former defensive line Derbend-Daryal. The Lesghians and Alans are subdued and converted to Islam. |
| 8th to early 9th Cent. | Period of great Arab commercial activity and general prosperity in Transcaucasia. |
| 9th Cent. | Gradual decay of the Arab administrative machine. Independent Shahs spring up in Daghestan and Shirvan. The Beni-Jafar Emirs of Tiflis. Orbelians in Kakhetia. |
| 10th Cent. | Rise of the Armenian Bagratids. The kingdoms of Lori and Aghovank. |

[1] See p. 229.

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| A.D. | |
|---|---|
| 125 985 | Bagrat III elected King of Abkhazia. |
| 994 | He succeeds to the kingdom of Tao. |
| 1001 | David, Kuropalat of Basian, leaves his estates to the Byzantine Emperor. |
| 1008 to 1050 | Bagrat III inherits the Karthalinian crown. Period of hostilities between the Georgians and Greeks, the latter gradually absorbing the Armenian principalities. Struggle between the Georgian kings and the feudal houses, chief of whom are the Kakhetian Orbelians. Period of church building. |
| 1048 | The Seljuk Turks defeat a Graeco-Georgian army. |
| 1071 | The Greeks severely defeated at Melasgird. |
| 1072–89 | The Turks constantly invade Georgia; capture Tiflis (1088). |
| 1092–1125 | David the Restorer, during the period of the Crusades, drives out the Turks; subdues the Orbelians (1105); recaptures Tiflis (1122); founds Gori and Ghelathi. |
| Dmitri I, 1125–54 | Period of warfare against the Mussulmans. |
| Giorgi II, 1154–84<br>Thamara, 1184–1212. | Georgian frontiers extended to Kars, Ani, Dovin and Ganja. The Emirs of East Caucasia and the Mountain-princes dependent on the Georgian kings. Much prosperity, church-building and Greek culture among the aristocracy. Age of Rustaveli and the great bards. |
| Giorgi IV, Lasha, 1212–20.<br>Queen Rusudan, 1220–47.<br>David IV, Narin, 1234–93<br>David V, Lasha, 1244–69<br>Dmitri II, 1271–89, And others.<br>Vakhtang II, 1293–1318<br>Giorgi V, the Brilliant, 1318–46<br>David VII, 1346–60.<br>Bagrat V, 1360–95.<br>Giorgi VII, 1395–1407.<br>Alexander I, 1407–42. | Period of Khvarasmian and Mongol Wars. Mongol hegemony established, and Georgian kings nominated by the Il-Khans. Georgia and Mingrelia for a time independent kingdoms, but eventually united under Giorgi the Brilliant. The invasions of the Mountaineers and of the Ottoman Turks. The Black Death (1366) and the campaigns of Timur greatly weaken the country and shake the power of the Monarchy and the Church. |
| 1442–1722 | Georgia is divided into a number of kingdoms and principalities, i.e. Karthalinia and Kakhetia under Persian influence; Akhaltsikh, Guria, Mingrelia and Imeretia under Turkish influence; Ksan and the Araghva, Svanetia, Abkhazia, Radsha and Ossetia virtually independent. |
| 16th Cent. | First Cossack settlements. |
| 1586–96 | Russian operations against Shamkhal of Tarku. |
| 1619–64 | Intrigues of Taimuraz of Kakhetia with the Russians. |
| 1722 | Peter the Great's campaign in the Caucasus. |
| 1735 | Kisliar founded. |
| 1748–97 | Revival of Georgian kingdom under Irakli II. |
| 1769. | Todleben's campaign in Transcaucasia. |
| 1774 | Treaty of Kuchuk Kainarji. |
| To 1779 | Russian organisation of Northern Caucasus. Stavropol and other forts founded. |
| 1783 | The Act of Gori. Daryal road and Vladikavkaz begun. |

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| A.D. | |
|---|---|
| 1785 | The Ghazavat of Sheikh Mansur. |
| 1790 | The Russians storm Anapa. |
| 1791 | Treaty of Jassy. |
| 1795-6 | Persian invasion of Georgia. Agha Muhammad sacks Tiflis. |
| 1796 | Russians occupy country as far as the Aras, but later withdraw. |
| 1799 | The Avars invade Kakhetia. |
| 1800 | Giorgi XII surrenders the Georgian crown to Tsar Paul. |
| 1803-6 | Viceroyalty of Tsitsianov. |
| 1803 | Mingrelia proclaimed a Russian Province. |
| 1807 | Russians capture Anaklia, Anapa and Poti from the Turks. |
| 1810 | Imeretia, Elisu and Samukh annexed. Guria and Abkhazia seek Russian protection. Jaro-Bielokanis subdued. |
| 1811 | Russians capture Akhalkalaki. Georgian Church subordinated to Russian Synod. |
| 1812 | Treaty of Bucharest restores losses to the Turks. Persian victory at Sultan-buda. Risings at Tiflis, Telav and Signakh. Russian victory at Aslanduz. |
| 1813 | Treaty of Gulistan. Russians subdue the Khevsurs. |
| 1818-20 | Yermolov builds Grozni and Vnezapnaia. Madatov reduces the Lesghian Khanates. |
| 1821 | Rising in Imeretia. |
| 1822 | The Kabardans subdued. Rising in Guria. |
| 1825 | Appearance of Kazi-Mullah and Shamil. |
| 1825-7 | Russo-Persian War and Treaty of Turkmanchai. |
| 1827-8 | Russo-Turkish War. Russians acquire Anapa, Poti and the Pashalik of Akhaltsikh by the Treaty of Adrianople. |
| 1829-32 | Russian campaigns against the Murids. Death of Kazi-Mullah, the first Imam. |
| 1834 | Death of Hamzad Beg, the second Imam. |
| 1837 | Shamil proclaimed third Imam. |
| 1839 | Russians take Akhulgo. "The Murid sect has fallen." |
| 1843 | Revival of Muridism. Shamil lays siege to Temir Khan Shura. |
| 1844 | Daniel, Sultan of Elisu, joins Shamil. |
| 1845 | Vorontsov defeated at Dargo in Chechnia, with a loss of nearly 4,000 men. |
| 1846 | Shamil's unsuccessful attempt to invade Kabarda and establish communication with the Western tribes. |
| 1851 | Haji Murad surrenders to the Russians. Decline of Shamil's power. |
| 1853-5 | The Crimean War. Failure of the Allies to co-operate with Shamil. The Kars and Ingur campaigns. |
| 1857 | Agrarian rising in Mingrelia. |
| 1859 | Shamil surrenders at Gunib. |
| 1862 | Cherkess deputies visit England. |
| 1864 | Final submission of the Western tribes. Wholesale emigration, with disastrous results to Turkey. Autonomy of Abkhazia abolished. |
| 1870 | Autonomy of Mingrelia abolished. Poti-Tiflis railway begun. Chiaturi manganese mines developed. |
| 1871 | Death of Shamil at Medina. |
| 1874 | Georgian National Army abolished. |
| 1877-8 | Russo-Turkish War. Insurrections in Circassia and Daghestan easily repressed. The Russians acquire Batum, Ardahan and Kars by the Treaty of Berlin. |

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| A.D. | | |
|---|---|---|
| 175 1880 | | Emigration of the Ajars to the Brusa district. |
| 1883 | | Tiflis-Baku railway begun. |
| 1884 | | Rothschild activity at Batum. Caucasian Viceroyalty abolished. Marxist movement of Gibladze and Ninishvili begins to replace Romantic movement of Chavchavadzé. |
| 1887 | | Conscription applies to the Caucasus. I. Tsereteli founds *Kvali*. |
| 1896 | | Union of Railwaymen founded. Return of N. Jordania from Geneva. |
| 1898 | | Revolt in Chechnia. |
| 1900 | | Galitsin's Military Law. Outbreak of strikes and arrest of Jordania and others. I. Tsereteli founds *Kvali* in succession to *Kvali*. |
| 1902 | | Insurrection in Ossetia. |
| 1905 | | Revolutionary outbreaks at Tiflis and elsewhere. The "Gurian Republic." |
| 1906 | | Severe repression in Mingrelia, Imeretia and Guria by Alikhanov. |
| 1908 | | Foundation of "Association of Circassian Émigrés in Turkey." |
| 1914 | | Outbreak of the Great War. Activities of Kerezelidze. |
| 1915–16 | | Caucasian Delegation in Berlin, Vienna and Switzerland. |
| 1917. | *March* | Revolution in Petrograd. "Special Caucasian Committee" nominated.—*May*. Fall of the Cadets. First Congress of the Mountaineers at Vladikavkaz.—*Sept*. Second Congress at Vladikavkaz.—*Nov*. The Bolshevik *coup* at Petrograd. Commissariat and Seim organised at Tiflis.—Relations of the Mountaineers with the South-east Union.—*Dec*. 2. "Union of the Mountaineers" proclaimed.—3. Georgian National Congress. Jordania's "All-Russian platform." |
| 1918. | *Jan*. | Invitation to the "Independent Transcaucasian Republic" to attend the Brest negotiations. "Combined action with autonomous Governments of Russia."—*Feb*. 23. Meeting of Transcaucasian Seim.—*March* 2–*April* 13. Negotiations between the Turks and the Transcaucasian Commissariat at Trebizond. Colonel Chermoiev asks assistance from Tiflis against the Bolsheviks, and later attends the negotiations at Trebizond. Georgian Delegation recalled. Jordania: "We shall not sign." Bolsheviks occupy Black Sea coast and Abkhazia.—*April* 14. Turks take Batum.—27–28. Turks take Kars; advance to Notanebi and Ozurgeti. Resignation of Gegéchkori. Declaration of Transcaucasian independence.—*May* 1. Negotiations continued at Batum. Turks recognise "Republic of the Mountaineers." Germans take Sevastopol.—15. Turks take Alexandropol.—25. German troops landed at Poti.—28. Declaration of Georgian independence.—*June*. The National Guard occupy Sukhum, Gagri and Sochi.—*August*. Osset rising at Dushet.—*Sept*. Georgian aggression in Borchalu region. Gegéchkori meets Alexeiev at Ekaterinodar.—*Nov*. Anglo-Turkish Armistice. British occupy Batum and Transcaucasian Railway. Georgian proposals for a Transcaucasian Conference. |

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—*Dec.* Armeno-Georgian hostilities, in which the Allied representatives intervene. 175

1919. *Feb.* Second proposal for Transcaucasian Conference. Mussulman rising in Akhaltsikh region.—*March.* Denikin takes Sochi and occupies Temir Khan Shura. British interference.—*July* 16. Treaty of Alliance between Azerbaijan and Georgia.—*August.* British evacuate Transcaucasia except Batum.—*Nov.* 13. Armeno-Georgian Arbitration Treaty.

1920. *Jan.* 2 Chicherin suggests a Georgian attack on Denikin.—*Jan.* 12. Supreme Council recognises *de facto* independence of Georgia.—*April* 25–*May* 2. Bolsheviks threaten Sukhum and Gori, and seize the Poili bridge over the Kur. Bolshevist outbreak at Tiflis. *May* 11. Georgians occupy Artvin.—*June* 12. Russo-Georgian Treaty. Kirov sent to Tiflis.—*June* 9. Allies "transfer" Batum to Georgia.—*Dec.* Turko-Bolshevist attack on Armenia. Georgians occupy Ardahan and Ardanuch.

1921. *Jan.* Allies recognise *de jure* independence of Georgia.—*End of Feb.–March.* Bolshevist attack on Georgia. Occupation of Tiflis, Mtzkhet and Gori. Turks enter Ardaghan, Ardanuch, Artvin and Batum. Bolshevists advance by Sukhum to Poti; occupy Kutais. Drive the Turks out of Batum, and proclaim a Soviet Republic in Tiflis and Batum. *March* 16. Treaty signed at Moscow cedes Artvin and Ardahan to Turkey, with right of free transit to Batum.

## § 5. History

000 Just as we have omitted the Cimmerian problem and the many interesting facts regarding the Scythians when speaking of the archaeology of the Caucasus, so too in our historical survey we must omit many an important fact and problem. We wish here merely to present a short sketch, as a preliminary orientation. We shall have occasion to speak of certain periods more in detail later on.

175 [173] The NORTHWESTERNERS. According to legend, the Cherkess were at one time a powerful pastoral people, occupying an extensive area north of the Caucasus. Although it is impossible to say just when the Cherkess immigrated and from where, we do know that they must have made the Caucasus their home long before the ancient writers were aware of their existence. The Latin and Greek writers speak of them as the Zygoi, Zinkhoi, Syndi, Kerketaioi, and Kerketai. It seems that from very early times enemies had been driving the Cherkess towards the mountains. In the fourteenth century of our era, the coastal tribes were forced farther south, till they finally occupied a sector between various Turco-Tartaric peoples, the Nogai, Kumyks, Karachai, and Taulu. The land they occupied was called Kabarda and they are known today as the Kabardians. In 1777 the Russians drove the remaining Cherkess beyond the Kuban, Malka, and Terek, and finally completely conquered them. Rather than submit to the Russian czar, a large number of Northwesterners (400,000 strong, Cherkess, Abkhaz, and all the Ubykhs) preferred to leave their homeland and migrate to Asia Minor, Syria, and the Balkans.

The Abkhaz were known to Pliny and Arrian as the Apsils and to the Georgian Chronicler as Ap'shil and Ap'sari. In the first centuries after Christ the Abkhaz were subjects of the Georgian kings; then of the Laz; then in the eighth century of their own independent kings; in the tenth century they again became subjects of Georgian kings, through marriage of the respective royal families. They were finally subjected to the Russians in 1863.

The Northwesterners were Christianized, according to Vakhtang's Chronicle, about A. D. 40. This report of course is not reliable. It is a fact, however, that they became Christians after the Byzantine occupation of the coastal cities. Emperor Justinian is supposed to have built a large church at Pitzunda, which became the seat of the Abkhazian *katholicos* ("patriarch" or "archbishop"). In the last decades of the seventeenth century all the Abkhazian tribes (with the exception of the Samursakhanians) became Mohammedans. The Cherkess were also Christians, before their conversion to Islamism in the eighteenth century.

The NORTHEASTERN CAUCASIANS. The origin of the Chechens and their early history is unknown. They too were Christianized quite early, perhaps in the fourth century. They accepted the Koran in the seventeenth and eighteenth century; the Ingushi, however, were not completely converted to Mohammedanism till 1862. The Chechens, we also know, have been constantly menaced by the Turco-Mongols since the time of Chingis-Khan. Later they even invited foreign princes to rule over them and defend them against the Kumyks and Kabardian raiders. Last century they fought valiantly against the Russians in the Murid wars under the leadership of Gazi-Mollah and Shamyl.

8: Lužbetak E-4 (no date) 1951 RH1 Caucasia RH1



The Lesghians were known to the classical writers as the "Lesghi." The early history of the various Lesghian peoples is uncertain. Before their conversion to Islamism in the eighth century they were worshippers of Ahura Mazda. Shamyl, the famous prophet, reformer, warrior, and leader, was a Lesghian. 175

The history of the SOUTHERN CAUCASIANS is much better known. The ancient Latin and Greek writers speak of the kingdoms of Colchis, Lazica, Albania, and Iberia. The Scythians ruled over Georgia in the seventh century. Later the Georgian kingdoms were forced to recognize the Roman protectorate. Pompey conquered the Albanians in 66 B.C., Iberia in 65 B.C., and Colchis in 63 B.C. In A.D. 224, the Sassanidae attacked East Georgia; Diocletian quickly came to the aid of the Caucasians, conquered the Persians, and thus Iberia was once again subject to the Romans. Christianity was declared the state religion of Georgia under Constantine the Great.

The OSSETES are most probably the descendents of the Alans, and therefore of the Scythians as well. They seem to be the descendents of some survivors who took refuge in the mountains. In the first century A.D., we know, they occupied the area between the Don and the Sea of Azov. Then, in the ninth century they were driven southward by the Khazars, in the twelfth century by the Mongols, and finally, in the fourteenth century by the Kabardians, who themselves were being driven into the mountains by the Tartars.

The TURCO-TARTARS. The Karachai are most probably the descendents of Tartars who had been forced to occupy an isolated valley in the mountains. The Taulu are perhaps descendents of the Tartars who lived in the steppes of Kuma. After their city (Ma'zhar) had been destroyed in 1408, they sought refuge in the Caucasus.[51]

## § 6. BIBLIOGRAPHY

Most ethnographers and ethnologists are under the false impression that only very little has been published about the Caucasus. This impression has been created, first of all, because most of the material has been written in a strange language—strange to English, French, German, and Italian speaking scientists—Russian. And even if the student of Caucasian culture has a fair knowledge of Russian, he must still face an even more discouraging difficulty. This Russian material is scattered in periodicals that are difficult to find even in the best non-Russian libraries, scattered in rare magazines or books that appeared in extremely small editions exclusively for members of learned societies and finally were shelved and forgotten in an obscure corner of some small library. These are the obstacles one must face in one's search for pre-Soviet sources. The more recent (Soviet) publications, especially recent Georgian publications, are very poorly represented outside the U.S.S.R., even in the large 114

[51] Cf. Behan, "Die kaukasischen Völker," Buschan, *Illustrierte Völkerkunde* III, pp. 671—675, 749 f., 774 f., 799 f., 835; A. Sanders, *Kaukasien, Nordkaukasien, Aserbeidschan, Armenien, Georgien. Geschichtlicher Umriss*, Munich, 1944; W. E. D. Allen, *A History of the Georgian People from the beginning down to the Russian Conquest in the Nineteenth Century*, London, 1932; Bertold Spuler, *Die Goldene Horde. Die Mongolen in Russland 1223—1502*, Leipzig, 1943.

8: Lužbetak E-4 (no date) 1951 RH1 Caucasia RH1



174 the first nomads to establish themselves in the Caucasus, after having forced the Cimmerians (c. 1200 B.C.) into the background. The Scythians were predominantly a pastoral people, while the tribes they subjected were agriculturalists. [illegible] waves of Indo-Europeans, the Sarmatians, sweep over the [illegible] (c. 300 B.C.—A.D. 200): we see the Maeotes, Sindae, Sauro-[illegible] etc. submitting to the newcomers.

175 The contact with the nomadic civilization continued up to our own times. [illegible] the history of this region—in the first century B.C. Crimea [illegible] the northern coasts of the Black and Azov Sea belonged to the Roman Empire [illegible] this region that the Goths appeared. In the fourth century [illegible] the masters of the region north of the Caucasus. In the sixth century the Khazars, Avars, and the Bulgars appeared in North Caucasus; [illegible] ninth century we meet the Magyars there; in the eleventh century the Kipchaks and in the thirteenth and fourteenth century the Mongols, driving the inhabitants of the Caucasus higher and higher into the mountains. In the fifteenth century the Turks conquered Crimea, and the Georgian kings were made tributary to the Mongols.

[10] A glance at our ethnographical map of the Caucasus will suffice to convince us that the situation today is essentially the same: today the North Caucasians live in very close contact with peoples who, originally if not any longer, possessed a typically nomadic culture. The Mountain Tartars (Balkarians) are most probably descendents of the Khazars or Volga-Bulgars. The Karakaitaghs [illegible] to be turkized Mongols. The Nogai are descendents of the Golden Horde. Among these originally Asiatic nomads we find in the Caucasus such peoples [illegible] Kalmuck, Kumyk, etc.

175B 58 The constant contact with nomadic societies perhaps from the very begin-[illegible] pastoral nomadism—certainly since the Scythian period almost 3000 years ago—throw light upon the intricate problem: Why, how and when did the North Caucasian marriage and family customary laws become so pastoral [illegible] The contact, although not sufficient to *solve* the problem, can and [illegible] considerable light upon the *adats* of the North Caucasians.

174 59 But it is not only the contact we must consider but the actual similarity [illegible] organization. We shall therefore briefly describe the ancient [illegible] family and then the common features of the Altai society. [illegible] shown that the Caucasians have mixed (racially) [illegible] people coming from the North. Linguistics proclaims the same

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[illegible] Die Anwendung [illegible] Geschichte durch die [illegible] der Urgeschichtsfor-[illegible] No. 1—2, pp. [illegible]—[illegible]; Hallstatt-Kaukasus, ein Beitrag zur [illegible] *Mitteilungen der Österreichischen Gesellschaft für Anthro-[illegible]* LXXIII—LXXVII (1947), pp. 162—[illegible]

[illegible] Khazar, [illegible] Tagh.

[illegible] common or with the Leghians bearing the same name. The Avars [illegible] Mongols and therefore neither Turks nor true Caucasians.

[illegible] the Kypchaks, or, as the Russians sometimes call them, the [illegible]

[illegible] The Ossetes for example, especially certain tribes, have a strong Caucasian [illegible] Ossetic groups have been actually Georgianized.

21: Kolarz J-4 (no date) 1952 R1 Soviet Union
Caucasia RH1

# VII

# THE NORTH CAUCASUS PEOPLES

## RUSSIA AND THE CAUCASUS

The Caucasus means more to the Russians than either Russian Central /101/ Asia or the Russian Far East. The bonds between Russia and the Caucasus are strong and real and no official propaganda efforts are needed to prove their existence. The idea of the 'Russian Caucasus' will be alive among the Russian people as long as they continue to honour and read their great poets, because the Caucasus has become part and parcel of Russian national tradition through the works of Pushkin, Lermontov and Tolstoy.

Lermontov's works in particular show that the Russians have interpreted the word 'Caucasus' not as a purely geographical notion, but as a whole period of Russian history and a political programme strongly flavoured with romanticism. While deploring the end of the primitive freedom of the Caucasus peoples Lermontov, like Pushkin, considered the final triumph of Russian civilization over the Caucasus tribes to be an unavoidable historical necessity. Thus the two greatest Russian poets gave to the Caucasian peoples identical advice, namely to reconcile themselves to the victory of the Russians.

Pushkin has expressed this conviction in the phrase: 'Humble thyself, Caucasus, for Yermolov* is coming'. Lermontov, on the other hand, predicted to the Circassians that one day they would proudly say 'We may truly be slaves, but at least we are slaves of the ruler of the Universe!' Since Lermontov's time Russia's power has grown considerably and the service of a great master has indeed become the dubious consolation not only of the Caucasian peoples but of many others besides, throughout the Soviet Union.

The peoples of the Caucasus did not act in accordance with Pushkin's and Lermontov's admonitions; they stubbornly fought Russia and struggled desperately for their freedom, because they did not realize the tremendous odds they were facing. They were too remote from the world of political and diplomatic realities of the nineteenth century to understand either the hopelessness of their own situation or the power of the Russian Empire. They deceived themselves by the erroneous supposition /175●

* General Yermolov (1772–1863) was the principal Russian hero of the Caucasus conquest.

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that Russia would not fight for the barren Caucasus mountains if she were really as great and mighty as was sometimes asserted by some mountaineers who had seen her immensity and later returned to their own people.[1]

## THE FIRST EXODUS OF THE MOUNTAINEERS

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The mountaineers of the Western Caucasus – the Circassians or the Adyge – who had lived close to the shores of the Black Sea, occupied particularly important strategic positions. In every war which Russia waged against Turkey the fearless Circassians had constituted a grave menace in the immediate rear of the Russian Caucasus front. The alternatives, from the Russian point of view, therefore, could only be either the total surrender or the total annihilation of the Circassians. As only a minority of the Circassians were ready to accept surrender, a mass migration of the Circassians to Turkey appeared the only possible 'solution', both to the Russian conquerors and the Circassians themselves, whose indomitable spirit of freedom could not be reconciled with Russian rule.

Thus between 1861 and 1864 about 500,000 Circassians left the Caucasus; but owing to starvation, disease and the hardships of the journey in overcrowded vessels, it is said that only half of them ever reached Turkey alive. Referring to this trek of the Circassians a semi-official Russian publication admitted that 'a calamity of such proportions has rarely befailen humanity'.[2] This great exodus of the Circassians disposed of the problem of nationalities in large areas of the western part of the North Caucasus region and opened them up to Russian, Ukrainian and Armenian colonization.

After the departure of the Circassians a great deal still remained to be done in the North Caucasus region from a Russian national point of view. Although thousands of Chechens, Nogai Tartars and Ossetins had likewise participated in the great exodus, these and other peoples of the Central and Eastern Caucasus continued to be a source of uneasiness to the Russian State. Complete Russian victory over the rebellious mountaineers was achieved only under the Soviet régime.

## THE ADMINISTRATIVE CHAOS IN THE SOVIET CAUCASUS

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The Russian communist leaders came to the Northern Caucasus with progressive ideas and plans for raising the material and cultural level of its peoples. The Soviet Government was originally even determined to give the small mountain peoples a chance to combine their forces and thus become a political factor of some importance. In accordance with the wishes of the more advanced mountaineers the Soviet Government decided that there should be one United Northern Caucasus

THE NORTH CAUCASUS PEOPLES

[Chechen]

displaying worthy resistance to the enemy, derailing trains, blowing up bridges, destroying ammunition and fuel depots.[3] Ca. 669 S.U. 687 672

Only a few weeks after Kalinin had made his panegyric statement little was left of the Caucasian 'miracle', and of the idyllic situation which the Soviet President had depicted. When the German armies occupied the Northern Caucasus region many mountaineers manifested their hostility towards the Soviet régime. They attempted to use the retreat of the Red Army to free themselves from what they considered the 'Russian yoke'. Over twenty years of Soviet rule had not altered their ingrained conviction that Russia's foes were their friends. These peoples apparently thought that they owed as little loyalty to Russia as the Indonesians deemed themselves to owe to the Dutch and the Vietnamese to the French when their respective countries were occupied by Japan. In the official Soviet view, of the seven peoples who in 1920 had formed the Mountain Republic four had shown themselves particularly unreliable in the crucial winter of 1942–43. They were the Chechens (407,600 according to the 1939 census), the Ingush (92,074), the Balkars (42,660) and the Karachay (75,737). After the North Caucasus region had been cleared of the invaders, the Soviet Government found itself unable to forgive these nationalities for their disloyalty or even their indifference. It also abandoned all further attempts to transform them into good citizens of the U.S.S.R.[1] and expelled them from the 'happy family of Soviet peoples'. All of them lost the special territorial administrative units[2] which the Stalin Constitution of 1936 had bestowed on them. Early in 1944 they were rounded up and deported to far away places in Siberia. For all practical purposes they ceased to exist. Thus were abolished the Chechen-Ingush Autonomous S.S.R. and the Autonomous Province of the Karachay. The Kabardinian-Balkar A.S.S.R. was transformed into the Kabardinian A.S.S.R. after having been relieved of the 'burden' of the Balkar traitors.

Soviet policy in the Northern Caucasus differed to some extent from Czarist policy since it resulted in the building of schools, theatres, libraries and hospitals, but for the four deported nationalities all this had been of little use. From their point of view there is hardly any difference between the policy of General Yermolov and that of Generalissimo Stalin. Indeed, the Soviet régime deprived at least as many Caucasian mountaineers of their homes as did the Czarist régime.

CONTINUITY OF RUSSIAN CAUCASUS POLICY: THE CHECHENS

The Chechens, as the most numerous nationality left in the Northern Caucasus after the emigration of the Circassians, offer a particularly good example of the continuity of Russian policy. The Large Soviet Encyclopædia rightly summed up the historical role of the Chechens by Ca. 563 175

1 [Cf. category 116, pp. 182-184, R1 Sov. Union; 21: Kolarz -- Analyst]
2 [Cf. category 116, p. 183, R1 Sov. Union; 21: Kolarz -- Analyst]

21: Kolarz J-4 (no date) 1952 R1 Soviet Union
Caucasia RH1
[Chechen]



describing them as the 'most active and strongest opponents of the Czarist Government during the conquest of the Caucasus'. The Russians suffered extensive and costly disasters at the hands of this people, who were unequalled in forest warfare.

Ever since the time of Peter the Great, the Chechens have challenged the Russian Empire, but from 1818 onwards their resistance to Russian rule assumed major proportions. In that year General Yermolov built a fortress to subjugate more easily the land of the Chechens. He called the new fortress 'Grozny', meaning 'menacing' and 'formidable'. The name of Grozny had a deeper meaning than might appear at the first glance: it was the symbol of a political programme that Yermolov defined in the following words: 'I wish that the terror of my name should guard our frontiers more potently than chains of fortresses, that my word should be for the natives a law more inevitable than death'. Grozny became Yermolov's headquarters, and it was from Grozny that countless Russian expeditions set out 'to punish raiders, avenge defeats, establish new posts, relieve beleaguered garrisons, or rescue retreating bands and armies'.[4] The Russian campaign against Chechenia reached its climax in 1840, at the time of the great Chechen rising under the leadership of Imam Shamil. The breakdown of Shamil's fanatical Moslem movement led to the gradual submission of the Chechens in the years 1857-59.

The Russian authorities knew well that these new subjects of the Czar, after all the trouble they had caused, would not easily reconcile themselves to the loss of their freedom; so an attempt was made to settle the 'Chechen problem' by a double transfer of population. Immediately after the conquest the inhabitants of forty-four auls (mountain villages) were transplanted from the mountains to the plains, where they could more easily be controlled. The more rebellious ones were forced to emigrate to Turkey, where they were given hospitality on the express demand of the Russian Government. In the summer of 1865, 39,000 Chechens, one-fifth of the entire Chechen population at that date, left Russia. Those who stayed behind did not remain quiescent. In 1877 there was another wave of unrest following the outbreak of the Russo-Turkish War, and more trouble in 1886. A Russian monograph on the Chechens, published in 1894, said that they could not yet be considered 'fully pacified'; they still looked across the border to Turkey whither many more dreamed of emigrating.[5] The emigration of the 39,000 had not eliminated the 'Chechen problem', for the birthrate of these Chechens was particularly high, far above the average in the Russian Empire.

## CHECHEN-INGUSH MOSLEM OPPOSITION

The immediate consequence of the October Revolution in Chechenia was a revival of violent nationalism and religious fanaticism among the

21: Kolarz J-4 (no date) 1952 R1 Soviet Union R1
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[Osset]



territory comprising 1,200 square miles was a national triumph for Georgia, for it enabled her, for the first time, to spread out to the north of the Caucasus.

S.U. 563 634

## A 'GOOD' PEOPLE – THE OSSETINS

After the expulsion of the Chechens from their homeland the Ossetins became the largest mountain people of the Northern Caucasus. In 1939 there were altogether 354,000 Ossetins in the U.S.S.R. of whom slightly less than two-thirds lived in the Autonomous Republic of Northern Ossetia, with which we are here primarily concerned, and about one-third in the Southern Ossetin Autonomous Province of Georgia. The two Ossetin territories adjoin each other and it would have been logical to amalgamate them into a single Autonomous Republic. Representatives of the two Ossetias went to Moscow in October 1925 to discuss the unification of their people with the Soviet central Government and personally with Stalin whose own mother is of Ossetin origin. This discussion which is briefly referred to in the seventh volume of Stalin's complete works, was inconclusive. The unification of the Ossetins would have been possible only at the expense of Georgia and the Kremlin was apparently not prepared to harm the interests of one of the constituent republics of the U.S.S.R. for the sake of a minor nationality.

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Czarist and Bolshevik authorities agree in their appraisal of the comparatively peaceful and placid Ossetins, no less than in their judgment on the turbulent Chechens. Of course, both régimes had encountered difficulties among the Ossetins, too, but never on the same scale as in the case of other Caucasus mountain peoples.

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Czarist Russia started the conquest of the Ossetins in the period of Catherine II and skilfully exploited the class differences among them as well as their hostility toward their western neighbours – the Kabardinians. Many Ossetins considered the establishment of Russian rule as a safeguard against the danger of attacks by more warlike mountain peoples. Ossetin folk-songs of the early epoch of Russian conquest reflect a pro-Russian spirit and state unequivocally that living under Russian rule was identical to living in peace.

Ca. 175 177

The Ossetins appreciated that Russian occupation and protection enabled them to settle in the plain from which they had been driven by the Kabardinians. Part of that re-settlement had already started in the second half of the eighteenth century. The major part of the re-settlement action was, however, carried out much later, between the twenties and the forties of the nineteenth century.

The Ossetins were of use to Russia not only as settlers, but also as soldiers. As early as the last years of the eighteenth century a number of Ossetin officers distinguished themselves in Prince Potemkin's army in

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actions against the Turks. An Ossetin Major-General, K. Zankisov, fought in Poland against the insurgents of 1863–4 and he was by no means the only Ossetin Major-General of that epoch. Furthermore, an 'Ossetin Division' became famous in the course of the Russo-Turkish War in 1877–8, when General Skobelev described its 'chivalrous gallantry' as being 'above any praise'.[12]

Russian cultural work among the Ossetins started much earlier than among other mountain peoples. The first book to appear in the Ossetin language was printed in Moscow in 1798; its object was to serve as a kind of introduction to the study of the Bible. A long period of fruitful association with the Russians and the general peaceful approach of the Ossetins towards Russian military and political rule made them more open to the acceptance of Russian preponderance. The Ossetins were, as a matter of fact, the only people of the Northern Caucasus to produce a great writer in the person of Kosta Khetagurov (1859-1906) who was half Russianized himself and wrote in both the Ossetin and Russian languages. The Soviet régime greatly popularized Khetagurov as a symbol of Russian-Ossetin synthesis, which he undoubtedly was. He had a complete Russian education, had studied at St. Petersburg and was strongly influenced by such progressive Russian writers as Herzen and Chernishevsky, which makes him particularly acceptable from the Soviet point of view.

Until the Ossetins gave proof of their loyalty to Russia during the war the Soviet régime had had to overcome Ossetin resistance to both the establishment of collective farms and the suppression of tribal customs. During the period of the collectivization Ossetin peasants waged a sort of guerilla warfare against 'socialist property' and while outwardly accepting collectivization, tried to transform the Kolkhoz into an instrument of their respective clans. Ossetin chairmen of collective farms and officials of local Soviets seem to have acted on the principle 'I decide who is a kulak and an enemy of the State and who is not'. Thus, at least during its initial stage, collectivization in Ossetia became a downright farce. Persons belonging to a rival clan were rendered innocuous by being denounced as kulaks; real kulaks, on the other hand, were promoted to the rank of respectable Soviet citizens if they happened to belong to the clan dominating the local village council or the collective farm concerned.[13]

All such 'incidents' were forgotten when the Ossetins redeemed their reputation by their brilliant war record. In the fighting which resulted in the dislodgement of the Germans from the approaches to the Caucasus, Ossetin partisans operating from behind the enemy lines greatly assisted the Red Army.[14] As a mark of appreciation for their loyalty, the Soviet Government allowed the Ossetins to increase substantially the territory of their national republic. A decree of April 8th, 1944, stipulated

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# VIII

# TRANSCAUCASIA

## TRANSCAUCASIA AND RUSSIAN HISTORY

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Russia swept beyond the Caucasus and established her rule in Transcaucasia decades before the peoples of the Caucasus mountains themselves were fully pacified and subjected to Russian rule.

The benefit which Russia derived from taking possession of Transcaucasia is similar to that gained by an upstart ruler through an alliance with a princess of royal blood: namely, making his own a tradition in which he had been lacking.

By becoming linked with Armenian history, for instance, Russian history established a link with antiquity, with ancient Egypt, Assyria and Persia, with Alexander the Great and, finally, with the Roman Empire. Soviet historians indeed proudly recall that it was the Armenians, 'a people of the Soviet Union', who, under the leadership of their king, Tigran the Great, had defeated the 'invincible Roman legions' of Lucullus and this fact could not be altered even if at a later stage Armenia did become a vassal kingdom whose rulers were given the title of 'friend of the Roman Empire'.[1]

Both Armenians and Georgians had their written alphabets more than 1,000 years before the introduction of the Cyrillic script on which the Russian alphabet was ultimately based. The latest discoveries of Soviet scholars have even led to the assumption that the Georgian alphabet originated not later than the seventh century before Jesus Christ.

It is true that the history of the peoples of Russian Central Asia, which was annexed half a century later than Transcaucasia, also goes back to antiquity. However, by incorporating the Georgian and Armenian lands Russia was able to put to her credit not only general historic traditions, as in the case of Central Asia, but also an ancient Christian tradition. Both the Georgians and the Armenians had been converted to Christendom at the beginning of the fourth century, i.e. earlier than most of the peoples in the Occident and about 700 years before the conversion of the Russians.

In annexing Western and Central Transcaucasia the Russians had the proud satisfaction of having brought safely into the orbit of Christian civilization two peoples who for many centuries had been exposed to

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permanent and violent pressure and persecution, on the part of Oriental, non-Christian powers. The Russians avenged the sufferings and hardships which both Armenians and Georgians had endured from Turkish and Persian overlords. Although the primary motives of the Russians were hardly of an exclusively humanitarian nature they could claim, with some justification, that they acted in Georgia and Armenia as a protecting rather than as a colonial power.

The case of Azerbaidzhan, which covers Eastern Transcaucasia, is altogether different; unlike the Georgian and Armenian 'protectorates' that country has more the character of a colony. Azerbaidzhan is, indeed, the only part of Transcaucasia where Russian colonization has been conducted on a large scale.

In Western Transcaucasia the influx of Russian elements has always remained insignificant even if Russian cultural influences are promoted there as strongly as anywhere else in the Soviet Union. The two principal peoples of Western Transcaucasia, the Georgians and Armenians, enjoy a special privileged position. They are expected to encourage Russian state interests in their area, as it were, by their own initiative, but without visible interference by Russian colonists who in other Soviet Republics occupy commanding posts in cultural and economic life.

Nominally, Georgia and Armenia have the same status as Kirghizistan or Uzbekistan, but their actual status is on a higher level. Georgia is the only Soviet Republic, apart from the R.S.F.S.R., forming a miniature federation which includes two Autonomous Republics and one Autonomous Province. Thus the Georgians exercise within the framework of the Soviet constitution a certain guardianship over other peoples, a role which the Russians claim for themselves practically everywhere else in the Soviet Union. Armenia again is not only the State of the Armenians within the Soviet Union but also the spiritual home of the Armenian people scattered all over the globe.

## TRANSCAUCASIA AND RUSSIAN MIDDLE EAST POLICY

Politically and strategically the whole of Transcaucasia forms a Russian wedge driven into the Middle East which has every possible chance of expanding. Lermontov seems to have felt the tremendous implications which the submission of the Caucasus mountains to Russian rule may have for both Russia and the peoples of the East. He may have had a premonition that the conquest of the Caucasus would open a new chapter in the history of many lands situated to the South of the great mountain system. In Lermontov's prophetic poem 'Dispute', two Caucasus mountains, Kazbek and Shat, talk to each other. Shat warns Kazbek of the 'powerful East crowded with people', but he fails to

563 all over the Soviet Union. These communities, recognizable not only for their German names, were naturally very exclusive (this for economic considerations to a large degree), and had preserved many features of 18th century German peasant life. It is improbable that the German communities exist today.

## Multanis

778 177 On the peninsula of Apsheron, near Surakhany, 20 km. east of Baku, a small old fire temple is found, in the midst of a pentagon which once was a kind of monastery for the fire worshippers. This pentagon, with a little square grey temple, is usually called Ātashgāh ("Place of the Fire"), as the Persians designate the Zoroastrian sanctuaries. All around this Atashgah, the oil derricks rise to the sky, in the midst of surface piping and oil puddles. During the 18th century and the first half of the 19th, the Atashgah was a much-visited goal of pilgrims from western India, which for a long time—at least from the 16th century on—had maintained very close commercial relations with Azerbaidjan. Thus, the Parsis seem to have rediscovered the Sacred Spot where the Holy Fire leaps forth from the earth, as had been known from times immemorial. Hence the name Azerbaidjan, meaning in Pahlavi (in the form of Ādar-baθgān) "The home of the fire"; hence the erection of the little temple in which the Holy Flame could be venerated. Not long

778 after the oil industry had begun to exploit the
177 wells of Apsheron, natural gas was also made use of, with the result that after 1887, the regular religious services at the temple were discontinued. Above the entrance to the fire temple there is a Sanskrit inscription set into the wall, although upside down; however, the inscription does not contain any data as to the erection of the temple or of the particular place in India with which it was intimately connected.
101 The fire worshippers of Surakhany were called
177 Multani, and though no literary sources on this name have come to my attention, this is a hint as to the origin of these fire worshippers, who may have come from the city of Multan on the Chenab, a tributary of the Indus in present-day Pakistan. Evidently, this city was the home of the Parsi founders of that trading colony in or near Baku. These Multānī could hardly be called a national minority in the Caucasus; they are to be considered rather as temporary residents, unlike the Greeks of the ancient Ionian colonies.

## Conclusion. Ethnical History

174 Thus, we see the older inhabitants of the Caucasus living in the higher regions of the Great Caucasus and in Dagestan and the southern and southwestern parts of Trans-Caucasia. These peoples have been living in the Caucasus since pre-historic times. In many instances, we can distinguish among them early and more

174 recent layers of population. The older peoples show ancient mate connect on with the south, the plateaus of Anatolia and Iran, and the adjacent plains of Mesopotamia. Somewhat more recent in this Trans Caucasian world are the Iranians and the Armenians, however, they still are old as compared with the Turkic invaders of the recent past, as we must designate the Azerbaidjanians.

A foreign conquest in this region does not always result in the retreat or pushing back of the indigenous peoples into the high mountains. As a consequence of the Russian conquest, one hundred years ago, some of the Caucasian mountain peoples were forced, in varying proportions, to leave the mountains and descend into the lower valleys of their rivers, or even into the adjacent North Caucasian plains, and to become agricultural settlers. This was not easy,, and was done in response to both persuasion and coercion. Finally, the majority of the Oset'i, a great number of the Chechen and Ingushes (the latter always much feared by the Russians), and last but not least, the Cherkess and Kabarda who did not emigrate, became peaceful peasants also. This was the only way in which the Tsarist government could stop the incessant guerrilla warfare in the mountains and the resistance of the Caucasians, which had continued even after the defeat of Shamil in 1859, in the form of continual robberies, and attacks on peasants, transports, or

177 even military convoys. By diverting these people to agriculture, order was finally established, resistance on any sort of wide or dangerous level was broken, thus the conditions for the ultimate incorporation of those national groups into the large Russian family were created.

167 174 Since Caucasian studies are still very much in an incipient stage, it is not possible to trace the different waves in which the historical and present-day Caucasian peoples came to their habitats. Where historical sources are missing, the chief help comes from linguistics.

The Eastern Slavs, coming from the north, were the last wave of immigrants and conquerors (18th to 20th centuries). They were preceded by the Turkic-speaking peoples (11th-14th centuries), who in turn came later than the Alanoi-Aorsoi, the forebears of the Oset'i (1st-3rd centuries A. D.). Events prior to that time are unclear. It is impossible to say whether groups of the Skythai, or Sauromatai (6th-1st centuries B. C.) went to the Caucasus, though this might be indicated by a remark of Strabon's (Book XI. chapter 3). And with this, we are in pre-Christian times.

In the south, history goes much farther back, but only insofar as it deals with one of the ancient Semitic or Anatolian (Hittite, etc.) cultures. Therefore, there are enormous gaps for the Caucasus proper, and the peoples who migrated there from the south. The campaigns of Alexander the Great bypassed the Caucasus,

C. G. 301 In Chechnia and N. W. Dagestan head orna-
ments are found consisting of a band on top of
the head with a concatenation of large metal
or glass rings hanging down from it on both
C. G. 302 sides. As to the hairdo, the Georgian women
have the hair hanging down loose over the
back and shoulders or in braids around the
head. Only on the Black Sea coast do they
wear it hanging down in long braids. This is
also the usual way in the Northern Caucasus.
The Tushgris wear the hair in four braids,
which are cut off when they marry; the latter
custom occurs also sporadically in Dagestan.

C. G. 291 177 It must be emphasized that the trad-
itional costume has in most cases partly or
wholly given way to the general European type
of dress, and is worn only on holidays and
special occasions such as weddings and other
celebrations.

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# FOLK RELIGION

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The major religions in the Caucasus are Christianity (Georgians except Adzhar and Ingilo; Armenians except Hemshily; Ossetes except Digor; Udi) and Islam (all the rest, except the Mountain Jews and Yezid). But many traces of the older pagan religious view remain. Among the mountaineers in the N. W. Caucasus Islam was introduced comparatively recently (seventeenth century), and in many cases reached only the upper classes. In Dagestan, with its stronger Islamic tradition, the ancient beliefs have disappeared to a much larger extent. In Georgia, Christianity has absorbed many pagan features, and among the Kartvelian mountaineers it was rather paganism that adopted certain outward characteristics of Christianity. In the N. W. Caucasus, the pre-Islamic pagan religion preserved curious vestiges of Christianity which had been introduced from Georgia in the time of queen Tamar, and perhaps even earlier. Here and there in the Caucasus there are remains of the influence of Zoroastrianism.

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The old Caucasian religion was closely connected with family and sib organization. It centered around the house-hearth, above which hung the cooking pot, suspended from an iron chain (Georg. sak'ide(be)li), which had a symbolic value and was believed to be endowed with supernatural powers. It could not

# THE RELIGION OF THE OSSETS

C. O. 771 137

The majority of the Ossets profess the orthodox Christian religion. Only a small minority, the Digors, in the western part of the country, are Mohammedans. However, both religions appear mixed to a large extent with old pagan conceptions, rites and customs. The Christians know the names of Christ (Digor Kiriste, Iran Tshysysti), the "Mother Mary" and some of the Christian saints; they go to church and observe certain Christian rites, holidays and fasts; but at the same time they worship and pray to their pagan gods and spirits, sacrificing oxen, goats and sheep, and keep their old pagan holidays.

In a similar way the Mohammedans have a very superficial connection with the Mohammedan religion. They know the name of the prophet, perform the prescribed ablutions, keep Friday as a holiday and Ramazan, the month of fasting. However, like the Christians, they also worship their old pagan gods and celebrate their own traditional festivals.

C. O. 776

Both Christian and Mohammedan Ossets believe in the existence of a high God, an invisible Supreme Being, ruling the world from heaven. His name is Khutsau, and he is often called "the God of the Gods." But the Ossets have only a very vague idea of his nature. They are primarily devoted to the cult of deities which are closer to their hearts and to their

C. O. 796 hearth-fire, and the master of the house recites a long prayer in which he gives thanks to God and asks for blessings for the coming year. During the night the young people go from house to house, throwing corn into the houses, singing and expressing good wishes for prosperity and happiness. At daybreak of New Year's day the master of the house kindles a fire of straw in the courtyard in honor of his deceased parents, who thereby are provided with the necessary fire for the whole year. The day is spent in much merry making, eating and drinking.

C. O. 796 782 776 Only one day, the Wednesday between Christmas and New Year, is dedicated to the worship of an evil spirit, the Devil. The ceremony starts in the evening with the killing of a lamb in front of the door of the house. The spirit is invoked not to do any harm to the cattle and to the other property of the master of the house and to accept an offering of a piece of roasted meat of a lamb and a glass of brandy. During that night one should strictly avoid mentioning the name of the Supreme God, lest the wrath of the evil spirit be provoked. The Devil proper of the Ossets, who is called Khairag is like the well-known figure of the devil of other countries, a good-natured foolish fellow who can easily be duped (der dumme Teufel in German).

C. O. 771 177 This survey* of the most characteristic features of the religion of the Ossets,

* [cf. cat 116, pp 565-574 -- Analyst]

771 their deities, their ways of worship and their
177 festivals, shows clearly that it is a rather sober and primitive pagan religion with a thin surface of a few superficially adopted features of Christianity and Islam. It is most significant, that it is almost entirely devoid of the conception and the worship of God as a Supreme Being, and that only guardian spirits are invoked to grant protection, happiness and prosperity. It is moreover noteworthy that in this religion of tribes of Iranian origin, who have preserved a richly developed Iranian language partly archaic in character, there are to be found scarcely any distinct traits of an older form of Iranian religion. On the other hand, it can be stated that some of the characteristic conceptions of the Ossetic religion are similar to those of the religions of neighboring Caucasian tribes.

An essential part of any religious belief
761 is represented by the conception of death and
775 the fate of the soul in the life to come. We have already mentioned that the soul of the deceased continues its existence as the guardian spirit of its former family. He takes care of the well-being of the family, and according to an old custom, the Ossets twice a year arrange a feast in the woods in honor of the spirit, which is accompanied by the offering of food and drink. They believe that at the time when a
761 person is sick, a tribunal of six men is formed in Heaven to decide whether this person should die. If the decision is in the affirmative, death

773 request, and as soon as the hot body reached the sea, the water began to seethe and dried out completely for two weeks. The water came back after Bertraz had left the sea: he had become steel.

There are many more similar fantastic
773 stories, which extoll the deeds of, and to a
177 large extent mirror the life and way of thinking of the rough-mannered inhabitants of one of the wild rugged mountain regions of the Caucasus. However, it is very uncertain whether those legends of the Narti which have been transmitted in the Ossetic language represent, as has been asserted, the original version and the source of the essentially coincident versions transmitted in some of the non-Iranian languages of the Caucasus. As a matter of fact, neither the names of the heroes nor the character of the stories seem to point to an Iranian origin. (The attempt made by Georges Dumézil in "Légendes sur les Nartes" [Bibliothèque de l'Institut Français de Leningrad, Tome XI] to identify Batraz and another figure of the legends with two figures of the Indo-Iranian mythology is far from convincing.)

There is only one rather loose and obviously not original connection of the cycle of Narti legends with a genuine Iranian motif. It is the figure of the mighty bird Sīmurgh, the Eagle, well-known from the Shāhnāma of the Persian poet Firdousī, which has been attached to the story of the extermination of the Narti.

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After God had destroyed them by fire because of their disobedience and arrogance, the earth was populated by small human beings, and the bird Sīmurgh looks down upon them from his lofty throne which stands on the immeasurably high Mt. Elburz. In one of the most famous episodes of the Persian epic poem, Simurgh's nest on the peak of the Elburz plays an important role.

Even more conspicuous is the Iranian element in certain other stories handed down in non-Iranian languages, such as the two stories presented in German translation by A. Dirr in Kaukasische Märchen, (Jena, 1920, pp. 210ff., No. 58 [in the Udin language], and pp. 219ff. No. 59 [in Tater],) in which we meet the figure of Rustam, the most celebrated hero of the Shāhnāma. It is true that the whole setting of the stories, the kind of deeds performed by the hero and the circumstances under which he acts are largely different from those of the Persian epic, by far more fantastic and often out of all proportion. But the Iranian influence is nevertheless striking. For the two non-Iranian narratives do not have only the name and the supernatural strength of the hero in common with the Persian epic poem. We also find in them a very characteristic and essential feature of the Iranian Rustam legend, i.e. the important part which Sīmurgh, the eagle, plays in the life of the hero. In the Shāhnāma, Rustam's father, Zāl, who had been exposed on Mt. Elburz as a baby, was brought up by Sīmurgh together with his young ones in a nest

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on the top of the mountain. When he had grown up and had to return to his family, the eagle gave him one of his feathers, with the advice to set fire to it in case of imminent danger. Then the eagle would appear at once and bring help. In fact, this need for help arose, when the birth of Rustam caused great difficulties and danger to his mother's life. As soon as his father had kindled the feather, the eagle appeared, foretold the birth of a huge heavy child, a future hero, and declared the necessity of performing a Caesarian operation. Among the instructions for treating the mother's wound, rubbing it with the feather of the eagle is mentioned. The appearance of the eagle immediately after one of his feathers has been set on fire at a time of peril, and the magical healing power of the feather when a wound is rubbed with it, are distinctly reflected in the two stories handed down in non-Iranian languages. It is noteworthy that this motif of the eagle and his magical feather also occurs in a story of an Iranian tribe, the Bakhtiyaris. But it is also found in a passage of the Avesta, the holy stripctures of the Zoroastrians, and it has been previously stated by the present author that this conception played an important part in the ritual of ancient India and is also widespread in the folklore of modern India. (See Bernhard Geiger, Die Amesha Spentas, pp. 73f.)

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The legend of Prometheus also deserves our special attention. It is transmitted in Ossetic and in some of the Caucasian languages.

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*from London through Russia, Germany and Holland, to which are added the revolutions of Persia during the present century, with the particular history of the great usurper Nadir Kouli* (London, 1753).

(9) **1715—1850.** In this period not only does the ethnographical material begin to increase and reach considerable proportions but the investigations carried out by the authors are scientific in nature. Actual fieldwork is being done. The writers are therefore no longer mere casual travellers but fieldworkers in the strictest sense. Although the method and scholarship of these explorers does not come up to that of modern ethnographers, their works have a special value because they are the products of expeditions prior to the rapid modern acculturation. The first scientific expedition was undertaken by Professor Güldenstadt at the request of the Empress of Russia to penetrate the wild regions of Caucasus, to classify the peoples (her subjects) according to their languages and to study the natural history of the land. The results of Güldenstädt's fieldwork were published in several books, *Beschreibung der kaukasischen Länder* (Berlin, 1834), *Reisen durch Rußland und im kaukasischen Gebirge* (St. Petersburg, 1787), *Reisen nach Georgien und Imerethi* (Berlin, 1815). Soon afterwards some excellent works of travel and some purely scientific works appeared, such as those of Reineggs, Pallas, Steder, Klaproth, Bodenstedt, Dubois de Montpéreux, Longworth, Spencer, Neuman and Wagner.

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(10) **1850—1920.** The Caucasians are still analphabetic except for the Georgians and Armenians, and are unaffected by modern civilization. This is a period of much travel and good field work, e. g., by Radde, Hahn, Erckert, Abercromby, and others. Several large series of periodicals devoted exclusively to the study of the Caucasus are published.[65] Valuable collections of customary laws (*adaty*) made—to mention only *Adaty kavkazskich goreev*, a collection of customary laws which we shall have endless opportunity to cite. In a word this is a productive period.

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(11) **Soviet Caucasus, Caucasology Today.** Considerable progress has been made in the last decades. In linguistics, for example, if we compare Güldenstadt's or Pallas' first attempts with the results attained by Erckert and then if we compare Erckert's achievements with those of the great geniuses like Professor Marr, Prince Trubetskoj and Adolf Dirr, we must say the progress is gratifying. Although Erckert's linguistic contributions contain countless and very serious errors, his work by far surpasses those of Güldenstädt and Pallas, but again compared with modern linguists Erckert is hardly anything more than an untrained amateur. Although the advance made in Caucasian linguistics must be attributed mainly to the work done by the Soviet scholars, such capable linguists as Dirr, Bleichsteiner, Deeters, Dumézil and the contributors to the *Caucasica* must not be overlooked.

Greater progress has been made in prehistory than in any other branch of Caucasology. The activity of the Marr School and Hančar's unparalleled work, *Urgeschichte Kaukasiens* are sufficient evidence of the advance made in this field.

[65] See *infra* pp. 33 f.

595 (1) Custom permits *all* North Caucasians and their neighbours, whether Christian or Mohammedan, to marry more than one wife. The Tartars near the city of Derbend in the eighteenth century are the only exception, but even in this single case, it ist not certain whether they were monogamists *de jure* or only *de facto*.

[177] (2) Everywhere polygyny is *pre-Islamic*, even if previous to their conversion to Islamism the particular tribe happened to be Christian. We might rightly, therefore, inquire into the possible origin of polygyny in the Caucasus. Polygyny, if borrowed at all, was not borrowed as an *isolated* institution. On the contrary, it seems to be a North Caucasian possession, first of all, as old as the practice of levirate (*infra*, pp. 71—75). Furthermore, it seems to be a North Caucasian cultural possession as old as the economic, social, and religious structure of the North Caucasian family itself. Here we understand " family " in its broad sense, including the joint-family and sib. We cannot now describe this family structure in detail. Briefly, by " the economic, social, and religious structure of the family " we understand that the family in North Caucasia has been and in many places still is the *raison d'être* of the individual.[30a] Whatever the individual does or whatever is done to him or for him has only one aim, the perpetuation and prosperity of the family. Now, in the mind of the North Caucasian, polygyny is an immense asset and at times absolutely indispensable for the economic, social, and religious life of the all-important and solely-important family.

593 *Economically* considered, the wife is extremely important. In the North Caucasus it is the wife who does most of the work (*infra*, pp. 156—159). In fact, sometimes a rich Avar will marry a son to a poor girl or to a widow of a lower class, with whom he is forbidden all communication, in order to have an additional worker in the house.[31] Moreover, a wife is not only a *worker* ; she is the " *worker-producing* " organ of the family. Even though boys are preferred (*infra*, pp. 159 ff), girls prove to be good and valuable workers and bring in, at times, a large brideprice (*infra*, pp. 82—91). Now, the more wives there are in the household, the more " worker-producing " organs there are, and by that very fact, at least in the mind of the natives, the family becomes so much the more economically healthy and secure.

The *religious* structure of the family may have contributed just as much to the rise of polygyny as did the economic form of life. The most sacred duty of the individual and of the individual family is, or at least has been, to perpetuate itself, and thus to perpetuate the cult of the ancestors. It is a fact throughout North Caucasus that only a *son* can perpetuate the family and prevent the greatest calamity imagineable, its extinction. But a wife is precisely the " *boy-producing* " organ. If this organ is lacking or fails to function the family is doomed. Today one of the main motives for taking a second wife is sterility.[32] Or again, a second wife will be acquired if the first gives birth only to girls.

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[30a] According to ancient customary laws.

[31] L vov, *op. cit.*, p. 19.

[32] Cf. K. Mačavariani, " Někotoryja čerty iz žizni Abchazcev. Položenie ženščiny v Abchazii," SMOMPK, IV (1884), No. 2, p. 42. E. G. Pčelina, " Rodil'nye obyčai u osetin," SE, 1937, No. 4, p. 88

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# Chapter V

# Means of Acquiring a Wife

## § 1. BY PURCHASE

### 1. Description of Customary Laws

583 "Bride purchase," as Lowie points out, is a blanket term for various transactions. It fits some cases indeed, but at other times it is a complete misnomer.[1] Such is certainly the case when speaking of the Caucasians. Some tribes actually have a bride *purchase*, while others do not; some may have *had* the custom too but the nature of the payment has so completely changed in the course of years that it is false to speak of a price any longer. In some cases the "bride-price" is nothing more than a symbol; or again it is a mere exchange of gifts, or finally a security for the wife, resembling the *donatio ante nuptias* of the Romans. We shall use the term "bride-price" only in its strict sense. But since a generic term embracing all financial obligations connected with the acquisition of a wife is indispensable, we shall use the native word (*kalym, irad* etc.) or "bride wealth" whenever such a general expression is needed.

[77] The NORTHWESTERN CAUCASIANS. Since the Cherkess have been subject to a rather unusually rapid acculturation in the past 150 years, it is not surprising that the bride-price of old should in the course of decades have taken on many new features. Instead of presenting a complicated historical description of the Cherkess bride-price from its beginning to its disappearance, [illegible] be much better, I think, if we borrow and sum up Ladyženskij's conclusions: (1) Up to the end of the nineteenth century the bride was actually sold (p. [illegible]) and consequently regarded as a chattel. (2) Islamic law improved her position, in so far as a considerable portion of the payment became the property of the bride as a security in case of divorce. A portion of the payment was [illegible] set aside to cover the expenses of the wedding (p. 198). (3) From the end of the nineteenth century this modified form of bride purchase assumed a different meaning: the bride was no longer *sold* in the strict sense. Rather, [illegible] of the bride deserved to be compensated for the expenses involved [illegible] a child until it attained a marriageable age. It deserved to be com[illegible] for the loss of a valuable worker. With such motives in view the [illegible] the *kalym* as a form of *captatio benevolentiae* of the entire [illegible] the bride to the *kalym* was shared by all (p. 197). (4) Today the *kalym*

[1] [illegible] Organization, p. 44. See his excellent section on "Bride Wealth,"

[illegible] Caucasia, op. cit., p. 261.

8: Lužbetak E-4 (no date) 1951 RHl Caucasia RHl



583 5(2) We do not wish to say that bride price in the strict sense of the word does not exist in Daghestan at all. The unfavourable position of the female sex in Botlikh is rightly attributed by Rossikov and Erdkert to the fact that she is still considered as purchased property, as chattel.[29] The *tol-pul* of the North Tabasaranians was anything but trivial.[30] In the "Adat Collection of the South Daghestanian Districts" we learn that it varied between Rs. 100 and Rs. 400, a maiden costing more than a widow.[31]

Even in localities where the *kalym* is so insignificant that it is actually only a symbol there are certain, and by no means trivial, expenses which must not be overlooked. First of all, there are not a few betrothal gifts (*infra*, pp. 102 f); then there are the relatively expensive marriage gifts, of which we shall speak below when describing the Lezghian wedding (*infra*, p. 119).

There is, moreover, the so-called *kebin*, a guarantee against divorce. Just [illegible] it is the bride who benefits from the *kebin*, it cannot be considered as a [illegible]. It is a security for the bride in case of divorce and is usually [illegible] by mutual agreement, depending, of course, on the economic and [illegible] of the contracting families. A widow of the *neden* class, for [illegible] more than a guarantee of Rs. 55.[32] In the province [illegible] Lak and Dargwa the *kebin* usually consists of a piece of land [illegible] Among the Kapuchians it consisted of [illegible] up to Rs. 40, while among the Tabasaranians up to Rs. 40. [illegible] do not fix a definite amount, leaving it entirely [illegible] In North Tabasaran the guarantee was usually [illegible] Rs. 3 to Rs. 25 for a widow.[33] The [illegible] sometimes and in Russian literature) [illegible] Mohammedanism.

[illegible] MOUNTAINEERS. [illegible] speaking of the Khevsurian [illegible] that the bride received no [illegible] Similarly, the Pshav would [illegible] satisfactory price for her.[34] It is [illegible] had to pay a higher [illegible] respectively.[35] The [illegible] the widow being older is more liable [illegible] than a young girl, and [illegible]

[illegible] ZKO XIII [illegible] R. Erdkert.

[illegible] SSKG VIII [illegible]

[illegible] ZKO II (1851) p. 84. For [illegible]

[illegible] Sbornik II, p. [illegible]

[illegible] Adat Lakho-Dargintsev i Ostalnykh," SSKG, VIII (1871), p. [illegible]

[illegible] O Tabasaro-Plemenakh Dagestana," ZKO III (1851), p. [illegible]

[illegible] ibid.

[illegible] Haxthausen, "Kadi, [illegible] Daghestan," SMOMPK, XXXI (1902), p. 80.

8: Lužbetak E-4 (no date) 1951 RHl Caucasia RHl



for the family accruing from such a purchase. And as anywhere else in the world, only *good* brides were bought. The fact that a girl was purchased was a kind of flattery and even a definite proof of her good standing. The "price-tag" remained attached to her for the rest of her life, and in it she could find sufficient food for her vanity and self-complacency. 583 [584]

*Kebin* occupies a middle position between an actual bride-price and a dowry. Like a dowry it aims at being a security for the bride's future, and like the dowry it is given to the *bride* and not to her family. On the other hand, it resembles the bride-price in as much as it is paid by the *groom's* family, it is accompanied with much bargaining, and, finally, the amount is determined according to the same standards as the bride-price.

We have said above that through the influence of Russian and Islamic law bride purchase has become more and more like a guarantee against divorce or security in case of widowhood. However, we did not wish to say that before the coming of Islamism or of the Russians there was no economic security given to the bride. A less developed and relatively small dowry or *kebin* could have existed in the Caucasus long before Islamic *mahr* "received full approbation from Allah." We know that, independently of Islamism, the position of the female sex was greatly improved by a dowry, e. g., among the Japanese, Chinese, Ancient Germans, Kelts, and Babylonians. The Romans and the Greeks regarded a marriage without a dowry practically as concubinage.[58] If it could exist among these peoples independently of Mohammed, it could have existed in the Caucasus independently of Islamism as well. In fact we find a kind of dowry in North Caucasus in the practical wedding gifts given to the bride by her family.[59] Of course, a large dowry is out of place in such a strongly exogamous society as we find in the greater part of North Caucasia, for the family property must remain within the family. On the other hand, from our description of the wedding customs we shall be able to observe the relatively important rôle these gifts play in the endogamous part of North Caucasus.

In conclusion, it is worth noting that bride purchase in the strict sense of the word fits into the Caucasian economic form of life quite well. Though bride wealth is found equally in mother-right and father-right societies, bride purchase in the strict sense is an institution found almost exclusively in pastoral societies or in societies that have been greatly influenced by pastoral peoples, or that have passed through pastoral stages, such as we find in Africa, Asia, and Europe. We do not find the bride-*price* in Australia, Melanesia, Polynesia or in America.[60] [171]

## § 2. BY CAPTURE

"Bride capture" is just as much a blanket term as "bride purchase." Here too we must distinguish between genuine bride capture and various forms

[58] Schmidt-Koppers, *Völker und Kulturen*, p. 310

[59] Amiroov, "Sred. gorcev severnago Dagestana," SSKG, VII (1873), p. 50 f.

[60] R. Briffault, *op. cit.*, II, p. 218. Westermarck, *History of Marriage*, II (1925), pp. 278 ff.

dissolutions of the marriage bond, the husband forfeits the *kalym*, while the 586
wife, on her part, must return it to the man she unjustifiably abandons.[12] On the other hand, if the husband has sufficient grounds for a divorce, the *kalym* must be refunded; or if she justly abandons her husband, she need not return it. Legal grounds for a woman are impotency of the man for over a year and cruelty,[13] whereas a man (at least among the Temirgoi) may divorce his wife for disrespectfulness toward her parents- oder brothers-in-law or laziness.[14]

The wife never has a right to any special alimony. In case of divorce, she may take her personal property along, that is, personal gifts, and if the divorce was not justifiable, her *kalym*. She never receives additional support, except if she has a child less than a year old, in which case she is given, in addition, 10 *puds* of flour, 10 *puds* of millet, and not more than two sheep.[15]

The children always remain with the father. If one of the children is less than a year old, the mother may keep the child and nurse it till its second year, when it must, without delay, be returned to its father's family.[16] Since divorce is relatively frequent, in some Cherkess families we find children of two, three, or even more, different mothers.[17]

A Cherkess and Abkhazian divorcée is free to re-marry, provided the [587]
regulation regarding the *kalym* has been carried out.[18]

If the partners wish to reunite after a divorce, they can do so only if a marriage with another person and a subsequent divorce intervened. The intermediate marriage and divorce may have taken place only an hour before the re-union, it matters little. They are nevertheless indispensable. Of course, the "re-union" is more than a mere re-union; it is actually a second marriage between the same partners.[19] This practice evidently is of Islamic origin.

The NORTHEASTERN CAUCASIANS. The divorce regulations of the [177]
Chechens are much the same as those of the Abkhaz and Cherkess, but, owing to their greater isolation and slower acculturation, the divorce rights of the female partner have not reached the advantageous level of the Northwesterners.

In pre-Soviet times, a husband had far greater rights to dismiss his wife 586
than a wife had to abandon her husband., A husband might validly divorce 837
his wife at will, but his wife was not allowed to abandon her husband without first having received his consent.[20] Or again, as another *adat* has it: the infidelity of a wife is considered sufficient grounds for dismissal, but the infidelity

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[12] *ibid.*

[13] *ibid.*

[14] Vasil'kov, *l. c.*

[15] Ladyženskij, FT, p. 203.

[16] *ibid.*

[17] Vasil'kov, *op. cit.*, p. 102.

[18] Byhan, *La civilisation caucasienne*, p. 155.

[19] Ladyženskij, *op. cit.*, p. 199. This is a typically Islamic custom, cf. Koran, ii, 230. Cf. Juynboll, *op. cit.*, pp. 229—232; also, A. Gren, "Kratkoe izloženie Šariata," *Terskij Sbornik*, III (1892), No. 2, Part 2, p. 16.

[20] Leontovič, II, p. 170, § 123; p. 175, § 160. "§ 123 . . . žena na razvod prava ne imĕet, bez soglasija muža Mužu že dozvoljaetsja razvod vo vsjakoe vremja, ne sprasivaja soglasija ženy."

[S.c.-Analyst]

9: Lužbetak E-4 (no date) 1951 RH1 Caucasia RH1



The *khatun-tallkh* is a much stronger oath than any other in Daghestan, even 586
stronger than an oath on the Koran. The wife, therefore, may be the innocent 695
victim of her husband's falsehood.

The *khatun-tallkh*, according to Robertson-Smith (*Kinship in Early Arabia*, [77]
p. 77) and Kohler ("Ueber das vorislamitische Recht der Araber," *Zeitschr. f. vergl. Rechtsw.*, VIII [1888], pp. 246, 251) is a pre-Islamic oath incorporated into Islamic law. Kovalevskij, who cites both authors, maintains that Islamic missionaries are responsible for the practice in Daghestan.[30] We cannot deny the possibility of Islamic origin, but mere similarity is no sufficient proof. If such argumentation were methodologically indisputable, we should be justified in concluding that the levirate, polygyny, divorce, and other institutions have been imported from Arabia. All that we wish to say is that it is not at all so certain that the Caucasian *khatun-tallkh* is of Islamic origin, as Kovalevskij would have us believe. An oath, by its very nature, seeks the strongest sanction possible. Now, we have shown, when treating of the attitude of the Caucasians toward plurality of wives, how highly a wife is esteemed. She is, we said, the best family investment. To be forced to surrender her would therefore be a very efficient sanction against perjury. It may very well be the high esteem for the value of a wife and the need of a strong sanction that gave rise to the *khatun-tallkh* long before Islamism appeared on Caucasian soil, and perhaps belongs to a common substratum of ancient Arabian culture and Caucasian customary law.

Although the question regarding the guardianship of children after divorce 586
has not been studied, we may conjecture that Lesghian *adats* restrict the right [428]
to the father alone. Guardianship, as a general rule, in primitive societies, follows the norms of inheritance: in patrilineal families the children remain with the father, in matrilineal, with their divorced mother. Since inheritance is fundamentally patrilineal according to ancient customary law of the Lesghians, we feel justified in making this hypothetical assumption.[31]

The women of the neighbouring peoples enjoy about the same rights of divorce as do the North Caucasian women. Everywhere they are at a disadvantage.

SOUTHERN CAUCASIANS. Eristov tells us that during his time the Georgian mountain tribes would divorce their wives for the least provocation. It happened now and then that a week after marriage the bride would not turn out to be as pleasing as the groom had imagined, or as good a housekeeper as the groom's family hoped for; such a disappointment was sufficient to occasion a divorce.[32] She could also be dismissed for superficiality, theft, or laziness.[33]

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[30] Kovalevskij, *Zakon*, II, p. 127.

[31] Cf. Abercromby, *op. cit.*, p. 97, who believes that the Avars do not have a fixed rule in this regard.

[32] Eristov, *op. cit.*, pp. 112 f.

[33] Seidlitz, "Gemeinde- und Familienleben der Chewsuren," Das Ausland, 1891, No. 17, p. 336. If the woman had a son, it was much more difficult to divorce her (a custom of the Pshavs), cf. Makalatija, "Iz starogo narodnago byta Pšavov," p. 109.

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174 was the procreation of children, but especially of sons, who would one day become the performers of the sacred rites connected with ancestor worship. The cult for the departed was connected with the cult of the fireplace and was looked upon as the most sacred duty of the individual and of the family. Since the members of the same sib were descendents of the same ancestors, they were bound to one another in life and in death. This solidarity explains the frequency of family feuds, for blood-revenge was considered a very sacred duty. Polygyny was relatively common; polyandry, however, was taboo. The proof of virginity, the levirate, and the regulations regarding divorce and many other matters are very similar to those still in practice among the Ossetes of the Caucasus. It is also worthy of note that the Ossetine *adats* differ but slightly from the customary laws of their ancestors, while, as we have observed throughout the present study, the North Caucasians, especially the Cherkess, the Abkhaz, and the Ingushi differ but little from their neighbours, the Ossetes.[10]

[117] The contact with the Indo-Europeans, especially with the Ossetes and their ancestors, must have been very important. We need but think of the powerful Scythians and then, later on, of the Alans who made their presence felt as far east as China and as far west as Spain. Many of the customs, especially of the Cherkess, Abkhaz and Ingushi, have certainly been borrowed from the Ossetes; the many legends about ancient heroes, especially the so-called Nart-stories, and a deities now worshipped by the North Caucasian are certainly of Iranian origin.

[118] If we now compare the Turco-Mongolian society with that of the North Caucasian Indo-Europeans we shall find a striking similarity in many features in the three groups.[11] To point out a few of the more

[10] Among the Indo-European tribes might be mentioned child-marriages, the [illegible] of the price to keep [illegible], the custom of veiling and covering [illegible] etc. See especially F. Hermann, "Die Eheformen [illegible] Göttingen, pp. 39—62. [illegible] the ancient Indo-European family on: Koppers, *op. cit.*, [illegible] O. Schrader, *op. cit.*, [illegible] F. Hermann, *op. cit.*, *passim*.

[11] [illegible] that continued to the tenth century. [illegible] privilege of the rich. The impediment of consanguinity [illegible] insisted upon. Girls would be married off against [illegible] among the ancient Slavs. A wife was acquired [illegible] between a clan family (*rodovaia* or *bolšaia* [illegible] *malaia*) [illegible] was made with a patriarch (*starosta*) [illegible] to note that the same concept of a household [illegible] Blood feuds, bloodwite, the [illegible] and many other features of [illegible] society. Ancestor worship centred [illegible] family was the family priest. Vestiges [illegible] F. Engels, *Russian Origin and Social Development* [illegible] pp. [illegible] also on the Slavic family organization see [illegible] *Grundriss der slavischen Altertumer*. [illegible] are still found among the Armenians, Persians, Kurds, etc.

See Schrader, *op. cit.*, pp. [illegible]—[illegible]. As W. Schmidt pointed out [illegible] *Volker and Kulturen*, [illegible] of the pastoral nomadic civilization [illegible] among the Hamito-Semitic peoples [illegible]

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essential parallels—characteristic of the Turco-Mongolian family are: the almost complete absence of mother-right and totemistic practices, the emphasis placed on the joint family and the male members, special rights for the first-born, the importance of the male head of the family and the *patria potestas*, the disadvantageous position of the female sex, blood-feuds, exogamy, the kalym, which is usually paid in live-stock, the dread of incest, the severe penalties for sexual offenses, fireplace ceremony at weddings, the high esteem for the bride's virginity, the unusual craving for male children, the importance of the burial procedures, etc.

There is also a religious connection between the North Caucasians, the Indo-Europeans, and the Turco-Mongols, a connection that confirms our claim of the existence of a social connection between the three groups. It is not only the similarity of the religions of the three groups that we must keep in mind but also the intimate connection, the *organic* connection, between the nomadic social and religious forms. The solidarity which exists among the members of a kin, the great longing for male children, blood-feuds, the levirate, the *patria potestas*, the wedding custom of walking around the fireplace, and many other practices are fundamentally connected with ancestor worship and cult for the dead. Ancestor worship is one of the essential features of the religion of the Indo-Europeans, the Turco-Mongols, and the North Caucasians. Moreover, among all three groups ancestor worship is linked up with the worship of the fireplace. Another very essential part of the pastoral nomadic religion was the custom of sacrificing horses. W. Koppers has shown the great similarity between the horse sacrifices among the Indo-European and Altai peoples;[44] R. Bleichsteiner proved beyond question the existence of the practice throughout the highlands of Caucasia.[45] Horse sacrifices among the Indo-Europeans and the North Caucasians are certainly of Inner Asiatic origin.

Thus we see that even though the North Caucasians are not pastoral nomads in the economic sense—the economy of the steppes is impossible in the mountains, especially in the unfertile valleys of the Caucasus—they are pastoral nomadic in their social organization. *A connection between the North Caucasian society and that of Inner Asia is beyond question.*

### 3. Vestiges of More Ancient Cultures In the Marriage and Family Customary Laws of the North Caucasians

As is only natural, the deeper we delve into the history of the marriage and family *adats* the more obscure the history becomes.

First of all there are the so-called mother-right vestiges which we must consider. It is interesting to note that the intensity of these vestiges among the three different groups of Caucasians (Northwestern, Northeastern, and Southern)

[44] W. Koppers, *op. cit.*, pp. 121, 18—22. See also W. Koppers, "Pferdeopfer und Pferdekult der Indogermanen," *Wiener Beiträge zur Kulturgeschichte und Linguistik*, IV (1936), pp. 280—421.

[45] R. Bleichsteiner, "Rossopfer und Pferdeopfer im Totenkult der kaukasischen Volker," *Wiener Beiträge zur Kulturgeschichte und Linguistik*, IV (1936), pp. 432—493.

Ca 771 [870] during the summer holidays all that the Soviet authorities wished them to disregard. A number of Ingush party and Communist Youth League members, instead of working against the influence of religion, used themselves to go to the mosques to pray.[7]

Ca 647 191 The difficulties existing between the Soviet authorities and the Chechens and Ingush[1] were not exclusively due to the Bolshevik failure to understand the importance of the religious factor in the life of the mountaineers. There were also extraordinary difficulties of a technical nature, due to the fact that the directives of the central administration were issued in the Russian language and therefore did not reach the Chechen-Ingush masses. Being unable fully to understand the orders received, the local Soviet organs either could not carry them out, or falsified the decisions of the party and of the administration.[8]

## GROZNY – THE OIL CITY

Ca 178 It was the tremendous dead weight of the predominantly Russian capital of Chechenia that prevented the implementation of any genuine Chechen autonomy and finally spelled the doom of the Chechen people. The actual liquidation of the Chechens would probably not have occurred had not the largest town in their homeland become an oil city, and indeed, one of the most important oil centres of the U.S.S.R.

Ca 915 SU 315 This oil city had developed out of the little fortress of Grozny[2]. Although Grozny oilfields had been discovered as early as 1833, they were hardly exploited at all in the nineteenth century. In 1912, however, they already supplied 11·5 per cent of the entire Russian oil. Between 1913 and 1917 this figure had risen to 16·7 per cent, and in the following four years to nearly 25 per cent. By 1937 the proportion of Grozny oil to total Russian oil production had fallen to 9·25 per cent, but in terms of absolute figures this output represented an increase of 234 per cent, compared to that before the First World War. The development of Ca 361 162 Grozny as an oil centre made for an increase of the population on an 'American scale'. In 1890 the place had no more than 6,000 inhabitants, against 34,067 in 1913, 97,095 in 1926 and 172,468 in 1939. It need hardly be added that the Chechens and Ingush, peoples consisting of shepherds and peasants, could not contribute anything worth mentioning to the rise of the town which was styled, almost ironically, 'Capital of the Chechen-Ingush A.S.S.R.'. Among the oilworkers of Grozny there were probably at no time more than one-tenth of 'natives', and until 1936 there were but 9·7 per cent.

Ca 177 SU 563 Unlike so many cities in the Soviet Union, Grozny never changed its name under the Soviet régime, despite the imperialistic history connected with it. As a matter of fact, it was the Soviet oil city of Grozny which spelled the doom of the Chechens and not the little fortress which

1 [Cf. category 116, pp. 186-188, R1 Sov. Union; 21: Kolarz - Analyst]
2 [Cf. category 116, p. 186, R1 Sov. Union; 21: Kolarz Analyst]

21: Kolarz J-4 (no date) 1952 R1 Soviet Union R1
[Chechen-Ingush] RH1



Yermolov had founded to spread terror among the mountaineers. The struggle which Czarist Russian officers had begun was terminated by Soviet Russian police officials, who finally ensured Russian domination over the northern slopes of the Northern Caucasus by expelling the Chechens bag and baggage. It is questionable whether the crimes officially attributed to the Chechens – particularly the help which they had given to the Germans – would have been a sufficiently weighty reason for exterminating them as an organized community, had not the Grozny oil been involved. To protect the Grozny oil-wells against all future risks the Soviet authorities removed the Chechens from Grozny's hinterland and transformed the Chechen-Ingush A.S.S.R. into the Grozny Province.[1] Grozny is another instance of the danger which the existence of oil-wells can bring to a small people. Whether in Latin America, the Middle East or in the Soviet Union, national self-determination, independence, autonomy and national rights count little as soon as oil interests are at stake.

Ca 177 SU. 563

Almost up to the very moment of their suppression as an ethnographic unit,[2] Russian propaganda made considerable use of the Chechens in its attempt to impress the public abroad with the Soviet nationalities policy. Even a year after the outbreak of the Second World War the Chechens were still regarded as a 'good people'. In August 1942 they were said to have played a prominent part in a 'big anti-fascist meeting' in the town of Ordzhonikidze where 3,000 mountaineers pledged their 'boundless devotion to our beloved motherland – the Soviet Union – and the great Russian people'. Delegates of the Chechens, Ingush, Balkars – all peoples whom the Soviet Government later deprived of their national existence – addressed the meeting and spoke about their strong friendship towards the Russians.[9] Data made available on October 5th, 1942, showed that forty-four Chechens had been awarded decorations for valour in the field, not a bad record considering that far larger national units like the Turkmenians, Tadzhiks, Kirghiz and Estonians had not won many more by that date.

SU. 563 208

Paradoxically, the Chechens and Ingush continued to serve the purpose of Soviet propaganda even after their liquidation as political entities.[1] Their removal from their homeland enabled the Soviet régime to rewrite the entire history of the Northern Caucasus. This rewriting consisted in blaming the Chechens and Ingush for all acts of anti-Soviet resistance perpetrated in the years following the October Revolution in the Caucasus region, and in whitewashing all other nationalities. This new interpretation of Caucasus history was even elaborated in a statement of the Central Committee of the All-Union Communist Party. It dealt with the opera *The Great Friendship* the libretto of which had not taken into account the official reorientation with regard to the history of the Caucasus. The Central Committee statement of February 10th,

SU 814 563

[1] Cf. Category 116, p. 185, R1 Soviet Union 21: Kolarz
[2] Cf. Category 117, p. 187, [illegible]

21; Kolarz J-4 (no date) 1952 R1 Soviet Union R1
Caucasia RH1
[Osset]



territory comprising 1,200 square miles was a national triumph for Georgia, for it enabled her, for the first time, to spread out to the north of the Caucasus.

S.U. 563 634

## A 'GOOD' PEOPLE – THE OSSETINS

After the expulsion of the Chechens from their homeland the Ossetins became the largest mountain people of the Northern Caucasus. In 1939 there were altogether 354,000 Ossetins in the U.S.S.R. of whom slightly less than two-thirds lived in the Autonomous Republic of Northern Ossetia, with which we are here primarily concerned, and about one-third in the Southern Ossetin Autonomous Province of Georgia. The two Ossetin territories adjoin each other and it would have been logical to amalgamate them into a single Autonomous Republic. Representatives of the two Ossetias went to Moscow in October 1925 to discuss the unification of their people with the Soviet central Government and personally with Stalin whose own mother is of Ossetin origin. This discussion which is briefly referred to in the seventh volume of Stalin's complete works, was inconclusive. The unification of the Ossetins would have been possible only at the expense of Georgia and the Kremlin was apparently not prepared to harm the interests of one of the constituent republics of the U.S.S.R. for the sake of a minor nationality.

Ca. 101 [162] 642 S.U. 563 631

Czarist and Bolshevik authorities agree in their appraisal of the comparatively peaceful and placid Ossetins, no less than in their judgment on the turbulent Chechens. Of course, both régimes had encountered difficulties among the Ossetins, too, but never on the same scale as in the case of other Caucasus mountain peoples.

Ca. 181

Czarist Russia started the conquest of the Ossetins in the period of Catherine II and skilfully exploited the class differences among them as well as their hostility toward their western neighbours – the Kabardinians. Many Ossetins considered the establishment of Russian rule as a safeguard against the danger of attacks by more warlike mountain peoples. Ossetin folk-songs of the early epoch of Russian conquest reflect a pro-Russian spirit and state unequivocally that living under Russian rule was identical to living in peace.

Ca. 175 177

The Ossetins appreciated that Russian occupation and protection enabled them to settle in the plain from which they had been driven by the Kabardinians. Part of that re-settlement had already started in the second half of the eighteenth century. The major part of the re-settlement action was, however, carried out much later, between the twenties and the forties of the nineteenth century.

The Ossetins were of use to Russia not only as settlers, but also as soldiers. As early as the last years of the eighteenth century a number of Ossetin officers distinguished themselves in Prince Potemkin's army in

21: Kolarz J-4 (no date) 1952 R1 Soviet Union R1
[Osset] Caucasia RH1



Ca. 175 177

actions against the Turks. An Ossetin Major-General, K. Zankisov, fought in Poland against the insurgents of 1863–4 and he was by no means the only Ossetin Major-General of that epoch. Furthermore, an 'Ossetin Division' became famous in the course of the Russo-Turkish War in 1877–8, when General Skobelev described its 'chivalrous gallantry' as being 'above any praise'.[12]

Ca. 177 538

Russian cultural work among the Ossetins started much earlier than among other mountain peoples. The first book to appear in the Ossetin language was printed in Moscow in 1798; its object was to serve as a kind of introduction to the study of the Bible. A long period of fruitful association with the Russians and the general peaceful approach of the Ossetins towards Russian military and political rule made them more open to the acceptance of Russian preponderance. The Ossetins were, as a matter of fact, the only people of the Northern Caucasus to produce a great writer in the person of Kosta Khetagurov (1859-1906) who was half Russianized himself and wrote in both the Ossetin and Russian languages. The Soviet régime greatly popularized Khetagurov as a symbol of Russian-Ossetin synthesis, which he undoubtedly was. He had a complete Russian education, had studied at St. Petersburg and was strongly influenced by such progressive Russian writers as Herzen and Chernishevsky, which makes him particularly acceptable from the Soviet point of view.

Ca. 423 668 474 691

Until the Ossetins gave proof of their loyalty to Russia during the war the Soviet régime had had to overcome Ossetin resistance to both the establishment of collective farms and the suppression of tribal customs. During the period of the collectivization Ossetin peasants waged a sort of guerilla warfare against 'socialist property' and while outwardly accepting collectivization, tried to transform the Kolkhoz into an instrument of their respective clans. Ossetin chairmen of collective farms and officials of local Soviets seem to have acted on the principle 'I decide who is a kulak and an enemy of the State and who is not'. Thus, at least during its initial stage, collectivization in Ossetia became a downright farce. Persons belonging to a rival clan were rendered innocuous by being denounced as kulaks; real kulaks, on the other hand, were promoted to the rank of respectable Soviet citizens if they happened to belong to the clan dominating the local village council or the collective farm concerned.[13]

Ca. [725] 631 142 S.U 563 634

All such 'incidents' were forgotten when the Ossetins redeemed their reputation by their brilliant war record. In the fighting which resulted in the dislodgement of the Germans from the approaches to the Caucasus, Ossetin partisans operating from behind the enemy lines greatly assisted the Red Army.[14] As a mark of appreciation for their loyalty, the Soviet Government allowed the Ossetins to increase substantially the territory of their national republic. A decree of April 8th, 1944, stipulated

O 428 [589] [823 cont.]
relative of the deceased, who supports her if she is not married by her husband's father or brother, as was formerly their duty. Children born of this new marriage or born out of wedlock are regarded as children of the deceased and inherit his name and part of his estate, since the woman belongs to the husband's kin group.

b) Other Iranians, Indians, etc.

C 563 ● 171 Of the European peoples who have migrated in during the last century, only the Russians, as a ruling class, have exerted some influence on the spiritual life and the material possessions of the Caucasians; on the other hand, the Cossacks on the Kuban and Terek, as a result of friendly and hostile contact with the Cherkess, Abkhaz, and Tatars, have taken over much from them. [824] [Fig. 503 appears here.]

Of the Asiatic Indo-Germanic peoples, the Armenians (see Vol. II, 1, pp. 398 ff.) have played an essential role in the intellectual development of the plains Georgians (see p. 675 [untranslated]), and the physical relationship or admixture of the two, or to put it better, mixture of the native basic stock of the Near East with southern and eastern indigenous Caucasians, up to the Chechen in the northeast, appears visibly in many places (see pp. 31 f.).

As far as the Iranians are concerned, the Kurds (see Vol. II, 1, pp. 400 ff.) certainly came into contact with the Georgians relatively late and in any case have neither experienced any influence from them nor exerted any on them, or at most on their Gurian neighbors. The sect of the Yezid, who stand close to the Kurds in many respects, even with regard to their religious teachings, has settled in a few places in southernmost Caucasia (see Vol. II, 1, pp. 403 f.).

It is quite another matter with regard to the Persians (see Vol. II, 1, pp. 405 ff.), who, in part directly through trade or settlement, in part indirectly through Armenia, and later

[824 cont.]

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291

Fig. 503. Persian fruit-seller in Baku.

563
[177] through the Tatars, have exerted a strong influence from the earliest times on southern and eastern Caucasia with regard to mental culture, art, warfare, etc. As a landmark of their power, the great stone wall, which extends from the national portal on the Caspian Sea, from the city [825] of Derbend
[103] (Persian = gate-lock, Tatar, Demír-kapú = iron door; Arabic, bāb-el-abwāb = gate of gates), to the west 60 to 70 kilometers into the mountains, still stands today. It was erected by the Sassanid king, Khosrau Anōšarvān (531-579 A.D.), for protection against the invasions of the Khazar and Alan, against whom his father, Kobad (491-531), had already built a wall
[112] of mud bricks that was strengthened by many towers and small citadels (kalé). Except for indigenous tribes, Khosrau entrusted the defense of the wall primarily to Iranian settlers whom he had brought over from Persia and the land of Sogd, that is Kharezmia and Samarkand. The inhabitants of the Kaitakh region, the Tabassaran, seem to be descendants of these settlers, and their name may be a contraction of Tabor-i-Khorassan (= host, people from Khorassan); likewise the Tāt between Baku, Kuba, and the Babadagh and near Derbend. The former may have sprung from a mixture of Lezgin with

177.80 ---177.95

21: Kolarz J-4 (no date) 1952 R1 Soviet Union R1
[Kabardin] Caucasia RH 1



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achieved a dual purpose. In addition to punishing the Balkars it served as a warning for the Kabardinians, who from then on hastened to express their loyalty towards Soviet Russia in a very demonstrative, even effusive, way.

Ca. 172.8/ 814 S.U. 563 814

After the war the Soviet authorities found it advisable to provide for the Kabardinians, as a means of strengthening their allegiance to the Soviet State, a clear conception of history which would unequivocally show that the Russians had always been the protectors of the Kabardinian people. The task of formulating the details of this conception was assigned to the 'Kabardinian Research Institute', whose headquarters are in Nalchik, the capital of the Kabardinian A.S.S.R. The new conception implied the 'official recognition' of Temryuk Idarovich as the national hero of Kabarda. Kabardinian children are expected to look up to Temryuk with the same awe as Russian boys and girls to Peter the Great or Suvorov. According to the new official thesis Temryuk, a Kabardinian prince who lived around 1550, 'endeavoured to build up a strong centralized State able to resist Turkish and Crimean Tartar oppressors'. Temryuk had realized that the Kabardinians were incapable of withstanding their enemies if they were to rely on their own forces only; establishment of close contacts with Muscovy was therefore the only wise Kabardinian policy.[15]

It is the same story which is told with some variation to all the peoples of the Soviet Union in all their many languages. There is always a grain of truth in the story, but never the entire truth, since history is not so simple and so clear-cut that it would fit the purposes of a one-sided propaganda. It is a historical fact that Temryuk asked Ivan the Terrible for protection and even gave him his daughter for wife. Originally, in the days of greater internationalism, Soviet historians failed to stress this fact, and laid more emphasis on the slave trade in which the Kabardinian feudal lords had engaged with the Crimean Tartar Khanate. However, since events had proved the necessity of increasing the attachment and loyalty of the Kabardinians to the Russians and the Soviet State, Temryuk had to be brought to the forefront of Kabardinian history.

Ca. 177.53 538

Kabardinian post-war literature also pursued the aim of re-educating the Kabardinian people. The central theme of the first Kabardinian literary almanac consisted in showing that it was 'the friendship with the Russian people that led the Kabardinians towards a better life.'[16]

While a great deal was done for 're-education' in the sense required by the Russians, education as such had been neglected during the first post-war years, at least as far as the Kabardinian language was concerned. The so-called 'national' schools in the Kabardinian A.S.S.R. were Kabardinian in the first four forms only; from the fifth form onwards teaching was in the Russian language exclusively. The Central Committee of the All-Union Communist Party issued in 1948 a state-

8: LuBietak 2-4 (no date) 1971 RHI Caucasia RHI

# IV. CONCLUSION

## Chapter XIV

## Conclusion

### § 1. MARRIAGE AND THE FAMILY OF THE CAUCASIANS IN THE LIGHT OF HISTORY

#### 1. Russian, Soviet and Pre-Soviet Influence

Near the Ru[illegible] military, [illegible] and cultural influence has greatly [illegible] the marriage and [illegible] customs of the various [illegible] mentioned. We will not repeat some of the many [illegible] comparative study.

[illegible] severely prosecute *polygyny* (*supra*, p. 59). [illegible] relative scarcity of polygamous unions throughout [illegible] Nevertheless, regardless of how ethnically different [illegible] at least in part, to Russian legislation. [illegible] have begun to enjoy greater *freedom of choice*, [illegible] Russian insistance on freedom in mating as a con- [illegible] valid marriage.

[illegible] how rapidly *bride purchase* was disappearing or [illegible] significance throughout the Caucasus, again, at least in part, due to Russian legislation, industrialization, and education (*supra*, pp. [illegible]).

(a) *Bride prices*, *qalym*, etc. were formerly measured in cows, horses, sheep and oxen. But now they are measured in money: not in live stock but in Russian rubles! (*Supra*, pp. 82–89, 95, 168–170).

(b) The Russian opposition to *bride capture* has helped to make the practice become rare (*supra*, pp. [illegible]). It was Russian positive law gaining ascendency over the *patria potestas* and its insistance on freedom of choice that encouraged and even detested elopement (*supra*, p. 98).

(c) The general disappearance of slavery and the associated sociological consequences, e.g., the *marriage impediments*,

(d) the *less severe penalties for sex crimes* which are gradually being adopted by all tribes of Caucasia (*supra*, pp. 175, 180),

(e) and the improvement in the *status of the female sex*, all must be reckoned among the effects of Russian and Soviet influence.

8: Lqzbetak E-4 (no date) 1951 RHI Caucasia RHI

# IV. CONCLUSION

## Chapter XIV

## Conclusion

### § 1. MARRIAGE AND THE FAMILY OF THE CAUCASIANS IN THE LIGHT OF HISTORY

#### Tsarist, Soviet and Pre-Soviet Influence

[584]

[583]

[177.56
562
p. 89

8: Lužbetak E-4 (no date) 1951 RHl Caucasia RHl



87 Speaking of Russian influence, we must emphasize that nothing tends to alter the marriage and family observances among the mountaineers as much as formal education, formal Russian, and especially Soviet education (*supra*, p. 147).

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Russian influence and the consequent change in customary marriage and family law (and we may include changes in Islamic law) are most strongly felt near and in large Russian cities like Grozny, along the coast of the Black and Caspian Sea, and, in general, wherever industrialization is making great strides. It is more strongly felt in the lowlands, less in the highlands, and only slightly in isolated villages.

## 2. Islamic Influence

177 58
58

Going somewhat deeper into history, we find a second principle, changing and modifying the customary law of the various mountain peoples of Caucasia, Islamic law, known as the *šari'a*.

1. A number of *marriage impediments*, e.g., the "waiting period," the establishment of relationship by milk, etc. have either been introduced by Mohammedan missionaries or, at least, greatly modified by Islamic law (pp. 55, 66, 69).

2. We have observed in not a few instances a conflict between the native law and the *šari'a*, e.g., the struggle between *obligatory levirate* and Islamic *optional levirate* (*supra*, p. 73).

3. Women are sometimes given *freedom of choice* in mating (*supra*, p. [illegible]), which is a practice in full accord with the teaching of the [illegible].

4. [illegible] Islamic influence, genuine *bride price* has throughout North [illegible] to become a form of dowry, called *kelim* (*supra*, p. 90).

[illegible] for *abduction* (*supra*, pp. 92—96).

[illegible] *separation of sexes* (*supra*, pp. 126-1, 166).

[illegible] customs, such as, naming of children, etc. (*supra*, pp. 142-1, [illegible]).

[illegible] *engagement observances* (*supra*, pp. 108—110).

[illegible] law (*supra*, pp. 115—117).

[illegible] *kin relations* (*supra*, pp. 145—156);

[illegible] *wife relations* (*supra*, pp. 148—149, 187).

[illegible] *penal laws* for sexual offenses (*supra*, p. 171).

[illegible] (*supra*, p. [illegible]).

5. [illegible] general simplifications in the *relative position of sexes*, e.g., [illegible] marriage [illegible] in Kabargia and Ossetia, the *kelim*, [illegible]—

[illegible] Islamic law. The *šari'a* is doubtless one of the principles of the marriage and family laws of the Caucasians. The strength of this influence and the opposition against it have [illegible] everywhere. Islamism has had very little influence on the [illegible] of the mountain Caucasians, except, of course, in Sakataly

[illegible] "Bergvölker des Kaukasus," *Zeitsch*

[illegible]

[p. 53]

[p. 54]

[p. 55]

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[p. 57]

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[p. 69]

[p. 70]

[p. 71]

[p. 72]

[p.

8: Lužbetak L-4 (no date) 1951 RHl Caucasia RHl



77.8 ness have been felt either exclusively among the Southern Caucasians or have not been very great. The Roman-Byzantine influence was passed on to the North Caucasian tribes mainly through the Armenians and Georgians, which, however, did not affect their customary laws to any appreciable extent. Kovalevskij had a tendency to overemphasize these influences. He believed, for example, that the practice of offering an engagement gift to the bride or her family was of Roman-Byzantine origin, and that the status of the Caucasian women had been greatly affected by Byzantine law.

## § 2. MARRIAGE AND THE FAMILY OF THE CAUCASIANS IN THE LIGHT OF ANTHROPOLOGY

### 1. Analysis of Caucasian Adats

### Predominant Character of North Caucasian Marriage and Family Customary Laws That of a Pastoral Nomadic Civilization

[illegible] prolonged historical influences and changes [illegible] we now arrive at a more or [illegible] marriage and family customary laws as a [illegible] typically pastoral nomadic" [illegible] "as pastoral nomads in the [illegible] elements we shall [illegible] for example, adultery is [illegible] pastoral nomads, it is [illegible] sacrilegious institution [illegible] be noted that the [illegible] details therefore,

[illegible] was among the [illegible] shown that all [illegible] through prolonged pastoral [illegible]

[illegible] pp. 83—122 [illegible] commonly found among [illegible] components. Many of the components of [illegible] Whether the pastoral nomadic [illegible] hoeing stage being the [illegible] the result of later [illegible] does not affect our

8: Lužbetak E-4 (no date) 1951 RH1 Caucasia RH1



174 [illegible] first nomads to establish themselves in the Caucasus, after having forced the [illegible] (c. 1200 B.C.) into the background. The Scythians were pre-[illegible] a pastoral people, while the tribes they subjected were agriculturalists. [illegible] new waves of Indo-Europeans, the Sarmatians, sweep over the [illegible] (c. 300 B.C. — A.D. 200) we see the Maeotes, Sindac, Sauro-[illegible] submitting to the newcomers.

175 [illegible] contact with the nomadic civilization continued up to our own times. [illegible] of the history of this region—in the first century B.C. Crimea [illegible] the shores of the Black and Azov Sea belonged to the Roman [illegible] this region that the Goths appeared. In the fourth century [illegible] the masters of the region north of the Caucasus. In the sixth [illegible] the Khazars, Avars, and the Bulgars appeared in North Caucasus; [illegible] seventh century we meet the Magyars there; in the eleventh century the [illegible] and in the thirteenth and fourteenth century the Mongols, driving [illegible] inhabitants of the Caucasus higher and higher into the mountains. In the [illegible] fifteenth century the Turks conquered Crimea, and the Georgian kings were [illegible] tributary to the Mongol.

[10] A glance at our ethnographical map of the Caucasus will suffice to convince [illegible] that the situation today is essentially the same: today the North Caucasians [illegible] very close contact with peoples who, originally if not any longer, pos-[illegible] nomadic [illegible] The Mountain Tartars (Balkarians) are [illegible] probably descendents of the Khazars or Volga-Bulgars. The Karakaitaghy [illegible] Mongols. The Nogai are descendents of the Golden Horde. [illegible] Asiatic nomads we find in the Caucasus such peoples [illegible]

[illegible] 58 [illegible] constant contact with nomadic societies perhaps from the very begin-[illegible] pastoral nomadism—certainly since the Scythian period almost 3000 [illegible] years—throws light upon the intricate problem: Why, how and when did the [illegible] marriage and family customary laws become so pastoral [illegible] contact, although not sufficient to *solve* the problem, can and [illegible] considerable light upon the *status* of the North Caucasians.

[illegible] not only the contact we must consider, but the actual similarity [illegible] organization. We shall therefore briefly describe the ancient [illegible] 54 [illegible] and then the common features of the Altai society. [illegible] show that the Caucasians have mixed (racially) [illegible] people coming from the North; [illegible] linguistics proclaims the same

[illegible]

[illegible] Beitrag zur [illegible] Anthro-[illegible]

[illegible] The Avars [illegible] Caucasians [illegible] Russians sometimes call them the [illegible]

[illegible] certain tribes have a strong Cau-[illegible] Groups have been actually Georgianized [illegible]

8: Lušketak 1-4 (no date) 1951 RHI Caucasia RHI

# IV. CONCLUSION

## Chapter XIV

## Conclusion

### § 1. MARRIAGE AND THE FAMILY OF THE CAUCASIANS IN THE LIGHT OF HISTORY

#### 1. Russian (Soviet and Pre-Soviet) Influence

[illegible] influence [illegible] greatly [illegible]

[illegible] of polygamous unions throughout [illegible] regarded as law, ethnically different [illegible] part, to Russian legislation. [illegible] enjoy greater freedom of choice, [illegible] freedom of mating is a con- [illegible]

[illegible] *bride purchase* was disappearing of [illegible] throughout the Caucasus, again, at [illegible] judicial decision, and education [illegible]

[illegible] were formerly measured in cows, horses, [illegible] and [illegible] are measured in money, not in live-stock, but in Russian rubles (*supra*, pp. 92–94, 168–170).

[illegible] The Russian [illegible] to *bride capture* has helped to make the practice become rare [illegible] It was Russian positive law giving [illegible] over the parents [illegible] freedom of choice that encouraged and even determined improvement (*supra*, p. 98).

[illegible] The general disappearance of slavery and the associated sociological consequences, e.g. the *marriage impediments*.

[illegible] the *less severe penalties for sex crimes* which are gradually being adopted by all tribes of Caucasia (*supra*, pp. 175, 182).

[illegible] and the improvement in the *status of the female sex*, all must be reckoned among the effects of Russian and Soviet influence.

177.56
562
p. 89

5: Allen H-4 (no date) 1923 RH1 Caucasia RHL

[18]. -1.1.1



Machabeli, who founded a daily paper. The style of this school was for the most part romantically patriotic, and it appealed primarily to the large and impoverished aristocratic class: but of all its disciples Ilia Chavchavadze alone had a following among the people. In general, the Russian Government had little to fear from the patriotic movement of the nobles: the majority of them served faithfully, some with distinction, in the Georgian regiments which played an important part in the Caucasian Campaign of 1877–8. Finally, the incorporation, in 1884, of the hitherto distinct Georgian army in the general military organisation of the Russian Empire marked the disappearance of the last remnant of the independence of the Georgian kingdom.

538 186 701 177.70

With the economic development of Transcaucasia the subversive social doctrines already spreading among the workmen of European Russia reached the Caucasus, and the Tiflis administration was confronted with a movement more real and more dangerous than the sentimental romanticism of the native princes. In 1870 European capital began to exploit Baku, and in the same year operations were begun at the great manganese deposits of Chiaturi. The construction of a railway line from Poti to Tiflis had been begun in 1867, and in 1883 this line was continued to Baku. In 1884 foreign capital, chiefly that of the Rothschilds, began to build a port at Batum. During the following thirty years the industrialisation of the Caucasus proceeded. Baku became one of the greatest petroleum centres of the world; further deposits of oil were exploited at Maikop and Grozni; another railway soon linked these towns with the Black Sea, the Caspian and Baku, and Russian, Armenian and foreign companies hastened to undertake the working of the rich manganese and copper deposits and the export of the silk, cotton, timber and wine of the country.

471 178 668

This sudden development soon produced the most complicated problems; antagonisms social and racial were precipitated in an acute form. The oil-towns were the foci of these antagonisms and the scene of the more sanguinary events of 1904–6, but the conditions there reacted on, and were reproduced in a lesser degree in, Georgia. Foreign capitalism was more than usually aggressive; as it believed itself to be operating in a new country where it was in a position to exploit cheap and inexhaustible supplies of uneducated native labour; and a sudden transition from feudalism to industrialism had created a labouring class the more dangerous because it could

177.66 668

5: Allen H-4 (no date) 1923 RHI Caucasia RHI

[1811-1917]



177.66 668 receive without assimilating all the latest doctrines of the semi-emancipated workers of Western Europe. And the great mass of casual labour—Gurians, Imeretians and Mingrelians—which flocked back to the villages every few months from the copper and manganese mines or the docks and oilcase factories at Batum, carried with them into the countryside the ill-comprehended doctrines of Marx and Engels which some agitator had muttered into their bucolic ears a few days before.

668 Thus it was not long before a branch of the Russian Social Democratic Party had been formed in Georgia, with local centres at Tiflis, Kutais, Poti and Batum. It was founded by Russians, but a number of able young Georgians were soon at its head. But they were journalists, artisans and lawyers who had replaced the former aristocrats of Chavchavadze's school as the leaders of Georgian opinion. Such were S. Gibladze, "the pioneer of Georgian Socialism," Ninishvili, "the Georgian Gorki," and G. Tsereteli, the founder of the Socialist paper *Krali*. The Social Democratic movement which professed to despise the Nationalist thought of Chavchavadze and based its theories on the class struggle, began to gain strength about the same time as the Imperial Government was initiating fresh anti-national measures, such as the forced emigration of the Ajars to Turkey (1880) and the enforcement of conscription in the Caucasus (1887). These measures doubtless drove many adherents into the Socialist ranks. In 1896 the railwaymen formed a first trade-union, [46] an example to be followed soon by the printers, iron-workers and other trades. In the same year Georgian Social Democracy received a brilliant recruit in Noah Jordania, who returned hot from the study of Marxism at Geneva to attack Ilia Chavchavadze in a series of articles in *Krali*. Agitation was now gathering force, and in 1900 Prince Galitsin's Military Law, imposing liability to service in the remoter parts of the Empire, provoked a series of ugly strikes, as a result of which Jordania was arrested, and *Krali* was suppressed, only to be revived by Irakli, son of Giorgi Tsereteli.

669 Towards the end of 1904 the revolutionary disturbances which had begun in European Russia spread to the Caucasus. The most blood-thirsty manifestations during the period 1904-6 took place at Baku and in the Armeno-Tatar regions, but the disaffection in Georgia was serious. In Tiflis bombs were thrown and officers were assassinated, while the Cossacks on more than one occasion inflicted cruel casualties on the crowd. Strikes took place along the Transcaucasian Railway,

[see cat. 116, pp 206-7 -- Analyst]

8: Lußbetak E-4 (no date) 1951 RHI Caucasia RHI

# IV. CONCLUSION

## Chapter XIV

## Conclusion

### § 1. MARRIAGE AND THE FAMILY OF THE CAUCASIANS IN THE LIGHT OF HISTORY

#### 1. Russian (Soviet) and Pre-Soviet) Influence

[illegible] the Russian military, political and cultural influence has greatly [illegible] the marriage and [illegible] of the various [illegible] Caucasian [illegible] Soviet. We [illegible] some of the many [illegible] comparative study.

The Russians have [illegible] severely prosecute *polygyny* (*supra*, p. 94) [illegible] The relative scarcity of polygamous unions throughout North Caucasia [illegible] neighbourhood, regardless of how ethnically different [illegible] attributed, at least in part, to Russian legislation.

[illegible] have seen to enjoy greater *freedom of choice*, *supra*, p. [illegible] the Russian insistance on freedom in mating as a con- [illegible] valid marriage.

(3) We have [illegible] how rapidly *bride purchase* was disappearing or assuming an entirely different significance throughout the Caucasus, again, at least in part, [illegible] Russian legislation, industrialization, and education (*supra*, pp. 85, 87, 92).

(4) *Bride price*, *kalym*, etc. were formerly measured in cows, horses, sheep and other; but now they are measured in money: not in live stock but in Russian rubles (*supra*, pp. 81—89, 95, 168—170).

(5) The Russian opposition to *bride capture* has helped to make the practice become rare (*supra*, pp. [illegible]). It was Russian positive law gaining ascendency over the *patria potestas* and its insistance on freedom of choice that encouraged and [illegible] an retenced repugnant (*supra*, p. 98).

(6) The general disappearance of slavery and the associated sociological consequences, e. g., *the marriage impediments*,

(7) *the less severe penalties for sex crimes* which are gradually being adopted [illegible] all tribes of Caucasia (*supra*, pp. 175, 186).

(8) and the improvement in the *status of the female* sex, all must be reckoned among the effects of Russian and Soviet influence.

5: Allen H-4 (no date) 1923 RH1 Caucasia RH2

[181.-1/1]



Machabeli, who founded a daily paper. The style of this school was for the most part romantically patriotic, and it appealed primarily to the large and impoverished aristocratic class; but of all its disciples Ilia Chavchavadze alone had a following among the people. In general, the Russian Government had little to fear from the patriotic movement of the nobles; the majority of them served faithfully, some with distinction, in the Georgian regiments which played an important part in the Caucasian Campaign of 1877–8. Finally, the incorporation, in 1884, of the hitherto distinct Georgian army in the general military organisation of the Russian Empire marked the disappearance of the last remnant of the independence of the Georgian kingdom. 538 186 701 177.70

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This sudden development soon produced the most complicated problems; antagonisms social and racial were presented in an acute form. The oil-towns were the foci of these antagonisms and the scene of the more sanguinary events of 1904–6, but the conditions there reacted on, and were reproduced in a lesser degree in, Georgia. Foreign capitalism was more than usually aggressive, as it believed itself to be operating in a new country where it was in a position to exploit cheap and inexhaustible supplies of uneducated native labour; and a sudden transition from feudalism to industrialism had created a labouring class the more dangerous because it could 177.66 668

5: Allen H-4 (no date) 1923 RH1 Caucasia RH1



721 of the lowlands to the north and south. Spring and autumn were their favourite periods, and much ingenuity was exercised in spying out the land. Fighting was only resorted to in extreme cases; and on the whole we may look upon these raids as merely low-class robbery resorted to for the purpose of obtaining cattle, supplies and slaves, which were either absorbed by the raiders themselves or bartered with other tribes or merchants from other countries.

105 Some interesting descriptions of their daily life[1] in the fifteenth to eighteenth centuries are in existence. By these we learn that in the west their houses were all built of straw or wood. No towers or houses of stone existed, for that would show that the owner was in fear and did not know how to protect himself. They lived mostly on meat, millet, water and mead, and wore long silk or linen tunics with wide trousers tucked into long boots, the whole covered with a cloak of felt, and crowned by a conical cap. They wore long moustaches and shaved their heads, and their arrows, leather work and embroidery were of very fine execution. The eastern tribes, on the other hand, lived in stone fortified villages; their food consisted of barley bread, roots and a little meat, and their weapons included not only guns and spears but wooden shields as well. The Lesghians appear to have been much better off than most of the other tribes, but the Ossets and other Daghestanlis lived often in a condition of great poverty and hardship.

795 In the history of the religion of the various tribes can be traced the effects of the influence of neighbouring civilisations. 177.79 The primitive paganism of the tribes, tree, idol and animal worship, survived as a living force until the end of the eighteenth century. On the foundation of this paganism were grafted the various faiths of the different races, who successively invaded or traded with the mountain regions. The Persians introduced fire-worship; the early Georgian Kings propagated Christianity among the Abkhazians, Ossets and Lesghians. Even during the period of Arab hegemony in the Caucasus many districts were Christian which are now fanatically Muhammadan.

The Arabs were successful in converting large portions of Daghestan to Islam, and their influence survives, not only in religious practices but in the writing and the methods of gardening and irrigation used by the eastern tribes.[1]

During the Middle Ages Christianity was spread by the Bagratids among the Kabardians and Chechens, and in the

[1] Centre, iv, 218.

1 [i.e., of the caucasian mountain tribes--Analyst]

5: Allen H-4 (no date) 1923 RH1 Caucasia RH 1



Western Caucasus among the Cherkesses by Byzantine, Russian 795
and Latin influence. It was not until the sixteenth century, 177.79
when Turkish influence was strong in the Caucasus, and when the Russians were approaching from the north, that religion, as a political force, became a serious issue.

The relations between the Turks and the Cherkesses, Kabar- 648
[illegible] and Abkhazians were confined to the exchange of mer- 439
[illegible]dise for slaves and raw materials. Such relations were [illegible]ally beneficial, for while the Turks obtained from the Caucasus brave recruits for their Janissary Corps and beautiful wives for the Harems, the young men of the mountains grasped eagerly at the opportunity of a brilliant military career in foreign lands, and the young women forwent with little misgiving the [illegible] of the mountain huts for the lives of luxurious ease which lay beyond the slave-markets of Trebizond, Akhaltsikh or Constantinople. Militarily the Turks made no attempt to force their hegemony on the mountain tribes, while the latter for their part would have been quick to resent any [illegible] on their independence. If Islam spread among 177.95
the mountaineers, Cherkesses, Kabardans and Abkhazians, it 795
was rather the result of casual but continuous contact with Mussulman merchants and sailors than of any deliberate [illegible] of proselytisation on the part of the Turks. And it was [illegible] in the practice of which were mingled many old pagan superstitions and forgotten rites of Zoroastrian and [illegible] and which lay as lightly on the mountaineers as [illegible] during the period of Georgian influence. [illegible] on the propagation of the Muhammadan [illegible] the Kabardans during the latter half of the eighteenth century [illegible] that "the Port had endeavoured to [illegible] the religion of Mohammed by means of ecclesiastical [illegible]. The [illegible] Kabardans' *mullahs* or priests are [illegible] the pupils of [illegible] who go to the Tatars [illegible] Ender, where they learn to read and write [illegible] title of *Effendi*, and return to their native [illegible] the people in the Mohammedan faith, and [illegible] more and more from the connection with [illegible]

In Dag[illegible] Islam had been maintained and consolidated, [illegible] years of [illegible] Arabs, by constant contact with the Persians [illegible]. The Daghestanis were for the most part Sunni [illegible] at times, vented their fanaticism on the [illegible] townsmen of Derbent and Shemakha.

[illegible] Klaproth, p. 317.

21: Kolarz J-4 (no date) 1952 R1 Soviet Union R1
[Kabardin] Caucasia RH 1



S.U. 563 634 687

achieved a dual purpose. In addition to punishing the Balkars it served as a warning for the Kabardinians, who from then on hastened to express their loyalty towards Soviet Russia in a very demonstrative, even effusive, way.

Ca. 177.81 814 S.U. 563 814

After the war the Soviet authorities found it advisable to provide for the Kabardinians, as a means of strengthening their allegiance to the Soviet State, a clear conception of history which would unequivocally show that the Russians had always been the protectors of the Kabardinian people. The task of formulating the details of this conception was assigned to the 'Kabardinian Research Institute', whose headquarters are in Nalchik, the capital of the Kabardinian A.S.S.R. The new conception implied the 'official recognition' of Temryuk Idarovich as the national hero of Kabarda. Kabardinian children are expected to look up to Temryuk with the same awe as Russian boys and girls to Peter the Great or Suvorov. According to the new official thesis Temryuk, a Kabardinian prince who lived around 1550, 'endeavoured to build up a strong centralized State able to resist Turkish and Crimean Tartar oppressors'. Temryuk had realized that the Kabardinians were incapable of withstanding their enemies if they were to rely on their own forces only; establishment of close contacts with Muscovy was therefore the only wise Kabardinian policy.[15]

It is the same story which is told with some variation to all the peoples of the Soviet Union in all their many languages. There is always a grain of truth in the story, but never the entire truth, since history is not so simple and so clear-cut that it would fit the purposes of a one-sided propaganda. It is a historical fact that Temryuk asked Ivan the Terrible for protection and even gave him his daughter for wife. Originally, in the days of greater internationalism, Soviet historians failed to stress this fact, and laid more emphasis on the slave trade in which the Kabardinian feudal lords had engaged with the Crimean Tartar Khanate. However, since events had proved the necessity of increasing the attachment and loyalty of the Kabardinians to the Russians and the Soviet State, Temryuk had to be brought to the forefront of Kabardinian history.

Ca. 77.53 538

Kabardinian post-war literature also pursued the aim of re-educating the Kabardinian people. The central theme of the first Kabardinian literary almanac consisted in showing that it was 'the friendship with the Russian people that led the Kabardinians towards a better life.'[16]

While a great deal was done for 're-education' in the sense required by the Russians, education as such had been neglected during the first post-war years, at least as far as the Kabardinian language was concerned. The so-called 'national' schools in the Kabardinian A.S.S.R. were Kabardinian in the first four forms only; from the fifth form onwards teaching was in the Russian language exclusively. The Central Committee of the All-Union Communist Party issued in 1948 a state-

8: Lužbetak E-4 (no date) 1951 RHl Caucasia RHl

Conclusion

87 Speaking of Russian influence, we must emphasize that nothing tends to [illegible] the marriage and family observances among the mountaineers as much as formal education, formal Russian, and especially Soviet education (*supra*, [illegible]).

Russian influence and the consequent change in customary marriage and family law (and we may include changes in Islamic law) are most strongly felt near and in large Russian cities like Grozny, along the coast of the Black and Caspian Sea, and, in general, wherever industrialization is making great strides. It is more strongly felt in the lowlands, less in the highlands, and only slightly [illegible] isolated villages.

## 2. Islamic Influence

88 Going somewhat deeper into history, we find a second principle, changing and unifying the customary law of the various mountain peoples of Caucasia, Islamic law, known as the *šari'a*.

A number of *marriage impediments*, e.g., the "waiting period," the impediment of relationship by milk, etc. have either been introduced by Mohammedan missionaries or, at least, greatly modified by Islamic law (pp. 55, 66, 69).

We have observed in not a few instances a conflict between the native [illegible] and the *šari'a*, e.g., the struggle between *obligatory levirate* and Islamic [illegible] (*supra*, p. 73).

[illegible] are sometimes given *freedom of choice* in mating (*supra*, [illegible]) [illegible] practice in full accord with the teaching of the [illegible]

[illegible] Islamic influence, genuine *bride price* has throughout North [illegible] become a form of dowry, called *kebin* (*supra*, p. 90).

[illegible] for *abduction* (*supra*, pp. 92—96).

[illegible] *separation of sexes* (*supra*, pp. 126-1 [illegible] 166).

[illegible] conditions, such as: naming of children, etc. (*supra*, pp. 142-1 [illegible]).

[illegible] *observances* (*supra*, pp. 100—112).

[illegible] (*supra*, pp. 133—137).

[illegible] *divorce* (*supra*, pp. 152—156).

[illegible] (*supra*, pp. 138—140, 18[illegible]).

[illegible] *sexual offenses* (*supra*, p. 171).

[illegible] (*supra*, p. [illegible]).

[illegible] *improvement in the relative position of sexes*, e.g., [illegible] rights of Kabardia and Ossetia, the *kebin*, [illegible]

[illegible] Islamic law. The *šari'a* is doubtless one of [illegible] in the marriage and family laws of the Caucasians. [illegible] of this influence and the opposition against it have [illegible] everywhere. Islam in has had very little influence on the [illegible] Southern Caucasians, except, of course, in Sakataly

[illegible] Bergvölker des Kaukasus," *Zeitsch.*

Analysis

5: Allen H-4 (no date) 1923 RH1 Caucasia RH 1



Western Caucasus among the Cherkesses by Byzantine, Russian 795
and Latin influence. It was not until the sixteenth century, 177.79
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[illegible]dise for slaves and raw materials. Such relations were [illegible]tually beneficial, for while the Turks obtained from the Caucasus brave recruits for their Janissary Corps and beautiful [illegible] for the [illegible]tions, the young men of the mountains grasped [illegible] at the opportunity of a brilliant military career in foreign [illegible], and the young women forwent with little misgiving the [illegible] comforts of the mountain huts for the lives of luxurious [illegible] and the slave-markets of Trebizond. Akhalt-[illegible] Militarily the Turks made no attempt to force their hegemony on the mountain tribes, while the latter for their part would have been quick to resent any [illegible] on their independence. If Islam spread among 177.95 ●
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[illegible] Daghestan Islam had been maintained and consolidated, [illegible] days of [illegible], by constant contact with the Persian [illegible]. The Daghestanli were for the [illegible] and at times, vented their fanaticism on the [illegible] of Derbend and Shemakha.

[illegible] Klaproth, p. 317.

5: Allen H-4 (no date) 1923 RH1 Caucasia RH1

[181.-1417]



Machabeli, who founded a daily paper. The style of this school was for the most part romantically patriotic, and it appealed primarily to the large and impoverished aristocratic class; but of all its disciples Ilia Chavchavadze alone had a following among the people. In general, the Russian Government had little to fear from the patriotic movement of the nobles; the majority of them served faithfully, some with distinction, in the Georgian regiments which played an important part in the Caucasian Campaign of 1877–8. Finally, the incorporation, in 1884, of the hitherto distinct Georgian army in the general military organisation of the Russian Empire marked the disappearance of the last remnant of the independence of the Georgian kingdom.

With the economic development of Transcaucasia the subversive social doctrines already spreading among the workmen of European Russia reached the Caucasus, and the Tiflis administration was confronted with a movement more real and more dangerous than the sentimental romanticism of the native princes. In 1870 European capital began to exploit Baku, and in the same year operations were begun at the great manganese deposits of Chiaturi. The construction of a railway line from Poti to Tiflis had been begun in 1867, and in 1883 this line was continued to Baku. In 1884 foreign capital, chiefly that of the Rothschilds, began to build a port at Batum. During the following thirty years the industrialisation of the Caucasus proceeded. Baku became one of the greatest petroleum centres of the world; further deposits of oil were exploited at Maikop and Grozni; another railway soon linked these towns with the Black Sea, the Caspian and Baku, and Russian, Armenian and foreign companies hastened to undertake the working of the rich manganese and copper deposits and the export of the silk, cotton, timber and wine of the country.

This sudden development soon produced the most complicated problems; antagonisms social and racial were presented in an acute form. The oil-towns were the foci of these antagonisms and the scene of the more sanguinary events of 1904–6, but the conditions there reacted on, and were reproduced in a lesser degree in, Georgia. Foreign capitalism was more than usually aggressive, as it believed itself to be operating in a new country where it was in a position to exploit cheap and inexhaustible supplies of uneducated native labour; and a sudden transition from feudalism to industrialism had created a labouring class the more dangerous because it could

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135 exist on the subject, and in Mr. Ghambashidze's book the existence of many important deposits is only broadly indicated.

[114] *Metals.—Manganese* is the only metal which has been adequately worked in Georgia, and the growth of this industry has, by creating a community of miners, had an important effect on the industrialisation and subsequent growth of the Socialist movement in the country.

135 316 [78] 471

The principal manganese deposit covers an extent of about 100 square miles along both banks of the river Kvirili, in the Government of Kutais, the centre of the mining region being at the town of Chiaturi. The mines were at first worked by a large number of small native firms who, from lack of expert knowledge and capital, employed very unscientific methods, with the result that there was much waste. Later, however, foreign firms, chiefly German, began to purchase holdings and to organise the industry, and towards the end of the last decade of the nineteenth century Georgian manganese rivalled that of Brazil and India. Great Britain was at first the principal purchaser, but Germany and other Continental countries later absorbed the bulk of the output. The industry reached the height of its prosperity in 1906, when a decrease in demand, unusually high sea-freights, and foreign competition caused a depression which lasted until 1911. In that year a revival of prosperity took place, but with the closing of the Dardanelles at the end of 1914 the industry suffered a severe blow. At the end of 1918 work at the mines had practically ceased, and heavy stocks of ore were lying at Chiaturi and Poti.

Further deposits of manganese exist at Khvartata (Batum), Saifalu (Elisavetpol), Samtredi and Novo-Senaki (Kutais).

Outcrops of *copper* occur in many parts of the Caucasus, and its mining has been in progress from the remotest times. There are three main areas which are known to contain rich deposits: (1) south of Tiflis, and east and west of the Tiflis-Kars Railway; (2) in the Chorokh Valley; and (3) in the Zangezur region.

(1) The Kedabeg group, comprising the mines of Kedabeg, Kelakent and Kara-bulag, situated north-east of Gökcha in the Government of Elisavetpol, have been worked by the American firm of Siemens Brothers, whose production of copper in 1913 amounted to 1,272 metric tons. The Allahverdi, Akhtala and Shambru mines, in the Lialvar Hills, south of Tiflis, are worked by the French Cie Métallurgique et Industrielle du Caucase, their production in 1913 amounting to 4,760 metric tons. Native firms also work mines in the Phambak Hills,

ccc As a consequence of state planning and of the lack of free enterprise, the importance of trade centers is less than it is in free economies. Old trade centers, unless backed by the industrialization policy of the regime, remain stagnant, whereas new industrial centers have spectacular success. Foreign trade was virtually non-existent during the Stalinist period.

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433 178 Economic dynamism, state-planning, and industrialization are also characteristic of the economy of the Caucasus. *

Economic dynamism reveals itself for instance in agriculture. As in the whole SSSR, the area under cultivation shows an increase, and one can witness a sharp rise in the acreage under industrial crops. Similarly, the introduction and acclimatization of new crops, the redistribution of old crops, and a rise in productivity, are also characteristic features of this dynamism. In the South Caucasus the introduction of subtropical crops is especially noteworthy. Another important field of activity of this dynamism is in irrigation and drainage works. The Eastern Caucasus in general, is poor in precipitation, and agriculture only exists when based on irrigation. As a result, in the region of Aras-Kura, upper Kuma rivers, or in Dagestan one finds great and new irrigation systems. (Azerbaijan SSR: Divichi, Lenin,

* [For a summary statement of Soviet economy, see cat. 116, pp. 836-839 -- Analyst]

432 178 Azizbek, and Ordzhonikidze Canals; Dagestan ASSR: October Revolution, and Dzerzhinskiy Canals; Groznyy Oblast: Lenin, and Alkhanchurtovskiy Canals; Stavropol' Oblast: Nevinnomysk Canal). In the West Caucasus the problem is rather that of high precipitation, so that there the trend has been towards drainage systems (in the delta of the Rion and Kuban Rivers). In addition to this, several huge reservoirs have been created (Lake Mingechaur), in connection with hydroelectric plants. Dynamism also shows itself in stock raising in the introduction of cross-breeding of various Merino, Karakul, Mutton and Mutton-dairy varieties of sheep. Yet, it shows itself even more clearly in the various industries and connected fields, as within the new mining areas (for instance around Dashkesan), new oil fields (for instance in the Neftegorsk area), a whole series of hydroelectric power plants (at Yerevan, etc.), a brand-new steel mill (Rustavi), or industrial centers (Sumgait, Kirovabad), a new center of the chemical industry (in the Armenian SSR), railroad-building (such as the Black Sea coast and the Caspian Sea coast lines), and many other items, which all prove that this dynamism is a reality.

471 178 State planning also shows its effects in the Caucasian area. Everything is planned well ahead, and in Moscow; independent Caucasian economy-planning does not exist. Although

471 since the death of Stalin there are some indi-
.178 cations, for instance, in the case of the Azerbaijan oil ministry, that the central government will foster local rule in the future.

631 In the realm of state planning, the Cau-
178 casian administrative units represent a solution partly on economic and partly on nationalistic lines. The fact that nationalistic features are more emphasized in this area than elsewhere in Soviet Russia, is due to the ethnic complexity, not to say confusions of the Caucasus. In the Northern Caucasus administrative units like the Rostov, Astrakhan', Groznyy Oblasts, and the Krasnodar, Stavropol' Krays are basically economic units. Those units which are essentially ethnic, though numerous (Adyge AO, Cherkess AO, Kabardian ASSR, North Ossetian ASSR, Dagestan ASSR) are not very important, and their population forms roughly only 10 per cent of that of the whole North Caucasus. The Soviet South Caucasus on the other hand, has only ethnic units. The South Caucasus, a relatively small area, is inhabited by three different non-Russian nations (Armenian, Azeri, Georgia), each of them with the status of a Soviet Socialistic Republic. The territory of these republics was handled during the Czarist regime as a single political and economic unit. This resulted in these republics being even today more interdependent than other Soviet units of a similar grade. The stock-raising of Armenia and

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178 Azerbaijan, for instance, is handled as a whole. The stock is driven from the winter pastures of Azerbaijan (used as a cotton growing area during the summer) and spends the summer months in Armenia. In the field of industry the Baku oilfields and oil industry are connected through pipelines with the oil industry of Batumi, in Georgia. Similarly, the Rustavi steel mills of the Georgian SSR depend on the iron ore of Dashkesan which is in Azerbaijan.

178 Industrialization in agriculture, stock-
438 raising, and forestry follows the general Soviet patterns. The Kolkhozes and Sovkhozes are predominant, some of them covering large areas like the Gigant (in Rostov Oblast). This centralization makes it easy for the central government to introduce new industrial crops, like tea or various rubber plants, into the South Caucasus, or spread the cultivation of rice or cotton in the North Caucasus. At the same time it presents the opportunity to transform the nomadic features of eastern Caucasian stock-raising into a more sedentary one. In the field of industry proper and related fields, industrialization went ahead with great strides when compared with the 1913 status. In the Czarist period the Caucasus had an oil industry (Baku, Groznyy, Maykop), a mining industry (Chiatura, Sadon and Kedabek), some copper smelters (in Alaverdi and Kafan), and some manufacturing industries (like the food industry in western North Caucasus, the fishing industry

•178 along the Caspian coast, the cognac and wine
438 industry around Yerevan). Soviet industrialization has added the coal mines at Tkvarcheli and Akhaltsikhe (in Georgia), all the thermoelectric and hydroelectric plants, the iron mines at Dashkesan, the molybdenum mines at Kadzharan, and the large centers of heavy metallurgy. The most important centers of ferrous metallurgy are Rustavi, and the ferramanganese works of Zestafoni (both in the Georgian Republic). Similarly the aluminum industry of Yerevan, based on the electric power of the area, is due to Soviet industrialization efforts. Construction of machinery (in the Czarist period mostly at Taganrog and Baku) also got a new impetus. Nowadays almost every city in the Caucasus is equipped with plants producing various kinds of machinery. Armavir, Maykop, Novorossiysk, Taganrog, and especially Rostov, produce agricultural machinery. The Rossel'mash plant in Rostov is the largest one in the USSR. Automobiles are produced in new plants in Kutaisi and Rostov, aircraft in Makhachkala, Rostov, Taganrog; electric locomotives in Novocherkassk. In shipbuilding the changes during the Soviet period have been less striking. Czarist Russia already had a traditional shipbuilding industry. The chemical industry, almost nonexistent in pre-Soviet periods (except around the Lake Baskunchak), has also received a new impetus. Armenia has a whole series of

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438 chemical centers (Alaverdi, Kirovakan, Amamlu, Leninakan, Yerevan), and Yerevan and Baku are producing synthetic rubber. The textile industry and related fields, except for some silk industry and traditional nomadic rug weaving, were also almost non-existent in the Czarist period. Nowadays, one finds cotton ginning establishments along the Kura and Aras rivers and in or around the cotton growing areas of the North Caucasus (Khasavyurt, Budennovsk, Georgiyevsk, etc.). Cotton mills in Armenia, Azerbaijan, Dagestan, woolen mills along the southern and northern slopes of the Greater Caucasus, and some of the silk filatories and mills were established in recent periods. Textile and clothing mills, almost unknown during the Czarist period, have appeared in such centers as Leninakan. New industries are the large-scale leather, boot, and shoe factories, and the alunite mines at Zaglik, producing the necessary raw material for the tanning trade. Lumbering, sawmilling, woodworking and furniture plants represent also, at least in their present day form, a completely new industry in the Caucasus, as is the paper mill at Zugdidi. In the food industry the results of the Soviet industrialization policy are less striking. The North Caucasus even in the pre-Soviet period had a relatively well-developed food industry. Similarly the salt mines (Baskunchak, Nakhichevan'), producing one of the most important raw

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438 materials of the food industry, were well exploited under the earlier regime. As a whole, however, one cannot compare the present day variety in food industry with that of Czarist Russia. The giant corn kombinat of Beslan producing starches, molasses, etc. symbolizes the results of the Soviet efforts in this field. The large number of oil presses in the North Caucasus, the sugar refineries in the South Caucasus, the fruit canning centers especially along the slopes of eastern North Caucasus, and the milk industry, centered mostly around the health resorts, were founded in general during the Soviet period. The fishing industry and fish-canning along the Caspian Sea coast and along the shores of the Sea of Azov reached their present size during the recent periods. The wine industry is an old industry in the Caucasus, but the tea industry is a Soviet creation. This new industry is centered in the subtropical western and eastern corners of the South Caucasus.

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489 Of the related fields, transportation also shows the impact of the new Russian industrialization policy. On the eve of World War I, the Russian railroad system was inadequate. Of the present main lines, only the Baku-Rostov, the Novorossiysk-Tsaritsyn, and the Baku-Batum were in existence. There was also a trunk line connecting Dzhul'fa with Tiflis, and Astrakhan' with Saratov, and Stavropol' with Yekaterinodar. As against this,

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489 the present Soviet regime has created the aforementioned Black Sea and Caspian Sea lines, the line along the Aras River, and, which is very important, a dense network of trunk lines. In navigation the changes during the Soviet period have been less important. This is due partially to the non-existence of foreign trade, to the relative unimportance of coastal shipping, and especially to the fact that in the Caucasus the rivers are unsuited for navigation (the Don and the Volga Rivers do not belong to the Caucasus, but rather mark its northern limits). Similarly, the network of primary roads is extremely skimpy. From this point of view there is no difference between the old and the new regimes. The famous military roads through the Caucasus have more historical, than practical value. According to some recent data, the building of a super-highway has started which will link the Caucasus to Moscow. Completely new is the aviation service which is of great value in a huge country such as Russia. The more important centers like Baku, Yerevan, Kirovabad, Makhachkala, Astrakhan', and Rostov have several airfields or landing grounds.

178
529 Finally, the network of the health resorts which partially existed even in the Czarist period made the Caucasus the most important center of the hotel and catering trade in the whole USSR.

Ca 771 [870] during the summer holidays all that the Soviet authorities wished them to disregard. A number of Ingush party and Communist Youth League members, instead of working against the influence of religion, used themselves to go to the mosques to pray.[7]

Ca 447 191 The difficulties existing between the Soviet authorities and the Chechens and Ingush[1] were not exclusively due to the Bolshevik failure to understand the importance of the religious factor in the life of the mountaineers. There were also extraordinary difficulties of a technical nature, due to the fact that the directives of the central administration were issued in the Russian language and therefore did not reach the Chechen-Ingush masses. Being unable fully to understand the orders received, the local Soviet organs either could not carry them out, or falsified the decisions of the party and of the administration.[8]

## GROZNY – THE OIL CITY

Ca ● 178 It was the tremendous dead weight of the predominantly Russian capital of Chechenia that prevented the implementation of any genuine Chechen autonomy and finally spelled the doom of the Chechen people. The actual liquidation of the Chechens would probably not have occurred had not the largest town in their homeland become an oil city, and indeed, one of the most important oil centres of the U.S.S.R.

Ca 315 SU 315 This oil city had developed out of the little fortress of Grozny.[2] Although Grozny oilfields had been discovered as early as 1833, they were hardly exploited at all in the nineteenth century. In 1912, however, they already supplied 11·5 per cent of the entire Russian oil. Between 1913 and 1917 this figure had risen to 16·7 per cent, and in the following four years to nearly 25 per cent. By 1937 the proportion of Grozny oil to total Russian oil production had fallen to 9·25 per cent, but in terms of absolute figures this output represented an increase of 234 per cent, compared to that before the First World War. The development of Grozny as an oil centre made for an increase of the population on an 'American scale'. In 1890 the place had no more than 6,000 inhabitants, against 34,067 in 1913, 97,095 in 1926 and 172,468 in 1939. It need hardly be added that the Chechens and Ingush, peoples consisting of shepherds and peasants, could not contribute anything worth mentioning to the rise of the town which was styled, almost ironically, 'Capital of the Chechen-Ingush A.S.S.R.'. Among the oilworkers of Grozny there were probably at no time more than one-tenth of 'natives', and until 1936 there were but 9·7 per cent.

Ca 361 162

Ca 177 S.U. 563 Unlike so many cities in the Soviet Union, Grozny never changed its name under the Soviet régime, despite the imperialistic history connected with it. As a matter of fact, it was the Soviet oil city of Grozny which spelled the doom of the Chechens and not the little fortress which

1 [Cf. category 116, pp. 186-188, R1 Sov. Union; 21: Kolarz - Analyst]
2 [Cf. category 116, p. 186, R1 Sov. Union; 21: Kolarz - Analyst]

3: Anonymous U-4 (no date) 1920 RH1 Caucasia RH1



871 Ciscaucasia, and Tiflis and Baku in Transcaucasia. In 1913, 3,665 elementary schools were open, and this number was to be increased to 4,220. Secondary or middle schools, divided into Realgymnasia, Gymnasia, and Progymnasia, were also on the increase. The Province of Kuban had the largest number of secondary schools (27), and the Province of Kars the lowest (2). Schools and institutes for the training of teachers were on the increase, and the Polytechnic Institution in contemplation at Tiflis was to embrace agricultural, chemical, economic, and mechanical sections. £210,512 had been collected for this purpose, of which Baku had contributed £42,105, with the petition that a mining section should be added. The Board of Education in 1913 granted permits for 57 new private schools, of which about 234 existed. Movable summer schools for the education of the nomad tribes were attempted for the first time in 1913 in the Governments of Erivan and Kutais. The industrial schools included 22 secondary and lower-grade technical schools, 5 trade schools, 14 lower-grade trade schools, and 3 charitable trade schools.

## GENERAL OBSERVATIONS

181 For nearly a century this region, inhabited by small nationalities of pronounced racial feelings and varied religions, has been welded together by the constraining force of a single dominant power.

The Mohammedan hill-tribes, conquered by superior force, unprogressive, brave, and violent by nature, valued their lost independence more than the peace which Russia's strong hand and impartial justice secured. The Christians, on the other hand, at first grateful for the protection afforded them, began, with increased education and a higher standard of living, to resent the effects of autocratic government and the cramping economic conditions.

The disturbances of 1902–5, though they were

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sternly repressed, left seeds of unrest behind them; and 181
the provinces were probably on the road to a serious effort to secure autonomy, when the European War, and later the Russian Revolution, shattered the existing system. Since May 26, 1918, when the Transcaucasian [642]
Diet proclaimed its own dissolution, there have existed three independent republics in what used to be Russian Caucasia—the Armenian Republic, the Georgian Rep' blic, and a Tatar Republic in the eastern Caucasus. Of these the eastern republic presents by far the most formidable problem. It is manifestly impossible to leave the Tatars of the eastern Caucasus, with the wild hill-tribes of Daghestan, to their own devices. The vital importance to Europe of the oil-fields in this region makes the problem here exceptionally pressing.

505 first place, followed, up to the outbreak of the Balkan War, by vessels under the Greek flag. Only Russian-owned vessels trade on the Caspian Sea.

Shipping facilities both on the Black and Caspian Seas were equal to all demands; on the former the majority of the vessels from abroad arrived in ballast, as imports nowhere balanced exports.

Particulars of shipping at the principal ports in 1909 and 1913 are given in Table I of the Appendix (p. 92).

### (c) *Telegraphic and Wireless Communications*

206 The Indo-European Telegraph Co. has a line running from Julfa by Erivan, Tiflis, Zugdidi, Sukhum Kale, Tuapse, Ekaterinodar, and Temryuk to Chushka Point, whence two submarine cables belonging to the company cross the Kerch Straits to Yenikale. Land telegraph lines connect Batum with Constantinople *via* Trebizond. A submarine cable connects Baku with Krasnovodsk in Transcaspia.

Batum possesses a wireless telegraph station, installed in 1911, in communication with Sevastopol. A wireless station with a range of 267 miles connects Petrovsk with Fort Alexandrovsk in Transcaspia, and another of the same power was opened at Baku in 1914. Funds were assigned in that year for erecting stations at Novorossiisk and Poti.

## (B) INDUSTRY

### (1) Labour

#### (a) *Labour Supply; Immigration and Emigration*

463 181 Agriculture forms the occupation of the majority of the inhabitants of the Caucasus, though in many cases it is pursued in combination with other activities. The numerous peoples of which the population consists (see above, pp. 8–12)* naturally show very various capacities for labour and prejudices with regard to it. The people of Caucasian or Georgian stock are cultivators of the land and keepers of flocks and herds, with little taste

* [see cat. 116 -- Analyst]

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for industrial work; many of them, especially those of the mountainous districts, are very backward (as are also the Kurds and Ossetes), but the Lesghians and Gruzians are reliable and hard-working, and constitute the best native labour supply. The Armenians, on the other hand, find their most congenial employment in trade and usury, though a good many of them are employed on the oil-fields; the Russian colonists make good agriculturists, but are often idle and intemperate; while the Tatars, who in general are farmers and breeders of sheep and cattle, are also the predominant element on the Baku oil-fields. 463 181

The native labour supply, however, is insufficient for the country's requirements on the oil-fields and elsewhere, and there has been a considerable *immigration* for some years past, the chief sources being as follows: 464 167

(i) *Russian.* — When Transcaucasia came under Russian rule in 1878, the State replaced the many Abkhasians and Circassians who left the country by considerable numbers of Russian colonists. Russian settlers have been planted by the State on the reclaimed lands of the Mughan and Mil steppes. There is a seasonal movement of some 300,000 labourers from Central Russia into Ciscaucasia for the harvest. *Artels*, or combines of Russian skilled workers, numbering from 10 to 50 persons, move about the country undertaking various sorts of contract work, and earn high wages.

(ii) *Armenian.*—Except in the two or three years following the establishment of the Young Turk Government, there has been a steady stream of immigration from Turkish Armenia to the Caucasus. This immigration increased during the persecution of the Armenians in 1915, but the fate of the refugees since the Turco-German occupation of the Caucasus is uncertain. Echmiadzin, in the Government of Erivan, the residence of the Armenian Patriarch, was regarded as the national capital of the Armenians.

(iii) *Turkish* labour is imported for the tea plantations on the Black Sea coast, and for the copper mines in the Batum district.

5: Allen H-4 (no date) 1923 RH1 Caucasia RH1



potamia, Syria and Egypt, and from the Anti-Taurus to the 175
upper waters of the Halys and the Lycus they give access to 133
all Western Asia Minor, the wealthiest lands of the lords of Constantinople. Thus, both for reasons of trade and of war, neither the rulers of Iran nor of Asia Minor have dared to allow their rival to establish control of the Armenian Plateau. The history of Armenia and the adjacent lands is therefore mainly a record of a tedious and always indecisive struggle for control between their neighbours of the West and of the East. Rome and Parthia, Byzantium and Persia, Byzantium and the Eastern Khalifat, Seljuk and Mongol, Osmanli and Persian, have in turn fought for the control and have wasted their manhood and their wealth in the struggle. In all these wars the valleys of the Rion and the Kur have constituted a route by which the western and eastern combatants have endeavoured alternately to outflank the other.

If these age-long wars were exhausting to the contending 175
Empires, they were disastrous to the peoples inhabiting the disputed lands. They have had a radical effect on the development of the two suffering races, Armenians and Georgians. The history of these two races may be divided into three phases: firstly, the long periods when they were under the political influence, but not under the direct domination, of their eastern, western or northern neighbours; secondly, the shorter period when they were under the actual rule of a foreign race, and formed an integral part either of the Arab, the Byzantine, the Mongol, the Turkish, the Persian or the Russian Empires; and thirdly, the brief periods when political upheavals affecting one or all of their neighbours have allowed them to establish their complete independence.

And if Armenian and Georgian history is mainly a record 181
of treachery, violence and cruelty, it is well to remember that both races were involved in a struggle in which they had no interest, and in which each combatant came as an invader. Also it must be remembered that perpetual warfare prevents the development of all culture, and produces as the dominant types, not the progressive statesman, the enlightened scholar, the prosperous merchant, and the industrious peasant, but the ambitious soldier of fortune, the time-serving politician who must always apprehend a change of masters, the merchant who has no security for his trade and must bribe for his safety, and the peasant driven desperate by oppression, who finds brigandage or service in foreign armies more remunerative than sowing for the invader to reap or burn.

565 had the right to change masters, and who were protected against arbitrary sale; and the slaves, who were for the most part prisoners of war. Very definite laws regulated the rights and duties of the various castes, and intermarriage was forbidden. On the other hand the princes[1] exercised little real [L42] authority; leadership in war was not an hereditary right, but leaders were elected from the families of the princes and nobles by a popular assembly of the four highest classes; while judges were nominated by popular vote, with powers only for a single day.

181 The social organisation of the Cherkesses was in many re-
871 spects anarchical, for not only was every tribe independent, but every noble's household within each tribe. Nevertheless the general conduct of the people was subject to a series of established customs, based on primitive conceptions of chivalry, respect for age, hospitality and blood-vengeance. The sons of nobles were educated in a long and difficult course of knightly training by cadet members of other noble families, who stood in the joint relation to them of tutor and blood-brother. The women had few rights, but the rights of protection by their fathers and husbands were very clearly defined.

101 The eastern tribes occupied the country between the Daryal and the Caspian littoral, and from the right bank of the Terek to the hills overlooking the valleys of the Alazan and the Kur. On the north, inhabiting the highlands of the Terek, the Sunja and the Argun, were the various tribes of Chechens, and the lesser related tribes of the Ingushes, the Kists, the Itskheris and the Galgais. Segregated in unapproachable villages (*auls*) in the depths of primæval beech-forests, the Chechens had a culture which was far less developed than that of the Cherkesses. They had no class system, and lived together in small anarchical communities.

South-east of the Chechens were the powerful Lesghian [L33] tribes, scattered over Daghestan ("The Mountain Country"), which formed an elevated table-land through which innumerable rivers had cut channels to a depth frequently of thousands of feet, the whole being backed and ribbed south and west by mountain chains with several peaks over 13,000 feet in height. The principal Lesghian tribes were the Kubachins and Darghis on the north-east, bordering the Chechen country, the Kazi-Kumukhs of the central plateau, the Kurins and Tabasserans of the south-east, overlooking the Tatar lowlands of Shirvan, and the Avars, Andis and Didos on the west, bordering on Kakhetia.

1 [of the Cherkess--Analyst]

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Of these the Kubachins,[1] skilled armourers, the Kurins and 101
the Tabasserans—the two latter tribes probably descendants of Persian colonists—were the most peaceable, industrious and civilised, while the Avars were the most warlike. All the [622]
Daghestanli tribes were organised on a patriarchal and extremely democratic basis—the chiefs being elective and controlled by councils of elders. To quote Hanway—"as they live under a kind of republican government, the distinction paid to him (the chief) is not very considerable."[2]

Distinct, racially and politically, from the other mountain tribes were the Ossets, who, divided into four main tribes—Digurins, Tagaurs, Kutatins and Alaghirs—were settled over the southern slopes of the Central Caucasus and in the valley of the Upper Araghva. Their social organisation, with its divisions into classes of nobles and serfs, corresponded in many respects to that of the western tribes.

The mountaineers possessed the accepted characteristics of 181
all semi-civilised peoples: on the one hand reckless courage, extreme generosity, hospitality, loyalty, respect for the aged and love of animals; on the other hand a sensibility to offence and a childish vindictiveness which was expressed in perpetual and blood-thirsty vendettas, extreme personal vanity, a disinclination to submit to discipline or to undertake regular work, cruelty, callousness and violence.

All travellers unite in praising the hospitality of the moun- 574
taineers. "They fulfil the duties of hospitality with the most scrupulous attention, and both the host and his guest style one another *conacco*,[3] which is synonymous with *hospes* in Latin. On the departure of the latter, his host escorts him to another lodging, protects him, and, if necessary, risks his own life in defence of his guest. Though it has been observed that robbery is so general in this country that it may be considered as a regular profession, they nevertheless manifest the utmost fidelity to their conacci or guests.[4] Of the Ingushes Klaproth says, "At entertainments the host always waits upon his guests, and eats only what the latter throw him."[5]

The chief occupation and interest of the tribes lay in per- 721
petual raids against their neighbours, or against the inhabitants

[1] Chantre, basing himself on Kubachin legends, suggests that this community was of Greek origin, the descendants of a colony of armourers settled by the Persian Kings at Derbend (Chantre, iv, 228).

[2] Hanway, i. 373.

[3] The Italianised form of "kunakh."

[4] Klaproth, p. 336, Dubois de Montpereux, i, 88, both quoting Interiano.

[5] Klaproth, p. 349.

103 Caucasians also call the Pontos the "Black Sea" (Georgian Šavi Zγva).

Later, in Arabic and Persian geographical and historical literature, forms of the name of these mountains such as Qabaq, Qabuq (?) appear, and a similar form Qāf or Qāp, becomes the general term for the Caucasus throughout the Near and Middle Eastern Islamic world (in Turkic Qāf daγlary, etc.), forms which have some slightly remote relationship with the old Iranian and Western term.

181 For a long time the Caucasus was, and
132 in a certain sense still is, a great divide between two rather different worlds: on the one hand, Trans-Caucasia, which is culturally Mediterranean and Near Eastern, and climatically arid and sub-tropical; and on the other, the North-Caucasian plains, a cultural no-man's land, the transitory roaming-grounds of nomadic peoples, and climatically belonging to the continental zone of the vast East European plains. The steppes of the northern
133 Caucasian triangle between Don-Volga and the
167 Caucasus have been, down to the last two centuries, the battlefields between ever-changing nomadic conquest groups, arriving one after the other in an almost unending sequence out of the high plains of Central and Eastern Asia, trying to force their way into the territories of the Persian or the Roman Empires, which had their outer defenses established in these plains. But even prior to those movements,

8: Lužbetak E-4 (no date) 1951 RH1 Caucasia RH1



Northwesterners" and "North Caucasians." In our present study we have considered the use of such terms quite permissible, for we have spoken of periods of *adat*-history during which the laws were more or less uniform. But were the marriage and family customary laws so uniform *before* the pastoral nomadic influences set in? What were these laws like? That is the problem of the future. It is a problem which cannot be solved by one man alone, nor can it be solved by one branch of Caucasology alone. It is a problem all branches and all students of Caucasian culture must solve together, not today, not tomorrow, but perhaps only after many decades of intense work.[73]

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[73] In solving this problem the Caucasologist may not overlook the results of D. J. Wölfel's many years of research regarding the culture of peoples possessing similar economic forms of life as we find in the Caucasus today.

Prof. Wölfel has traced two extensive Neolithic pastoral-agrarian cultures from Ireland, down to Southern France, Spain, Switzerland, Tyrol, the Carpathian Mountains, the Balkans, the Mediterranean region, especially what he terms "White" Africa, Caucasus, the Near East up to the Himalayas. In Europe the cultures are certainly pre-Indo-European, while in Africa they are pre-Hamitic. In the Caucasus, Africa, and Near East they must have preceded the flourishing cultures of Egypt, Assyria, etc., in other words, certainly before the fifth millenium B. C.

There are two cultures in question: the "Ziehbauerkultur" and the "Gebirgsbauerkultur." Both economies are known to the Caucasians!

The "Ziehbauer" are semi-nomadic peoples with summer pastures in the mountains and winter pastures in the lowlands, sometimes several hundred miles apart. They have permanent houses in villages situated on the side of a mountain, where they live whenever not actually with their herds. Originally only sheep and goats were raised, and today usually only sheep and goats are taken from their summer to their winter pastures. These semi-nomads have special customary laws regarding the pastures as well as the strip of land used by the flocks when passing from one pasture to another. These pastoral peoples are at the same time agrarians: their fields are located near their villages, and sometimes they even plough up a patch near the winter pasture. This particular economy is spread over "White" Africa, the mountain countries of the Mediterranean, in Spain, especially in the Pyrenees, in France, the Balkans, among the Slavs, in Greece, Iran, and the Caucasus.

The "Gebirgsbauerkultur" differs from the former culture in as much as large cattle and not sheep or goats are the main domestic animals. The second difference lies in the fact that these pastoral-agrarians have only summer-pastures (in the highlands), the stall and fodder replacing the winter-pastures. This culture possesses peculiar wooden containers, and distinctive forms of cheese and butter. The typical house is a rectangular building, sunk partly into the side of the mountain; the walls of the groundfloor are of stone while the upper story has wooden walls. The beams between the two stories project in front forming a balcony. The towers, which are so commonly seen in Caucasian villages, are also found in other parts of the world where this particular form of economy is met with. The towers are not only used for defense among these warlike peoples but also as store-rooms. The culture is spread over "White" Africa, among the Basques, in the Alps, Scandanavia, British Isles, the Carpathian Mountains, the Balkans, the Caucasus and in the mountains of Central Asia. (Cf. D. J. Wölfel, "Die Hauptprobleme Weissafrikas," *Archiv für Anthropologie*, XXVII (1942), No. 4.)

According to Prof. Wölfel the *mobačestvo*, fosterage, and not a few of the elements we have classified as coming into the Caucasus from Inner Asia are social phenomena peculiar to these Neolithic cultures.

We wish now to enumerate a number of marriage and family customs which seem to hint at some sort of actual relationship with the "Zieh-" or "Gebirgsbauer."

Prof. Wölfel, for example, has called my attention to a parallel of the Cherkess and Ossetine corset-ceremony (*supra*, p. 113) found in Tyrol. E. Westermarck (Marriage Ceremonies in Morocco, London, 1914, p. 232) mentions a custom according to which the groom is obliged to untie knots before the consummation of marriage.

8: Lužbetak E-4 (no date) 1951 RHl Caucasia RHl



## 4. Retrospect

(1) *The marriage and family customary laws of all North Caucasian tribes are astoundingly similar.*

(2) *Their marriage and family adats agree essentially with those of their Caucasian and non-Caucasian (Turco-Mongolian and Indo-European) neighbours.*

(3) *This similarity must be attributed especially*[78] *to common unifying principles.*

(4) *In historical times the unifying principles in question were: Russian (Soviet and pre-Soviet) influences, Islam, Christianity, Roman-Byzantine law, Avesta.*

(5) *The great similarity in marriage and family adats of the North Caucasians must be attributed especially to pastoral nomadic influences originating in Inner Asia.*

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Other parallels which I have found in Westermarck's work and which will serve to prove that the oldest cultures of Caucasia cannot be studied without keeping Prof. Wölfel's theory in mind are the following: (1) the frequent use of honey in connection with marriage (*op. cit.*, p. 29); (2) the custom of placing a raw egg in bowl of grain (*op. cit.*, p. 90) and scattering the grains. In this case, however, the sister of he bride does the scattering. (3) The crossing of swords to protect the bride from evil spirits (*op. cit.*, pp. 99, 108, 123, 152, 162) is also found in the Caucasus (*supra*, p. 124); however, this custom may have come by way of Islamism. (4) The bride and groom eat sheep's liver to insure concord and love (*op. cit.*, p. 101; *supra*, p. 117); in the Caucasus sheep's heart is eaten instead. (5) Stones are thrown at a shrine by the participants of the wedding procession. Westermarck interprets this custom as a means of driving away and killing the Yiblis; among the Ossetes the shrine is pelted as a fertility rite. (6) In the Caucasus flour is poured on the bride (*supra*, p. 118); in Morocco flour is smeared on the groom (*op. cit.*, p. 147) and milk is poured on the bride. In these ceremonies in both countries it is the whiteness of milk and flour that is stressed, white representing nuptial joy. (7) In the Caucasus a little boy is placed in the lap of the bride so that she may soon become the mother of a boy; in Morocco a boy is placed immediately behind the bride as she rides in the procession from her home to that of her groom. (8) Then there are such customs as giving the bride a stroke as a sign of her husband's authority over her. (*Supra*, p. 119), *op. cit.*, pp. 158 f.) In Palestine this blow is given with a stick as soon as the bride crosses the threshold. (9) Or again, there is the custom of throwing stones at the bride when the procession begins to leave her father's home (*op. cit.*, pp. 176 f); in the Caucasus, among the Andi, we find the custom of throwing filth ar her (*supra*, p. 119). (10) After the virginity test has taken place—just as is the case in the Caucasus—the hymenal blood on the garment is exhibited or a gun is fired announcing her virginity (*op. cit.*, pp. 236 f, 242, 254); but this custom may easily be of Semitic or Hamitic origin. (11) As soon as the bride arrives, her mother-in-law offers her some milk (*op. cit.*, pp. 194, 210); in the Caucasus she smears honey on the bride's lips (*supra*, p. 124).

There are of course other similarities that might be mentioned, but these are probably of Islamic, Arabic, or Hamitic origin. Some of the Hamitic practices (and therefore pastoral nomadic!) are: (1) on the wedding day or shortly before fetching the bride, the cloak of the groom is pulled over his face, just as among the Abkhaz (*op. cit.*, pp. 102, 105 f, 112; *supra*, p. 123); (2) on arriving at her new home, the bride must immediately hide behind a curtain, attended to only by a few female friends (*op. cit.*, p. 105; *supra*, p. 124). (3) A. Hanoteau and A. Letourneux, *La Kabylie et les coutume kabyles*, 1893, mention a number of other pastoral nomadic elements. (See especially volume II, pp. 149, 154, 177, 187, 188, 191, 219.)

21: Kolarz J-4 (no date) 1952 R1 Soviet Union R1
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[Osset]



territory comprising 1,200 square miles was a national triumph for Georgia, for it enabled her, for the first time, to spread out to the north of the Caucasus.

S.U. 563 634

## A 'GOOD' PEOPLE – THE OSSETINS

After the expulsion of the Chechens from their homeland the Ossetins became the largest mountain people of the Northern Caucasus. In 1939 there were altogether 354,000 Ossetins in the U.S.S.R. of whom slightly less than two-thirds lived in the Autonomous Republic of Northern Ossetia, with which we are here primarily concerned, and about one-third in the Southern Ossetin Autonomous Province of Georgia. The two Ossetin territories adjoin each other and it would have been logical to amalgamate them into a single Autonomous Republic. Representatives of the two Ossetias went to Moscow in October 1925 to discuss the unification of their people with the Soviet central Government and personally with Stalin whose own mother is of Ossetin origin. This discussion which is briefly referred to in the seventh volume of Stalin's complete works, was inconclusive. The unification of the Ossetins would have been possible only at the expense of Georgia and the Kremlin was apparently not prepared to harm the interests of one of the constituent republics of the U.S.S.R. for the sake of a minor nationality.

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Czarist and Bolshevik authorities agree in their appraisal of the comparatively peaceful and placid Ossetins, no less than in their judgment on the turbulent Chechens. Of course, both régimes had encountered difficulties among the Ossetins, too, but never on the same scale as in the case of other Caucasus mountain peoples.

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Czarist Russia started the conquest of the Ossetins in the period of Catherine II and skilfully exploited the class differences among them as well as their hostility toward their western neighbours – the Kabardinians. Many Ossetins considered the establishment of Russian rule as a safeguard against the danger of attacks by more warlike mountain peoples. Ossetin folk-songs of the early epoch of Russian conquest reflect a pro-Russian spirit and state unequivocally that living under Russian rule was identical to living in peace.

Ca. 175 177

The Ossetins appreciated that Russian occupation and protection enabled them to settle in the plain from which they had been driven by the Kabardinians. Part of that re-settlement had already started in the second half of the eighteenth century. The major part of the re-settlement action was, however, carried out much later, between the twenties and the forties of the nineteenth century.

The Ossetins were of use to Russia not only as settlers, but also as soldiers. As early as the last years of the eighteenth century a number of Ossetin officers distinguished themselves in Prince Potemkin's army in

The "Reconciliation" however is not yet over. The following morning an *arba* (Caucasian two-wheeled wagon) drawn by two oxen goes through the village and every family before whose house the *arba* halts is obliged to donate a chicken. In the evening a cartload of chickens arrives, destined for a special "Reconciliation" feast exclusively for women, on which occasion the groom by accepting some beer from his mother is finally "reconciled" also with her. 585 [493]

True, the "Reconciliation" may be over, but the marriage ceremonies are not. Two days later there is more feasting, more drinking, and the so-called *shinak-gagerös* (i. e., "the twirling of a wooden cup with a long handle") take place. The one toward whom the cuphandle points on stopping after having been twirled must drink its contents. The young people who take part in this drink-feast do not leave the groom's home till there is no more beer left to refill the cup. The old folks have their turn in the celebration in the evening, when the young are obliged to serve the old. One of the main features on the programme is the obligation of all the "old-timers" to take a turn at dancing, ending with a dance of the host and hostess, who, however, have the privilege of exemption from dancing if they drink a cup of beer instead. On this occasion the Kabardian minnesingers called *geguako* are especially welcome. They travel from village to village, playing on their two-stringed instruments, singing and composing beautiful lyrics[20] as the German minnesingers and the French and Italian troubadours once used to do. To each well-wishing of the *geguako* the guests answer with a joyful "Amen!," confirming their "So be it!" with a sip of beer.[21] [524] [273] [533] [534]

The ceremony of thrice walking around the hearth constitutes an important part of the Cherkess wedding just as in Abkhazia.[22]

The official marriage contract is made by representatives of the bride and groom in the presence of the local mullah. Holding both representatives by the hand, he first asks the representative of the bride: "Do you take A as husband for B?" The answer is a simple "Yes!" He then asks the representative of the groom: "Do you take B as wife for A?" "Yes!" This interrogation is repeated a second and a third time. The mullah then recites a prayer and all present, raising their hands heavenward, answer "Amen!"[23]

The expenses entailed in such an elaborate wedding would often bring complete economic ruin to the family, much the same as Caucasian funerals. Ladyženskij implies, however, that such expensive weddings are a thing of the past.[24]

The NORTHEASTERN CAUCASIANS. As our example of a Chechen marriage we have chosen that of the Ingushi, for this group of Chechens has preserved much more of their ancient culture than any other. In so doing, however, we must make allowance for tribal differences. [182]

[20] Hahn, *op. cit.*, pp. 46—49, from whom we have also taken the description of the "Reconciliation." Hahn gives us a few examples of these lyrics, *op. cit.*, pp. 49 ff.

[21] Hahn, *op. cit.*, p. 51.

[22] Dirr, AGKB, p. 25.

[23] Ladyženskij, FT, p. 199.

[24] Ladyženskij, FT, p. 208. See also Dubrovin, *Istorija* for a fairly good description of a Cherkess wedding, I, i, pp. 142 ff, 147 f.

837 to the general rule. This village is inhabited by a degraded Avarian tribe or,
836 as Baddeley suggests, "perhaps the remnant of an older race absorbed by the
574 latter."[81] But even here, among this "degraded" Avarian tribe, the girl "might only be touched from waist upwards; in Shamyl's time a too-ardent lover was stabbed to death, for a breach of this adat, by his own beloved, and the deed was not only not punished but even greatly applauded."[82]

836 There are also similar conflicting reports regarding the neighbouring mountain tribes of Georgia. Klaproth, for instance, speaking of the Tushi, says, "Le commerce illicite entre les deux sexes est très rare chez eux..."[83] Klaproth's claim is in full accord with the severe penalties for fornication as described by Baddeley: "If a girl was unchaste, she was set upon a donkey, face to tail, and carried through the 'aoul', spat upon and jeered at." He goes on to say that "if a girl had a child, she was driven out of the community and the child killed, unless some charitable person took pity on it. A young man could not marry a girl once seduced by another man, but an old man or widower might."[84] Other reports, however, maintain the very contrary and say that the mountain tribes of Georgia are extremely lax. A few distinctions will, I believe, clarify these contradictions. The Khevsurs[85] and the Pshavs[86] have an institution called *tsatsali*, that is, "brother" or "sister" but actually legal lovers. It is only freedom with non-*tsatsalis* and pregnancy that seems to have been discountenanced by these tribes. As long as the girl restricted her relations to her *tsatsali* and avoided pregnancy she was "chaste." One of the main reasons for the
[582] relatively late marriage age among the mountain tribes of Georgia (*supra*, p. 67) is this institution.[87]

### 4. Relation of Penalties for Sexual Offenses to the Economic and Social Organization of the Caucasian Mountaineers

182 All that we have said about the severity of the penal laws of the North
687 Caucasians is in perfect harmony with their general economic and social organization. It is a known fact that lower hunters discountenance sexual liberty more than the higher hunters; the lower agrarians more than the higher; the pastoralists more than the agrarians; the father-right family more than the mother-right.[88] Our North Caucasians have a strongly pastoral and father-right organization.

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[81] Baddeley, *op. cit.*, II, p. 13.

[82] *ibid.* Baddeley's source is Komarov's article "Adaty i sudoproizvodstvo po nim," SSKG, I, p. 57. Dubrovin, *Istorija*, I, i, p. 564 has the incident too, but he fails to mention his source.

[83] Klaproth, *Voyage au Mont Caucase et en Géorgie*, II, p. 72.

[84] Baddeley, *op. cit.*, I, p. 237.

[85] Kovalevskij, "La famille matriarcale au Caucase," *L'Anthropologie*, IV (1893), p. 273.

[86] Makalatija, "Iz starogo narodnogo byta Pšavov," SE, 1938, No. 1, p. 98.

[87] Since the *tsatsali* in Pshavia are always chosen from among relatives and marriage is possible only between non-relatives, marriage would mean that the two would have to separate and love another person, a fact that makes them reluctant to marry. In fact, they sometimes do not marry at all. For a detailed exposition of the institution, see Makalatija, *op. cit.*, pp. 98—102.

[88] H. Günther, *Formen und Urgeschichte der Ehe*, p. 90.

8: Lužbetak E-4 (no date) 1951 RHl Caucasia RHl



177.87
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Speaking of Russian influence, we must emphasize that nothing tends to unify the marriage and family observances among the mountaineers as much as formal education, formal Russian, and especially Soviet education (*supra*, p. 147).

Russian influence and the consequent change in customary marriage and family law (and we may include changes in Islamic law) are most strongly felt near and in large Russian cities like Grozny, along the coast of the Black and Caspian Sea, and, in general, wherever industrialization is making great strides. It is more strongly felt in the lowlands, less in the highlands, and only slightly in isolated villages.

## 2. Islamic Influence

177.58
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Going somewhat deeper into history, we find a second principle, changing and unifying the customary law of the various mountain peoples of Caucasia, Islamic law, known as the *šarî'a*.

(1) A number of *marriage impediments*, e. g., the "waiting period," the impediment of relationship by milk, etc. have either been introduced by Mohammedan missionaries or, at least, greatly modified by Islamic law (pp. 55, 66, 69).

(2) We have observed in not a few instances a conflict between the native *adats* and the *šarî'a*, e. g., the struggle between *obligatory levirate* and Islamic optional levirate (*supra*, p. 73).

(3) Non-virgins are sometimes given *freedom of choice* in mating (*supra*, pp. 78 f), while virgins are not, a practice in full accord with the teaching of the Šâfi'itic School.

(4) Thanks to Islamic influence, genuine *bride price* has throughout North Caucasus tended to become a form of dowry, called *kebin* (*supra*, p. 90).

(5) Penalties for *abduction* (*supra*, pp. 92—96),

(6) *the strict separation of sexes* (*supra*, pp. 106 f, 166),

(7) some *birth* customs, such as, naming of children, etc. (*supra*, pp. 142 f),

(8) some *engagement observances* (*supra*, pp. 100—110),

(9) some *divorce* laws (*supra*, pp. 133—137),

(10) *husband-wife relations* (*supra*, pp. 152—156),

(11) *parent-child relations* (*supra*, pp. 138—149, 187),

(12) certain *penal laws* for sexual offenses (*supra*, p. 171),

(13) *slavery* (*supra*, p. 65),

(14) and the general improvement in the *relative position of sexes*, e. g., acquisition of inheritance rights in Kabardia and Ossetia,[1] the *kebin*, and others—

all have been greatly modified by Islamic law. The *šarî'a* is doubtless one of the main unifyng principles in the marriage and family laws of the Caucasians.

However, the strength of this influence and the opposition against it have not been the same everywhere. Islamism has had very little influence on the marriage and family of the Southern Caucasians, except, of course, in Sakataly

[1] Ladyženskij, "Zur Erforschung der Rechtsgewohnheiten der Bergvölker des Kaukasus," *Zeitsch. f. Ethnologie*, XLII (1930), p. 241.

1 [Sic — Analyst]

5: Allen H-4 (no date) 1923 RH1 Caucasia RH1

[1811 - 1917]



643 power, which gave him in effect the position of an autocratic monarch during the period of his viceroyalty. From 1882 to
631 1905 the administration was yet further centralised by the substitution for the Viceroy of a Governor-General, directly controlled by a Caucasian Committee at St. Petersburg. A civil Governor subordinate to the Viceroy or Governor-General ruled each Province, with the exception of those of Daghestan, Sukhum, Batum and Kars, where the Governor was a military officer. The Provinces were divided into districts, governed by officials bearing the title *nachalnik*, and the districts were divided into communes (*volost*), where the chief authority was a native elder (*volostnoi starshina*) elected by the community and assisted by a headman of each village (*starosh*). With regard to the law, small cases were tried by local magistrates; those involving more than 2,000 roubles by Russian judges in the district courts.

It will thus be seen that while the Russian administrative
186 machine provided for a degree of local autonomy, the natives
469 had no influence on the conduct of Caucasian or even of provincial affairs. But this system was suitable enough to the mass of the peasantry who, under native rule, had lain in still deeper servitude. The Tatar peasantry, particularly, after the termination of the national struggle for independence, reconciled themselves to Russian rule. The Georgian aristocracy, still inspired by some glimmerings of sentimental patriotism, and resenting at once the supremacy of the Russian bureaucracy, the decline of their own feudal powers, and the steady growth of an Armenian bourgeoisie, alone of all the elements in the Transcaucasus continued to foster a vivid resentment against the existing régime. The Russian policy of Russification, the chief incidents of which were the subjecting of the Georgian Autocephalous Church to the Holy Synod (1811) and the abolition of the autonomy of Svanetia (1833) and of Mingrelia (1867), roused them more than once to sporadic revolt. Thus risings, partly nationalist and partly agrarian in character, in which members of the nobility led the peasant bands, took place at different dates—in Imeretia (1821), in Guria (1822) and in Mingrelia (1857).

During the same period, and parallel with the political
538 discontent, the patriotic literary revival, initiated during the
186 previous century by Vakhtang VI and Prince Vakhusht, was developed, and a school arose of aristocratic journalists and poets, chief of whom were Alexander and Ilia Chavchavadze, Giorgi Eristavi (a Decabrist), Grigor Orbelian and Ivané

5: Allen H-4 (no date) 1923 RH1 Caucasia RH1

[181.-1417]



Machabeli, who founded a daily paper. The style of this school was for the most part romantically patriotic, and it appealed primarily to the large and impoverished aristocratic class; but of all its disciples Ilia Chavchavadze alone had a following among the people. In general, the Russian Government had little to fear from the patriotic movement of the nobles; the majority of them served faithfully, some with distinction, in the Georgian regiments which played an important part in the Caucasian Campaign of 1877–8. Finally, the incorporation, in 1884, of the hitherto distinct Georgian army in the general military organisation of the Russian Empire marked the disappearance of the last remnant of the independence of the Georgian kingdom.

With the economic development of Transcaucasia the subversive social doctrines already spreading among the workmen of European Russia reached the Caucasus, and the Tiflis administration was confronted with a movement more real and more dangerous than the sentimental romanticism of the native princes. In 1870 European capital began to exploit Baku, and in the same year operations were begun at the great manganese deposits of Chiaturi. The construction of a railway line from Poti to Tiflis had been begun in 1867, and in 1883 this line was continued to Baku. In 1884 foreign capital, chiefly that of the Rothschilds, began to build a port at Batum. During the following thirty years the industrialisation of the Caucasus proceeded. Baku became one of the greatest petroleum centres of the world; further deposits of oil were exploited at Maikop and Grozni; another railway soon linked these towns with the Black Sea, the Caspian and Baku, and Russian, Armenian and foreign companies hastened to undertake the working of the rich manganese and copper deposits and the export of the silk, cotton, timber and wine of the country.

This sudden development soon produced the most complicated problems; antagonisms social and racial were presented in an acute form. The oil-towns were the foci of these antagonisms and the scene of the more sanguinary events of 1904–6, but the conditions there reacted on, and were reproduced in a lesser degree in, Georgia. Foreign capitalism was more than usually aggressive, as it believed itself to be operating in a new country where it was in a position to exploit cheap and inexhaustible supplies of uneducated native labour; and a sudden transition from feudalism to industrialism had created a labouring class the more dangerous because it could

21: Kolarz J-4 (no date) 1952 R1 Soviet Union R1
Caucasia RH1
[Aissor]



of the Assyrians, who had led the great migration. These platonic expressions of sympathy were of little help to the Assyrians. Transcaucasia was soon drawn into the turmoil of revolution and civil war and there was no Russian authority in existence which could be interested in the fate of the Assyrian people. S.U. 563 Ca. 563

It is not our task to follow up the further calvary of the Assyrians in Iraq, their recruitment into the famous Assyrian levies and the massacres of 1933 – we are concerned here only with the Russian aspect of the problem. Whilst the centre of gravity of the Assyrian nation was in Iraq, where the Mar Shimun had his residence, Soviet government circles claimed that the largest single group of Assyrians lived in the U.S.S.R. and thus, from the Russian point of view, the Assyrians had become one of the peoples of the Soviet Union.[51]

In 1935 the number of Assyrians in Russia was officially estimated at 50,000-60,000, but the 1939 census recorded not more than 20,000. They occupied eight villages in Transcaucasia and had also small colonies in Krasnodar, Rostov, Kiev, Leningrad and Moscow, where at one time over 2,000 Assyrians were counted. In all these places the Assyrians had their own national schools, and a special Assyrian section was established in the Teachers' Training College in the North Caucasus town of Armavir. Soviet Assyrians were looked after by a special Assyrian organization, 'Khoyadto', which both attended to their cultural needs and directed their mobilization for socialistic reconstruction work. S.U. 563 162

The Soviet Government found it a hard task to reconcile the Assyrian people with Bolshevik ideology, in view of their deep attachment to their ancient Nestorian Church. In April 1933, a statement of the Presidium of the Central Executive Committee complained about 'undermining activities' which class-alien exploiting elements were alleged to have carried out amongst Soviet Assyrians. These 'elements' were said to have penetrated into Assyrian collective farms and co-operatives in an attempt to dominate them. S.U. 563 771 Ca. 563 771

The régime also found fault with the communists and Communist Youth League members who had been recruited amongst the Assyrians in 'considerable numbers', for even Assyrian communists seemed to have kept faith with their nation and its rich traditions. In the middle of the thirties the authorities turned against a number of Assyrian communists who had proved to be 'prisoners of family ties', and who had defended 'class enemies' because of their Assyrian nationality. These 'communists' had denied the necessity of class struggle inside the Assyrian people since they could not see any class divisions within a nation which had concentrated all its energies on its survival.[52] Ca. 563 665 186

Soviet philologists also tried to replace the 'archaic' Syriac alphabet of the Assyrians. At first they gave them a Russian alphabet, then, in 1930, a Latin alphabet. This had to be revised two years later because it was 'unsuitable' and in the end the Russian alphabet was re-introduced. S.U. 563 212

113, • 19

Caucasia RH1

[For information pertaining to the Caucasian languages, see 22: Matthews, R1 Soviet Union, category 116; pp. 86-88; 76-77 (Kumik, Karachai); 88-92 (Lesghin, Avar, Agul); 94-96 (Adige); 102-103 (Ossetic). ]

7: Columbia U. S-4, 5 1956 RHl CaucasiaRHl
Georgia RI l

C.
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Caucasus, in and around the cities of Nukha and Shemakha and along the northeastern slopes of the northeastern border mountains of the Anti-Caucasus. These are in the rural districts, mainly Armenian peasants, while numerous Armenians are found in the diaspora of all bigger Caucasian and Trans-Caucasian cities. Some of these cities were founded by Armenians; for instance, Armavir, the important railroad hub in the Northwestern Caucasian area, which bears the name of one of the oldest known Armenian cities. It is interesting to note that the majority of the Armavir Armenians speak Cherkess as their everyday language. The Armenians who had received Christianity from the south, from Syria, before the rule of Constantine the Great, were exposed at various epochs of history to religious and political oppression and persecution, and are like the Jews, one of the oldest nations of refugees and emigres, whose members can be found all over the world. Their more compact diaspora groups live in Russia, Syria, Constantinople, Podolia (westernmost Ukraine), Vienna, Transylvania, Venice, Munich, Paris, and the United States.

C.
[191]

## The K'art'velians

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The central part of the Trans-Caucasian valley and the entire western part of Trans-

7: Columbia U. S-4,5 1956 RH1 Caucasia RH1
Georgia RI1
Mingrel, Laz, Swan

000 Georgian show a Mingrelian substrate.
C G 197 Mingrelian has never been a literary language; in the schools, Georgian is the language of teaching so that in the last decades Mingrelian has notably changed in favour of a closer resemblance to Georgian. Many of the modern Georgian authors are of Mingrelian origin.

C G 101 c. The Laz live on the seacoast and in the valleys of the small rivers falling into the Black Sea between the towns of Khope and Atina. Only a very small part (730 persons according to the census of 1926) live in Soviet territory; the large majority live in Turkish territory (ca. 47,000 acc. to the Turkish C G [191] census of 1945). All Laz speak Turkish in public and use their mother tongue only as a [192] home language. Laz is full of Turkish loanwords; even the name Lazi which the Laz use for themselves is borrowed from Turkish. The Georgians call them Ch'ani which corresponds to Tzanoi used by Procopius. Lazike was in Roman and Byzantine times the designation not only of modern Lazistan, but also of all C G Western Georgia, having superseded the old [197] Greek name of Colchis. The Laz language is in phonology almost identical with Mingrelian, but in grammar shows considerable peculiarities. It has never been written except for scientific recording.

d. The Svan (Svanetians) inhabit two valleys in the high mountain chains south of

2:2 Non-Indigenous Languages (continued)

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Kumuk | -1927: | Arabic; 1927-: Latin; 1937-: Russian |
| Kurdish | | Occasional publications in Arabic and Latin script |
| Noghay | -1928: | Arabic; 1928-: Latin; 1937-: Russian |
| Ossete | -1923: | Russian; 1923- Latin (not CNA); 1937-: Russian (in North Ossetian ASSR) and Georgian (in South Ossetian AO) |
| Tat | -1929: | Hebrew; 1929-: Latin; 1937-: Russian |

As a result of general compulsory education, the large majority of the speakers of Caucasian languages are literate in the official language of their district. It must be noted, however, that many persons have not kept up with the changes in alphabets and are literate only in the Arabic and/or Latin script.

•191 As to the speakers of non-literary languages, the Ando-Dido peoples and the speakers of Archi and Tsakhur in Dagestan use Avar as a literary language. The Paleo-caucasian speakers in the Azerbaidjan SSR use Azeri as a literary language, as do the Talysh. In general, Russian is the lingua franca in the North-Western and Central Caucasus; in Dagestan this role is played in the West by Avar, in the East, north of Derbent by Kumuk, south of Derbent by Azeri.

582 ghian mountain peoples. Early ecclesiastical law of Georgia and Armenia attacked next-of-kin marriages with great vehemence, while Islamic law *permitted* the Daghestanians to continue the practice, except, of course, the brother-sister marriages. The Armenian National Council of Ashtishat (A. D. 365) prohibited all marriages in the lateral line up to the third degree of relationship.[76] Later even fourth degree relatives were excluded from mating, while other Church decrees and tradition considered marriages between relatives even up to the seventh degree as incestuous.[77] Islamic law on the contrary, permitted first-cousin marriages.[78] Moreover the local and linguistic isolation of the 191 Lesghian tribes and constant family-feuds favoured endogamy. Today there are about 30 distinct languages in Daghestan and formerly there must have been many more, not to mention the numerous dialects. Some languages are spoken by as few as a thousand people, or as is the case with the Nakhada by only one hundred and thirty-five persons.

Although the Iranian culture area extended beyond North Caucasia, we have no evidence of the existence of the next-of-kin marriages in Northwest and Northcentral Caucasus. What kept the Cherkess and the Abkhaz from falling into line with their Eastern and Southern neighbours, or what has contributed to its early death after endogamy had been introduced, is not easy to say. The greater geographical remoteness from the centres of endogamy (Egypt, Sumeria, Elam, Arabia and Persia are the classical regions for brother-sister marriages), the well-established aristocracy with no danger of extinction, the strong, proud tradition regarding incest, the great respect for their own *adats*, the example of the élite of the Caucasus (the Kabardians), and Christianity seem to have been the main factors involved. We do not know if endogamy has ever existed among the Chechens.

### 2. The Impediment of Affinity

000 By an impediment of affinity we understand that degree of propinquity between a husband and a female relative of his wife or between a wife and a male relative of her husband which by law or custom is a bar to marriage. This particular impediment has not yet been sufficiently investigated by the field-workers; however we shall treat of this impediment indirectly when speaking of the levirate, sororate, and widow inheritance.

### 3. The Impediments of Fictitious Kinships

582 By fictitious kinship we understand any relationship based on grounds other than consanguinity or affinity. To what extent do such artificial kinships 608 bar two Caucasians from mating? Fieldworkers have indeed investigated the various forms of fictitious kinship, but, unfortunately, not in relation to mating. There is still much to be done in regard to this important impediment.

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[76] Klidschian, "Das armenische Eherecht," *Zeitschrift f. vergl. Rechtsw.*, XXV (1911), p. 332 ff.

[77] Zdenko Vinski, "*Die südslavische Grossfamilie in ihrer Beziehung zum asiatischen Grossraum*," p. 138 (MS).

[78] G. Bergsträsser, *Grundzüge des islamischen Rechts*, p. 82.

8: Lužbetak E-4 (no date) 1951 RHI Caucasia RHI



indeed love my mother; but I must also punish the person who suggested surrender. Take my mother therefore, and punish her, punish her with one stroke and give me the remaining 39." This is a story every North Caucasian Mohammedan has heard again and again. 888 593

## § 7. EDUCATION

With the coming of Mohammedanism the method of education in the Caucasus was revolutionized. In many places throughout North Caucasus and especially in Daghestan, a new educator was introduced, the mullah. Till then, the *home* was the only "school" and the parents (or foster-parents) the only educators.[80] The subject matter of these Mohammedan schools[81] was, as usual, limited to the study of Arabic and the Koran and Islamic tradition, at times taught by very poorly educated mullahs.[82] 871 [875]

The second important innovation came with the Russians,[83] but especially with the Soviets. Only the Georgians, Armenians, and Azerbaijani had an alphabet in pre-Soviet times.[84] The Soviets immediately realized the necessity of an alphabet for each language, without which the spread of Marxism would be impossible. In 1928 about 40 per cent of the Chechens received formal schooling, while only a very few isolated mountain villages had no school at all.[85] In the mountain of Daghestan the illiteracy is still very great. According to statistics of 1926 only about 10 per cent of the men and 1 per cent of the women can read. Nevertheless, it cannot be denied that progress has been made among these mountain peoples too.[86] Today there are enough Lesghians who are able to read to make Russian, Kumykian, Lak, and Avarian newspapers possible.[87] The Lesghian children receive instructions in their mother-tongue only in the first two years at school; after that they must learn either Kumykian or Russian. In secondary schools both languages are obligatory.[88] 212 191

As for home education, a few general remarks will suffice. The education of little children and of all unmarried girls is the task of the mother; the education of the boys is the task of the father.[89] The little children are told to behave 868

[80] Cf. K. N. Rossikov, "Połzdka v Čečnju i Nagornyj Dagestan," ZKO, XIII (1884), p. 249.

[81] A. Zacharov, "Narodnoe obučenie u Zakavkazskich Tatar," SMOMPK, IX (1890), No. 2, pp. 7—51; Mir-Galim-bek Vezirov, "O Tatarskich školach," SMOMPK, IX (1890), No. 2, pp. 1—6; A. Omarov, "Vospominanija mutaallima," SSKG, I, pp. 13—20; II, pp. 46—70.

[82] Cf. Halil Beg Mussayassul for a description of his schooling in *Das Land der letzten Ritter*, pp. 52—56.

[83] "O rasprostranenii gramotnosti meždu gorcami," SSKG, III (1870), pp. 1—30. The main object of pre-Soviet education was to teach a sufficient number of natives the Russian language.

[84] Of course some attempts had been made before the Revolution. Fifteen years after the Revolution all North Caucasians had a written language. The Latin script was used as foundation for the Cherkess, Abaz, Chechen, Karachai, Balkarian, Avar, Dargwa, Kurin, Lak, Tabassaran, Kumykian, Nogai, and Tat languages. Cf. G. P. Serdjučenko, "Jazyki Severnogo Kavkaza i Dagestana," *Sbornik lingvističeskich issledovanij*, Moscow-Leningrad, 1935, p. 7.

[85] Plätschke, *Die Tschetschenen*, p. vii.

[86] R. Kherumian, "Contribution à l'Anthropologie du Caucase," *L'Anthropologie*, LII (1948), No. 1—2, p. 44.

[87] Nansen, *op. cit.*, p. 98.

[88] *ibid.*

[89] Ladyženskij, FT, p. 200.

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| | | |
|---|---|---|
| A | B | C |
| D | E | F |

Chart of position of
Sections of end map.

[Facing end map]

8: Lugbetak E-4 (no date) 1951 RH1 Caucasus RH1

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[End map A]

8: Lužbetak E-4 (no date) 1951 RH1 Caucasia RH1

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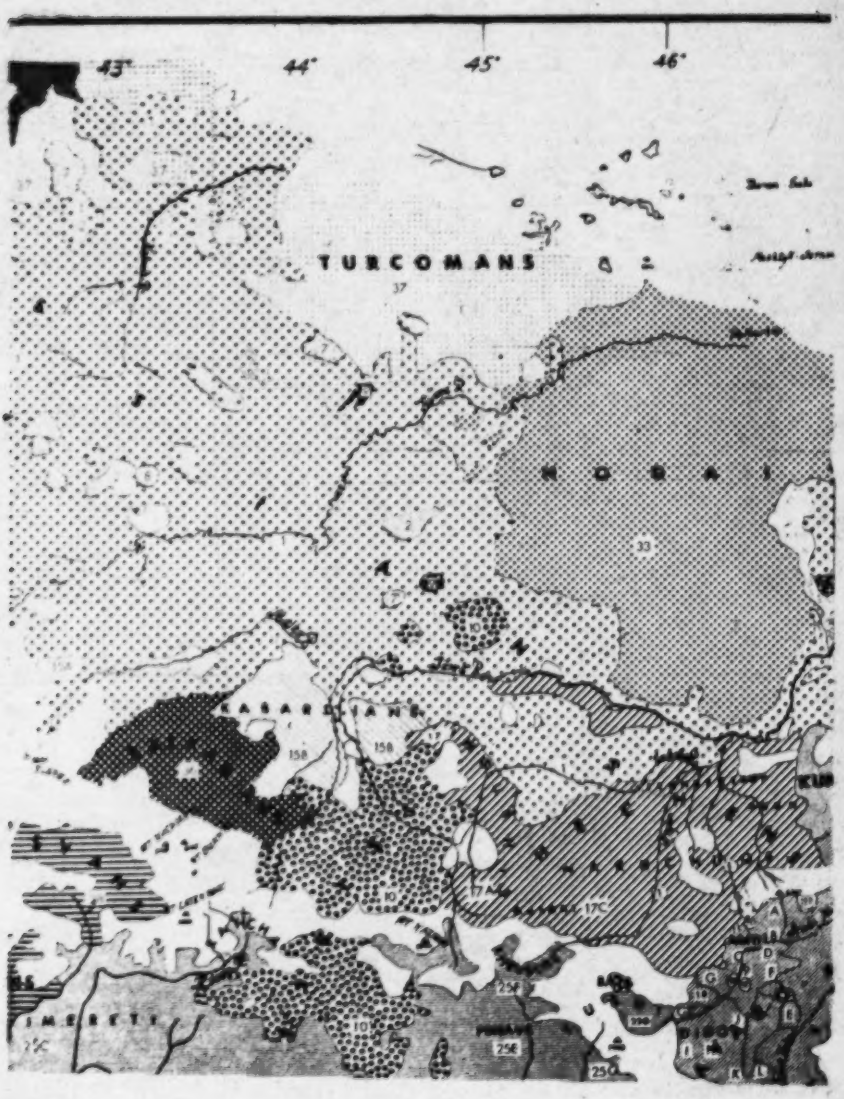


[End map B]

S: Lužbetak E-4 (no date) 1951 Caucasia XIII

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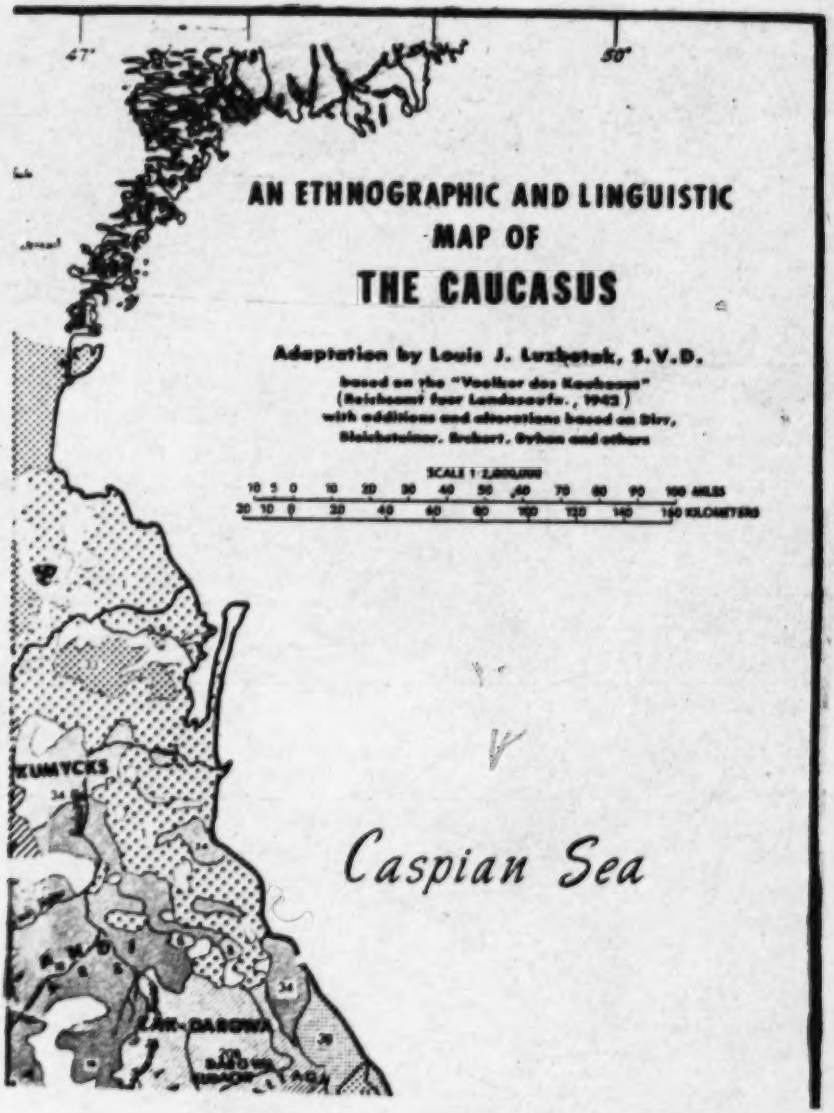


[End map C]

S: Luzbetak E-4 (no date) 1951 RH1 Caucasia RH1

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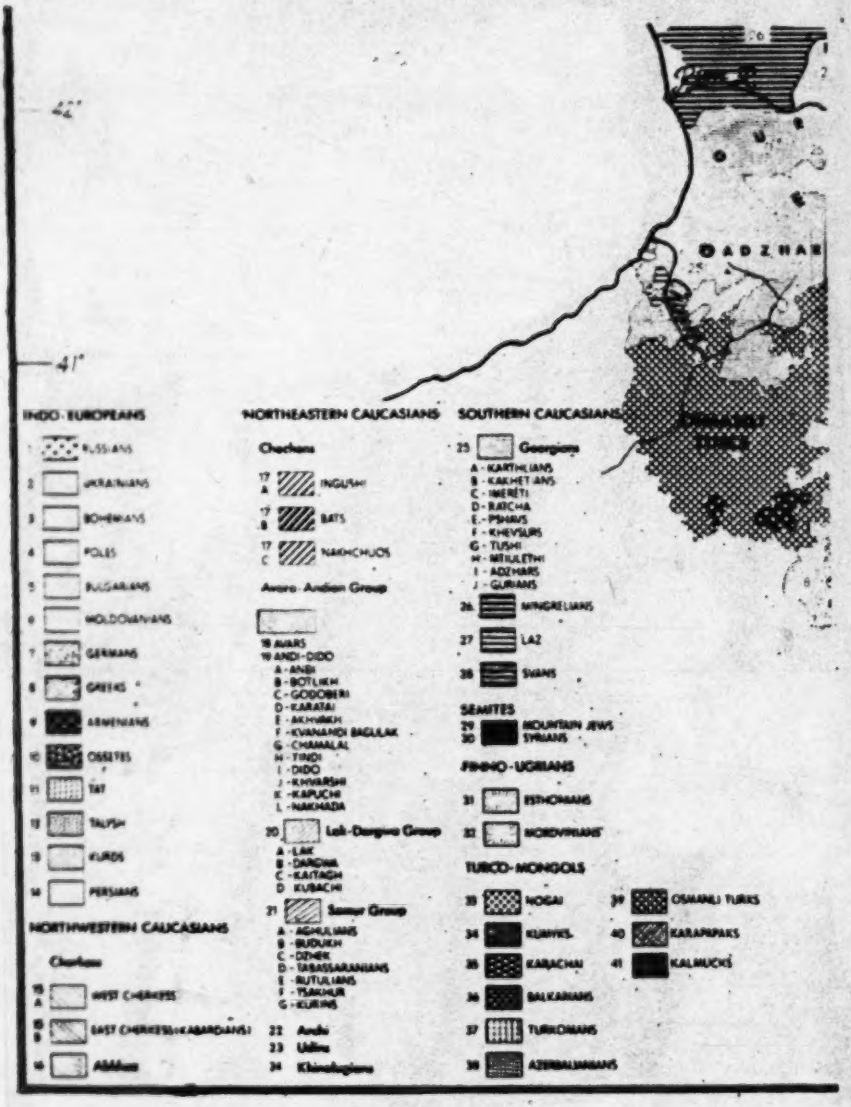


[End map D]

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[End map E]

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[End map F]

Ca 771 [870] during the summer holidays all that the Soviet authorities wished them to disregard. A number of Ingush party and Communist Youth League members, instead of working against the influence of religion, used themselves to go to the mosques to pray.[7]

Ca 447 191 The difficulties existing between the Soviet authorities and the Chechens and Ingush were not exclusively due to the Bolshevik failure to understand the importance of the religious factor in the life of the mountaineers. There were also extraordinary difficulties of a technical nature, due to the fact that the directives of the central administration were issued in the Russian language and therefore did not reach the Chechen-Ingush masses. Being unable fully to understand the orders received, the local Soviet organs either could not carry them out, or falsified the decisions of the party and of the administration.[8]

## GROZNY – THE OIL CITY

Ca 178 It was the tremendous dead weight of the predominantly Russian capital of Chechenia that prevented the implementation of any genuine Chechen autonomy and finally spelled the doom of the Chechen people. The actual liquidation of the Chechens would probably not have occurred had not the largest town in their homeland become an oil city, and indeed, one of the most important oil centres of the U.S.S.R.

Ca 315 S.U 315 This oil city had developed out of the little fortress of Grozny. Although Grozny oilfields had been discovered as early as 1833, they were hardly exploited at all in the nineteenth century. In 1912, however, they already supplied 11·5 per cent of the entire Russian oil. Between 1913 and 1917 this figure had risen to 16·7 per cent, and in the following four years to nearly 25 per cent. By 1937 the proportion of Grozny oil to total Russian oil production had fallen to 9·25 per cent, but in terms of absolute figures this output represented an increase of 234 per cent, compared to that before the First World War. The development of Ca 361 162 Grozny as an oil centre made for an increase of the population on an 'American scale'. In 1890 the place had no more than 6,000 inhabitants, against 34,067 in 1913, 97,095 in 1926 and 172,468 in 1939. It need hardly be added that the Chechens and Ingush, peoples consisting of shepherds and peasants, could not contribute anything worth mentioning to the rise of the town which was styled, almost ironically, 'Capital of the Chechen-Ingush A.S.S.R.'. Among the oilworkers of Grozny there were probably at no time more than one-tenth of 'natives', and until 1936 there were but 9·7 per cent.

Ca 177 S.U. 583 Unlike so many cities in the Soviet Union, Grozny never changed its name under the Soviet régime, despite the imperialistic history connected with it. As a matter of fact, it was the Soviet oil city of Grozny which spelled the doom of the Chechens and not the little fortress which

[Cf. category 116, pp. 186-188, R1 Sov. Union; 21: Kolarz – Analyst]
[Cf. category 116, p. 186, R1 Sov. Union; 21: Kolarz – Analyst]

21: Kolarz J-4 (no date) 1952 R1 Soviet Union R1
[Kabardin] Caucasia RH 1



S.U. 563 634 687

achieved a dual purpose. In addition to punishing the Balkars it served as a warning for the Kabardinians, who from then on hastened to express their loyalty towards Soviet Russia in a very demonstrative, even effusive, way.

Ca. 177.81 814 S.U. 563 814

After the war the Soviet authorities found it advisable to provide for the Kabardinians, as a means of strengthening their allegiance to the Soviet State, a clear conception of history which would unequivocally show that the Russians had always been the protectors of the Kabardinian people. The task of formulating the details of this conception was assigned to the 'Kabardinian Research Institute', whose headquarters are in Nalchik, the capital of the Kabardinian A.S.S.R. The new conception implied the 'official recognition' of Temryuk Idarovich as the national hero of Kabarda. Kabardinian children are expected to look up to Temryuk with the same awe as Russian boys and girls to Peter the Great or Suvorov. According to the new official thesis Temryuk, a Kabardinian prince who lived around 1550, 'endeavoured to build up a strong centralized State able to resist Turkish and Crimean Tartar oppressors'. Temryuk had realized that the Kabardinians were incapable of withstanding their enemies if they were to rely on their own forces only; establishment of close contacts with Muscovy was therefore the only wise Kabardinian policy.[15]

It is the same story which is told with some variation to all the peoples of the Soviet Union in all their many languages. There is always a grain of truth in the story, but never the entire truth, since history is not so simple and so clear-cut that it would fit the purposes of a one-sided propaganda. It is a historical fact that Temryuk asked Ivan the Terrible for protection and even gave him his daughter for wife. Originally, in the days of greater internationalism, Soviet historians failed to stress this fact, and laid more emphasis on the slave trade in which the Kabardinian feudal lords had engaged with the Crimean Tartar Khanate. However, since events had proved the necessity of increasing the attachment and loyalty of the Kabardinians to the Russians and the Soviet State, Temryuk had to be brought to the forefront of Kabardinian history.

Ca. 177.53 538 Ca. 871 191

Kabardinian post-war literature also pursued the aim of re-educating the Kabardinian people. The central theme of the first Kabardinian literary almanac consisted in showing that it was 'the friendship with the Russian people that led the Kabardinians towards a better life.'[16]

While a great deal was done for 're-education' in the sense required by the Russians, education as such had been neglected during the first post-war years, at least as far as the Kabardinian language was concerned. The so-called 'national' schools in the Kabardinian A.S.S.R. were Kabardinian in the first four forms only; from the fifth form onwards teaching was in the Russian language exclusively. The Central Committee of the All-Union Communist Party issued in 1948 a state-

ment on 'serious shortcomings and mistakes' committed in Kabarda in 871
the field of national policy. It stressed that conditions in Kabardinian /91
education were in conflict with the constitution of the A.S.S.R., which stipulated the right of the Kabardinian people to schools in their own language.

Although the Kabardinians are by far more numerous and advanced 875
than the peoples of the Soviet Far North, they suffer from the same acute shortage of national teaching-personnel which has been fatal to the national culture of many a minor Soviet nationality. Thus in 1948, the Kabardinian teachers' training college at Nalchik had but fifty-six Kabardinians out of a total of 559 students.[17]

It is to be expected that the survival of a truly Kabardinian culture /67
and Kabardinian language will become even more remote with the /62
increasing pressure of Slav colonization. Between 1926 and 1935 alone the number of Russians and Ukrainians in the Kabardinian A.S.S.R. more than doubled; it increased from about 37,000 to 93,000. This increase was partly due to immigration, partly to the inclusion in Kabarda of a number of Cossack villages in 1932. After the war the numerical relation between 'natives' and colonists changed to the detriment of the former, owing to the forcible departure of the Balkars.[1] Moreover more Russian colonists came into the country to staff new factories springing up around Nalchik.

1 [Cf. category 631, p. 193 - -Analyst]

THE CIRCASSIANS – A RESERVE OF SOVIET MIDDLE EAST POLICY

For the benefit of the remnants of the Circassian people,[2] the Soviet 631
Government set up two Autonomous Provinces in the western part of /162
the North Caucasus area; the Cherkess Province in the Caucasus foothills and the Adyge Province in the Kuban plain.

Surrounded as they are on all sides by Russian territories these two national units have little chance of long-term survival. This applies in particular to the Adyge Province, whose capital – Maikop – used to be [361]
the third largest Russian oil centre after Baku and Grozny, before the development of the 'second Baku' between the Volga and the Urals.

Originally, Maikop was not included in the Adyge Province, which had a small Adyge majority in its initial stage (55·7 per cent various branches of Adyge, 42·7 per cent Russians and Ukrainians, and the rest made up of other Europeans and Armenians). The size of the Province was increased, however, before the war and the Adyge thus found themselves in the position of a minority. In 1930 the Adyge Province [L41]
won doubtful 'fame' owing to its extraordinarily high percentage of disfranchized people. This was due to the arbitrary action of the local Soviet authorities, who had indiscriminately interpreted the terms of 'kulak', 'capitalist' and 'reactionary' with the result that 12 per cent of the entire adult population of the Province were deprived of their civic rights. — 2 [Cf. 631.116, p. 182/193 Sov. Union-Analyst]

7: Columbia U. S-4,5 1956 RH1 Caucasia RH1
Georgia RI1
Mingrel, Laz, Swan

000 Georgian show a Mingrelian substrate.
C Mingrelian has never been a literary language;
G in the schools, Georgian is the language
197 of teaching so that in the last decades Mingrelian has notably changed in favour of a closer resemblance to Georgian. Many of the modern Georgian authors are of Mingrelian origin.

C c. The Laz live on the seacoast and
G in the valleys of the small rivers falling into
101 the Black Sea between the towns of Khope and Atina. Only a very small part (730 persons according to the census of 1926) live in Soviet
C territory; the large majority live in Turkish
G territory (ca. 47,000 acc. to the Turkish
[191] census of 1945). All Laz speak Turkish in public and use their mother tongue only as a
[192] home language. Laz is full of Turkish loan-words; even the name Lazi which the Laz use for themselves is borrowed from Turkish. The Georgians call them Ch'ani which corresponds to Tzanoi used by Procopius. Lazike was in Roman and Byzantine times the designation not only of modern Lazistan, but also of all
C Western Georgia, having superseded the old
G Greek name of Colchis. The Laz language is
[197] in phonology almost identical with Mingrelian, but in grammar shows considerable peculiarities. It has never been written except for scientific recording.

d. The Svan (Svanetians) inhabit two valleys in the high mountain chains south of

## II NON-INDIGENOUS LANGUAGES

197 Armenian is a separate branch of Indo-European, belonging to the Eastern (satem) group ; its closest relatives were probably Phrygian and Thracian, known only from a few inscriptions. The language has been strongly influenced by its non-Indo-European substratum (Chaldic, the language of the Urartu state). Besides Ossetian, also spoken in the Caucasus, Armenian is the only I-E language with a series of glottalic consonants; its lexicon abounds with non-I-E elements, and its morphology and syntax show [192] Caucasian influence. The language has furthermore borrowed so many words from Persian that it was regarded as an Iranian dialect until Hübschmann showed in 1883 that it represented an independent branch of I-E. The [212] oldest dated Armenian manuscript is from the ninth century; the literary tradition is four centuries older.

Ossetian is a member of the Eastern (in older terminology, Northern) subdivision of the Iranian languages, to which also belong the Pamir dialects and Yagnābī, a descendant of Soghdian. It is the only survival of the Scytho-Sarmatian dialects, once spread over a vast area in the Eurasian steppe belt. The influence of the surrounding Caucasian languages is apparent in the existence of glottalic consonants, in the agglutinative technique of the morphology and in the lexicon.

000 spades. The chaff is used as cattle-feed.

C. G. 245 In the plains, especially in Kakhetia, the production of wine plays an important part in the rural economy. Numerous sorts C G of grapes are distinguished under locally varying names; the word for "wine," ghvino, [192] seems to be a loan-word from pre-literary Armenian. In Western Georgia the vines are allowed to climb on trees, mostly poplars and beeches; they grow half wild and untended and may reach an age of 50 years or more before they are rooted out and replaced by young plants. The vines yielding the renowned Kakhetian wines grow low, in carefully tended vineyards, most of which are artifi- C. G. cially irrigated. The grapes are gathered in 273 September-October and poured into wine presses made of stone or wood (sac'nekheli), where the men tread them out by foot. The juice and skins are allowed to ferment to- C. G. gether; in the West, in the pressing-trough [415] itself, and in Kakhetia in large earthern jugs with a pointed bottom (ch'uri), which are sunk into the ground. These jugs are smeared with naphtha on the inside, which gives the wine a peculiar taste, similar to the Greek rezzinato. When the wine is ready, it is stored in similar jugs, up to eight feet high and five feet in diameter. For transportation the wine is scooped out and poured into cattle- or goat-skins also treated with naphtha.

C. G. Fruits (apricots, peaches, cherries, 245 figs, walnuts, almonds, sweet chestnuts,

194 is the main characteristic of the Georgian's accent when speaking Russian. As further phonetic characteristics must be mentioned the ubiquitous presence of two series of k-sounds (one velar, as in English, and one unvular) with fricatives corresponding to one or both (as in German ich and ach). Some of the N. Caucasian languages (Circassian, Avar, etc.) have various types of lateral fricatives (cf. the Welsh ll); their richness in consonants is further due to the occurrence of series of emphatic, palatalized and labialized consonants in addition to the neutral ones.

.193 In morphology and syntax, the three groups of Caucasian languages show considerable divergences. The N.E. languages have a rich declension (e.g., Avar has 19 cases, and Lak has as many as 40) and a simple conjugation (in most of them the very does not express person). The N.W. languages, on the other hand, have the exact opposite: their declension is poor (Circassian has 4 cases and Abkhaz, 3) but their conjugation is extremely complicated, the verb expressing the person of subject, direct and indirect object and even prepositional object ("with you," "for me," etc.). In this respect the S. Caucasian languages are in an intermediate position, nominal and verbal inflection being neither as complex nor as simple as the extremes found in the North. In most of the N.E.

• 193 languages morphology and syntax are dominated by the division of all nouns into a number of classes (rational, subdivided into male and female, and several non-rational genders); these classes are referred to by indicators in adjectives and verbs, in the latter for both subject and object. Outside the N. E. languages, only Abkhaz has a simple and probably secondarily developed system of classes (rational male and female, and irrational). All the Caucasian languages have one peculiarity in common which is variously referred to as "passive character of the transitive verb," "ergative structure," etc.: morphologically and syntactically the object of the transitive verb is treated in the same way as the subject of the intransitive verb (the sentences "He is standing." and "I advise him." being approximately expressed as "He is a standee." and "He is my advisee."). As to morphological technique, the Caucasian languages all employ both prefixes and suffixes. The N. W. languages are the most purely agglutinative (i.e., they string the significant elements, each with its own separate meaning and without much unpredictable variation, into words). The S. and especially the N. E. languages, although likewise of the agglutinative type, also exhibit symbolic change (as in "man" - "men" or "write" - "wrote") and suppletion (as in "go"- "went").

Diphthongs occur very seldom in the Caucasian languages, the strongest tendency to form such being in Chechen. 194

On the other hand, the poverty of the vocalic system is amply compensated for by the richness of the consonantal systems of the three groups, a fact especially true in regard to the languages belonging to the Northwestern branch. The Abkhazian language, which, as we have seen, has only two basic vowels, has as many as 70 different consonants.

The aspirated tenues *p' t' k'* occur in all three branches. Similarly, in all three groups we find glottocclusive tenues and affricates *p' t' k'* (*ts'*) *č'*. Lateral consonants (l°, t°, t', k°) are represented in all three groups: in the Northwestern by the Ubykhian and Kabardian languages, in the Northeastern by the Avaro-Andi sub-group, and in the Southern by the Tushian language. There are, besides these, many other interesting and unusual consonants. To mention but a few, we find in the Caucasian languages, for example, the so-called Polish ł or English *w*; then, there are interesting palatals, dorsals, labialized *ź* (something between *ź* and z, or less correctly what Dirr terms the "whistling sound" of *žzv*), reduced consonants, emphatic consonants. These are but a few examples showing the richness of the consonantal system of the Caucasic languages.[18]

## 2. The Class System

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## 3. Numerals

The numerals of all Caucasic languages are based on the vigesimal system.[21] 802

## 4. Verbs

The Caucasian languages are distinguished for their extremely complicated verbal forms. In the Northwestern languages complete phrases and subordinate 193

[17] A. Dirr, *l. c.*

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[21] A. Dirr, *op. cit.*, pp. 358—361.

193 sentences may be incorporated into the verbal form. Adverbial relations, temporal designations, direction, mood, and many other determinations are expressed by the verb form itself. To complicate matters, sometimes the original verb itself consists of only one consonant, which is lost in the numerous additions just mentioned and many others besides—infixes and suffixes that denote place, negation, question, relationship ; even substantives may be attached to the verb. The Northeastern languages distinguish between momentative, durative, iterative, and inchoative forms.[22] Verbal forms become exceedingly complicated in languages that not only distinguish between different classes of beings but also have the use of person, as is the case in the Dargwa language.

## 5. Declension

In the Northwestern languages the declension is extremely simple. (A declension is almost superfluous, for, as we have mentioned above, the verb is capable of incorporating all possible relationships.) Similarly, the declensions of the South Caucasian languages are simple. The Northeastern languages, however, possess a complicated declension. The instrumental is the most important case, the genitive and dative being derived from the instrumental. The agent is placed in the instrumental while the aim of the action is in the nominative.[23] The locative is also an important case : by means of suffixes a large number of adverbial relations can be expressed, e. g., *upward, toward, upon, against, over, into, etc*

## 6. Linguistic Relationships

197 114 Our first question is : Do the three Caucasian groups of languages constitute a distinct linguistic family, as do, for example, the Indo-European languages ? Despite the similarities between the groups and despite the fact that Abkhazian seems to form a bridge between the Southern as well as the Northeastern languages,[24] sufficient evidence has not yet been brought forth to justify anyone in speaking of a common "Caucasian Family." As far as our present knowledge of the Caucasic languages goes, it is much more probable that there are three (or perhaps two, Northern and Southern) distinct families.

The affinity of the languages of Caucasia with other languages has been a favourite question among the Caucasologists, formerly much more than in

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[22] R. Bleichsteiner, "Die kaukasische Sprachgruppe," *Anthropos*, XXXII (1937), pp. 66, 68. G. Deeters, *Das khartvelische Verbum*, Leipzig, 1930.

[23] The ergative is used in the other groups too. Cf. C. Tagliavini, "Osservazioni sull'ergativo georgiano," *Mélanges de linguistique et de philologie offerts à Jacq. Van Ginneken, à l'occasion du soixantième anniversaire de sa naissance*, pp. 187—193.

[24] R. Bleichsteiner, *op. cit.*, p. 72. Today there is absolutely no doubt about Professor Bleichsteiner's opposition to a single "Caucasian Family" of languages : "Die drei eigentlichen kaukasischen Sprachgruppen sind weder untereinander noch mit anderen Sprachfamilien Eurasiens verwandt." ("Die Völker des Kaukasus," *Asien-Berichte*, V (1944), No. 22, p. 15.)

197 North-East Caucasian (continued)

Samur Group
*Lezgian
Agul
Rutul
Tsakhur
*Tabasaran
Budukh
Dzhek

Khinalug

Udi

B. Structure of the Languages

194 A phonetic characteristic common to all the Caucasian languages is their richness in consonants. Georgian has 28 consonant phonemes, Avar has 44, the literary dialect of Abkhaz has 67 (cf. English with 23). The vowel systems, on the other hand, are simple and vowels rarely exceed 5. In addition to voiceless and voiced consonants, all the languages also have a series of glottalic consonants, pronounced with a "glottal catch." Speakers of Georgian identify the Russian voiceless consonants with their own glottalic ones (rather than with their own voiceless consonants, which, unlike the Russian, are aspirated), and this "glottalic" pronunciation

.194 is the main characteristic of the Georgian's accent when speaking Russian. As further phonetic characteristics must be mentioned the ubiquitous presence of two series of k-sounds (one velar, as in English, and one unvular) with fricatives corresponding to one or both (as in German ich and ach). Some of the N. Caucasian languages (Circassian, Avar, etc.) have various types of lateral fricatives (cf. the Welsh ll); their richness in consonants is further due to the occurrence of series of emphatic, palatalized and labialized consonants in addition to the neutral ones.

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8: Lužbetak E-4 (no date) 1951 RHl Caucasia RHl



141 174 brachycephalic remains testify. In other words, from these finds it is evident that crossing was not uncommon already during the Bronze Age.[12] Very important racially was the contact with the Cimmerians and Scythian-Sarmatian populations, who for centuries lived in the Caucasus, till in the fourth century B. C. they were driven southward to Subartu.[13] Some present-day Ossetine-speaking tribes are not of Indo-European origin while practically all have a strong non-Indo-European strain.[14]

141 144 According to C. S. Coon, "The Caucasic-speaking peoples as a whole, from an anthropometric standpoint, represent a blend between a local Alpine racial nucleus and several kinds of Mediterraneans. The Georgians and the Lesghians are the most Alpine, the Cherkesses the least so. The facial dimensions preclude, in most groups, the presence of a long-faced Irano-Afgan element in any quantity; except among the Cherkesses, the head size, with mean lengths in the low 180's, limits the possible Mediterranean elements to the smaller-headed varieties. These are apparently both Danubian and Cappodocian; there is too much true facial Dinaricism for the Danubian to be the only factor, and too much blondism and nasal concavity for the Cappadocian."[15]

## § 3. LINGUISTICS

197 Perhaps nowhere in the world will one find such an intricate mosaic of languages as in the Caucasus. Today there are about 40 different Caucasian languages, and formerly the number must have been much greater. Strabo (VI. 1—16) speaks of seventy languages along the coast of the Black Sea and 26 in Albania, that is, in Azerbaijan- and Armenian-speaking countries of today. Pliny speaks of 300 different languages at Dioscurias which necessitated 80 interpreters. Abulfeda calls the Caucasus "The Mountain of Tongues" and Thomas Artsruni, the Armenian historian of the tenth century, writes that "72 different nations inhabit the Caucasus."

These languages fall into three sharply distinct groups: the Northwestern, the Northeastern, and the Southern. (See pp. 1—4.)

### 1. Phonetics

194 The vowel system of all three groups, but especially of the Northwestern group, is very poorly developed. In Abkhazian there are only two basic vowels *a* and *ə*.[16] The preponderance of consonants over vowels is less marked in the Northeastern languages: the Chechen, Avaro-Andi, and Lak languages have the five *a, e, i, o, u,* vowels, and some languages, for example Kurin and Aghulian, have the equivalent of something between the German umlauts *ä, ö, ü,* and *a, o, u*.[17] The vowel system of the Southern group is the richest of the three.

[12] R. Bleichsteiner, "Kaukasische Völker," *Ebert's Reallexikon*, VI, p. 250.
[13] R. Bleichsteiner, "Die Völker des Kaukasus," *Asien-Berichte*, V (1944), No. 22, p. 4.
[14] A. Baschmakoff, *op. cit.*, p. 32. See his analysis of the racial problem, *op. cit.*, pp. 28—38.
[15] C. S. Coon, *op. cit.*, pp. 631 f.
[16] R. Bleichsteiner, "Die kaukasische Sprachgruppe," *Anthropos*, XXXII (1937), p. 65. Dirr assigns four basic vowels to Abkhazian. *Einführung in das Studium der kaukasischen Sprachen*, p. 29.

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3: Anonymous U-4 (no date) 1920 RH1 Caucasia RH1



132 vegetation is abundant, and near the sea semi-tropical in its luxuriance.

East of the Suram Mountains the climate is dry, with extremes of heat and cold. The summer is oppressively hot, particularly in the Kura valley. The Caspian basin, as a whole, suffers from drought, and in the Baku district violent sand and dust storms are common.

The climate in the Armenian Highlands shows characteristics similar to those of the two areas above described. At Alexandropol snow lies till the middle of April, spring lasts a fortnight, and the summer parches the country to the condition of a desert. The Aras valley has a somewhat less rigorous climate.

Recent climatic statistics for the three areas are shown in the table given on p. 7.

### (4) Sanitary Conditions

[144] 164 Sanitation in anything like the modern sense of the word is practically unknown in Transcaucasia. Medical facilities, except in the larger towns, are practically non-existent. Constant epidemics of malaria are caused by the marshy conditions prevailing on the Black Sea coast, and in the valleys of the Rion, Aras, and Kura. Goitre and epilepsy are common among the natives of Svanetia. Leprosy occurs among the poorer classes of the Persian population. Elisavetopol is notorious for the so-called Sartian sickness, a kind of skin eruption.

### (5) Race and Language

563 197 101 Of the numerous peoples represented in Caucasia, some belong to the white race, others to the Mongolian or yellow race.

I. The inhabitants who are of white race belong to the Indo-European, Semitic, or Caucasian families.

*Indo-European Family.*—Everywhere there are *Russian* officials, merchants, and soldiers, and there are also large numbers of peasants, who are either voluntary colonists or religious exiles from European Russia. They speak both Great and Little Russian.

3: Anonymous U-4 (no date) 1920 RH1 Caucasia RH1



*Germans*, who came originally from Württemberg, 543 live chiefly in the Tiflis Government and at Helenendorf 197 near Elisavetopol. 101

There are some 14,000 *Greeks* in Tiflis, near the Turkish frontier, and in Chernomoria. They speak a corrupt form of Greek.

The *Iranians* include *Persians* at Tiflis, who number several thousands; the *Tates*, *Tats*, or *Tads*, descendants of Persian conquerors, who live chiefly in Baku, and speak either Persian or Tatar; the *Talyshes*, who are also of Persian descent, and live in the Lenkoran district; the *Kurds*, who come from the mountains on the Assyrian border, and have spread over a large part of Asia Minor and the Caucasus; and the *Ossetes* (calling themselves *Iron*), who occupy the central mountainous region from Mount Elbruz to Mount Kazbek in the east, and from Vladikavkaz in Ciscaucasia to the district round Dushet and Gori in the Tiflis Government.

The *Armenians* form the merchant and trading class in most of the towns. Armenian peasants are chiefly confined to the Governments of Erivan and Elisavetopol; they are more virile than the townbred Armenians, and cannot be easily distinguished from the Tatars.

*Semitic Family.*—There are over 45,000 *Jews* in the Tiflis and Kutais Governments and in Daghestan. The Jews of Tiflis and Kutais speak Georgian, those of Daghestan local dialects.

*Caucasian Family.*—This family is divided into three groups: the Kartalian or southern, the western Highland, and the eastern Highland. The language of the Kartalian group, except when otherwise stated, is Georgian; there are many dialects. The language is distinct from those of the Indo-European family, but has few affinities with other main Caucasian groups. To the *Kartalian group* belong the *Georgians* or *Gruzians*, who form the majority of the population of the Government of Tiflis, inhabiting the upper reaches of the Kura from Akhaltsikh to below Tiflis

3: Anonymous U-4 (no date) 1920 RH1 Caucasia RH1



563 and the Yora and Alazan plains as far as Zakatali.
197 The *Imeretians* live in the Kutais Government, west
101 of the Suram Mountains as far as the River Tskhenis Tskhali. The *Gurians* are found between the Rion and the Chorokh. The *Adzharians* and *Kabuletians* live in the Adzharis Tskhali valley in the Batum Province. The *Khevsurs*, *Tushes*, and *Pshavs* are wild mountain tribes belonging to the central Caucasus. The *Mingrelians* inhabit the country between the Rion, Ingur, Tskhenis Tskhali, and the Black Sea. There are a few *Lazis* in the south-west corner of Transcaucasia; most of this tribe live in Turkish territory in Lazistan. The *Svanetians* live in the valleys of the upper Ingur and Tskhenis Tskhali on the southern slopes of the main Caucasian chain.

[144] To the *western Highland group* belong the tribes who call themselves *Adighé*, but whom the Russians call *Cherkess* (Circassians). They used to inhabit the Caucasus range from Taman to Pitsunda and the left bank of the Kuban in Ciscaucasia. They speak a harsh dialect of their own. The *Abkhasians*, who speak a similar dialect, occupy the Black Sea coast from Pitsunda to the Ingur.

Of the peoples in the *eastern Highland group*, the *Chechentsy* or *Chechens* live mostly in the Terek Province, but there are still a few on the Daghestan frontier. The *Lesghians*, including the *Avar*, *Darginian*, and *Kurinian* tribes, are the chief occupants of the Daghestan Highlands. They speak a guttural dialect of their own, though in the east the Azarbaijan Tatar patois is in common use.

[144] II. Of the peoples of Mongolian race the chief are the *Tatars*, who mostly come from the Persian province of Azarbaijan and occupy both banks of the middle and lower Kura, intermingled with Armenian and Kurd colonies. Their language is akin to Turkish, and is the *lingua franca* of western and southern Transcaucasia. There are a few *Nogaitsy* Tatars in Daghestan.
101 The Tatars in Kars Province are known as the
563 *Karapapakhs*. The *Kumyks*, who live on the Daghestan

C. G. 101

whole. The sense of the term Kartveli has expanded; it referred originally only to the inhabitants of the central and politically leading province of Kartli with the capitals Tiflis and in older times Mtskheta. The European designations: Italian Georgiano, French Géorgien, English Georgia and Georgian, German Georgien and Georgier, derive from the Persian name Gurdj (pl. Gurdjan, adj. Gurdji) heard by the crusaders and spelt by them so as to connect it with the name of Saint George. The Persian Gurdj adopted also by the Turks goes back to Sasanide Persian Waručan - Parthian Wirčan; the latter shows the stem wir - which appears in the Armenian designation of the Georgians Virk, sing. Vratsi; the connection with this stem of the Greek name of the forefathers of the Georgians, the Iberes, is very doubtful. From another Persian name-form Gurz, pl. Gurzan, found already in Syriac sources of the beginning of the 8th century, are derived the Russian terms Gruziya (country) and Gruziny (inhabitants).

C. G. 197

The Georgian dialects, which in the main do not show great differences, are divided by the range of the Surami mountains into two groups. To the Eastern group belong the dialects of Kartli, of K'akheti, the country between the river Iora and the mountains of Dagestan, of the Ingilo, islamized Georgians on the river Alazani, and of the mountain

C. G. 197

tribes: Tush on the upper course of the Andian Koisu, Khevsur on the upper course of the rivers (Eastern) Aragvi and Argun, Pshavs south of them on the Aragvi and the upper Iora, Mokhev and Mtiul on the upper Terek, Western Aragvi and Ksani. The Western group consists of the dialects of Upper and Lower Imereti with the center Kutaisi, of the mountainous regions of Rach'a on the Upper Rioni and Lechkhum in the west of Rach'a, and of Guria south of the Rioni, reaching the Black Sea between Poti and Kobuleti. The Ach'arians south of the Gurians and west of Batum do not differ from them in speech, but in culture, being Mohammedans, and therefore have received the status of an Autonomous Republic.

C. G. 101

b. The Mingrelians, numbering about 300,000 occupy the territory north of the lower Rioni and west of the Tskhenis-tskali extending on the coast of the Black Sea from the mouth of the Rioni up to the town of Ochemchire. They call their country Odishi and themselves Margali; this name is, somewhat distorted, already mentioned by Ptolemy. It corresponds to Georgian Megreli, a derivation from Egrisi, as Mingrelia is called in the Old Georgian documents and by the Armenian geographers. It is probable that Mingrelian in former times occupied a much larger territory, i.e., all Western Georgia, as it is now separated by Gurian from the closely related Laz, and the Western dialects of Georgian show a Mingrelian substrate.

7: Columbia U. S-4,5 1956 RH1 Caucasia RH1
Georgia RI1
Mingrel, Laz, Swan

000 Georgian show a Mingrelian substrate.
C Mingrelian has never been a literary language;
G in the schools, Georgian is the language
.197 of teaching so that in the last decades Mingrelian has notably changed in favour of a closer resemblance to Georgian. Many of the modern Georgian authors are of Mingrelian origin.

C c. The Laz live on the seacoast and
G in the valleys of the small rivers falling into
101 the Black Sea between the towns of Khope and Atina. Only a very small part (730 persons according to the census of 1926) live in Soviet
C territory; the large majority live in Turkish
G territory (ca. 47,000 acc. to the Turkish
[191] census of 1945). All Laz speak Turkish in public and use their mother tongue only as a
[192] home language. Laz is full of Turkish loanwords; even the name Lazi which the Laz use for themselves is borrowed from Turkish. The Georgians call them Ch'ani which corresponds to Tzanoi used by Procopius. Lazike was in Roman and Byzantine times the designation not only of modern Lazistan, but also of all
C Western Georgia, having superseded the old
G Greek name of Colchis. The Laz language is
[197] in phonology almost identical with Mingrelian, but in grammar shows considerable peculiarities. It has never been written except for scientific recording.

d. The Svan (Svanetians) inhabit two valleys in the high mountain chains south of

controlled the neighboring peoples (Chechen, Ossetes, some of the W. Circassians) and assumed cultural leadership in the whole N. Caucasus. The Western (or Lower) Circassians were divided into a number of tribes and preserved to a larger extent the older, patriarchal social structure. The Circassians living in the Cherkes AO speak the Kabardian dialect, but are culturally closer to the W. Circassians; they are the descendants of the so-called "fugitive Kabardians" who emigrated from Kabarda when this was subjugated by the Russians at the beginning of the 19th century.

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## C. NORTH-EAST CAUCASIAN PEOPLES.

The North-East Caucasian peoples, which show a much greater linguistic diversity than either the N. W. or the S. group, constitute six major linguistic branches: (a) Veinakh; (b) Avaro-Ando-Dido; (c) Lak-Dargwa; (d) Samurian; (e) Khinalug; and (f) Udi. The representatives of groups (b) - (d), who constitute the Paleocaucasian population of the Dagestan ASSR were usually referred to as "Lezgians," though this name applies only to a member of group (d).

a. The Veinakh peoples comprise the Bats, a small pastoral tribe of ca. 2,500

C D 101 .197 people living in the village Zemo Alvani on the Kakhetian Alazani, among the Georgian mountain tribe of the Tush (therefore they were formerly erroneously called Tsova-Tush), and a number of tribes whose dialects show common innovations as compared to C D Bats. Some are nearly extinct, e.g. that of [167] the Karabulak who by 1870 had almost all emigrated to Turkey. The remaining dialects fall into two groups, the Chechen and the Ingush, numbering respectively ca. 408,000 and 92,000 who until 1944 lived between the middle course of the Terek and the Great Caucasus in the Chechen-Ingush ASSR. All Chechen call themselves Nakhchuo (pl. Nokhchiy); the name Chechen came up in the 17th century among the Russians, who applied the name of one aul (Chachan) to the whole people. The older history of the Veinakh peoples is quite unknown; they lived in self-governing communities and had not developed any class distinctions when the Russians came into contact with them. In 1944, the Chechen-Ingush ASSR was abolished and its population deported to Kazakhstan, where it has since received some official recognition (1955) by the issuing of a Chechen language newspaper.

b. The peoples speaking Avaro-Ando-Didoic languages occupy the western part of

7 Columbia U. S-4, 5 1956 RH1 Caucasia RH1
Dagestan RH8
Avar, Andi, Dido1

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Dagestan. The Avar, who live in the basins of the Avar Koisu and the lower Andi-Koisu and also extend to the S. slope of the Great Caucasus, are the most numerous people of this group (1949 ca. 167,000), the peoples forming the Andi and Dido subgroups numbering ca. 35,000. The name Avar is not indigenous, the Avar have no general self-designation, but identify themselves by separate villages; their language they call mahàrul mats', i.e. "mountain language" or khunz mats', i.e. "language of Khunzakh." The name "Avar" seems to have originated with the Kumuk. The Avar never formed a nation in a political sense; they were divided in a number of independent units, the most important of which was the Avar Khanate between the Avar and Andi Koisu with its center Khunzakh. In the 17th century a number of Avar crossed the main chain into the present Zakataly district and subjugated the local Georgian and Azeri population; these Avar are known by the name Dzhartsy or Dzharskie Lezginy.

The Andi and Dido tribes, whose numerous languages are related to though not mutually intelligible with Avar, and who use the latter language as a lingua franca, live around the middle and upper Andi Koisu. The names of both groups are generalizations

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from that of a single representative of each, and even so are not self-designations. The Andi proper call themselves Qwannaw (pl. Quannal) after their principal aul Qwanni. The name "Andi" is the Avar designation of their country (Handi), and this name was already known to Pliny (Andacae). The Dido proper call themselves Tsezi (pl. Tsezebi). The name "Dido" is Georgian (didoeti for the country, didouri for inhabitants), as Didouroi, Diduri known to Ptolemy and Pliny.

c. The Lak-Dargwa languages are spoken in the mountains SE of the Avar area (the lowlands in the NE being occupied by the Kumuk). The more than 55,000 Lak inhabit the barren mountains at the upper reaches of the Tleuserakh, Khatar and Kazikumukh-skoe Koisu. They are also known by the name Kazikumukh (after their main aul Kumukh, the inhabitants of which, according to the tradition, in the 8th century willingly accepted and spread by fire and sword Islam, for which the Arabs gave them the name of honor kazi or gazi "fighter for the creed").

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Lak or Lakuchu is the self-designation of the people; the name may be connected with the root Lezg-. Strabo knew in their general area the Gelai and the Legai, which he places between the Albani and the Amazonae. Plutarch mentions the Leges in

7: Columbia U. S-4,5 1956 RH1 Caucasia RH1
Dagestan RH8
Dargin (Hurkan)

CD 101 (and which also included a number of Kumuk, Lak and Avar). The "dargwa" of Akusha was the most numerous and powerful; the Utsumi-dargwa was also known as Kaitak or Khaidak (a name of Mongolian origin), its lower part as Kara-Kaitak. In Upper-Kaitak is situated the aul Kubachi, famed far beyond Dagestan for its artistic metal-work. Its inhabitants have been known to the Arabs since the ninth cent. as zirh-gerān "masters of armor" (Pers.); the Turkish name Kubachi (same meaning) has been in use since the 16th cent. The people of Kubachi, who call themselves Ughbug, were always independent of the rulers of Kaitak.

CD .197 Of the numerous Dargwa dialects, Uslar described that of the aul Khiurkila, and so the language became known by the name khiurkilinskii iazyk (Schiefier's Hürkanisch); the present day literary language is based on the dialect of Akusha.

CD 101 197 d. The southern part of Dagestan, i.e. the basins of the rivers Samur, Kurakh-chai and Chirakh-chai, is occupied by peoples speaking cognate languages which form the Samur group of the N.E. Caucasian language family. The largest people (ca. 165,000) are the Lezgians on the lower and middle course of the Samur and extending in the southeast beyond the Samur into Azerbaidjan,

7: Columbia U. S-4,5 1956 RH1 Caucasia RH1
Dagestan RH8
Kurin, Rutul
Tabasaran

CD
101
.197

where they live intermingled with Azeri. They originally had no general self-designation but borrowed the name Lezgi from the bordering Azeri. The central part of their territory, between the country of the Tabasaran and the Samur, was known under the name K'üre (Russ. Kiura, Kjure); it was for a long time a bone of contention between the Khans of Derbent, Kuba and Kazikumukh. In 1812, the Russians made it into a separate Khanate under the above-mentioned Aslan-Khan, who in 1820 also was appointed Khan of Kazikumukh. Uslar described one of the Kiure dialects; through his work, the Lezgian language became known as kiurinskii iazyk.

Farther upstream on the Samur, in the area of its confluence with the Kara-Samur, live the ca 10,000 Rutul, named after their principal village Rutul which they themselves call Mykhäd. On the uppermost Samur and its tributaries are situated the auls of the ca. 11,000 Tsakhur, who inhabit the region N. of Elisu in Azerbaidjan also. The area of the upper Kurakh-chai and Giulgeri-chai is occupied by the ca. 7,500 Agul. To the W. of Derbend, in the basin of the Upper Rubas-chai and Chirakh-chai live the ca. 30,000 Tabasaran. Finally there belong to the Samur group two languages spoken in the Mt. Shakhdag area, surrounded by Azeri speaking people:

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Dagestan RH8
BedukHa, Khaput,
Khinalug, Udan

CD 101 197

Budukh (ca. 2000) and Dzhek (or Kryz, Khaputl; ca. 4, 500).

e., f. Two small peoples outside Dagestan speak NE Caucasian languages which show no special affinities either to each other or with any other group. These are the ca. 1500 inhabitants of the aul Khinalug (W. of the habitat of the Dzhek), and the ca. 3000 Udi (in 1897 ca. 7000) who live in the villages Vartashen, Nizh and Oktomberi. The Udi are the only Christian people among the NE Caucasians; they were already known to Pliny (Udini) and Ptolemy (Oudai). In old Armenian sources they are regarded as part of Albania, and it is possible that in their language the old literary language of the Albani (no records of which remain) survives.

## II INDO-EUROPEAN PEOPLES

144 .197 The Indo-European peoples whose traditional territory is in the Caucasus belong to two branches of this family. The Armenians, the oldest non-indigenous people in the Caucasus, linguistically constitute an independent subdivision of Indo-European. The other Indo-European peoples in the Caucasus all belong to the Iranian branch of the Indo-Iranian subdivision: the Ossetes, Talysh, Tat and Kurds.

162 (a.) Of the ca. 2 million Armenians in the USSR not more than 60 per cent live in the Armenian political units in southern Trans-Caucasia, that is, in the area of the upper Kura river, Lake Sevan, the middle Araks river (Armenian SSR) and on the eastern slopes of the Karabakh Mts. (High Karabakh AO). Of the remainder, the large majority live scattered in the Caucasus, in areas adjoining their political territory, in the western spurs of the Great Caucasus, in Azerbaidjan south of Shemakha, and in the cities. At various times considerable numbers of Armenians living outside of the Caucasus have immigrated to "Russian" Armenia (most recently after the Second World War). The Armenians were living in the Caucasus as early as the sixth century B.C., but the exact date of their arrival there is unknown; it may have preceded the first records by one or two centuries. The Armenians call themselves

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# I PALEOCAUCASIAN LANGUAGES

## A. Internal and External Relationships

197 The Paleocaucasian languages are divided into three groups of related languages. The Southern group comprises Georgian, Mingrelo-Laz and Svan; the North-Western group: Circassian and Abkhaz; the North-Eastern group: the Veinakh languages of the Central Caucasus and the numerous languages of Dagestan.

The relationships among these three groups are not quite clear. There are certain phonetic traits and lexical elements which are common to two or to all three groups, but the problem of the extent to which these similarities are due to mutual influence and borrowing rather than to common ancestry has not been definitely solved. The N. E. Caucasian languages alone differ from each other at least as much as, for example, the older Indo-European languages. The N. W. and N. E. Caucasian languages seem to have an old lexical stratum in common, and if further investigation establishes a genetic relationship among all the Paleocaucasian languages it is probable that the Northern languages will prove to form a unit as opposed to S. Caucasian.

The possible relationships of the Paleocaucasian languages with languages or

197 language groups outside the Caucasus are quite uncertain. The Russian linguist Marr, among others, developed the theory that the Caucasian languages and Basque, spoken in and around the western Pyrenees, are the remnants of a language family spread throughout southern Europe before the Indo-European invasions; Marr gave this language family the name "Japhetic." According to him, this family also included Etruscan and a number of ancient languages of Asia Minor and Mesopotamia (Elamitic, Sumerian); the Japhetic languages were in his opinion related to the Semito-Hamitic language family. No sufficient evidence has been brought forward to support this theory. More detailed studies have been made particularly on the possible Basque-Caucasian relationship (by Lafon and Bouda, among others); the results still leave room for doubt. This is even more true of Bleichsteiner's attempt to show a relationship between Caucasian and Burushaski (spoken in the Hindukush).

The Paleocaucasian languages, grouped into related units, are summed up below. Those marked with an asterisk have the status of a literary language in the Soviet Union. The languages placed in parentheses are not spoken in the Caucasus at present, due to the emigration (Ubykh, 1865) or deportation (Chechen-Ingush, 1944) of the speakers.

197

South Caucasian (2,250,000; plus 87,000 in Turkey)

* Georgian
  Mingrelo-Laz
  Svan

North-West Caucasian (325,000)

* Abkhaz (incl. *Abaza)
  (Ubykh)
  Circassian
    * Kyakh (W. Circ.)
    * Kabardian (E. Circ.)

North-East Caucasian (1,120,000)

Veinakh Group
  (*Chechen-Ingush)
  Bats
Avaro-Ando-Dido Group
  *Avar
    Andi Subgroup (Andi, Botlikh, Godoberi, Karata, Bagulal, Tindi, Chamalal, Akhvakh)
    Dido Subgroup (Khvarshi, Dido, Kapucha, Khunzal, Ginukh)
    Archi
Lak-Dargwa Group
  * Lak
    Dargwa Subgroup (*Dargwa, Kaitak, Kubachi)

• 197 North-East Caucasian (continued)

Samur Group
*Lezgian
Agul
Rutul
Tsakhur
*Tabasaran
Budukh
Dzhek

Khinalug

Udi

B. Structure of the Languages

194 A phonetic characteristic common to all the Caucasian languages is their richness in consonants. Georgian has 28 consonant phonemes, Avar has 44, the literary dialect of Abkhaz has 67 (cf. English with 23). The vowel systems, on the other hand, are simple and vowels rarely exceed 5. In addition to voiceless and voiced consonants, all the languages also have a series of glottalic consonants, pronounced with a "glottal catch." Speakers of Georgian identify the Russian voiceless consonants with their own glottalic ones (rather than with their own voiceless consonants, which, unlike the Russian, are aspirated), and this "glottalic" pronunciation

## II NON-INDIGENOUS LANGUAGES

197 Armenian is a separate branch of Indo-European, belonging to the Eastern (satem) group ; its closest relatives were probably Phrygian and Thracian, known only from a few inscriptions. The language has been strongly influenced by its non-Indo-European substratum (Chaldic, the language of the Urartu state). Besides Ossetian, also spoken in the Caucasus, Armenian is the only I-E language with a series of glottalic consonants; its lexicon abounds with non-I-E elements, and its morphology and syntax show [192] Caucasian influence. The language has furthermore borrowed so many words from Persian that it was regarded as an Iranian dialect until Hübschmann showed in 1883 that it represented an independent branch of I-E. [212] The oldest dated Armenian manuscript is from the ninth century; the literary tradition is four centuries older.

Ossetian is a member of the Eastern (in older terminology, Northern) subdivision of the Iranian languages, to which also belong the Pamir dialects and Yagnābī, a descendant of Soghdian. It is the only survival of the Scytho-Sarmatian dialects, once spread over a vast area in the Eurasian steppe belt. The influence of the surrounding Caucasian languages is apparent in the existence of glottalic consonants, in the agglutinative technique of the morphology and in the lexicon.

• 197 Tat and Talysh both belong to the Caspian dialect group of the North-Western subdivision of Iranian; their closest relations are Nazandarani and Ghilak, spoken in Iran in the Caspian coast region. The North-Western Iranian languages, themselves widely divergent, are not mutually intelligible with Persian, which belongs to the South-Western subdivision of Iranian.

The Kurdish dialects form a special group of the North-Western subdivision of the Iranian languages. The Kurds in Soviet territory speak a North Kurdish (Kurmanji) dialect.

Azeri belongs to the Western subdivision of Oghuz Turkic, together with Turkish and the Kashkay-Hamse languages. The difference between Azeri and Turkish on the one hand, and between Azeri and the Kashkay-Hamse languages on the other, is very small, and these three units can be considered dialects of the same language.

Turcoman constitutes the Eastern subdivision of Oghuz Turkic. The spoken language is not intelligible to speakers of Western Oghuz Turkic.

Kumuk, Noghay, and Karachay-Balkar belong to the Kipchak-Turkic language group. The three can be regarded as distant dialects of the same language.

Kalmyk constitutes the Western member of the Mongolian family of the Altaic languages.

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O:3 Genetic-Linguistic Survey:

197 Caucasian (Paleaocaucasian, Ibero-Caucasian) languages: I. S Caucasian (Kartvelian, Iberian) branch: Georgian, Mingrelo-Laz, Svan; II. NW Caucasian (W C ucasian, Abasgo-Kerketian, Pontic) branch: Abkhaz, Ubykh, Circassian; III. NE Caucasian (E Caucasian, Checheno-Lezgian, Checheno-Dagestanian, Caspian) branch: (1) Veinakh (N Central Caucasian) Group: Chechen-Ingush, Bats; (2) Avaro-Ando-Dido group: (a) Avar; (b) Andi sub-group: Andi proper, Botlikh, Godoberi, Karata, Bagulal, Tindi, Chamalal, Akhvakh; (c) Dido sub-group: Khvarshi, Dido proper Kapucha, Khunzal, Ginukh; (d) Archi: (3) Lak-Dargwa group: Lak and the Dargwa languages: Dargwa proper, Kaitak, Kubachi; (4) Samurian group: Lezgian, Agul, Rutul, Tsakhur, Tabasaran, Budukh, Dzhek; (5) Khinalug; (6) Udi.

Indo-European (Indogermanic, Aryan) languages: I. Armenian; II. Iranian branch: (1) E Iranian: Ossetian; (2) NW Iranian: Talysh, Tat; (3) SW Iranian: Kurdish.

Altaic languages: I. Turkic Tatar, Muslim) branch: (1) Oghuz group: (a) W Oghuz: Azeri, Karapapak; (b) E Oghuz: Turkoman; (2) Kipchak group: Kumuk, Noghay, Karachay, Balkar; II. Mongolian branch, W group: Kalmyk.

Semitic languages, Aramaic branch: Aisor.

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Georgia RI 1

C. G. 197 LANGUAGE: Georgian (Kartuli ena) belongs with Mingrelian, Laz, and Svan, to the S Caucasian (or Kartvelian) language family. It has an old literary tradition going back to the 5th century A. D., and a script of its own.

SUBDIVISIONS: The Georgian dialects fall into two groups: E and W Georgian. E dialects: Kartluri (with sub-dialects Meskh and Dzhavakh), K'akhuri, Ingilouri, Tushuri, Khevsuruli, Pshauri, Mokhev, Mtiuli, (Fereidan in Iran). W dialects: Imeruli Rach'uli, Lechkhum, Guruli (including Adzhar), Imerkhev (in Turkey).

C. G. 241 231 TRADITIONAL ECONOMY: Agriculture, cattle-breeding; horticulture; viniculture; arts and crafts.

C. G. 795 RELIGION: Eastern Orthodox; Roman Catholic minority; only the Adzhar and part of the Ingilo are Muslim. There are a number of Georgian-speaking Jewish villages in different parts of the Georgian SSR, totaling 21,471 persons (1926, Russian census), in Russian referred to as Gruzinskie evrei (Georgian Jews).

C. G. [162]

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Georgia RI I

## 2. MINGRELIANS

C. G. 101 NAME: SELF-DESIGNATION: Margali; own name of country: Odishi.

RUSSIAN DESIGNATIONS: Megrely, Megrel'tsy, Mingrel'tsy.

OTHER DESIGNATIONS: (Georgian:) Megreli, the country: Samegrelo; (Abkhaz:) Aghrwa; (Svan:) Myzan, the country: Zan

C. G. 161 NUMBER: 1897 239,625 (Russian census)
1926 242,990 (Russian census, ethn.)
284,834 (Russian census, ling.)

C. G. 162 LOCATION: Territory N of lower Rioni river and W of the Tskhenis-Tskali, extending along the Black Sea Coast from the mouth of the Rioni up to Ochemchiri (rayons Zugdidi and Senaki in W of Georgian SSR). Also in and around the cities of the Abkhaz ASSR.

C. G. 197 LANGUAGE: Mingrelian (Megreli nina) and the very closely related Laz form the so-called Zan member of the S Caucasian (Kartvelian) language group, which also includes Georgian and Svan. The language is not written, Georgian being used as the literary language.

SUBDIVISIONS: Two groups of dialects, which differ very little: West (Samurzakan-Zugdidi) and East Mingrelian (Senaki).

C. G. 241 TRADITIONAL ECONOMY: Agriculture; horticulture; viniculture; sericulture.

C. G. 795 RELIGION: Eastern Orthodox.

7: Columbia U. S-4,5 1956 RH1 Caucasia RH1.
Georgia RI1
(Turkish:) Lazi;
(Georgian:) Ch'ani,
the country: Ch'aneti.)

## 3. LAZ

C G 101 NAME: SELF-DESIGNATION: Lazi
RUSSIAN DESIGNATIONS: Lazy; for the language also: Chanskii iazyk.
OTHER DESIGNATIONS: (Turkish:) Lazi; (Georgian:) Ch'ani, the country: Ch'aneti.)

C G 161 NUMBER: 1926 643 (Russian census, ethn.)
730 (Russian census, ling.)
The Turkish census of 1945 lists 46,987 speakers of Laz, so that the overwhelming majority of them live in Turkish territory.

C G 162 LOCATION: Between the Chorokh river and the Black Sea coast up to the area of Pazar (Atina) on Turkish territory; also in the Chkhala basin (left tributary of the Chorokh on Russian territory), (Adzhar ASSR, within Georgian SSR).

C G .197 LANGUAGE: Laz (Ch'anuri nena) and the very closely related Mingrelian form of the so-called Zan member of the S Caucasian (Kartvelian) language-group, which includes also Georgian and Svan. The language is not written, Georgian being used as literary language in the USSR, Turkish in Turkey.

SUBDIVISIONS: Two dialect-groups; West (Vitse-Arkhava and Atina) and East Laz (Hopa, Chkhala).

C G 241 TRADITIONAL ECONOMY: Agriculture, fishing, trade.

226 RELIGION: Islam (Sunni)

C G 795

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Georgia RI 1

## 4. SVAN

C.G.
101 NAME: SELF-DESIGNATION: Shwan, sing. Mushwän, Mushwni.

ENGLISH VARIANTS: Svan, Svanetians

RUSSIAN DESIGNATIONS: Svany, Svanety.

OTHER DESIGNATIONS: (Georgian:) Svani; the country: Svaneti

C.G.
161 NUMBER: 1897 15,756 (Russian census)
1926 13,218 (Russian census, ethn.)
13,142 (Russian census, ling.)

The 1926 numbers are very low and must be due to some misunderstanding. The Bol'shaia Sovetskaia Éntsiklopediia (1st ed.) Vol. 50 (1944), p. 371, gives the number of the Svan as over 23,000.

C.G.
162 LOCATION: Two valleys S of Mt. El'brus, one of the upper Tskhenis-Tskali and its tributary the Kheledula (Sv. of the Dadiani), the other of the upper Ingur (West: Sv. of the Dadishkeliani, East: Free Sv.) Georgian SSR)

C.G.
●197 LANGUAGE: The Svan language is a member of the S Caucasian (Kartvelian) language-family, to which belong further Migrelo-Laz (Zan), and Georgian, the latter languages forming one group as against Svan. The language is not written, Georgian being used as the literary language.

C.G.
163 SUBDIVISIONS: Historically, Svanetia fell into three parts, Svanetia of the Dadiani, Svanetia of the Dadishkeliani, Free Svanetia.

7: Columbia U-S-4, 5 1956 RHI Caucasia RHI
Georgia RI 1

C. G. 197 LANGUAGE: Abkhaz belongs to NW Caucasian, together with Circassian and Ubykh (the latter no longer spoken in the Caucasus). Two dialects have been reduced to writing: in the Abkhaz ASSR that of the Abzhui, in the Cherkes AO that of the Tapanta. The speakers of the Abaza dialects are all bilingual and speak also the Kabardian dialect of Circassian. In the Abkhaz ASSR knowledge of Georgian is widespread.

SUBDIVISION: Abkhaz has five major dialects: Bzyb', Abzhui, Samurzakan', Ashkharwa and Tapanta. The speakers of the latter two dialects are known as Abaza (R. Abazintsy), though linguistically the first four dialects form one group, while Tapanta stands apart.

C G 101 Further tribal names (Russ. form): Tsebeldintsy, Dzhigety; (Abaza:)Beshilbei, Tam, Barakei.

C. G. 241 231 TRADITIONAL ECONOMY: Cattle-breeding; agriculture, viniculture; apiculture.

C. G. 795 RELIGION: Islam (Sunni); Eastern Orthodox.

7: Columbia U. S-4, 5 1956 RHI Caucasia RHI
Adige, Kabardin, Cherkess

162 Adygei AO (Beslenei:) Two auls of the Cherkes AO: Beslenei and Bakozhile; two auls in the Uspenskii rayon (Krasnodar Krai): Kurgovskoe and Konovskoe; two auls in the Adygei AO: Khodzh' and Uliap.

2. Lower Circassians: S of the lower middle course of the Kuban' and in the basins of the Laba and Belaia; these in the Adygei AO (mixture of various tribes). Also SE of Tuapse and in the aul Suvorovo-Cherkesskii on the Taman' peninsula (Shapsug). Smaller groups scattered in the NW Cauc., among others near Armavir.

197 LANGUAGE: The Circassian language (Adyghèbze) belongs with Abkhaz and Ubykh (no longer spoken in the Caucasus) to the NW group of Caucasian languages. The two major dialects, Upper and Lower Circassian, both have the status of literary language, under the names "Kabardinskii" or "Kabardinocherkesskii", and "Adygeiskii iazyk" respectively (the last based on the Temirgoi dialect). A Lower Circassian dialect is spoken by the Armenians in the town of Armavir.

147 101 SUBDIVISIONS: Two main dialect-groups: Upper Circassian (Kabardian and Beslenei) and Lower Circassian (or Kiakh, with subdialects Bzhedukh-Temirgoi [the latter also called Chemgui], Shapsug, and Abadzekh). In Russian sources the Circassians in the Adygei AO are referred to as "Adygeitsy", those in the Cherkes AO as "Cherkesy", those in the Kabardian ASSR

197 as "Kabardintsy". The dialects follow old
101 tribal divisions. Other tribal names (Russ. form.): Natukhaevtsy, Gatiukai, Zhane(e)vtsy, Egerukaevtsy, Makhosh(ev)-tsy, Kiakhi, Khagak (Khegek, Shegek).

241
231 TRADITIONAL ECONOMY: Agriculture; horticulture; cattle-breeding; horse-breeding (esp. Kabardians); apiculture; home industry (Caucasian felt cloaks).

795 RELIGION: Islam (Sunni); only the Kabardians around Mozdok are Christians.

197 they form the Veinakh group of the NE Caucasian language family.

SUBDIVISIONS: These were more of a geographical than of a linguistic nature. Chechen tribes: Ichkeri(ntsy), Aukh(ovtsy). etc.; Ingush tribes: Dzherakh(ovtsy), Nazran(ovtsy), etc. A special dialect was spoken by the Karabulak, who had all emigrated to Turkey by 1870. The Georgians knew the Chechen with whom they came in contact as Kist; this name was later extended to the whole group and adopted by the Russians as a name for the Veinakh languages(Kistinskie iazyki).

231 241 TRADITIONAL ECONOMY: Cattle-breeding, agriculture.

795 RELIGION: Islam (Sunni).

7: Columbia U. S-4, 5 1956 RHI Caucasia RHI
Tushin

## 8. BATS

101 NAME: SELF-DESIGNATION: Batsaw, pl. Batsbi.
RUSSIAN DESIGNATIONS: Batsbiitsy, Tsova-Tush, Tush (due to incorrect naming by Güldenstädt)

161 NUMBER: 1926 7 (Russian census, ethn.)
2,459 (Russian census, ling.)

162 LOCATION: In winter and spring in the village Zemo Alvani on the Kakhetian Alazan' (near Telavi), in summer in the mountain meadows on the upper Kakhetian Alazan' and Tush Alazan' (Akhmet rayon, Georgian SSR).

197 LANGUAGE: Bats (Batsbe mot') forms, with Checheno-Ingush, the Veinakh group of the NE Caucasian languages. The language is not written, Georgian being used as literary language.

231 TRADITIONAL ECONOMY: Cattle-breeding.

715 RELIGION: Eastern Orthodox.

7: Columbia U. S-4,5 1956 RHI Caucasia RHI
Dagestan RH8
Avar

## 9. AVAR

C. A. 101 NAME: SELF-DESIGNATION: None for the people as a whole. Own designation of language: maharul mats'ᵊ ("mountain language") or Khᵊunz mats'ᵊ ("language of Khunzakh")

RUSSIAN DESIGNATIONS: Avartsy, Tavlintsy (the latter from Kumyk "Taulu" meaning "mountaineers" in general). The southern groups of Avar are also referred to as Dzhartsy.

OTHER DESIGNATIONS: (Lak:) Yaruchū, (Dargwa:) K'araqᵊan.

C. D. 161 NUMBER: 1926 158,769 (Russian census, ethn.)
158,922 (Russian census, ling.)

In the Bol'shaia Sovetskaia Éntsiklopediia (2nd ed.) Vol. 1 (1949), p. 62, the total number of Avar is given as ca. 167,000. The number of persons able to speak Avar is ca. 220,000 (estimate, Chikobava).

C. A. 162 LOCATION: Basins of lower Andi Koisu, and of the Avar Koisu; some groups isolated from the main body along the W tributaries of the Andi Koisu (rayons Gergebil', Gumbet, Gunib, Kazbek, Kakhib, Tliarata, Untsukul', Khunzakh, Charoda, all in the Dagestan ASSR). Also extending to the S slope of the main Caucasian chain (rayons Belokany and Zakataly, Azerb. SSR).

C. D. 197 LANGUAGE: The Avar language (mahárul mats'ᵊ Khᵊunz mats'ᵊ) forms with the Andi and Dido groups of languages one of the six main divisions of NE Caucasian (the

CD
.197

others being Veinakh, Lak-Dargwa, Samurian, Khinalug, and Udi). Avar has the status of a literary language in the Dagestan ASSR. The literary language is based on the Khunzakh dialect which was also the basis of the old "bol mats'·" ("army language"), the common Avar lingua franca. Knowledge of Avar is spread well outside its own linguistic territory (Andi-Dido area, Tsakhur area, Archi, W part of Lak and Dargwa areas).

SUBDIVISIONS: There are four major dialects: Khunzakh, Gidatl′-- Andalaly-Karakh, Antsukh, and Char.

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TRADITIONAL ECONOMY: Stockbreeding; home industry (Caucasian felt cloaks, leather goods, wooden objects, metal work, tapestry-weaving, embroidery); horticulture.

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RELIGION: Islam (Sunni).

7: Columbia U. S-4, 5 1956 RHl Caucasia RH
Dagestan RH 8
Andi

## 10. ANDI

C. D. 101 NAME: SELF-DESIGNATION: Qwannaw, pl. Qwannal
RUSSIAN DESIGNATIONS: Andii, Andiitsy (this name is also used to include, besides the Andi proper, the other peoples of the Andi group; cf. below under "Language").
OTHER DESIGNATIONS: (Avar:) Handísew, pl. Handál, the country: Handí.

C. D. 161 NUMBER: 1926 7,840 (Russian census, ethn.)
7,720 (Russian census, ling.)

C. D. 162 LOCATION: N of the Andiiskoe Koisu, at its bend eastward (auls Andi, Ghunkha, Ghaghatl, Rik'uan, Chankho, Zilo, Muni in rayon Botlikh and auls Kvankhidatl, and Khuset in rayon Vedeno, Dagestan ASSR).

C. D. 197 LANGUAGE: Andi (Qwannab mits.i) forms with Botlikh, Godoberi, Karata, Bagulal, Tindi, Chamalal, and Akhvakh, the so-called Andi subgroup of the Avaro-Ando-Dido group of the NE Caucasian languages. The language is not written, Avar being used as the literary language.

C. D. 231 438 TRADITIONAL ECONOMY: Sheep-raising, home industry (Caucasian felt cloaks, tapestries, goldsmithing).

C. D. 795 RELIGION: Islam (Sunni).

7: Columbia U. S-4, 5 1956 RHI Caucasia RHI
Dagestan RH8

## 11. BOTLIKH

C.D. 101 NAME: SELF-DESIGNATION: Buykhatli (gen. of Buykhe "the village B."). RUSSIAN DESIGNATIONS: Botlikhtsy, Buiukhad.

C.D. 161 NUMBER: 1926 3,354 (Russian census, ethn.)
2,789 (Russian census, ling.)

C.D. 162 LOCATION: Just N of the bend of the Andiiskoe Koisu, SW of the Andi area (rayon Botlikh, auls Botlikh and Miarso, Dagestan ASSR).

C.D. 197 LANGUAGE: Botlikh (Buykhatli mits') forms with Andi, Godoberi, Karata, Bagulal, Tindi, Chamalal, and Akhvakh, the Andi subgroup of the Avaro-Ando-Dido group of the NE Caucasian languages. The language is not written, Avar being used as the literary language.

C.D. 231 241 TRADITIONAL ECONOMY: Cattle-breeding, home industry, agriculture.

C.D. 745 RELIGION: Islam (Sunni).

7: Columbia U. S-4,5 1956 RH1 Caucasia RH1•
Dagestan RH8

## 12. GODOBERI

CD
101 NAME: SELF-DESIGNATION: Ghibditl·i adami (i.e. "people of the village Ghidu (Godoberi").
RUSSIAN DESIGNATION: Godoberi-(ntsy).

CD
161 NUMBER: 1926 1,425 (Russian census, ethn.)
1,425 (Russian census, ling.)

CD
162 LOCATION: Just NW of the bend of the Andiiskoe Koisu, W of the Botlikh area (rayon Botlikh, aul Godoberi, Dagestan ASSR).

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.197 LANGUAGE: Godoberi (Ghibditl·i mits·i) forms with Andi, Botlikh, Karata, Bagulal, Tindi, Chamalal, and Akhvakh, the Andi subgroup of the Avaro-Ando-Dido group of the NE Caucasian languages. The language is not written, Avar being used as the literary language.

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231 TRADITIONAL ECONOMY: Cattle-breeding;
241 home industry; agriculture.

CD
795 RELIGION: Islam (Sunni).

## 13. KARATA

C. D. 101 NAME: SELF-DESIGNATION: Kirtl•e, pl. Kirtl•ei.
RUSSIAN DESIGNATIONS: Karatintsy, Karatai, Kirdi.
OTHER DESIGNATIONS: (Avar:) K'alalal.

C. D. 161 NUMBER: 1926 5,305 (Russian census, ethn.)
5,303 (Russian census, ling.)

C. D. 162 LOCATION: Just S of the bend of the Andiis'koe Koisu (N part of rayon Akhvakh, also rayons Andalaly and Vedeno (Dagest. ASSR). (1)

C. D. 197 LANGUAGE: Karata (Kirtl•i mats'i) forms with Andi, Botlikh, Godoberi, Bagulal, Tindi, Chamalal, and Akhvakh, the Andi subgroup of the Avaro-Ando-Dido group of the NE Caucasian languages. The language is not written, Avar being used as the literary language.

SUBDIVISIONS: Dialects: Karata proper Anchikh and Tokita.

C. D. 231 241 TRADITIONAL ECONOMY: cattle-breeding, home industry, agriculture.

C. D. 795 RELIGION: Islam (Sunni).

(1) aals Karata, Archo, Anchikh, Tokita, Mashtada, Rachabalda, Chabakoro.

## 14. BAGULAL

C.D. 101 NAME: SELF-DESIGNATION: Kwantl hekua, or Bagolal.

RUSSIAN DESIGNATION: Bagulaly; Bagvalal, Bogulal.

OTHER DESIGNATIONS: due to their dual self-designation, referred to both as Bagulal and Kvanada.

C.D. 161 NUMBER: 1926 3,054 (Russian census, ethn.)
3,053 (Russian census, ling.)

C.D. 162 LOCATION: S of the bend of the Andiiskoe Koisu, S of the Karata area (rayon Tsumada, auls Khushtada, Tlondoda, Kvanada; rayon Akhvakh, auls Gimerso, Tisi, Tlibisho, Dagestan ASSR).

C.D. 197 LANGUAGE: Bagulal (Bagulazul mits') forms with Andi, Botlikh, Godoberi, Karata, Tindi, Chamalal, and Akhvakh, the Andi subgroup of the Avaro-Ando-Dido group of the NE Caucasian languages. The language is not written, Avar being used as literary language.

SUBDIVISIONS: Dialects: Bagulal proper and Tlisi.

C.D. 231 241 TRADITIONAL ECONOMY: Cattle-breeding; agriculture; home industry.

C.D. 79 RELIGION: Islam (Sunni).

7: Columbia U. S-4,5 1956 RH1 Caucasia RH1a
Dagestan RH8

## 15. TINDI

CD 101 NAME: SELF-DESIGNATION: Idaraw hekwa
RUSSIAN DESIGNATIONS: Tindii, Tindiitsy, Tindal', Inderi (ntsy), Idi.
OTHER DESIGNATIONS: (Dido:) Bogozi, pl. Bogozibi.

CD 161 NUMBER: 1926 3,812 (Russian census, ethn.)
3,704 (Russian census, ling.)
1952 5,000 (estimate Gudava)

CD 162 LOCATION: Aul Tindi, on the E tributary of the Andiiskoe Koisu which separates the Bagulal group from the Khvarshi area; (rayon Tsumada, Dagestan ASSR). (1)

CD .197 LANGUAGE: Tindi (Idara mits' ) forms with Andi, Botlikh, Godoberi, Karata, Bagulal, Chamalal and Akhvakh the Andi subgroup of the Avaro-Ando-Dido group of the NE Caucasian-languages. The language is not written, Avar being used as the literary language.

CD 231 241 TRADITIONAL ECONOMY: Cattle-breeding; agriculture; home industry.

CD 795 RELIGION: Islam (Sunni)

(1) Also auls Tisi, Echeda and Akhnada (rayon Tsumada) and Qedi (rayon Vedeno)

7: Columbia U. S-4,5 1956 RH1 Caucasia RH1
Dagestan RH8

## 16. CHAMALAL

CD 101 NAME: SELF-DESIGNATION: according to separate villages; as opposed to other peoples: Ch'amalaldu, pl. Ch'amalaldube, collective: Ch'amalali.
RUSSIAN DESIGNATION: Chamalaly.

CD 161 NUMBER: 1926 3,438 (Russian census, ethn.)
3,438 (Russian census, ling.)

CD 162 LOCATION: On the E side of the Andiiskoe Koisu, just below the bend; auls Verkhnii Gakvari (with sub-villages), Nizhnii Gakvari (with sub-villages), Agvali, Tsumada, Tsumada-Urukh, Richaganik, Gadyri (with sub-villages), Gachitl', Gigatl' (with sub-villages), Kvankhi (Tsumada rayon, Dagestan ASSR).

CD .197 LANGUAGE: Chamalal (Ch'amalaldub mits'·) forms with Andi, Botlikh, Godoberi, Karata, Bagulal, Tindi, and Akhvakh, the Andi sub-group of the Avaro-Ando-Dido group of the NE Caucasian languages. The language is not written, Avar being used as the literary language.

SUBDIVISIONS: Dialects: 1a. Gakvari (incl. Gakvari, Agvali, Tsumada, Tsumada-Urukh, Richaganik); 1b. Gadyri (incl. Gachitl' ) and Kvankhi; 2. Gigatl' .

CD 231 438 241 TRADITIONAL ECONOMY: Cattle-breeding; home industry (Caucasian felt cloaks, gold-smithing); agriculture.

CD 795 RELIGION: Islam (Sunni).

7: Columbia U. S-4,5 1956 RH1 Caucasia RH1
Dagestan RH8

## 17. AKHVAKH

C D 101 NAME: SELF-DESIGNATION: Atluatl'i.
RUSSIAN DESIGNATION: Akhvakhtsy.

C D 161 NUMBER: 1926 3,683 (Russian census, ethn.)
3,683 (Russian census, ling.)

C D 162 LOCATION: Between Avarskoe Koisu and Andiiskoe Koisu, just at their bend to the E (rayon Akhvakh: auls Izani, Kudiiab-Roso, Tad-Magitl', Lologonitl'; rayon Kakhib: auls Tlenob, Tsekob; rayon Andalaly: aul Ratlub; all in Dagestan ASSR).

C D 197 LANGUAGE: Akhvakh (Atluatl·i mits·i) forms with Andi Batlikh, Godoberi, Karata, Bagulal, Tindi, and Chamaiai, the Andi subgroup of the Avaro-Ando-Dido group of the NE Caucasian languages. The language is not written, Avar being used as the literary language.

C D 231 241 TRADITIONAL ECONOMY: Cattle-breeding; agriculture; home industry.

C D 795 RELIGION: Islam (Sunni).

## 18. KHVARSHI

C. D. 101 NAME: SELF-DESIGNATION: Kedaes hikwa.
RUSSIAN DESIGNATIONS: Khvarshiny, Khvarshintsy.

C. D. 161 NUMBER: 1926 1,019 (Russian census, ethn.)
1,018 (Russian census, ling.)

C. D. 162 LOCATION: On a S tributary of the Andiiskoe Koisu, SW of the Bagulal area (auls Khvarshi, Inkhokari, etc., Vedeno rayon, Dagestan ASSR).

C. D. 197 LANGUAGE: Khvarshi (Kedaes mits°, Inkhies mits', depending on village) forms with Dido, Kapucha, Khunzal, and Ginukh, the Dido subgroup of the Avaro-Ando-Dido group of the NE Caucasian languages. The language is not written, Avar being used as the literary language.

C. D. 241 231 TRADITIONAL ECONOMY: Agriculture; cattle-breeding.

C. D. 795 RELIGION: Islam (Sunni).

7:Columbia U. S-4, 5 1956 RH1 Caucasia RH1
Dagestan RH8
Didoi

## 19. DIDO

C. D. 101 NAME: SELF-DESIGNATION: Ts'ezi, pl. Ts'ezibi

RUSSIAN DESIGNATIONS: Didoi, Didoitsy, Tsezy.

OTHER DESIGNATIONS: (Georgian:) Dido; (Kakhetian-Georgian:) Tsunt'a "ragamuffin", a name also used by the Avar and several peoples of the Andi group.

C. D. 161 NUMBER: 1926 3,276 (Russian census, ethn.)
3,198 (Russian census, ling.)

C. D. 162 LOCATION: S of the upper Andiiskoe Koisu.

C. D. 197 LANGUAGE: Dido (Ts'ezias mets') forms with Khvarshi, Kapucha, Khunzal, and Ginukh, the so-called Dido subgroup of the Avaro-Ando-Dido group of the NE Caucasian languages. The language is not written, Avar being used as the literary language.

C. D. 231 241 326 TRADITIONAL ECONOMY: Cattle-breeding; agriculture; home industry (goldsmithing).

C. D. 795 RELIGION: Islam (Sunni).

7:Columbia U. S-4, 5 1956 RH1 Caucasia RH1
Dagestan RH8
Khaput

## 20. KAPUCHA

C.
D.
101 NAME: SELF-DESIGNATION: Kapuchias suko or Bezhtl·as suko, depending on the village.
RUSSIAN DESIGNATIONS: Kapuchiny, Bezhitiny.

C.
D.
161 NUMBER: 1926 1,448 (Russian census, ethn.)
1,448 (Russian census, ling.)

C.
D.
162 LOCATION: Upper basin of Avarskoe Koisu (rayon Tliarata, auls Bezhity, Khocharkhota, Tliadal', Dagestan ASSR).

C.
D.
197 LANGUAGE: Kapucha (Bezhtl·alas mits·) forms with Khvarshi, Dido, Khunzal, and Ginukh, the Dido subgroup of the Avaro-Ando-Dido group of the NE Caucasian languages. The language is not written, Avar being used as the literary language.

C.
D.
231 TRADITIONAL ECONOMY: Cattle-breeding;
241 agriculture; home industry (goldsmithing).
326

C.
D.
795 RELIGION: Islam (Sunni).

7: Columbia U. S-4, 5 1956 RH1 Caucasia RH1
Dagestan RH8

## 21. KHUNZAL

C.D. 101 NAME: SELF-DESIGNATION: ------
RUSSIAN DESIGNATIONS: Khunzaly, Gun(d)zaly, Nakhada.

C.D. 161 NUMBER: 1926 106 (Russian census, ethn.)
129 (Russian census, ling.)

C.D. 162 LOCATION: Auls Hunzib and Gharbut (with former Nahada) (rayon Tlarata, Dagestan ASSR).

C.D. 197 LANGUAGE: Khunzal forms with Khvarshi, Dido, Kapucha, and Ginukh, the Dido subgroup of the Avaro-Ando-Dido group of the NE Caucasian languages. The language is not written, Avar being used as the literary language.

C.D. 231 241 TRADITIONAL ECONOMY: Cattle-breeding; agriculture; crafts.

C.D. 795 RELIGION: Islam (Sunni).

## 22. GINUKH

C.D. 101

NAME: SELF-DESIGNATION: -----
RUSSIAN DESIGNATION: Ginukhtsy

C.D. 161 NUMBER: 200 (estimate, Bokarev).

C.D. 162 LOCATION: Aul Ginukh, rayon Tliarata, (Dagestan ASSR). Majority had moved to rayon Vedeno by 1949 (village Kidero).

C.D. 197 LANGUAGE: Ginukh forms with Khvarshi, Dido, Kapuchi, and Khunzal, the Dido subgroup of the Avaro-Ando-Dido group of the NE Caucasian languages. The language is not written, Avar being used as the literary language.

C.D. 231 TRADITIONAL ECONOMY: Cattle-breeding; home industry.

C.D. 795 RELIGION: Islam (Sunni).

## 23. ARCHI

C. D. 101 NAME: SELF-DESIGNATION: Arshishuw, Arshishtuw.
RUSSIAN DESIGNATION: Archintsy.
OTHER DESIGNATIONS: (Lak:) Roch.

C. D. 161 NUMBER: 1926 863 (Russian census, ethn.)
859 (Russian census, ling.)

C. D. 162 LOCATION: Aul Ruch-Archi on the Khatar river, rayon Charoda (Dagestan ASSR).

C. D. 197 LANGUAGE: Archi (Arshatten ch'at) belongs to the Avaro-Ando-Dido group of the NE Caucasian languages; its exact position in this group is uncertain. The language is not written, Avar being used as the literary language.

C. D. 231 286 TRADITIONAL ECONOMY: Cattle-breeding; home industry (cloth and tapestry weaving).

C 795 RELIGION: Islam (Sunni).

7:Columbia U. S-4, 5 1956 RH1 ColumbiaRH1
DagestanRH8
Lak

## 24. LAK

C.D. 101 NAME: SELF-DESIGNATION: Lak; Lakuchū
RUSSIAN DESIGNATIONS: Laki, Kazikumukhtsy.
OTHER DESIGNATIONS: (Avar:) Tumaw, pl. Tumal; Lezgian: Yakholshu

C.D. 161 NUMBER: 1926 40,380 (Russian census, ethn.)
40,336 (Russian census, ling.)
1955 well over 55,000 (estimate, Zhirkov).

C.D. 162 LOCATION: Basin of the upper Tleuserakh, Khatar, and Kazikumukhskoe Koisu (rayons Lak and Kula, separate villages in rayons Tsudakhar, Akusha, Rutul, Kurakh, Charoda, and Dakhadaev). Since 1944 also in the valley of Yaryksu river (Novo-Lak rayon, Dagestan ASSR).

C.D. • 197 LANGUAGE: Lak (lakū maz) forms with the Dargwa group of languages the Lak-Dargwa subdivision of the NE Caucasian languages, which include also Veinakh, Avaro-Ando-Dido, Samurian, Khinalug, and Udi. Lak has the status of a literary language in the Dagestan ASSR; the written language is based on the Kumukh dialect.

C.D. 231 241 438 TRADITIONAL ECONOMY: Cattle-breeding; production of leather goods and pottery; metal-work (weapons); agriculture.

C.D. 795 RELIGION: Islam (Sunni).

7:Columbia U. S-4, 5 1956 RHI Caucasia RHI
Dagestan RH8
Dargin

## 25. DARGWA

CJA 101 NAME: SELF-DESIGNATION: No general one (the term "Dargwa" refers originally to a type of political-administrative unit); according to villages: Ts'udq·'an, pl. Ts'udq·ur "person from Tsudakhar", Khurq·'an, pl. Khuruq· "person from Khiurkila", etc.

RUSSIAN DESIGNATIONS: Darginy, Dargintsy; language also Khiurkilinskii iazyk.

OTHER DESIGNATIONS: (German:) for the language: Hürkanisch.

CJA 161 NUMBER: 1897 130,209 (Russian census)
108,963 (Russian census, ethn.)
107,645 (Russian census, ling.)

The 1897 figure probably includes Kubachi and Kaitak.

CJA 162 LOCATION: In the lower mountains between the rivers Kazikumukhskoe Koisu and Ullachai (rayons Sergokala, Akusha, Dakhadaev, Shuragat, Tsudakhar, most of Levashi; separate villages in rayons Karabudakhkent (Gubden, Gurbuki), Buinak (Kadar, Karamakhi, Chankurby) Gunib (Miamusi), Agul (Amukh, Chirakh), Dagestan ASSR).

CJA 197 LANGUAGE: Dargwa forms with the closely related Kubachi and Kaitak the so-called Dargwa subgroup of the Lak-Dargwa group of the NE Caucasian languages. It has the status of literary language in the Dagestan ASSR; the written language is based on the Akusha dialect (Aq·usha midz).

7: Columbia U. S-4 S 1956 RHI Caucasia RHI
Dagestan RH8
Dargin

C. D.
●197 SUBDIVISIONS: Dialects: Akusha-(or Akkhusha-)Urakha and Tsudakhar, both with many sub-dialects.

C. D.
244 TRADITIONAL ECONOMY: Agriculture, home
438 industry (pottery, leather work, tapestry-weaving, weapon-and tool-making).

C. D.
795 RELIGION: Islam (Sunni).

7:Columbia U. S-4, 5 1956 RH1 CaucasiaRH1
DagestanRH8

## 26. KAITAK

C. D. 101 NAME: SELF-DESIGNATION: Khaidaqlan, plur. Khaidaq.
RUSSIAN DESIGNATION: Khaidaki, Kaitagi, Kaitaki.

C. D. 161 NUMBER: 1926 14,430 (Russian census, ethn.)
14,469 (Russian census, ling.)

C. D. 162 LOCATION: Basin of Ulla-Chai, between the Dargwa and the Tabasaran areas (rayon Kaitak, S part of rayon Dakhadaev, Dagestan ASSR).

C. D. 197 LANGUAGE: Kaitak forms with the closely related Dargwa and Kubachi the so-called Dargwa subgroup of the Lak-Dargwa group of the NE Caucasian languages. The language is not written, Dargwa being used as the literary language.

C. D. 231 241 TRADITIONAL ECONOMY: Cattle-breeding; agriculture; home industry.

C. D. 795 RELIGION: Islam (Sunni).

7:Columbia U. S-4,5 1956 RH1 Caucasia RH1
Dagestan RH8

## 27. KUBACHI

C. D. 101 NAME: SELF-DESIGNATION: Ughbug.
RUSSIAN DESIGNATION: Kubachintsy.

C. D. 161 NUMBER: 1926 2,322 (Russian cens., ethn.)
2,470 (Russian cens., ling.)

C. D. 162 LOCATION: Aul Kubachi (rayon Dakhadaev, Dagestan ASSR).

C. D. •197 LANGUAGE: Kubachi (Ughbughan hub) forms with the closely related Dargwa and Kaitak the Dargwa subgroup of the Lak-Dargwa group of the NE Caucasian languages. The language is not written, Dargwa being used as a literary language.

C. D. 231 326 TRADITIONAL ECONOMY: Cattle-breeding; goldsmithing; incrustation work.

C. D. 795 RELIGION: Islam (Sunni).

7: Columbia U. S-4, 5 1956 RHI Caucasia RHI
Dagestan RH8
Lezgin

## 28. LEZGIANS

C. D. 101 NAME: SELF-DESIGNATION: Lezgí, pl. Lezgiar.

ENGLISH VARIANTS: Lezg(h)i, Lezg(h)ians.

RUSSIAN DESIGNATIONS: Lezginy, Kiurintsy, for the language: Kiurinskii iazyk. (The name Lezginy has often been used to refer to the Dagestan mountaineers in general.)

OTHER DESIGNATIONS: (Georgian:) Lek'i (in a wider sense referring to the Dagestan mountaineers in general); (German:) for the language: Kürinisch.

C. D. 161 NUMBER:

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 1897 | 159,213 | (Russian census) |
| 1926 | 134,529 | (Russian census, ethn.) |
| | 164,763 | (Russian census, ling.) |

C. D. 162 LOCATION: Basins of Gyulgeri-chai, middle and lower Samur and Shakh-Nabad rivers, i.e. the whole SE part of Dagestan and the adjoining part of N Azerbaidzhan. (Dagestan ASSR; Azerbaidzhan SSR).

C. D. 197 LANGUAGE: Lezgian (Lezgi ch'al) forms with Agul, Rutul, Tsakhur, Tabasaran, Budukh, and Dzhek, the Samurian subdivision of the NE Caucasian language group. It has the status of a literary language in the Dagestan ASSR; the written language is based on the Kiuri dialect.

SUBDIVISIONS: Three basic dialects: Kiuri, Akhty, Kuba.

## 29. AGUL

C. D. 101 NAME: SELF-DESIGNATION: Aghul, Aghulshuy
RUSSIAN DESIGNATION: Aguly

C. D. 161 NUMBER: 1926 7,653 (Russian census, ethn.)
7,653 (Russian census, ling.)

C. D. 162 LOCATION: Basin of upper Kurakh-chai and Gyulgeri-chai (Magudere), with affluents (rayons Agul and Kurakh, Dagestan ASSR).

C. D. 197 LANGUAGE: Agul (Aghul ch'al, Aghularin ch'al) forms with Lezgian, Rutul, Tsakhur, Tabasaran, Budukh, and Dzhek, the Samurian subdivision of the NE Caucasian language group. The language is not written, Lezgian being used as the literary language.

SUBDIVISIONS: Two dialects: Agul proper and Koshan.

C. D. 231 438 TRADITIONAL ECONOMY: Cattle breeding; home industry (production of cloth, tapestries, felt cloaks).

C. D. 795 RELIGION: Islam (Sunni).

7: Columbia U.S-4, 5 1956 RH1 Caucasia RH1
Dagestan RH8

## 30. RUTUL

C. D. 101 NAME: SELF-DESIGNATION: no general one; the inhabitants of the aul Rutul (Mykhád) call themselves Mykhashura.
RUSSIAN DESIGNATION: Rutuly, Rutul'tsy.

C. D. 161 NUMBER: 1926 10,495 (Russian census, ethn.)
10, 356 (Russian census, ling.)

C. D. 162 LOCATION: Area of confluence of Samur and Kara-Samur (18 villages) (Rutul rayon; vill. Khnov in Akhty rayon (Dagestan ASSR); Shin and Kainar in Nukha rayon, Azerbaidzhan SSR).

C. D. 197 LANGUAGE: Rutul (Mykhánidy ch'äl) forms with Lezghian, Agul, Tsakhur, Tabasaran, Budukh, and Dzhek, the Samurian subdivision of the NE Caucasian language-group. The language is not written, Lezgian being used as the literary language.

C. D. 231 438 TRADITIONAL ECONOMY: Cattle-breeding; home industry (production of cloth, tapestries, felt cloaks).

C. D. 795 RELIGION: Islam (Sunni).

## 31. TSAKHUR

C. D. 101 NAME: SELF-DESIGNATION: No general one; inhabitants of aul Tsakhur (Ts'akhur) call themselves Ts'akhighan, pl. Ts'akhby.
RUSSIAN DESIGNATION: Tsakhury.

C. D. 161 NUMBER: 1926 19,085 (Russian census, ethn.)
10,951 (Russian census, ling.)

C. D. 162 LOCATION: Samur basin W of its confluence with the Kara-Samur (Tsakhur rayon, Dagestan ASSR); also on the S slopes of the Caucasus in the area of Elisu (Azerbaidzhan SSR).

C. D. 197 LANGUAGE: Tsakhur (Ts'akhbishda miz) forms with Lezgian, Agul, Rutul, Tabasaran, Budukh, and Dzhek, the Samurian subdivision of the NE Caucasian language-group. The language is not written, Avar being used as the literary language in the Daghestan ASSR, Azeri in the Azerbaidzhan SSR.

C. D. 231 438 TRADITIONAL ECONOMY: Cattle-breeding; home industry (production of cloth, tapestries, felt cloaks).

C. D. 795 RELIGION: Islam (Sunni).

## 32. TABASARAN

C. D. 101 NAME: SELF-DESIGNATION: Tabasaran zhvi, Tabarasan zhvi, Ghumghum zhvi.
RUSSIAN DESIGNATION: Tabasarantsy.

C. D. 161 NUMBER: 1926 31,983 (Russian census, ethn.)
29,726 (Russian census, ling.)

C. D. 162 LOCATION: Basin of Upper Rubas-chai and Upper Chirakh-chai (rayons Tabasaran and Khiv, Dagestan ASSR).

C. D. 197 LANGUAGE: Tabasaran (Tabasaran ch'al) forms with Lezgian, Agul, Rutul, Tsakhur, Budukh, and Dzhek, the Samurian subdivision of the NE Caucasian language-group. It has the status of a literary language in the Daghestan ASSR; the written language is based on the southern dialect.

SUBDIVISIONS: The language has two main dialects: North (Khanag) and South Tabasaran.

C. D. 241 438 TRADITIONAL ECONOMY: Agriculture; horticulture; home industry (weapon- and tool-making, silversmith's and coppersmith's work, tapestry-weaving).

C. D. 495 RELIGION: Islam (Sunni).

7: Columbia U.S-4, 5 1956 RHl Caucasia RHl
Dagestan RH8

## 33. BUDUKH

C.
D.
101 NAME: SELF-DESIGNATION: ----
RUSSIAN DESIGNATION: Budukhi, Budugi

C.
D.
161 NUMBER: 1926 1 (Russian census, ethn.)
1,995 (Russian census, ling.)

C.
D.
162 LOCATION: Mt. Shakhdag area, in the upper basin of the Kara-chai (Konakhkend rayon, Azerb. SSR).

C.
D.
•197 LANGUAGE: Budukh forms, with Lezgian, Agul, Rutul, Tsakhur, Tabasaran, and Dzhek, the Samurian subdivision of the NE Caucasian language-group. The language is not written, Azeri being used as the literary language.

C.
D.
231
241 TRADITIONAL ECONOMY: Cattle-breeding; horticulture.

C.
D.
795 RELIGION: Islam (Sunni).

7: Columbia U. S-4, 5 1956 RH1 Caucasia RH1
Dagestan RH8

## 34. DZHEK

C.D. 101 NAME: SELF-DESIGNATION: -----
RUSSIAN DESIGNATION: According to villages; Dzheki, Kryzy, Khaputtsy, (Gaputlintsy, Khaputlintsy).

C.D. 161 NUMBER: 1926 Dzhek 590 Kryz 5 Khaput 12 (Russian census, ethn.)
All three groups together: 4,348 (Russ. census, ling.)

C.D. 162 LOCATION: Mt. Shakhdag area, in the basin of the upper right arm of the Kudial-chai (Konakhkend rayon, Azerbaidzhan SSR). Also daughter-settlements near the Caspian coast in the Khachmas area (Azerbaidzhan SSR).

C.D. •197 LANGUAGE: The Dzhek language forms with Lezgian, Agul, Rutul, Tsakhur, Tabasaran, and Budukh, the Samurian subdivision of the NE Caucasian languages. The language is not written, Azeri being used as the literary language.

SUBDIVISIONS: According to villages: Dzhek, Kryz, Khaput.

C.D. 231 241 TRADITIONAL ECONOMY: Cattle-breeding; agriculture; horticulture.

C.D. 745 RELIGION: Islam (Sunni).

7: Columbia U. S-4, 5 1956 RHI Caucasia RHI
Dagestan RH8

## 35. KHINALUG

C.D. 107 NAME: SELF-DESIGNATION: -----
RUSSIAN DESIGNATION: Khinalugi.

C.D. 161 NUMBER: 1926 105 (Russian census, ethn.)
1,540 (Russian census, ling.)

C.D. 162 LOCATION: Shakhdag area, aul Khinalug (Khynalyk) on the upper right arm of the Kudial-chai (rayon Konakhkend, Azerbaidzhan SSR).

C.D. 997 LANGUAGE: Khinalug (Kättidmits) is a member of the NE Caucasian language-group to which there belong further the Veinakh, Avaro-Ando-Dido, Lak-Dargwa, and Samurian groups, and the Udi language. Khinalug is not written, Azeri being used as the literary language.

C.D. 231 TRADITIONAL ECONOMY: Cattle-breeding.

C.D. 795 RELIGION: Islam (Sunni).

## 36. UDI

C.D. 101 NAME: SELF-DESIGNATION: Udi, Uti.
RUSSIAN DESIGNATION: Udiny.

C.D. 161 NUMBER: 1897 7,100 (Russian census)
1926 2,455 (Russian census, ethn.)
2,762 (Russian census, ling.)

C.D. 162 LOCATION: Villages Vartashen and Nidzh (rayons Vartashen and Kutkashen, Azerbaidzhan SSR), Oktomberi (Georgian SSR).

C.D. 197 LANGUAGE: Udi (Udi muz) is a member of the NE Caucasian language-group, to which there belong further the Veinakh, Avaro-Ando-Dido, Lak-Dargwa, and Samurian groups, and the Khinalug language. Though Udi was written before the revolution, it does not have the status of literary language, this function being fulfilled by Azeri.

C.D. 241 231 TRADITIONAL ECONOMY: Agriculture; cattle-breeding.

C.D. 795 RELIGION: Eastern Orthodox, Armenian-Gregorian.

7: Columbia U. S-4, 5 1956 RHI Caucasia RHI
Armenia

• 197 LANGUAGE: Armenian (Hai lezu) constitutes a separate branch of the Indoeuropean language family. The language has an old literary tradition going back to the 5th century A. D., and a script of its own. This literary language is based on the dialect of Ararat; there is now also a literary tradition for the Western dialect-group.

SUBDIVISIONS: The Armenian dialects are subdivided into an Eastern (Ararat, Karabakh, etc.) and a Western (Erzurum, Hemshin, Istanbul, etc.) group, to which Adjarian adds a third branch including the dialects of Maragha, Khoy, and Artvin.

241
231
438 TRADITIONAL ECONOMY: Agriculture; viniculture; in the mountains: cattle-breeding; commerce and art crafts.

AS RELIGION: Armenian-Gregorian; there are a Roman Catholic (Uniate) and a Protestant minority. The Khemshin (Hemshin, Hemshili) on the Black Sea coast near the Turkish border (629 in 1926, Russian census) are Muslim.

## 38. OSSETES

101 NAME: SELF-DESIGNATION; no general one, according to tribes: Ir (collective), Iron (sing.), Irättä (pl.); Dygur, Digor (coll.), Dyguron, Digoron (sing.); Tuallag (sing.), Tuallägtä (pl.).
ENGLISH VARIANTS: Ossetes; for the language: Ossetian, Ossetic.
RUSSIAN DESIGNATIONS: Osety, Osetiny.
OTHER DESIGNATIONS: (Georgian:) Osi; (German:) Ossen, Osseten.

161 NUMBER: 1897 171,716 (Russian census)
1926 272,272 (Russian census, ethn.)
267,019 (Russian census, ling.)
1939 354,500 (Russian census)

162 LOCATION: In the central Caucasus on both sides of the main chain, in the N along the upper Terek and its affluents on the left (Gizel'don, Ardon, Urukh) (North-Ossetian ASSR), in the S in the immediately adjoining part of the Georgian SSR (South-Ossetian AO), smaller groups also farther to the S, extending beyond the Kura river.

197 LANGUAGE: Ossetian (Iron ävzag) is a member of the Eastern (in older terminology, Northern) subdivision of the Iranian branch of the Indo-European language-family, to which branch belong also Persian, and, in the Caucasus, Tat, Talysh, and Kurdish. Ossetian has the

197 status of a literary language; the written language is based on the E dialect. In the North-Ossetian ASSR the Cyrillic, in the South-Ossetian AO the Georgian alphabet is used.

SUBDIVISIONS: The Ossetian dialects, which follow tribal divisions, are subdivided into a Western (Digor) and an Eastern branch (Tagaur, Kurtat, and Allagir). The dialect of the S Ossetes (Tual) is a sub-dialect of Tagaur.

231 241 TRADITIONAL ECONOMY: Cattle-breeding; some agriculture.

795 RELIGION: Eastern Orthodox, except the Digor, who are Muslim (Sunni).

## 39. TALYSH

101 NAME: SELF-DESIGNATION: Tolysh.
ENGLISH VARIANTS: Talysh, Talish.
RUSSIAN DESIGNATIONS: Talyshi, Talyshintsy.

161 NUMBER: 1897 35,291 (Russian census)
1926 77,323 (Russian census, ethn.)
80,629 (Russian census, ling.)
1931 89,398 (Azerb. upravl. nar.-khoz. ucheta.)
In Iran: 50,000 (estimate, B. V. Miller)

162 LOCATION: Along Caspian coast S of the River Viliazh-chai (rayons Lenkoran', Zuvand, Astara, and part of Massala, Azerbaidzhan SSR), extending into Persian territory up to Kepri-chal.

197 LANGUAGE: Talysh (Tolysha zyvon), like Tat, is a member of the NW subdivision of the Iranian branch of the Indo-European language-family, to which branch also belong Persian, and, in the Caucasus, Ossetian and Kurdish. The Talysh in the USSR are all bilingual and speak also Azeri, which is used as the literary language.

241 231 TRADITIONAL ECONOMY: Agriculture; horticulture; stock-raising; home industry.

795 RELIGION: Islam (Shii).

## 40. TAT

101 NAME: SELF-DESIGNATION: Tat.
ENGLISH VARIANTS: Tat; for the Jewish Tat: Mountain Jews, Judeo-Tats.
RUSSIAN DESIGNATIONS: Taty; for the Jewish Tat: Gorskie evrei.
OTHER DESIGNATIONS: (Turkish, for the Jewish Tat:) Dagh Chufuti; (German, for the Jewish Tat:) Bergjuden.

161 NUMBER: 1897 95,056 (Russian census)
1926 28,705 (Muslim Tat)(Russian census, ethn.)
21,471 (Jewish Tat)(Russian census, ethn.)
86,088 (Russian census, ling.)

162 LOCATION: On both slopes of the Eastern extension of the main Caucasian chain and on the Apsheron peninsula, in the coastal zone of the Caspian Sea between Apsheron and Kuba, SE of Kuba and NW of Shemakha (Azerbaidzhan SSR; Dagestan ASSR). The Jewish Tat are concentrated in the Area of Kuba, Derbent and Buinaksk; other settlements in the Groznyi and Nal'chik area and on the Kuban'.

197 LANGUAGE: Tat(zuhun Tāti), like Talysh, is a member of the NW subdivision of the Iranian branch of the Indo-European language-family to which branch also

197 belong Persian and, in the Caucasus, Ossetian and Kurdish.

SUBDIVISIONS: Two main dialects, that of the Muslim and that of the Jewish Tat, the former divided into a number of sub-dialects.

241 438 TRADITIONAL ECONOMY: Agriculture; horticulture; home crafts (tapestry-weaving, metal-work).

795 RELIGION: Part Muslim (Sunni), part Jewish.

7:Columbia U. S-4, 5 1956 RH1 Caucasia RH1
Kurd

197 LANGUAGE: Kurdish (Kurmandzhi) is a member of the SW subdivision of the Iranian branch of the Indo-European language family, to which branch belong also Persian and in the Caucasus Ossetian, Tat, and Talysh.

SUBDIVISIONS: There are two main groups of dialects, a northern (Kurmandzhi) and a southern (Kurdi).

233 241 TRADITIONAL ECONOMY: Partly nomadic pastoralism, partly agriculture.

795 RELIGION: Islam (Sunni, with a Shii minority); Yezidi (concentrated near Leninakan and near Echmiadzin).

7:Columbia U. S-4, 5 1956 RHl Caucasia RHl

162 LOCATION: Geographical: Transcaucasia, Northern Caucasus along the Caspian Sea (northward as far as Derbent), northwestern Persia, southern Kurdistan (Iraq).

Political-Administrative: USSR: Azerbaidzhan SSR, Georgian SSR, Dagestan ASSR. Persia: Rizaiyeh, Azerbaijan, Khamseh, Kazvin, Ardelan provinces. Iraq: Erbil, Kirkuk, Sülaimaniya provinces.

197 LANGUAGE: Azeri Turkic; belongs to the Western Oghuz Turkic group and differs very little from Turkish and the Kashkay-Hamse languages; literary language since the 14th century; lingua franca in Transcaucasia, Dagestan ASSR, and northern Persia.

SUBDIVISIONS: Tribal: Settled Azeris; Nomadic Azeris (Iliyat). Dialectal: Northern (USSR); Southern (Persia).

241 231 438 TRADITIONAL ECONOMY: Agriculture; cattle-breeding; commerce; industry.

795 RELIGION: Islam (Shii, Sunni).

7:Columbia U. S-4, 5 1956 RH1 Caucasia RH1
Turcoman

162 (Location, continued)
Political-Administrative: Northern Caucasus: Stavropol' Krai (northern rayons), Rostov Oblast (southeastern rayons); Central Asia: Turkmen SSR, Kara-Kalpak ASSR, Afghanistan, Persia

197 LANGUAGE: Turkoman; constitutes Eastern Oghuz Turkic; most nearly related Turkic language group: Western Oghuz Turkic (Turkish, Azeri, Kashkay-Hamse); several dialects agreeing with tribal subdivisions; literary language based on the dialect of Yomuts; literary language since the 18th century.

SUBDIVISIONS: Tribal: Trukhmen (Northern Caucasus); Teke, Yomut, Ersari, Sarik (Turkmen SSR); Chaudur (Kara-Kalpak ASSR); Salir (Afghanistan); Göklen (Persia)

231 241 TRADITIONAL ECONOMY: Cattle-breeding; agriculture.

795 RELIGION: Islam (Sunni).

7:Columbia U. S-4, 5 1956 RH1 Caucasia
RH1

## 44. KARAPAPAK

101 NAME: SELF-DESIGNATION: ----
RUSSIAN DESIGNATION: Karapapakhi
TURKISH DESIGNATION: Karapapaklar

161 NUMBER: USSR
1926 6,316 (Russian cens., ethn.)
6,311 (Russian cens., ling.)

Persia
mid-twenties: 15,000 (estimate, Mirza Bala)

162 Distribution:
USSR ca. 30 per cent
Persia ca. 70 per cent

LOCATION: Geographical: Transcaucasia: the area between the Kura and Arpachai rivers. Persia: the area around Sulduz on Lake Urmia.
Political-Administrative: USSR: Akhalkalaki Uezd of the Georgian SSR, Leninakan Uezd of the Armenian SSR. Persia: Province of Azerbaijan.

197 LANGUAGE: Karapapak; belongs with Kipchak Turkic substrata to the Western Oghuz Turkic group, and differs very little from Azeri Turkic, Turkish, and Kashkay-Hamse (in the Georgian SSR it is often confused with Azeri Turkic (Azeri of Borchalino and Azeri of Akhalkalaki), whereas in Turkey it has been absorbed into Turkish and is no longer spoken).

7:Columbia U. S-4, 5 1956 RH1 Caucasia
RH1

197 SUBDIVISIONS: Geographical: Karapapak of Akhalkalaki and Leninakan (USSR); Karapapak of Sulduz (Persia).

231 TRADITIONAL ECONOMY: Cattle-breeding and some agriculture.

795 RELIGION: Islam (Shii, Sunni)

7:Columbia U. S-4, 5 1956 RHl Caucasia RHl
Kumik

## 45. KUMUK

101 NAME: SELF-DESIGNATION: Kumuklar
ENGLISH VARIANTS: Kumyk
RUSSIAN DESIGNATION: Kumyki
TURKISH DESIGNATION: Kumuklar

161 NUMBER: 1926 94,549 (Russian cens. ethn.)
94,909 (Russian cens. ling.)

162 LOCATION: Geographical: The northeastern slopes of the Greater Caucasus along the Aksai, Sulak, Shura, and Gubden rivers, and along the Caspian coast from Adzhi-Su to Derbent.

Political-Administrative: Dagestan ASSR (Makhachkala, Buynaksk, Izberbash, and Derbent okrugs), Groznyi Oblast (southern parts of the former Kizliar Okrug).

• 197 LANGUAGE: Kumuk; belongs to the Kipchak Turkic group, together with Crimean Turkic, Karachay, Balkar, Noghay, Kazan Turkic, Kazak, etc.); literary language since the 19th century; lingua franca in Dagestan ASSR northward from Derbent.

241 231 226 TRADITIONAL ECONOMY: Agriculture; cattle-breeding; fishing.

795 RELIGION: Islam (Sunni).

162 between the upper Kuban' and Urup rivers. Crimean SSR (before 1945): Northern Crimea, Perekop. Bulgaria: Dobruja, Deli Orman area.

Political-Administrative: USSR: Groznyi Oblast (former Kizliar and Achikulak okrugs), Astrakhan Oblast (rayons along the Kuma and Volga rivers), Cherkes AO (Abazino-Nogai rayon), Crimean ASSR (before 1945). Bulgaria: former Shumen district.

197 LANGUAGE: Noghay; belongs to the Kipchak-Turkic language group, together with North Crimean Turkic, Karachay, Balkar, Kumuk, Kazan Turkic, Kazak, etc., literary language (since the Soviet period) based on the White Noghay, Black Noghay, and Central Noghay dialects; the other Noghay groups have given up the Noghay language.

SUBDIVISIONS: Dialectal: Black Noghay, Central Noghay (Groznyi Oblast, southern rayons of the Astrakhan Oblast); the Noghays of Crimea and those of Dobruja (Bulgaria) have given up their language in favor of South Crimean Turkic, whereas the Noghays around Astrakhan today speak Kazan Turkic.

231 241 TRADITIONAL ECONOMY: Cattle-breeding; agriculture (Bulgaria).

795 RELIGION: Islam (Sunni).

## 47. KARACHAY

101 NAME: SELF-DESIGNATION: Karachayla
RUSSIAN DESIGNATION: Karachaitsy,
TURKISH DESIGNATION: Karaçaylar

161 NUMBER: 1897 27,233 (Russian census)
1926 55,123 (Russian census, ethn.)
55,349 (Russian census, ling.)
1939 75,737 (Russian census)

162 Distribution: Deported from the Caucasus in 1943. Present location unknown.

LOCATION: Geographical: Before 1943, on the northern slopes of the Greater Caucasus along the headwaters of the Kuban', Teberda, Zelenchuk, Laba, and Podkumok rivers.

Political-Administrative: Before 1943: Karachai AO.

• 197 LANGUAGE: Karachay; belongs to the Kipchak Turkic language group (which includes Crimean Turkic, Kumuk, Noghay, Kazan Turkic, Kazak, etc.), and is almost identical with Balkar; as a literary language, a common Karachay-Balkar language was used which was created in the Soviet period.

231 241 TRADITIONAL ECONOMY: Cattle-breeding; agriculture; handicrafts.

795 RELIGION: Islam (Sunni).

## 48. BALKAR

101 NAME: SELF-DESIGNATION: Malkarla
RUSSIAN DESIGNATION: Balkary
TURKISH DESIGNATIONS: Malkarlar, Balkarlar.

161 NUMBER: 1897 34,232 (Russian census)
1926 33,307 (Russian census, ethn.)
33,276 (Russian census, ling.)
1939 42,666 (Russian census)

162 Distribution: Deported from the Caucasus in 1943, present location unknown.

LOCATION: Georgraphical: Before 1943, on the northern slopes of the Greater Caucasus along the upper course of the Baksan, Chegem, and Cherek rivers.
Political-Administrative: Before 1943: Kabardino-Balkar Autonomous SSR (Balkar rayon).

• 197 LANGUAGE: Balkar; belongs to the Kipchak Turkic language group, along with Crimean Turkic, Kumuk, Noghay, Kazan Turkic, Kazak etc.) and is almost identical with Karachay; as a literary language, a common Karachay-Balkar language was used, which was created in the Soviet period.

231 241 TRADITIONAL ECONOMY: Cattle-breeding and some agriculture.

795 RELIGION: Islam (Sunni).

7: Columbia U. S-4, 5 1956 RHI Caucasia RHI
Kalmyk

162 Ala-shan area, Ch'ing Hai province, China).

197 LANGUAGE: Kalmyk (Oirot) constitutes the W group of the Mongolian family of Altaic. It has a literary tradition going back to the 16th century.

SUBDIVISIONS: Dialects: Dörwöt, Torghūt (Torgout), and Buzāwa. Tribes: Torghūt, Khoshūt, Dörwöt (Dürböt, Dürbät, divided by the Russian Administration into the Great and Little Dörwöt), Khöit (Khōt), Tsoros, Dzūn-ghar ("left-wing army", "eastern") The Torghūt have always been considered the leading tribe.

[619]

23? 231 226 TRADITIONAL ECONOMY: Nomadic pastoralism; sedentary stock-raising; (on the Volga:) fishing.

795 RELIGION: Lamaist Buddhism; (Sart-Kalmyk:) Islam (Sunni).

## 50. AISOR

101 NAME: SELF-DESIGNATION: Surai
ENGLISH VARIANTS: Chald(a)eans, Syrochald(a)eans, Assyrians.
RUSSIAN DESIGNATIONS: Aisory, Assiriitsy, Assuriitsy.
OTHER DISIGNATIONS: (Georgian:) Kaldeveli.

161 NUMBER: 1897 5,353 (Russian census)
1926 9,808 (Russian census, ethn.)
15,476 (Russian census, ling.)
1939 20,200 (Russian census)

162 LOCATION: Concentrated near Erevan, also scattered in other regions of Transcaucasia. Outside USSR: Iraq (esp. in Tur Abdin) and NW Iran.

197 LANGUAGE: Aisor is a New-Syrian dialect, belonging to the Aramaic subdivision of the Semitic language-family. Aisor has the status of a literary language in the USSR.

241 231 TRADITIONAL ECONOMY: Agriculture; cattle-breeding; crafts.

795 RELIGION: Nestorian and Jacobite Christian.

8: Lužbetak E-4 (no date) 1951 RH1 Caucasia RH1

# I. GENERAL INTRODUCTION

## Chapter I

## A General Introduction to the Study of Caucasian Culture

### § 1. PEOPLES AND TRIBES OF CAUCASIA

The Caucasus has been called an ethnographic mosaic, and rightly so, for, of the 170 different nations, peoples and tribes of the U.S.S.R. at least a third live in the Caucasus.[1] Some decades ago it was still a problem to classify the inhabitants of this relatively small area—a problem which, thanks to the progress made in Caucasian linguistics, has practically disappeared. We may divide them into two main groups, the Caucasians and the non-Caucasians. By "Caucasians" we understand all tribes which speak a language belonging to no linguistic group outside the Caucasus, whereas the "non-Caucasians" are all the other peoples who migrated to the Caucasus in more recent times and speak languages belonging to linguistic groups outside this territory, such as the Indo-Europeans, Turco-Tartars, and Semites. The true Caucasians are further divided into three branches, the Northwestern, the Northeastern, and Southern Caucasians,[2] a classification based again on linguistic affinity. As mentioned in the Preface, our interest centres around the Northwestern and Northeastern Caucasians.[3] 197 101

The large ethnographic map (Map I), the note regarding the absolute and relative population (*infra*, p. 5), and the following outline with its detailed classification of the peoples and tribes inhabiting the Caucasus and their various names will provide sufficient orientation for the reader and may prove useful for future reference.

#### I. Caucasians

#### A. The Northwestern Caucasians

1. The *Abkhaz* (called Absoi, Abaski, Abasgi, etc. by the Greek writers of the second century; Abaskhoi by the Byzantine writers; Abkhasi by 101

[1] R. Bleichsteiner, "Die Völker des Kaukasus," *Asien-Berichte*, V (1944), No. 22, p. 3.

[2] The languages of the Caucasus and their relationship to one another and to other languages outside the Caucasus are treated in a special section below. See pp. 12–16.

[3] In the present study we do not include such tribes that no longer live in the Caucasus, such as the Ubykhs.

A1

## § 2. PHYSICAL ANTHROPOLOGY

The so-called "Caucasoid Race" in reference to the "Europeans" is a complete misnomer. A *common* European race has never existed; nor have the "Europeans" come from the Caucasus or immediate vicinity, so that the use of the term is quite unjustifiable.

We are interested, however, not in these pseudo-Caucasians but in the true Caucasians, the natives of Caucasia who speak languages belonging to no linguistic group outside of the Caucasus. Do *they* (or at least some of them) form a distinct race?

Negatively stated, the Caucasians are not, as was formerly supposed, survivors of numberless different stocks and races, who, one after the other, found refuge in the Caucasus Mountains. The linguistic and cultural complexity of Caucasia has indeed misled the earlier anthropologists to such untenable conjectures, but today we know that this assumption is false, and after having made sufficient reservations, we may even speak of a "Caucasian Race". But still much research is necessary before a final word can be said regarding the racial affinity and components of the individual tribes of the Caucasus.

According to Djavachišvili, the typical representatives of the "Caucasian Race" are the Georgians, Lesghians, Cherkess and Armenians. He assigns the following marks as being characteristic of the Caucasian Race: 47% to 67% have dark hair; 53% to 81% dark eyes; 58% to 72% brunette type; head-length moderate, 181 mm. to 187 mm.; head-breadth large, 155 mm. to 159 mm.; 80% to 96% are definitely roundheaded with an 83.44 to 86.55 index; the height of the skull varies from 128 mm. to 133 mm., and in relation to its width 82.58 to 84.89, in relation to its length 69.66 to 73.05. The face is of moderate height, breadth 143 mm. to 145 mm., length 178 mm. to 184 mm. with an index of 79.44 to 81.73 (36% to 54% being broad faced and 46% to 62% moderately so). The distance between inner eye-corners varies from 30 mm. to 32 mm. Differences are especially noticeable in stature, quantity of hair, and nasal index, depending on the ethnic group to which the subject belongs. Djavachišvili, in his excellent compilation of anthropometric data of the Caucasians, divides the race into five main groups and 14 types. The mean stature of the Georgian and Cherkess groups is 165 cm., except for the Kabardians, who are 2 cm. taller. The mean stature of the Lesghian group varies from 164 cm. to 168 cm., varying according to tribe. (The mean stature of the Chechens is 168 cm.[4]) The Georgian group shows the scantiest hair; contrariwise the Armenian group has a very thick growth of hair. The nasal index varies too: Georgian group 58.0; Armenian group 62.5; Cherkess group 64.05; Lesghian group 65.2. The nasal length of the Lesghians is 54; of the Cherkess 57; of the Georgian 60; of the Armenian group 61. The nose is leptorrhine according to the following percentage: 100% of the Gurians and Imeréti; 97% of the

[4] Carleton S. Coon, *The Races of Europe* (1945), p. 633.

8: Lužbetak E-4 (no date) 1951 RHl Caucasia RHl



141 brachycephalic remains testify. In other words, from these finds it is evident
174 that crossing was not uncommon already during the Bronze Age.[12] Very important racially was the contact with the Cimmerians and Scythian-Sarmatian populations, who for centuries lived in the Caucasus, till in the fourth century B. C. they were driven southward to Subartu.[13] Some present-day Ossetine-speaking tribes are not of Indo-European origin while practically all have a strong non-Indo-European strain.[14]

141 According to C. S. Coon, "The Caucasic-speaking peoples as a whole,
144 from an anthropometric standpoint, represent a blend between a local Alpine racial nucleus and several kinds of Mediterraneans. The Georgians and the Lesghians are the most Alpine, the Cherkesses the least so. The facial dimensions preclude, in most groups, the presence of a long-faced Irano-Afgan element in any quantity ; except among the Cherkesses, the head size, with mean lengths in the low 180's, limits the possible Mediterranean elements to the smaller-headed varieties. These are apparently both Danubian and Cappodocian ; there is too much true facial Dinaricism for the Danubian to be the only factor, and too much blondism and nasal concavity for the Cappadocian."[15]

## § 3. LINGUISTICS

● 197 Perhaps nowhere in the world will one find such an intricate mosaic of languages as in the Caucasus. Today there are about 40 different Caucasian languages, and formerly the number must have been much greater. Strabo (VI. 1—16) speaks of seventy languages along the coast of the Black Sea and 26 in Albania, that is, in Azerbaijan- and Armenian-speaking countries of today. Pliny speaks of 300 different languages at Dioscurias which necessitated 80 interpreters. Abulfeda calls the Caucasus "The Mountain of Tongues" and Thomas Artsruni, the Armenian historian of the tenth century, writes that "72 different nations inhabit the Caucasus."

These languages fall into three sharply distinct groups : the Northwestern, the Northeastern, and the Southern. (See pp. 1—4.)

### 1. Phonetics

194 The vowel system of all three groups, but especially of the Northwestern group, is very poorly developed. In Abkhazian there are only two basic vowels *a* and *ə*.[16] The preponderance of consonants over vowels is less marked in the Northeastern languages : the Chechen, Avaro-Andi, and Lak languages have the five *a, e, i, o, u*, vowels, and some languages, for example Kurin and Aghulian, have the equivalent of something between the German umlauts *ä, ö, ü*, and *ɨ, o, u*.[17] The vowel system of the Southern group is the richest of the three.

[12] R. Bleichsteiner, "Kaukasische Völker," *Ebert's Reallexikon*, VI, p. 250.
[13] R. Bleichsteiner, "Die Völker des Kaukasus," *Asien-Berichte*, V (1944), No. 22, p. 4.
[14] A. Baschmakoff, *op. cit.*, p. 32. See his analysis of the racial problem, *op. cit.*, pp. 28—38.
[15] C. S. Coon, *op. cit.*, pp. 631 f.
[16] R. Bleichsteiner, "Die kaukasische Sprachgruppe," *Anthropos*, XXXII (1937), p. 65. Dirr assigns four basic vowels to Abkhazian. *Einführung in das Studium der kaukasischen Sprachen*, p. 29.

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193 sentences may be incorporated into the verbal form. Adverbial relations, temporal designations, direction, mood, and many other determinations are expressed by the verb form itself. To complicate matters, sometimes the original verb itself consists of only one consonant, which is lost in the numerous additions just mentioned and many others besides—infixes and suffixes that denote place, negation, question, relationship ; even substantives may be attached to the verb. The Northeastern languages distinguish between momentative, durative, iterative, and inchoative forms.[22] Verbal forms become exceedingly complicated in languages that not only distinguish between different classes of beings but also have the use of person, as is the case in the Dargwa language.

## 5. Declension

In the Northwestern languages the declension is extremely simple. (A declension is almost superfluous, for, as we have mentioned above, the verb is capable of incorporating all possible relationships.) Similarly, the declensions of the South Caucasian languages are simple. The Northeastern languages, however, possess a complicated declension. The instrumental is the most important case, the genitive and dative being derived from the instrumental. The agent is placed in the instrumental while the aim of the action is in the nominative.[23] The locative is also an important case : by means of suffixes a large number of adverbial relations can be expressed, e. g., *upward, toward, upon, against, over, into, etc*

## 6. Linguistic Relationships

197 Our first question is : Do the three Caucasian groups of languages constitute 14 a distinct linguistic family, as do, for example, the Indo-European languages ? Despite the similarities between the groups and despite the fact that Abkhazian seems to form a bridge between the Southern as well as the Northeastern languages,[24] sufficient evidence has not yet been brought forth to justify anyone in speaking of a common "Caucasian Family." As far as our present knowledge of the Caucasic languages goes, it is much more probable that there are three (or perhaps two, Northern and Southern) distinct families.

The affinity of the languages of Caucasia with other languages has been a favourite question among the Caucasologists, formerly much more than in

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[22] R. Bleichsteiner, "Die kaukasische Sprachgruppe," *Anthropos*, XXXII (1937), pp. 66, 68. G. Deeters, *Das khartvelische Verbum*, Leipzig, 1930.

[23] The ergative is used in the other groups too. Cf. C. Tagliavini, "Osservazioni sull'ergativo georgiano," *Mélanges de linguistique et de philologie offerts à Jacq. Van Ginneken, à l'occasion du soixantième anniversaire de sa naissance*, pp. 187—193.

[24] R. Bleichsteiner, *op. cit.*, p. 72. Today there is absolutely no doubt about Professor Bleichsteiner's opposition to a single "Caucasian Family" of languages : "Die drei eigentlichen kaukasischen Sprachgruppen sind weder untereinander noch mit anderen Sprachfamilien Eurasiens verwandt." ("Die Völker des Kaukasus," *Asien-Berichte*, V (1944), No. 22, p. 15.)

recent times. Even the Marr School, once so eager to establish a "Japhetic" family not only within Caucasia but from the Pyrenees (the Basques) to Hindu Kush (Burushaski), including practically all lang ages of the ancient Near East, is more interested today in "stages" of these languages than in their affinity. Prof. Marr (d. 1934), the founder of the School, based his classification of the "Japhetic" languages on certain regular recurrences: a sibilant in one group of languages corresponded to a "spirant" in another and to sonants in a third. The position of certain languages within the scheme was, naturally, only tentative, while the position of others was considered more or less final. The following table shows Professor Marr's classification of the "Japhetic Family."

197
114

**Prof. Marr's Japhetic Family**

- (1) Sibilant Branch
  - "s" Group — Georgian
  - "ʒ" Group
    - Mingrelian
    - Lazian
- (2) Spirant Branch
  - Eastern Group
    - Southeastern languages
      - Ando-Didoian
      - Avarian
      - Lak
      - Kubachi
      - Hyrkanian
      - Archi
      - Kurin
        - Lesghian
        - Tsakhur
        - Aghulian
        - Tabassaranian
      - Udin
    - Northeastern languages
      - Chechenian
      - Ingushian
      - Tsova-Tushian
  - Northwestern Group
    - Adighé
      - Kabardian
      - Cherkess
    - Ubykhian
- (3) Sonant Branch
- (4) Mixed Languages
  - Spirant + "s" Group
    - Haykian
    - Abkhazian
    - Basque
    - Burushaski
  - Spirant + "ʒ"
    - Hayish
    - Svanian
    - Etruscan
  - Spirant + Sonant Group
    - Elamitic
      - North Elamitic
      - South Elamitic (Hallapirti)
    - Sumerian
    - Vannish (Urartu-Biaina)

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197
114

Professor Marr and other linguists who have tried to establish a relationship between the Caucasian languages and the dead languages of Near East were actually attempting the impossible: no one knew (or knows today) what "Proto-Caucasian" might be, and this unknown language was being related to other unknown or little-known languages like Etruscan, Sumerian, Mitani, Elamitic, Lydian, Lycian, Cilician, Carian and Cappodocian.[25] A relationship between Basque and Abkhazian and South Caucasian is quite possible but not yet certain.[26] Similarly, the Burushaski language of Hindu Kush has doubtless many striking features in common with the languages of Daghestan,[27] but to say that these languages originated from a common parent-language is to assume more than has been proved.

Nevertheless these attempts were not totally fruitless. The intense research work carried out especially by the Marr School has brought to light not a few common and mutual influences. Even though we must reject as unfounded the claim of Bork, Winkler, Hüsing, and others that Elamitic is *related* to Caucasian, we cannot deny the strong mutual influence between ancient Georgian and Elamitic. The same holds in regard to Mitani and the language of Urartu: *affinity* to Georgian may be denied, but the *influences* common to ancient Georgian, Mitani and Urartu may not.

## § 4. PREHISTORY

### 1. Lower and Middle Paleolithic

72 There can no longer be any doubt about North and South Caucasus being inhabited since early Paleolithic times, as the prehistoric sites of Yshtakh, Kyurdere, Aragas, Ochemchiri and Ilskaya testify. The famous Mt. Yashtukh site was an accidental discovery made by Zamjatnin in 1934, about three miles north of the city of Sukhum.[28] These Lower Paleolithic remains include accidently formed side-scrapers, points from large flakes, and some fist hatchets (11.1 cm. long and 7 cm. wide). The Yashtukh artifacts are characterized by

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[25] Cf. M. Tseretheli, "Sumerian and Georgian," *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, (1913), pp. 783—821. M. Tseretheli, "Rassen- und Kulturprobleme des Kaukasus," Heft 1 der Veröffentlichungen der deutsch-georgischen Gesellschaft.
F. Bork, "Die Mittanisprache," MVAG XIV (1909), pp. 1—126.
A. Dirr, *Einführung in das Studium der kaukasischen Sprachen*, p. iv.
H. Winkler, *Die Sprache der zweiten Kolonne der dreisprachigen Inschriften und das Altaische*, Breslau, 1896.
G. Hüsing, "Die Sprachen Elams," *86. Jahresbericht der Schles. Gesellschaft für Vaterländische Kultur*, Breslau, 1908.
G. Hüsing, *Die einheimischen Quellen zur Geschichte Elams*, Part I, Leipzig, 1916.
G. Hüsing, "Der Zagros und seine Völker," *Der Alte Orient*, VIII (1908), No. 3—4, E. Speiser, *Mesopotamian Origini*, London, 1930.

[26] G. Dumézil, "Langues caucasiennes et basque," *Festschrift für Herman Hirt*, Heidelberg, 1936, Vol. II.
R. Bleichsteiner, "Die Verwandtschaftsbeziehungen des Baskischen," WZKM, 1931.
K. Bouda, *Baskisch-Kaukasische Etymologien*, Heidelberg, 1949.

[27] R. Bleichsteiner, "Die werschickisch-burischkische Sprache," *Wiener Beiträge zur Kulturgeschichte und Linguistik*, I (1930). Cf. also D. L. Lorimer, *The Burushaski Language*, Oslo, 1935.

[28] S. N. Zamjatnin, "Novyie dannye po paleolitu Zakavkaz'ja," SE, 1935, No. 2.

8: Lužbetak E-4 (no date) 1951 RHl Caucasia RHl

# II. MARRIAGE

## Chapter II

## Prohibited Mating

We shall begin our study of the North Caucasian marriage with a negative, but a very important, question: Which persons may *not* be mates? The next chapter will tell us which persons are not only not excluded from mating, but are regarded as *preferred*, or even *obligatory*, mates.

### § 1. THE RULE OF MONOGAMY

#### 1. Extent and Frequency of Polygamy in the Caucasus

As a general rule the NORTHWESTERN CAUCASIANS content themselves with one wife,[1] although both the *Abkhaz* and the *Cherkess* consider polygyny just as lawful as monogyny. After the Soviet government had prohibited plural marriages, polygyny indeed became extremely rare (today it is found only by way of exception here and there among old "incorrigible" Kabardians), but the people still maintain that as long as a man can afford two wives and can feed and clothe them properly, he is just as much in the right as the monogamist,[2] the Soviet penal law notwithstanding.

According to a report of John de Lucca, a Dominican missionary, *(Relations des Tartares, Percopites et Nogaies, des Circassiens, Mingréliens et Géorgiens)* the seventeenth century Circassians recognized polygyny as a lawful institution; however, they seldom made use of the right.[3] In a report from 1502 *(Della Vita dei Zychi, altrimenti chiamati Circassi)*, Interiano mentions that the natives heartily approved of plurality of wives.[4] Our sources, therefore, tell us that polygyny has been in practice in Northwest Caucasia for more than 450 years, always, indeed, more as an exception than as a rule.

The practice certainly does not owe its existence to Mohammedan missionaries. The Cherkess conversion was very superficial till the Murid wars, when a common hatred against the Russians united them under the Moslem

[1] N. Dubrovin, *Istorija vojny i vladyčestva russkich na Kavkaze*, Tome I, Bk. I, p. 138.
A. Byhan, *La civilisation caucasienne*, (Paris, 1936), p. 154.

[2] A. Ladyženskij, "Das Familiengewohnheitsrecht der Tscherkessen," *Zeitschrift für vergleichende Rechtswissenschaft*, XLV (1930), pp. 191, 195.

[3] Ladyženskij, *op. cit.*, *p. 184*.

[4] R. Erckert, "*Der Kaukasus und seine Völker*," p. 67.

p. 39

204 1 Chkhikvishvili, I.
Editor of Zaria vostoka (1955)

815 1 Chkhikvishvili, Zebed Iraklievich
Stalin prize 3. class, 1950
for geological works.

Laur. Stalin. prem. 1950
p. 35

538 1 Chkhivadze, Panteleimon
1903- . Georgian, proletarian writer. Member of CP SSSR. In his works he extolls possibilities of tomorrow. Wrote: Tov. Butkhuzi, Etazhi. Both are translated into Russian.

BE I 61:782

646 1 Chochua, Andrei Maksimovich
Abkhaz. deputy Sov. Nats. VS SSSR
4. sozyv, 1954

Bak. Rab. 3/18/54

665 2 Cholakchian, G. T.
Member CC CP Arm. SSR, 18. s'ezd, 1956.

Kom. Er. 1/22/56

538 2
204

Gaidar (pseud. of Golikov, Arkadii) 1904-1941. Armenian writer, born in L'gov. Wrote: Shkola, Chuk i Gek, Timur i ego komanda; was military correspondent in World War II, and died in war.

Kom. Er. 2/21/54

401 2

Galfaian, Markar Karapetovich
Stalin prize 3. class, 1950 for work on a three-phase generator.

Laur. Stalin.prem. 1950
p. 43

646 2

Galoian, Aslan Akopovich
Deputy to Sov. Nats. VS SSSR, 4. sozyv, 1954

Kom. Er. 3/19/54

665 2

Galstian, N. S
Member CC CP Arm. SSR, 17.-18. s'ezd, 1954, 1956.

Kom. Er. 1/22/56

536
3 Sharlakhov, Boris Mikhailovich
People's artist of Azerb. Stalin prize 3. class, 1950 for dramatic role in Zaria nad Kaspiem

Laur. Stalin. prem. 1950
p. 79

581
1 Sharmazanashvili, Luarsab Kharitonovich. Stalin prize 3. class, 1950 chemical engineer.

Laur. Stalin. prem. 1950
p. 33

325
1 Shatirishvili, Georgii Afans'evich
Stalin prize 3. class 1950 for work in metallurgy.

Laur. Stalin. prem. 1950
p. 32

646
6 Shatskii, Ivan Petrovich
Member of VS SSSR, Sov. Soiuz, 4. sozyv, 1954. Krasnodar. krai

Bak. Rab. 3/18/54

204
6452 Shaumian, Stepan Grigor' evich, 1878-1918. One of the most outstanding of the 26 Bakinskii komissary. Editor of various newspapers, also

204
645

of Bakinskii rabochii. Translated into Armenian: Manifest kommunist. partii. Knew Lenin, Plekhanov. In 1918 was komissar of foreign affairs.

BE I 61:878-9

646
5

Shebzukhova, Natal'ia Danilovna
Kab. deputy Sov. Nats. VS SSSR 4. sozyv, 1954

Pravda 3/18/54

533
3

Sheibler, T. K
Wrote 1. Kantata o Staline dlia khora; 2. Fortepiannaia rapsodiia na Kab. iaz.

BE I 19:218

536
5

Shekikhachev,
Kabardian dramatist who with Naloev wrote: Korigat, a historical tragedy, presented in Kabardian in 1934.

BE I 30:419

7: Columbia U. S-4,5 1956 RHl Caucasia
RHI

646 6 Svechnikov, Petr Nikolaevich
Member of Sov. Soiuz, VS SSSR, Krasnodar. krai, 4. sozyv, 1954

Bak. Rab. 3/18/54

6 Svinareva, Natal'ia Ivanovna
Member of Sov. Soiuz VS SSSR, 4. sozyv, 1954, Krasnodar. krai.

Bak. Rab. 3/18/54

665
2042 Syrtsev, V. A.
Member CC CP Arm. SSR, 17.-18. s'ezd, 1954, 1956. Editor of Kommunist; organ tsentral'nogo i erevanskogo komitetov KP Armenii.

Kom. Er. 1/22/56

538
1 Tabidze, Galaktion, 1892-
Georgian symbolist poet. Wrote: Ia i noch', Veter; later poems extoll proletarian way of life Epokha, Patsifism; Revoliutsionnaia Gruziia. 1944- member of Akad. nauk Gruz. SSR. His novels are: Rodnaia moia zemlia, Rodina-zhiz'n moia. Since 1933 people's poet of Georgia.

BE I 53:391

7: Columbia U. S-4, 5 1956 RHl Caucasia
RHl

533 2 Tal'ian, V. G., 1896-1947
Armenian composer

BE II 3:99

341
2 Tamanian, Aleksandr Ivanovich, 1880-1936. Architect. Partially rebuilt Erevan in 1924. Built Narkomles building, the medic-institute, agriculture school. Posthumously awarded Stalin prize in 1942. His pupil is Grigorian, M. V. Was president of Armenian art academy 1917-18.

BE I 53:519

646
204 1
645 Tarba, Ivan Konstantinovich
Abkhaz. deputy Sov. Nats. VSSSR, 4. sozyv, 1954. Born in Beslakhuba, 1921- co-editor of Apsny Kapsh; correspondent to Sov. Abkhaziia; since 1943 party official sect. of Abkhazian division of Soiuz Sovet. pisatelei Gruz. SSR. 1953 - minister of education Abkhaz.

Bak. Rab. 3/18/54
Zar. Vost. 2/13/54

532 1 Toidze, Iraklii Mosevich, 1902-
Finished Tiflis art academy in 1930. Revolutionary paintings: Podarok k oktiabriu, 1930; Stalin na Riongese, 1935; did illustrations to Rustaveli's Vitiaz' v tigrovoi shkure, for which he received Stalin prize in 1941; Stalin prize 3. class in 1950 for illustration to Istoriia Gruzii.

BE I 54: 410
Laur. Stalin. prem. 1950, p. 75

646
665 3 Tolstikov, Oleg Viktorovich
Deputy to Sov. Nats. VS SSR (4. sozyv, 1954). Member of CC CP Azerb. SSR.

Bak. Rab. 3/19/54

66 2 Topchian, E.S.
Member CC CP Arm. SSR, 18 s'ezd, 1956

Kom. Er. 1/22/56

643
204 3 Toptsibashev, M.A.
President of VS Azerb. SSR (5. s'ezd, 1954). Editor in chief of Dokl. Akad. Nauk. Azerb. SSR

Bak. Rab. 3/10/54

815
759 1 Tsinamzgvarishvili, M. D., 1884-
Member of Akad. nauk Gruz. SSR; cardiologist.

Knizh. Let. 1955, No. 5:59

646
1 Tsitlidze, Givi Akakievich
Deputy to Sov. Nats. VS SSSR (4. s'ezd, 1954)

Bak. Rab. 3/19/54

665
204 1
647 Tsivtsivadze, Il'ia Venediktovich, 1881-. Soviet party official; organized illegal typography in Batum and Tiflis during revolution. Edited Bolshevik paper Dro. 1917-1920 member of Moskovskii komitet. 1930-31 president of Mosmiasoprom.

BE I 60:675

665
204 1 Tskhakaia, Mikhail Grigor'evich (also, Mikha, Barsov, Leonov, Gurgen), 1865- Party member since 1898. 1917-1920 member of Tiflis komitet CP. Member of Tsentre. ispol. komitet of Transcaucasus; Member of 11, 13, 15-16 party congresses. Was one of the editors of Kavkazskii rabochii, in 1917-8.

BE I 60:779-781

3: Anonymous U-4 (no date) 1920 RH1 Caucasia RH1



from Tuapse to Novo-Senaki on the Transcaucasian 499
Railway, a distance of 267 miles, which had been undertaken by an independent company, the Kuban–Black Sea Railway Company.

A company called the South Caucasian Railway Company had received a concession for a line from Borzhom to Kars with a branch to Olti, a coal-mining centre, and a line had also been projected from Batum to Kars along the valley of the Chorokh.

The Armavir–Tuapse Railway Company had two extensions in view: one from Armavir to Blagodarnoe (299 miles) to serve Stavropol Province, the other from Kurgannoi to Ust Labinskaya, a narrow-gauge line.

A concession had been granted for a line from Evlakh, a station on the Transcaucasian Railway between Elisavetopol and Baku, to Shusha, 59 miles to the south.

A Caspian coast line from the point south-west of Baku where the main Transcaucasian line turns inland, *via* Salyani and Lenkoran, to Astara, on the Persian frontier, had been planned; and a syndicate for its construction was being formed in 1914.

The question of a railway between Vladikavkaz and Tiflis has been discussed for many years, but the schemes for its construction have all proved abortive on account of the difficulties and high cost of crossing the Caucasus range.

When war broke out railway-building, except on the routes into Turkish Armenia, which were exclusively of military importance, came to a standstill, and all plans for the future fell into abeyance. That construction should begin again is very necessary, for the existing lines are quite inadequate to the economic requirements of the country.

### (*d*) *Posts, Telegraphs, and Telephones*

The postal service was organized on the European 205
model, and there were the usual facilities for sending 205
money by post. The practice of sending parcels, cash

3: Anonymous U-4 (no date) 1920 RH1 Caucasia RH1



205 on delivery, was in existence. Parcels in transit for Persia went duty free.

206 All the principal towns have telegraphic communication with other parts of the Caucasus and with Russia. The lines follow the railway routes, and towns not on these are connected with the main telegraph system by branch lines.

Telephonic communication between Tiflis and Baku was established in 1911, and it was intended, should the innovation prove a financial success, to extend the system to other large towns.

## (2) External

### (a) *Ports and Roadsteads*

(i) *On the Black Sea.*

504 In *Anapa Roads* are two anchorages, the outer exposed from north-west to south-south-west, the inner (for small craft) sheltered from south-west winds. A pier, 175 yds. long, runs out on the north of the town. The Government proposed to carry out harbour works there. The port does a small trade in grain, fur, and wax.

*Batum.*—The bay of Batum is about a mile and a half wide from east to west and half a mile deep from north to south. From the southern shore, in a north-north-westerly direction, extends a mole 275 yds. long, from the head of which another mole, known as the Petroleum Mole, carrying rails and petroleum pipe lines, runs south-west for 440 yds. The harbour thus formed, known as the Western or Petroleum Harbour, has a dredged depth of 24–30 ft., with berths for 20 steamers. A breakwater running north-east from the first mole for 275 yds. forms the Eastern or Coasting Trade Harbour, which is only 7–17 ft. deep, and needs constant dredging. There is also a mole, 200 yds. long and 60 yds. wide, extending towards the north-north-east from the north-western

3: Anonymous U-4 (no date) 1920 RH1 Caucasia RH1



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3: Anonymous U-4 (no date) 1920 RH1 Caucasia RH1



505 first place, followed, up to the outbreak of the Balkan War, by vessels under the Greek flag. Only Russian-owned vessels trade on the Caspian Sea.

Shipping facilities both on the Black and Caspian Seas were equal to all demands; on the former the majority of the vessels from abroad arrived in ballast, as imports nowhere balanced exports.

Particulars of shipping at the principal ports in 1909 and 1913 are given in Table I of the Appendix (p. 92).

### (c) *Telegraphic and Wireless Communications*

● 206 The Indo-European Telegraph Co. has a line running from Julfa by Erivan, Tiflis, Zugdidi, Sukhum Kale, Tuapse, Ekaterinodar, and Temryuk to Chushka Point, whence two submarine cables belonging to the company cross the Kerch Straits to Yenikale. Land telegraph lines connect Batum with Constantinople *via* Trebizond. A submarine cable connects Baku with Krasnovodsk in Transcaspia.

Batum possesses a wireless telegraph station, installed in 1911, in communication with Sevastopol. A wireless station with a range of 267 miles connects Petrovsk with Fort Alexandrovsk in Transcaspia, and another of the same power was opened at Baku in 1914. Funds were assigned in that year for erecting stations at Novorossiisk and Poti.

## (B) INDUSTRY

### (1) Labour

### (a) *Labour Supply; Immigration and Emigration*

463 Agriculture forms the occupation of the majority of
181 the inhabitants of the Caucasus, though in many cases it is pursued in combination with other activities. The numerous peoples of which the population consists (see above, pp. 8–12)* naturally show very various capacities for labour and prejudices with regard to it. The people of Caucasian or Georgian stock are cultivators of the land and keepers of flocks and herds, with little taste

* [see cat. 116 -- Analyst]

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from the District Courts' decisions could be taken to the Supreme Court at Tiflis, and from that to Petersburg. The Courts were accessible and cheap, and there was no discrimination between Russian subjects and foreigners in legal proceedings; but judgements given in Russian Courts had no effect in England, nor decisions obtained in England in Russia. 631 692

The Cossack communities are divided into *stanitzas* or villages, each *stanitza* having an elected assembly of 30 members; in populous *stanitzas* one man is elected from every ten households. These assemblies have wider powers than the usual *mir* or commune, viz. division of land, assessment of taxes, regulation of schools, grain stores, cultivation, &c., and the election of elders (*ataman*) and judges. 631 563

When the Revolution occurred in 1917, the Viceroy was recalled, and the various nationalities in the Caucasus arranged representative National Assemblies; but, as chaos in the Empire increased, relations were broken off with the Central Government. A separate Transcaucasian Republic was formed, in the Government of which Armenians, Tatars, and Georgians were equally represented; and another new state called the Republic of Daghestan, under the presidency of a Lesghian of the Mohammedan faith, also emerged. The Cossacks, however, remained aloof. [612]

## (3) Educational

Public education was in the hands of the State, or was directly controlled by it. The number of persons able to read or write in the Caucasus in 1912 was only 17 per cent., and the percentage of schools to the population was very low. Some progress was made in the provision of instruction during 1912 and 1913, but the outbreak of war hindered the completion of the various schemes put forward, in particular by the towns of Anapa, Novorossiisk, Yeisk, Temryuk, Maikop, Grozni, Georgievsk, Pyatigorsk, and Stavropol in 871 [212]

## II NON-INDIGENOUS LANGUAGES

197 Armenian is a separate branch of Indo-European, belonging to the Eastern (satem) group ; its closest relatives were probably Phrygian and Thracian, known only from a few inscriptions. The language has been strongly influenced by its non-Indo-European substratum (Chaldic, the language of the Urartu state). Besides Ossetian, also spoken in the Caucasus, Armenian is the only I-E language with a series of glottalic consonants; its lexicon abounds with non-I-E elements, and its morphology and syntax show Caucasian influence. The language has furthermore borrowed so many words from Persian that it was regarded as an Iranian dialect until Hübschmann showed in 1883 that it represented an independent branch of I-E. The oldest dated Armenian manuscript is from the ninth century; the literary tradition is four centuries older.

[192]

[212]

Ossetian is a member of the Eastern (in older terminology, Northern) subdivision of the Iranian languages, to which also belong the Pamir dialects and Yagnābī, a descendant of Soghdian. It is the only survival of the Scytho-Sarmatian dialects, once spread over a vast area in the Eurasian steppe belt. The influence of the surrounding Caucasian languages is apparent in the existence of glottalic consonants, in the agglutinative technique of the morphology and in the lexicon.

## III SCRIPT AND LITERACY

•212 Georgian is the only Paleocaucasian language with an ancient literary tradition and a script of its own. This script is well adapted to the language, each letter always expressing the same sound, and each sound always expressed by the same letter. The alphabet exists in two forms: the khuts'uri or "ecclesiastic" script with angular characters and both capitals and small letters, and the mkhedruli or "warrior" script with rounded letters and no capitals. The latter is the script now in use. The other S. Caucasian languages are not used for literary purposes, Georgian being the language of culture and education, though in private correspondence Mingrelian is sometimes written, with Georgian letters. The Georgian alphabet, with some added characters, has been used for non-Georgian languages (Abkhaz, Udi) and is at present the official script of the South Ossete AO (the North Ossetes use the Russian alphabet).

Armenian also has an alphabet of its own; as in the case of Georgian, the alphabet is perfectly adapted to the language. Until 1922, Azeri was written with Arabic characters. Kalmyk had its own script, which was in use until 1927.

Though a number of the smaller Caucasian languages were recorded by scholars in the nineteenth century, and there

212 were some isolated instances of native use of the Arabic script in publications, none had an established literary tradition at the time of the Russian revolution. Under the auspices of the Soviet government, alphabets were established for the more important languages; in most cases they were based on the Arabic script. In the course of the 1920's they were replaced everywhere by adaptations of the Latin alphabet, usually along the lines worked out by the Committee for National Alphabets. From 1937 on, the latter alphabets were in turn replaced by the Russian alphabet, with the letter l added to render glottalic consonants (only Ābkhaz adds certain other letters). The following list states for each language which alphabet was officially used at different times (-1924: until 1924; 1924-:from 1924 on; CNA: Committee for National Alphabets).

## Caucasian Languages

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Abazin | 1932-: | Latin; 1937-: Russian |
| Abkhaz | -1924: | Russian (Uslar's adaptation); 1924-: Marr's Japhetic transcription; 1929-: Latin CNA; 1937-: Georgian; 1954-: Russian |
| Adyge | -1926: | Arabic; 1926-: Latin; 1937-: Russian |
| Avar | -1928: | Arabic; 1928-: Latin; 1937-: Russian |

## Caucasian Languages (continued)

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| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Chechen | -1925: | Arabic; 1925-: Latin (not CNA); 1937-: Russian |
| Dargwa | -1928: | Arabic; 1928-: Latin; 1937-: Russian |
| Georgian | | National alphabet |
| Ingush | -1923: | Arabic; 1923-: Latin (not CNA); 1937-: Russian |
| Kabardian | -1923: | Arabic; 1923-: Latin (not CNA); 1928-:Latin CNA;1937: Russian (first adaptation); 1938-:Russian (final adaptation) |
| Lak | -1928: | Arabic; 1928-:Latin; 1937-: Russian |
| Lezgin | -1928: | Arabic; 1928-: Latin; 1937-: Russian |
| Tabasaran | -1931: | Latin; 1937-: Russian |

## Non-Indigenous Languages

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Aisor | -1930: | Russian and Latin; 1930-: Latin |
| Armenian | | National alphabet |
| Azeri | -1922: | Arabic; 1922-:Latin (revised 1928); 1940-:Russian |
| Kalmyk | 1648-1927: | National alphabet; 1927-: Russian; 1930-: Latin; 1938-: Russian |
| Karachay-Balkar | -1924: | Arabic; 1924- Latin; 1937-: Russian |

•212 Non-Indigenous Languages (continued)

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Kumuk | -1927: | Arabic; 1927-: Latin; 1937-: Russian |
| Kurdish | | Occasional publications in Arabic and Latin script |
| Noghay | -1928: | Arabic; 1928-: Latin; 1937-: Russian |
| Ossete | -1923: | Russian; 1923- Latin (not CNA); 1937-: Russian (in North Ossetian ASSR) and Georgian (in South Ossetian AO) |
| Tat | -1929: | Hebrew; 1929-: Latin; 1937-: Russian |

As a result of general compulsory education, the large majority of the speakers of Caucasian languages are literate in the official language of their district. It must be noted, however, that many persons have not kept up with the changes in alphabets and are literate only in the Arabic and/or Latin script.

191 As to the speakers of non-literary languages, the Ando-Dido peoples and the speakers of Archi and Tsakhur in Dagestan use Avar as a literary language. The Paleo-caucasian speakers in the Azerbaidjan SSR use Azeri as a literary language, as do the Talysh. In general, Russian is the lingua franca in the North-Western and Central Caucasus; in Dagestan this role is played in the West by Avar, in the East, north of Derbent by Kumuk, south of Derbent by Azeri.

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*from London through Russia, Germany and Holland, to which are added the revolutions of Persia during the present century, with the particular history of the great usurper Nadir Kouli* (London, 1753).

(9) **1775—1850.** In this period not only does the ethnographical material begin to increase and reach considerable proportions but the investigations carried out by the authors are scientific in nature. Actual fieldwork is being done. The writers are therefore no longer mere casual travellers but fieldworkers in the strictest sense. Although the method and scholarship of these explorers does not come up to that of modern ethnographers, their works have a special value because they are the products of expeditions prior to the rapid modern acculturation. The first scientific expedition was undertaken by Professor Güldenstädt at the request of the Empress of Russia to penetrate the wild regions of Caucasus, to classify the peoples (her subjects) according to their languages and to study the natural history of the land. The results of Güldenstädt's fieldwork were published in several books, *Beschreibung der kaukasischen Länder* (Berlin, 1834), *Reisen durch Rußland und im kaukasischen Gebirge* (St. Petersburg, 1787), *Reisen nach Georgien und Imerethi* (Berlin, 1815). Soon afterwards some excellent works of travel and some purely scientific works appeared, such as those of Reineggs, Pallas, Steder, Klaproth, Bodenstedt, Dubois de Montpéreux, Longworth, Spencer, Neuman and Wagner.

C [R2] [177]

(10) **1850—1920.** The Caucasians are still analphabetic except for the Georgians and Armenians, and are unaffected by modern civilization. This is a period of much travel and good field work, e. g., by Radde, Hahn, Erckert, Abercromby, and others. Several large series of periodicals devoted exclusively to the study of the Caucasus are published.[65] Valuable collections of customary laws *(adats)* made—to mention only *Adaty kavkazskich gorcev*, a collection of customary laws which we shall have endless opportunity to cite. In a word this is a productive period.

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(11) **Soviet Caucasus, Caucasology Today.** Considerable progress has been made in the last decades. In linguistics, for example, if we compare Güldenstädt's or Pallas' first attempts with the results attained by Erckert and then if we compare Erckert's achievements with those of the great geniuses like Professor Marr, Prince Trubeskoj and Adolf Dirr, we must say the progress is gratifying. Although Erckert's linguistic contributions contain countless and very serious errors, his work by far surpasses those of Güldenstädt and Pallas, but again compared with modern linguists Erckert is hardly anything more than an untrained amateur. Although the advance made in Caucasian linguistics must be attributed mainly to the work done by the Soviet scholars, such capable linguists as Dirr, Bleichsteiner, Deeters, Dumézil and the contributors to the *Caucasica* must not be overlooked.

Greater progress has been made in prehistory than in any other branch of Caucasology. The activity of the Marr School and Hančar's unparalleled work, *Urgeschichte Kaukasiens* are sufficient evidence of the advance made in this field.

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[65] See *infra* pp. 33 f.

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indeed love my mother; but I must also punish the person who suggested surrender. Take my mother therefore, and punish her, punish her with one stroke and give me the remaining 39." This is a story every North Caucasian Mohammedan has heard again and again. 888 593

## § 7. EDUCATION

With the coming of Mohammedanism the method of education in the Caucasus was revolutionized. In many places throughout North Caucasus and especially in Daghestan, a new educator was introduced, the mullah. Till then, the *home* was the only "school" and the parents (or foster-parents) the only educators.[80] The subject matter of these Mohammedan schools[81] was, as usual, limited to the study of Arabic and the Koran and Islamic tradition, at times taught by very poorly educated mullahs.[82] 871 [875]

The second important innovation came with the Russians,[83] but especially with the Soviets. Only the Georgians, Armenians, and Azerbaijani had an alphabet in pre-Soviet times.[84] The Soviets immediately realized the necessity of an alphabet for each language, without which the spread of Marxism would be impossible. In 1928 about 40 per cent of the Chechens received formal schooling, while only a very few isolated mountain villages had no school at all.[85] In the mountain of Daghestan the illiteracy is still very great. According to statistics of 1926 only about 10 per cent of the men and 1 per cent of the women can read. Nevertheless, it cannot be denied that progress has been made among these mountain peoples too.[86] Today there are enough Lesghians who are able to read to make Russian, Kumykian, Lak, and Avarian newspapers possible.[87] The Lesghian children receive instructions in their mother-tongue only in the first two years at school; after that they must learn either Kumykian or Russian. In secondary schools both languages are obligatory.[88] 212 191

As for home education, a few general remarks will suffice. The education of little children and of all unmarried girls is the task of the mother; the education of the boys is the task of the father.[89] The little children are told to behave 868

[80] Cf. K. N. Rossikov, "Poězdka v Čečnju i Nagornyj Dagestan," ZKO, XIII (1884), p. 249.

[81] A. Zacharov, "Narodnoe obučenie u Zakavkazskich Tatar," SMOMPK, IX (1890), No. 2, pp. 7—51; Mir-Galim-bek Vezirov, "O Tatarskich Školach," SMOMPK, IX (1890), No. 2, pp. 1—6; A. Omarov, "Vospominanija mutaallima," SSKG, I, pp. 13—20; II, pp. 46—70.

[82] Cf. Halil Beg Mussayassul for a description of his schooling in *Das Land der letzten Ritter*, pp. 52—56.

[83] "O rasprostranenii gramotnosti meždu gorcami," SSKG, III (1870), pp. 1—30. The main object of pre-Soviet education was to teach a sufficient number of natives the Russian language.

[84] Of course some attempts had been made before the Revolution. Fifteen years after the Revolution all North Caucasians had a written language. The Latin script was used as foundation for the Cherkess, Abaz, Chechen, Karachai, Balkarian, Avar, Dargwa, Kurin, Lak, Tabassaran, Kumykian, Nogai, and Tat languages. Cf. G. P. Serdjučenko, "Jazyki Severnogo Kavkaza i Dagestana," *Sbornik lingvističeskich issledovanij*, Moscow-Leningrad, 1935, p. 7.

[85] Plätschke, *Die Tschetschenen*, p. vii.

[86] R. Kherumian, "Contribution à l'Anthropologie du Caucase," *L'Anthropologie*, LII (1948), No. 1—2, p. 44.

[87] Nansen, *op. cit.*, p. 98.

[88] *ibid.*

[89] Ladyženskij, FT, p. 200.

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or non-Soviet ethnographers of today might be compared with such scholars as Čursin or Pčelina, to mention but two leading Soviet ethnographers. Present Soviet ethnography distinguishes itself by its exactness and scholarship in general. Another great merit of the Soviets, which cannot be over-estimated, is the encouragement given native Caucasians to study their own culture. The Georgians, of course, are the most active folklorists and the works produced by such students of Georgian culture as Nioradze and Makalatija may be compared with the best any country might offer. The centres of research are the Museums of Vladikavkaz, Petrovsk, and Tiflis. But besides these centres, a number of smaller branch institutes for specialized study of local cultures have been founded. Special training is given to future folklorists at the University of Tiflis. Folklore is being encouraged also by frequent museum exhibitions.[71] And in general, the rapid development of museums in the Caucasus is astounding. Since the Revolution they have doubled and trebled their collections. The Georgian Museum in Tiflis will serve as a good example. In 1926 small independent collections were pooled and collectors were sent out to various parts of Georgia. In 1921 the Museum had 12,500 specimens; in 1938 it could boast of 31,000, having more than doubled its collection within 17 years. The collection now includes 274 costumes, 620 amulets, 660 ornaments, 390 pieces of woodwork, 1,850 specimens of arms, 1,800 specimens of pottery, 600 musical instruments, 300 agricultural implements.[72] In recent years Tiflis has become a great centre of well-planned expeditions undertaken by trained fieldworkers. Expeditions to Svanetia were made in 1931, 1934, 1935, 1936, 1937; to Khevsuria in 1927; to Pshavia in 1929; to Tushetia in 1932; Mingrelia in 1937; Adzharia in 1933; Meskhetia in 1924; Kakhetia in 1928; Karthlia 1926 and 1936, to mention but some of the expeditions made in Transcaucasia.[73] Another great undertaking of the Soviet ethnographers is the assembling of numerous excellent manuscripts in the archives of the Russian Academy of Science and in other archives throughout the U.S.S.R., among which are the manuscripts of A. Ja. Kupfer, Güldenstädt, Montpéreux and others. Some of these manuscripts have already been published in the series *Archiv Akademii Nauk SSSR. G. A. Knjazev, Trudy Archiva* ("The Archives of the Academy of Science of the U.S.S.R. General Editor, G. A. Knjazev, The Works of the Archives") and others are still to follow.[74] Some of the more important publica-

[71] These exhibitions are not restricted to Georgia. See, for example. G. A. Nikitin, "Vystavka 'Kabardino-Balkarija' v Central'nom muzee narodov SSSR." SE, 1937, No. 1, pp. 166 ff.

[72] For the rapid development of North Caucasian museums, see, for example, L. I. Lavrov, "Kraevedčeskie muzei na Severnom Kavkazě," SE, 1936, No. 6, pp. 132 f.

[73] For the development of Georgian museums and folklore see G. S. Čitaja, "Etnografija Gruzii za sovetskij period" ("Georgian ethnography during the Soviet period"), SE, 1940, No. 3, pp. 207—213; S. I. Makalatija, "Etnografija i kraevedenie v Gruzii," SE, 1940, No. 3, pp. 214 f. For more about expeditions in North and South Caucasus see the various reports in the *Sovetskaja Etnografija*, e. g., E. Krupnov, "Severo-kavkazskaja ekspedicija gosudarstvennogo istoričeskogo muzeja 1936 g.," 1937, No. 1—2, pp. 119—122.

[74] Cf. M. O. Kosven, "Ob archivnych materialach po etnografii SSSR.," SE, 1936, No. 1, pp. 132—135. The *Archiv Akademii Nauk SSSR.* includes manuscripts dealing with all parts of the U.S.S.R.

C. G. 245 [251] pomegranates) are grown in abundance. They are preserved in sugar by a boiling-down process. C. G. 244 Important vegetables are lentils, beans, peas, onions, eggplants, celery, garlic, fennel, mustard and several kinds of cucurbitaceous plants. C. G. 231 The raising of silkworms is common, especially in the West. Beekeeping is widespread; hollwed-out logs are used as beehives; these are covered against the rain with pieces of bark or straw mats. Honey is also gathered from wild beees. C. G. 224 Hunting is of some importance in the highlands (deer, rabbits, fowl); it is traditionally engaged in by herdsmen, who take turns watching the herds. C. G. 226 Fishing is of importance only on the Black Sea coast and on the lower course of the rivers running into it.

C. G. 231 Because of the lack of pasture land, cattle-breeding is less important in the Georgian lowlands than it is in the mountains. The Georgians keep buffaloes, oxen, pigs, horses, donkeys, mules, goats and sheep. The latter usually are of the fat-tail variety, except among the Svan. C. G. 233 In summer, the herds are taken to the mountain pastures by herdsmen. 221 The herds are led by a billy goat and are kept together by goats; dogs accompany the herds only as protectors against wolves. To keep the latter at a distance, fires are kept going during the night.

Cattle and sheep breeding have a greater relative importance for the Svan and especially the Pshav and Tush. The latter are predominantly seminomadic herdsmen; the men

C. G. 233 221 spend the winter in the steppes of the lower Alazani river with their herds of sheep. On the other hand, the Tush living on the Lower Alazani, and also the Bats, move with their families to the mountain pastures in summer, where they live in huts, sunk into the ground and covered with slates. The indigenous means of transportation is a clumsy two-wheeled cart (uremi) drawn by a pair of oxen or buffaloes. The large wooden disk wheels are firmly joined to the axle-tree. In the mountains, sledges are used to carry in the hay. In a peculiar vehicle called chochiala uremi rolling and sliding are combined: the ends of two long poles attached to the yoke, which slide on the ground, serve the purpose of a pair of front wheels.

C. G. 493

C. G. 231 241 The traditional economy of the North-West Caucasian peoples (Abkhaz and Circassians) was based on horse and cattle breeding, agriculture (millet, maize, wheat, rye) some horticulture, beekeeping and (Abkhaz) wine growing. The Abkhaz methods in these activities are the same as the Georgian. Formerly, their economy was largely pastoral, but in the second half of the nineteenth century they became more agricultural. The country is better suited to agriculture, though horse and sheep raising are still important. The Western Circassians, too, were more dependent on cattle-breeding before their forced migration from the mountains to the lowlands of the Kuban. The Kabardians are still mainly sheep-, cattle-, and especially horse-breeders: the Kabardian horses are famous for their

C. G. 245 [251] pomegranates) are grown in abundance. They are preserved in sugar by a boiling-down process. C. G. 244 Important vegetables are lentils, beans, peas, onions, eggplants, celery, garlic, fennel, mustard and several kinds of cucurbitaceous plants. C. G. 231 The raising of silkworms is common, especially in the West. Beekeeping is widespread; hollwed-out logs are used as beehives; these are covered against the rain with pieces of bark or straw mats. Honey is also gathered from wild beees. C. G. 224 Hunting is of some importance in the highlands (deer, rabbits, fowl); it is traditionally engaged in by herdsmen, who take turns watching the herds. C. G. 226 Fishing is of importance only on the Black Sea coast and on the lower course of the rivers running into it.

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3: Anonymous U-4 (no date) 1920 RH1 Caucasia RH1



## (3) Fisheries

228 The fisheries off the Caucasian shore of the Caspian
226 Sea are an extremely important source of revenue, and employ large numbers of men, though of late years the more valuable kinds of fish have decreased greatly both in numbers and in size. The catch of *puzanka*, a small variety of herring, off the coasts of Daghestan and Terek averages about 44,000 tons a year, while in 1910 it reached 80,000 tons, with a value of £1,000,000. Owing, however, to the deficiency of means of communication between the Terek coast and the commercial centres of the country the industry is far less profitable than it should be to those engaged in it.

The *sturgeon* fishing in the River Kura, which has its centre at Salyani, is the richest in the world. The bank fishery at the mouth of the river produces from 160 to 240 tons of *caviare*, worth from £75,000 to £150,000 a year, while the total production of the river averages 320 tons. There is ample cold storage accommodation.

The Caspian Sea fisheries are divided into plots, which are let by auction by the Government. In 1910 two large firms obtained two-thirds of these, and a combine of all the Caspian fisheries was expected to follow.

The Kuban Cossack fisheries in the Sea of Azov give some 350 to 400 tons a year, with an average value of over £50,000. The output from Chernomoria in 1911, the only year for which figures are available, was 880 tons of fish, of which 260 tons were herrings and 170 tons were flat fish; the value was £15,000.

All the streams of the Caucasus abound in fish; trout, salmon, and various coarser varieties are caught in large quantities. The total number of fish caught in Caucasian waters in 1911 was, in round figures, 2,400,000 salmon and sturgeon, and 232,000,000 other fish. The total output of *caviare* in the same year was 418 tons.

7: Columbia U. S-4,5 1956 RH1 Caucasia RH1•
Georgia RI1
(Turkish:) Lazi;
(Georgian:) Ch'ani,
the country: Ch'aneti.)

## 3. LAZ

CG 101 NAME: SELF-DESIGNATION: Lazi
RUSSIAN DESIGNATIONS: Lazy; for the language also: Chanskii iazyk.
OTHER DESIGNATIONS: (Turkish:) Lazi; (Georgian:) Ch'ani, the country: Ch'aneti.)

CG 161 NUMBER: 1926 643 (Russian census, ethn.)
730 (Russian census, ling.)
The Turkish census of 1945 lists 46,987 speakers of Laz, so that the overwhelming majority of them live in Turkish territory.

CG 162 LOCATION: Between the Chorokh river and the Black Sea coast up to the area of Pazar (Atina) on Turkish territory; also in the Chkhala basin (left tributary of the Chorokh on Russian territory), (Adzhar ASSR, within Georgian SSR).

CG 197 LANGUAGE: Laz (Ch'anuri nena) and the very closely related Mingrelian form of the so-called Zan member of the S Caucasian (Kartvelian) language-group, which includes also Georgian and Svan. The language is not written, Georgian being used as literary language in the USSR, Turkish in Turkey.

SUBDIVISIONS: Two dialect-groups; West (Vitse-Arkhava and Atina) and East Laz (Hopa, Chkhala).

CG 241 TRADITIONAL ECONOMY: Agriculture, fishing, trade.

• 226 RELIGION: Islam (Sunni)

CG 795

7:Columbia U. S-4, 5 1956 RH1 Caucasia RH1
Kumik

## 45. KUMUK

101 NAME: SELF-DESIGNATION: Kumuklar
ENGLISH VARIANTS: Kumyk
RUSSIAN DESIGNATION: Kumyki
TURKISH DESIGNATION: Kumuklar

161 NUMBER: 1926 94,549 (Russian cens. ethn.)
94,909 (Russian cens. ling.)

162 LOCATION: Geographical: The northeastern slopes of the Greater Caucasus along the Aksai, Sulak, Shura, and Gubden rivers, and along the Caspian coast from Adzhi-Su to Derbent.

Political-Administrative: Dagestan ASSR (Makhachkala, Buynaksk, Izberbash, and Derbent okrugs), Groznyi Oblast (southern parts of the former Kizliar Okrug).

197 LANGUAGE: Kumuk; belongs to the Kipchak Turkic group, together with Crimean Turkic, Karachay, Balkar, Noghay, Kazan Turkic, Kazak, etc.); literary language since the 19th century; lingua franca in Dagestan ASSR northward from Derbent.

241 231 226 TRADITIONAL ECONOMY: Agriculture; cattle-breeding; fishing.

795 RELIGION: Islam (Sunni).

7: Columbia U. S-4, 5 1956 RHI Caucasia RHI
European Kalmyk

162 Ala-shan area, Ch'ing Hai province, China).

197 LANGUAGE: Kalmyk (Oirot) constitutes the W group of the Mongolian family of Altaic. It has a literary tradition going back to the 16th century.

SUBDIVISIONS: Dialects: Dörwöt, Torghūt (Torgout), and Buzāwa. Tribes: Torghūt, Khoshūt, Dörwöt (Dürböt, Dürbät, divided by the Russian Administration into the Great and Little Dörwöt), Khöit (Khōt), Tsoros, Dzūn-ghar ("left-wing army", "eastern") The Torghūt have always been considered the leading tribe.

[619]

233 231 226 TRADITIONAL ECONOMY: Nomadic pastoralism; sedentary stock-raising; (on the Volga:) fishing.

795 RELIGION: Lamaist Buddhism; (Sart-Kalmyk:) Islam (Sunni).

C. G. 245 [251] pomegranates) are grown in abundance. They are preserved in sugar by a boiling-down process. C. G. 244 Important vegetables are lentils, beans, peas, onions, eggplants, celery, garlic, fennel, mustard and several kinds of cucurbitaceous plants. C. G. 231 The raising of silkworms is common, especially in the West. Beekeeping is widespread; hollwed-out logs are used as beehives; these are covered against the rain with pieces of bark or straw mats. Honey is also gathered from wild beees. C. G. 224 Hunting is of some importance in the highlands (deer, rabbits, fowl); it is traditionally engaged in by herdsmen, who take turns watching the herds. C. G. 226 Fishing is of importance only on the Black Sea coast and on the lower course of the rivers running into it.

C. G. 231 Because of the lack of pasture land, cattle-breeding is less important in the Georgian lowlands than it is in the mountains. The Georgians keep buffaloes, oxen, pigs, horses, donkeys, mules, goats and sheep. The latter usually are of the fat-tail variety, except among the Svan. C. G. 233 221 In summer, the herds are taken to the mountain pastures by herdsmen. The herds are led by a billy goat and are kept together by goats; dogs accompany the herds only as protectors against wolves. To keep the latter at a distance, fires are kept going during the night.

Cattle and sheep breeding have a greater relative importance for the Svan and especially the Pshav and Tush. The latter are predominantly seminomadic herdsmen; the men

3: Anonymous U-4 (no date) 1920 RH1 Caucasia RH1



### (3) Fisheries

228 The fisheries off the Caucasian shore of the Caspian
226 Sea are an extremely important source of revenue, and employ large numbers of men, though of late years the more valuable kinds of fish have decreased greatly both in numbers and in size. The catch of *puzanka*, a small variety of herring, off the coasts of Daghestan and Terek averages about 44,000 tons a year, while in 1910 it reached 80,000 tons, with a value of £1,000,000. Owing, however, to the deficiency of means of communication between the Terek coast and the commercial centres of the country the industry is far less profitable than it should be to those engaged in it.

The *sturgeon* fishing in the River Kura, which has its centre at Salyani, is the richest in the world. The bank fishery at the mouth of the river produces from 160 to 240 tons of *caviare*, worth from £75,000 to £150,000 a year, while the total production of the river averages 320 tons. There is ample cold storage accommodation.

The Caspian Sea fisheries are divided into plots, which are let by auction by the Government. In 1910 two large firms obtained two-thirds of these, and a combine of all the Caspian fisheries was expected to follow.

The Kuban Cossack fisheries in the Sea of Azov give some 350 to 400 tons a year, with an average value of over £50,000. The output from Chernomoria in 1911, the only year for which figures are available, was 880 tons of fish, of which 260 tons were herrings and 170 tons were flat fish; the value was £15,000.

All the streams of the Caucasus abound in fish; trout, salmon, and various coarser varieties are caught in large quantities. The total number of fish caught in Caucasian waters in 1911 was, in round figures, 2,400,000 salmon and sturgeon, and 232,000,000 other fish. The total output of *caviare* in the same year was 418 tons.

228 The *caviare* industry of the Caspian littoral is declining, but is still important (see p. 62).

339 *Cement* is made at Novorossiisk, Gelendjik, Tuapse, and Yeisk. It is used for lining oil wells, and also for harbour works and other purposes. There were nine large cement factories at Novorossiisk in 1917, with an annual output of 4,600,000 barrels, the most important being the Black Sea Cement Manufactory, the Franco-Russian Cement Manufactory, and the Zep Cement Works.

282 *Leather-work* is a fairly extensive industry, of which the chief centres are Alexandropol, Elisavetopol, Shusha, and Tiflis. Tanning is done at Tiflis, and saddlery is well made in Daghestan and the Black Sea districts.

391 *Metallic and Allied Industries.*—The copper and zinc smelting works have already been mentioned (see pp. 63–64 and 67). There are iron foundries at Ekaterinodar, Baku, Tiflis, Batum, and Armavir. 'Colonist' reaping machines are made at Novorossiisk, and galvanized iron roofing and hardware goods at a factory at Baku. Among manufactures subsidiary to the oil industry are those of oil-cases and oil-cans, carried on at Baku and Batum, and of wire rope, carried on at several factories at Baku. The manufacture of small-arms, once a flourishing industry, is declining, but is still carried on at Tiflis and Nukha and in the bazaars [463] of Daghestan and Sukhum. The number of skilled native workers in enamel, filigree, and inlaid metal-ware is also decreasing.

256 The *milling* industry is second in importance only to the refining of oil. There are many flour-mills worked by water-power; those in Stavropol produce 300,000 tons of flour per annum, and those in Kuban, about the same amount; the mills of the Black Sea district give some 20,000 tons yearly. Besides the flour-mills, there are also mills for crushing sunflower seed, linseed, and cotton seed.

382 The *oil refineries* are the most important manufacturing enterprises in the country. They exist at Baku,

255 canning areas are Georgia (the Kutaisi-Gori area), Armenia (around Yerevan and Megri), Azerbaijan (Zakataly, Kuba, Lenkoran'), and Nakhichevan' (Ordubad).

234 Milk industry centers: The most important centers are around the health resorts, especially Sochi and Mineral'nyye Vody.

253 Meat packing and canning centers: Con-
255 centrated mostly along the northern slopes of the Greater Caucasus. The other noteworthy meat-packing area is in Armenia (Leninakan, Yerevan).

•228 Fisheries, centers of fishing industry:
255 The most important fisheries are along the shallow waters of the Caspian Sea, in the delta of the Volga River, and along the mouth of the Kura River. Its low salinity and its micro-organisms make the Caspian Sea the richest fishing ground of the USSR. The fisheries of the Caspian Sea provide 35% of the Russian output. The chief fishing centers are around Astrakhan', Lopatin, and Makhachkala. The second most important fishing area of the Caucasus is in the shallow waters of the Sea of Azov. These fishing grounds also abound in fish and the catch is four times as great as in the Black Sea. The center of the Azov area is Yeysk. The fishing grounds of the Black Sea coast are less important, while the fishing in Lake Sevan in only for local consumption. The centers of the fishing industry and of fish canning are located in the fishing areas. The foremost center of the fishing industry on the Caspian coast, and in the whole USSR, is Astrakhan'. Astrakhan' also

228 255 has the largest fishing canneries in the USSR. The other centers follow the coast as far as Astara. The fishing industry and fish canning of the Azov area is centered in Azov, in Yeysk, and in other cities and towns along the coast.

274 Wine and cognac industry centers: The most important centers are located in Armenia, in Georgia, in Dagestan, in the littoral sections of the Krasnodar Kray, and finally around Novocherkassk. The Armenian wine industry, centered mostly around Yerevan, is centuries old. In Georgia, the Imeretian and Kakhetian wines are world-famous. In Dagestan: Buynaksk, Makhachkala, and Kizlyar (Groznyy Oblast) are the important centers of the wine industry. In the Novorossiysk area, the champagne of Abram-Dyurso is noteworthy. The center for the famous Cossack wines is Novocherkassk.

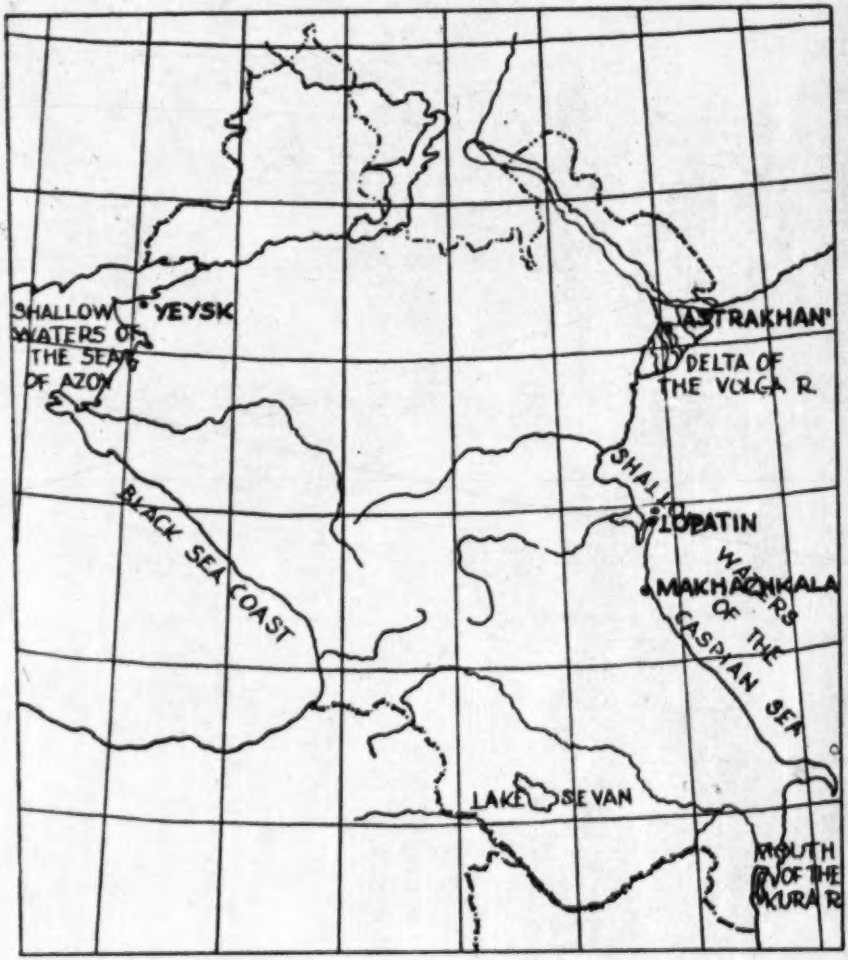
Tea industry centers: These are located in the tea-growing areas. One finds the most important tea-drying plants in Kolkhida, and in the Abkhaz and Adzhar Republics. The tea industry center of the Krasnodar Kray is Dagomys, the center of the Azeri tea industry is at Lenkoran'.

274 Mineral water bottling centers: The chief centers are Yessentuki in the North Caucasus and Borzhomi in the South Caucasus.

Tobacco factories: Centered mostly in 277 the western parts of the Caucasus. In the South Caucasus, the factories at Batumi, Sukhumi, and Yerevan are especially important. In the North Caucasus, the tobacco factories are centered around Krasnodar, Sal'sk, and Rostov.

b.57 Fisheries

228



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228
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b. 56 Fishing Industry and Canneries



979

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7,000 tons; buckwheat, 21,000 acres, 7,000 tons; 241
lentils, beans, and haricots, 20,000 acres, 5,300 tons; peas, 9,000 acres, 3,000 tons. Ramie fibre and attar of roses are produced on the Black Sea coast.

*Live-stock and Animal Products.*—Owing to the ten- 231
dency to convert pasture into arable land, there has been a great decrease in the numbers of live-stock raised in Caucasia of late years. To this rule, however, the Jevat and Geokchai districts in Baku Government present an exception; for cattle and horse raising has there been developed into an important industry, the profit obtained in the former region in 1914 being estimated at £70,000. In 1913 the total area devoted to [233]
pasturage, which is situated in the steppes and on the mountain slopes up to an elevation of 9,000 ft., was 3,700,000 acres, and the animals in the country comprised 6,327,000 head of cattle, 2,135,000 horses, 13,336,000 sheep and goats, and 1,215,000 pigs. The largest numbers of animals are found in Kuban and Terek; there were in 1912 nearly 4,500,000 of all kinds in the former province and nearly 3,500,000 in the latter.

*Buffaloes* and a small breed of *oxen* are bred in large [492]
numbers; they are used as draught animals, and in some districts as beasts of burden and for ploughing. The best breed of buffaloes is reared in the Governments of Elisavetopol and Kutais.

*Horses* are raised in other southern districts of Baku besides those already named, and on the Karabagh steppe, which extends from Baku into Elisavetopol; in the valley of the Terek and the Kabarda districts near Vladikavkaz; and in the Provinces of Kuban and Stavropol. A breed of mountain ponies is reared in Kutais. There are numerous private studs.

*Camels*, which are bred in the south-eastern provinces, [492]
are used chiefly as pack animals in the transport of goods to and from Persia, but occasionally also for draught purposes.

Great numbers of *sheep* and *goats* are bred on the 231
steppes and plateaux and in the hill districts. The 236

231 wool production was 14,946 tons in 1908, 13,339 tons
236 in 1909, and 17,356 tons, of which 16,473 tons were fine wool and 883 tons coarse, in 1913. The nomad Kurds, the Tatars, the Ossetes, the Svanetians, the Kabards, and the Abkhasians live principally by their flocks and herds, which they raise by primitive methods. Part of the wool crop is sold in the Tatar camps at shearing time to local carpet-weavers; part is exported.

231 *Honey* and *wax* are obtained throughout the Caucasus. In 1912 there were 26,000 apiaries, containing nearly 600,000 hives, and the production was 2,500 tons of honey and 300 tons of wax, most of which was consumed locally.

*Silk.*—Mulberry-trees are grown on the lower slopes of the Transcaucasian mountains, and the silkworm industry, after a period of depression due to the spread of disease amongst the silkworms, has developed greatly of late years, especially in the Governments of Tiflis, Erivan, Elisavetopol, and Kutais. In the Baku Government, where it was once widespread, the industry is only continued to any considerable extent in the district of Geokchai. Much of the output, which in 1914 amounted to over 5,000 tons, is normally con-
[439] sumed in local silk manufactures. Silkworm eggs were imported, principally from Turkey and Italy, and were strictly examined by the Imperial Agricultural Society at Tiflis. The failure of the Turkish supply after 1914 adversely affected subsequent cocoon crops.

### (*b*) *Methods of Cultivation*

242 Ciscaucasia is far in advance of Transcaucasia in respect of agricultural methods, a fact due in part to the more enterprising character of the Cossack population and in part to the less isolated geographical position of the northern provinces. In both divisions of the country, however, there has in recent years been a notable advance in agricultural science, evidenced by the rapid development of co-operation. Whereas in 1909 there were 100 agricultural associations in the

137 are the overwhelmingly predominant Caucasian bush growth. Both species are found in abundance on a very large strip within the forest zone and beyond it, over an absolute vertical [231] distance of 1800 m. Since bee-keeping is very common in the Caucasus, the azalea has in those regions a strong influence upon the composition of the honey. Strabon tells us of this [276] particular kind of honey, which seems to contain an inebriating, intoxicating, or narcotizing effect, at least upon certain individuals; people are said to become drunk, mad, furious, or even crazy. The present-day Turks in the areas along the Black Sea ranges, where the azalea is also found, call this honey däli bal ("crazy honey"), exactly the same expression used by Strabon, XII; 3, 18. A number of travelers reject these tales -- cf. the classical passage in Xenophon's "Anabasis", IV; 8, 20/21—as fables, probably because the azalea honey did not have any effect upon them.

The Caucasus is the original home of a number of fruit trees and other plants of great use to man. Thus, the walnut tree and hazelnut bush are natives of the Caucasus, where they are found in great groves or growing beside other trees in the forests. The valleys of Imeret'ia are generally considered to be the original home of the walnut tree. The hazelnut bush is abundant in the Caucasus as well as all over the Black Sea mountains in northern Anatolia.

But a small creeper, which with the ex-

137 In Trans-Caucasia, east of the Meskhi-Surami range, the abundance of vegetation diminishes gradually with the distance from the Black Sea climate zone; the farther to the east, the more steppe-like the country becomes, finally culminating in a typical dry steppe, interspersed with smaller or larger desert areas. A tree typical of the central and eastern Trans-Caucasian plains is the mulberry, which apparently has been cultivated there since the beginning of written history. The chief use of the mulberry has always been for sericulture, an ancient craft in Trans-Caucasian lands. The vegetation most characteristic of the sub-tropical steppe areas of the Near East is represented here, especially wormwood (artemisia), with its distinctive invigorating smell, various stipa species, etc. Artificial irrigation is becoming more and more widespread, but has been practiced on a more or less small scale since time immemorial. The small strip of land between the Talysh mountains and the Caspian coast has a humid, sub-tropical Caspian climate like that of the Persian provinces of Gilan and Mazandaran; it abounds, therefore, in the corresponding sub-tropical and tropical plant growth such as bamboo, rice and tea.

[23]

Of the above-enumerated plants, many of the useful ones are newcomers introduced by man, such as the orange and other citrus fruits, corn (maize), rice, tobacco, cotton, and tea. Corn is grown very widely also in the northern

7: Columbia U.S-4, 5 1956 RHI Caucasia RHI
Georgia RI 1

C. G. 197 LANGUAGE: Georgian (Kartuli ena) belongs with Mingrelian, Laz, and Svan, to the S Caucasian (or Kartvelian) language family. It has an old literary tradition going back to the 5th century A. D., and a script of its own.

SUBDIVISIONS: The Georgian dialects fall into two groups: E and W Georgian. E dialects: Kartluri (with sub-dialects Meskh and Dzhavakh), K'akhuri, Ingilouri, Tushuri, Khevsuruli, Pshauri, Mokhev, Mtiuli, (Fereidan in Iran). W dialects: Imeruli Rach'uli, Lechkhum, Guruli (including Adzhar), Imerkhev (in Turkey).

C. G. 241 ●231 TRADITIONAL ECONOMY: Agriculture, cattle-breeding; horticulture; viniculture; arts and crafts.

C. G. 795 RELIGION: Eastern Orthodox; Roman Catholic minority; only the Adzhar and part of the Ingilo are Muslim. There are a number of Georgian-speaking Jewish villages in C. G. [162] different parts of the Georgian SSR, totaling 21,471 persons (1926, Russian census), in Russian referred to as Gruzinskie evrei (Georgian Jews).

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Georgia RI I

C.
G.
241 TRADITIONAL ECONOMY: Agriculture,
231 cattle-raising, hunting, apiculture.

C.
G.
795 RELIGION: Eastern Orthodox.

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Georgia RI I

C. G. 197 LANGUAGE: Abkhaz belongs to NW Caucasian, together with Circassian and Ubykh (the latter no longer spoken in the Caucasus). Two dialects have been reduced to writing: in the Abkhaz ASSR that of the Abzhui, in the Cherkes AO that of the Tapanta. The speakers of the Abaza dialects are all bilingual and speak also the Kabardian dialect of Circassian. In the Abkhaz ASSR knowledge of Georgian is widespread.

SUBDIVISION: Abkhaz has five major dialects: Bzyb', Abzhui, Samurzakan', Ashkharwa and Tapanta. The speakers of the latter two dialects are known as Abaza (R. Abazintsy), though linguistically the first four dialects form one group, while Tapanta stands apart.

C G 101 Further tribal names (Russ. form): Tsebeldintsy, Dzhigety; (Abaza:)Beshilbei, Tam, Barakei.

C. G. 241 231 TRADITIONAL ECONOMY: Cattle-breeding; agriculture, viniculture; apiculture.

C. G. 795 RELIGION: Islam (Sunni); Eastern Orthodox.

197 as "Kabardintsy". The dialects follow old
101 tribal divisions. Other tribal names (Russ. form.): Natukhaevtsy, Gatiukai, Zhane(e)vtsy, Egerukaevtsy, Makhosh(ev)-tsy, Kiakhi, Khagak (Khegek, Shegek).

241
231 TRADITIONAL ECONOMY: Agriculture; horticulture; cattle-breeding; horse-breeding (esp. Kabardians); apiculture; home industry (Caucasian felt cloaks).

795 RELIGION: Islam (Sunni); only the Kabardians around Mozdok are Christians.

197 they form the Veinakh group of the NE Caucasian language family.

SUBDIVISIONS: These were more of a geographical than of a linguistic nature. Chechen tribes: Ichkeri(ntsy), Aukh(ovtsy). etc.; Ingush tribes: Dzherakh(ovtsy), Nazran(ovtsy), etc. A special dialect was spoken by the Karabulak, who had all emigrated to Turkey by 1870. The Georgians knew the Chechen with whom they came in contact as Kist; this name was later extended to the whole group and adopted by the Russians as a name for the Veinakh languages(Kistinskie iazyki).

231
241 TRADITIONAL ECONOMY: Cattle-breeding, agriculture.

795 RELIGION: Islam (Sunni).

7: Columbia U. S-4, 5 1956 RHI Caucasia RHI
Tushin

## 8. BATS

101 NAME: SELF-DESIGNATION: Batsaw, pl. Batsbi.
RUSSIAN DESIGNATIONS: Batsbiitsy, Tsova-Tush, Tush (due to incorrect naming by Güldenstädt)

161 NUMBER: 1926 7 (Russian census, ethn.)
2,459 (Russian census, ling.)

162 LOCATION: In winter and spring in the village Zemo Alvani on the Kakhetian Alazan' (near Telavi), in summer in the mountain meadows on the upper Kakhetian Alazan' and Tush Alazan' (Akhmet rayon, Georgian SSR).

197 LANGUAGE: Bats (Batsbê mot') forms, with Checheno-Ingush, the Veinakh group of the NE Caucasian languages. The language is not written, Georgian being used as literary language.

231 TRADITIONAL ECONOMY: Cattle-breeding.

715 RELIGION: Eastern Orthodox.

CD
197

others being Veinakh, Lak-Dargwa, Samurian, Khinalug, and Udi). Avar has the status of a literary language in the Dagestan ASSR. The literary language is based on the Khunzakh dialect which was also the basis of the old "bol mats'·" ("army language"), the common Avar lingua franca. Knowledge of Avar is spread well outside its own linguistic territory (Andi-Dido area, Tsakhur area, Archi, W part of Lak and Dargwa areas).

SUBDIVISIONS: There are four major dialects: Khunzakh, Gidatl′-- Andalaly-Karakh, Antsukh, and Char.

CD
.231
438
241

TRADITIONAL ECONOMY: Stockbreeding; home industry (Caucasian felt cloaks, leather goods, wooden objects, metal work, tapestry-weaving, embroidery); horticulture.

CD
795

RELIGION: Islam (Sunni).

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Dagestan RH 8
Andi

## 10. ANDI

C. D. 101 NAME: SELF-DESIGNATION: Qwannaw, pl. Qwannal

RUSSIAN DESIGNATIONS: Andii, Andiitsy (this name is also used to include, besides the Andi proper, the other peoples of the Andi group; cf. below under "Language").

OTHER DESIGNATIONS: (Avar:) Handísew, pl. Handál, the country: Handí.

C. D. 161 NUMBER: 1926 7,840 (Russian census, ethn.)
7,720 (Russian census, ling.)

C. D. 162 LOCATION: N of the Andiiskoe Koisu, at its bend eastward (auls Andi, Ghunkha, Ghaghatl, Rik'uan, Chankho, Zilo, Muni in rayon Botlikh and auls Kvankhidatl, and Khuset in rayon Vedeno, Dagestan ASSR).

C. D. 197 LANGUAGE: Andi (Qwannab mits·i) forms with Botlikh, Godoberi, Karata, Bagulal, Tindi, Chamalal, and Akhvakh, the so-called Andi subgroup of the Avaro-Ando-Dido group of the NE Caucasian languages. The language is not written, Avar being used as the literary language.

C. D. ●231 438 TRADITIONAL ECONOMY: Sheep-raising, home industry (Caucasian felt cloaks, tapestries, goldsmithing).

C. D. 795 RELIGION: Islam (Sunni).

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Dagestan RHB

## 11. BOTLIKH

C.D. 101 NAME: SELF-DESIGNATION: Buykhatli (gen. of Buykhe "the village B.").
RUSSIAN DESIGNATIONS: Botlikhtsy, Buiukhad.

C.D. 161 NUMBER: 1926 3,354 (Russian census, ethn.)
2,789 (Russian census, ling.)

C.D. 162 LOCATION: Just N of the bend of the Andiiskoe Koisu, SW of the Andi area (rayon Botlikh, auls Botlikh and Miarso, Dagestan ASSR).

C.D. 197 LANGUAGE: Botlikh (Buykhatli mits') forms with Andi, Godoberi, Karata, Bagulal, Tindi, Chamalal, and Akhvakh, the Andi subgroup of the Avaro-Ando-Dido group of the NE Caucasian languages. The language is not written, Avar being used as the literary language.

C.D. 231 241 TRADITIONAL ECONOMY: Cattle-breeding, home industry, agriculture.

C.D. 795 RELIGION: Islam (Sunni).

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Dagestan RH8

## 12. GODOBERI

CD
101 NAME: SELF-DESIGNATION: Ghibditl·i adami (i.e. "people of the village Ghidu (Godoberi").
RUSSIAN DESIGNATION: Godoberi-(ntsy).

CD
161 NUMBER: 1926 1,425 (Russian census, ethn.)
1,425 (Russian census, ling.)

CD
162 LOCATION: Just NW of the bend of the Andiiskoe Koisu, W of the Botlikh area (rayon Botlikh, aul Godoberi, Dagestan ASSR).

CD
197 LANGUAGE: Godoberi (Ghibditl·i mits·i) forms with Andi, Botlikh, Karata, Bagulal, Tindi, Chamalal, and Akhvakh, the Andi subgroup of the Avaro-Ando-Dido group of the NE Caucasian languages. The language is not written, Avar being used as the literary language.

CD
•231 241 TRADITIONAL ECONOMY: Cattle-breeding; home industry; agriculture.

CD
795 RELIGION: Islam (Sunni).

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Dagestan RH 8

## 13. KARATA

C. D. 101 NAME: SELF-DESIGNATION: Kirtl·e, pl. Kirtl·ei.
RUSSIAN DESIGNATIONS: Karatintsy, Karatai, Kirdi.
OTHER DESIGNATIONS: (Avar:) K'alalal.

C. D. 161 NUMBER: 1926 5,305 (Russian census, ethn.)
5,303 (Russian census, ling.)

C. D. 162 LOCATION: Just S of the bend of the Andiiskoe Koisu (N part of rayon Akhvakh, also rayons Andalaly and Vedeno (Dagest. ASSR). (1)

C. D. 197 LANGUAGE: Karata (Kirtl·i mats'i) forms with Andi, Botlikh, Godoberi, Bagulal, Tindi, Chamalal, and Akhvakh, the Andi subgroup of the Avaro-Ando-Dido group of the NE Caucasian languages. The language is not written, Avar being used as the literary language.

SUBDIVISIONS: Dialects: Karata proper, Anchikh and Tokita.

C. D. 231 241 TRADITIONAL ECONOMY: cattle-breeding, home industry, agriculture.

C. D. 795 RELIGION: Islam (Sunni).

(1) auls Karata, Archo, Anchikh, Tokita, Mashtada, Rachabalda, Chabakoro.

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Dagestan RH8

## 14. BAGULAL

C.D. 101 NAME: SELF-DESIGNATION: Kwantl hekua, or Bagolal.

RUSSIAN DESIGNATION: Bagulaly; Bagvalal, Bogulal.

OTHER DESIGNATIONS: due to their dual self-designation, referred to both as Bagulal and Kvanada.

C.D. 161 NUMBER: 1926 3,054 (Russian census, ethn.)
3,053 (Russian census, ling.)

C.D. 162 LOCATION: S of the bend of the Andiiskoe Koisu, S of the Karata area (rayon Tsumada, auls Khushtada, Tlondoda, Kvanada; rayon Akhvakh, auls Gimerso, Tisi, Tlibisho, Dagestan ASSR).

C.D. 197 LANGUAGE: Bagulal (Bagulazul mits') forms with Andi, Botlikh, Godoberi, Karata, Tindi, Chamalal, and Akhvakh, the Andi subgroup of the Avaro-Ando-Dido group of the NE Caucasian languages. The language is not written, Avar being used as literary language.

SUBDIVISIONS: Dialects: Bagulal proper and Tlisi.

C.D. 231 241 TRADITIONAL ECONOMY: Cattle-breeding; agriculture; home industry.

C.D. 79 RELIGION: Islam (Sunni).

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Dagestan RH8

## 15. TINDI

C D 101 NAME: SELF-DESIGNATION: Idaraw hekwa
RUSSIAN DESIGNATIONS: Tindii, Tindiitsy, Tindal', Inderi (ntsy), Idi.
OTHER DESIGNATIONS: (Dido:) Bogozi, pl. Bogozibi.

C D 161 NUMBER: 1926 3,812 (Russian census, ethn.)
3,704 (Russian census, ling.)
1952 5,000 (estimate Gudava)

C D 162 LOCATION: Aul Tindi, on the E tributary of the Andiiskoe Koisu which separates the Bagulal group from the Khvarshi area; (rayon Tsumada, Dagestan ASSR). (1)

C D 197 LANGUAGE: Tindi (Idara mits' ) forms with Andi, Botlikh, Godoberi, Karata, Bagulal, Chamalal and Akhvakh the Andi subgroup of the Avaro-Ando-Dido group of the NE Caucasian languages. The language is not written, Avar being used as the literary language.

C D •231 241 TRADITIONAL ECONOMY: Cattle-breeding; agriculture; home industry.

C D 795 RELIGION: Islam (Sunni)

(1) Also auls Tisi, Echeda and Akhnada (rayon Tsumada) and Qedi (rayon Vedeno)

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Dagestan RH8

## 16. CHAMALAL

CD 101 NAME: SELF-DESIGNATION: according to separate villages; as opposed to other peoples: Ch'amalaldu, pl. Ch'amalaldube, collective: Ch'amalali.
RUSSIAN DESIGNATION: Chamalaly.

CD 161 NUMBER: 1926 3,438 (Russian census, ethn.)
3,438 (Russian census, ling.)

CD 162 LOCATION: On the E side of the Andiiskoe Koisu, just below the bend; auls Verkhnii Gakvari (with sub-villages), Nizhnii Gakvari (with sub-villages), Agvali, Tsumada, Tsumada-Urukh, Richaganik, Gadyri (with sub-villages), Gachitl', Gigatl' (with sub-villages), Kvankhi (Tsumada rayon, Dagestan ASSR).

CD 197 LANGUAGE: Chamalal (Ch'amalaldub mits'·) forms with Andi, Botlikh, Godoberi, Karata, Bagulal, Tindi, and Akhvakh, the Andi subgroup of the Avaro-Ando-Dido group of the NE Caucasian languages. The language is not written, Avar being used as the literary language.

SUBDIVISIONS: Dialects: 1a. Gakvari (incl. Gakvari, Agvali, Tsumada, Tsumada-Urukh, Richaganik); 1b. Gadyri (incl. Gachitl' ) and Kvankhi; 2. Gigatl' .

CD 231 438 241 TRADITIONAL ECONOMY: Cattle-breeding; home industry (Caucasian felt cloaks, goldsmithing); agriculture.

CD 795 RELIGION: Islam (Sunni).

7: Columbia U. S-4,5 1956 RH1 Caucasia RH1
Dagestan RH8

## 17. AKHVAKH

C D 101 NAME: SELF-DESIGNATION: Atluatl'i.
RUSSIAN DESIGNATION: Akhvakhtsy.

C D 161 NUMBER: 1926 3,683 (Russian census, ethn.)
3,683 (Russian census, ling.)

C D 162 LOCATION: Between Avarskoe Koisu and Andiiskoe Koisu, just at their bend to the E (rayon Akhvakh: auls Izani, Kudiiab-Roso, Tad-Magitl', Lologonitl'; rayon Kakhib: auls Tlenob, Tsekob; rayon Andalaly: aul Ratlub; all in Dagestan ASSR).

C D 197 LANGUAGE: Akhvakh (Atluatl·i mits·i) forms with Andi Batlikh, Godoberi, Karata, Bagulal, Tindi, and Chamaiai, the Andi subgroup of the Avaro-Ando-Dido group of the NE Caucasian languages. The language is not written, Avar being used as the literary language.

C D .231 241 TRADITIONAL ECONOMY: Cattle-breeding; agriculture; home industry.

C D 795 RELIGION: Islam (Sunni).

## 18. KHVARSHI

C. D. 101 NAME: SELF-DESIGNATION: Kedaes hikwa.
RUSSIAN DESIGNATIONS: Khvarshiny, Khvarshintsy.

C. D. 161 NUMBER: 1926 1,019 (Russian census, ethn.)
1,018 (Russian census, ling.)

C. D. 162 LOCATION: On a S tributary of the Andiiskoe Koisu, SW of the Bagulal area (auls Khvarshi, Inkhokari, etc., Vedeno rayon, Dagestan ASSR)

C. D. 197 LANGUAGE: Khvarshi (Kedaes mits', Inkhies mits', depending on village) forms with Dido, Kapucha, Khunzal, and Ginukh, the Dido subgroup of the Avaro-Ando-Dido group of the NE Caucasian languages. The language is not written, Avar being used as the literary language.

C. D. 241 231 TRADITIONAL ECONOMY: Agriculture; cattle-breeding.

C. D. 795 RELIGION: Islam (Sunni).

## 19. DIDO

C. D. 101 NAME: SELF-DESIGNATION: Ts'ezi, pl. Ts'ezibi

RUSSIAN DESIGNATIONS: Didoi, Didoitsy, Tsezy.

OTHER DESIGNATIONS: (Georgian:) Dido; (Kakhetian-Georgian:) Tsunt'a " ragamuffin", a name also used by the Avar and several peoples of the Andi group.

C. D. 161 NUMBER: 1926 3,276 (Russian census, ethn.)
3,198 (Russian census, ling.)

C. D. 162 LOCATION: S of the upper Andiiskoe Koisu.

C. D. 197 LANGUAGE: Dido (Ts'ezias mets') forms with Khvarshi, Kapucha, Khunzal, and Ginukh, the so-called Dido subgroup of the Avaro-Ando-Dido group of the NE Caucasian languages. The language is not written, Avar being used as the literary language.

C. D. 231 241 326 TRADITIONAL ECONOMY: Cattle-breeding; agriculture; home industry (goldsmithing).

C. D. 795 RELIGION: Islam (Sunni).

7:Columbia U. S-4,5 1956 RH1 Caucasia RH1
Dagestan RH8
Khaput

## 20. KAPUCHA

C. D. 101 NAME: SELF-DESIGNATION: Kapuchias suko or Bezhtl·as suko, depending on the village.
RUSSIAN DESIGNATIONS: Kapuchiny, Bezhitiny.

C. D. 161 NUMBER: 1926 1,448 (Russian census, ethn.)
1,448 (Russian census, ling.)

C. D. 162 LOCATION: Upper basin of Avarskoe Koisu (rayon Tliarata, auls Bezhity, Khocharkhota, Tliadal, Dagestan ASSR).

C. D. 197 LANGUAGE: Kapucha (Bezhtl· alas mits·) forms with Khvarshi, Dido, Khunzal, and Ginukh, the Dido subgroup of the Avaro-Ando-Dido group of the NE Caucasian languages. The language is not written, Avar being used as the literary language.

C. D. 231 241 326 TRADITIONAL ECONOMY: Cattle-breeding; agriculture; home industry (goldsmithing).

C. D. 795 RELIGION: Islam (Sunni).

7: Columbia U. S-4, 5 1956 RH1 Caucasia RH1
Dagestan RH8

## 21. KHUNZAL

C.D. 101 NAME: SELF-DESIGNATION: ------
RUSSIAN DESIGNATIONS: Khunzaly, Gun(d)zaly, Nakhada.

C.D. 161 NUMBER: 1926 106 (Russian census, ethn.)
129 (Russian census, ling.)

C.D. 162 LOCATION: Auls Hunzib and Gharbut (with former Nakhada) (rayon Tlarata, Dagestan ASSR).

C.D. 197 LANGUAGE: Khunzal forms with Khvarshi, Dido, Kapucha, and Ginukh, the Dido subgroup of the Avaro-Ando-Dido group of the NE Caucasian languages. The language is not written, Avar being used as the literary language.

C.D. 231 241 TRADITIONAL ECONOMY: Cattle-breeding; agriculture; crafts.

C.D. 795 RELIGION: Islam (Sunni).

7:Columbia U. S-4,5 1956 RH1 CaucasiaRH1
Dagestan RH8

## 22. GINUKH

C.D. 101

NAME: SELF-DESIGNATION: -----
RUSSIAN DESIGNATION: Ginukhtsy

C.D. 161 NUMBER: 200 (estimate, Bokarev)

C.D. 162 LOCATION: Aul Ginukh, rayon Tliarata, (Dagestan ASSR). Majority had moved to rayon Vedeno by 1949 (village Kidero).

C.D. 197 LANGUAGE: Ginukh forms with Khvarshi, Dido, Kapuchi, and Khunzal, the Dido subgroup of the Avaro-Ando-Dido group of the NE Caucasian languages. The language is not written, Avar being used as the literary language.

C.D. 231 TRADITIONAL ECONOMY: Cattle-breeding; home industry.

C.D. 795 RELIGION: Islam (Sunni).

7:Columbia U. S-4, 5 1956 RH1 Caucasia RH1
Dagestan RH8
Archin

## 23. ARCHI

C. D. 181 NAME: SELF-DESIGNATION: Arshishuw, Arshishtuw.
RUSSIAN DESIGNATION: Archintsy.
OTHER DESIGNATIONS: (Lak:) Roch.

C. D. 161 NUMBER: 1926 863 (Russian census, ethn.)
859 (Russian census, ling.)

C. D. 162 LOCATION: Aul Ruch-Archi on the Khatar river, rayon Charoda (Dagestan ASSR).

C. D. 197 LANGUAGE: Archi (Arshatten ch'at) belongs to the Avaro-Ando-Dido group of the NE Caucasian languages; its exact position in this group is uncertain. The language is not written, Avar being used as the literary language.

C. D. 231 286 TRADITIONAL ECONOMY: Cattle-breeding; home industry (cloth and tapestry weaving).

C 795 RELIGION: Islam (Sunni).

7:Columbia U. S-4, 5 1956 RH1 ColumbiaRH1
DagestanRH8
Lak

## 24. LAK

C. D. 101 NAME: SELF-DESIGNATION: Lak; Lakuchū
RUSSIAN DESIGNATIONS: Laki, Kazikumukhtsy.
OTHER DESIGNATIONS: (Avar:) Tumaw, pl. Tumal; Lezgian: Yakholshu

C. D. 161 NUMBER: 1926 40,380 (Russian census, ethn.)
40,336 (Russian census, ling.)
1955 well over 55,000 (estimate, Zhirkov).

C. D. 162 LOCATION: Basin of the upper Tleuserakh, Khatar, and Kazikumukhskoe Koisu (rayons Lak and Kula, separate villages in rayons Tsudakhar, Akusha, Rutul, Kurakh, Charoda, and Dakhadaev). Since 1944 also in the valley of Yaryksu river (Novo-Lak rayon, Dagestan ASSR).

C. D. 197 LANGUAGE: Lak (lakū maz) forms with the Dargwa group of languages the Lak-Dargwa subdivision of the NE Caucasian languages, which include also Veinakh, Avaro-Ando-Dido, Samurian, Khinalug, and Udi. Lak has the status of a literary language in the Dagestan ASSR; the written language is based on the Kumukh dialect.

C. D. 231 241 438 TRADITIONAL ECONOMY: Cattle-breeding; production of leather goods and pottery; metal-work (weapons); agriculture.

C. D. 795 RELIGION: Islam (Sunni).

7:Columbia U. S-4, 5 1956 RH1 CaucasiaRH1
DagestanRH8

## 26. KAITAK

C. D. 101 NAME: SELF-DESIGNATION: Khaidaqlan, plur. Khaidaq.
RUSSIAN DESIGNATION: Khaidaki, Kaitagi, Kaitaki.

C. D. 161 NUMBER: 1926 14,430 (Russian census, ethn.)
14,469 (Russian census, ling.)

C. D. 162 LOCATION: Basin of Ulla-Chai, between the Dargwa and the Tabasaran areas (rayon Kaitak, S part of rayon Dakhadaev, Dagestan ASSR).

C. D. 197 LANGUAGE: Kaitak forms with the closely related Dargwa and Kubachi the so-called Dargwa subgroup of the Lak-Dargwa group of the NE Caucasian languages. The language is not written, Dargwa being used as the literary language.

C. D. 231 241 TRADITIONAL ECONOMY: Cattle-breeding; agriculture; home industry.

C. D. 795 RELIGION: Islam (Sunni).

7:Columbia U. S-4, 5 1956 RH1 Caucasia RH1
Dagestan RH8

## 27. KUBACHI

C. D. 101 NAME: SELF-DESIGNATION: Ughbug.
RUSSIAN DESIGNATION: Kubachintsy.

C. D. 161 NUMBER: 1926 2,322 (Russian cens., ethn.)
2,470 (Russian cens., ling.)

C. D. 162 LOCATION: Aul Kubachi (rayon Dakhadaev, Dagestan ASSR).

C. D. 197 LANGUAGE: Kubachi (Ughbughan hub) forms with the closely related Dargwa and Kaitak the Dargwa subgroup of the Lak-Dargwa group of the NE Caucasian languages. The language is not written, Dargwa being used as a literary language.

C. D. 231 326 TRADITIONAL ECONOMY: Cattle-breeding; goldsmithing; incrustation work.

C. D. 795 RELIGION: Islam (Sunni).

7:Columbia U. S-4, 5 1956 RH1 Caucasia RH
Dageston RH8
Lezgin

C.
D.
231 TRADITIONAL ECONOMY: Cattle-breeding;
241 agriculture; horticulture; home industry
438 (tapesty-weaving, smith's craft).

C.
D.
795 RELIGION: Islam (Sunni).

## 29. AGUL

C. D. 101 NAME: SELF-DESIGNATION: Aghul, Aghulshuy
RUSSIAN DESIGNATION: Aguly

C. D. 161 NUMBER: 1926 7,653 (Russian census, ethn.)
7,653 (Russian census, ling.)

C. D. 162 LOCATION: Basin of upper Kurakh-chai and Gyulgeri-chai (Magudere), with affluents (rayons Agul and Kurakh, Dagestan ASSR).

C. D. 197 LANGUAGE: Agul (Aghul ch'al, Aghularin ch'al) forms with Lezgian, Rutul, Tsakhur, Tabasaran, Budukh, and Dzhek, the Samurian subdivision of the NE Caucasian language group. The language is not written, Lezgian being used as the literary language.

SUBDIVISIONS: Two dialects: Agul proper and Koshan.

C. D. 231 438 TRADITIONAL ECONOMY: Cattle breeding; home industry (production of cloth, tapestries, felt cloaks).

C. D. 795 RELIGION: Islam (Sunni).

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Dagestan RH8

## 30. RUTUL

C. D. 101 NAME: SELF-DESIGNATION: no general one; the inhabitants of the aul Rutul (Mykhád) call themselves Mykhashura.
RUSSIAN DESIGNATION: Rutuly, Rutul'tsy.

C. D. 161 NUMBER: 1926 10,495 (Russian census, ethn.)
10, 356 (Russian census, ling.)

C. D. 162 LOCATION: Area of confluence of Samur and Kara-Samur (18 villages) (Rutul rayon; vill. Khnov in Akhty rayon (Dagestan ASSR); Shin and Kainar in Nukha rayon, Azerbaidzhan SSR).

C. D. 197 LANGUAGE: Rutul (Mykhánidy ch'äl) forms with Lezghian, Agul, Tsakhur, Tabasaran, Budukh, and Dzhek, the Samurian subdivision of the NE Caucasian language-group. The language is not written, Lezgian being used as the literary language.

C. D. 231 438 TRADITIONAL ECONOMY: Cattle-breeding; home industry (production of cloth, tapestries, felt cloaks).

C. D. 795 RELIGION: Islam (Sunni).

## 31. TSAKHUR

C. D. 101 NAME: SELF-DESIGNATION: No general one; inhabitants of aul Tsakhur (Ts'akhur) call themselves Ts'akhighali, pl. Ts'akhby.
RUSSIAN DESIGNATION: Tsakhury.

C. D. 161 NUMBER: 1926 19,085 (Russian census, ethn.)
10,951 (Russian census, ling.)

C. D. 162 LOCATION: Samur basin W of its confluence with the Kara-Samur (Tsakhur rayon, Dagestan ASSR); also on the S slopes of the Caucasus in the area of Elisu (Azerbaidzhan SSR).

C. D. 197 LANGUAGE: Tsakhur (Ts'akhbishda miz) forms with Lezgian, Agul, Rutul, Tabasaran, Budukh, and Dzhek, the Samurian subdivision of the NE Caucasian language-group. The language is not written, Avar being used as the literary language in the Daghestan ASSR, Azeri in the Azerbaidzhan SSR.

C. D. 231 438 TRADITIONAL ECONOMY: Cattle-breeding; home industry (production of cloth, tapestries, felt cloaks).

C. D. 795 RELIGION: Islam (Sunni).

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Dagestan RH8

## 33. BUDUKH

C.
D.
101 NAME: SELF-DESIGNATION: ----
RUSSIAN DESIGNATION: Budukhi, Budugi

C.
D.
161 NUMBER: 1926 1 (Russian census, ethn.)
1,995 (Russian census, ling.)

C.
D.
162 LOCATION: Mt. Shakhdag area, in the upper basin of the Kara-chai (Konakhkend rayon, Azerb. SSR).

C.
D.
197 LANGUAGE: Budukh forms, with Lezgian, Agul, Rutul, Tsakhur, Tabasaran, and Dzhek, the Samurian subdivision of the NE Caucasian language-group. The language is not written, Azeri being used as the literary language.

C.
D.
231
241 TRADITIONAL ECONOMY: Cattle-breeding; horticulture.

C.
D.
795 RELIGION: Islam (Sunni).

## 34. DZHEK

C.D. 101 NAME: SELF-DESIGNATION: -----
RUSSIAN DESIGNATION: According to villages; Dzheki, Kryzy, Khaputtsy, (Gaputlintsy, Khaputlintsy).

C.D. 161 NUMBER: 1926 Dzhek 590 Kryz 5 Khaput 12 (Russian census, ethn.)
All three groups together: 4,348 (Russ. census, ling.)

C.D. 162 LOCATION: Mt. Shakhdag area, in the basin of the upper right arm of the Kudial-chai (Konakhkend rayon, Azerbaidzhan SSR). Also daughter-settlements near the Caspian coast in the Khachmas area (Azerbaidzhan SSR).

C.D. 197 LANGUAGE: The Dzhek language forms with Lezgian, Agul, Rutul, Tsakhur, Tabasaran, and Budukh, the Samurian subdivision of the NE Caucasian languages. The language is not written, Azeri being used as the literary language.

SUBDIVISIONS: According to villages: Dzhek, Kryz, Khaput.

C.D. 231 241 TRADITIONAL ECONOMY: Cattle-breeding; agriculture; horticulture.

C.D. 795 RELIGION: Islam (Sunni).

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Dagestan RH8

## 35. KHINALUG

C.D. 101 NAME: SELF-DESIGNATION: -----
RUSSIAN DESIGNATION: Khinalugi.

C.D. 161 NUMBER: 1926 105 (Russian census, ethn.)
1,540 (Russian census, ling.)

C.D. 162 LOCATION: Shakhdag area, aul Khinalug (Khynalyk) on the upper right arm of the Kudial-chai (rayon Konakhkend, Azerbaidzhan SSR).

C.D. 197 LANGUAGE: Khinalug (Kättidmits) is a member of the NE Caucasian language-group to which there belong further the Veinakh, Avaro-Ando-Dido, Lak-Dargwa, and Samurian groups, and the Udi language. Khinalug is not written, Azeri being used as the literary language.

C.D. 231 TRADITIONAL ECONOMY: Cattle-breeding.

C.D. 795 RELIGION: Islam (Sunni).

7: Columbia U. S 4-5, 1956 RH1 Caucasia RH1
Dagestan RH 8

## 36. UDI

C. D. 101 NAME: SELF-DESIGNATION: Udi, Uti.
RUSSIAN DESIGNATION: Udiny.

C. D. 161 NUMBER: 1897 7,100 (Russian census)
1926 2,455 (Russian census, ethn.)
2,762 (Russian census, ling.)

C. D. 162 LOCATION: Villages Vartashen and Nidzh (rayons Vartashen and Kutkashen, Azerbaidzhan SSR), Oktomberi (Georgian SSR).

C. D. 197 LANGUAGE: Udi (Udi muz) is a member of the NE Caucasian language-group, to which there belong further the Veinakh, Avaro-Ando-Dido, Lak-Dargwa, and Samurian groups, and the Khinalug language. Though Udi was written before the revolution, it does not have the status of literary language, this function being fulfilled by Azeri.

C. D. 244 231 TRADITIONAL ECONOMY: Agriculture; cattle-breeding.

C. D. 795 RELIGION: Eastern Orthodox, Armenian-Gregorian.

7: Columbia U. S-4, 5 1956 RHI Caucasia RHI
Armenia

197 LANGUAGE: Armenian (Hai lezu) constitutes a separate branch of the Indoeuropean language family. The language has an old literary tradition going back to the 5th century A. D., and a script of its own. This literary language is based on the dialect of Ararat; there is now also a literary tradition for the Western dialect-group.

SUBDIVISIONS: The Armenian dialects are subdivided into an Eastern (Ararat, Karabakh, etc.) and a Western (Erzurum, Hemshin, Istanbul, etc.) group, to which Adjarian adds a third branch including the dialects of Maragha, Khoy, and Artvin.

241
●231 TRADITIONAL ECONOMY: Agriculture; viniculture; in the mountains: cattle-breeding; commerce and art crafts.
438

195 RELIGION: Armenian-Gregorian; there are a Roman Catholic (Uniate) and a Protestant minority. The Khemshin (Hemshin, Hemshili) on the Black Sea coast near the Turkish border (629 in 1926, Russian census) are Muslim.

197 status of a literary language; the written language is based on the E dialect. In the North-Ossetian ASSR the Cyrillic, in the South-Ossetian AO the Georgian alphabe is used.

SUBDIVISIONS: The Ossetian dialects, which follow tribal divisions, are subdivided into a Western (Digor) and an Eastern branch (Tagaur, Kurtat, and Allagir). The dialect of the S Ossetes (Tual) is a sub-dialect of Tagaur.

231
241 TRADITIONAL ECONOMY: Cattle-breeding; some agriculture.

795 RELIGION: Eastern Orthodox, except the Digor, who are Muslim (Sunni).

## 39. TALYSH

101 NAME: SELF-DESIGNATION: Tolysh.
ENGLISH VARIANTS: Talysh, Talish.
RUSSIAN DESIGNATIONS: Talyshi, Talyshintsy.

161 NUMBER: 1897 35,291 (Russian census)
1926 77,323 (Russian census, ethn.)
80,629 (Russian census, ling.)
1931 89,398 (Azerb. upravl. nar.-khoz. ucheta.)
In Iran: 50,000 (estimate, B. V. Miller)

162 LOCATION: Along Caspian coast S of the River Viliazh-chai (rayons Lenkoran', Zuvand, Astara, and part of Massala, Azerbaidzhan SSR), extending into Persian territory up to Kepri-chal.

197 LANGUAGE: Talysh (Tolysha zyvon), like Tat, is a member of the NW subdivision of the Iranian branch of the Indo-European language-family, to which branch also belong Persian, and, in the Caucasus, Ossetian and Kurdish. The Talysh in the USSR are all bilingual and speak also Azeri, which is used as the literary language.

241 231 TRADITIONAL ECONOMY: Agriculture; horticulture; stock-raising; home industry.

795 RELIGION: Islam (Shii).

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162 LOCATION: Geographical: Transcaucasia, Northern Caucasus along the Caspian Sea (northward as far as Derbent), northwestern Persia, southern Kurdistan (Iraq).

Political-Administrative: USSR: Azerbaidzhan SSR, Georgian SSR, Dagestan ASSR. Persia: Rizaiyeh, Azerbaijan, Khamseh, Kazvin, Ardelan provinces. Iraq: Erbil, Kirkuk, Sülaimaniya provinces.

197 LANGUAGE: Azeri Turkic; belongs to the Western Oghuz Turkic group and differs very little from Turkish and the Kashkay-Hamse languages; literary language since the 14th century; lingua franca in Transcaucasia, Dagestan ASSR, and northern Persia.

SUBDIVISIONS: Tribal: Settled Azeris; Nomadic Azeris (Iliyat). Dialectal: Northern (USSR); Southern (Persia).

244 231 438 TRADITIONAL ECONOMY: Agriculture; cattle-breeding; commerce; industry.

795 RELIGION: Islam (Shii, Sunni).

162 (Location, continued)
Political-Administrative: Northern Caucasus: Stavropol' Krai (northern rayons), Rostov Oblast (southeastern rayons); Central Asia: Turkmen SSR, Kara-Kalpak ASSR, Afghanistan, Persia.

197 LANGUAGE: Turkoman; constitutes Eastern Oghuz Turkic; most nearly related Turkic language group: Western Oghuz Turkic (Turkish, Azeri, Kashkay-Hamse); several dialects agreeing with tribal subdivisions; literary language based on the dialect of Yomuts; literary language since the 18th century.

SUBDIVISIONS: Tribal: Trukhmen (Northern Caucasus); Teke, Yomut, Ersari, Sarik (Turkmen SSR); Chaudur (Kara-Kalpak ASSR); Salir (Afghanistan); Göklen (Persia)

• 231 241 TRADITIONAL ECONOMY: Cattle-breeding; agriculture.

795 RELIGION: Islam (Sunni).

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RH1

197 SUBDIVISIONS: Geographical: Karapapak of Akhalkalaki and Leninakan (USSR); Karapapak of Sulduz (Persia).

231 TRADITIONAL ECONOMY: Cattle-breeding and some agriculture.

795 RELIGION: Islam (Shii, Sunni)

## 45. KUMUK

101 NAME: SELF-DESIGNATION: Kumuklar
ENGLISH VARIANTS: Kumyk
RUSSIAN DESIGNATION: Kumyki
TURKISH DESIGNATION: Kumuklar

161 NUMBER: 1926 94,549 (Russian cens. ethn.)
94,909 (Russian cens. ling.)

162 LOCATION: Geographical: The northeastern slopes of the Greater Caucasus along the Aksai, Sulak, Shura, and Gubden rivers, and along the Caspian coast from Adzhi-Su to Derbent.

Political-Administrative: Dagestan ASSR (Makhachkala, Buynaksk, Izberbash, and Derbent okrugs), Groznyi Oblast (southern parts of the former Kizliar Okrug).

197 LANGUAGE: Kumuk; belongs to the Kipchak Turkic group, together with Crimean Turkic, Karachay, Balkar, Noghay, Kazan Turkic, Kazak, etc.); literary language since the 19th century; lingua franca in Dagestan ASSR northward from Derbent.

241 231 226 TRADITIONAL ECONOMY: Agriculture; cattle-breeding; fishing.

795 RELIGION: Islam (Sunni).

162 between the upper Kuban' and Urup rivers. Crimean SSR (before 1945): Northern Crimea, Perekop. Bulgaria: Dobruja, Deli Orman area.

Political-Administrative: USSR: Groznyi Oblast (former Kizliar and Achikulak okrugs), Astrakhan Oblast (rayons along the Kuma and Volga rivers), Cherkes AO (Abazino-Nogai rayon), Crimean ASSR (before 1945). Bulgaria: former Shumen district.

197 LANGUAGE: Noghay; belongs to the Kipchak-Turkic language group, together with North Crimean Turkic, Karachay, Balkar, Kumuk, Kazan Turkic, Kazak, etc., literary language (since the Soviet period) based on the White Noghay, Black Noghay, and Central Noghay dialects; the other Noghay groups have given up the Noghay language.

SUBDIVISIONS: Dialectal: Black Noghay, Central Noghay (Groznyi Oblast, southern rayons of the Astrakhan Oblast); the Noghays of Crimea and those of Dobruja (Bulgaria) have given up their language in favor of South Crimean Turkic, whereas the Noghays around Astrakhan today speak Kazan Turkic.

231 241 TRADITIONAL ECONOMY: Cattle-breeding; agriculture (Bulgaria).

795 RELIGION: Islam (Sunni).

## 47. KARACHAY

101 NAME: SELF-DESIGNATION: Karachayla
RUSSIAN DESIGNATION: Karachaitsy,
TURKISH DESIGNATION: Karaçaylar

161 NUMBER: 1897 27,233 (Russian census)
1926 55,123 (Russian census, ethn.)
55,349 (Russian census, ling.)
1939 75,737 (Russian census)

162 Distribution: Deported from the Caucasus in 1943. Present location unknown.

LOCATION: Geographical: Before 1943, on the northern slopes of the Greater Caucasus along the headwaters of the Kuban', Teberda, Zelenchuk, Laba, and Podkumok rivers.

Political-Administrative: Before 1943: Karachai AO.

197 LANGUAGE: Karachay; belongs to the Kipchak Turkic language group (which includes Crimean Turkic, Kumuk, Noghay, Kazan Turkic, Kazak, etc.), and is almost identical with Balkar; as a literary language, a common Karachay-Balkar language was used which was created in the Soviet period.

231 241 TRADITIONAL ECONOMY: Cattle-breeding; agriculture; handicrafts.

795 RELIGION: Islam (Sunni).

## 48. BALKAR

101 NAME: SELF-DESIGNATION: Malkarla
RUSSIAN DESIGNATION: Balkary
TURKISH DESIGNATIONS: Malkarlar, Balkarlar.

161 NUMBER: 1897 34,232 (Russian census)
1926 33,307 (Russian census, ethn.)
33,276 (Russian census, ling.)
1939 42,666 (Russian census)

162 Distribution: Deported from the Caucasus in 1943, present location unknown.

LOCATION: Georgraphical: Before 1943, on the northern slopes of the Greater Caucasus along the upper course of the Baksan, Chegem, and Cherek rivers.
Political-Administrative: Before 1943: Kabardino-Balkar Autonomous SSR (Balkar rayon).

197 LANGUAGE: Balkar; belongs to the Kipchak Turkic language group, along with Crimean Turkic, Kumuk, Noghay, Kazan Turkic, Kazak etc.) and is almost identical with Karachay; as a literary language, a common Karachay-Balkar language was used, which was created in the Soviet period.

• 231 241 TRADITIONAL ECONOMY: Cattle-breeding and some agriculture.

79 RELIGION: Islam (Sunni).

7: Columbia U. S-4, 5 1956 RHI Caucasia RHI
European Kalmyk

162 Ala-shan area, Ch'ing Hai province, China).

197 LANGUAGE: Kalmyk (Oirot) constitutes the W group of the Mongolian family of Altaic. It has a literary tradition going back to the 16th century.

SUBDIVISIONS: Dialects: Dörwöt, Torghūt (Torgout), and Buzāwa. Tribes: Torghūt, Khoshūt, Dörwöt (Dörböt, Dürbät, divided by the Russian Administration into the Great and Little Dörwöt), Khöit (Khōt), Tsoros, Dzūn-ghar ("left-wing army", "eastern") The Torghūt have always been considered the leading tribe.

[619]

233 231 226 TRADITIONAL ECONOMY: Nomadic pastoralism; sedentary stock-raising; (on the Volga:) fishing.

795 RELIGION: Lamaist Buddhism; (Sart-Kalmyk:) Islam (Sunni).

## 50. AISOR

101 NAME: SELF-DESIGNATION: Surai
ENGLISH VARIANTS: Chald(a)eans, Syrochald(a)eans, Assyrians.
RUSSIAN DESIGNATIONS: Aisory, Assiriitsy, Assuriitsy.
OTHER DISIGNATIONS: (Georgian:) Kaldeveli.

161 NUMBER:

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 1897 | 5,353 | (Russian census) |
| 1926 | 9,808 | (Russian census, ethn.) |
| | 15,476 | (Russian census, ling.) |
| 1939 | 20,200 | (Russian census) |

162 LOCATION: Concentrated near Erevan', also scattered in other regions of Transcaucasia. Outside USSR: Iraq (esp. in Tur Abdin) and NW Iran.

197 LANGUAGE: Aisor is a New-Syrian dialect, belonging to the Aramaic subdivision of the Semitic language-family. Aisor has the status of a literary language in the USSR.

241 231 TRADITIONAL ECONOMY: Agriculture; cattle-breeding; crafts.

795 RELIGION: Nestorian and Jacobite Christian.

C. G. 245 [251] pomegranates) are grown in abundance. They are preserved in sugar by a boiling-down process. C. G. 244 Important vegetables are lentils, beans, peas, onions, eggplants, celery, garlic, fennel, mustard and several kinds of cucurbitaceous plants. C. G. 231 The raising of silkworms is common, especially in the West. Beekeeping is widespread; hollwed-out logs are used as beehives; these are covered against the rain with pieces of bark or straw mats. Honey is also gathered from wild beees. C. G. 224 Hunting is of some importance in the highlands (deer, rabbits, fowl); it is traditionally engaged in by herdsmen, who take turns watching the herds. C. G. 226 Fishing is of importance only on the Black Sea coast and on the lower course of the rivers running into it.

C. G. 231 Because of the lack of pasture land, cattle-breeding is less important in the Georgian lowlands than it is in the mountains. The Georgians keep buffaloes, oxen, pigs, horses, donkeys, mules, goats and sheep. The latter usually are of the fat-tail variety, except among the Svan. C. G. 233 221 In summer, the herds are taken to the mountain pastures by herdsmen. The herds are led by a billy goat and are kept together by goats; dogs accompany the herds only as protectors against wolves. To keep the latter at a distance, fires are kept going during the night.

Cattle and sheep breeding have a greater relative importance for the Svan and especially the Pshav and Tush. The latter are predominantly seminomadic herdsmen; the men

C. G. 233 221 spend the winter in the steppes of the lower Alazani river with their herds of sheep. On the other hand, the Tush living on the Lower Alazani, and also the Bats, move with their families to the mountain pastures in summer, where they live in huts, sunk into the ground and covered with slates. The indigenous means of transportation is a clumsy two-wheeled cart (uremi) drawn by a pair of oxen or buffaloes. The large wooden disk wheels are firmly joined to the axle-tree. In the mountains, sledges are used to carry in the hay. In a peculiar vehicle called chochiala uremi rolling and sliding are combined: the ends of two long poles attached to the yoke, which slide on the ground, serve the purpose of a pair of front wheels.

C. G. 493

C. G. 231 241 The traditional economy of the North-West Caucasian peoples (Abkhaz and Circassians) was based on horse and cattle breeding, agriculture (millet, maize, wheat, rye) some horticulture, beekeeping and (Abkhaz) wine growing. The Abkhaz methods in these activities are the same as the Georgian. Formerly, their economy was largely pastoral, but in the second half of the nineteenth century they became more agricultural. The country is better suited to agriculture, though horse and sheep raising are still important. The Western Circassians, too, were more dependent on cattle-breeding before their forced migration from the mountains to the lowlands of the Kuban. The Kabardians are still mainly sheep-, cattle-, and especially horse-breeders: the Kabardian horses are famous for their

C. G. 231 241 beauty and stamina. Apiculture is also widespread among the Circassians; their beehives, contrary to those of the Georgians and Abkhaz, are similar to those found in Central Europe; they are made of bast or of plaited willow-twigs which are covered with clay or cow-dung.

C. D. 233 In Dagestan, stock-raising is preponderant (sheep, goats, cows, horses, donkeys, buffaloes). In winter, the herds are usually brought to the steppe-country in the South or to the Caspian coast area. C. D. 241 The southeast, i. e. the country of the Lezghi, is comparatively better suited for agriculture, but it is practiced even in the more elevated regions. Wheat, barley and millet are grown in small fields, situated on natural or artificial terraces, which often require artificial irrigation. C D [40] The ground is cultivated with a local kind of light plough called durats, puruts, etc. which only scrapes the soil superficially. As most of the fields require manuring, the constant removing of stones, and even restoring of the soil, which has to be carried up by hand, farming involves hard labor. C. D. 438 As the production of grain has never covered the needs of the population, home-industry is highly developed in Dagestan. C. D. [286] Everywhere the women do their own spinning and weaving. The spinning wheel is unknown; the looms for carpet-weaving differ from those for the weaving of coarse cloth out of homespun wool and of hemp-cloth used for sacks. Many crafts are practiced beyond the

311
248 is low and cannot be compared with that of Central Asia. In the South Caucasus it is cultivated in irrigated areas. The most important cotton fields are along the Kura and Aras Rivers (Azerbaijan, Nakhichevan' ASSR, Armenia) in which cotton is rotated mostly with alfalfa. Eastern Azerbaijan cultivates especially the long-staple cotton. In other areas of the South Caucasus Kakhetia is trying to introduce cotton. In the North Caucasus cotton cultivation is centered in three distinct areas. One is the coastal area along the Sea of Azov. This area reaches almost to Krasnodar and Rostov and cultivates cotton with dry methods. The second area is in eastern parts of the Stavropol' Oblast, in the middle belt of the Groznyy Oblast and in the northern parts of Dagestan. Cultivation here too is based mostly on dry methods, only the fields around Kizlyar and Khasavyurt being irrigated. The third cotton-growing area of the North Caucasus is the Akhtuba region and the Volga Delta.

Northern Hemp: Occurs in the Kabardian and North Ossetian republics.

Kendyr': A domesticated fiber plant from Central Asia cultivated mostly in the northern parts of the Krasnodar Kray and in the western parts of the Stavropol' Kray. The plant is used in the manufacture of a very resistant cloth.

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231 Maulberry: The trees necessary for silk culture are cultivated especially in the

1/A [Sic. Mulberry?-- Analyst]

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231 South Caucasus: in Middle Azerbaijan; around the cities and town like Zakataly, Nukha, Yevlakh, Kirovabad, Barda, Udzhary, Mir-Bashir, Shusha. One also finds a very important center of silk culture in Kolkhida and Imeretia along the Tbilisi-Sukhumi railroad line.

311 Kenaf: A recently introduced fiber plant
248 from India and used as a substitute for jute is cultivated on a commercial scale only in the North Caucasus. The main area of cultivation is Krasnodar Kray around the Adyge AO where it was first cultivated. In addition to this it occurs in the western parts of the Stavropol' Kray, in Dagestan along the Caspian coast, and in the vicinity of Kuba (Azerbaijan). Less important are the kenaf fields in the North Ossetian Republic and along the Akhtuba River.

Ramie or Chinese Nettle: Another recently introduced fiber plant, cultivated nowadays on commercial scale in Kolkhida, north and southward of Mikha-Tskhakaya. To a smaller extent it is well known in the Lenkoran' Lowland as well.

311 Castor bean: This plant is cultivated in
249 the North Caucasus, especially in the steppes of the Krasnodar Kray, in the southern parts of Rostov Oblast, in the northern parts of Stavropol' Kray, in Dagestan around Derbent, and in the northeastern corner of Azerbaijan around the town of Kuba.

a. 13 Northern Hemp, Kendyr', Silk Culture

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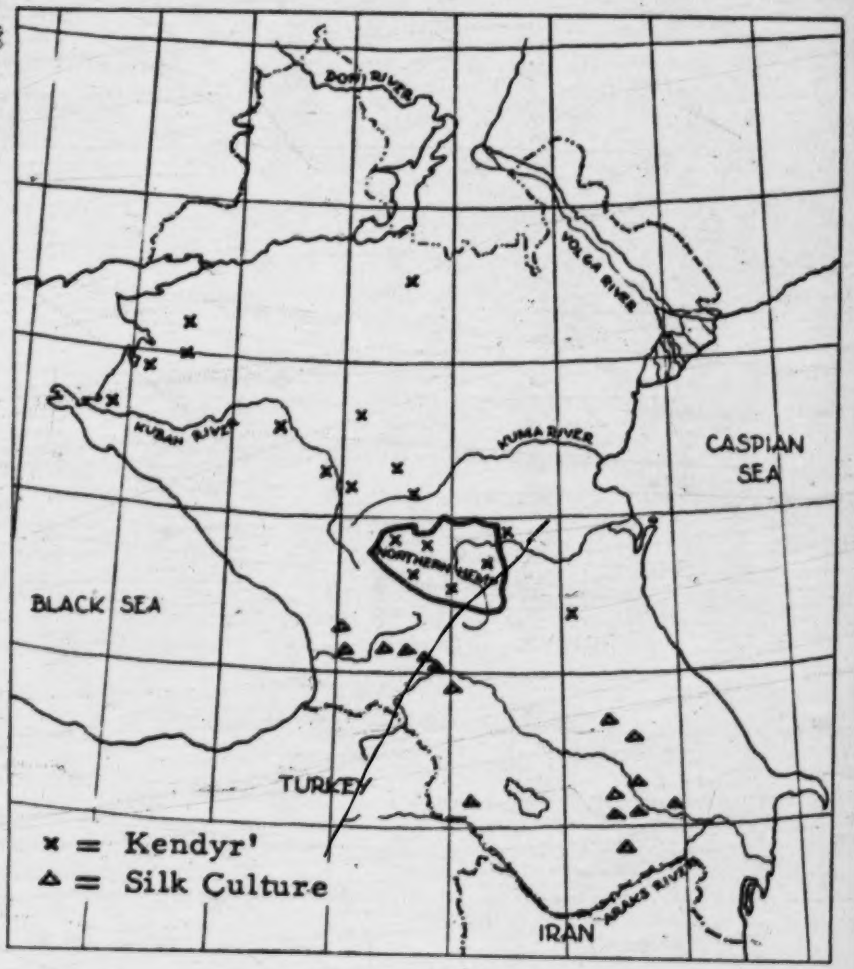

311
231 Azerbaijan SSR: The lowlands along the Kura and Aras Rivers are the most important winter grazing grounds, not only for Azerbaijan, but for Armenia as well. Of the sub-units, North Karabakh specializes in cattle, sheep, and mules, whereas Nakhichevan' ASSR raises primarily sheep, for the most part in the mountains.

Armenian SSR: Important especially for its summer grazing grounds, on which the livestock of both Armenia and Azerbaijan depend. Armenia is famous for its cheese.

Georgian SSR: Mountain pastures are the basis of Georgian stock-raising, which is important in all the sub-units except the Abkhaz ASSR where, due to health resorts and extensive growing of subtropical crops, only dairy farming has survived.

Astrakhan' Oblast: This area is rich in herds of cattle and sheep, raised mostly for meat and mutton. Camels are used extensively as a means of transportation.

Groznyy Oblast: Stock-raising is concentrated in the mountains (cattle and goats) and in the northern steppe areas (sheep-raising).

Dagestan ASSR: Stock-raising constitutes the main economic activity only in the mountains which are rich in Alpine pastures.

Stavropol' Kray: Livestock-raising is typical for the bulk of the kray. In the southern and southwestern corner, in the health resort section, dairy-farming is practiced. Of

311 the sub-units the Cherkess AO especially is a
231 livestock-raising area. In the Kabardian ASSR, the principal stock raised is in the plain poultry, whereas the mountain pastures are devoted primarily to livestock, which latter also holds for the pastures of the North Ossetian ASSR.

Krasnodar Kray: The Kuban area and the steppe area are among the most active cattle-raising areas of the Caucasus. On the Black Sea coast dairy farming is common, centered especially around Gelendzhik. The Adyge AO is famous for good horses.

Rostov Oblast: Along the lower Don and in the Taganrog-Rostov-Shakhty area, the principal stock raised is dairy cattle. In the southern and southeastern parts of the oblast (i. e., in the Sal Steppe), beef cattle and horses are raised, whereas the eastern parts raise sheep.

*

311 The distribution of the individual kinds
234 of stock over the entire Caucasus is as follows:

Dairy cattle: Chiefly raised in the western third of the North Caucasus. In addition to this area, dairy-cattle raising is common in the mountains of the Stavropol' Kray (especially around the health resorts), and in the Groznyy Oblast.

311 Beef cattle: Typical especially for the
231 dry areas of the North Caucasus, and for the whole of Trans-Caucasia. Areas with the most

7: Columbia U. S-4, 5 1956 RHl Caucasia
RHl

311
231 extensive beef-cattle raising are: the Rostov Oblast, the Stavropol' Kray (in both cases the eastern parts), and the Astrakhan Oblast.

Goats: Goats are common in the South Caucasus, in the mountainous areas of the Armenian and Georgian republics. They are also bred in the mountains of the North Caucasus.

Horses: Relatively few and raised chiefly around the Lower Don, in the Kuban Lowland (Adyge AO) and in the mountainous parts of the Stavropol' Kray.

Mules, donkeys: These animals are chiefly bred in the South Caucasus, and along the slopes of the Greater Caucasus.

Camels: Are bred as transportation animals in Astrakhan' Oblast and adjacent areas.

Merino sheep: Several varieties of the Merino sheep are bred almost everywhere in the Caucasus. It is especially raised for its fine wool.

Karakul sheep: This breed of sheep native to Bukhara is bred in the Astrakhan' Oblast, in the southwestern parts of the Krasnodar Kray, and in the Armenian SSR, around Yerevan and Leninakan.

Mutton sheep: Sheep raised solely for mutton are rare in the Caucasus and are chiefly in the northern parts of the Astrakhan' Oblast.

Mutton-dairy sheep: Bred especially in the South Caucasus in the mountains of the Armenian, Georgian, Azerbaijan republics,

311
231 in Nakhichevan' ASSR, and in the area around Baku; in the North Caucasus the Stavropol' Kray is the only noteworthy area. In the southwestern parts of the Stavropol' Kray, the Karachay sheep is raised, whereas the northeastern parts prefer the Volosh sheep.

Hogs: Are raised mostly in the Western Caucasus; and sporadically in the Eastern Caucasus, although this is primarily a Muslim area.

Silkworms: Raised only in the South Caucasus, to wit, in Azerbaijan, in High Karabakh AO and in Western Georgia.

a[1].1 Dairy Cattle, Beef Cattle, Camels

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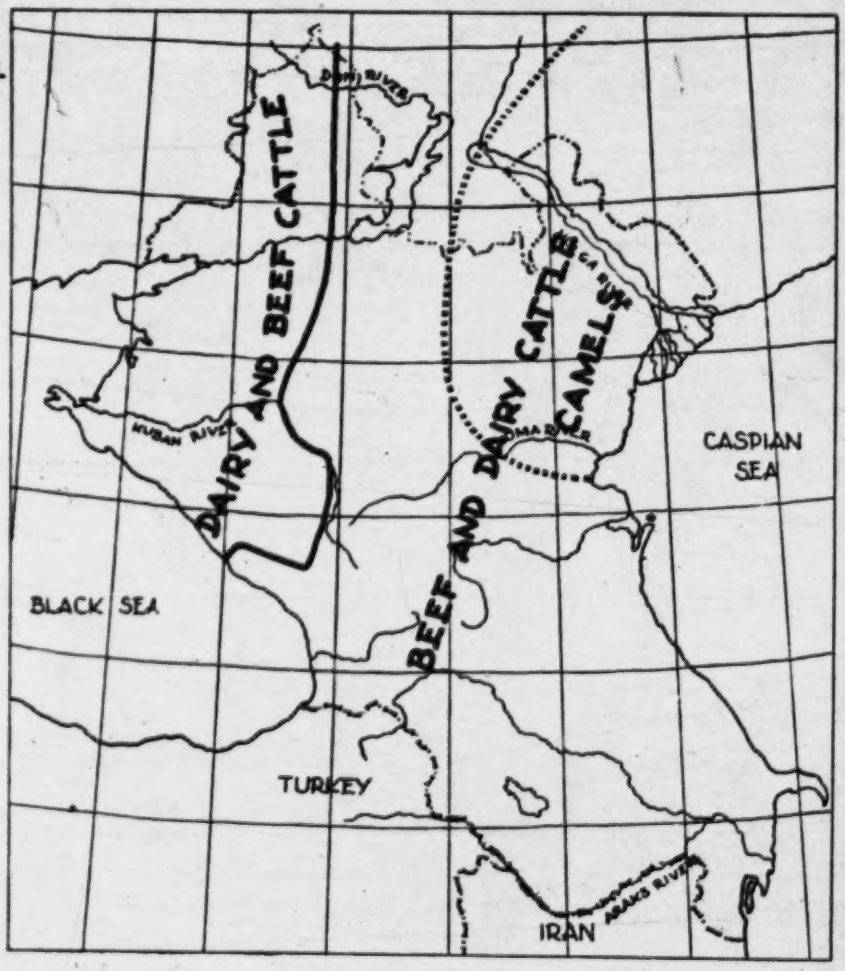

a[1].2 Merino Sheep, Karakul Sheep, Mutton Sheep, Mutton-Dairy Sheep

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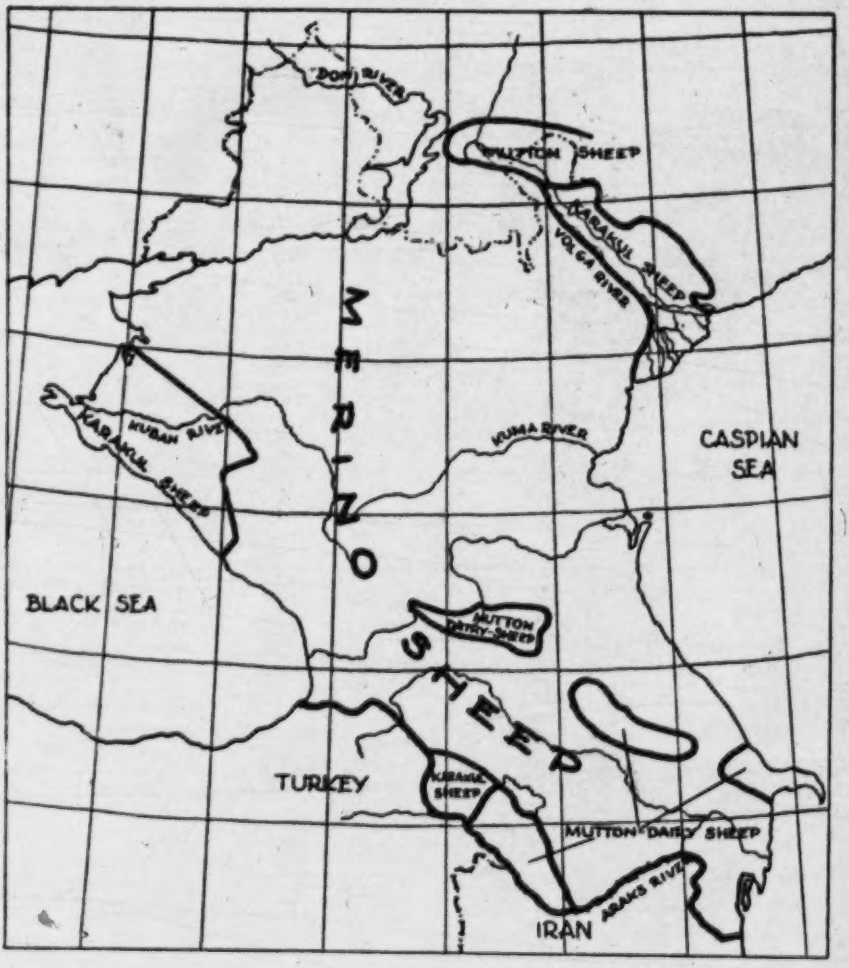
231



$a^1$, 3 Hogs

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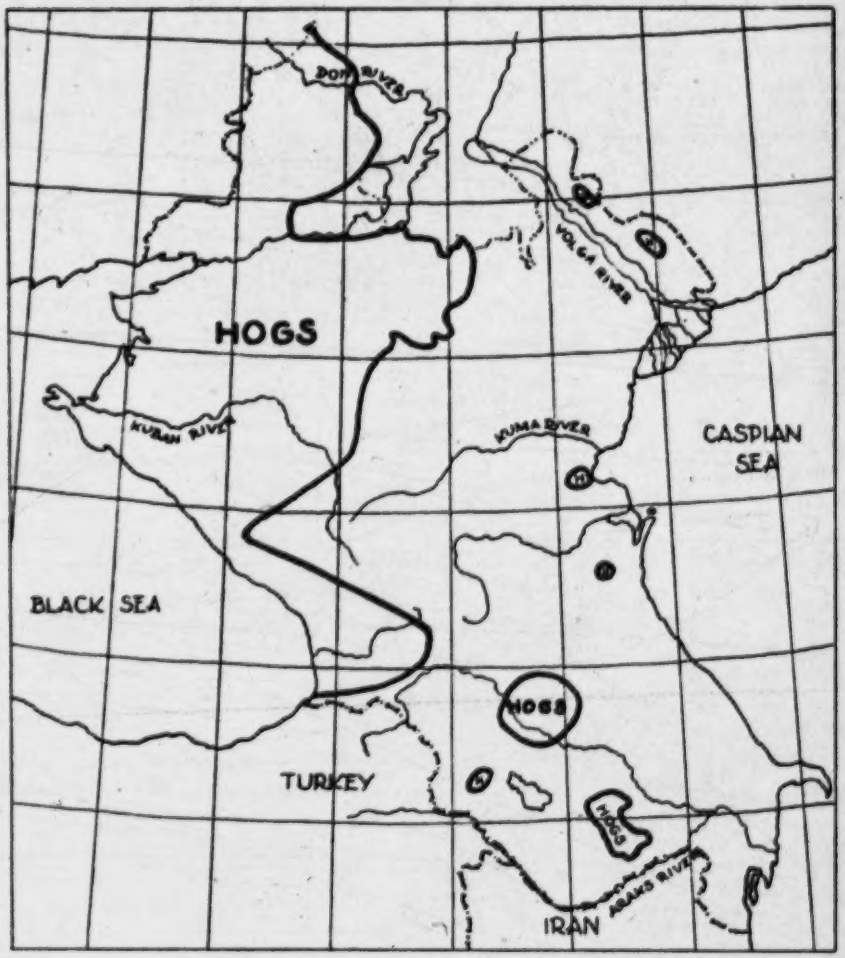

# a1.4 Silkworms

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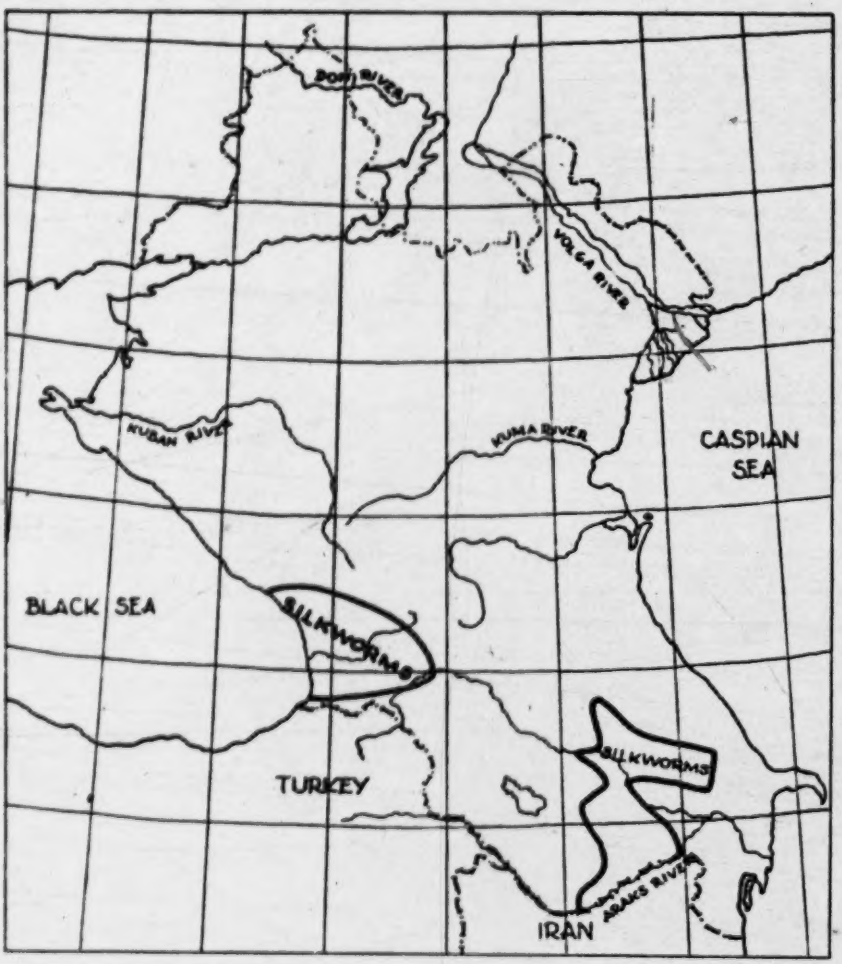

23: Shabad N-4 (no date) 1951 Rl Soviet Union Rl
Caucasia RH1
Azerbaijan RK1



SU 311 241 C 311 241

pasture land, including the dry lowland steppe areas (used in the winter) and the mountain meadows (used in the summer). Only one fourth of the total area is under cultivation. The principal crops are garden fruits (apples, pears, apricots, peaches, plums, chestnuts, walnuts, and almonds) and subtropical products such as tea and citrus fruits along the Black Sea coast. Sericulture and viticulture are also important. Transcaucasia is the second most important cotton producer of the USSR; the principal cotton areas are in the dry, gray-soil lowlands of the Aras and the Kura, where the most extensive irrigation systems have been developed. In Abkhazia tobacco is grown, and the flooded lowlands of eastern and southern Transcaucasia are suitable for the cultivation of rice. Grains are subordinated in favor of the more specialized industrial and subtropical crops. Livestock is generally driven over great distances, from the winter pastures in the dry steppes to the mountains, where the Alpine meadows furnish excellent summer fodder. This nomadic type of livestock raising is gradually making way for more intensive, sedentary methods, since the dry steppes are gradually being irrigated, and large areas are coming under fodder crops. Sheep and cattle form the principal herds. Horses are few, and they are replaced partly by water buffaloes (for farm work) and partly by camels, mules, and donkeys (for transportation).

SU 231 C 231

SU 496 C 496

The basic railroads are the Batumi-Baku line, with a large number of branches and spurs, including the coastal railways along the Black and the Caspian seas, and the southern branch, which links Tbilisi and Baku via Dzhul'fa and the Aras valley. The Transcaucasian railway system provides connections with the Turkish rail network at Leninakan, and from Dzhul'fa a line goes south to Tabriz (Iran), with an ultimate extension to Tehran. Most of the lines have been electrified or are in process of electrification. Transportation in the higher sections has to rely on highways, among which the Sukhumi, the Ossetian, and the Georgian military roads across the Greater Caucasus range are most noteworthy. Due to the mountainous character of the river courses, inland navigation is negligible.

## Azerbaijan Soviet Socialist Republic

**Capital, Baku; area, 33,100, population, 3,100,000**

SU 133* A 133

The Azerbaijan (or Azerbaydzhan) SSR lies in the eastern section of Transcaucasia, on the Caspian Sea. It includes the southeastern spurs of the Greater Caucasus, which terminates in the Apsheron peninsula,

[825 cont.]

Iranians (cf. p. 674 f. [untranslated]) and accordingly are called by the Tatar āzade khalkh' or khelaiq (= free people), as are all Lezgin, in contrast to the Tāt, who are called raiyat khelaiq (= subject people). Their name is related to that of the central Asian Tajik (see Vol. II, 1, pp. 412 ff.), and their language is close [Fig. 504 appears here] [826] to modern Persian; it is also spoken by the mountain Jews in Dagestan and on the Terek. In their old cemeteries and near their villages there are isolated ruins of buildings that indicate Christianity in former times. Their relatives, the Talysh in humid, hot Lenkoran on the Caspian Sea, surrounded by Azerbaijani and Tatars, speak another variety of modern Persian that is supposed to contain much Old Persian.

563

[192]

As late as the first half of the nineteenth century, a remnant of the Old Persians, adherents of the teachings of Zoroaster or Zerdusht, the Geber, lived on the plain of Surakhane or Ateshga (= fire-land) near Baku, where a temple stood, in which they worshiped the eternal fire fed by a natural gas source. They had moved here from Persia after they had been driven from there and their main temple on the mountain near Yesd destroyed; they gradually

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Fig. 504. Two-wheeled carriage, Baku region.

7: Columbia U. S-4, 5 1956 RHl CaucasiaRHl

538 4 Bagraev, Sozur Kurmanovich
1888-1928. Poet of Sev. Oset. oblast'. Wrote in Digor dialect Dver' serdtsa, lyric poems, 1908

BE II 4:25

701 2 Bagramian, Ivan Khristoforovich
646 1897- in Kirovabad. Began as squadron commander in Ararat valley, 1922. Finished Frunze acad. mil. in Moscow. 1941 col. in Ukraine; 1943 cracked Bryansk front; became asst. chief of Timoshenko; fought at Khar'kov. Order of Kutuzov; commander of Baltic army (the only non-Russian to command a Red Army front-Curr. Biogr.) Won victory at Vitebsk, January 27, 1944. Deputy to VS SSSR 1-3 sozyv. Deputy chief of staff 1941 1945.

BE II 4:25
Curr. Biogr. 1944, p. 27-28
Curr. Digest news 9'55, 8-10

232 2 Bagratian, Malkhas Galustovich
645 Stalin prize 3. class, 1950 for new breed of rabbits. Minister of Agriculture Arm. SSR, 1950

Laur. Stalin prem. 1950
p. 59

815 3 Kalandzade, Antifor Dmitrievich
Stalin prize 3. class, engineer, geologist

Laur. Stalin. prem. 1950
p. 35

• 232 2 Kalantar, Avetis Airapetovich
1859-1937. Agriculture expert; educated in Moscow; instrumental in creating dairy business in Vologda. Since 1930 head of dairy industry of Erevan zooveterinary inst.

BE II 19:393

546 1 Kalatozov, Mikhail Konstantinovich
1903-. Georgian movie producer; wrote: Litso Golivuda. Stalin prize in 1951.

BE II, 19:394

341 1 Kal'gin, Anatolii Nikolaevich
1875-1943. Lived in Georgia since 1907. Architect interested in Georgian style; built Tiflis public library along traditional Georgian forms.

BE II 19:460

• 232 3 Khachaturovna, Mosesian Margo
Born in Nagorno-Karabakhskaia oblast, 1925. Veterinarian; since 1953 in kolkhoz im. Stalin in Martuninskii raion. Unsuccessful candidate Sov. Nats. VS SSSR 4. sozyv, 1954.

Bak. Rab. 2/18/54.

536 5 Khadzhieva, Tashu
20. c. Chechen actress

BE I 61:535

538 5 Chakurate, S.
Famous Cherkessian author; head of Gorskii ispolkom 1921.

BE I 61:254

759 5 Khanene, Filipp Semenovich
815
Stalin prize 3. class, 1950, for combatting bacillary dysentery. Head of laboratory of Vsesoiuz, nauch. issled. khimiko-farmatseut. inst. im. S. Ordzhonikidze.

Laur. Stalin. prem. 1950
p. 65

538 5 Khatkov, Akhmet 1902-
Rec'd prizes at the North-Caucasian Olympics of national arts; writes poems, stories of con-

7: Columbia U. S-4, 5 1956 RH1 Caucasia
RH1

815
1 Natishvili, Aleksandr Nikolaevich, 1878- Anatomist; member of Akad. nauk. Gruz. SSR since 1944. Member of CP since 1945. Teaches at med. faculty of Tiflis univ. Wrote anatomical nomenclature, and anatomy textbooks in Georgian.

BE II 29:229

646
232 1 Natroshvili, Archil Georgievich Deputy to Sov. Nats. VS SSSR (4. s'ezd, 1954) Born in Zemo-Machkhaani, 1905- Agricultural specialist; since 1949 director of Gruz. nauch. issled. inst. zhivotnovodstva; in 1952 introduced new breed of sheep for which he rec'd Stalin prize.

Bak. Rab. 3/19/54
Zar. Vost. 2/13/54

646
3 Nazirova, Mina Bashir-kyzy Deputy to Sov. Nats. VS SSSR (4. sozyv, 1954.)

Bak. Rab. 3/19/54

3: Anonymous U-4 (no date) 1920 RH1 Caucasia RH1



7,000 tons; buckwheat, 21,000 acres, 7,000 tons; 241
lentils, beans, and haricots, 20,000 acres, 5,300 tons; peas, 9,000 acres, 3,000 tons. Ramie fibre and attar of roses are produced on the Black Sea coast.

*Live-stock and Animal Products.*—Owing to the ten- 231
dency to convert pasture into arable land, there has been a great decrease in the numbers of live-stock raised in Caucasia of late years. To this rule, however, the Jevat and Geokchai districts in Baku Government present an exception; for cattle and horse raising has there been developed into an important industry, the profit obtained in the former region in 1914 being estimated at £70,000. In 1913 the total area devoted to [233] pasturage, which is situated in the steppes and on the mountain slopes up to an elevation of 9,000 ft., was 3,700,000 acres, and the animals in the country comprised 6,327,000 head of cattle, 2,135,000 horses, 13,336,000 sheep and goats, and 1,215,000 pigs. The largest numbers of animals are found in Kuban and Terek; there were in 1912 nearly 4,500,000 of all kinds in the former province and nearly 3,500,000 in the latter.

*Buffaloes* and a small breed of *oxen* are bred in large [492] numbers; they are used as draught animals, and in some districts as beasts of burden and for ploughing. The best breed of buffaloes is reared in the Governments of Elisavetopol and Kutais.

*Horses* are raised in other southern districts of Baku besides those already named, and on the Karabagh steppe, which extends from Baku into Elisavetopol; in the valley of the Terek and the Kabarda districts near Vladikavkaz; and in the Provinces of Kuban and Stavropol. A breed of mountain ponies is reared in Kutais. There are numerous private studs.

*Camels*, which are bred in the south-eastern provinces, [492] are used chiefly as pack animals in the transport of goods to and from Persia, but occasionally also for draught purposes.

Great numbers of *sheep* and *goats* are bred on the 231
steppes and plateaux and in the hill districts. The 236

197 LANGUAGE: Kurdish (Kurmandzhi) is a member of the SW subdivision of the Iranian branch of the Indo-European language family, to which branch belong also Persian and in the Caucasus Ossetian, Tat, and Talysh.

SUBDIVISIONS: There are two main groups of dialects, a northern (Kurmandzhi) and a southern (Kurdi).

233 241 TRADITIONAL ECONOMY: Partly nomadic pastoralism, partly agriculture.

795 RELIGION: Islam (Sunni, with a Shii minority); Yezidi (concentrated near Leninakan and near Echmiadzin).

7: Columbia U. S-4, 5 1956 RHI Caucasia RHI
Kalmyk

162 Ala-shan area, Ch'ing Hai province, China).

197 LANGUAGE: Kalmyk (Oirot) constitutes the W group of the Mongolian family of Altaic. It has a literary tradition going back to the 16th century.

SUBDIVISIONS: Dialects: Dörwöt, Torghūt (Torgout), and Buzāwa. Tribes: Torghūt, Khoshūt, Dörwöt (Dörböt, Dürbät, divided by the Russian Administration into the Great and Little Dörwöt), Khöit (Khöt), Tsoros, Dzūn-ghar ("left-wing army", "eastern") The Torghūt have always been considered the leading tribe.

[619]

233 231 226 TRADITIONAL ECONOMY: Nomadic pastoralism; sedentary stock-raising; (on the Volga:) fishing.

795 RELIGION: Lamaist Buddhism; (Sart-Kalmyk:) Islam (Sunni).

E. G. 245 [251] pomegranates) are grown in abundance. They are preserved in sugar by a boiling-down process. E. G. 244 Important vegetables are lentils, beans, peas, onions, eggplants, celery, garlic, fennel, mustard and several kinds of cucurbitaceous plants. E. G. 231 The raising of silkworms is common, especially in the West. Beekeeping is widespread; hollwed-out logs are used as beehives; these are covered against the rain with pieces of bark or straw mats. Honey is also gathered from wild beees. E. G. 224 Hunting is of some importance in the highlands (deer, rabbits, fowl); it is traditionally engaged in by herdsmen, who take turns watching the herds. E. G. 226 Fishing is of importance only on the Black Sea coast and on the lower course of the rivers running into it.

C. G. 231 Because of the lack of pasture land, cattle-breeding is less important in the Georgian lowlands than it is in the mountains. The Georgians keep buffaloes, oxen, pigs, horses, donkeys, mules, goats and sheep. The latter usually are of the fat-tail variety, except among the Svan. C. G. 233 221 In summer, the herds are taken to the mountain pastures by herdsmen. The herds are led by a billy goat and are kept together by goats; dogs accompany the herds only as protectors against wolves. To keep the latter at a distance, fires are kept going during the night.

Cattle and sheep breeding have a greater relative importance for the Svan and especially the Pshav and Tush. The latter are predominantly seminomadic herdsmen; the men

C. G. 233 221 spend the winter in the steppes of the lower Alazani river with their herds of sheep. On the other hand, the Tush living on the Lower Alazani, and also the Bats, move with their families to the mountain pastures in summer, where they live in huts, sunk into the ground and covered with slates. The indigenous means of transportation is a clumsy two-wheeled cart (uremi) drawn by a pair of oxen or buffaloes. The large wooden disk wheels are firmly joined to the axle-tree. In the mountains, sledges are used to carry in the hay. In a peculiar vehicle called chochiala uremi rolling and sliding are combined: the ends of two long poles attached to the yoke, which slide on the ground, serve the purpose of a pair of front wheels.

C. G. 493

C. G. 231 241 The traditional economy of the North-West Caucasian peoples (Abkhaz and Circassians) was based on horse and cattle breeding, agriculture (millet, maize, wheat, rye) some horticulture, beekeeping and (Abkhaz) wine growing. The Abkhaz methods in these activities are the same as the Georgian. Formerly, their economy was largely pastoral, but in the second half of the nineteenth century they became more agricultural. The country is better suited to agriculture, though horse and sheep raising are still important. The Western Circassians, too, were more dependent on cattle-breeding before their forced migration from the mountains to the lowlands of the Kuban. The Kabardians are still mainly sheep-, cattle-, and especially horse-breeders: the Kabardian horses are famous for their

C. G. 231 241 beauty and stamina. Apiculture is also widespread among the Circassians; their beehives, contrary to those of the Georgians and Abkhaz, are similar to those found in Central Europe; they are made of bast or of plaited willow-twigs which are covered with clay or cow-dung.

C. D. 233 In Dagestan, stock-raising is preponderant (sheep, goats, cows, horses, donkeys, buffaloes). In winter, the herds are usually brought to the steppe-country in the South or to the Caspian coast area. The southeast, i.e. the country of the Lezghi, is comparatively better suited for agriculture, but it is practiced even in the more elevated regions. Wheat, barley and millet are grown in small fields, situated on natural or artificial terraces, which often require artificial irrigation. The ground is cultivated with a local kind of light plough called durats, puruts, etc. which only scrapes the soil superficially. As most of the fields require manuring, the constant removing of stones, and even restoring of the soil, which has to be carried up by hand, farming involves hard labor. As the production of grain has never covered the needs of the population, home-industry is highly developed in Dagestan. Everywhere the women do their own spinning and weaving. The spinning wheel is unknown; the looms for carpet-weaving differ from those for the weaving of coarse cloth out of homespun wool and of hemp-cloth used for sacks. Many crafts are practiced beyond the

C D 241 [40] C. D. 438 C. D. [286]

7: Columbia U. S-4, 5 1956 RHl Caucasia
RHl

## Stock-Raising

311 234 Stock-raising is the principal economic activity in the dry eastern steppes of the North Caucasus, and in the mountain pastures, which are mostly located at high altitudes. In the lowlands of Azerbaijan on the other hand, stock-raising is seasonal and is combined with other rural activities. Caucasian stock-raising was formerly pretty much nomadic, but is now -- as a result of the introduction of fodder crops, irrigation and other agricultural improvements -- assuming a more sedentary character. The principal stocks raised are various types of dairy and beef cattle, and various kinds of sheep. Sheep are bred not only for wool and mutton, but also for dairy products. Caucasian cheese (of the Swiss type) is famous throughout the entire USSR. Horses are relatively few in number. As draft animals in the North Caucasus oxen are common, whereas in the South Caucasus buffaloes are used. Transportation depends on mule, donkey, and in certain areas on camel, rather than horses. The fodder used in stock-raising varies according to the area and includes grass, grain, rootcrops, waste products, etc. For hogs, corn is used throughout the whole Caucasus.

Taking the various economic and political-administrative units one by one, the distribution of stock-raising is as follows:

311 the sub-units the Cherkess AO especially is a
231 livestock-raising area. In the Kabardian ASSR, the principal stock raised is in the plain poultry, whereas the mountain pastures are devoted primarily to livestock, which latter also holds for the pastures of the North Ossetian ASSR.

Krasnodar Kray: The Kuban area and the steppe area are among the most active cattle-raising areas of the Caucasus. On the Black Sea coast dairy farming is common, centered especially around Gelendzhik. The Adyge AO is famous for good horses.

Rostov Oblast: Along the lower Don and in the Taganrog-Rostov-Shakhty area, the principal stock raised is dairy cattle. In the southern and southeastern parts of the oblast (i. e., in the Sal Steppe), beef cattle and horses are raised, whereas the eastern parts raise sheep.

*

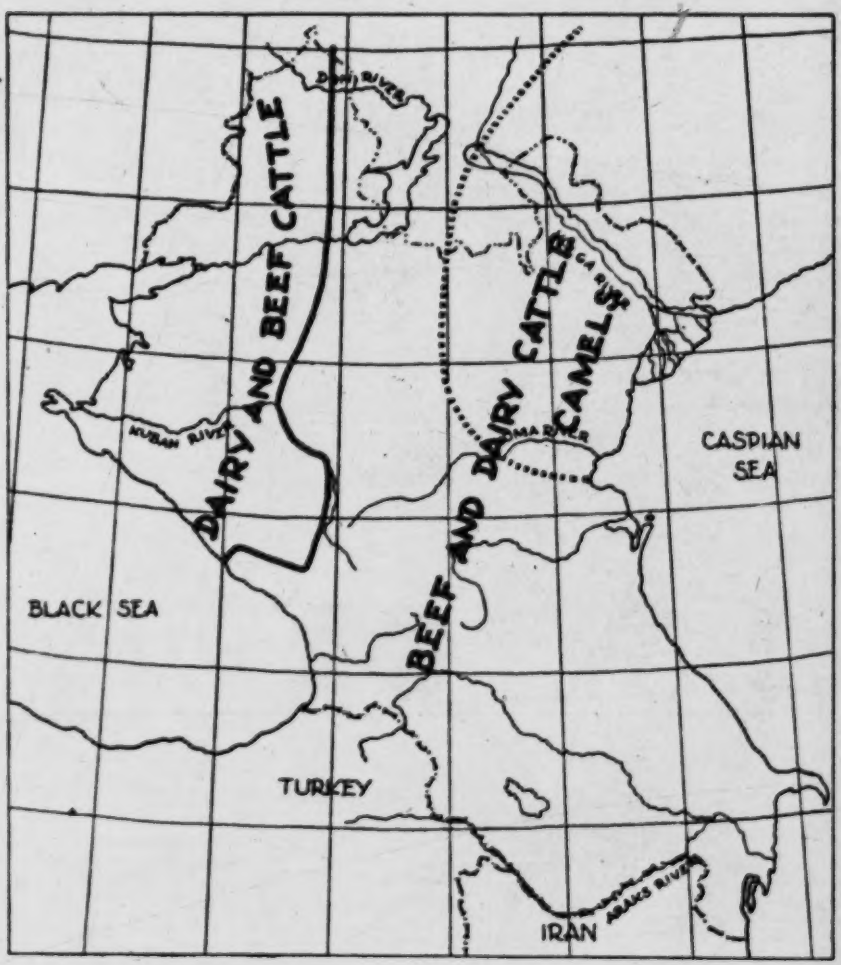
311 The distribution of the individual kinds
234 of stock over the entire Caucasus is as follows:

Dairy cattle: Chiefly raised in the western third of the North Caucasus. In addition to this area, dairy-cattle raising is common in the mountains of the Stavropol' Kray (especially around the health resorts), and in the Groznyy Oblast.

311 Beef cattle: Typical especially for the
231 dry areas of the North Caucasus, and for the whole of Trans-Caucasia. Areas with the most

a[1].1 Dairy Cattle, Beef Cattle, Camels

311
231
234



255 canning areas are Georgia (the Kutaisi-Gori area), Armenia (around Yerevan and Megri), Azerbaijan (Zakataly, Kuba, Lenkoran'), and Nakhichevan' (Ordubad).

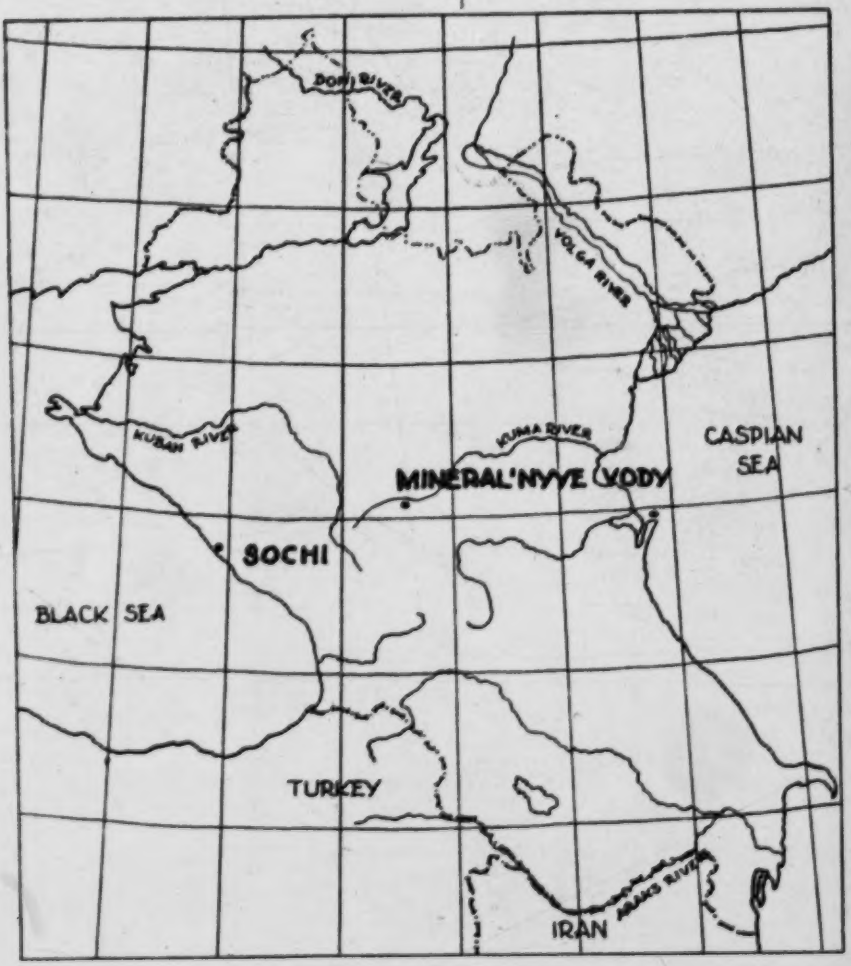
.234 Milk industry centers: The most important centers are around the health resorts, especially Sochi and Mineral'nyye Vody.

253 Meat packing and canning centers: Con-
255 centrated mostly along the northern slopes of the Greater Caucasus. The other noteworthy meat-packing area is in Armenia (Leninakan, Yerevan).

228 Fisheries, centers of fishing industry:
255 The most important fisheries are along the shallow waters of the Caspian Sea, in the delta of the Volga River, and along the mouth of the Kura River. Its low salinity and its micro-organisms make the Caspian Sea the richest fishing ground of the USSR. The fisheries of the Caspian Sea provide 35% of the Russian output. The chief fishing centers are around Astrakhan', Lopatin, and Makhachkala. The second most important fishing area of the Caucasus is in the shallow waters of the Sea of Azov. These fishing grounds also abound in fish and the catch is four times as great as in the Black Sea. The center of the Azov area is Yeysk. The fishing grounds of the Black Sea coast are less important, while the fishing in Lake Sevan in only for local consumption. The centers of the fishing industry and of fish canning are located in the fishing areas. The foremost center of the fishing industry on the Caspian coast, and in the whole USSR, is Astrakhan'. Astrakhan' also

b. 55 Milk Industry Centers

234



3: Anonymous U-4 (no date) 1920 RH1 Caucasia RH1



7,000 tons; buckwheat, 21,000 acres, 7,000 tons; 241
lentils, beans, and haricots, 20,000 acres, 5,300 tons; peas, 9,000 acres, 3,000 tons. Ramie fibre and attar of roses are produced on the Black Sea coast.

*Live-stock and Animal Products.*—Owing to the ten- 231
dency to convert pasture into arable land, there has been a great decrease in the numbers of live-stock raised in Caucasia of late years. To this rule, however, the Jevat and Geokchai districts in Baku Government present an exception; for cattle and horse raising has there been developed into an important industry, the profit obtained in the former region in 1914 being estimated at £70,000. In 1913 the total area devoted to [233]
pasturage, which is situated in the steppes and on the mountain slopes up to an elevation of 9,000 ft., was 3,700,000 acres, and the animals in the country comprised 6,327,000 head of cattle, 2,135,000 horses, 13,336,000 sheep and goats, and 1,215,000 pigs. The largest numbers of animals are found in Kuban and Terek; there were in 1912 nearly 4,500,000 of all kinds in the former province and nearly 3,500,000 in the latter.

*Buffaloes* and a small breed of *oxen* are bred in large [492]
numbers; they are used as draught animals, and in some districts as beasts of burden and for ploughing. The best breed of buffaloes is reared in the Governments of Elisavetopol and Kutais.

*Horses* are raised in other southern districts of Baku besides those already named, and on the Karabagh steppe, which extends from Baku into Elisavetopol; in the valley of the Terek and the Kabarda districts near Vladikavkaz; and in the Provinces of Kuban and Stavropol. A breed of mountain ponies is reared in Kutais. There are numerous private studs.

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Great numbers of *sheep* and *goats* are bred on the 231
steppes and plateaux and in the hill districts. The 236

3: Anonymous U-4 (no date) 1920 RH1 Caucasia RH1



231 wool production was 14,946 tons in 1908, 13,339 tons
236 in 1909, and 17,356 tons, of which 16,473 tons were fine wool and 883 tons coarse, in 1913. The nomad Kurds, the Tatars, the Ossetes, the Svanetians, the Kabards, and the Abkhasians live principally by their flocks and herds, which they raise by primitive methods. Part of the wool crop is sold in the Tatar camps at shearing time to local carpet-weavers; part is exported.

231 *Honey* and *wax* are obtained throughout the Caucasus. In 1912 there were 26,000 apiaries, containing nearly 600,000 hives, and the production was 2,500 tons of honey and 300 tons of wax, most of which was consumed locally.

*Silk.*—Mulberry-trees are grown on the lower slopes of the Transcaucasian mountains, and the silkworm industry, after a period of depression due to the spread of disease amongst the silkworms, has developed greatly of late years, especially in the Governments of Tiflis, Erivan, Elisavetopol, and Kutais. In the Baku Government, where it was once widespread, the industry is only continued to any considerable extent in the district of Geokchai. Much of the output, which in 1914 amounted to over 5,000 tons, is normally con-
[439] sumed in local silk manufactures. Silkworm eggs were imported, principally from Turkey and Italy, and were strictly examined by the Imperial Agricultural Society at Tiflis. The failure of the Turkish supply after 1914 adversely affected subsequent cocoon crops.

### (*b*) *Methods of Cultivation*

242 Ciscaucasia is far in advance of Transcaucasia in respect of agricultural methods, a fact due in part to the more enterprising character of the Cossack population and in part to the less isolated geographical position of the northern provinces. In both divisions of the country, however, there has in recent years been a notable advance in agricultural science, evidenced by the rapid development of co-operation. Whereas in 1909 there were 100 agricultural associations in the

23: Shabad N-4 (no date) 1951 R1 Soviet Union R1
Caucasia RH1



SU 631 728 C 631 728 persed and resettled, and the Karachay lost official recognition. The autonomous unit was abolished. Its major portion, including the capital, Mikoyan-Shakhar, now Klukhori, and the resort Teberda, and the village Uchkulan, now Madniskhevi, were ceded to the Georgian SSR, the strip along the upper Laba River passed to Krasnodar Kray; another portion, including the village Pregradnaya, was annexed to Cherkess Autonomous Oblast; the remainder became part of Stavropol' Kray proper.

SU 241 C 241 The climatic and soil conditions of the region are favorable to the development of grain farming and the raising of livestock for wool and meat, activities which prevail for similar reasons in the dry steppes of the Lower Volga Region, in northern Kazakhstan, and in Western Siberia. The main crops are winter wheat, sunflowers in the west, and cotton in the east. In the section bordering on the upper and middle Kuma River, irrigated farming is devoted to the raising of orchards, garden crops, and vineyards, the latter particularly in the Budennovsk–Georgiyevsk area. With the construction of the Nevinnomyssk Canal, to be completed during the current Five-Year Plan, the glacier-fed Kuban' River will be linked with the Yegorlyk, an affluent of the Manych, and new areas will be put under irrigation in the western part of Stavropol' Kray. Truck produce is grown intensively in the relatively urban areas of the health resorts (Pyatigorsk, Kislovodsk, and others) in the south and in the southwestern mountain area garden and dairy farming is carried on. In the northern and eastern steppes the raising of sheep is most important. On specially organized state farms two major breeds predominate: the merino sheep for the production of fine wool and the *volosh* sheep, which furnishes meat and coarse wool. The Alpine pastures in the southwest support the so-called Karachay sheep, which also is used mainly for meat. Dairy cattle are raised in the health resort district, and hogs and horses on the mountains slopes.

SU 236 C 236

SU [135] C [135] SU 438* C 438 The mineral resources of the region consist only of coal, which is worked in small amounts at Khumarinskoye and Ordzhonikidzevskiy, just north of Klukhori, of raw material for the chemical industry of Cherkess Autonomous Oblast, and of the mineral springs in the Pyatigorsk-Kislovodsk area. The products of agriculture and of the pastoral economy are partly processed within the region; some are exported in semi-processed form to other areas of the USSR. The principal export items are grain, vegetable oil, meat, tallow, dairy products, raw wool, fruits, and vegetables. The local industries are scattered

3: Anonymous U-4 (no date) 1920 RH1 Caucasia RH1



240 ducing 15,000 tons, were in Kuban, nearly 33,000 acres, producing 9,700 tons, in Sukhum, and 10,000 acres, yielding 3,600 tons, in Chernomoria. In Transcaucasia tobacco is most cultivated in Tiflis, Batum, and Kutais, but the acreage and output of Zakatali, though actually small, is not inconsiderable in relation to the size of the district.

245 *Wine* is made throughout the country, but though the produce of Ciscaucasia is not inconsiderable in quantity, the grapes are comparatively poor in quality and their juice is thin and acrid. So excellent, on the other hand, are those of Transcaucasia, and in such abundance do they grow, that until the appearance of oïdium, which of late years has necessitated the application of some 4,000 tons of sulphate of copper per annum, thus greatly increasing the cost of production, the peasants were able, by their primitive methods, to make sufficient wine at a cheap rate for their own very liberal consumption. With the introduction of scientific treatment of the vines and of French methods of manufacture the industry should prove lucrative. In a few places modern establishments already existed in 1914, but at present too many kinds of grapes are grown and the plantations are too close together. The district in which the vineyards are most extensive is that of Tiflis; but whereas in 1914 in that Government 81,000 acres yielded only 73,000 tons of grapes, Kutais produced 89,000 tons from 50,000 acres. The localities most celebrated for their wines, however, lie in the Gelendjik district and also in the country round Shemakha and Geokchai, where 22,500 tons of grapes were produced in 1913; in the district between the rivers Kura and Alazan, the ancient Kakhetia, on the borders of Zakatali and Elisavetopol; and at Echmiadzin in the Government of Erivan. In 1914 the total area covered by the vineyards of Caucasia was a little over 300,000 acres, and the yield of grapes 350,000 tons.

241 *Other crops* grown in Caucasia, with their acreage and production in 1914, were the following: potatoes, 234,000 acres. 586,500 tons; spelt, 24,000 acres,

3: Anonymous U-4 (no date) 1920 RH1 Caucasia RH1



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lentils, beans, and haricots, 20,000 acres, 5,300 tons; peas, 9,000 acres, 3,000 tons. Ramie fibre and attar of roses are produced on the Black Sea coast.

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steppes and plateaux and in the hill districts. The 236

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313 property of the Georgian Government, who have recently exploited the timber of the Kutais and Poti districts for the manufacture of railway sleepers.

433 *Vegetable and Animal Products.*—The Caucasus is essentially an agricultural and pastoral country, and it is estimated that from 75 per cent. to 80 per cent. of the population are engaged in animal and vegetable production. In the mountain-regions, Kabarda, Chechnia, Svanetia, Ossetia, Daghestan and Kara Bagh, the people are virtually self-supporting as regards cereals, but produce little for export. Their surplus production is mainly in animals. In Kabarda and in the Jevad and Gökcha districts of Azerbaijan fine horses are bred, and, in the Mughan, camels. The production of wool, sold for the most part to carpet-weavers, is the main source of living to the mountain and nomad tribes, and in the Borchalu district (south of Tiflis) the Tatars make excellent cheese which is exported to Russia as "Gruyère." The production of wax and honey further forms a secondary occupation of many of the villagers, both of the hills and the plain. In Daghestan and in the Kur Delta there are thriving fisheries. The catch of "puzanka," a small species of herring, off the coast of Daghestan and the mouth of the Terek, averages 40,000 tons a year; while along the Kur the catch of sturgeon gives an annual production of over 300 tons of caviare. Large herds of swine flourish in many parts of Transcaucasia, particularly in the lowlands of Mingrelia and Guria.

433 The chief cereals grown in Transcaucasia are: wheat, which covers approximately 475,000 acres in the Government of
241 Baku, 670,000 acres in the Government of Elisavetpol and 680,000 acres in the Government of Tiflis; maize, which occupies about 470,000 acres in the Government of Kutais, and 180,000 acres in the Government of Sukhum; and rye, which covers about 133,000 acres over Transcaucasia, more than half being grown in the Government of Elisavetpol. Hay occupies about 500,000 acres in the Black Sea and Elisavetpol districts. Rice is grown chiefly in Azerbaijan and Talish, and cotton covers about 200,000 acres over different parts of the country. Cotton has recently tended to supersede rice, especially in the eastern regions, Baku, Elisavetpol and Erivan, where, in 1913, it already covered about 200,000 acres. It is possible that a considerable crop of cotton may in the near future be cultivated in the Mughan Steppe, the irrigation of which the Russian Government had successfully undertaken before the outbreak of war.

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Millet, oats, flax and hemp are also grown in limited quantities in Transcaucasia. 433

Tobacco has been grown with great success in the sheltered subtropical parts of the Black Sea littoral and in the neighbourhoods of Tiflis, Kutais and Zakatali. Of the total Russian output of high quality "Turkish" tobacco in 1915, it is estimated that 33 per cent. came from Transcaucasia. Of this the heaviest crops and the richest quality was grown round Sukhum and Sochi. The tobacco of Batum and Ozurgeti was little inferior. 241

Wine is made throughout Transcaucasia, and vine-culture is a secondary occupation of many of the peasants. The wines of the Alazan, of Elisavetpol and of Echmiadzin are celebrated in Russia, and much is exported to that country, but for the most part the vintners cater for the very generous local consumption.

Mulberry-trees flourish on the southern slopes of the Caucasus; about 5,000 tons of silk a year are produced, and are mostly consumed by local industry. In Azerbaijan silk has, like rice, suffered from the recent preference accorded to cotton. Other products are: tea, round Ozurgeti and Chavka; plums, the most luscious of which come from Sochi and Sukhum; oranges from Chavka; olives from Artvin and Sukhum; lemons, apples, liquorice-root, the sun-flower—from which a substitute for linseed oil is obtained—attar of roses, *ramie* fibre, and inconsiderable quantities, consumed locally, of potatoes, lentils, beans, haricots and peas.

*Minerals.*—It is only in recent years that the discovery of the existence of a belt of oil-bearing rock (*vide* Petroleum, below), extending from the Northern Caucasus to Southern Persia, has attracted the attention of European capital to the mineral potentialities of the Middle East—particularly of the Caucasus and Persia. The effects of this discovery have already been considerable, and it is probable that the coming half-century will witness, on the one hand the transformation of the Middle East from a backward agricultural to an important industrial region; on the other the concentration of political interest on the area between the Kuban and Terek and the Persian Gulf. 135

The mineral resources of the Caucasus have never been adequately prospected. The Russian Government left the exploration and exploitation of possible mineral deposits to individual enterprise. Thus, with the exception of the very interesting book of Mr. D. Ghambashidze,[1] no reference-books 135 114

[1] D. Ghambashidze, *Mineral Resources of Georgia and Caucasia.*

[see cat. 116, pp 252-253 -- Analyst]

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Georgia RI 1

C. G. 197 LANGUAGE: Georgian (Kartuli ena) belongs with Mingrelian, Laz, and Svan, to the S Caucasian (or Kartvelian) language family. It has an old literary tradition going back to the 5th century A. D., and a script of its own.

SUBDIVISIONS: The Georgian dialects fall into two groups: E and W Georgian. E dialects: Kartluri (with sub-dialects Meskh and Dzhavakh), K'akhuri, Ingilouri, Tushuri, Khevsuruli, Pshauri, Mokhev, Mtiuli, (Fereidan in Iran). W dialects: Imeruli Rach'uli, Lechkhum, Guruli (including Adzhar), Imerkhev (in Turkey).

C. G. 241 231 TRADITIONAL ECONOMY: Agriculture, cattle-breeding; horticulture; viniculture; arts and crafts.

C. G. 795 RELIGION: Eastern Orthodox; Roman Catholic minority; only the Adzhar and part of the Ingilo are Muslim. There are a number of Georgian-speaking Jewish villages in different parts of the Georgian SSR, totaling 21,471 persons (1926, Russian census), in Russian referred to as Gruzinskie evrei (Georgian Jews). C. G. [162]

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Georgia RI I

## 2. MINGRELIANS

C. G. 101 NAME: SELF-DESIGNATION: Margali; own name of country: Odishi.

RUSSIAN DESIGNATIONS: Megrely, Megrel'tsy, Mingrel'tsy.

OTHER DESIGNATIONS: (Georgian:) Megreli, the country: Samegrelo; (Abkhaz:) Aghrwa; (Svan:) Myzan, the country: Zan

C. G. 161 NUMBER: 1897 239,625 (Russian census)
1926 242,990 (Russian census, ethn.)
284,834 (Russian census, ling.)

C. G. 162 LOCATION: Territory N of lower Rioni river and W of the Tskhenis-Tskali, extending along the Black Sea Coast from the mouth of the Rioni up to Ochemchiri (rayons Zugdidi and Senaki in W of Georgian SSR). Also in and around the cities of the Abkhaz ASSR.

C. G. 197 LANGUAGE: Mingrelian (Megreli nina) and the very closely related Laz form the so-called Zan member of the S Caucasian (Kartvelian) language group, which also includes Georgian and Svan. The language is not written, Georgian being used as the literary language.

SUBDIVISIONS: Two groups of dialects, which differ very little: West (Samurzakan-Zugdidi) and East Mingrelian (Senaki).

C. G. 241 TRADITIONAL ECONOMY: Agriculture; horticulture; viniculture; sericulture.

C. G. 795 RELIGION: Eastern Orthodox.

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Georgia RI1
(Turkish:) Lazi;
(Georgian:) Ch'ani,
the country: Ch'aneti.)

## 3. LAZ

CG 101 NAME: SELF-DESIGNATION: Lazi
RUSSIAN DESIGNATIONS: Lazy; for the language also: Chanskii iazyk.
OTHER DESIGNATIONS: (Turkish:) Lazi; (Georgian:) Ch'ani, the country: Ch'aneti.)

CG 161 NUMBER: 1926 643 (Russian census, ethn.)
730 (Russian census, ling.)
The Turkish census of 1945 lists 46,987 speakers of Laz, so that the overwhelming majority of them live in Turkish territory.

CG 162 LOCATION: Between the Chorokh river and the Black Sea coast up to the area of Pazar (Atina) on Turkish territory; also in the Chkhala basin (left tributary of the Chorokh on Russian territory), (Adzhar ASSR, within Georgian SSR).

CG 197 LANGUAGE: Laz (Ch'anuri nena) and the very closely related Mingrelian form of the so-called Zan member of the S Caucasian (Kartvelian) language-group, which includes also Georgian and Svan. The language is not written, Georgian being used as literary language in the USSR, Turkish in Turkey.

SUBDIVISIONS: Two dialect-groups; West (Vitse-Arkhava and Atina) and East Laz (Hopa, Chkhala).

CG 241 226 TRADITIONAL ECONOMY: Agriculture, fishing, trade.

CG 795 RELIGION: Islam (Sunni)

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Georgia RI 1

C.
G.
241 TRADITIONAL ECONOMY: Agriculture,
231 cattle-raising, hunting, apiculture.

C.
G.
795 RELIGION: Eastern Orthodox.

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Georgia RI 1

C G. 197 LANGUAGE: Abkhaz belongs to NW Caucasian, together with Circassian and Ubykh (the latter no longer spoken in the Caucasus). Two dialects have been reduced to writing: in the Abkhaz ASSR that of the Abzhui, in the Cherkes AO that of the Tapanta. The speakers of the Abaza dialects are all bilingual and speak also the Kabardian dialect of Circassian. In the Abkhaz ASSR knowledge of Georgian is widespread.

SUBDIVISION: Abkhaz has five major dialects: Bzyb', Abzhui, Samurzakan', Ashkharwa and Tapanta. The speakers of the latter two dialects are known as Abaza (R. Abazintsy), though linguistically the first four dialects form one group, while Tapanta stands apart.

C G 101 Further tribal names (Russ. form): Tsebeldintsy, Dzhigety; (Abaza:)Beshilbei, Tam, Barakei.

C G. 241 231 TRADITIONAL ECONOMY: Cattle-breeding; agriculture, viniculture; apiculture.

C G. 795 RELIGION: Islam (Sunni); Eastern Orthodox.

197 as "Kabardintsy". The dialects follow old
101 tribal divisions. Other tribal names (Russ. form.): Natukhaevtsy, Gatiukai, Zhane(e)vtsy, Egerukaevtsy, Makhosh(ev)-tsy, Kiakhi, Khagak (Khegek, Shegek).

241
231 TRADITIONAL ECONOMY: Agriculture; horticulture; cattle-breeding; horse-breeding (esp. Kabardians); apiculture; home industry (Caucasian felt cloaks).

795 RELIGION: Islam (Sunni); only the Kabardians around Mozdok are Christians.

197 they form the Veinakh group of the NE Caucasian language family.

SUBDIVISIONS: These were more of a geographical than of a linguistic nature. Chechen tribes: Ichkeri(ntsy), Aukh(ovtsy). etc.; Ingush tribes: Dzherakh(ovtsy), Nazran(ovtsy), etc. A special dialect was spoken by the Karabulak, who had all emigrated to Turkey by 1870. The Georgians knew the Chechen with whom they came in contact as Kist; this name was later extended to the whole group and adopted by the Russians as a name for the Veinakh languages(Kistinskie iazyki).

231 241 TRADITIONAL ECONOMY: Cattle-breeding, agriculture.

795 RELIGION: Islam (Sunni).

C
D
197

others being Veinakh, Lak-Dargwa, Samurian, Khinalug, and Udi). Avar has the status of a literary language in the Dagestan ASSR. The literary language is based on the Khunzakh dialect which was also the basis of the old "bol mats'" ("army language"), the common Avar lingua franca. Knowledge of Avar is spread well outside its own linguistic territory (Andi-Dido area, Tsakhur area, Archi, W part of Lak and Dargwa areas).

SUBDIVISIONS: There are four major dialects: Khunzakh, Gidatl′-- Andalaly-Karakh, Antsukh, and Char.

C
D
231
438
241

TRADITIONAL ECONOMY: Stockbreeding; home industry (Caucasian felt cloaks, leather goods, wooden objects, metal work, tapestry-weaving, embroidery); horticulture.

C
D
795

RELIGION: Islam (Sunni).

7: Columbia U. S-4, 5 1956 RHI Caucasia RHI
Dagestan RH8

## 11. BOTLIKH

C.D. 101 NAME: SELF-DESIGNATION: Buykhatli (gen. of Buykhe "the village B.").
RUSSIAN DESIGNATIONS: Botlikhtsy, Buiukhad.

C.D. 161 NUMBER: 1926 3,354 (Russian census, ethn.)
2,789 (Russian census, ling.)

C.D. 162 LOCATION: Just N of the bend of the Andiiskoe Koisu, SW of the Andi area (rayon Botlikh, auls Botlikh and Miarso, Dagestan ASSR).

C.D. 197 LANGUAGE: Botlikh (Buykhatli mits') forms with Andi, Godoberi, Karata, Bagulal, Tindi, Chamalal, and Akhvakh, the Andi subgroup of the Avaro-Ando-Dido group of the NE Caucasian languages. The language is not written, Avar being used as the literary language.

C.D. 231 241 TRADITIONAL ECONOMY: Cattle-breeding, home industry, agriculture.

C.D. 745 RELIGION: Islam (Sunni).

7: Columbia U. S-4,5 1956 RH1 Caucasia RH1 •
Dagestan RH8

## 12. GODOBERI

CD
101 NAME: SELF-DESIGNATION: Ghibditl·i adami (i.e. "people of the village Ghidu (Godoberi").
RUSSIAN DESIGNATION: Godoberi-(ntsy).

CD
161 NUMBER: 1926 1,425 (Russian census, ethn.)
1,425 (Russian census, ling.)

CD
162 LOCATION: Just NW of the bend of the Andiiskoe Koisu, W of the Botlikh area (rayon Botlikh, aul Godoberi, Dagestan ASSR).

CD
197 LANGUAGE: Godoberi (Ghibditl·i mits·i) forms with Andi, Botlikh, Karata, Bagulal, Tindi, Chamalal, and Akhvakh, the Andi subgroup of the Avaro-Ando-Dido group of the NE Caucasian languages. The language is not written, Avar being used as the literary language.

CD
231 TRADITIONAL ECONOMY: Cattle-breeding;
• 241 home industry; agriculture.

CD
795 RELIGION: Islam (Sunni).

## 13. KARATA

C.D. 101 NAME: SELF-DESIGNATION: Kirtl·e, pl. Kirtl·ei.
RUSSIAN DESIGNATIONS: Karatintsy, Karatai, Kirdi.
OTHER DESIGNATIONS: (Avar:) K'alalal.

C.D. 161 NUMBER: 1926 5,305 (Russian census, ethn.)
5,303 (Russian census, ling.)

C.D. 162 LOCATION: Just S of the bend of the Andiiskoe Koisu (N part of rayon Akhvakh, also rayons Andalaly and Vedeno (Dagest. ASSR). (1)

C.D. 197 LANGUAGE: Karata (Kirtl·i mats'i) forms with Andi, Botlikh, Godoberi, Bagulal, Tindi, Chamalal, and Akhvakh, the Andi subgroup of the Avaro-Ando-Dido group of the NE Caucasian languages. The language is not written, Avar being used as the literary language.

SUBDIVISIONS: Dialects: Karata proper Anchikh and Tokita.

C.D. 231 241 TRADITIONAL ECONOMY: cattle-breeding, home industry, agriculture.

C.D. 795 RELIGION: Islam (Sunni).

(1) auls Karata, Archo, Anchikh, Tokita, Mashtada, Rachabalda, Chabakoro.

## 14. BAGULAL

C.D. 101 NAME: SELF-DESIGNATION: Kwantl hekua, or Bagolal.

RUSSIAN DESIGNATION: Bagulaly; Bagvalal, Bogulal.

OTHER DESIGNATIONS: due to their dual self-designation, referred to both as Bagulal and Kvanada.

C.D. 161 NUMBER: 1926 3,054 (Russian census, ethn.)
3,053 (Russian census, ling.)

C.D. 162 LOCATION: S of the bend of the Andiiskoe Koisu, S of the Karata area (rayon Tsumada, auls Khushtada, Tlondoda, Kvanada; rayon Akhvakh, auls Gimerso, Tisi, Tlibisho, Dagestan ASSR).

C.D. 197 LANGUAGE: Bagulal (Bagulazul mits') forms with Andi, Botlikh, Godoberi, Karata, Tindi, Chamalal, and Akhvakh, the Andi subgroup of the Avaro-Ando-Dido group of the NE Caucasian languages. The language is not written, Avar being used as literary language.

SUBDIVISIONS: Dialects: Bagulal proper and Tlisi.

C.D. 231 241 TRADITIONAL ECONOMY: Cattle-breeding; agriculture; home industry.

C.D. 79 RELIGION: Islam (Sunni).

7: Columbia U. S-4,5 1956 RH1 Caucasia RH1 Dagestan RH8

## 15. TINDI

CD 101 NAME: SELF-DESIGNATION: Idaraw hekwa
RUSSIAN DESIGNATIONS: Tindii, Tindiitsy, Tindal', Inderi (ntsy), Idi.
OTHER DESIGNATIONS: (Dido:) Bogozi, pl. Bogozibi.

CD 161 NUMBER: 1926 3,812 (Russian census, ethn.)
3,704 (Russian census, ling.)
1952 5,000 (estimate Gudava)

CD 162 LOCATION: Aul Tindi, on the E tributary of the Andiiskoe Koisu which separates the Bagulal group from the Khvarshi area; (rayon Tsumada, Dagestan ASSR). (1)

CD 197 LANGUAGE: Tindi (Idara mits' ) forms with Andi, Botlikh, Godoberi, Karata, Bagulal, Chamalal and Akhvakh the Andi subgroup of the Avaro-Ando-Dido group of the NE Caucasian languages. The language is not written, Avar being used as the literary language.

CD 231.241 TRADITIONAL ECONOMY: Cattle-breeding; agriculture; home industry.

CD 795 RELIGION: Islam (Sunni)

(1) Also auls Tisi, Echeda and Akhnada (rayon Tsumada) and Qedi (rayon Vedeno)

7: Columbia U. S-4,5 1956 RH1 Caucasia RH1
Dagestan RH8

## 16. CHAMALAL

CD 101 NAME: SELF-DESIGNATION: according to separate villages; as opposed to other peoples: Ch'amalaldu, pl. Ch'amalaldube, collective: Ch'amalali.
RUSSIAN DESIGNATION: Chamalaly.

CD 161 NUMBER: 1926 3,438 (Russian census, ethn.)
3,438 (Russian census, ling.)

CD 162 LOCATION: On the E side of the Andiiskoe Koisu, just below the bend; auls Verkhnii Gakvari (with sub-villages), Nizhnii Gakvari (with sub-villages), Agvali, Tsumada, Tsumada-Urukh, Richaganik, Gadyri (with sub-villages), Gachitl', Gigatl' (with sub-villages), Kvankhi (Tsumada rayon, Dagestan ASSR).

CD 197 LANGUAGE: Chamalal (Ch'amalaldub mits'·) forms with Andi, Botlikh, Godoberi, Karata, Bagulal, Tindi, and Akhvakh, the Andi subgroup of the Avaro-Ando-Dido group of the NE Caucasian languages. The language is not written, Avar being used as the literary language.

SUBDIVISIONS: Dialects: 1a. Gakvari (incl. Gakvari, Agvali, Tsumada, Tsumada-Urukh, Richaganik); 1b. Gadyri (incl. Gachitl' ) and Kvankhi; 2. Gigatl' .

CD 231 438 .241 TRADITIONAL ECONOMY: Cattle-breeding; home industry (Caucasian felt cloaks, goldsmithing); agriculture.

CD 795 RELIGION: Islam (Sunni).

7: Columbia U. S-4,5 1956 RH1 Caucasia RH1
Dagestan RH8

## 17. AKHVAKH

C D 101 NAME: SELF-DESIGNATION: Atluatl'i.
RUSSIAN DESIGNATION: Akhvakhtsy.

C D 161 NUMBER: 1926 3,683 (Russian census, ethn.)
3,683 (Russian census, ling.)

C D 162 LOCATION: Between Avarskoe Koisu and Andiiskoe Koisu, just at their bend to the E (rayon Akhvakh: auls Izani, Kudiiab-Roso, Tad-Magitl', Lologonitl'; rayon Kakhib: auls Tlenob, Tsekob; rayon Andalaly: aul Ratlub; all in Dagestan ASSR).

C D 197 LANGUAGE: Akhvakh (Atluatl·i mits·i) forms with Andi Batlikh, Godoberi, Karata, Bagulal, Tindi, and Chamaiai, the Andi subgroup of the Avaro-Ando-Dido group of the NE Caucasian languages. The language is not written, Avar being used as the literary language.

C D 231 .241 TRADITIONAL ECONOMY: Cattle-breeding; agriculture; home industry.

C D 795 RELIGION: Islam (Sunni).

7:Columbia U. S-4, 5 1956 RH1 Caucasia RH1
Dagestan RH8

## 18. KHVARSHI

C. D. 101 NAME: SELF-DESIGNATION: Kedaes hikwa.
RUSSIAN DESIGNATIONS: Khvarshiny, Khvarshintsy.

C. D. 161 NUMBER: 1926 1,019 (Russian census, ethn.)
1,018 (Russian census, ling.)

C. D. 162 LOCATION: On a S tributary of the Andiskoe Koisu, SW of the Bagulal area (auls Khvarshi, Inkhokari, etc., Vedeno rayon, Dagestan ASSR).

C. D. 197 LANGUAGE: Khvarshi (Kedaes mits', Inkhies mits', depending on village) forms with Dido, Kapucha, Khunzal, and Ginukh, the Dido subgroup of the Avaro-Ando-Dido group of the NE Caucasian languages. The language is not written, Avar being used as the literary language.

C. D. 241 231 TRADITIONAL ECONOMY: Agriculture; cattle-breeding.

C. D. 795 RELIGION: Islam (Sunni).

7:Columbia U. S-4, 5 1956 RH1 Caucasia RH1
Dagestan RH8
Didoi

## 19. DIDO

C. D. 101 NAME: SELF-DESIGNATION: Ts'ezi, pl. Ts'ezibi

RUSSIAN DESIGNATIONS: Didoi, Didoitsy, Tsezy.

OTHER DESIGNATIONS: (Georgian:) Dido; (Kakhetian-Georgian:) Tsunt'a "ragamuffin", a name also used by the Avar and several peoples of the Andi group.

C. D. 161

NUMBER: 1926 3,276 (Russian census, ethn.)
3,198 (Russian census, ling.)

C. D. 162 LOCATION: S of the upper Andiiskoe Koisu.

C. D. 197 LANGUAGE: Dido (Ts'ezias mets') forms with Khvarshi, Kapucha, Khunzal, and Ginukh, the so-called Dido subgroup of the Avaro-Ando-Dido group of the NE Caucasian languages. The language is not written, Avar being used as the literary language.

C. D. 231 241 326 TRADITIONAL ECONOMY: Cattle-breeding; agriculture; home industry (goldsmithing).

C. D. 795 RELIGION: Islam (Sunni).

7:Columbia U. S-4, 5 1956 RH1 Caucasia RH1
Dagestan RH8
Khaput

## 20. KAPUCHA

C. D. 101 NAME: SELF-DESIGNATION: Kapuchias suko or Bezhtl·as suko, depending on the village.
RUSSIAN DESIGNATIONS: Kapuchiny, Bezhitiny.

C. D. 161 NUMBER: 1926 1,448 (Russian census, ethn.)
1,448 (Russian census, ling.)

C. D. 162 LOCATION: Upper basin of Avarskoe Koisu (rayon Tliarata, auls Bezhity, Khocharkhota, Tliadal', Dagestan ASSR).

C. D. 197 LANGUAGE: Kapucha (Bezhtl·alas mits·) forms with Khvarshi, Dido, Khunzal, and Ginukh, the Dido subgroup of the Avaro-Ando-Dido group of the NE Caucasian languages. The language is not written, Avar being used as the literary language.

C. D. 231 ●241 326 TRADITIONAL ECONOMY: Cattle-breeding; agriculture; home industry (goldsmithing).

C. D. 795 RELIGION: Islam (Sunni).

7: Columbia U. S-4, 5 1956 RH1 Caucasia RH1
Dagestan RH8

## 21. KHUNZAL

C. D. 101 NAME: SELF-DESIGNATION: ------
RUSSIAN DESIGNATIONS: Khunzaly, Gun(d)zaly, Nakhada.

C. D. 161 NUMBER: 1926 106 (Russian census, ethn.)
129 (Russian census, ling.)

C. D. 162 LOCATION: Auls Honzib and Gharbut (with former Nahada) (rayon Tlarata, Dagestan ASSR).

C. D. 197 LANGUAGE: Khunzal forms with Khvarshi, Dido, Kapucha, and Ginukh, the Dido subgroup of the Avaro-Ando-Dido group of the NE Caucasian languages. The language is not written, Avar being used as the literary language.

C. D. 231 241 TRADITIONAL ECONOMY: Cattle-breeding; agriculture; crafts.

C. D. 795 RELIGION: Islam (Sunni).

7:Columbia U. S-4, 5 1956 RH1 ColumbiaRH1
DagestanRH8
Lak

## 24. LAK

C. D. 101 NAME: SELF-DESIGNATION: Lak, Lakuchū
RUSSIAN DESIGNATIONS: Laki, Kazikumukhtsy.
OTHER DESIGNATIONS: (Avar:) Tumaw, pl. Tumal; Lezgian: Yakholshu

C. D. 161 NUMBER: 1926 40,380 (Russian census, ethn.)
40,336 (Russian census, ling.)
1955 well over 55,000 (estimate, Zhirkov).

C. D. 162 LOCATION: Basin of the upper Tleuserakh, Khatar, and Kazikumukhskoe Koisu (rayons Lak and Kula, separate villages in rayons Tsudakhar, Akusha, Rutul, Kurakh, Charoda, and Dakhadaev). Since 1944 also in the valley of Yaryksu river (Novo-Lak rayon, Dagestan ASSR).

C. D. 197 LANGUAGE: Lak (lakū maz) forms with the Dargwa group of languages the Lak-Dargwa subdivision of the NE Caucasian languages, which include also Veinakh, Avaro-Ando-Dido, Samurian, Khinalug, and Udi. Lak has the status of a literary language in the Dagestan ASSR; the written language is based on the Kumukh dialect.

C. D. 231 241 438 TRADITIONAL ECONOMY: Cattle-breeding; production of leather goods and pottery; metal-work (weapons); agriculture.

C. D. 795 RELIGION: Islam (Sunni).

7. Columbia U. S-4 1956 RHI Caucasia RHI
Dagestan RH8
Dargin

C.D. 197 SUBDIVISIONS: Dialects: Akusha- (or Akkhusha-) Urakha and Tsudakhar, both with many sub-dialects.

C.D. 241 438 TRADITIONAL ECONOMY: Agriculture, home industry (pottery, leather work, tapestry-weaving, weapon-and tool-making).

C.D. 795 RELIGION: Islam (Sunni).

7:Columbia U. S-4, 5 1956 RH1 Caucasia RH1
Dagestan RH8

## 26. KAITAK

C. D. 101 NAME: SELF-DESIGNATION: Khaidaqlan, plur. Khaidaq.
RUSSIAN DESIGNATION: Khaidaki, Kaitagi, Kaitaki.

C. D. 161 NUMBER: 1926 14,430 (Russian census, ethn.)
14,469 (Russian census, ling.)

C. D. 162 LOCATION: Basin of Ulla-Chai, between the Dargwa and the Tabasaran areas (rayon Kaitak, S part of rayon Dakhadaev, Dagestan ASSR).

C. D. 197 LANGUAGE: Kaitak forms with the closely related Dargwa and Kubachi the so-called Dargwa subgroup of the Lak-Dargwa group of the NE Caucasian languages. The language is not written, Dargwa being used as the literary language.

C. D. 231 241 TRADITIONAL ECONOMY: Cattle-breeding; agriculture; home industry.

C. D. 795 RELIGION: Islam (Sunni).

7:Columbia U. S-4, 5 1956 RH1 Caucasia RH
Dageston RH8
Lezgin

C.
D.
231 TRADITIONAL ECONOMY: Cattle-breeding;
241 agriculture; horticulture; home industry
438 (tapesty-weaving, smith's craft).

C.
D.
775 RELIGION: Islam (Sunni).

7: Columbia U. S-4, 5 1956 RHI Caucasia RHI
Dagestan RH8

## 32. TABASARAN

C. D. 101 NAME: SELF-DESIGNATION: Tabasaran zhvi, Tabarasan zhvi, Ghumghum zhvi.
RUSSIAN DESIGNATION: Tabasarantsy.

C. D. 161 NUMBER: 1926 31,983 (Russian census, ethn.)
29,726 (Russian census, ling.)

C. D. 162 LOCATION: Basin of Upper Rubas-chai and Upper Chirakh-chai (rayons Tabasaran and Khiv, Dagestan ASSR).

C. D. 197 LANGUAGE: Tabasaran (Tabasaran ch'al) forms with Lezgian, Agul, Rutul, Tsakhur, Budukh, and Dzhek, the Samurian subdivision of the NE Caucasian language-group. It has the status of a literary language in the Daghestan ASSR; the written language is based on the southern dialect.

SUBDIVISIONS: The language has two main dialects: North (Khanag) and South Tabasaran.

C. D. 241 438 TRADITIONAL ECONOMY: Agriculture; horticulture; home industry (weapon- and tool-making, silversmith's and coppersmith's work, tapestry-weaving).

C. D. 495 RELIGION: Islam (Sunni).

7: Columbia U.S-4, 5 1956 RH1 Caucasia RH1
Dagestan RH8

## 33. BUDUKH

C.
D.
101 NAME: SELF-DESIGNATION: ----
RUSSIAN DESIGNATION: Budukhi, Budugi

C.
D.
161 NUMBER: 1926 1 (Russian census, ethn.)
1,995 (Russian census, ling.)

C.
D.
162 LOCATION: Mt. Shakhdag area, in the upper basin of the Kara-chai (Konakhkend rayon, Azerb. SSR).

C.
D.
197 LANGUAGE: Budukh forms, with Lezgian, Agul, Rutul, Tsakhur, Tabasaran, and Dzhek, the Samurian subdivision of the NE Caucasian language-group. The language is not written, Azeri being used as the literary language.

C.
D.
231
244 TRADITIONAL ECONOMY: Cattle-breeding; horticulture.

C.
D.
795 RELIGION: Islam (Sunni).

7: Columbia U. S-4, 5 1956 RH1 Caucasia RH1
Dagestan RH8

## 34. DZHEK

C.D. 101 NAME: SELF-DESIGNATION: -----
RUSSIAN DESIGNATION: According to villages; Dzheki, Kryzy, Khaputtsy, (Gaputlintsy, Khaputlintsy).

C.D. 161 NUMBER: 1926 Dzhek 590 Kryz 5 Khaput 12 (Russian census, ethn.)
All three groups together: 4,348 (Russ. census, ling.)

C.D. 162 LOCATION: Mt. Shakhdag area, in the basin of the upper right arm of the Kudial-chai (Konakhkend rayon, Azerbaidzhan SSR). Also daughter-settlements near the Caspian coast in the Khachmas area (Azerbaidzhan SSR).

C.D. 197 LANGUAGE: The Dzhek language forms with Lezgian, Agul, Rutul, Tsakhur, Tabasaran, and Budukh, the Samurian subdivision of the NE Caucasian languages. The language is not written, Azeri being used as the literary language.

SUBDIVISIONS: According to villages: Dzhek, Kryz, Khaput.

C.D. 231 241 TRADITIONAL ECONOMY: Cattle-breeding; agriculture; horticulture.

C.D. 795 RELIGION: Islam (Sunni).

7: Columbia U. S 4-5, 1956 RHI Caucasia RHI
Dagestan RH 8

## 36. UDI

C.D. 101 NAME: SELF-DESIGNATION: Udi, Uti.
RUSSIAN DESIGNATION: Udiny.

C.D. 161 NUMBER: 1897 7,100 (Russian census)
1926 2,455 (Russian census, ethn.)
2,762 (Russian census, ling.)

C.D. 162 LOCATION: Villages Vartashen and Nidzh (rayons Vartashen and Kutkashen, Azerbaidzhan SSR), Oktomberi (Georgian SSR).

C.D. 197 LANGUAGE: Udi (Udi muz) is a member of the NE Caucasian language-group, to which there belong further the Veinakh, Avaro-Ando-Dido, Lak-Dargwa, and Samurian groups, and the Khinalug language. Though Udi was written before the revolution, it does not have the status of literary language, this function being fulfilled by Azeri.

C.D. 241 231 TRADITIONAL ECONOMY: Agriculture; cattle-breeding.

C.D. 795 RELIGION: Eastern Orthodox, Armenian-Gregorian.

7. Columbia U. S-4, 5 1956 RHI Caucasia RHI
Armenia

197 LANGUAGE: Armenian (Hai lezu) constitutes a separate branch of the Indoeuropean language family. The language has an old literary tradition going back to the 5th century A. D., and a script of its own. This literary language is based on the dialect of Ararat; there is now also a literary tradition for the Western dialect-group.

SUBDIVISIONS: The Armenian dialects are subdivided into an Eastern (Ararat, Karabakh, etc.) and a Western (Erzurum, Hemshin, Istanbul, etc.) group, to which Adjarian adds a third branch including the dialects of Maragha, Khoy, and Artvin.

241
231 TRADITIONAL ECONOMY: Agriculture;
438 viniculture; in the mountains: cattle-breeding; commerce and art crafts.

795 RELIGION: Armenian-Gregorian; there are a Roman Catholic (Uniate) and a Protestant minority. The Khemshin (Hemshin, Hemshili) on the Black Sea coast near the Turkish border (629 in 1926, Russian census) are Muslim.

197 status of a literary language; the written language is based on the E dialect. In the North-Ossetian ASSR the Cyrillic, in the South-Ossetian AO the Georgian alphabet is used.

SUBDIVISIONS: The Ossetian dialects, which follow tribal divisions, are subdivided into a Western (Digor) and an Eastern branch (Tagaur, Kurtat, and Allagir). The dialect of the S Ossetes (Tual) is a sub-dialect of Tagaur.

231 241 TRADITIONAL ECONOMY: Cattle breeding; some agriculture.

795 RELIGION: Eastern Orthodox, except the Digor, who are Muslim (Sunni).

## 39. TALYSH

101 NAME: SELF-DESIGNATION: Tolysh.
ENGLISH VARIANTS: Talysh, Talish.
RUSSIAN DESIGNATIONS: Talyshi, Talyshintsy.

161 NUMBER: 1897 35,291 (Russian census)
1926 77,323 (Russian census, ethn.)
80,629 (Russian census, ling.)
1931 89,398 (Azerb. upravl. nar.-khoz. ucheta.)
In Iran: 50,000 (estimate, B. V. Miller)

162 LOCATION: Along Caspian coast S of the River Viliazh-chai (rayons Lenkoran', Zuvand, Astara, and part of Massala, Azerbaidzhan SSR), extending into Persian territory up to Kepri-chal.

197 LANGUAGE: Talysh (Tolysha zyvon), like Tat, is a member of the NW subdivision of the Iranian branch of the Indo-European language-family, to which branch also belong Persian, and, in the Caucasus, Ossetian and Kurdish. The Talysh in the USSR are all bilingual and speak also Azeri, which is used as the literary language.

241 231 TRADITIONAL ECONOMY: Agriculture; horticulture; stock-raising; home industry.

795 RELIGION: Islam (Shii).

197 belong Persian and, in the Caucasus, Ossetian and Kurdish.

SUBDIVISIONS: Two main dialects, that of the Muslim and that of the Jewish Tat, the former divided into a number of sub-dialects.

241 438 TRADITIONAL ECONOMY: Agriculture; horticulture; home crafts (tapestry-weaving, metal-work).

795 RELIGION: Part Muslim (Sunni), part Jewish.

7:Columbia U. S-4, 5 1956 RH1 Caucasia RH1
Kurd

197 LANGUAGE: Kurdish (Kurmandzhi) is a member of the SW subdivision of the Iranian branch of the Indo-European language family, to which branch belong also Persian and in the Caucasus Ossetian, Tat, and Talysh.

SUBDIVISIONS: There are two main groups of dialects, a northern (Kurmandzhi) and a southern (Kurdi).

233 TRADITIONAL ECONOMY: Partly nomadic
• 241 pastoralism, partly agriculture.

795 RELIGION: Islam (Sunni, with a Shii minority); Yezidi (concentrated near Leninakan and near Echmiadzin).

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162 LOCATION: Geographical: Transcaucasia, Northern Caucasus along the Caspian Sea (northward as far as Derbent), northwestern Persia, southern Kurdistan (Iraq).

Political-Administrative: USSR: Azerbaidzhan SSR, Georgian SSR, Dagestan ASSR. Persia: Rizaiyeh, Azerbaijan, Khamseh, Kazvin, Ardelan provinces. Iraq: Erbil, Kirkuk, Sülaimaniya provinces.

197 LANGUAGE: Azeri Turkic; belongs to the Western Oghuz Turkic group and differs very little from Turkish and the Kashkay-Hamse languages; literary language since the 14th century; lingua franca in Transcaucasia, Dagestan ASSR, and northern Persia.

SUBDIVISIONS: Tribal: Settled Azeris; Nomadic Azeris (Iliyat). Dialectal: Northern (USSR); Southern (Persia).

241 231 438 TRADITIONAL ECONOMY: Agriculture; cattle-breeding; commerce; industry.

795 RELIGION: Islam (Shii, Sunni).

7:Columbia U. S-4, 5 1956 RH1 Caucasia RH1
Turcoman

162 (Location, continued)
Political-Administrative: Northern Caucasus: Stavropol' Krai (northern rayons), Rostov Oblast (southeastern rayons); Central Asia: Turkmen SSR, Kara-Kalpak ASSR, Afghanistan, Persia.

197 LANGUAGE: Turkoman; constitutes Eastern Oghuz Turkic; most nearly related Turkic language group: Western Oghuz Turkic (Turkish, Azeri, Kashkay-Hamse); several dialects agreeing with tribal subdivisions; literary language based on the dialect of Yomuts; literary language since the 18th century.

SUBDIVISIONS: Tribal: Trukhmen (Northern Caucasus); Teke, Yomut, Ersari, Sarik (Turkmen SSR); Chaudur (Kara-Kalpak ASSR); Salir (Afghanistan); Göklen (Persia)

231 241 TRADITIONAL ECONOMY: Cattle-breeding; agriculture.

795 RELIGION: Islam (Sunni).

## 45. KUMUK

101 NAME: SELF-DESIGNATION: Kumuklar
ENGLISH VARIANTS: Kumyk
RUSSIAN DESIGNATION: Kumyki
TURKISH DESIGNATION: Kumuklar

161 NUMBER: 1926 94,549 (Russian cens. ethn.)
94,909 (Russian cens. ling.)

162 LOCATION: Geographical: The northeastern slopes of the Greater Caucasus along the Aksai, Sulak, Shura, and Gubden rivers, and along the Caspian coast from Adzhi-Su to Derbent.

Political-Administrative: Dagestan ASSR (Makhachkala, Buynaksk, Izberbash, and Derbent okrugs), Groznyi Oblast (southern parts of the former Kizliar Okrug).

197 LANGUAGE: Kumuk; belongs to the Kipchak Turkic group, together with Crimean Turkic, Karachay, Balkar, Noghay, Kazan Turkic, Kazak, etc.); literary language since the 19th century; lingua franca in Dagestan ASSR northward from Derbent.

• 241 231 226 TRADITIONAL ECONOMY: Agriculture; cattle-breeding; fishing.

795 RELIGION: Islam (Sunni).

162 between the upper Kuban' and Urup rivers. Crimean SSR (before 1945): Northern Crimea, Perekop. Bulgaria: Dobruja, Deli Orman area.

Political-Administrative: USSR: Groznyi Oblast (former Kizliar and Achikulak okrugs), Astrakhan Oblast (rayons along the Kuma and Volga rivers), Cherkes AO (Abazino-Nogai rayon), Crimean ASSR (before 1945). Bulgaria: former Shumen district.

197 LANGUAGE: Noghay; belongs to the Kipchak-Turkic language group, together with North Crimean Turkic, Karachay, Balkar, Kumuk, Kazan Turkic, Kazak, etc., literary language (since the Soviet period) based on the White Noghay, Black Noghay, and Central Noghay dialects; the other Noghay groups have given up the Noghay language.

SUBDIVISIONS: Dialectal: Black Noghay, Central Noghay (Groznyi Oblast, southern rayons of the Astrakhan Oblast); the Noghays of Crimea and those of Dobruja (Bulgaria) have given up their language in favor of South Crimean Turkic, whereas the Noghays around Astrakhan today speak Kazan Turkic.

231 241 TRADITIONAL ECONOMY: Cattle-breeding; agriculture (Bulgaria).

795 RELIGION: Islam (Sunni).

## 47. KARACHAY

101 NAME: SELF-DESIGNATION: Karachayla
RUSSIAN DESIGNATION: Karachaitsy,
TURKISH DESIGNATION: Karaçaylar

161 NUMBER: 1897 27,233 (Russian census)
1926 55,123 (Russian census, ethn.)
55,349 (Russian census, ling.)
1939 75,737 (Russian census)

162 Distribution: Deported from the Caucasus in 1943. Present location unknown.

LOCATION: Geographical: Before 1943, on the northern slopes of the Greater Caucasus along the headwaters of the Kuban', Teberda, Zelenchuk, Laba, and Podkumok rivers.

Political-Administrative: Before 1943: Karachai AO.

197 LANGUAGE: Karachay; belongs to the Kipchak Turkic language group (which includes Crimean Turkic, Kumuk, Noghay, Kazan Turkic, Kazak, etc.), and is almost identical with Balkar; as a literary language, a common Karachay-Balkar language was used which was created in the Soviet period.

231 241 TRADITIONAL ECONOMY: Cattle-breeding; agriculture; handicrafts.

795 RELIGION: Islam (Sunni).

## 48. BALKAR

101 NAME: SELF-DESIGNATION: Malkarla
RUSSIAN DESIGNATION: Balkary
TURKISH DESIGNATIONS: Malkarlar, Balkarlar.

161 NUMBER: 1897 34,232 (Russian census)
1926 33,307 (Russian census, ethn.)
33,276 (Russian census, ling.)
1939 42,666 (Russian census)

162 Distribution: Deported from the Caucasus in 1943, present location unknown.

LOCATION: Georgraphical: Before 1943, on the northern slopes of the Greater Caucasus along the upper course of the Baksan, Chegem, and Cherek rivers.
Political-Administrative: Before 1943: Kabardino-Balkar Autonomous SSR (Balkar rayon).

197 LANGUAGE: Balkar; belongs to the Kipchak Turkic language group, along with Crimean Turkic, Kumuk, Noghay, Kazan Turkic, Kazak etc.) and is almost identical with Karachay; as a literary language, a common Karachay-Balkar language was used, which was created in the Soviet period.

231 241 TRADITIONAL ECONOMY: Cattle-breeding and some agriculture.

79 RELIGION: Islam (Sunni).

## 50. AISOR

101 NAME: SELF-DESIGNATION: Surai
ENGLISH VARIANTS: Chald(a)eans, Syrochald(a)eans, Assyrians.
RUSSIAN DESIGNATIONS: Aisory, Assiriitsy, Assuriitsy.
OTHER DISIGNATIONS: (Georgian:) Kaldeveli.

161 NUMBER: 1897 5,353 (Russian census)
1926 9,808 (Russian census, ethn.)
15,476 (Russian census, ling.)
1939 20,200 (Russian census)

162 LOCATION: Concentrated near Erevan', also scattered in other regions of Transcaucasia. Outside USSR: Iraq (esp. in Tur Abdin) and NW Iran.

197 LANGUAGE: Aisor is a New-Syrian dialect, belonging to the Aramaic subdivision of the Semitic language-family. Aisor has the status of a literary language in the USSR.

241 231 TRADITIONAL ECONOMY: Agriculture; cattle-breeding; crafts.

795 RELIGION: Nestorian and Jacobite Christian.

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## TRADITIONAL ECONOMY

C G .241 Traditional Georgian economy is based on agriculture, horticulture and viniculture; in the mountainous regions cattle-breeding and dairy-farming are no less important than the cultivation of cereals. In the West (Guria, Mingrelia, Imeretia) corn and a variety of millet called ghomi are sown; in the lowlands of Kartlia, wheat; in higher regions, barley; C G [407] in the mountain valleys, oats and rye -- which are also used for baking bread. The ploughing implements differ according to the nature of the soil. In the West the plough is light and simple and drawn by a pair of oxen or buffaloes. In the eastern plains, where the soil becomes very dry and hard during the rainless summer, a large and heavy plough with fore-wheels (gutani), drawn by 4-8 pairs of oxen, is used; the soil is cut to a depth of 2-3 feet and thrown to the side by a shovel-shaped moldboard. Ploughing is done in the fall; sowing in fall (wheat) or spring (barley, corn). The soil is not harrowed, but the seed is covered by dragging bundles of brushwood C G which are attached to a beam over the soil. [407] For thrashing, an oblong or triangular wooden sledge (k'evri) set underneath with sharp stone splinters or pieces of iron is drawn by oxen over the threshing floor (k'alo); the driver stands on top. The grain is then winnowed by throwing it up in the wind with spades. The chaff is used as cattle-feed.

C. G. 233 221 spend the winter in the steppes of the lower Alazani river with their herds of sheep. On the other hand, the Tush living on the Lower Alazani, and also the Bats, move with their families to the mountain pastures in summer, where they live in huts, sunk into the ground C. G. 493 and covered with slates. The indigenous means of transportation is a clumsy two-wheeled cart (uremi) drawn by a pair of oxen or buffaloes. The large wooden disk wheels are firmly joined to the axle-tree. In the mountains, sledges are used to carry in the hay. In a peculiar vehicle called chochiala uremi rolling and sliding are combined: the ends of two long poles attached to the yoke, which slide on the ground, serve the purpose of a pair of front wheels.

C. G. 231 241 The traditional economy of the North-West Caucasian peoples (Abkhaz and Circassians) was based on horse and cattle breeding, agriculture (millet, maize, wheat, rye) some horticulture, beekeeping and (Abkhaz) wine growing. The Abkhaz methods in these activities are the same as the Georgian. Formerly, their economy was largely pastoral, but in the second half of the nineteenth century they became more agricultural. The country is better suited to agriculture, though horse and sheep raising are still important. The Western Circassians, too, were more dependent on cattle-breeding before their forced migration from the mountains to the lowlands of the Kuban. The Kabardians are still mainly sheep-, cattle -, and especially horse-breeders: the Kabardian horses are famous for their

C. G. 231 241 beauty and stamina. Apiculture is also widespread among the Circassians; their beehives, contrary to those of the Georgians and Abkhaz, are similar to those found in Central Europe; they are made of bast or of plaited willow-twigs which are covered with clay or cow-dung.

C. D. 233 In Dagestan, stock-raising is preponderant (sheep, goats, cows, horses, donkeys, buffaloes). In winter, the herds are usually brought to the steppe-country in the South or to the Caspian coast area. C. D. 241 The southeast, i.e. the country of the Lezghi, is comparatively better suited for agriculture, but it is practiced even in the more elevated regions. Wheat, barley and millet are grown in small fields, situated on natural or artificial terraces, which often require artificial irrigation. C D [40] The ground is cultivated with a local kind of light plough called durats, puruts, etc. which only scrapes the soil superficially. As most of the fields require manuring, the constant removing of stones, and even restoring of the soil, which has to be carried up by hand, farming involves hard labor. C. D. 438 As the production of grain has never covered the needs of the population, home-industry is highly developed in Dagestan. C. D. [286] Everywhere the women do their own spinning and weaving. The spinning wheel is unknown; the looms for carpet-weaving differ from those for the weaving of coarse cloth out of homespun wool and of hemp-cloth used for sacks. Many crafts are practiced beyond the

241 The Kuban' steppes are among the chief grain-producing regions
C the USSR. The fertile black earth and sufficient rainfall favor the ex-
241 tensive cultivation of cereals such as wheat, barley, and corn, while of the industrial crops sunflower, cotton, *kenaf*, soy and castor beans are most important. Rice is grown in the swampy delta of the Kuban' River. In the drier eastern portion of the steppes and in the mountainous section of the Northern Caucasus the raising of livestock and allied activities
SU are the main occupations of the rural population.

435* The industries are concerned primarily with the extraction and re-
C fining of petroleum (Groznyy, Makhachkala, and Maykop), the mining
438 of polymetallic ores and molybdenum, and the production of hydroelectric power. In the steppes rural industries process the local products and produce vegetable oils, alcohol, sugar, and starches. Large cement mills at Novorossiysk are notable. Fishing and canning are well developed along the coast. An important role is played by health and tourist resorts, notably Kislovodsk and its satellites in the foothills of the Caucasus and the subtropical resorts of Sochi and Matsesta along the Black Sea littoral.

SU 496 Two main rail lines serve the steppes of the region. Tikhoretsk is the
C junction for these two railways coming from Stalingrad and Rostov. The
496 Stalingrad line passes through Krasnodar and on to the Black Sea port of Novorossiysk, while the Rostov trunk railroad runs parallel to the northern foothills of the Greater Caucasus and along the Caspian Sea to Baku. A line branching off at Armavir reaches the Black Sea oil port of Tuapse and continues along the coast past Sochi to the Georgian SSR through a rail link completed during the Second World War. Transportation across the Greater Caucasus range is maintained by three important highways: the Sukhumi military road (Cherkessk-Sukhumi), the Ossetian military road (Alagir-Kutaisi), and the Georgian military road (Dzaudzhikau-Tbilisi).

## Rostov Oblast

SU Capital, Rostov on the Don; Area, 40,300, population, 2,550,000

131 Rostov Oblast is astride of the lower Don River, within the bend of the
C river in proximity to the Volga near Stalingrad. The southern section
131 of the oblast is drained mainly by the Sal and the Manych, two left affluents of the Don. According to its relief, the region may be divided into the eastern end of the Donets ridge, the southeastern outliers of the Central Russian upland in the north and the wide Don steppe in the south.

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in a southwestern suburb of Krasnyy Sulin. The former plays an important role in the mechanization of the coal-mining operations. Before the Second World War, more than 10 percent of the Donbas coal was mined within Rostov Oblast.

On the basis of the coal resources, heavy industry is operating metallurgical plants at Taganrog and Krasnyy Sulin. Rostov is the home of *Rossel'mash*, the largest agricultural machinery plant of the USSR. Agricultural implements are also manufactured at Morozovsk. Other centers engaged in the production of machinery and metal products are Taganrog, Novocherkassk, Glubokiy, and Likhovskoy (at Likhaya station).

In the northern grain-growing district, wheat and sunflower are the dominant crops. Toward the southeast, barley and mustard become important; further on, toward the Caspian Lowland, the emphasis shifts to stock raising. Horses and meat cattle are gradually replaced by sheep in the drier areas. Cotton is grown to some extent in the south and the southeast. Several Cossack villages along the Don River, notably Tsimlyanskaya and Razdorskaya, have extensive vineyards. In a wide zone through the urban and heavily industrialized section of Taganrog-Rostov-Shakhty, truck gardening and the raising of dairy cattle are the principal agricultural activities. The principal agricultural centers are Millerovo and Chertkovo in the north and Sal'sk (with near-by Gigant state farm, one of the largest grain farms of the USSR) in the southeast. These and other towns throughout the oblast mill flour, extract sunflower oil, and process tobacco. The fish catch of the Don delta and adjacent Taganrog Gulf is processed at Azov, a small port southwest of Rostov.

Rostov Oblast is settled by Russians and a Ukrainian minority. Prior to the Second World War some Kalmyk elements were organized into a Kalmyk national rayon, northwest of Zimovniki. In 1944, following the abrogation of the Kalmyk Autonomous SSR, the rayon was also abrogated, and presumably the population was resettled elsewhere. In this connection, Rostov Oblast also acquired the westernmost section of the former Kalmyk Autonomous SSR.

Rostov lies on the elevated, right bank of the Don River at the head of the delta. Thanks to its favorable location at the junction of trade routes between the Black Sea, the Volga, the Ukraine, the European Center, and the Northern Caucasus, it developed early into an important commercial center and transportation hub. With the construction of the

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SU 133 C 133 The entire Kray, with the exception of the mountains in the south and the dry steppes in the east, is covered with black earth of the highest grade. The soil conditions and the warm, humid summer climate combine to make the Kuban' region one of the most fertile agricultural regions of the USSR, able to provide a large number of products. In the southwest, along the Black Sea littoral, the subtropical, winterless climate favors the growth of citrus fruits, tea, and similar warm-weather crops. The mountainous portion of the region also presents factors favorable to the development of the economy. The left affluents of the Kuban', the Belaya, the Laba, and the Urup rivers, as well as the upper course of the Kuban' itself are potential sources of hydroelectric power. A rich petroleum-bearing area extends from the Taman' peninsula to the Belaya River along the northern foothills of the Greater Caucasus. Along the Black Sea, southeast of Novorossiysk, extensive marl deposits furnish an important basis for the cement industry. The region also includes the forested slopes of the Caucasus that are covered with oak and chestnut, two valuable types of wood. The Sea of Azov, finally, is rich in fish along the shallow northwest coast of Krasnodar Kray.

SU 162 C 162 The population of the region is predominantly Russian. It includes also large numbers of Ukrainians and Adyge (Cherkess or Circassians), the latter being organized into an autonomous oblast. The Cossacks are concentrated in large villages along the Kuban' River.

SU 496 C 496 The Russian settlement and consequent economic development received their most vigorous impetus from the construction of the Rostov-Baku railroad in the 1870's. During the twenty-five years following the completion of the line the population of the Kuban' district increased twice, and the area under cultivation fivefold. Mechanization was introduced early by the well-to-do peasants, who owned most of the land prior to collectivization. After the adoption of rationalized agriculture, spring wheat and sunflowers were assigned to the dry northern steppes, where the black-earth and chestnut soils suffer from drought in summer and are covered only by a thin snow cover in the winter months. The richest agricultural area lies along the Kuban' River. There, among vast expanses under winter wheat, barley, and corn, large areas are producing garden produce, melons and pumpkins, and fodder crops. The principal old industrial crops are sunflower and tobacco; during recent years cotton, *kenaf*, soy beans, castor beans, and essential-oil-bearing plants were introduced. Rice has been acclimatized in the swampy lowlands bordering on the Kuban', between Krasnodar and the delta. Livestock raising is more intensive here than it is along the Don and in the

SU 241 C 241

[2. Krasnodar Kray--Analyst]

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Sal steppes, where because of the dry conditions only sheep and horses can be successfully reared. SU 241 C 241

The rich agricultural production of the Kuban' lowlands is processed at a number of centers, chiefly Krasnodar, Armavir, Kropotkin, and Labinsk. Of great importance are oil presses, canneries, flour mills, and tobacco factories.

The Black Sea littoral is characterized by a humid, maritime climate, luxuriant natural vegetation, mineral springs, and a picturesque location between the mountains and the sea. These factors combine to make the area provide garden crops and health resorts. Because of the limited land area under cultivation and the presence of resorts (Sochi, Matsesta, and Anapa), the growing of vegetables, fruits, vineyards, and dairy farming receive priority. Tobacco, southern hemp, oil-bearing plants are also cultivated. Flower gardens and decorative plants are common. Wine is made chiefly at Anapa, at Abrau-Dyurso near Novorossiysk, and at Solntsedar [gift of the sun], just west of Gelendzhik. Gelendzhik itself is an important dairying center. Tea is processed at Dagomys, northwest of Sochi.

The Kuban'-Black Sea petroleum region (near Maykop) is centered in Neftegorsk [oil mountain] and Apsheronsk (named for the oil-rich Apsheron peninsula). Near by are the oil towns of Khadyzhenskiy and recently-opened Kutais. Another field has been developed at Il'skiy, southwest of Krasnodar. Prior to the Second World War this region was one of the most rapidly developing petroleum areas of the USSR; it had a tenfold increase in production under the Soviet regime. Destruction caused by the war has, however, been responsible for a considerable setback in output. SU 315 C 315

The basic transportation routes are the Rostov-Baku and Novorossiysk-Stalingrad railroads, their junction being at Tikhoretsk, a major rail center with extensive yards and shops. Short branch lines serve most sections of the region. During the Second World War the opening of the Black Sea littoral railroad between Adler and Sukhumi (Georgian SSR) established another vital link across the Greater Caucasus to the Transcaucasian republics. Coastal steamers serve the Black Sea shore, stopping at Sochi, Tuapse, and Novorossiysk, the most important ports. SU 496 C 496

Krasnodar, formerly called Yekaterinodar, lies on the right bank of the Kuban', in the middle of the fertile black-earth agricultural area. Once the capital of the Kuban' Cossacks, it has oil-refining and metalworking industries. It is a major food-processing and rail center, having SU 435* 341 C 438 361

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SU 631 928 C 631 728 persed and resettled, and the Karachay lost official recognition. The autonomous unit was abolished. Its major portion, including the capital, Mikoyan-Shakhar, now Klukhori, and the resort Teberda, and the village Uchkulan, now Madniskhevi, were ceded to the Georgian SSR, the strip along the upper Laba River passed to Krasnodar Kray; another portion, including the village Pregradnaya, was annexed to Cherkess Autonomous Oblast; the remainder became part of Stavropol' Kray proper.

SU 241 C 241 The climatic and soil conditions of the region are favorable to the development of grain farming and the raising of livestock for wool and meat, activities which prevail for similar reasons in the dry steppes of the Lower Volga Region, in northern Kazakhstan, and in Western Siberia. The main crops are winter wheat, sunflowers in the west, and cotton in the east. In the section bordering on the upper and middle Kuma River, irrigated farming is devoted to the raising of orchards, garden crops, and vineyards, the latter particularly in the Budennovsk–Georgiyevsk area. With the construction of the Nevinnomyssk Canal, to be completed during the current Five-Year Plan, the glacier-fed Kuban' River will be linked with the Yegorlyk, an affluent of the Manych, and new areas will be put under irrigation in the western part of Stavropol' Kray. Truck produce is grown intensively in the relatively urban areas of the health resorts (Pyatigorsk, Kislovodsk, and others) in the south and in the southwestern mountain area garden and dairy farming is carried on. In the northern and eastern steppes the raising of sheep is most important. On specially organized state farms two major breeds predominate: the merino sheep for the production of fine wool and the *volosh* sheep, which furnishes meat and coarse wool. The Alpine pastures in the southwest support the so-called Karachay sheep, which also is used mainly for meat. Dairy cattle are raised in the health resort district, and hogs and horses on the mountains slopes.

SU 236 C 236

SU [135] C [135] SU 438* C 438 The mineral resources of the region consist only of coal, which is worked in small amounts at Khumarinskoye and Ordzhonikidzevskiy, just north of Klukhori, of raw material for the chemical industry of Cherkess Autonomous Oblast, and of the mineral springs in the Pyatigorsk-Kislovodsk area. The products of agriculture and of the pastoral economy are partly processed within the region; some are exported in semi-processed form to other areas of the USSR. The principal export items are grain, vegetable oil, meat, tallow, dairy products, raw wool, fruits, and vegetables. The local industries are scattered

54 631 C 631 Until 1936 Transcaucasia formed a single political unit: the Transcaucasian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic, then one of the union republics of the USSR. With the promulgation of the 1936 Constitution, this federated republic was split up into its primary components based on the three principal nationalities: Armenian, Azerbaijan, and Georgian SSR's. Minor nationalities, such as Abkhaz, Adzhars, and Ossetians, are organized into lesser autonomous units such as autonomous SSR's or 54 autonomous oblasts.

382 135 C 382 135 Petroleum is the most important single asset of Transcaucasia. The Baku oil region of world-wide significance is the principal petroleum producer of the USSR, furnishing more than one half the total output. Pipe lines for crude oil, kerosene, and other petroleum products lead from Baku across the entire region to Batumi on the Black Sea, next to Baku, the principal oil port and refining center of Transcaucasia. Before the Second World War the petroleum industry accounted for two fifths of all factory workers, two thirds of the use of electric energy, more than one half the industrial production, and almost two thirds of the exports of Transcaucasia. Since then, however, the creation of new industries and the increase of electric power sources have reduced the relative importance of this branch of the economy. Among the other important power resources are the coal mines of Tkibuli and Tkvarcheli in Georgia, especially the reserves of hydroelectric power, which equal the reserves of the European part of the USSR. Among the most important metal deposits are the manganese mines of Chiatura (Georgia), the second 54 largest in the world, copper in Armenia, and iron in Azerbaijan.

435* C 438 Manufacturing industries are mainly devoted to the processing of the local agricultural products: fruit canning, wine-making, distilling, and cotton ginning. Azerbaijan has a well-developed textile industry, and many of the precious woods are used in wood-working plants. Heavy metallurgy is represented by the steel mills of Rustavi (Georgia) and the ferro-manganese works of Zestafoni (Georgia), and there are machinery plants in many of the large cities. Chemicals and cement are also 54 produced.

311 241 C 311 241 In connection with the varied natural conditions and under the influence of the vertical zoning in the mountains, all rural economy forms are represented—from orchard farming in the irrigated sections to nomadic livestock raising in the drier areas. The land is divided according to usability as follows: one fifth is arid, due to the presence of rocks, sands, or marshes; another fifth is forested; more than one third is

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SU 311 241 C 311 241

pasture land, including the dry lowland steppe areas (used in the winter) and the mountain meadows (used in the summer). Only one fourth of the total area is under cultivation. The principal crops are garden fruits (apples, pears, apricots, peaches, plums, chestnuts, walnuts, and almonds) and subtropical products such as tea and citrus fruits along the Black Sea coast. Sericulture and viticulture are also important. Transcaucasia is the second most important cotton producer of the USSR; the principal cotton areas are in the dry, gray-soil lowlands of the Aras and the Kura, where the most extensive irrigation systems have been developed. In Abkhazia tobacco is grown, and the flooded lowlands of eastern and southern Transcaucasia are suitable for the cultivation of rice. Grains are subordinated in favor of the more specialized industrial and subtropical crops. Livestock is generally driven over great distances, from the winter pastures in the dry steppes to the mountains, where the Alpine meadows furnish excellent summer fodder. This nomadic type of livestock raising is gradually making way for more intensive, sedentary methods, since the dry steppes are gradually being irrigated, and large areas are coming under fodder crops. Sheep and cattle form the principal herds. Horses are few, and they are replaced partly by water buffaloes (for farm work) and partly by camels, mules, and donkeys (for transportation).

SU 231 C 231

SU 496 C 496

The basic railroads are the Batumi-Baku line, with a large number of branches and spurs, including the coastal railways along the Black and the Caspian seas, and the southern branch, which links Tbilisi and Baku via Dzhul'fa and the Aras valley. The Transcaucasian railway system provides connections with the Turkish rail network at Leninakan, and from Dzhul'fa a line goes south to Tabriz (Iran), with an ultimate extension to Tehran. Most of the lines have been electrified or are in process of electrification. Transportation in the higher sections has to rely on highways, among which the Sukhumi, the Ossetian, and the Georgian military roads across the Greater Caucasus range are most noteworthy. Due to the mountainous character of the river courses, inland navigation is negligible.

## Azerbaijan Soviet Socialist Republic

**Capital, Baku; area, 33,100, population, 3,100,000**

SU 133* A 133

The Azerbaijan (or Azerbaydzhan) SSR lies in the eastern section of Transcaucasia, on the Caspian Sea. It includes the southeastern spurs of the Greater Caucasus, which terminates in the Apsheron peninsula,

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231 wool production was 14,946 tons in 1908, 13,339 tons
236 in 1909, and 17,356 tons, of which 16,473 tons were fine wool and 883 tons coarse, in 1913. The nomad Kurds, the Tatars, the Ossetes, the Svanetians, the Kabards, and the Abkhasians live principally by their flocks and herds, which they raise by primitive methods. Part of the wool crop is sold in the Tatar camps at shearing time to local carpet-weavers; part is exported.

231 *Honey* and *wax* are obtained throughout the Caucasus. In 1912 there were 26,000 apiaries, containing nearly 600,000 hives, and the production was 2,500 tons of honey and 300 tons of wax, most of which was consumed locally.

*Silk.*—Mulberry-trees are grown on the lower slopes of the Transcaucasian mountains, and the silkworm industry, after a period of depression due to the spread of disease amongst the silkworms, has developed greatly of late years, especially in the Governments of Tiflis, Erivan, Elisavetopol, and Kutais. In the Baku Government, where it was once widespread, the industry is only continued to any considerable extent in the district of Geokchai. Much of the output, which in 1914 amounted to over 5,000 tons, is normally con-
[439] sumed in local silk manufactures. Silkworm eggs were imported, principally from Turkey and Italy, and were strictly examined by the Imperial Agricultural Society at Tiflis. The failure of the Turkish supply after 1914 adversely affected subsequent cocoon crops.

### (*b*) *Methods of Cultivation*

242 Ciscaucasia is far in advance of Transcaucasia in respect of agricultural methods, a fact due in part to the more enterprising character of the Cossack population and in part to the less isolated geographical position of the northern provinces. In both divisions of the country, however, there has in recent years been a notable advance in agricultural science, evidenced by the rapid development of co-operation. Whereas in 1909 there were 100 agricultural associations in the

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Caucasus, in 1913 there were 803. Agricultural methods were taught in some of the industrial schools. There were experimental botanical gardens, subsidized by the State, at Tiflis and Batum, and a sericultural station. The grants made by the Caucasian Board of Agriculture for the promotion of rural industries in 1913 amounted to £100,000, an advance of 50 per cent. on the sum granted in the previous year. Of this total £61,000 was allocated to research, £2,000 to improvement of live-stock, and £5,000 to grants in aid to agricultural societies.

In 1913 a commission of agriculturists appointed by the Viceroy of the Caucasus recommended that all educational and experimental institutions should be brought under the Board of Agriculture, and that a permanent commission should be formed to control and initiate such institutions, to organize the supply of information, and to compile statistics.

Partly on account of labour difficulties (see p. 50) there was an increasing demand for agricultural machinery, but better methods of cultivation were simultaneously being introduced.

Extensive *irrigation* schemes had been carried out and others were in contemplation. At Chamlik, a canal from the Laba, the largest tributary of the Kuban, irrigates several thousand acres of steppe land. There is an irrigation canal near Tiflis. In 1906, 62,100 acres of land in the Mughan steppe were reclaimed, at a cost to the State of £31,000; 14 villages were planted, and land which had been practically worthless yielded about £4 an acre. In 1913 the Irrigation Board set up a modulation section to test the rise and fall of water for irrigation purposes in the Karayaz experimental fields and the Mughan steppe. The irrigation of the Mughan steppe was completed and the adjoining Mil steppe was made fertile by means of the Romanov Irrigation Canal, which was opened in 1914; in this year a large barrage was under construction at Saalti, and was to have been completed by 1915. A total of 190,000 acres on the Mughan had been reclaimed,

242 645 3 Abdulragimov, Tagi Abragim ogly Stalin prize 2. class, 1950 for new ways of producing agricultural plants, mainly cotton. Deputy Minister of vodnoe khoziaistvo Azerb. SSR, 1950

Laur. Stalin prem. 1950
p. 55

532 3 Abdurakhman, Fuad Gason ogly Stalin prize 3. class, 1950 for his sculpture "Chaban." Born 1915- Among famous statues are: Nizami in Baku; also portraits of Bagirov, Azi Aslanov. Corresp. member of Akad. khudozh. SSSR.

Laur. Stalin prem. 1950
p. 76
BE II 1:14

814 2 Abegian, Manuk Khachaturovich 1865-1944. Armenian folklorist, linguist; Professor of Erevan univ. Wrote: Armianskie narodnye mify, 1899; Armianskii narodnyi epos, 1908; Russko-armianskii voennyi slovar' 1925; Metrika armianskogo stikha, 1933; 2 vols. of Armenian literature from V-XVIII c. (1944-46).

BE II 1:15-16

665 2
645 Abramian, R. T.
Member CC CP Arm. SSR. 17.-18. s'ezd, 1954, 1956. Minister of Agriculture Arm. SSR, 1956

Kom. Er. 1/22/56, 1/21/56

646 1 Abuladze, Eteri Baratalovna
Adzhar. deputy Sov. Nats. VS SSSR 4. sozyv, 1954. Born Vashlovani, 1926- No party affiliation.

Bak. Rab. 3/18/54
Zar. Vost. 2/13/54

• 242 3 Adibekov, Ogan Aleksandrovich
Stalin prize, 2. class, 1950 for new ways of producing agricultural plants, mainly cotton. Head of trust "Azvodstroi." (1950)

Laur. Stalin. prem. 1950
p. 55

536 2 Adzhemian, Vartan Mkrtichevich
Stalin prize, 3. class, 1950. Artist; for participation in Stepanian's opera "Geroinia."

Laur. Stalin. prem. 1950
p. 80

242 2 Agababian, Shavarsh Mnetsakonovich
Stalin prize, 2. class, 1950 for his work on Kormovye rasteniia senokosov i pastbishch SSR, v. I, 1950. Armenian agronomist.

Laur. Stalin. prem. 1950
p. 11

665 2 Agadzhanian, E. M.
Member CC CP Arm. SSR, 17-18. s'ezd, 1954, 1956.

Kom. Er. 1/22/56

532 2 Agadzhanian, Stepan Meliksetovich
1863-1940. Armenian landscape painter; people's artist of Armenia. "Portret matery" "Portret ottsa," both in 1900; "Portret Spandariana," 1936. Lives and teaches in Erevan.

BE II 1:286

646 3 Agaev, Sabir Bala Ali ogly (Azerbaidzhani). Deputy to Sov. Soiuz VS SSR (4. s'ezd, 1954) Born in Sarai, 1927- Began as shepherd, then became metallurgical worker.

Bak. Rab. 3/18/54, 2/18/54

7:Columbia U. S-4,5 1956 RH1 Caucasia

RH1

316 3(?) Kamladze, Aleksandr Artem'evich
Stalin prize 1. class
Mining engineer

Laur. Stalin. prem. 1950
p. 34

669 3(?) Kamo (pseud.) Party-pseudonym of Ter-Petrosian, Semën Arshakovich Born in Gori, 1882-1922. Prof. revolutionary. Died in car accident. Collaborated with Stalin.

BE II 19:543

• 242 1 Kanchaveli, L.
Director of the Institute of plant protection of Akad. nauk, SSR Gruz., 1954

Zar. Vost. 2/17/54

538 2 Kaputikian, Sil'va Barunakovna 1919- . Armenian poetess, born in Erevan. Stalin prize in 1952. Wrote Vera, Esli vdrug pozuvut menia, etc.

BE II 20:90

646 2 Karapetian, Sashibek Airapetovich
Deputy Sov. Nats. VS SSSR, 4. sozyv, 1954.

Kom. Er. 3/19/54

7: Columbia U. S-4, 5 1956 RHI Caucasia

RHI

646
803

Bak. Rab. 2/18/54
Zar. Vost. 2/17/54
BE II 13:70
BE I 28:568

665
646 3
242

Mustafaev, Imam Dashdemir ogly (1910-Kakhi) 1st sect. CC CP Azerb. 1954- (20. s'ezd). Member CC CP SSSR 1956- (20.s'ezd). Member Sov. Soiuz VS SSSR 1954- (4. s'ezd). Agronomist; Michurin follower; introduced new type of wheat; 1947- min. agriculture of Azerb. Member presidium CC CP Azerb. SSR, 21. s'ezd, 1956.

NYT 2/27/56 & 1/26/56
Bak. Rab. 3/18/54
Bak. Rab. 3/2/54

665
646 1

Mzhavanadze, Vasilii Pavlovich 1st. sect. CC CP Georgia 1954- (16. s'ezd). Member CC CP SSSR 1956 - (20. s'ezd). Member Sov. Soiuz VS SSSR 1954 -(4. s'ezd)

NYT 2/27/56 also 12/29/55
Pravda 2/18/56
Bak. Rab. 3/18/54
Internatl. Yearb. 1955:538

7: Columbia U. S-4, 5 1956 RHl Caucasia
RHl

646
242 3 Ragimov, Iunus Iskender ogly
Deputy to Sov. Nats. VS SSSR (4. sozyv, 1954) Born in Agdash, 1907-. 1938 - chief agronomist of Bardinskaia mashino-traktornaia stantsiia; 1950 - director of Agzhabedinsk.lesozashchitnaia stantsiia. On record for overfulfilling the work quota, especially in clearing of lands.

Bak. Rab. 3/19/54, 2/18/54

646
665 3 Ragimov, Makhmud Dzafar Kuli ogly
Deputy to Sov. Nats. VS SSSR (4. sozyv, 1954) Born in Baku, 1905- Commander of "Kasptanker" (oil-transport boat); member of CC CP Azerb. SSR.

Bak. Rab. 3/19/54 and 3/2/54

665 3 Ragimov, R. K.
Member of CC CP Azerb. SSR, 21. s'ezd, 1956

Bak. Rab. 1/26/56

7: Columbia U. S-4, 5 1956 RHl Caucasia

RHl

646
665 2 Savoian, Andranik Israelovich
Deputy Sov. Nats. VS SSSR, 4 sozyv, 1954. Member CC CP Arm. SSR, 17.-18. s'ezd 1954, 1956

Kom. Er. 3/19/54 and 1/22/56

56 2 Sazandarian, Tatevik Tigranovna
Stalin prize 3. class for performance in opera Geroinia.

Laur. Stalin. prem. 1950
p. 80

646
665
647 3 Seidov, Gasan ogly
Deputy to Sov. Nats. VS SSSR (4. sozyv, 1954) Born in 1906- . 1937- head of Azerb. nauchno-issled. inst. khlopkovodstva in Kirovabad. 1946-2nd. sect. CC CP Azerb. SSSR; 1953- president of Gosplan Azerb. SSR. Member of CC CP Azerb. SSR, 20.-21. s'ezd, 1954, 1956

Bak. Rab. 3/19/54, 3/2/54, 1/26/56

242
643 3
645 Seidov, Mamed Mir Aziz ogly
Born in Sadarak, 1907- . Agriculture expert, partly official; deputy-president of Council of Ministers. 1954-minister of agriculture Azerb. SSR; Deputy VS Nakhichevanskaia ASSR; Unsuccessful candidate to VS SSSR (Sov. Nats., 1954)

Bak. Rab. 2/25/54

7:Columbia U. S-4,5 1956 RHl Caucasia
RHl

646
1 Sekhniashvili, Emil Alekseevich
Deputy to Sov. Nats. VS SSSR
(4. s'ezd, 1954)

Bak. Rab. 3/19/54

4 Sevast'ianov, Mikhail Mikhailovich
Sev. Os. Deputy Sov. Nats. VS
SSSR 4. sozyv, 1954

Pravda, 3/18/54

242
2 Sevumian, Grigorii Ivanovich
Stalin prize 2. class, 1950 for new
ways to produce cotton

Laur. Stalin. prem. 1950
p. 55

665
2 Shaginian, A. Kh.
Member CC CP Arm. SSR, 17.-18.
s'ezd, 1954, 1956

Kom. Er. 1/22/56

815
2 Shaginian, Marietta Sergeevna, 1888-
Stalin prize 3. class, 1950 for work
Puteshestvie po sovetskoi Armenii
Wrote also: Svoia sud'ba peremena.
Studied mineralogy in Moscow.

Laur. Stalin. prem. 1950, p. 67
BE I 61:788-90

7: Columbia U. S-4, 5 1956 RHl Caucasia
RHl

242
1 Ugrekhelidze, Petr Pavlovich
Stalin prize 2. class, 1950 for better cotton production.

Laur. Stalin. prem. 1950
p. 55

165
3 Unanov, B. T.
CC CP Azerb. SSR, 20. s'ezd, 1954.

646
341 3 Useinov, Mikhael Aleskerovich
Deputy to Sov. Nats. VS SSSR (4. sozyv, 1954). Born in Baku, 1905-; architect, representative of Azerb. intelligentsiia (sic!); member of Akad. nauk SSSR and Akad. nauk Azerb. SSR.; since 1940 professor of architect. design. Built movie-house "Nizami", museum, state conservatorium, etc. in Baku. Stalin prize winner. Now building Akad. nauk Azerb. SSSR bldgs. in Baku; director of art and architect. inst. of Akad. nauk Azerb. SSR.

Bak. Rab. 3/19/54
2/18/54

7: Columbia U, S-4, 5 1956 RH1 Caucasia

RH1

646
2422 Virabian, Ninel' Avetisovna
Deputy to Sov. Nats. VS SSSR
4. sozyv, 1954. In 1948 completed
Erevan agriculture inst.; increased
vegetable production in kolkhoz im.
Stalina where she is employed.

Kom Er. 3/19/54
2/19/54

535 3(?) Virsaladze, Simon Bagratovich, 1909-
Choreographer of various ballets.
Stalin prize in 1949 for staging
Glazunov's Raimonda; and also in
1951 for Kabalevskii's Sem'ia
Tarasa. Did sets to operas W.
Tell. E. Onegin.

BE II 8:152-3
Laur. Stalin. prem. 1950, p. 79

665
3 Vorob'ev, P. F.
CC CP Azerb. SSR, 20.s'ezd, 1954

2 Voskanian, S. A.
Member CC CP Arm. SSR, 18.s'ezd,
1956.

Kom. Er. 1/22/56

3: Anonymous U-4 (no date) 1920 RH1 Caucasia RH1



own homes, and a rise of from 10 per cent. to 50 per 468
cent. in the rates of pay. A promise of improved housing had been obtained when war broke out, and the men returned to work.

In the matter of wages, the demand at Baku was for 465
a minimum of £3 10*s.* a month; in 1908 an ordinary labourer on the oil-fields had earned only from 32*s.* to 40*s.* a month. In other industries ordinary labourers received from 2*s.* 6*d.* to 5*s.* a day, artisans from 5*s.* to 7*s.* 6*d.*, and miners from 5*s.* to 8*s.* 4*d.* Italian masons were paid from 3*s.* 4*d.* to 6*s.* 8*d.* a day. Agricultural labourers in 1913 were receiving from about 1*s.* 7*d.* to about 2*s.* 2*d.* a day, wages being highest in Kutais and lowest in Terek. Female labour, which is much used both in agriculture and in industry, is very poorly paid.

Since 1912 accident and sickness insurance has been 745
compulsory for large industrial concerns. Medical attendance, maintenance during illness, and pensions for totally disabled workmen and for the dependants of workmen accidentally killed in their employers' service, have to be provided by the employers.

## (2) Agriculture

### (*a*) *Products of Commercial Value.*

*Vegetable Products.—Cereals* grow well in the soil of 243
Ciscaucasia, which is a continuation of the 'black earth' 311
of southern Russia. The area planted with *wheat* in 1914 throughout the country was 12,700,000 acres, yielding nearly 3,000,000 tons of grain; nearly 5,000,000 acres were in Kuban and over 4,000,000 in Stavropol. The area under *barley* in the two divisions of Caucasia in 1914 was about 5,500,000 acres (yielding 1,600,000 tons), and of these more than 4,000,000 were in Ciscaucasia—2,000,000 in Kuban, 1,600,000 in Stavropol, and the rest in Terek. Between 1911 and 1915 Ciscaucasia produced on an average one-third of the total output of winter wheat in the whole Russian Empire and about 15 per cent. of the entire yield of

3: Anonymous U-4 (no date) 1920 RH1 Caucasia RH1



243 wheat and barley. Considerable quantities of both
311 wheat and barley are also grown in the eastern and central parts of Transcaucasia, the area under wheat in 1914 being 475,000 acres in Baku, 692,000 in Elisavetopol, and 680,000 in Tiflis, and that under barley, which thrives up to an elevation of 8,000 ft., being 248,000 acres, 329,000 acres, and 318,000 acres respectively in the same three governments.

*Maize* is the cereal most widely cultivated in north-western Transcaucasia, where it forms the principal food of the population, and whence it is also exported to Europe and Turkey. In Kutais the crop covered 466,000 acres in 1914; and in the little coastal district of Sukhum more than 100,000 acres. The acreage under maize in the whole country was 1,440,000, of which 670,000 acres were in Transcaucasia. Of the 770,000 acres sown in Ciscaucasia, 561,000 were in Terek. The total production of maize in 1914 amounted to 481,000 tons. *Millet* is almost entirely confined to Ciscaucasia, which in 1914, out of a total of 951,000 acres, yielding 355,000 tons, could claim 895,000 acres, more than half of them in Terek and most of the remainder in Stavropol. *Oats* are even more exclusively a product of the northern provinces, for in 1914, of a total of 1,056,000 acres, 512,000 were in Kuban, 301,000 in Stavropol, and 204,000 in Terek. The total yield was 441,000 tons. *Rye* is the least popular of the cereals, there being only 407,000 acres under this crop in the north, of which 246,000 were in Kuban, and 133,000 in the south, of which 75,000 were in Elisavetopol. The total yield was 137,000 tons. The growing of *rice* is decreasing; the yield in 1914 was 28,000 tons, and the area under cultivation 78,000 acres.

248 *Cotton*, first grown in the Government of Kutais in 1860, had come before the war to be cultivated over considerable areas in Elisavetopol and Erivan, and to a smaller extent in Baku, Tiflis, and Kutais, while a beginning had been made in Sukhum and Kars. Indeed the cotton crop, which was superseding rice, was looked on as a promising source of future prosperity, and

that there is no possibility of real tea planta-
243 tions. Corn (or maize) has been cultivated in large areas south and north of the Great Caucasus for more than 100 years. A more recent experiment has been made with rice, which has been successfully grown in Colchis and the Talysh coastal strip.

As for the cultivated grains, it is barley which climbs highest in the mountainous areas. Thus barley is the only cereal which can be grown in the higher areas of permanent habitation, for instance, in Svanet'ia or Oset'ia. It has been seen in Oset'ian villages and on the slopes of Alagöz, Ararat, and other parts of Armenia, at elevations up to 2500 m. Rye is grown up to 2000 m., i.e., 1000 m. higher than in the Alps. Even corn ripens at an elevation
245 of 900 m. The vine is found in Oset'ian villages (near Kurta) up to 1090 m. The best wines are made from growths found at an elevation of 750 m., and around that line, in the Alazani valley in Kakhet'ia. These vines yield the excellent wines of T'elavi, Napareuli, Tsinandali, and other famous places.

137 As late as the 19th century, after the Russian conquest, senseless deforestation was practiced, often with the help of fire; so that entire areas were laid bare of woods. But in too many instances neither fruit trees, vines, nor cereals were planted afterwards. Only during this century has the century-old practice of deforestation in the Caucasian countries of ancient culture been brought to a halt.

7: Columbia U. S-4, 5 1956 RHl Caucasia
RHl

311 Krasnodar Kray: The geographical structure of the kray secures to it a great agricultural variety; the sea coast is subtropical, the mountains along this seacoast are covered by forests, whereas the steppe beyond the forests with its black soil is one of the most fertile regions of the USSR; the only sub-unit of the kray, the Adyge AO belongs to the steppe zone.

Rostov Oblast: This oblast formerly included two quite distinct regions; a very dry south-eastern part with agricultural features similar to the eastern Stavropol' Kray, and a more humid northern part which is a kind of continuation of Ukraine; this oblast has recently been broken up, with the northern part forming a new unit, and only the more homogeneous south-eastern part around Sal'sk and the lower-Don valley remaining in the Rostov Oblast; in the remaining part grain farming and sunflowers are especially characteristic.

*

311 A clear picture of the agricultural poten-
243 tial of the area, is best given in the form of a list:

Wheat: The main areas are the North Caucasus, in Azerbaijan the northern side of the Kura valley, and in the south the region along the state boundaries. In Trans-caucasia, grain is in general subordinated to industrial and subtropical crops. Wheat is obtained

311
243 mostly by dry farming methods, though in Azerbaijan and Dagestan it is cultivated in irrigated lowlands as well. It is winter wheat which is commonly cultivated. Spring wheat occurs in the Steppe region of the Krasnodar Kray, where there is a very low snow precipitation, and in the irrigated parts of Dagestan. As to the quality, the best wheat is produced along the Kuban River, especially in the Cherkess AO.

Rice: This crop was grown originally only in the South Caucasus. Nowadays it is cultivated in the North Caucasus as well. In the North Caucasus especially the area along the lower Kuban, between Krasnodar and the delta, then the flooded area along the Terek River, and especially the region around Kizlyar are the main rice areas.

Rye: Cultivation area mainly in the Astrakhan' Oblast on both sides of the Volga and Akhtuba Rivers.

Oats: Cultivated mainly in the Stavropol' Kray, in Groznyy Oblast, in the steppe areas of the Krasnodar Kray, and in the northern corner of Dagestan.

Corn: Cultivation area mainly in the North Caucasus. In the South Caucasus (Abkhaz ASSR, Imeretia) it is gradually giving place to subtropical crops. In the North Caucasus, a belt embracing the north and northeastern parts of the Krasnodar Kray, the Cherkes AO, the North Ossetian ASSR, Groznyy Oblast, and the

311
243 Dagestan ASSR is the most important corn producing area. In the belt itself the Cherkess AO, and the North Ossetian ASSR, the corn republic, are the chief producers. In Dagestan, corn is very often cultivated in irrigated areas.

Barley: Almost universal in the Caucasus. In the South Caucasus especially the higher parts of Armenia produce barley. In the North Caucasus the south eastern parts of the Rostov Oblast, and the region in the northern parts of the Krasnodar Kray are important. In Dagestan it is cultivated with dry farming methods.

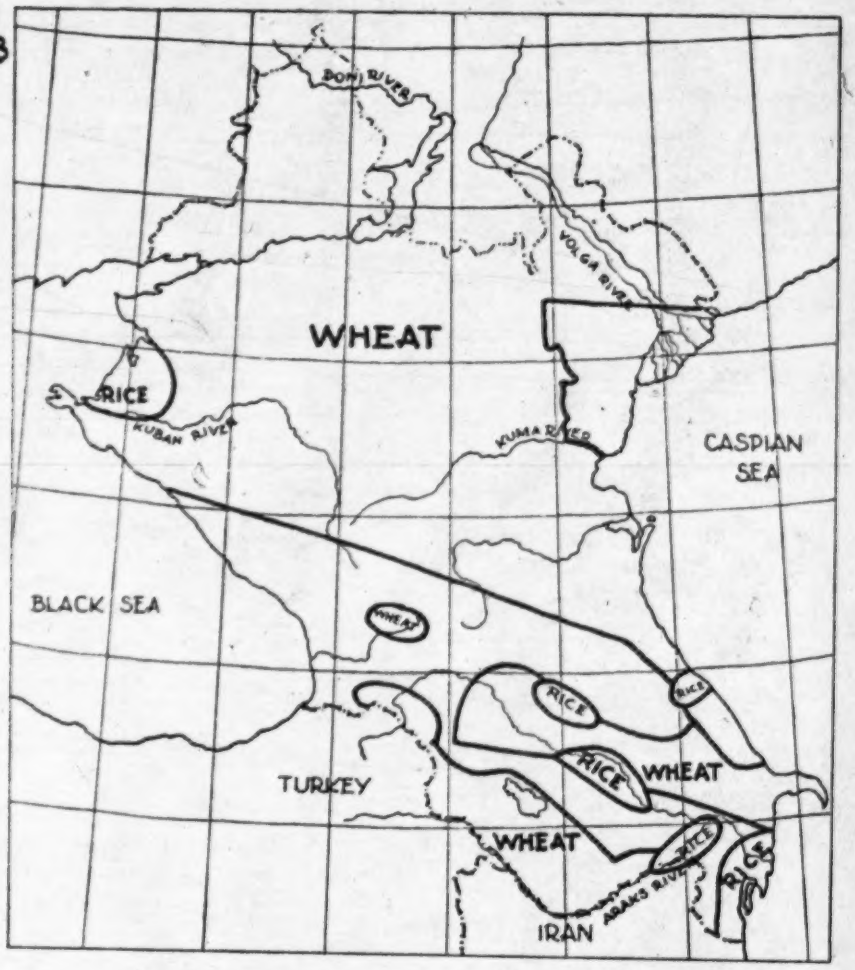
Millet: Cultivated only in the North Caucasus.

311
244 Potatoes: Important areas both in South and North Caucasus. In the South Caucasus the region around Yerevan is the most important. In addition to this important region are the areas around Tbilisi, and Baku. In the North Caucasus the Kabardian ASSR, the North Ossetian ASSR, the southern parts of the Groznyy Oblast, the north-western part of Dagestan, and the northern areas of the Rostov Oblast are important.

311
245 Horticulture and fruit-gardening: Truck-gardening is characteristic for suburban areas, or those which are in the vicinity of big health resorts. One should mention as main truck-gardening centers the Baku, Yerevan, Rostov and Pyatigorsk areas. Fruit-gardening is widespread in the whole Caucasus. In the

a.1 Wheat, Rice

311
243



a. 2 Rye, Oats

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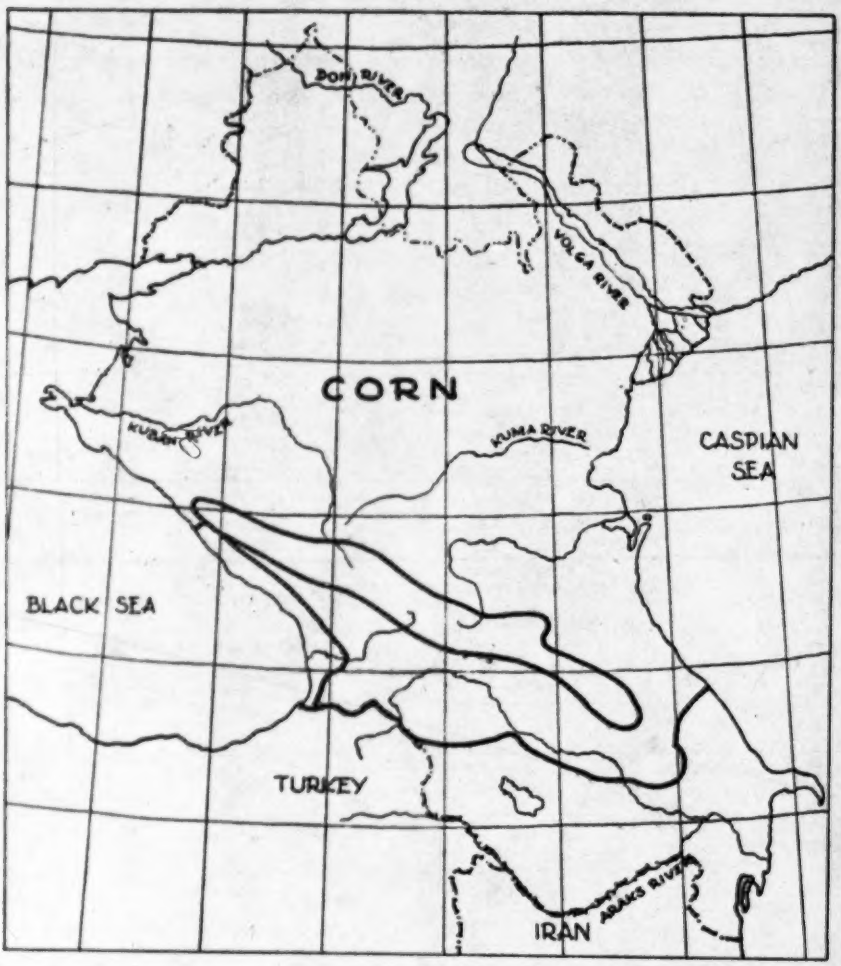
243

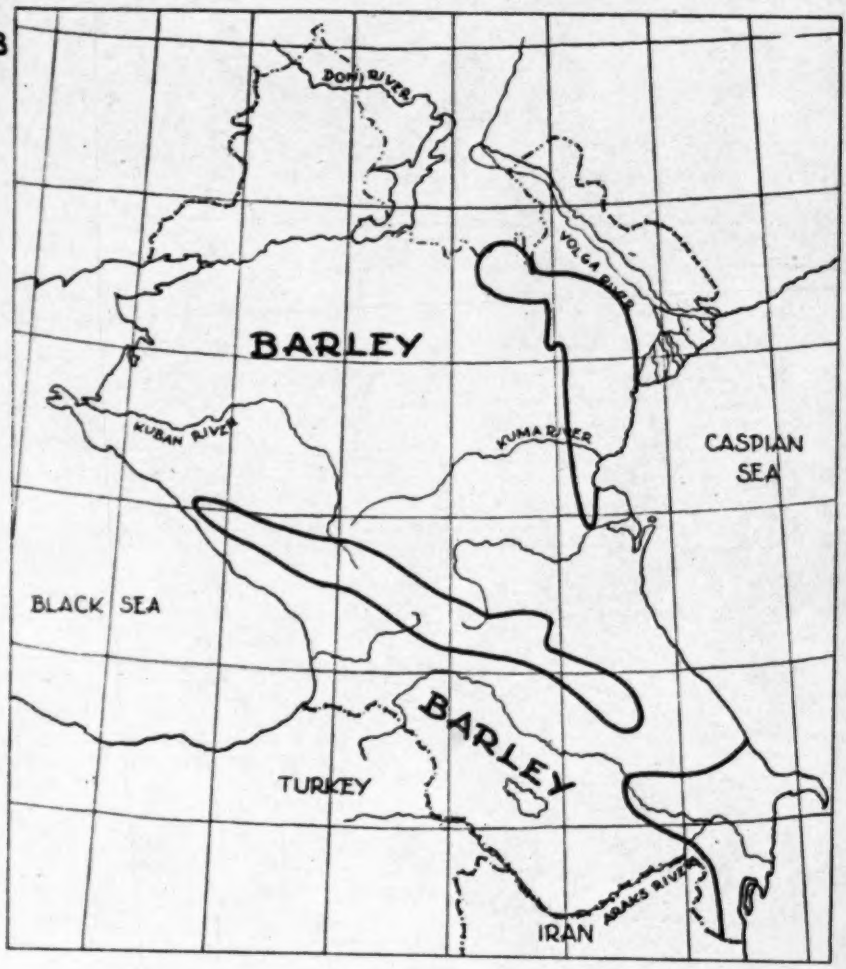
a. 3 Corn

311
243



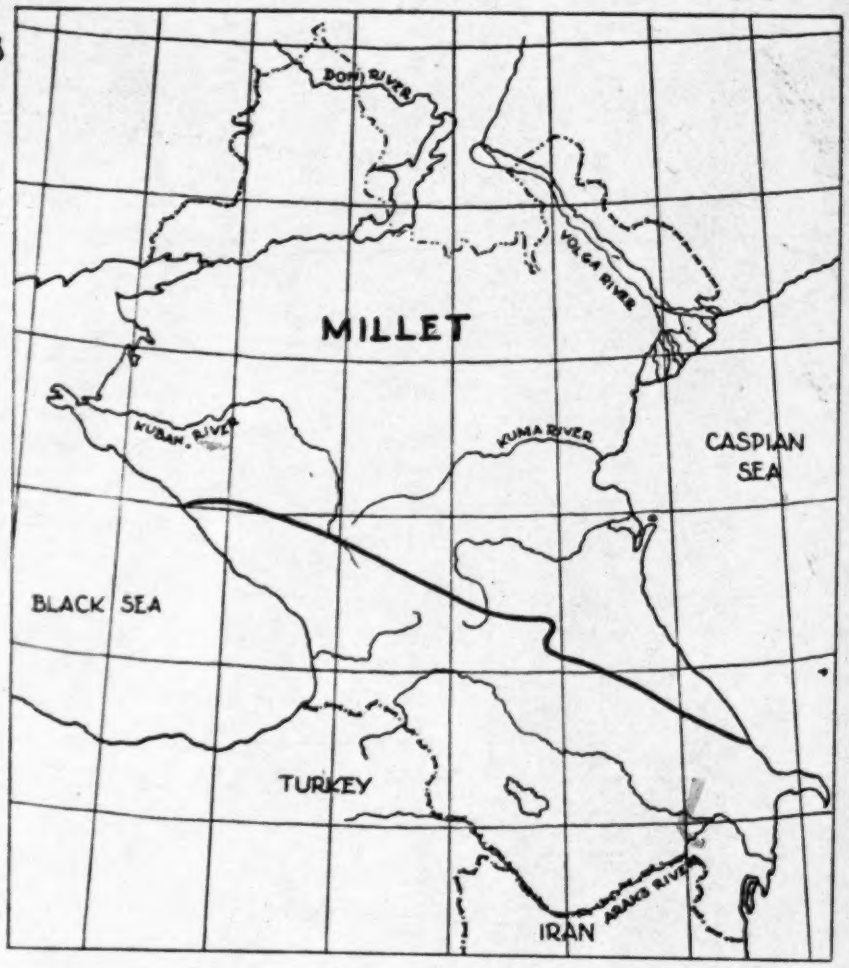
a.4 Barley

311
243



a. 5 Millet

311
243



C. G. 245 [251] pomegranates) are grown in abundance. They are preserved in sugar by a boiling-down process. C. G. 244 Important vegetables are lentils, beans, peas, onions, eggplants, celery, garlic, fennel, mustard and several kinds of cucurbitaceous plants. C. G. 231 The raising of silkworms is common, especially in the West. Beekeeping is widespread; hollwed-out logs are used as beehives; these are covered against the rain with pieces of bark or straw mats. Honey is also gathered from wild beees. C. G. 224 Hunting is of some importance in the highlands (deer, rabbits, fowl); it is traditionally engaged in by herdsmen, who take turns watching the herds. C. G. 226 Fishing is of importance only on the Black Sea coast and on the lower course of the rivers running into it.

C. G. 231 Because of the lack of pasture land, cattle-breeding is less important in the Georgian lowlands than it is in the mountains. The Georgians keep buffaloes, oxen, pigs, horses, donkeys, mules, goats and sheep. The latter usually are of the fat-tail variety, except among the Svan. C. G. 233 221 In summer, the herds are taken to the mountain pastures by herdsmen. The herds are led by a billy goat and are kept together by goats; dogs accompany the herds only as protectors against wolves. To keep the latter at a distance, fires are kept going during the night.

Cattle and sheep breeding have a greater relative importance for the Svan and especially the Pshav and Tush. The latter are predominantly seminomadic herdsmen; the men

311
243 Dagestan ASSR is the most important corn producing area. In the belt itself the Cherkess AO, and the North Ossetian ASSR, the corn republic, are the chief producers. In Dagestan, corn is very often cultivated in irrigated areas.

Barley: Almost universal in the Caucasus. In the South Caucasus especially the higher parts of Armenia produce barley. In the North Caucasus the south eastern parts of the Rostov Oblast, and the region in the northern parts of the Krasnodar Kray are important. In Dagestan it is cultivated with dry farming methods.

Millet: Cultivated only in the North Caucasus.

311
244 Potatoes: Important areas both in South and North Caucasus. In the South Caucasus the region around Yerevan is the most important. In addition to this important region are the areas around Tbilisi, and Baku. In the North Caucasus the Kabardian ASSR, the North Ossetian ASSR, the southern parts of the Groznyy Oblast, the north-western part of Dagestan, and the northern areas of the Rostov Oblast are important.

311
245 Horticulture and fruit-gardening: Truck-gardening is characteristic for suburban areas, or those which are in the vicinity of big health resorts. One should mention as main truck-gardening centers the Baku, Yerevan, Rostov and Pyatigorsk areas. Fruit-gardening is widespread in the whole Caucasus. In the

311 245 Olives: Olive trees are grown in Azerbaijan around Baku and Sal'yany, in Armenia in the Yerevan basin, and in Dagestan along the sea coast.

311 244 Peanuts: The plant grows in two distinct areas in industrial amounts. One is the western steppe region of the Krasnodar Kray, the other is in the dry East Azerbaijan.

311 249 Perilla: A plant the oil of which is used especially in the painting industry. The centers of production are the areas north and westwards from Tbilisi, and in the vicinity of Yevlakh (Azerbaijan).

Tung tree: This tree, which comes from China, furnishes an important ingredient of varnishes and lacquers. It is cultivated in Kolkhida, in the Abkhaz ASSR, and in the Lowland of Lenkoran'.

311 244 Sunflower: A favorite plant especially in the North Caucasus. It likes the dry and sunny steppes and is produced mostly in the Rostov Oblast, in the Krasnodar Kray (in the steppe region), and in the western parts of the Stavropol' Kray. The sunflower of the Cherkess AO is of excellent quality.

Soybeans: Introduced originally from Manchuria. In the Caucasus soybeans are cultivated in the Kuban valley northwest from Krasnodar, and in the Groznyy Oblast.

Linseed-oil Flax: The product of the plant, linseed oil, is used in the painting industry, in medicine, etc. This flax is

311 244 around the headwaters of the Kura River.

Cinchona: This subtropical tree, which is the source of quinine, was imported from South America. It is cultivated in the Kura valley westwards from Gori.

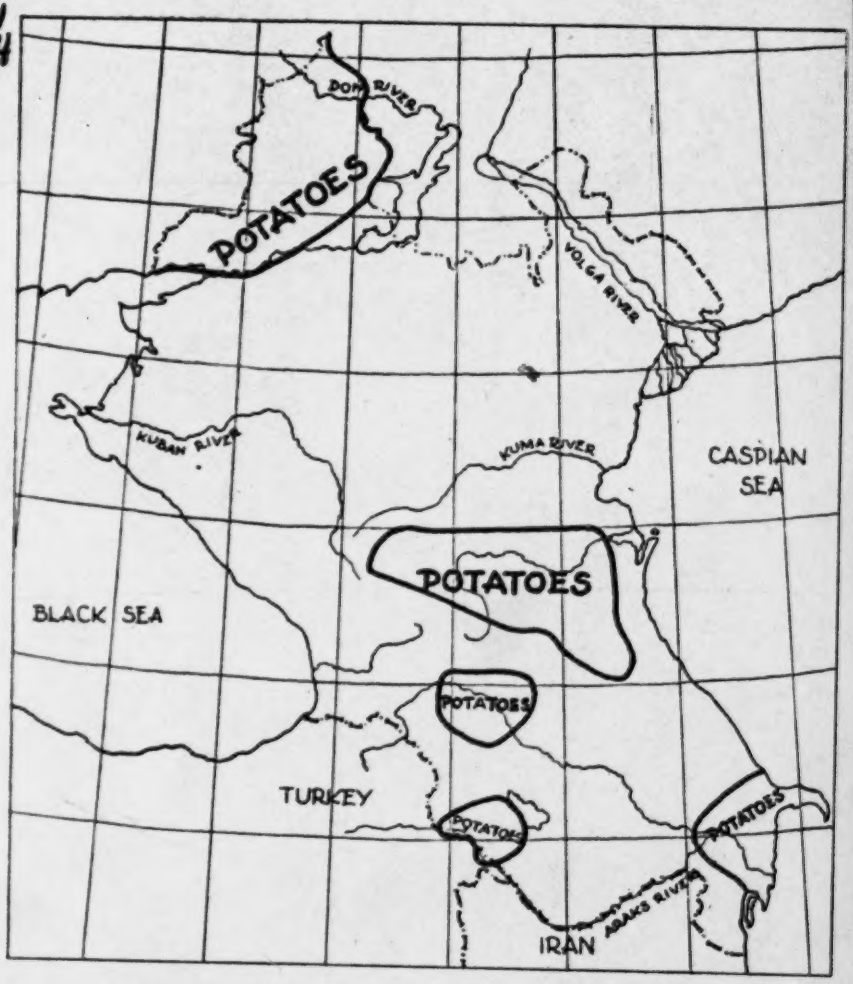
Eucalyptus: Occurs in Kolkhida, along the Rion River, then around the headwaters of the Kuban River, and on the Lowland of Lenkoran'. The tree is used as building material, and as a source of oil used in medicine and perfumery.

137 Bamboo: Occurs only in Kolkhida.

Of the other tropical, or subtropical trees, shrubs, or plants the palms, the cactus, and the magnolia are those which occur in significant amounts in the South Caucasus.

a. 6 · Potatoes

311
244



## a. 7 Horticulture and Fruit-gardening

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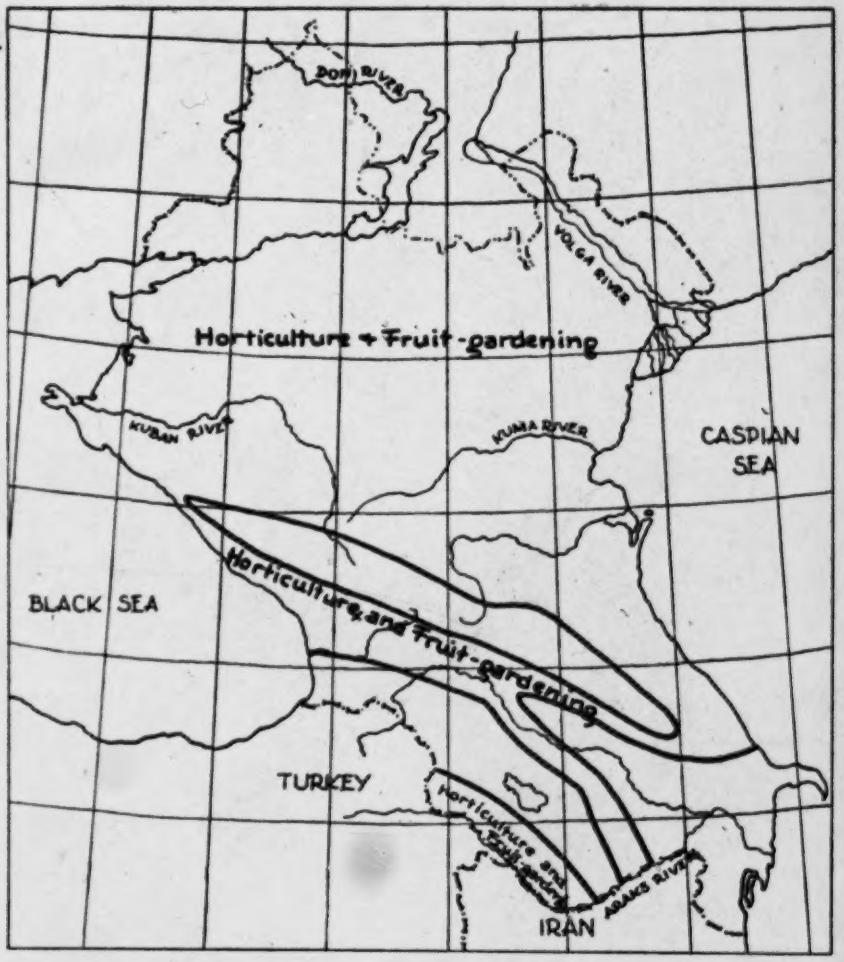
244
245



a. 15
Castor Oil Plants, Olive Trees, Peanuts, Perilla, Tung Trees

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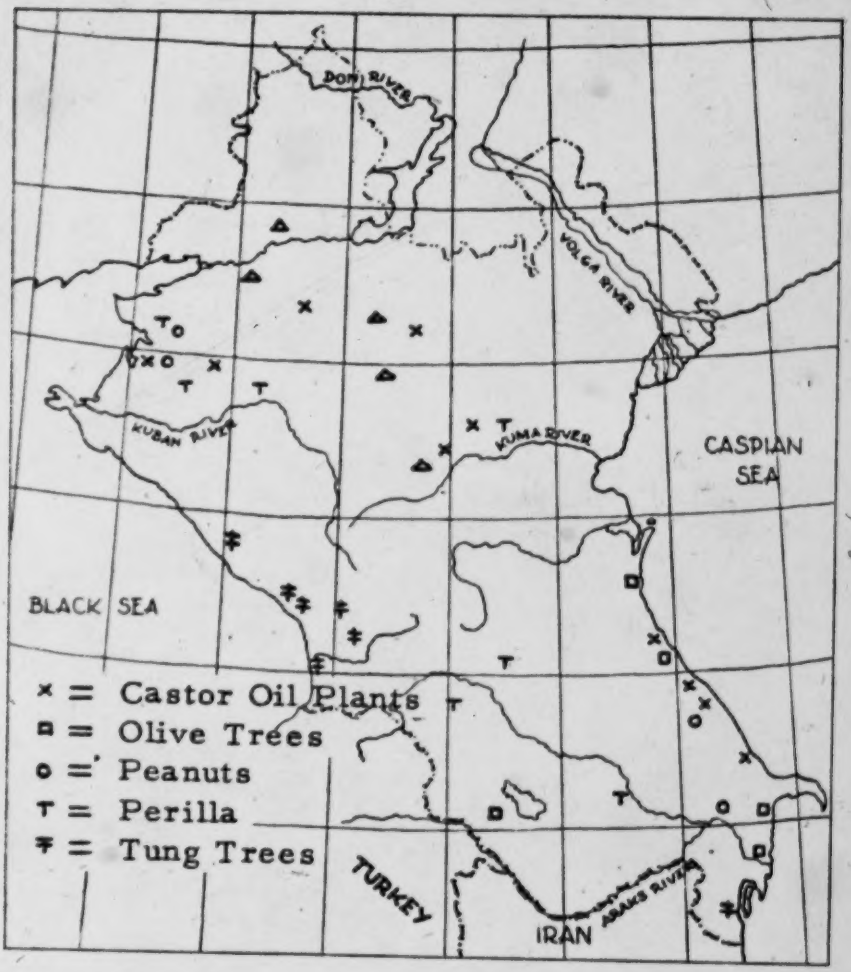
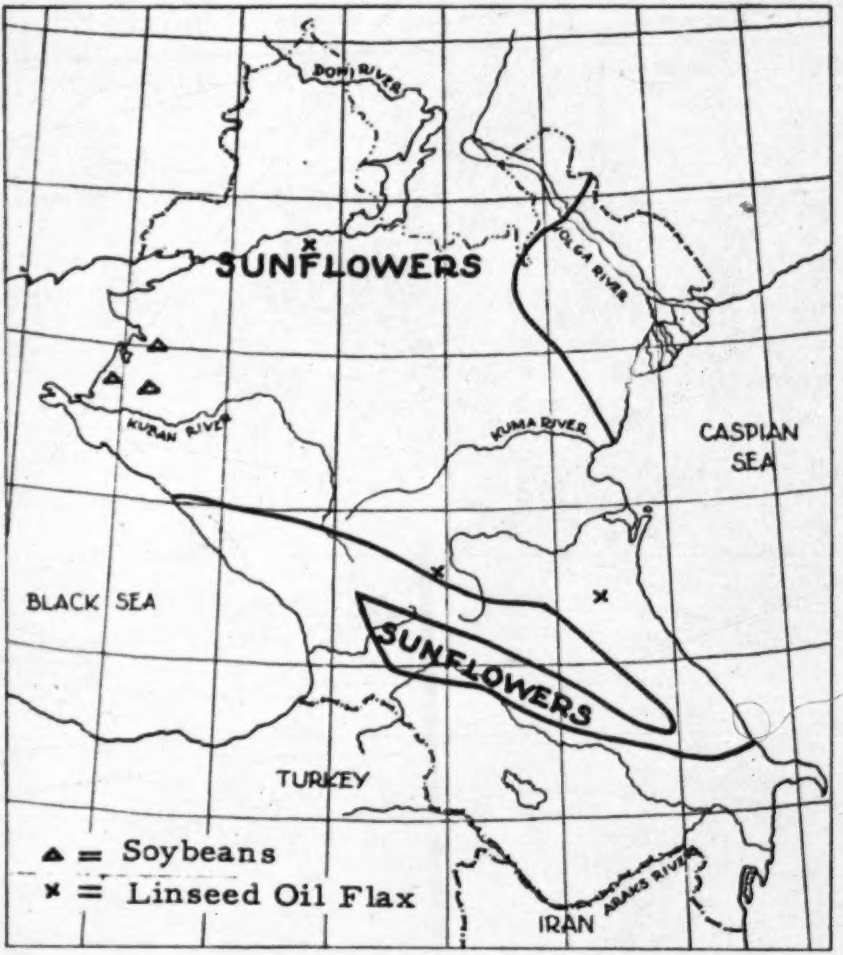
245
244



a. 16

Sunflowers, Soy Beans, Linseed Oil Flax

311
244
249



3: Anonymous U-4 (no date) 1920 RH1 Caucasia RH1



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An attempt has been made to grow beet-root for *sugar* in Kuban, but the production was very small; 8,785 acres were under cultivation in 1914, of which 7,380 belonged to a sugar factory at Gulevichi.

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the falling off of supplies from Russia since the out-749
break of war. Up to 1914 the export of oil was
considerable.

There were 2,020 acres of land under *tea* along the 745
Black Sea coast in the Province of Batum and 75 acres
in the Government of Kutais in 1914. Of this area, [471]
1,080 acres were in the Imperial Domains, 489 acres
were the property of the firm of Popoff Brothers, and
the remaining plantations belonged to thirteen villages
near Chavka. The revenue from the sale of tea was in
1909 about £26 per acre on the Imperial plantations.
As a result of the success achieved on the Imperial [654]
Domains, tea-growing was beginning to be taken up as
a local industry, and the National Government granted
a sum of about £1,500 towards the construction of
a factory at Batum, under the management of the
Batum Agricultural Society, where locally-grown tea
could be cured. Another factory was also to be erected
at Ozurgeti, under the management of an instructor
from the Imperial plantation at Chavka. The cultiva-
tion of tea was proceeding successfully at Ozurgeti in
1914. In that year the plantations near Batum pro-
duced about 160 tons of leaf.

*Tobacco* is grown in all the provinces of Caucasia 749
except Stavropol, where its cultivation has been aban-
doned since 1911; but the most important centres are
in Kuban, Sukhum, and Chernomoria. The Kuban
plantations apparently give the heaviest crops,[1] but
the tobacco of the best quality grows on the Black Sea
coast, especially near Sukhum and Sochi. Of the
total Russian output of high quality Turkish tobacco
in 1915, 90 per cent. came from Caucasia, and of this 57·6
per cent. originated from Kuban, 21·2 per cent. from
Sukhum, and 11·2 per cent. from other districts. In
1914, out of a total cultivated area of 80,500 acres,
producing 32,600 tons of tobacco, 29,000 acres, pro-

[1] Judging by the returns for 1914; but the figures vary in different reports, and moreover the yield fluctuates considerably according to the weather, so that the figures for one season are not a safe basis for generalization.

3: Anonymous U-4 (no date) 1920 RH1 Caucasia RH1



ducing 15,000 tons, were in Kuban, nearly 33,000 acres, producing 9,700 tons, in Sukhum, and 10,000 acres, yielding 3,600 tons, in Chernomoria. In Transcaucasia tobacco is most cultivated in Tiflis, Batum, and Kutais, but the acreage and output of Zakatali, though actually small, is not inconsiderable in relation to the size of the district.

*Wine* is made throughout the country, but though the produce of Ciscaucasia is not inconsiderable in quantity, the grapes are comparatively poor in quality and their juice is thin and acrid. So excellent, on the other hand, are those of Transcaucasia, and in such abundance do they grow, that until the appearance of oïdium, which of late years has necessitated the application of some 4,000 tons of sulphate of copper per annum, thus greatly increasing the cost of production, the peasants were able, by their primitive methods, to make sufficient wine at a cheap rate for their own very liberal consumption. With the introduction of scientific treatment of the vines and of French methods of manufacture the industry should prove lucrative. In a few places modern establishments already existed in 1914, but at present too many kinds of grapes are grown and the plantations are too close together. The district in which the vineyards are most extensive is that of Tiflis; but whereas in 1914 in that Government 81,000 acres yielded only 73,000 tons of grapes, Kutais produced 89,000 tons from 50,000 acres. The localities most celebrated for their wines, however, lie in the Gelendjik district and also in the country round Shemakha and Geokchai, where 22,500 tons of grapes were produced in 1913; in the district between the rivers Kura and Alazan, the ancient Kakhetia, on the borders of Zakatali and Elisavetopol; and at Echmiadzin in the Government of Erivan. In 1914 the total area covered by the vineyards of Caucasia was a little over 300,000 acres, and the yield of grapes 350,000 tons.

*Other crops* grown in Caucasia, with their acreage and production in 1914, were the following: potatoes, 234,000 acres, 586,500 tons; spelt, 24,000 acres,

137 pansion of the Roman Empire conquered the whole world--every area in which it can live--is the grapevine. The tradition of all ancient and classical peoples of the East and Europe states that the vine comes from the fabulous land of the Caucaus, and its name is undoubtedly of old Caucasian origin: Latin vinum, Greek oinos (from an older voinos), Arabic wajn, etc., going back to the same prototype as the Armenian and the Georgian γvino. Everywhere along the southwestern slopes of the Caucasus, the wild variety of vine can be found living in the forests along with other lianas, forming living garlands around the trees.

137 245 Fruit trees and fruit shrubs of all kinds grow abundantly in Caucasian lands in both wild and cultivated varieties. In all historical epochs, but especially during the last 50 to 75 years, much has been added to the natural riches of the Caucasian flora, since for experimental purposes a great number of foreign plants have been cultivated there. Many, if not most, of them have since become natives, as for example most of the citrus fruits, especially oranges, lemons, and tangerines--a special variety of the latter, the Unshiu tangerine, having been introduced from Japan. In a particularly suitable region of Adjaristan, at Chakva, tea has been raised since the end of the last century, and it seems to have acclimatized very well. However, the area suitable is very small, so that there is no possibility of real tea plantations.

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243 tions. Corn (or maize) has been cultivated in large areas south and north of the Great Caucasus for more than 100 years. A more recent experiment has been made with rice, which has been successfully grown in Colchis and the Talysh coastal strip.

As for the cultivated grains, it is barley which climbs highest in the mountainous areas. Thus barley is the only cereal which can be grown in the higher areas of permanent habitation, for instance, in Svanet'ia or Oset'ia. It has been seen in Oset'ian villages and on the slopes of Alagöz, Ararat, and other parts of Armenia, at elevations up to 2500 m. Rye is grown up to 2000 m., i.e., 1000 m. higher than in the Alps. Even corn ripens at an elevation
245 of 900 m. The vine is found in Oset'ian villages (near Kurta) up to 1090 m. The best wines are made from growths found at an elevation of 750 m., and around that line, in the Alazani valley in Kakhet'ia. These vines yield the excellent wines of T'elavi, Napareuli, Tsinandali, and other famous places.

137 As late as the 19th century, after the Russian conquest, senseless deforestation was practiced, often with the help of fire; so that entire areas were laid bare of woods. But in too many instances neither fruit trees, vines, nor cereals were planted afterwards. Only during this century has the century-old practice of deforestation in the Caucasian countries of ancient culture been brought to a halt.

137 part of the Great Caucasus (and not only there but also in the Ukraine and areas on the same latitude); this is also true of tobacco. But rice demands a definite type of humid, sub-tropical or tropical climate with abundant irrigation. Since cotton is somewhat less demanding, it is grown on the southern fringes of the Trans-Caucasian plains, chiefly on the northeastern foothills of the Little Caucasus and in the newly-irrigated southern portion of the Mughan steppe area; other areas include Central Armenia, in the Araxes valley, together with Nakhichevan.

[245] Before the First World War, tea was planted for experimental purposes, after the Ceylonese fashion. This was at Chakva in Adjaristan, 11 km. south of Kobulet'i on the Black Sea coast. On the same estate Japanese Unshiu tangerines and bamboo were also planted. The tea plantation amounted in 1928 to a mere 600 ha, but it may be larger now. In addition to the Chakva plantation, tea has also been planted during the last 25 years in Northwestern Colchis, in the neighborhood of Zugdidi and Ochamchire; also near Zakatali and to the southeast, near the city of Lenkoran in the Talysh area.

To the list of newcomers also belongs the date palm, planted at present in not very great quantities in this same humid sub-tropical Lenkoran area.

000 spades. The chaff is used as cattle-feed.

C. G. 245 In the plains, especially in Kakhetia, the production of wine plays an important part in the rural economy. Numerous sorts C G [192] of grapes are distinguished under locally varying names; the word for "wine," ghvino, seems to be a loan-word from pre-literary Armenian. In Western Georgia the vines are allowed to climb on trees, mostly poplars and beeches; they grow half wild and untended and may reach an age of 50 years or more before they are rooted out and replaced by young plants. The vines yielding the renowned Kakhetian wines grow low, in carefully tended vineyards, most of which are artifi- C. G. 273 cially irrigated. The grapes are gathered in September-October and poured into wine presses made of stone or wood (sac'nekheli), where the men tread them out by foot. The juice and skins are allowed to ferment to- C. G. [415] gether; in the West, in the pressing-trough itself, and in Kakhetia in large earthern jugs with a pointed bottom (ch'uri), which are sunk into the ground. These jugs are smeared with naphtha on the inside, which gives the wine a peculiar taste, similar to the Greek rezzinato. When the wine is ready, it is stored in similar jugs, up to eight feet high and five feet in diameter. For transportation the wine is scooped out and poured into cattle- or goat-skins also treated with naphtha.

C. G. 245 Fruits (apricots, peaches, cherries, figs, walnuts, almonds, sweet chestnuts,

C. G. 245 [251] pomegranates) are grown in abundance. They are preserved in sugar by a boiling-down process. Important vegetables are lentils, beans, peas, onions, eggplants, celery, garlic, fennel, mustard and several kinds of cucurbitaceous plants. The raising of silkworms is common, especially in the West. Beekeeping is widespread; hollwed-out logs are used as beehives; these are covered against the rain with pieces of bark or straw mats. Honey is also gathered from wild beees. Hunting is of some importance in the highlands (deer, rabbits, fowl); it is traditionally engaged in by herdsmen, who take turns watching the herds. Fishing is of importance only on the Black Sea coast and on the lower course of the rivers running into it.

C. G. 244 C. G. 231 C. G. 224 C. G. 226

Because of the lack of pasture land, cattle-breeding is less important in the Georgian lowlands than it is in the mountains. The Georgians keep buffaloes, oxen, pigs, horses, donkeys, mules, goats and sheep. The latter usually are of the fat-tail variety, except among the Svan. In summer, the herds are taken to the mountain pastures by herdsmen. The herds are led by a billy goat and are kept together by goats; dogs accompany the herds only as protectors against wolves. To keep the latter at a distance, fires are kept going during the night.

C. G. 231 C. G. 233 221

Cattle and sheep breeding have a greater relative importance for the Svan and especially the Pshav and Tush. The latter are predominantly seminomadic herdsmen; the men

311
243 Dagestan ASSR is the most important corn producing area. In the belt itself the Cherkess AO, and the North Ossetian ASSR, the corn republic, are the chief producers. In Dagestan, corn is very often cultivated in irrigated areas.

Barley: Almost universal in the Caucasus. In the South Caucasus especially the higher parts of Armenia produce barley. In the North Caucasus the south eastern parts of the Rostov Oblast, and the region in the northern parts of the Krasnodar Kray are important. In Dagestan it is cultivated with dry farming methods.

Millet: Cultivated only in the North Caucasus.

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244 Potatoes: Important areas both in South and North Caucasus. In the South Caucasus the region around Yerevan is the most important. In addition to this important region are the areas around Tbilisi, and Baku. In the North Caucasus the Kabardian ASSR, the North Ossetian ASSR, the southern parts of the Groznyy Oblast, the north-western part of Dagestan, and the northern areas of the Rostov Oblast are important.

311
245 Horticulture and fruit-gardening: Truck-gardening is characteristic for suburban areas, or those which are in the vicinity of big health resorts. One should mention as main truck-gardening centers the Baku, Yerevan, Rostov and Pyatigorsk areas. Fruit-gardening is widespread in the whole Caucasus. In the

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245 South Caucasus the Armenian SSR, and the Nakhichevan' ASSR, along the irrigated Aras valley, Kolkhida, Imeretia, northern parts of Kakhetia, in Azerbaijan the High Karabakh AO, and the Kuba region are especially important. In the North Caucasus almost the whole Krasnodar Kray, in the Stavropol' Kray the Kuban, and the upper and middle Kuma valley, the North Ossetian ASSR, and the Groznyy Oblast along the Terek and Sundzha Rivers, Dagestan, and the Akhtuba region of the Astrakhan' Oblast are the chief producers of fruit. One of the characteristic features of Caucasian fruit-gardening is the extensive use of irrigation (Aras, Kura, Kuban, Kuma, Terek, Sundzha, and Akhtuba valleys).

Vineyards: The Caucasus is a famous wine-growing area; soil conditions and climate make it ideal for viniculture. In the South Caucasus the vineyards of Armenia, Nakhichevan', Karabakh, and north Azerbaijan are well known. Yet the most important wine producing area in the South Caucasus is Georgia. Imeretia and Kakhetia are world-famous for their wine. In addition to these places one also finds wine in the Bolnisi area. In the North Caucasus the main wine producing areas are: the littoral parts of the Krasnodar Kray, the area northward from Krasnodar, in the Stavropol' Kray the valley along the Kuma River, the Cherkess AO, the middle Terek valley, the region around Kizlyar, and

211
245 the Caspian littoral in Dagestan. In the north, along the northern shores of the Don River, there extend the vineyards of the former Cossacks of Don. In this area Tsimlyanskaya, and Razdorskaya are the most important wine-growing centers. One part of the vineyards, those along the Kuma and Terek Rivers, and those in Dagestan are irrigated.

Citrus: Tangerines, oranges, lemons, grapefruit were introduced into the Caucasus on an industrial scale during the Soviet period. In the South Caucasus the Lenkoran' Lowland, the Georgian Black Sea littoral, the Abkhaz ASSR and the Adzhar ASSR are the citrus-growing areas. The Adzhar Republic is the most important citrus center of the USSR. In the North Caucasus the Black Sea coast of the Krasnodar Kray is the only citrus-growing area.

311 Sugar beets: The main sugar-beet area
249 is the Kuban valley, northward from Krasnodar. In the South Caucasus this crop was recently introduced to Imeretia (Georgian SSR), and to Armenia.

Tobacco: Especially the Turkish kind is cultivated both in the South and in the North Caucasus. In the South Caucasus the tobacco fields are concentrated in three different areas. One is in Azerbaijan between Zakataly and Kuba. The second is in Armenia and in Nakhichevan' ASSR along the Aras River. The third is in Kolkhida and in the Adzhar and

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311 245 Olives: Olive trees are grown in Azerbaijan around Baku and Sal'yany, in Armenia in the Yerevan basin, and in Dagestan along the sea coast.

311 244 Peanuts: The plant grows in two distinct areas in industrial amounts. One is the western steppe region of the Krasnodar Kray, the other is in the dry East Azerbaijan.

311 249 Perilla: A plant the oil of which is used especially in the painting industry. The centers of production are the areas north and westwards from Tbilisi, and in the vicinity of Yevlakh (Azerbaijan).

Tung tree: This tree, which comes from China, furnishes an important ingredient of varnishes and lacquers. It is cultivated in Kolkhida, in the Abkhaz ASSR, and in the Lowland of Lenkoran'.

311 244 Sunflower: A favorite plant especially in the North Caucasus. It likes the dry and sunny steppes and is produced mostly in the Rostov Oblast, in the Krasnodar Kray (in the steppe region), and in the western parts of the Stavropol' Kray. The sunflower of the Cherkess AO is of excellent quality.

Soybeans: Introduced originally from Manchuria. In the Caucasus soybeans are cultivated in the Kuban valley northwest from Krucnodar, and in the Groznyy Oblast.

Linseed-oil Flax: The product of the plant, linseed oil, is used in the painting industry, in medicine, etc. This flax is

## a.7 Horticulture and Fruit-gardening

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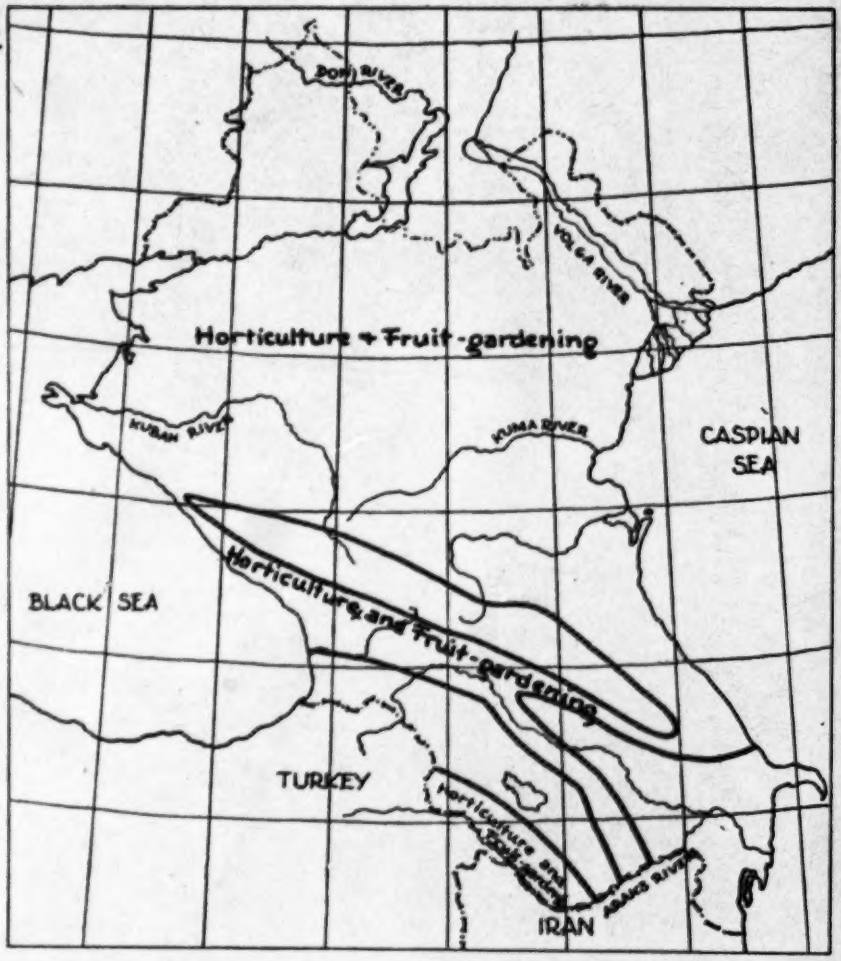

a, 8 Vineyards, Citrus

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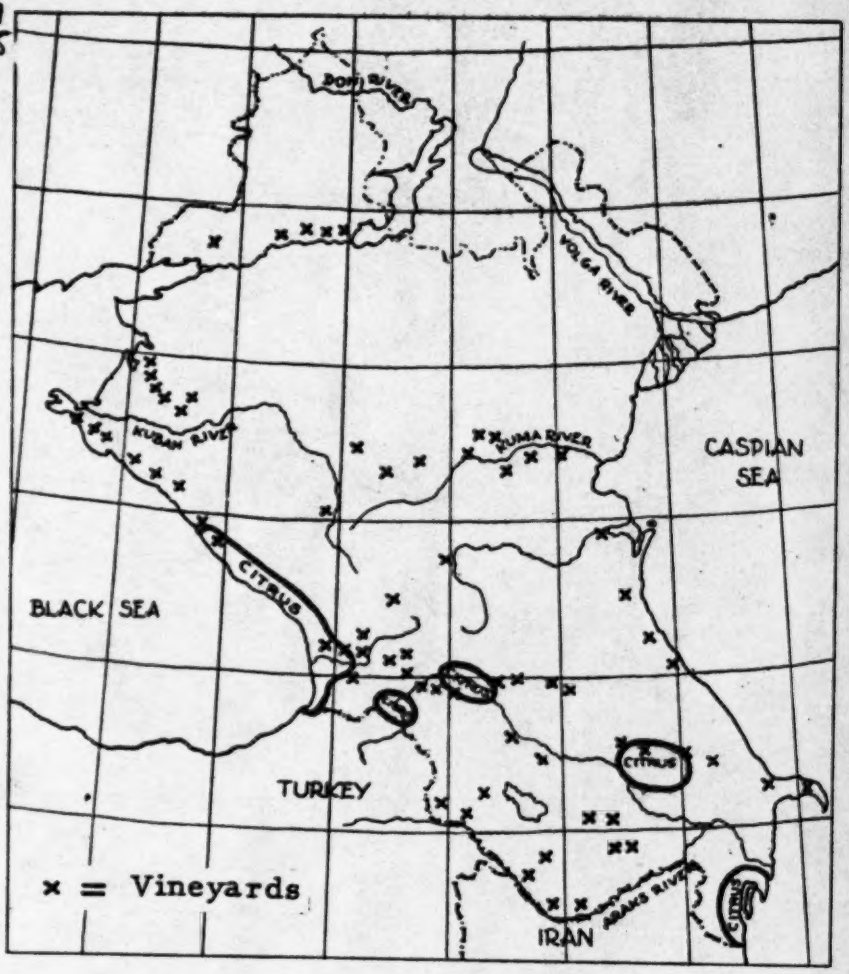

a. 11 Tea

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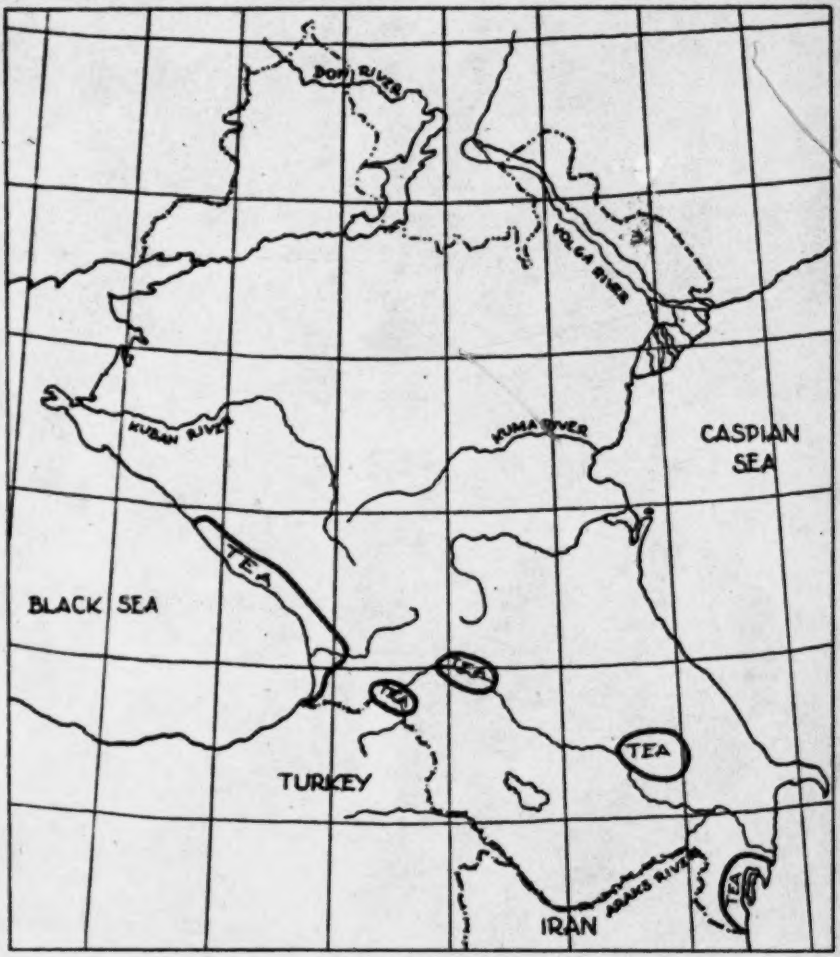

a. 15
Castor Oil Plants, Olive Trees, Peanuts, Perilla, Tung Trees

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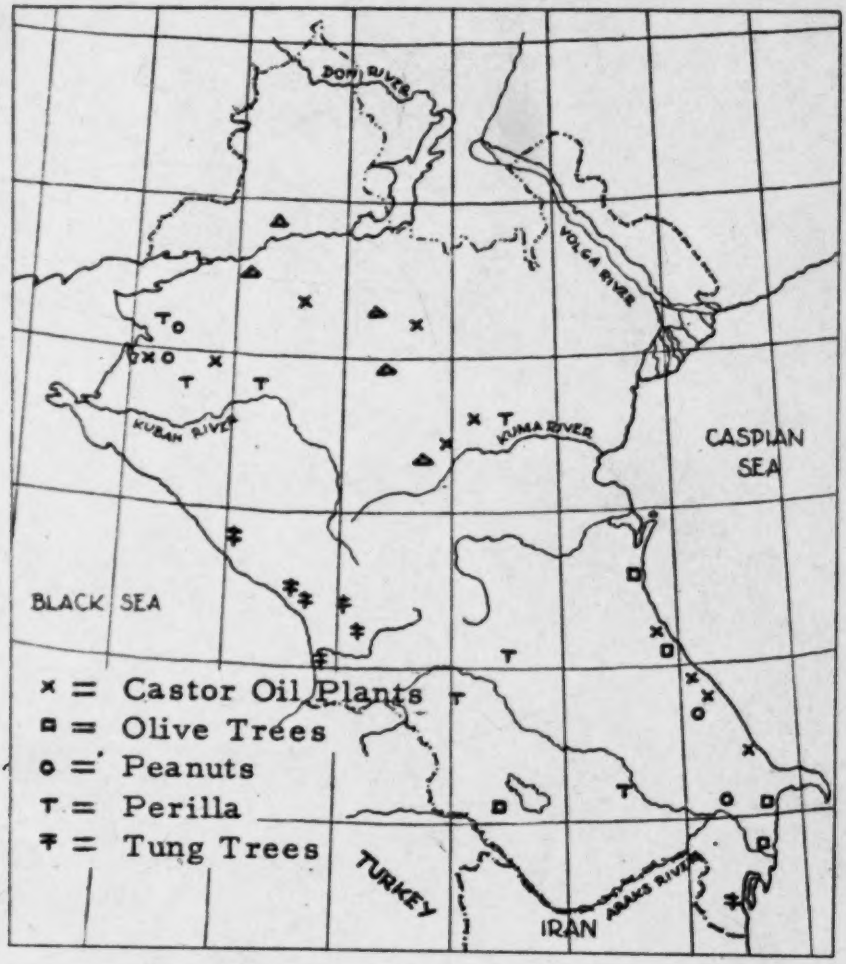

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243 wheat and barley. Considerable quantities of both
311 wheat and barley are also grown in the eastern and central parts of Transcaucasia, the area under wheat in 1914 being 475,000 acres in Baku, 692,000 in Elisavetopol, and 680,000 in Tiflis, and that under barley, which thrives up to an elevation of 8,000 ft., being 248,000 acres, 329,000 acres, and 318,000 acres respectively in the same three governments.

*Maize* is the cereal most widely cultivated in north-western Transcaucasia, where it forms the principal food of the population, and whence it is also exported to Europe and Turkey. In Kutais the crop covered 466,000 acres in 1914; and in the little coastal district of Sukhum more than 100,000 acres. The acreage under maize in the whole country was 1,440,000, of which 670,000 acres were in Transcaucasia. Of the 770,000 acres sown in Ciscaucasia, 561,000 were in Terek. The total production of maize in 1914 amounted to 481,000 tons. *Millet* is almost entirely confined to Ciscaucasia, which in 1914, out of a total of 951,000 acres, yielding 355,000 tons, could claim 895,000 acres, more than half of them in Terek and most of the remainder in Stavropol. *Oats* are even more exclusively a product of the northern provinces, for in 1914, of a total of 1,056,000 acres, 512,000 were in Kuban, 301,000 in Stavropol, and 204,000 in Terek. The total yield was 441,000 tons. *Rye* is the least popular of the cereals, there being only 407,000 acres under this crop in the north, of which 246,000 were in Kuban, and 133,000 in the south, of which 75,000 were in Elisavetopol. The total yield was 137,000 tons. The growing of *rice* is decreasing; the yield in 1914 was 28,000 tons, and the area under cultivation 78,000 acres.

248 *Cotton*, first grown in the Government of Kutais in 1860, had come before the war to be cultivated over considerable areas in Elisavetopol and Erivan, and to a smaller extent in Baku, Tiflis, and Kutais, while a beginning had been made in Sukhum and Kars. Indeed the cotton crop, which was superseding rice, was looked on as a promising source of future prosperity, and

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its cultivation was encouraged by the Government. American cotton gins, irrigation pumping plant, traction engines, and ploughs had been introduced, and cleaning mills of modern pattern built, and it was hoped that on the completion of the irrigation schemes, by which the surplus waters of the Kura and Aras (Araxes) were to be utilized (see pp. 59–60), it would be possible greatly to enlarge the area under cultivation. That area, which thirty years ago was only about 30,000 acres, had already increased by 1910 to 150,000 acres, and by 1912 to 223,000 acres. With regard to the area sown in 1914, there is a wide discrepancy between the Russian official return (186,000 acres) and the figure (337,500 acres) supplied by the British Consul at Batum. The Consul states, however, that owing to a decreased demand and consequent fall in prices, caused by the closing of the Polish mills and the shortage of labour in the manufacturing centres of Russia, there was a tendency among growers to abandon cotton for cereals; and it is possible that his figure is based on an estimate of the probable acreage before this tendency had become fully operative, while the Russian figure represents the area actually cultivated. Of the 186,000 acres of the Russian return, half lay in the Government of Elisavetopol, about a third in that of Erivan, and some 20,000 acres in that of Baku; while of the yield, which was a little under 60,000 tons, 35,500 tons came from Elisavetopol and 18,000 tons from Erivan. This yield, however, owing to heavy rains and cold weather, was below the average.

*Flax* was grown on 168,000 acres in Ciscaucasia and 18,000 acres in Transcaucasia in 1914, the total yield being 38,000 tons, which was double the yield of 1910. The cultivation of *hemp* is on a very much smaller, though an equally increasing, scale, and is almost entirely confined to the north. There is, however, a plant closely resembling hemp, called *kanap*, which is easily grown and might be used for the same purposes.

*Fruit.*—Practically all the districts in Transcaucasia

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311
248 is low and cannot be compared with that of Central Asia. In the South Caucasus it is cultivated in irrigated areas. The most important cotton fields are along the Kura and Aras Rivers (Azerbaijan, Nakhichevan' ASSR, Armenia) in which cotton is rotated mostly with alfalfa. Eastern Azerbaijan cultivates especially the long-staple cotton. In other areas of the South Caucasus Kakhetia is trying to introduce cotton. In the North Caucasus cotton cultivation is centered in three distinct areas. One is the coastal area along the Sea of Azov. This area reaches almost to Krasnodar and Rostov and cultivates cotton with dry methods. The second area is in eastern parts of the Stavropol' Oblast, in the middle belt of the Groznyy Oblast and in the northern parts of Dagestan. Cultivation here too is based mostly on dry methods, only the fields around Kizlyar and Khasavyurt being irrigated. The third cotton-growing area of the North Caucasus is the Akhtuba region and the Volga Delta.

Northern Hemp: Occurs in the Kabardian and North Ossetian republics.

Kendyr': A domesticated fiber plant from Central Asia cultivated mostly in the northern parts of the Krasnodar Kray and in the western parts of the Stavropol' Kray. The plant is used in the manufacture of a very resistant cloth.

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231 Maulberry: The trees necessary for silk culture are cultivated especially in the

1/A [Sic. Mulberry?-- Analyst]

311
231 South Caucasus: in Middle Azerbaijan; around the cities and town like Zakataly, Nukha, Yevlakh, Kirovabad, Barda, Udzhary, Mir-Bashir, Shusha. One also finds a very important center of silk culture in Kolkhida and Imeretia along the Tbilisi-Sukhumi railroad line.

311
248 Kenaf: A recently introduced fiber plant from India and used as a substitute for jute is cultivated on a commercial scale only in the North Caucasus. The main area of cultivation is Krasnodar Kray around the Adyge AO where it was first cultivated. In addition to this it occurs in the western parts of the Stavropol' Kray, in Dagestan along the Caspian coast, and in the vicinity of Kuba (Azerbaijan). Less important are the kenaf fields in the North Ossetian Republic and along the Akhtuba River.

Ramie or Chinese Nettle: Another recently introduced fiber plant, cultivated nowadays on commercial scale in Kolkhida, north and southward of Mikha-Tskhakaya. To a smaller extent it is well known in the Lenkoran' Lowland as well.

311
249 Castor bean: This plant is cultivated in the North Caucasus, especially in the steppes of the Krasnodar Kray, in the southern parts of Rostov Oblast, in the northern parts of Stavropol' Kray, in Dagestan around Derbent, and in the northeastern corner of Azerbaijan around the town of Kuba.

a. 12 Cotton

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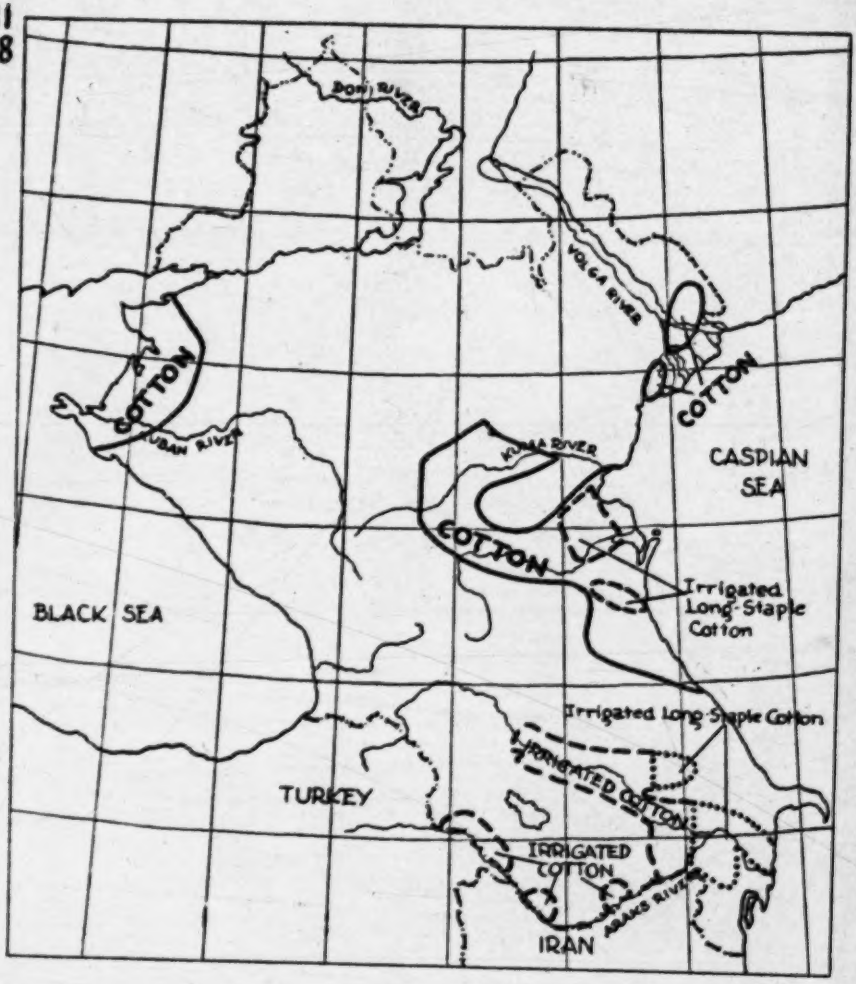

a. 13 Northern Hemp, Kendyr', Silk Culture

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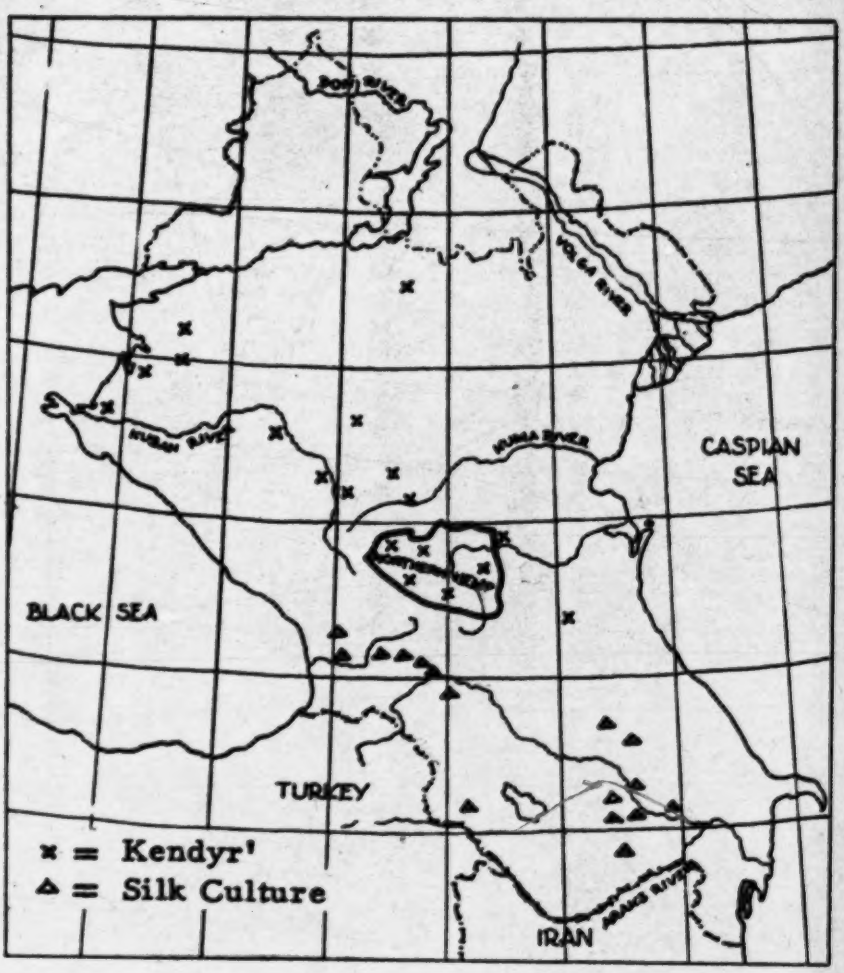

## a. 14 Kenaf, Ramie

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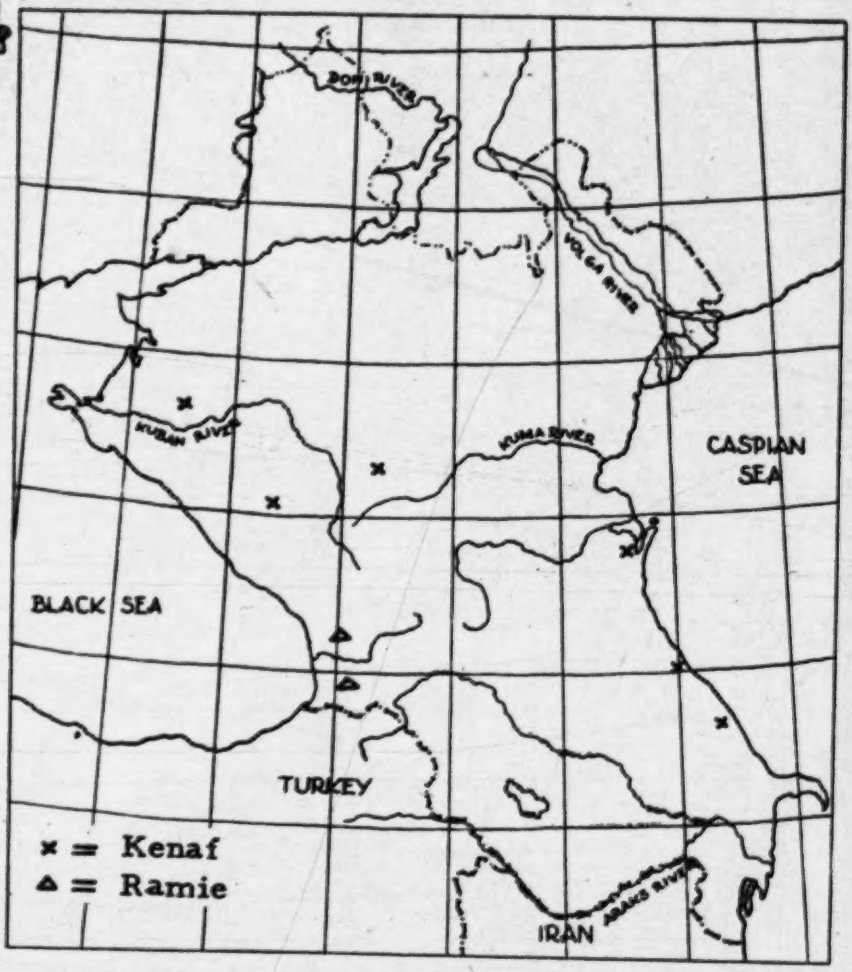

3: Anonymous U-4 (no date) 1920 RH1 Caucasia RH1



245 Fruit.- Practically all the districts in Transcaucasia are suitable for the cultivation of European and subtropical fruits. Oranges and lemons thrive particularly well, and peaches, apricots, plums, apples, pears, and olives are also grown. The plums of Sochi and the oranges of Chavka have a special reputation, and in the Batum district strawberries attain great perfection. Sukhum district and the neighbourhood of Artvin grow the best olives. Melons are intensively cultivated. Fruit-growing is being developed on scientific principles by the peasants and small landowners of Kuban.

246 In 1913 the total area devoted to *hay* was 1,895,000 acres, of which 373,000 were in Terek, 278,000 in Chernomoria, and 227,000 in Baku.

249 The collection of *liquorice* root, which grows wild, is 257 an industry of some significance, and before the war the shipments from Batum, chiefly for America, were increasingly large. The manufacture of liquorice paste, however, was much affected by the high price of crude oil, used as fuel by the factories, and there has been no export of it since 1914.

An attempt has been made to grow beet-root for *sugar* in Kuban, but the production was very small; 8,785 acres were under cultivation in 1914, of which 7,380 belonged to a sugar factory at Gulevichi.

249 The *sunflower* is cultivated for the sake of the oil to be obtained from the seeds, which is used as a substitute for linseed oil. The seeds are crushed in local mills and the stalks are used for the manufacture of potash. The crop covers a greater area than any other except the cereals, but is practically confined to Kuban. In 1914 there were 698,000 acres under cultivation, of which 681,500 acres were in Kuban, and the total output was 298,000 tons, of which the Kuban fields gave 292,000 tons, the rest being grown in the neighbouring Province of Stavropol. In that year the production of Ciscaucasia represented seven-eighteenths of the total production of sunflower oil in the Russian Empire. Its share in the total for 1915, however, was less than one-third, a decrease probably due to the necessity of growing more cereals than usual to meet

3: Anonymous U-4 (no date) 1920 RH1 Caucasia RH1



the falling off of supplies from Russia since the out-249
break of war. Up to 1914 the export of oil was
considerable.

There were 2,020 acres of land under *tea* along the 245
Black Sea coast in the Province of Batum and 75 acres
in the Government of Kutais in 1914. Of this area, [471]
1,080 acres were in the Imperial Domains, 489 acres
were the property of the firm of Popoff Brothers, and
the remaining plantations belonged to thirteen villages
near Chavka. The revenue from the sale of tea was in
1909 about £26 per acre on the Imperial plantations.
As a result of the success achieved on the Imperial [654]
Domains, tea-growing was beginning to be taken up as
a local industry, and the National Government granted
a sum of about £1,500 towards the construction of
a factory at Batum, under the management of the
Batum Agricultural Society, where locally-grown tea
could be cured. Another factory was also to be erected
at Ozurgeti, under the management of an instructor
from the Imperial plantation at Chavka. The cultiva-
tion of tea was proceeding successfully at Ozurgeti in
1914. In that year the plantations near Batum pro-
duced about 160 tons of leaf.

*Tobacco* is grown in all the provinces of Caucasia 249
except Stavropol, where its cultivation has been aban-
doned since 1911; but the most important centres are
in Kuban, Sukhum, and Chernomoria. The Kuban
plantations apparently give the heaviest crops,[1] but
the tobacco of the best quality grows on the Black Sea
coast, especially near Sukhum and Sochi. Of the
total Russian output of high quality Turkish tobacco
in 1915, 90 per cent. came from Caucasia, and of this 57·6
per cent. originated from Kuban, 21·2 per cent. from
Sukhum, and 11·2 per cent. from other districts. In
1914, out of a total cultivated area of 80,500 acres,
producing 32,600 tons of tobacco, 29,000 acres, pro-

[1] Judging by the returns for 1914; but the figures vary in different reports, and moreover the yield fluctuates considerably according to the weather, so that the figures for one season are not a safe basis for generalization.

3: Anonymous U-4 (no date) 1920 RH1 Caucasia RH1



•249 ducing 15,000 tons, were in Kuban, nearly 33,000 acres, producing 9,700 tons, in Sukhum, and 10,000 acres, yielding 3,600 tons, in Chernomoria. In Transcaucasia tobacco is most cultivated in Tiflis, Batum, and Kutais, but the acreage and output of Zakatali, though actually small, is not inconsiderable in relation to the size of the district.

245 *Wine* is made throughout the country, but though the produce of Ciscaucasia is not inconsiderable in quantity, the grapes are comparatively poor in quality and their juice is thin and acrid. So excellent, on the other hand, are those of Transcaucasia, and in such abundance do they grow, that until the appearance of oïdium, which of late years has necessitated the application of some 4,000 tons of sulphate of copper per annum, thus greatly increasing the cost of production, the peasants were able, by their primitive methods, to make sufficient wine at a cheap rate for their own very liberal consumption. With the introduction of scientific treatment of the vines and of French methods of manufacture the industry should prove lucrative. In a few places modern establishments already existed in 1914, but at present too many kinds of grapes are grown and the plantations are too close together. The district in which the vineyards are most extensive is that of Tiflis; but whereas in 1914 in that Government 81,000 acres yielded only 73,000 tons of grapes, Kutais produced 89,000 tons from 50,000 acres. The localities most celebrated for their wines, however, lie in the Gelendjik district and also in the country round Shemakha and Geokchai, where 22,500 tons of grapes were produced in 1913; in the district between the rivers Kura and Alazan, the ancient Kakhetia, on the borders of Zakatali and Elisavetopol; and at Echmiadzin in the Government of Erivan. In 1914 the total area covered by the vineyards of Caucasia was a little over 300,000 acres, and the yield of grapes 350,000 tons.

241 *Other crops* grown in Caucasia, with their acreage and production in 1914, were the following: potatoes, 234,000 acres, 586,500 tons; spelt, 24,000 acres,

211
245 the Caspian littoral in Dagestan. In the north, along the northern shores of the Don River, there extend the vineyards of the former Cossacks of Don. In this area Tsimlyanskaya, and Razdorskaya are the most important wine-growing centers. One part of the vineyards, those along the Kuma and Terek Rivers, and those in Dagestan are irrigated.

Citrus: Tangerines, oranges, lemons, grapefruit were introduced into the Caucasus on an industrial scale during the Soviet period. In the South Caucasus the Lenkoran' Lowland, the Georgian Black Sea littoral, the Abkhaz ASSR and the Adzhar ASSR are the citrus-growing areas. The Adzhar Republic is the most important citrus center of the USSR. In the North Caucasus the Black Sea coast of the Krasnodar Kray is the only citrus-growing area.

311 Sugar beets: The main sugar-beet area
●249 is the Kuban valley, northward from Krasnodar. In the South Caucasus this crop was recently introduced to Imeretia (Georgian SSR), and to Armenia.

Tobacco: Especially the Turkish kind is cultivated both in the South and in the North Caucasus. In the South Caucasus the tobacco fields are concentrated in three different areas. One is in Azerbaijan between Zakataly and Kuba. The second is in Armenia and in Nakhichevan' ASSR along the Aras River. The third is in Kolkhida and in the Adzhar and

311
249 Abkhaz republics. In the Adzhar Republic the fields are located around Batumi and in the higher part of the republic. The Abkhaz area, which produces the best quality, is one of the major tobacco-growing areas of the USSR. The center is Sukhumi. In the North Caucasus the main tobacco-growing areas are in the Krasnodar Kray. The fields there are mostly concentrated in the Adyge AO and along the Black Sea littoral.

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245 Tea: It is one of the recently introduced subtropical plants, and is cultivated mostly in the South Caucasus. The chief tea-growing areas are the Abkhaz and Adzhar republics and Kolkhida. The Adzhar ASSR is the most important tea-growing area in the USSR. In eastern Trans-caucasia an important tea-growing area is the Lowland of Lenkoran'. In addition to these there are some less important tea-growing areas in the interior of Georgia and Azerbaijan as well. In the North Caucasus tea is cultivated only on the Black Sea coast of the Krasnodar Kray, an area adjacent to the tea-growing districts of the Abkhaz Republic.

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311
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311
249 Castor bean: This plant is cultivated in the North Caucasus, especially in the steppes of the Krasnodar Kray, in the southern parts of Rostov Oblast, in the northern parts of Stavropol' Kray, in Dagestan around Derbent, and in the northeastern corner of Azerbaijan around the town of Kuba.

7: Columbia U. S-4, 5 1956 RHl Caucasia
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311 245 Olives: Olive trees are grown in Azerbaijan around Baku and Sal'yany, in Armenia in the Yerevan basin, and in Dagestan along the sea coast.

311 244 Peanuts: The plant grows in two distinct areas in industrial amounts. One is the western steppe region of the Krasnodar Kray, the other is in the dry East Azerbaijan.

311 249 Perilla: A plant the oil of which is used especially in the painting industry. The centers of production are the areas north and westwards from Tbilisi, and in the vicinity of Yevlakh (Azerbaijan).

Tung tree: This tree, which comes from China, furnishes an important ingredient of varnishes and lacquers. It is cultivated in Kolkhida, in the Abkhaz ASSR, and in the Lowland of Lenkoran'.

311 244 Sunflower: A favorite plant especially in the North Caucasus. It likes the dry and sunny steppes and is produced mostly in the Rostov Oblast, in the Krasnodar Kray (in the steppe region), and in the western parts of the Stavropol' Kray. The sunflower of the Cherkess AO is of excellent quality.

Soybeans: Introduced originally from Manchuria. In the Caucasus soybeans are cultivated in the Kuban valley northwest from Krucnodar, and in the Groznyy Oblast.

Linseed-oil Flax: The product of the plant, linseed oil, is used in the painting industry, in medicine, etc. This flax is

7: Columbia U. S-4,5 1956 RH1 Caucasia RH1

311 cultivated in Rostov Oblast, in Stavropol'
.249 Kray (Kabardian ASSR, North Ossetian ASSR), and in Dagestan.

Volatile oil yielding plants: The essential oils used in perfumes, flavoring, or medicine are extracted by various methods from various plants cultivated almost everywhere in the Caucasus.

Kok-sagyz: An important rubber-bearing industrial plant coming originally from Central Asia now is cultivated around the Volga River.

Krym-sagyz: Another imported rubber-bearing plant, is cultivated chiefly in the north western corner of the Krasnodar Kray, and in the Kabardian and North Ossetian autonomous republics (tau-sagyz).

Guayule: The rubber-bearing plant of the South Caucasus. This shrubby plant is native to arid regions of Mexico and the southwestern United States; in the South Caucasus it is cultivated in the arid regions of the Azerbaijan SSR.

Saffron: The flower, the stigmas of which are used as a coloring matter, flavoring, perfume, and medicine, is well known in the North Caucasus. It is cultivated chiefly in the southern parts of the Rostov Oblast, and in the northwestern parts of the Stavropol' Kray.

Bay: One of the evergreen trees cultivated in the South Caucasus. The tree is cultivated especially along the Rion River, and

## a. 9 Sugar Beets

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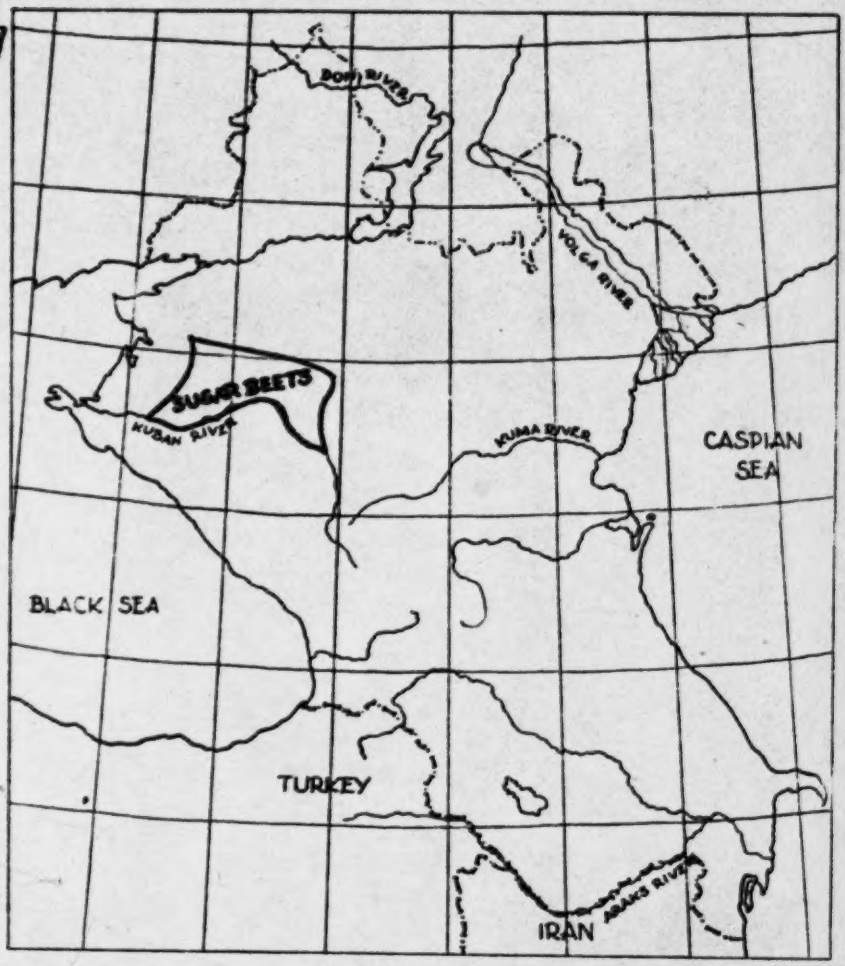

a. 10 Tobacco

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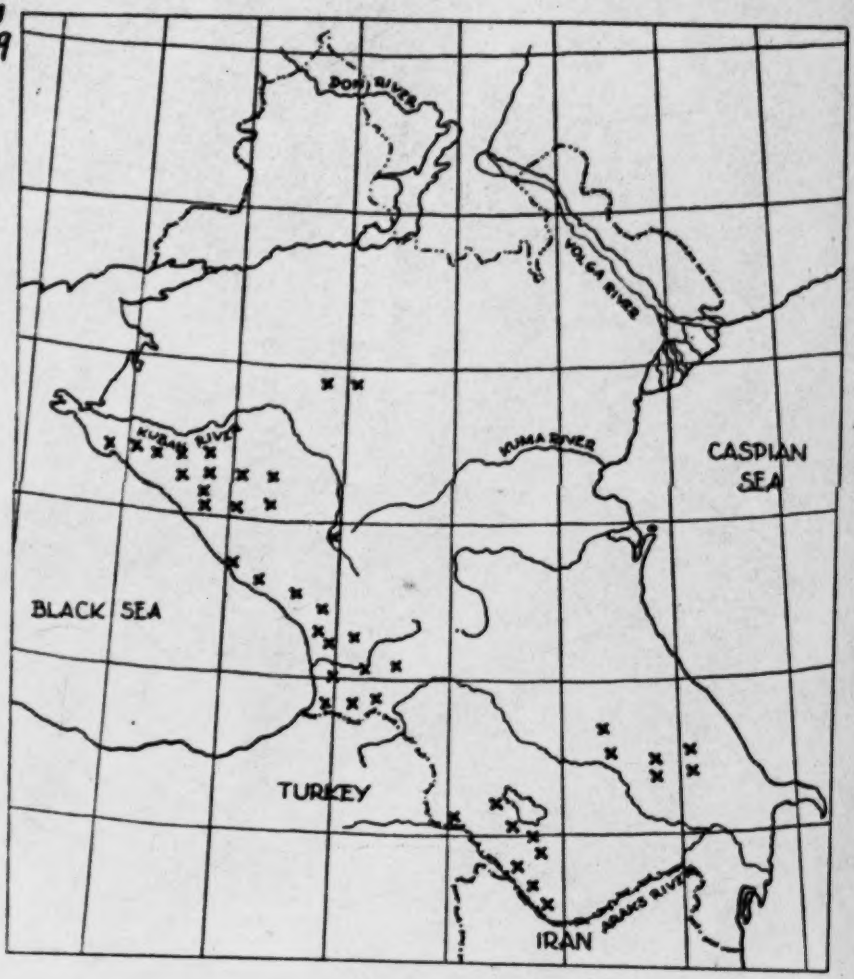

a. 15
Castor Oil Plants, Olive Trees, Peanuts, Perilla, Tung Trees

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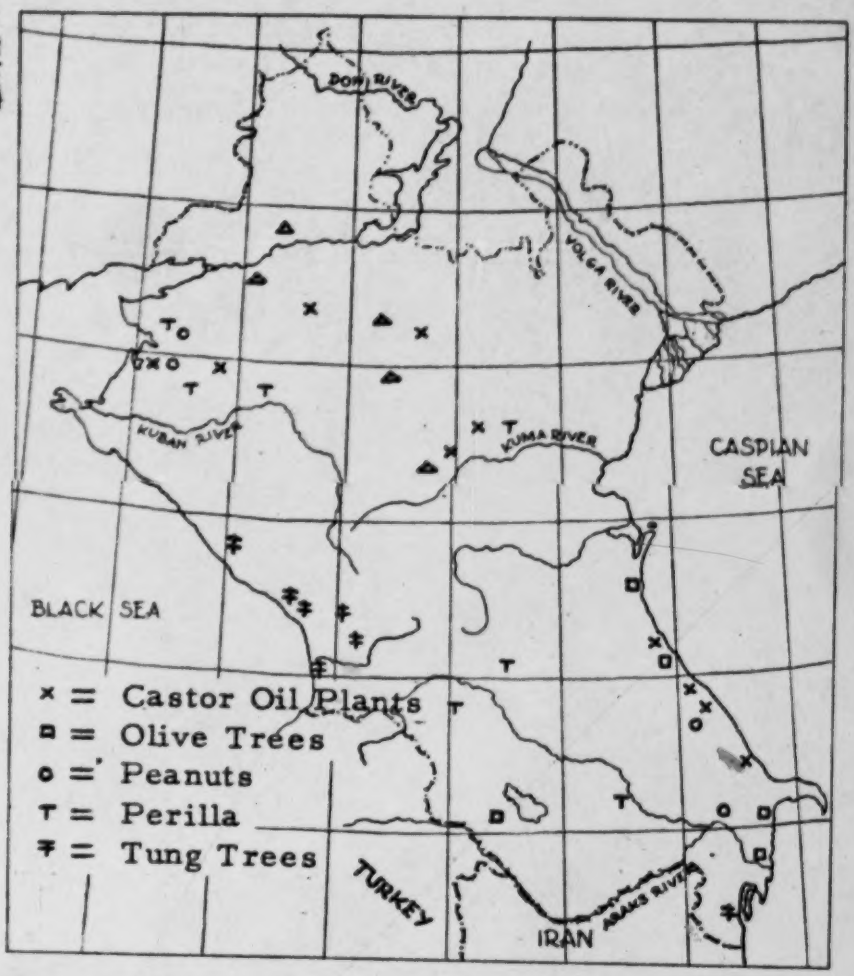

a. 16
Sunflowers, Soy Beans, Linseed Oil Flax

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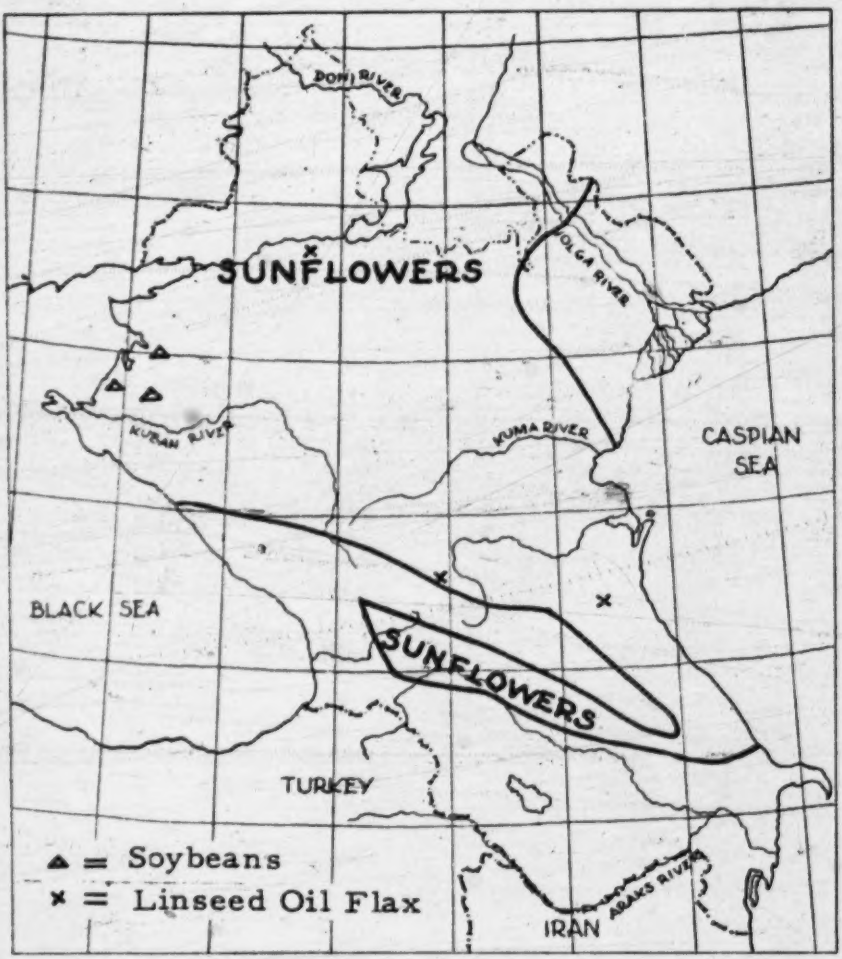

a. 17 Volatile Oil-yielding Plants, Saffron

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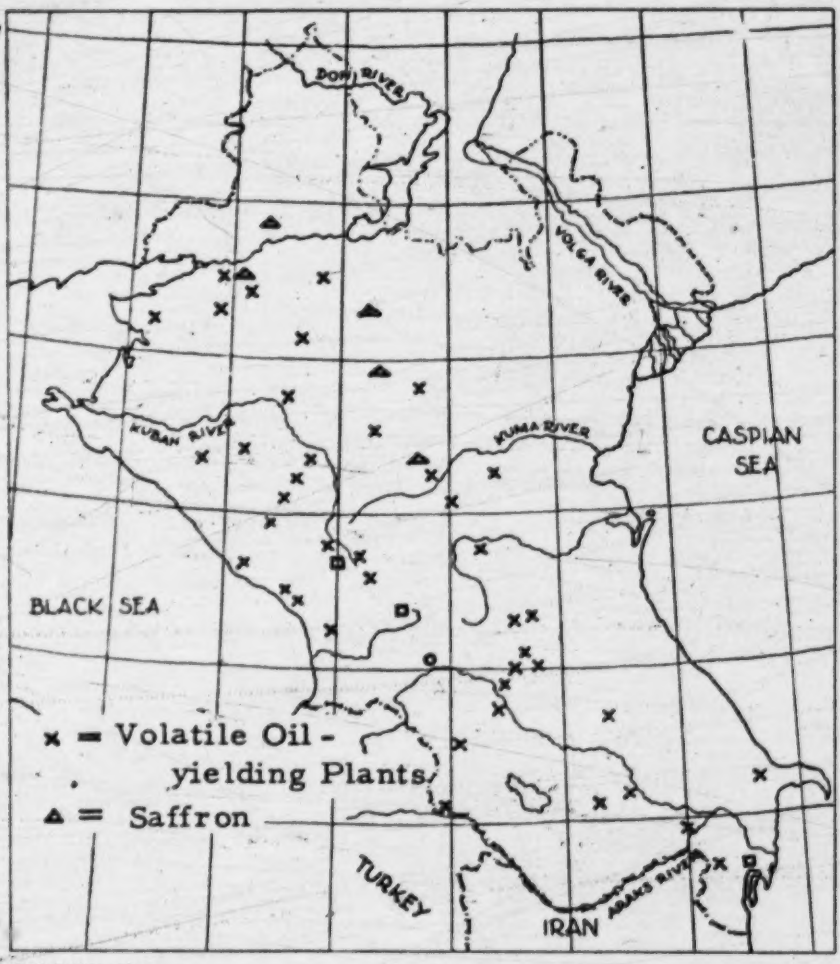

a. 18 Kok-sagyz, Krym-sagyz, Guayule

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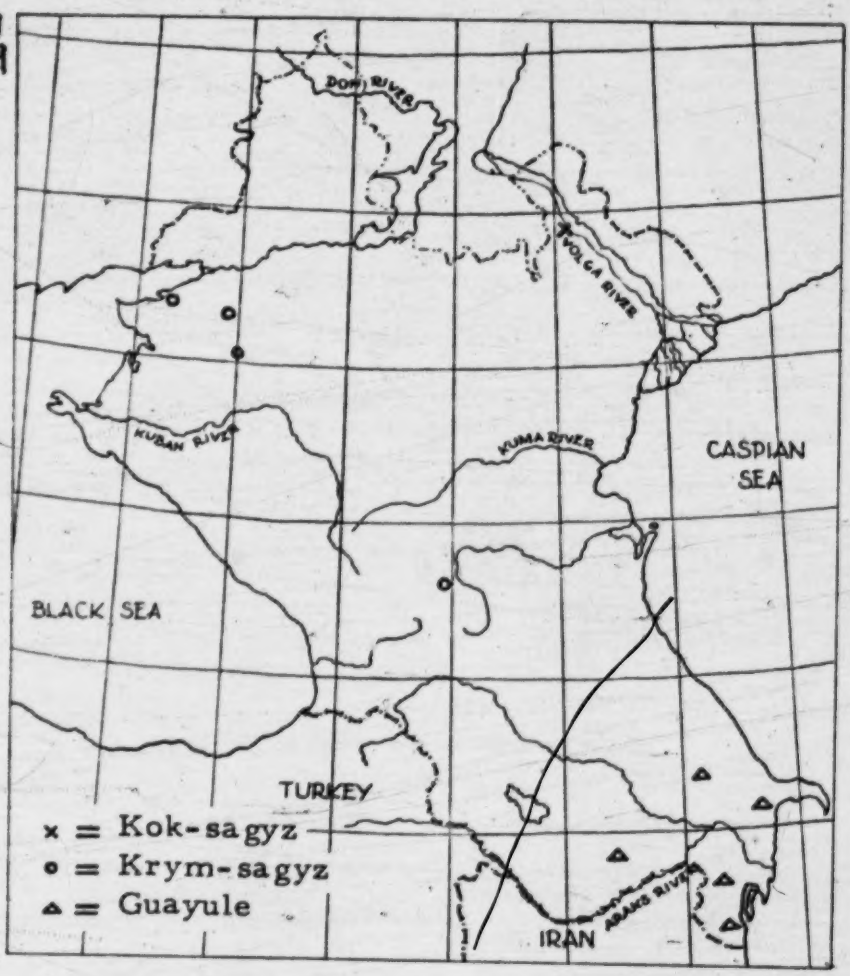

a. 19 Cinchona, Bay, Eucalyptus, Bamboo

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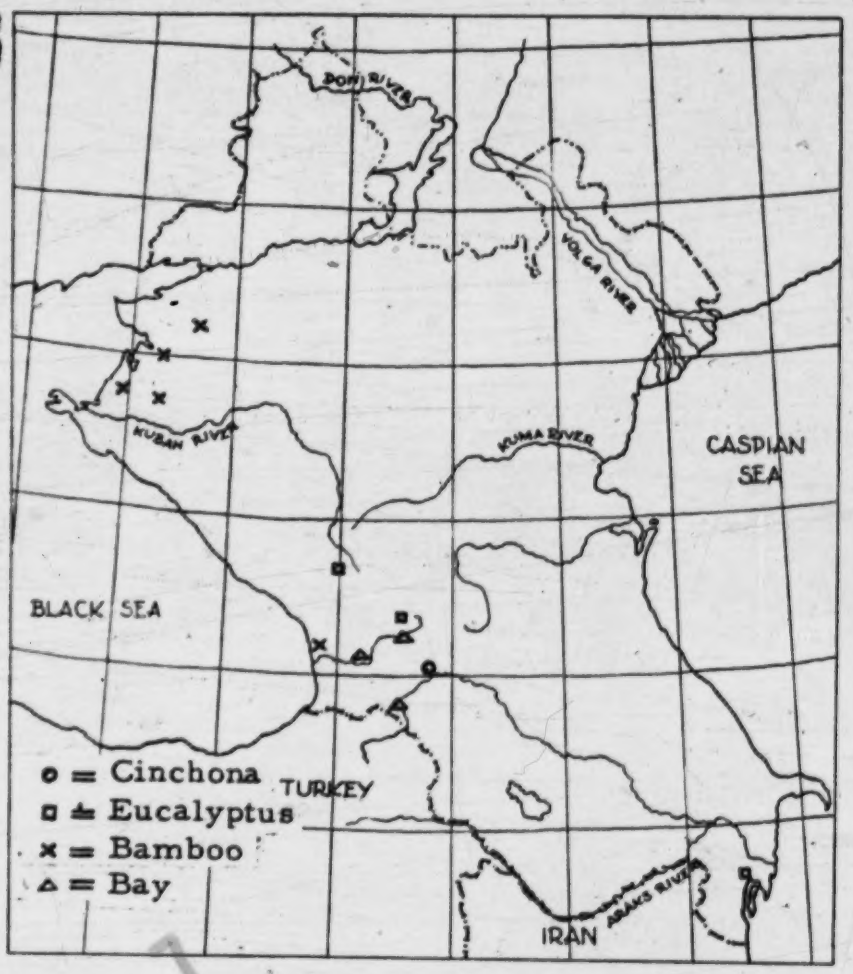

7: Columbia U. S-4, 5 1956 RH1 Caucasia RH1

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a-1, 5 Caucasian Industry in Czarist Russia as of 1913

- x : Centers of fuel industry
- △ : Mines
- □ : Centers of metallurgy
- ○ : Machinery and metal-working plants
- ♀ : Silicate and porcelain works
- ● : Chemical industry centers
- T : Textile industry centers
- ▼ : Food industry centers
- v : Centers of various industries



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7: Columbia U. S-4,5 1956 RHl Caucasia RHl

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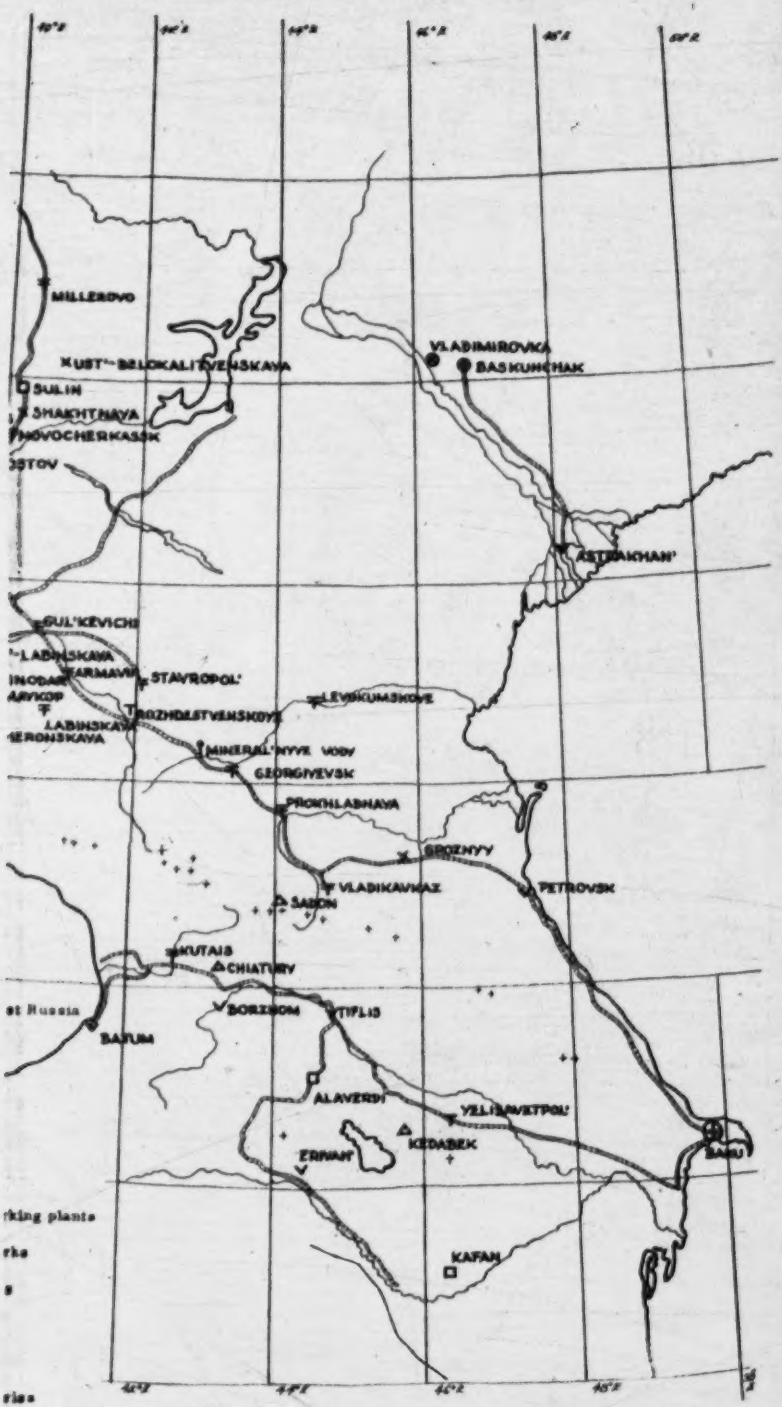




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7: Columbia U. S-4, 5 1956 RHI Caucasia RHI

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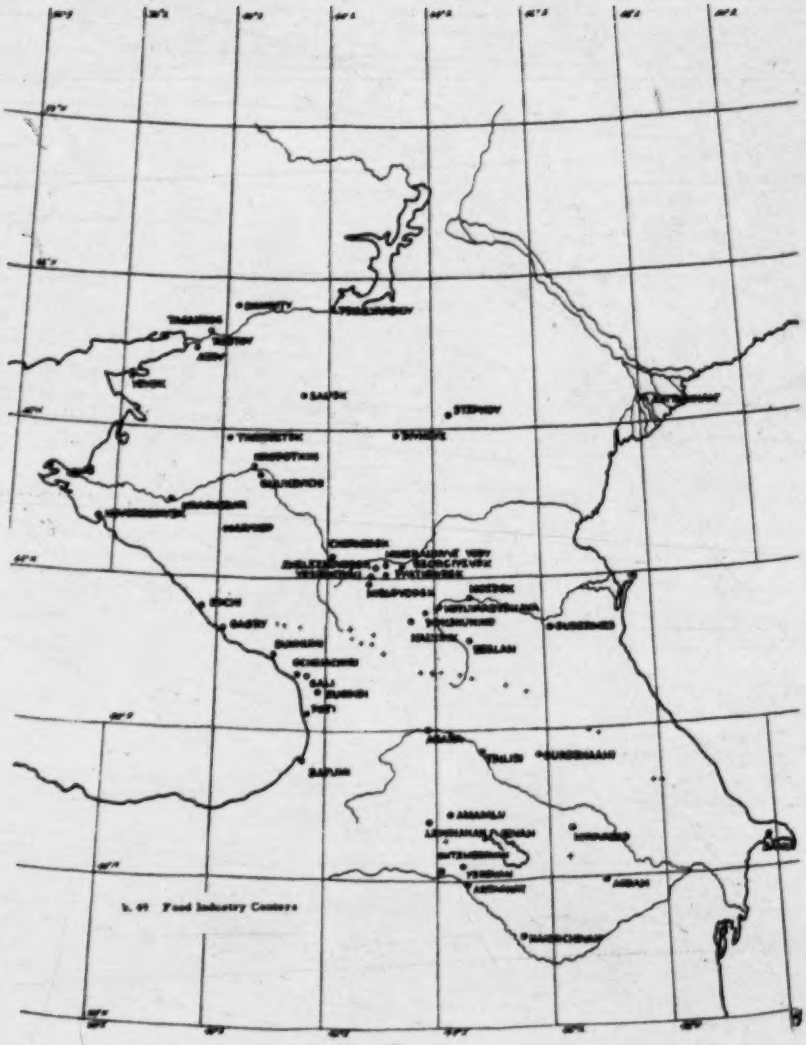




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G. 245 pomegranates) are grown in abundance. They
[251] are preserved in sugar by a boiling-down pro-
G. 244 cess. Important vegetables are lentils, beans, peas, onions, eggplants, celery, garlic, fennel, mustard and several kinds of cucurbita-
G. 231 ceous plants. The raising of silkworms is common, especially in the West. Beekeeping is widespread; hollwed-out logs are used as beehives; these are covered against the rain with pieces of bark or straw mats. Honey is
G. 224 also gathered from wild beees. Hunting is of some importance in the highlands (deer, rabbits, fowl); it is traditionally engaged in by herdsmen, who take turns watching the herds.
G. 226 Fishing is of importance only on the Black Sea coast and on the lower course of the rivers running into it.

G. 231 Because of the lack of pasture land, cattle-breeding is less important in the Georgian lowlands than it is in the mountains. The Georgians keep buffaloes, oxen, pigs, horses, donkeys, mules, goats and sheep. The latter usually are of the fat-tail variety, except among
G. 233 the Svan. In summer, the herds are taken to
221 the mountain pastures by herdsmen. The herds are led by a billy goat and are kept together by goats; dogs accompany the herds only as protectors against wolves. To keep the latter at a distance, fires are kept going during the night.

Cattle and sheep breeding have a greater relative importance for the Svan and especially the Pshav and Tush. The latter are predominantly seminomadic herdsmen; the men

255 canning areas are Georgia (the Kutaisi-Gori area), Armenia (around Yerevan and Megri), Azerbaijan (Zakataly, Kuba, Lenkoran'), and Nakhichevan' (Ordubad).

234 Milk industry centers: The most important centers are around the health resorts, especially Sochi and Mineral'nyye Vody.

•253 Meat packing and canning centers: Con-
255 centrated mostly along the northern slopes of the Greater Caucasus. The other noteworthy meat-packing area is in Armenia (Leninakan, Yerevan).

228 Fisheries, centers of fishing industry:
255 The most important fisheries are along the shallow waters of the Caspian Sea, in the delta of the Volga River, and along the mouth of the Kura River. Its low salinity and its micro-organisms make the Caspian Sea the richest fishing ground of the USSR. The fisheries of the Caspian Sea provide 35% of the Russian output. The chief fishing centers are around Astrakhan', Lopatin, and Makhachkala. The second most important fishing area of the Caucasus is in the shallow waters of the Sea of Azov. These fishing grounds also abound in fish and the catch is four times as great as in the Black Sea. The center of the Azov area is Yeysk. The fishing grounds of the Black Sea coast are less important, while the fishing in Lake Sevan in only for local consumption. The centers of the fishing industry and of fish canning are located in the fishing areas. The foremost center of the fishing industry on the Caspian coast, and in the whole USSR, is Astrakhan'. Astrakhan' also

## b. 56 Meat Packing and Canning Plants

253
255

322 Furniture plants: Concentrated mostly in Novorossiysk, Maykop, Cherkessk, Rostov, and Kamensk-Shakhtinskiy.

289 Paper mills: There are only two important paper mills in the Caucasus. The large one is at Zugdidi in West Georgia, and the smaller one is at Rostov.

317 Salt mines: The Caucasus is very rich in salt. This mineral is mined both in the North and in the South Caucasus. The mine around Nakhichevan', and the salt fields of the Apsheron Peninsula supply Trans-caucasia. The salt mines of Baskunchak (Astrakhan' Oblast), representing 1/4 of the total salt production of the USSR, serve all Russia.

256 Food industry: This industry is represented everywhere in the Caucasus.

Flour-milling centers: These are located mostly in the Krasnodar and Stavropol' Krays, and in Rostov Oblast.

Centers of starch and molasses industry: The center of this industry is the North Ossetian ASSR with its huge Beslan corn kombinat.

258 Oil presses: Concentrated especially in the western parts of the North Caucasus (Krasnodar and Stavropol'Krays and Rostov Oblast).

257 Sugar refineries: The chief sugar refineries are in Armenia (Amamlu, Leninakan), in Georgia (Agara), and in the Krasnodar Kray (Tikhoretsk, Korenovskaya).

255 Fruit-canning centers: Concentrated mostly in the eastern section of the North Caucasus. Dagestan especially is an important fruit-canning area. Other noteworthy fruit-

255 canning areas are Georgia (the Kutaisi-Gori area), Armenia (around Yerevan and Megri), Azerbaijan (Zakataly, Kuba, Lenkoran'), and Nakhichevan' (Ordubad).

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228 has the largest fishing canneries in the USSR.
255 The other centers follow the coast as far as Astara. The fishing industry and fish canning of the Azov area is centered in Azov, in Yeysk, and in other cities and towns along the coast.

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255

FRUIT CANNERIES
ZAGATALY
STALINIRI
LENKORAN
h.54 Fruit Canneries

975

b. 56 Meat Packing and Canning Plants

253
255

228
255

b. 56 Fishing Industry and Canneries

3: Anonymous U-4 (no date) 1920 RHI Caucasia RH1



228 The *caviare* industry of the Caspian littoral is declining, but is still important (see p. 62).

339 *Cement* is made at Novorossiisk, Gelendjik, Tuapse, and Yeisk. It is used for lining oil wells, and also for harbour works and other purposes. There were nine large cement factories at Novorossiisk in 1917, with an annual output of 4,600,000 barrels, the most important being the Black Sea Cement Manufactory, the Franco-Russian Cement Manufactory, and the Zep Cement Works.

282 *Leather-work* is a fairly extensive industry, of which the chief centres are Alexandropol, Elisavetopol, Shusha, and Tiflis. Tanning is done at Tiflis, and saddlery is well made in Daghestan and the Black Sea districts.

391 *Metallic and Allied Industries.*—The copper and zinc smelting works have already been mentioned (see pp. 63–64 and 67). There are iron foundries at Ekaterinodar, Baku, Tiflis, Batum, and Armavir. 'Colonist' reaping machines are made at Novorossiisk, and galvanized iron roofing and hardware goods at a factory at Baku. Among manufactures subsidiary to the oil industry are those of oil-cases and oil-cans, carried on at Baku and Batum, and of wire rope, carried on at several factories at Baku. The manufacture of small-arms, once a flourishing industry, is declining, but is still carried on at Tiflis and Nukha and in the bazaars [463] of Daghestan and Sukhum. The number of skilled native workers in enamel, filigree, and inlaid metal-ware is also decreasing.

256 The *milling* industry is second in importance only to the refining of oil. There are many flour-mills worked by water-power; those in Stavropol produce 300,000 tons of flour per annum, and those in Kuban, about the same amount; the mills of the Black Sea district give some 20,000 tons yearly. Besides the flour-mills, there are also mills for crushing sunflower seed, linseed, and cotton seed.

382 The *oil refineries* are the most important manufacturing enterprises in the country. They exist at Baku,

322 Furniture plants: Concentrated mostly in Novorossiysk, Maykop, Cherkessk, Rostov, and Kamensk-Shakhtinskiy.

289 Paper mills: There are only two important paper mills in the Caucasus. The large one is at Zugdidi in West Georgia, and the smaller one is at Rostov.

317 Salt mines: The Caucasus is very rich in salt. This mineral is mined both in the North and in the South Caucasus. The mine around Nakhichevan', and the salt fields of the Apsheron Peninsula supply Trans-caucasia. The salt mines of Baskunchak (Astrakhan' Oblast), representing 1/4 of the total salt production of the USSR, serve all Russia.

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Flour-milling centers: These are located mostly in the Krasnodar and Stavropol' Krays, and in Rostov Oblast.

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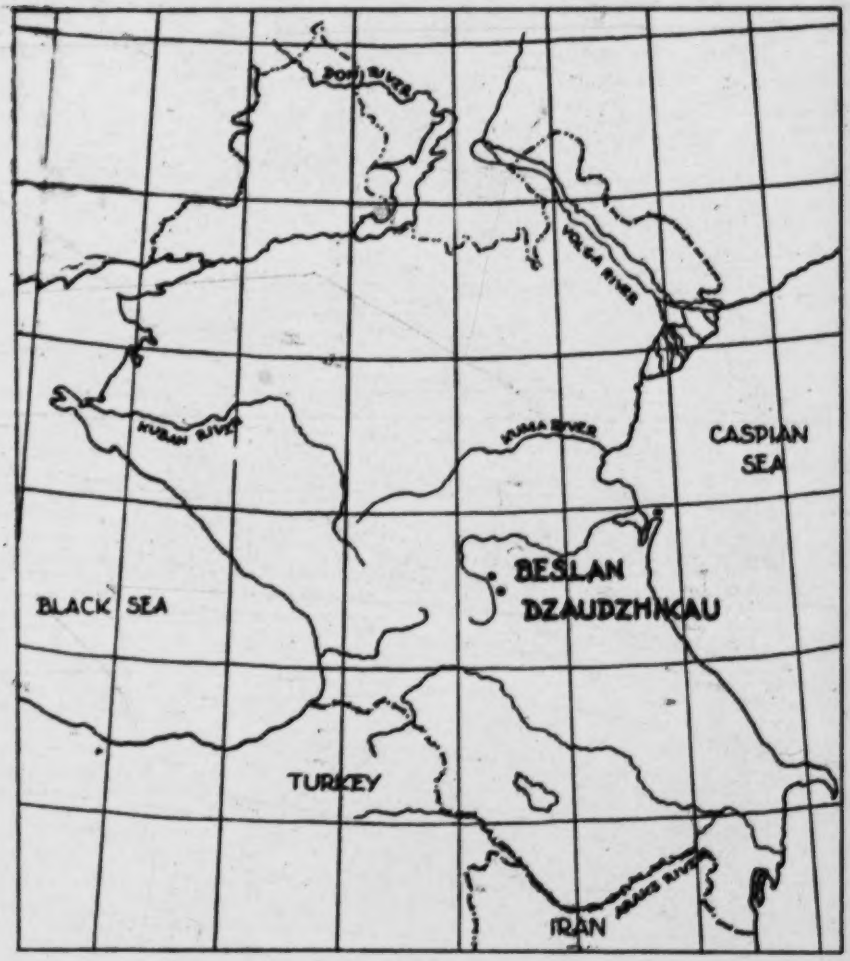
255 Fruit-canning centers: Concentrated mostly in the eastern section of the North Caucasus. Dagestan especially is an important fruit-canning area. Other noteworthy fruit-

b.50 Flour Mills

256

b. 51 Starch and Molasses Factories

256



3: Anonymous U-4 (no date) 1920 RH1 Caucasia RH1



245 Fruit.- Practically all the districts in Transcaucasia are suitable for the cultivation of European and sub-tropical fruits. Oranges and lemons thrive particularly well, and peaches, apricots, plums, apples, pears, and olives are also grown. The plums of Sochi and the oranges of Chavka have a special reputation, and in the Batum district strawberries attain great perfection. Sukhum district and the neighbourhood of Artvin grow the best olives. Melons are intensively cultivated. Fruit-growing is being developed on scientific principles by the peasants and small landowners of Kuban.

246 In 1913 the total area devoted to *hay* was 1,895,000 acres, of which 373,000 were in Terek, 278,000 in Chernomoria, and 227,000 in Baku.

249 257 The collection of *liquorice* root, which grows wild, is an industry of some significance, and before the war the shipments from Batum, chiefly for America, were increasingly large. The manufacture of liquorice paste, however, was much affected by the high price of crude oil, used as fuel by the factories, and there has been no export of it since 1914.

An attempt has been made to grow beet-root for *sugar* in Kuban, but the production was very small; 8,785 acres were under cultivation in 1914, of which 7,380 belonged to a sugar factory at Gulevichi.

249 The *sunflower* is cultivated for the sake of the oil to be obtained from the seeds, which is used as a substitute for linseed oil. The seeds are crushed in local mills and the stalks are used for the manufacture of potash. The crop covers a greater area than any other except the cereals, but is practically confined to Kuban. In 1914 there were 698,000 acres under cultivation, of which 681,500 acres were in Kuban, and the total output was 298,000 tons, of which the Kuban fields gave 292,000 tons, the rest being grown in the neighbouring Province of Stavropol. In that year the production of Ciscaucasia represented seven-eighteenths of the total production of sunflower oil in the Russian Empire. Its share in the total for 1915, however, was less than one-third, a decrease probably due to the necessity of growing more cereals than usual to meet

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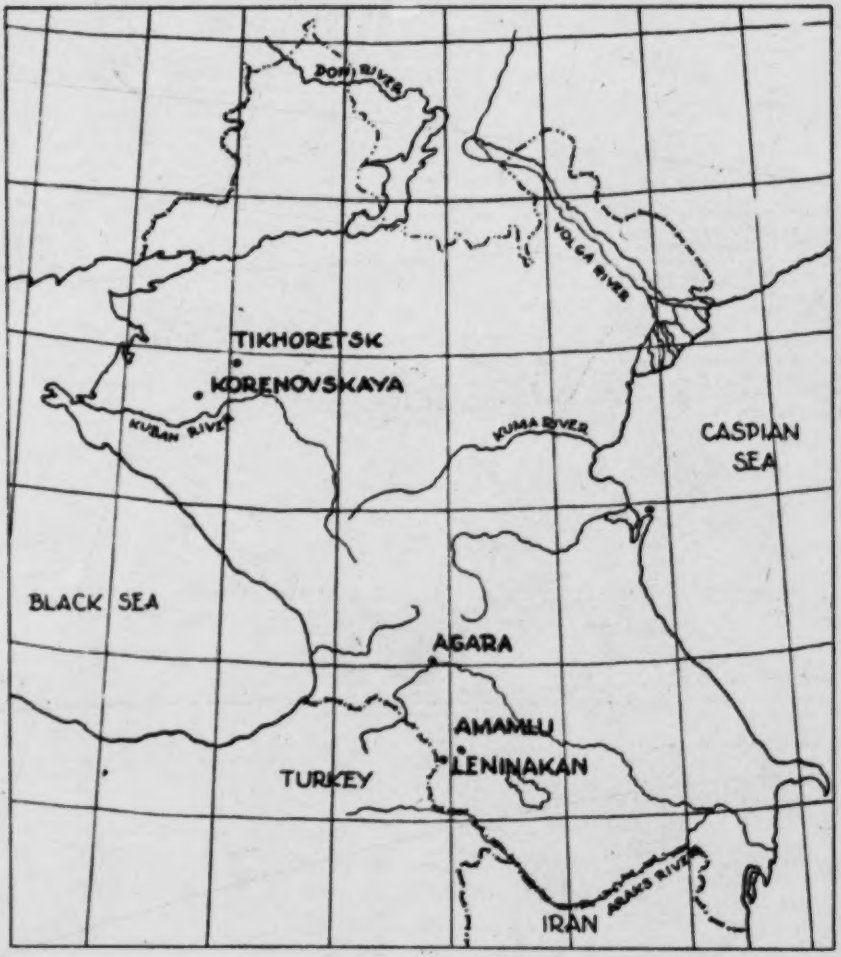
b. 53 Sugar Refineries

257



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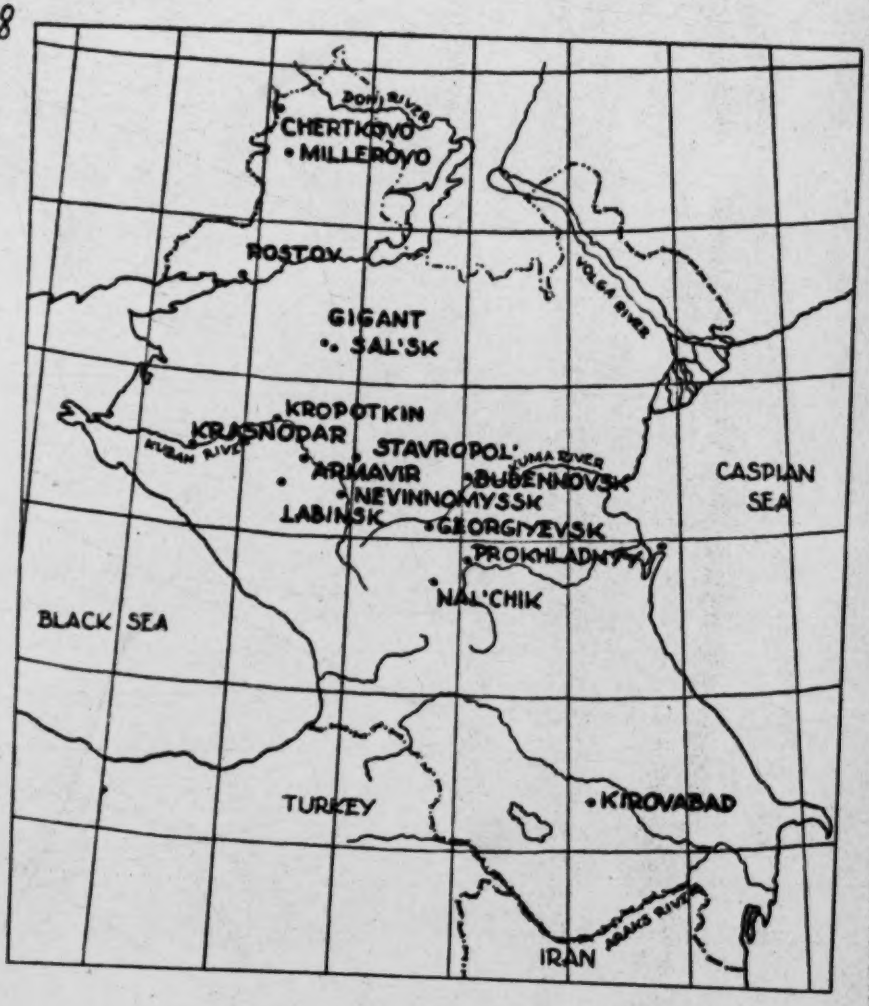
b. 52 Oil Presses

258



258

ZUGDIDI
OCHEMCHIRI
ACHIGUMIA
SUKHUMI
ADLIA
NOVI
ZUGDIDI
LEGURI
CHKHOROTSKU
CHAKVI
POTI
ZEKARI
BATUMI
b. 60 Tea Industry Centers



981

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As soon as the procession reaches the bridegroom's house, his mother takes a plate of honey and smears some on the bride's lips and extends her an official invitation to enter.[51] The honey symbolizes the readiness of the mother-in-law to offer the bride any and every gift, but especially the greatest gift of all, entrance into the household.[52] A pleasant and sweet life awaits her in such friendly surroundings. 585

Now an ox (or any other head of large cattle)[53] is led before the bride. The ear of the animal is then cut as a sign that from now on it belongs to the bride alone.[54] If the bride stands motionless in the doorway, everyone understands that the bride is still not satisfied and therefore a second animal must be brought before her and its ear must be cut in a similar manner. Sometimes a horse is presented to her instead of two oxen, in which case a clump of hair is cut off the horse's tail, leaving the ear intact.[55] On accepting these gifts, the bride is congratulated, welcomed, honoured with songs and pistol shots, and is then solemnly led across the threshold of the *saklia* by her mother-in-law. Sometimes, as the bride steps over the threshold, the bridegroom, standing behind the door, gives his wife three slight strokes[56] symbolizing his authority over her.[57]

The programme now calls for a tug of war between the villagers and the members of the groom's household. A carpet (the one the bride stepped on when crossing the threshold) is placed between the two groups, everyone taking as good a hold of it as possible and then pulling with all his strength, the villagers pulling away from the house and the others toward it. This is, doubtless, a form of ceremonial bride capture. The winners receive a special delicacy called *airisa*, a mixture of flour, butter and honey, as well as their favourite drink *buza*, while the losers must be satisfied with the drink.[58] 583 585 [524] [262]

There are two other forms of ceremonial bride capture, found among other Lesghians. In Dido-land the friends of the groom "break" into the bride's house, throw a sheep-skin over her head, and drag her into the street, where the villagers throw filth at her till she reaches her new home. The Andi of T'indi are supposed to have had the following custom: the bride riding on a horse, accompanied by men and women armed with torches and long poles, rides toward the groom who is similarly guarded. When the two groups meet, a mock battle is declared. The parties must try to extinguish each other's torches. In

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[51] Kovalevskij, *l. c.* Amirov omits this ceremony.

[52] This is Kovalevskij's interpretation. Unfortunately our sources fail to mention whether the mother-in-law accompanies her action with words as in the case of other North Caucasians or not.

[53] Amirov, *op. cit.*, p. 31, who mentions the possibility of presenting a horse instead of two oxen.

[54] Kovalevskij, *l. c.*; Amirov, *l. c.*

[55] Amirov, *l. c.*

[56] Kovalevskij, *Zakon*, II, p. 186.

[57] Amirov's and Kovalevskij's interpretation.

[58] Amirov, *op. cit.*, pp. 31 f.

1 [Sic -- Ana]ysf]

# FOOD

C. G. 262 The basic food of the average Caucasian consists of various kinds of home-baked bread and cakes, milk (often used sour), diverse kinds of cheese, rice, onions and garlic, cucumbers, melons, etc. Very common is also the use of a thick gruel (R. mamalyga) prepared out of millet, corn or wheat. A common Georgian dish, which spread also to N. W. Caucasus, is the lobia, made out of cooked and mashed beans with shredded onions and aromatic herbs; the same is true of the Georgian kharcho, a meat-sauce with nuts. The Circassians prepare a special dish of chicken in a gravy of butter, aromatic herbs and pepper. The main warm dish in Dagestan consists of noodles (cut of various kinds of dough) cooked in water, drained, and flavored with cheese, garlic, or other condiments. Meat is eaten mostly on special occasions; an all-Caucasian dish is mutton roasted on the spit (R. shashlyk); the Persian pilaw, rice cooked with meat and flavored with spices, has also found widespread popularity in the Caucasus. The Georgians in the lowland drink wine, the Tush, Pshav and Khevsur brew beer (as do the Ossetes); the Circassians prepare a beverage out of millet to which, after fermentation, honey is added (R. buza).

C. G. 273

8: Lužbetak E-4 (no date) 1951 RH1 Caucasia RH1



the Caucasus a father is forbidden to manifest his affection for his child. The Cherkess is forbidden even to speak of a child of a person present.[7] 593 602

Similar *adats* forbid a couple to appear together before their parents or parents-in-law for a year after marriage,[8] and among the Abkhaz, even longer.[9]

The NORTHEASTERN CAUCASIANS. These rules of avoidance are found also among the Chechens, with only accidental differences. After marriage the groom must leave his wife and family and live with some neighbours or relatives for two to three weeks.[10] But even afterwards, when he returns, a certain law of separation must be observed. Reineggs reporting on the customs in the eighteenth century mentions that the husband did not share a common room with his wife; the men, he tells us, lived apart from the children and the female members of the family.[11] Another *adat* forbids a husband to eat with his wife in the presence of strangers.[12] And even in strictest privacy he will never speak directly to her in the second person: he usually will turn aside somewhat and instead of saying "Give me," he will say, "I am in need of."[13] [591] [364]

An Ingush father is not only forbidden to carry or fondle his child in public, but is not even allowed to call it by its name,[14] when others are present.

Jakovlev assures us that one can meet Ingushi today who have not seen their mothers-in-law for fifteen years after the wedding,[15] for to do so would be a serious violation of an Ingush custom. A wife is forbidden to mention the name of a first cousin of her husband in the presence of her parents- or brothers-in-law.[16] A husband may never inquire about his wife's relatives.[17] He will not speak with his wife in the presence of his parents or older brothers.[18] According to Dubrovin, a wife is strictly forbidden to speak with her father-in-law or any near male relative of her husband for a certain time after the wedding. She may speak with her mother-in-law only after a number of months have elapsed.[19] 606 602

There is also a certain avoidance observed by the husband and wife among the mountain tribes of Daghestan. A Lesghian, for example, will never put his arm around his wife while dancing. Such signs of intimacy in the presence of others would be unthinkable.[20] 593

We have already mentioned the example of how a certain Boulat-khan brought on himself the contempt of a group of men of Andi for carrying his son 000

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[7] Pallas, *l. c.*
[8] Ladyženskij, FT, p. 186.
[9] Byhan, *op. cit.*, p. 152.
[10] Cf. Jakovlev, *Inguši*, p. 56.
[11] Reineggs, *op. cit.*, I, p. 41.
[12] Leontovič, II, p. 254, § 170.
[13] Dubrovin, *Istorija*, I, i, p. 438.
[14] Grabovskij, "Inguši, ich žizn i obyčai," SSKG, IX (1876), p. 49.
[15] Jakovlev, *op. cit.*, pp. 52, 57.
[16] Jakovlev, *op. cit.*, p. 57.
[17] *ibid.*
[18] *ibid.*
[19] *Istorija*, I, i, p. 434.
[20] Nansen, *op. cit.*, p. 199.

the guests have any questions, it is her girl-companion that must answer. The bride may at the most nod in affirmation.

She remains in her "hermitage" for some months before she is finally permitted to live with the rest of the household.[5]

The following description is chiefly that of the main Cherkess tribe, the Kabardians.

The *kalym* has been paid and the day of the wedding agreed upon. The relatives of the bridegroom begin the necessary wedding preparations. The odour of steaming beer and of the finest dainties creates a distinctive atmosphere, peculiar to a Kabardian wedding. On the eve of the marriage a group of men gallop through the *aul* inviting relatives to a preparatory feast, on the occasion of which a collection is taken to cover some of the expenses of the coming wedding, e. g., purchase of a veil for the bride, chartering of a bridal wagon.

On the following day young men fully-armed gather at the house of the groom and noisely gallop off to the bride's house. The bridegroom, however, does not go with them but "hides" at his best-man's house.[6] By doing so he becomes temporarily an adopted son *(kan)* of the latter's sib. A young companion called *shatso-kot* must always be at his side to protect him.

When the riders (or to be more exact, the bridal procession) reach the bride's house, her attendant, whom the riders brought along, is taken to the women's quarters, while the rest, after having feasted and danced till late into the night, are given lodging either in the house of the bride or of one of the neighbours.

Immediately after breakfast on the following day, the unusual hustle peculiar to a Cherkess wedding is observed outside the bride's house. The horses are being harnessed, the bride's belongings are being packed carefully but hurriedly into a trunk and put on the specially decorated bridal wagon. The bride herself is inside the house, being attired in her finest clothes. From her hair hangs a long white ribbon reaching to the ground. She is veiled, or rather, wrapped in a large white shawl. Her wedding dress differs but slightly from the ordinary Cherkess dress, except that it is made of more costly material. She is assisted on to the wagon and takes her place next to her ever-faithful girl-attendant. As soon as the bridal procession begins to move, the young men of the *aul*, all on horseback, try to snatch the caps away from the guests and thus begin the usual bridal horseraces. When the more "dignified" part of the procession enters the village of the groom, a wedding song is sung. By this time the racers have rested a bit and are ready to break into another wild chase. They again snatch one another's caps, throwing them on the ground, and as the rider gallops past one of the caps, he tries his skill at shooting a hole through it.

The bride is then taken by two women into the women's quarters, whilst outside the cracks of pistols and guns continue. The bride slowly sits down on a specially prepared bench, covered with a carpet. All eyes are fixed on her as a girl-friend of hers has the honour of removing the shawl.

While the riders outside are enjoying their beer, the youth of the village armed with long poles occupy a place difficult for the horsemen to pass. The

[5] Seidlitz, *op. cit.*, pp. 40 f; Deržavin, *op. cit.*, p. 10.
[6] C. Hahn, *Kaukasische Reisen und Studien*, p. 40.

8: Lužbetak E-4 (no date) 1951 RHl Caucasia RHl



The "Reconciliation" however is not yet over. The following morning 585
an *arba* (Caucasian two-wheeled wagon) drawn by two oxen goes through the [493]
village and every family before whose house the *arba* halts is obliged to donate
a chicken. In the evening a cartload of chickens arrives, destined for a special
"Reconciliation" feast exclusively for women, on which occasion the groom
by accepting some beer from his mother is finally "reconciled" also with her.

True, the "Reconciliation" may be over, but the marriage ceremonies are
not. Two days later there is more feasting, more drinking, and the so-called [524]
*shinak-gagerös* (i. e., "the twirling of a wooden cup with a long handle") [273]
take place. The one toward whom the cuphandle points on stopping after
having been twirled must drink its contents. The young people who take part
in this drink-feast do not leave the groom's home till there is no more beer left
to refill the cup. The old folks have their turn in the celebration in the evening,
when the young are obliged to serve the old. One of the main features on the
programme is the obligation of all the "old-timers" to take a turn at dancing,
ending with a dance of the host and hostess, who, however, have the privilege
of exemption from dancing if they drink a cup of beer instead. On this occasion [533]
the Kabardian minnesingers called *geguako* are especially welcome. They travel
from village to village, playing on their two-stringed instruments, singing and [534]
composing beautiful lyrics[20] as the German minnesingers and the French and
Italian troubadours once used to do. To each well-wishing of the *geguako* the
guests answer with a joyful "Amen!," confirming their "So be it!" with a
sip of beer.[21]

The ceremony of thrice walking around the hearth constitutes an important
part of the Cherkess wedding just as in Abkhazia.[22]

The official marriage contract is made by representatives of the bride and
groom in the presence of the local mullah. Holding both representatives by the
hand, he first asks the representative of the bride: "Do you take A as husband
for B?" The answer is a simple "Yes!" He then asks the representative of
the groom: "Do you take B as wife for A?" "Yes!" This interrogation is
repeated a second and a third time. The mullah then recites a prayer and all
present, raising their hands heavenward, answer "Amen!"[23]

The expenses entailed in such an elaborate wedding would often bring
complete economic ruin to the family, much the same as Caucasian funerals.
Ladyženskij implies, however, that such expensive weddings are a thing of the
past.[24]

The NORTHEASTERN CAUCASIANS. As our example of a Chechen [182]
marriage we have chosen that of the Ingushi, for this group of Chechens has
preserved much more of their ancient culture than any other. In so doing,
however, we must make allowance for tribal differences.

[20] Hahn, *op. cit.*, pp. 46—49, from whom we have also taken the description of the "Reconciliation." Hahn gives us a few examples of these lyrics, *op. cit.*, pp. 49 ff.

[21] Hahn, *op. cit.*, p. 51.

[22] Dirr, AGKB, p. 25.

[23] Ladyženskij, FT, p. 199.

[24] Ladyženskij, FT, p. 208. See also Dubrovin, *Istorija* for a fairly good description of a Cherkess wedding, I, i, pp. 142 ff, 147 f.

585 however, we must make allowance for tribal differences. The Ingush wedding has been described especially well by Jakovlev.[25]

There is excitement in the village,[26] and the whole atmosphere is festive. Before one of the Ingush houses a crowd is gathering, the riders towering above all. There is reason for this excitement and festivity, for a son is being married. Inside the house, too, there is excitement—but perhaps we should call it [273] "activity" instead. A sheep is being slaughtered, *braga* is being brewed, cakes are being baked. But in spite of all this hustle, there seems to be time and reason enough to interrupt all work—just for a moment—the butcher, the brewer, the baker, one and all, go to the door and gaze a moment at the crowd as it begins to form into a semi-orderly wedding procession. At the head we see the proud father of the groom, and behind him his male relatives and some girls. Even billy-goats and rams are there (gifts for the bride's family)—all are there except the groom. He and one of his comrades disappeared several days ago and have not been heard of since. (The bride vanished from her home too, but by now she has most likely returned.) The bridegroom is no doubt "hiding" with a neighbour. The whole village is excited—everybody, we are told, except the groom, for etiquette demands that he act as unconcerned as if marriage were an everyday affair.

Men on horseback, men, women, and noisy children on creaky carts or on foot, wend their way down the dusty village road. When they reach the bride's house her father dashes out in front of the procession and with beaming face [534] welcomes all heartily. The *pandir* (a native three-stringed instrument) begins a joyful wedding tune and all join in the customary marriage songs. Formerly the girls would form into two contending choirs, the friends of the groom against [522] the friends of the bride, alternately singing songs and trying to out-ridicule the other,[27] a veritable battle of tongues and voices.

Singing, dancing, and feasting, continue till evening, when the procession [526] is formed again (but this time not without the bride). The horsemen now gallop off and begin their wild, dangerous wedding races.[28]

As soon as the procession reaches the groom's house, the bride enters the *saklia* and receives some honey and butter, coyly listening to the words "Be thou ever soft as butter and ever sweet as honey."

After this little ceremony she is led behind a curtain where she must remain for the next few days, entertained only by a number of girl-companions.

The formal marriage contract takes place according to the simple Islamic rite. The mullah, as usual, presides, while the parents of the bride and groom make the contract.

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[25] Jakovlev, *Ingušī*, pp. 52—56.
See also Dubrovin's description, *Istorija*, I, i, pp. 430—435.

[26] A year or two may elapse after the betrothal, the time of marriage depending mainly on how soon the *kalym* can be paid. Cf. Berže, *Čečnja i Čečency*, p. 98.

[27] For texts of wedding songs see Jakovlev, *l. c.*

[28] Grabovskij, "Ekonomičeskij i domašnij byt, etc.," p. 21. Horseraces play an important part in funerals throughout the Caucasus. See R. Bleichsteiner, "Rossweihe und Pferderennen im Totenkult der kaukasischen Völker," *Wiener Beiträge zur Kulturgeschichte und Linguistik*, Salzburg-Leipzig, 1936, pp. 414—495.

8: Lužbetak E-4 (no date) 1951 RHl Caucasia RHl



585 customs of Lesghians in general,[37] and, finally, Halil Beg Mussayassul's description in his *Das Land der letzten Ritter*.[38]

The wedding day has finally arrived and all acquaintances and relatives have been invited. The young people begin to assemble at the groom's house quite early in the morning, while the older people do not make their appearence till the arrival of the bride. After feasting and dancing has begun at the groom's house, two men and two women—usually relatives of the groom—are commissioned to bring the bride to her new home.[39] In the Province of Kazikumukh usually 10 to 15 persons of each sex are sent;[40] in Sakataly, four to twelve.[41] In a similar manner, the bride chooses four persons from among her relatives, two uncles, called *varkhkani* ("fellow-travellers") and two aunts, called *kakurtsanti* ("they who lead the bride by the hand").[42] The procession, or the delegation, as the case may be, proceeds to the house where the bride is staying at the time. (In Avaria, she is at one of her relative's, whereas in Dargwa and Kazikumukh Province, she is always at home.[43]) On arriving, the delegation solemnly extend to the bride a triple invitation to join them.[44]

After the guests have been entertained, the bridal procession begins to move slowly in the direction of the groom's house. Some boys are at the head of the procession carrying lighted torches, for generally the procession does not begin before dusk. Other children, noisier than ever, carry the bride's wedding gifts (usually kitchen utensils).[45] During the whole procession the two aunts are constantly at the bride's side, living up to their name *kakvurtsanti*, "they who lead the bride by the hand."[46]

Though dressed in beautiful silk, the bride must not be too particular about keeping her wedding gown spotless, an impossible task indeed. When the procession passes under a window, a handful of flour is poured on her,[47] a custom which, according to Dalgat's manuscript, signifies "luck as pure as the flour that is poured on the bride."[48]

Almost at every bend of the road, or wherever the road narrows down, there is a crowd of village urchins and young people who obstruct the way and will not permit the procession to continue till they receive some of their favourite [273] *buza*[49] and dainties.[50]

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[37] *Istorija*, I, i, pp. 566—573.
[38] Munich, 1936, pp. 169—175.
[39] Kovalevskij, *Zakon*, II, p. 185.
[40] Gabiev, *op. cit.*, p. 109.
[41] Fon-Plotto, *op. cit.*, pp. 31 f.
[42] Kovalevskij, *l. c.*, Amirov, *op. cit.*, p. 31, calls them *kakvurtsanti*, *kak* meaning "hand" and *vutsis meaning* "to hold."
[43] Kovalevskij, *l. c.*
[44] Kovalevskij, *Zakon*, II, pp. 185 f.
[45] Amirov, *op. cit.*, p. 31; Gabiev, *l. c.*
[46] Amirov, *l. c.* Kovalevskij, *l. c.* In Sakataly, according to Kovalevskij's own observation, the bride rides on a horse led by the bride's maternal uncle (Kovalevskij, *Zakon*, II, p. 186).
[47] Amirov, *l. c.* Kovalevskij, *l. c.*
[48] Kovalevskij, *l. c.*
[49] *Buza* is a kind of beer: millet is brewed and allowed to ferment, after which honey is added.
[50] Amirov, *l. c.*; Kovalevskij, *l. c.*

000 spades. The chaff is used as cattle-feed.

C. G. 245 In the plains, especially in Kakhetia, the production of wine plays an important part in the rural economy. Numerous sorts C G [192] of grapes are distinguished under locally varying names; the word for "wine," ghvino, seems to be a loan-word from pre-literary Armenian. In Western Georgia the vines are allowed to climb on trees, mostly poplars and beeches; they grow half wild and untended and may reach an age of 50 years or more before they are rooted out and replaced by young plants. The vines yielding the renowned Kakhetian wines grow low, in carefully tended vineyards, most of which are artifi- C. G. cially irrigated. The grapes are gathered in 273 September-October and poured into wine presses made of stone or wood (sac'nekheli), where the men tread them out by foot. The juice and skins are allowed to ferment to- C. G. gether; in the West, in the pressing-trough [415] itself, and in Kakhetia in large earthern jugs with a pointed bottom (ch'uri), which are sunk into the ground. These jugs are smeared with naphtha on the inside, which gives the wine a peculiar taste, similar to the Greek rezzinato. When the wine is ready, it is stored in similar jugs, up to eight feet high and five feet in diameter. For transportation the wine is scooped out and poured into cattle- or goat-skins also treated with naphtha.

C. G. 245 Fruits (apricots, peaches, cherries, figs, walnuts, almonds, sweet chestnuts,

# FOOD

C. G. 262 The basic food of the average Caucasian consists of various kinds of home-baked bread and cakes, milk (often used sour), diverse kinds of cheese, rice, onions and garlic, cucumbers, melons, etc. Very common is also the use of a thick gruel (R. mamalyga) prepared out of millet, corn or wheat. A common Georgian dish, which spread also to N. W. Caucasus, is the lobia, made out of cooked and mashed beans with shredded onions and aromatic herbs; the same is true of the Georgian kharcho, a meat-sauce with nuts. The Circassians prepare a special dish of chicken in a gravy of butter, aromatic herbs and pepper. The main warm dish in Dagestan consists of noodles (cut of various kinds of dough) cooked in water, drained, and flavored with cheese, garlic, or other condiments. Meat is eaten mostly on special occasions; an all-Caucasian dish is mutton roasted on the spit (R. shashlyk); the Persian pilaw, rice cooked with meat and flavored with spices, has also found widespread popularity in the Caucasus. The Georgians in the lowland drink wine, the Tush, Pshav and Khevsur brew beer (as do the Ossetes); the Circassians prepare a beverage out of millet to which, after fermentation, honey is added (R. buza).

C. G. 273

c. o. 796 778 objects the dzuar enjoys the highest degree of reverence. The word dzuar is of Georgian origin and means "the cross," then "the saint," and further "a sanctuary." Churches are often built at the side of, or in the place of, such old sanctuaries, the most famous of which, Rekom, is situated between the village Zai and the Zai glacier. It is described as a very small, low, square room with two tiny windows. The roof is covered with straw, the walls and ceilings are adorned with old rugs and priestly garments. There are all kinds of things on the floor, such as images of saints, candles, jewelry, arrows, etc., and similar things are also to be seen outside of the sanctuary. In the immediate neighborhood there are numerous stone houses covered with plain roofs serving as shelters for the pilgrims who stay there for two weeks from the first Saturday in May, sacrificing, eating. dancing and singing.

c. o. 796 782 At the Ossets' festivals the killing of animals is accompanied by appropriate sacrificial hymns. The sacrifice is performed by the eldest member of the assembly who, before the slaughtering, burns the sign of the cross on the animal's muzzle and behind its right ear with a glowing coal. A special feature of festi-
c. o. [273] vals is the drinking of K'umäl, the native beverage of millet, araq, brandy, and bägäny, beer. The flesh of the animal is eaten, the bones piled up in a heap, the blood is collected in a vessel and buried, and the animal's head is hung on a tree. The sacrifice in honor of

3: Anonymous U-4 (no date) 1920 RH1 Caucasia RH1



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Of the *textile industries*, which are in a very backward 288
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There are seventeen *tobacco* factories in Caucasia, 277
six being in Tiflis, four in Kuban, two in Daghestan, two in Baku, two in Sukhum, and one in Terek. The industry is controlled by a dozen large firms, and the output in 1914 was 2,395 tons.

*Wine-making and Distilling.*—There is a good deal of 274
wine made, especially in the Province of Kutais; the best quality is produced in the Gelendjik district, and Echmiadzin is one of the great centres. The best known type of wine is the Riesling. At Abrau, a Crown estate near Novorossiisk, is made the Abrau-Dursan champagne, which is considered equal to a good French champagne. The total output of wine in Caucasia was 27,449,350 gallons in 1911 and nearly

3: Anonymous U-4 (no date) 1920 RH1 Caucasia PH1



274 22,000,000 gallons in 1914. Were French methods of manufacture employed more extensively, the industry might be greatly developed. There is an Italian firm at Kislovodsk in Terek which makes Riesling and other wines under modern conditions.

*Distilling* is in part an independent industry and in part a means of utilizing the inferior wines. In 1913 there were 15 distilleries—8 in Kuban, 4 in Terek, 2 in Stavropol, and 1 in Kutais—and the output of alcohol in that year was 8,193,000 gallons, of which more than two-thirds were distilled in Kuban.

438 *Other industries* of the country may be very briefly
471 enumerated. A *tea* factory has recently been opened at Chavka, and has an annual output of about 55 tons, and other factories are (or were) being built with Government aid at Baku and Ozurgeti. A *beet-sugar* factory, started in 1913 at Gulevichi, was brought to a standstill for want of beetroot in 1914. There are three *saw-mills* at Tiflis; the Italian firm of Sbrajavacca has saw-mills at Socilava and Poti, which turn out 300 cubic metres daily, and Ananov Brothers have small saw-mills in Kutais, driven by electric power. A factory for making *bamboo furniture* was opened at Chavka in 1907. There are nine *brick* and *tile* factories at Baku and four tile factories at Tiflis, while *pottery* works have been opened at Ksauka, Tiflis, by an Italian firm, which also makes tiles. *Soap* is made at Tiflis, and *sulphuric acid* at Baku.

### (7) Power

377 In 1914 there were ten chief power-stations: near Beli Ugol on the Podkumka river (1,000 horse-power); near Sukhum on the Besletk river (owned by the Sukhum Electric Co.); near Gagri on the Jockvar river (working the climatic station); at Batum (water-driven), supplying Batum with electricity; at Kutais, supplying power for Ananov Brothers' saw-mills; at Sanain (700 horse-power), belonging to the Caucasus Metallurgical Co.; at Katar copper mines (Sangesur

228 has the largest fishing canneries in the USSR.
255 The other centers follow the coast as far as Astara. The fishing industry and fish canning of the Azov area is centered in Azov, in Yeysk, and in other cities and towns along the coast.

274 Wine and cognac industry centers: The most important centers are located in Armenia, in Georgia, in Dagestan, in the littoral sections of the Krasnodar Kray, and finally around Novocherkassk. The Armenian wine industry, centered mostly around Yerevan, is centuries old. In Georgia, the Imeretian and Kakhetian wines are world-famous. In Dagestan: Buynaksk, Makhachkala, and Kizlyar (Groznyy Oblast) are the important centers of the wine industry. In the Novorossiysk area, the champagne of Abram-Dyurso is noteworthy. The center for the famous Cossack wines is Novocherkassk.

258 Tea industry centers: These are located in the tea-growing areas. One finds the most important tea-drying plants in Kolkhida, and in the Abkhaz and Adzhar Republics. The tea industry center of the Krasnodar Kray is Dagomys, the center of the Azeri tea industry is at Lenkoran'.

274 Mineral water bottling centers: The chief centers are Yessentuki in the North Caucasus and Borzhomi in the South Caucasus.

277 Tobacco factories: Centered mostly in the western parts of the Caucasus. In the South Caucasus, the factories at Batumi, Sukhumi, and Yerevan are especially important. In the North Caucasus, the tobacco factories are centered around Krasnodar, Sal'sk, and Rostov.

274

b. 61 Mineral Water Bottling Plants

274

137 are the overwhelmingly predominant Caucasian bush growth. Both species are found in abundance on a very large strip within the forest zone and beyond it, over an absolute vertical [231] distance of 1800 m. Since bee-keeping is very common in the Caucasus, the azalea has in those regions a strong influence upon the composition of the honey. Strabon tells us of this [276] particular kind of honey, which seems to contain an inebriating, intoxicating, or narcotizing effect, at least upon certain individuals; people are said to become drunk, mad, furious, or even crazy. The present-day Turks in the areas along the Black Sea ranges, where the azalea is also found, call this honey däli bal ("crazy honey"), exactly the same expression used by Strabon, XII; 3, 18. A number of travelers reject these tales -- cf. the classical passage in Xenophon's "Anabasis", IV; 8, 20/21—as fables, probably because the azalea honey did not have any effect upon them.

The Caucasus is the original home of a number of fruit trees and other plants of great use to man. Thus, the walnut tree and hazelnut bush are natives of the Caucasus, where they are found in great groves or growing beside other trees in the forests. The valleys of Imeret'ia are generally considered to be the original home of the walnut tree. The hazelnut bush is abundant in the Caucasus as well as all over the Black Sea mountains in northern Anatolia.

But a small creeper, which with the ex-

3: Anonymous U-4 (no date) 1920 RH1 Caucasia RH1



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b. 62 Tobacco Factories

277

3: Anonymous U-4 (no date) 1920 RHI Caucasia RHI



228 The *caviare* industry of the Caspian littoral is declining, but is still important (see p. 62).

339 *Cement* is made at Novorossiisk, Gelendjik, Tuapse, and Yeisk. It is used for lining oil wells, and also for harbour works and other purposes. There were nine large cement factories at Novorossiisk in 1917, with an annual output of 4,600,000 barrels, the most important being the Black Sea Cement Manufactory, the Franco-Russian Cement Manufactory, and the Zep Cement Works.

282 *Leather-work* is a fairly extensive industry, of which the chief centres are Alexandropol, Elisavetopol, Shusha, and Tiflis. Tanning is done at Tiflis, and saddlery is well made in Daghestan and the Black Sea districts.

391 *Metallic and Allied Industries.*—The copper and zinc smelting works have already been mentioned (see pp. 63–64 and 67). There are iron foundries at Ekaterinodar, Baku, Tiflis, Batum, and Armavir. 'Colonist' reaping machines are made at Novorossiisk, and galvanized iron roofing and hardware goods at a factory at Baku. Among manufactures subsidiary to the oil industry are those of oil-cases and oil-cans, carried on at Baku and Batum, and of wire rope, carried on at several factories at Baku. The manufacture of small-arms, once a flourishing industry, is declining, but is still carried on at Tiflis and Nukha and in the bazaars [463] of Daghestan and Sukhum. The number of skilled native workers in enamel, filigree, and inlaid metal-ware is also decreasing.

256 The *milling* industry is second in importance only to the refining of oil. There are many flour-mills worked by water-power; those in Stavropol produce 300,000 tons of flour per annum, and those in Kuban, about the same amount; the mills of the Black Sea district give some 20,000 tons yearly. Besides the flour-mills, there are also mills for crushing sunflower seed, linseed, and cotton seed.

382 The *oil refineries* are the most important manufacturing enterprises in the country. They exist at Baku,

288 industry is concentrated in the North Caucasus, chiefly at Astrakhan'.

Textile and clothing mills: The most important textile mills are at Baku (Azerbaijan), Leninakan (Armenia), Kutaisi (Georgia), Derbent (Dagestan), Budennovsk (Stavropol' Kray). Clothing mills are concentrated in Georgia
295 (Tbilisi, Batumi), in Armenia (Leninakan), and in the capitals of the Cherkess, Kabardian, and North Ossetian republics.

286 Rug-weaving centers: Rug-weaving is one of the traditional industries of the eastern South Caucasus. Originally it was a home industry of nomadic (mostly Turkic) peoples. The Caucasian rug-weaving industry produces three kinds of rugs: The Daghestani Rug, made in Dagestan and North Azerbaijan; the Shirvan Rug, made in East Azerbaijan; and the Karabagh Rug, made in Armenia and West Azerbaijan.

295 Alunite mines; leather, boot and shoe
282 factories: The most important leather factories are at Baku, Nakhichevan', Tbilisi, Kutaisi, Groznyy, and Stavropol'. Tbilisi, Cherkessk, Rostov, and Taganrog have boot and shoe fac-
317 tories. Alunite, the raw material important for tanning, is mined at Zaglik in Azerbaijan.

313 Lumbering, sawmilling, woodworking
322 plants: Concentrated in Georgia, in the most heavily forested area of the Caucasus. The other areas of concentration are Northern Armenia, and a whole series of cities, towns, and villages, located along the northern slopes of the Greater Caucasus. Important lumbering centers are also Astrakhan' and Rostov, processing imported lumber.

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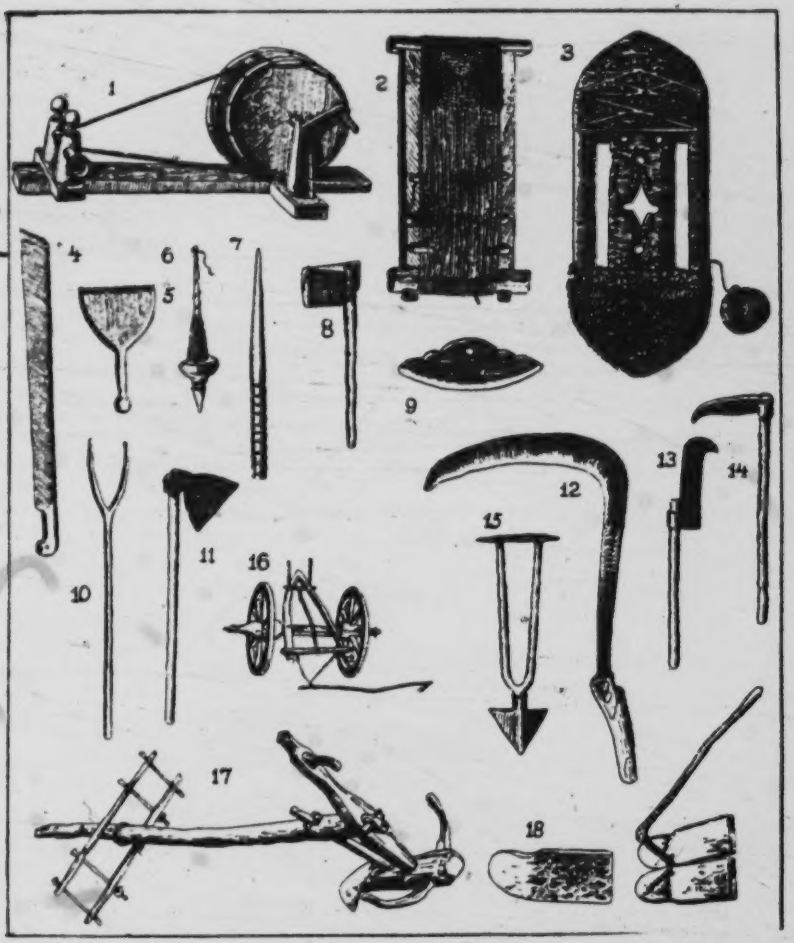


Fig. 468. Implements of Caucasian industry: 1, spinning wheel; 2, ribbon loom; 3, knitting board for stockings; 4, wooden sword for flax-scutching; 5, hemp-ripple of wood with iron teeth; 6, wooden spindle; 7, yarn-spool; 8, ax; 9, cloth-cutter; 10, pitchfork; 11, mattock; 12, sickle; 13, pruning-bill for chopping off twigs; 14, brush-cutter; 15, iron spade with forked handle; 16, wagon frame; 17, plow with iron share and yoke; 18, threshing board, underside set with stone splinters; 1 to 3, Lezgin; 8, Zakataly Avar (2, 1/5 nat. size; 3, 1/3 nat. size; 4, 1/18 nat. size; 6, 7, and 12, 1/6 nat. size). (From Count J. Zichy.)

3: Anonymous U-4 (no date) 1920 RH1 Caucasia RH1



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## 23. ARCHI

C. D. 101 NAME: SELF-DESIGNATION: Arshishuw, Arshishtuw.
RUSSIAN DESIGNATION: Archintsy.
OTHER DESIGNATIONS: (Lak:) Roch.

C. D. 161 NUMBER: 1926 863 (Russian census, ethn.)
859 (Russian census, ling.)

C. D. 162 LOCATION: Aul Ruch-Archi on the Khatar river, rayon Charoda (Dagestan ASSR).

C. D. 197 LANGUAGE: Archi (Arshatten ch'at) belongs to the Avaro-Ando-Dido group of the NE Caucasian languages; its exact position in this group is uncertain. The language is not written, Avar being used as the literary language.

C. D. 231 TRADITIONAL ECONOMY: Cattle-breeding; 286 home industry (cloth and tapestry weaving).

C. D. 795 RELIGION: Islam (Sunni).

C. G. 231 241 beauty and stamina. Apiculture is also widespread among the Circassians; their beehives, contrary to those of the Georgians and Abkhaz, are similar to those found in Central Europe; they are made of bast or of plaited willow-twigs which are covered with clay or cow-dung.

C. D. 233 In Dagestan, stock-raising is preponderant (sheep, goats, cows, horses, donkeys, buffaloes). In winter, the herds are usually brought to the steppe-country in the South or to the Caspian coast area. C. D. 241 The southeast, i.e. the country of the Lezghi, is comparatively better suited for agriculture, but it is practiced even in the more elevated regions. Wheat, barley and millet are grown in small fields, situated on natural or artificial terraces, which often require artificial irrigation. C D [40] The ground is cultivated with a local kind of light plough called durats, puruts, etc. which only scrapes the soil superficially. As most of the fields require manuring, the constant removing of stones, and even restoring of the soil, which has to be carried up by hand, farming involves hard labor. C. D. 438 As the production of grain has never covered the needs of the population, home-industry is highly developed in C. D. [286] Dagestan. Everywhere the women do their own spinning and weaving. The spinning wheel is unknown; the looms for carpet-weaving differ from those for the weaving of coarse cloth out of homespun wool and of hemp-cloth used for sacks. Many crafts are practiced beyond the

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322 plants: Concentrated in Georgia, in the most heavily forested area of the Caucasus. The other areas of concentration are Northern Armenia, and a whole series of cities, towns, and villages, located along the northern slopes of the Greater Caucasus. Important lumbering centers are also Astrakhan' and Rostov, processing imported lumber.

7: Columbia U. S-4, 5 1956 RH1 Caucasia RH1

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h. 41 Rug Weaving Centers

2: Byhan--53 E-4 (no date) 1926 RI3 Abkhaz
Dagestan RH 8
Caucasia RH 1



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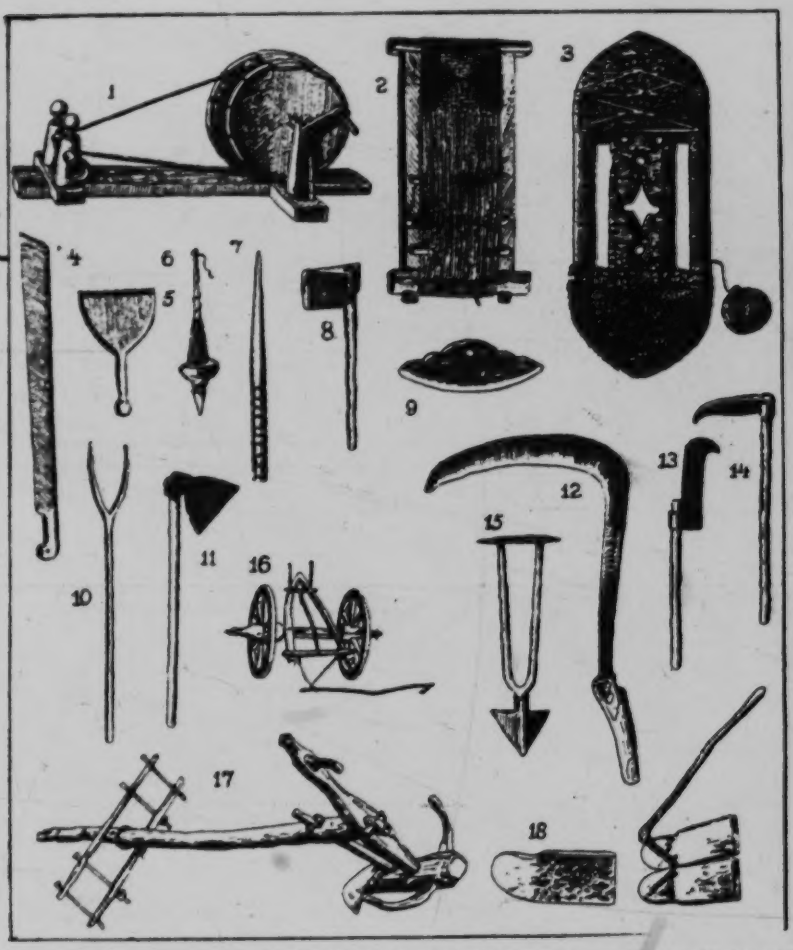


Fig. 468. Implements of Caucasian industry: 1, spinning wheel; 2, ribbon loom; 3, knitting board for stockings; 4, wooden sword for flax-scutching; 5, hemp-ripple of wood with iron teeth; 6, wooden spindle; 7, yarn-spool; 8, ax; 9, cloth-cutter; 10, pitchfork; 11, mattock; 12, sickle; 13, pruning-bill for chopping off twigs; 14, brush-cutter; 15, iron spade with forked handle; 16, wagon frame; 17, plow with iron share and yoke; 18, threshing board, underside set with stone splinters; 1 to 3, Lezgin; 8, Zakataly Avar (2, 1/5 nat. size; 3, 1/3 nat. size; 4, 1/18 nat. size; 6, 7, and 12, 1/6 nat. size). (From Count J. Zichy.)

C. D. Many crafts are practiced beyond the
438 requirements of the household for interchange
[287] and even export, e. g. the production of black felt for the customary cloaks and of white felt for a local sort of foot-gear, of leather straps and belts, boots and saddles. Usually, a whole village specializes in a certain craft; at the end of the working season the products are loaded on horses, and a caravan of fifty or more men sets out into the plains to barter their
C. D. goods for corn. Pottery making is practiced
[323] mainly in the villages of Balkhar and Sulevkent; some villages specialize in blacksmithing,
C. D. others in the production of grave-plates and
[324] tombstones with chiselled ornaments and in-
C. D. scriptions. The village of Kubachi is renowned
[326] far beyond Dagestan for its highly artistic metalwork (bronze founding and many kinds of inlay-work) which is based on ancient traditions.

3: Anonymous U-4 (no date) 1920 RH1 Caucasia RH1



Grozni, and Ekaterinodar, and, on a smaller scale, at 382
Armavir. There are a number of large refineries at Black Town, near Baku, where crude oil is refined to produce kerosene. In 1914 the oil products received from the stills amounted to 4,354,000 tons, while in 1916 there were nearly 5,000 men employed. At Ekaterinodar the oil from Maikop is treated, and the decline in the production from that field has greatly reduced the industry there.

*Potash* is made in Kuban from sunflower stalks, and 385
in 1910 a combine of eighteen firms of potash manufacturers was formed. The industry has doubtless been affected by the decline of sunflower cultivation (p. 54).

Of the *textile industries*, which are in a very backward 288
state, silk-weaving and carpet-making are the most 286
highly developed. Silk is woven at Tiflis, and since the revival of sericulture, steam silk-mills have been started at Shusha and in the Elisavetopol Government. Felt and carpets are made at home by women—chiefly at Shusha, but also at Akhaltsikh, Akhalkalaki, Gadrut, Kasapet, and Kubrassy—with wool bought from the Tatars. Both hand-knitted and woven woollen goods are made. Cotton is spun at Tiflis and Akhaltsikh, and a rough cotton stuff called *khami* and a little linen of indifferent quality are woven by hand.

There are seventeen *tobacco* factories in Caucasia, 277
six being in Tiflis, four in Kuban, two in Daghestan, two in Baku, two in Sukhum, and one in Terek. The industry is controlled by a dozen large firms, and the output in 1914 was 2,395 tons.

*Wine-making and Distilling.*—There is a good deal of 274
wine made, especially in the Province of Kutais; the best quality is produced in the Gelendjik district, and Echmiadzin is one of the great centres. The best known type of wine is the Riesling. At Abrau, a Crown estate near Novorossiisk, is made the Abrau-Dursan champagne, which is considered equal to a good French champagne. The total output of wine in Caucasia was 27,449,350 gallons in 1911 and nearly

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Caucasian Industry in Czarist Russia as of 1913

x : Centers of fuel industry

△ : Mines

□ : Centers of metallurgy

○ : Machinery and metal-working plants

♀ : Silicate and porcelain works

● : Chemical industry centers

T : Textile industry centers

F : Food industry centers

v : Centers of various industries

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38 chemical industries at Kutaisi (sulfuric acid) and Rostov (paint).

384 Synthetic rubber plants: Located in Armenia at Yerevan, and in Baku. The Yerevan plant uses as raw material limestone (quarried at Amamlu), and also produces tires. The production of the Baku plant is based on petroleum.

288 Cotton-ginning establishments: The chief goal of the Soviet textile industry is to bring the establishments of the industry as close as possible to the raw materials (cotton, wool, etc.). The cotton-ginning centers are accordingly located in the cotton-growing areas. In the South Caucasus, the cotton-ginning centers are mostly along the Kura River, and along the Aras River (in Nakhichevan' ASSR). In the North Caucasus, Khasavyurt (Dagestan), and the various cities in the Stavropol' Kray have important cotton-ginning establishments.

Cotton mills: The most important cotton mills are in the South Caucasus and Dagestan.

Woolen mills: The important woolen mills are located in the Krasnodar and Stavropol' Krays, in Dagestan, and in the South Caucasus (Baku, Kirovabad, Yerevan, Tbilisi, Kutaisi).

Silk industry centers: Silk industry constitutes an industrial activity only in the South Caucasus. Silk filatories (for reeling and twisting threads) have been built mostly in Georgia. Silk mills on the other hand occur in all the important sericulture areas.

Centers of hemp industry: The hemp

288 industry is concentrated in the North Caucasus, chiefly at Astrakhan'.

Textile and clothing mills: The most important textile mills are at Baku (Azerbaijan), Leninakan (Armenia), Kutaisi (Georgia), Derbent (Dagestan), Budennovsk (Stavropol' Kray). Clothing mills are concentrated in Georgia
295 (Tbilisi, Batumi), in Armenia (Leninakan), and in the capitals of the Cherkess, Kabardian, and North Ossetian republics.

286 Rug-weaving centers: Rug-weaving is one of the traditional industries of the eastern South Caucasus. Originally it was a home industry of nomadic (mostly Turkic) peoples. The Caucasian rug-weaving industry produces three kinds of rugs: The Daghestani Rug, made in Dagestan and North Azerbaijan; the Shirvan Rug, made in East Azerbaijan; and the Karabagh Rug, made in Armenia and West Azerbaijan.

295 Alunite mines; leather, boot and shoe
282 factories: The most important leather factories are at Baku, Nakhichevan', Tbilisi, Kutaisi, Groznyy, and Stavropol'. Tbilisi, Cherkessk, Rostov, and Taganrog have boot and shoe fac-
317 tories. Alunite, the raw material important for tanning, is mined at Zaglik in Azerbaijan.

313 Lumbering, sawmilling, woodworking
322 plants: Concentrated in Georgia, in the most heavily forested area of the Caucasus. The other areas of concentration are Northern Armenia, and a whole series of cities, towns, and villages, located along the northern slopes of the Greater Caucasus. Important lumbering centers are also Astrakhan' and Rostov, processing imported lumber.

## b. 33 Cotton Ginning Centers

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b. 34 Cotton Mills

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b. 35 Woolen Mills

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b. 36 Silk Filatories

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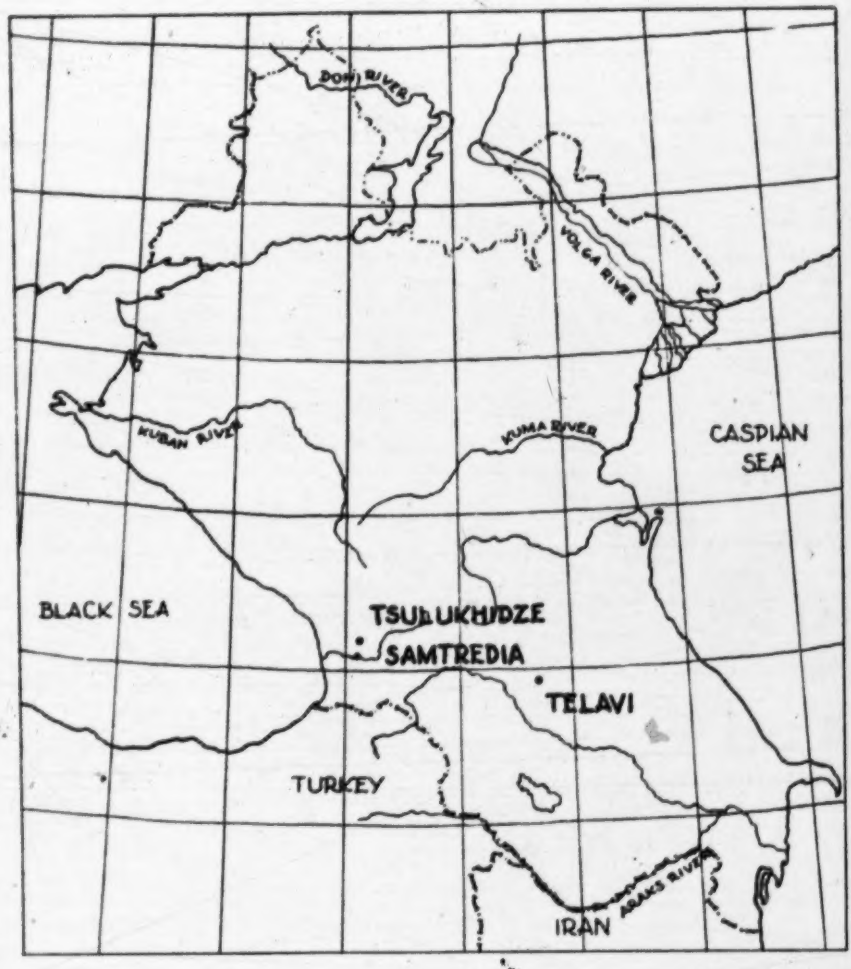

b. 37 Silk Mills

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b. 38 Centers of Hemp Industry

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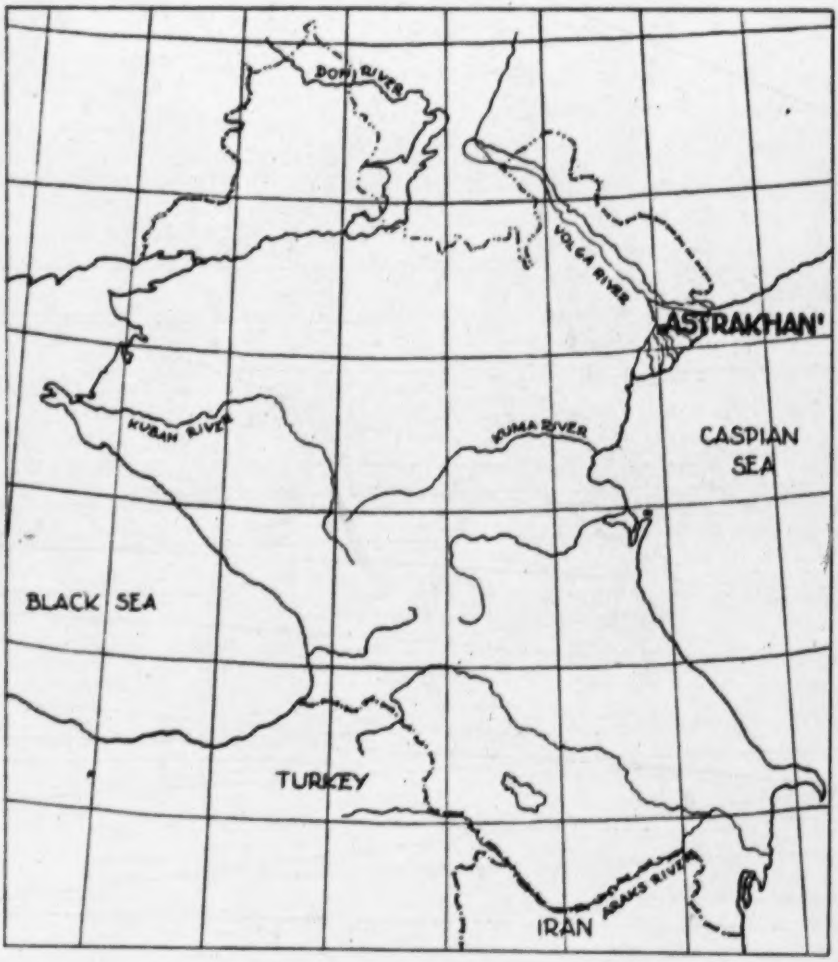

b.39 Textile Mills

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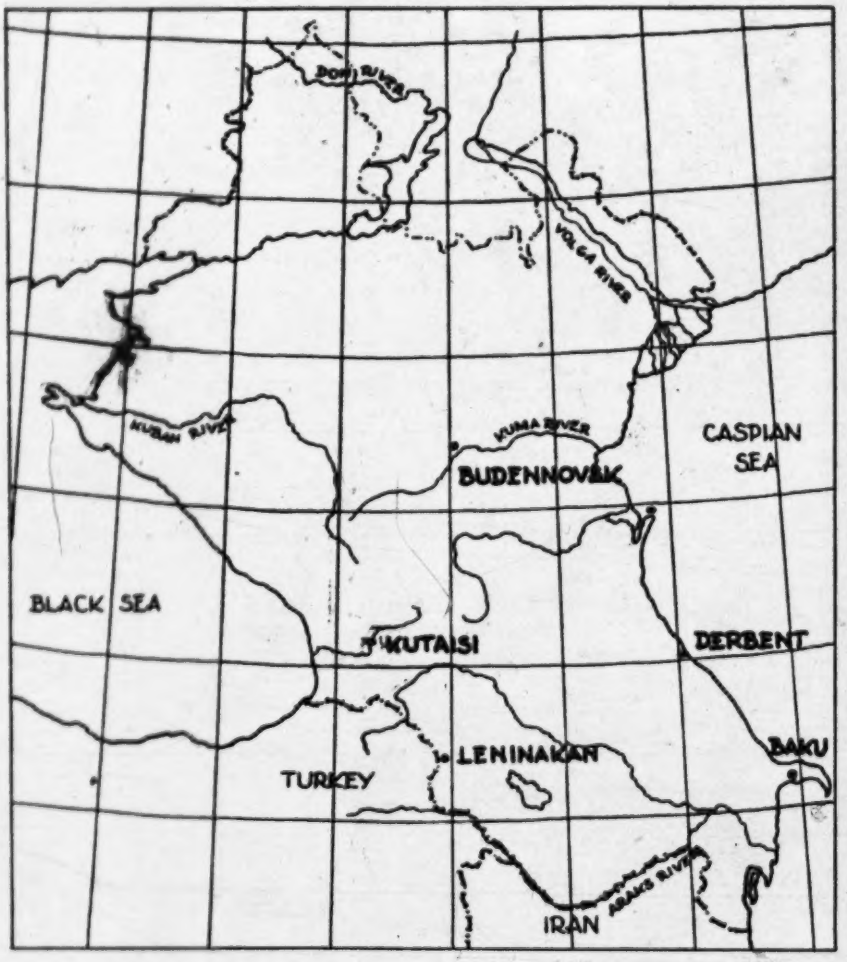

322 Furniture plants: Concentrated mostly in Novorossiysk, Maykop, Cherkessk, Rostov, and Kamensk-Shakhtinskiy.

289 Paper mills: There are only two important paper mills in the Caucasus. The large one is at Zugdidi in West Georgia, and the smaller one is at Rostov.

317 Salt mines: The Caucasus is very rich in salt. This mineral is mined both in the North and in the South Caucasus. The mine around Nakhichevan', and the salt fields of the Apsheron Peninsula supply Trans-caucasia. The salt mines of Baskunchak (Astrakhan' Oblast), representing 1/4 of the total salt production of the USSR, serve all Russia.

256 Food industry: This industry is represented everywhere in the Caucasus.

Flour-milling centers: These are located mostly in the Krasnodar and Stavropol' Krays, and in Rostov Oblast.

Centers of starch and molasses industry: The center of this industry is the North Ossetian ASSR with its huge Beslan corn kombinat.

258 Oil presses: Concentrated especially in the western parts of the North Caucasus (Krasnodar and Stavropol'Krays and Rostov Oblast).

257 Sugar refineries: The chief sugar refineries are in Armenia (Amamlu, Leninakan), in Georgia (Agara), and in the Krasnodar Kray (Tikhoretsk, Korenovskaya).

255 Fruit-canning centers: Concentrated mostly in the eastern section of the North Caucasus. Dagestan especially is an important fruit-canning area. Other noteworthy fruit-

b. 47 Paper Mills

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# CLOTHING

C. G. 291

The All-Caucasian men's costume is the "cherkeska" (Georg. chokha), an upper garment made of homespun cloth, coatshaped and cut to the figure, with long sleeves which widen towards the lower end, without lapels or collar and leaving open an inverted triangular space on the breast. It varies from knee to ankle length. The color is usually black or grey but can also be brown, yellow or white. On both sides of the breast cartridge-holders are sewn; these are now a mere ornament and are filled with ivory, metal or wooden cylinders, often with one dark and one light end, so that the end sticking out on top can be made to contrast with the color of the cherkeska itself. The cherkeska is fastened in front and held by a tight belt from which, in front, is suspended the dagger, without which the Caucasian considers his attire incomplete. Under the cherkeska a long shirt (R. beshmet) is worn, which is buttoned up high and has a round stand-up collar. Narrow trousers, shoes or boots (originally heelless), leggings and a fur cap (R. papakha) of sheepskin complete the costume. (This costume was adopted by the Russian Cossacks in the Caucasus; through them it became known and it is now usually associated with them in the West.) In cold or rainy weather felt cloaks (R. burka) or sheepskin coats (R. tulup) and fur hoods (R. bashlyk) are worn.

C.
G.
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The Kartvelians in the western subtropical regions (Mingrelians, Imretians, Gurians, Laz) wear various types of head-cloths instead of the papkha; among those in the south-west the cherkeska is mostly replaced by the Turkish short jacket which is tucked into a silk sash around the waist. Local peculiarities in clothing are found especially among the Kartvelian mountaineers. The Svan wear cone-shaped wide-brimmed felt hats (worn also by the Ossetes, their eastern neighbors). The Khevsur and Tush have felt caps sewn together of four pieces, with a turned-up brim. Also characteristic of the Svan are sleeveless jackets of calf-, goat-, or sheep-skin; of the Khevsur, gloves and mittens which in summer are worn on the belt and serve as containers for small objects and tobacco. The Khevsur costume is the only one in the Caucasus that is adorned with many-colored ornamentation: embroidery, beads, glass and metal buttons, metal plates and colored pieces of cloth. Their cherkeska is cut so as to leave visible a large part of the shirt, richly decorated with patterns consisting of straight-lined figures. Other adornments are found on the edges of the cherkeska, on the gloves and leggings. Instead of two cartridge-holders sewn on both sides of the breast, the Khevsur carry a single one on the belt. The costume of the Tush, the eastern neighbors of the Khevsur, is in sharp contrast with that of the latter: it is distinguished by its exclusively dark color (dark brown or black); ornamentation

C. G. 291 is used sparingly and limited to patterns in white on shoes and boots, and silver mountings on the belt. The Pshav have adopted Georgian attire.

C. G. 411 Not only is the Caucasian sober in the use of embellishments on his clothing, which is in itself quite elegant; he also does not wear any ornaments or trinkets. His esthetic sense finds an outlet in the decoration of his arms, however. The sheaths and hilts of daggers and sabers and the grips of pistols were often made of gold or silver, and adorned with precious stones or with niello-work (the latter also on the barrels). The Caucasian dagger--considered as important a part of the attire as is a tie in the West--has a straight, broad, double-edged blade with a groove (blood trough) running down the middle. Formerly, the armature consisted of one or two pistols, tucked behind the belt, a rifle, which the mountaineers always carried in a cover, and a saber. On the belt, various accessories (powderhorn, C. G. [713] grease container, flint, etc.) were worn. Only the Khevsur preserved until quite recently full medieval armor: helmets, coats of mail, shields, swords, clubs and toothed thumb-C. G. [292] rings. The armor was worn on festive occasions and also whenever a man might expect to be attacked because he was involved in a blood-feud, which was usually the case.

C. G. 291 The costume of the Caucasian women shows much more local variation than that of

G. 291 the men. Its general make-up consists of a chemise, "Turkish" trousers (R. sharovary) fastened at the ankles, a beshmet, an upper garment, usually long and worn with a belt or sash, stockings or socks, shoes, often with high heels, and a kerchief or veil, often worn over or attached to some other headcover.

The Georgian women used to wear an embroidered bodice over the chemise, red cotton sharovary, sometimes an underskirt with flounces, and a long silk or cotton gown, with a silk sash around the waist, the broad ends of which hung down to the feet. Their headgear consisted of a large white scarf or of an embroidered velvet cap and attached to it a muslin scarf which hung loose over the shoulders or was passed from behind down under the chin and back over the shoulder. The Khevsur women decorate not only the bodice but also the edges of their clothes with embroidered strips, pearls, beads and metal buttons and plates. Their Tush neighbors dress in black; only the bodice and cuffs are decorated in red and silver. The classical Kabardian gala costume (which enjoyed prestige in the whole northern Caucasus due to the cultural leadership of the Kabardians in that region in the 15th - 18th cent.) consisted of a bright-colored silken beshmet, a bodice with horizontal gold or silver galloons in front, and an upper garment in the shape of a cherkeska reaching to the ground and with half-long

C. 291

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.291 sleeves and a decorated belt. To the sleeves large ellipsoid flaps were attached, embellished with embroidery in gold or silver thread. The patterns of the embroidery on this costume consisted usually of leaf and heart shapes. The headgear consisted of an originally cone-shaped, later truncated, bonnet with parallel galloons around it, and a white veil hanging down from the top. The female costume of Dagestan (and of Chechnia) consists of the basic garments mentioned above (except that instead of shoes, felt boots are often worn), plus a sheepskin coat in cold weather. The variety of the headgear almost matches that of the languages, certain types being limited to no more than a single village. The headgear is often decorated with rows of coins or metal plates, as are sometimes other parts of the clothing. The Kazan-Tatar hairsack, attached at the back of the head, was widespread in Chechnia and is also known in Dagestan. In the Zakataly district apron - like upper garments, worn under the belt, are common.

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301 The most common ornaments of the Caucasian women are headbands and frontlets, earrings, often with a half-moon-shaped widening at the bottom (Georgia), finger rings and mountings on the belt. The Khevsur women wear iron hoops on the arms and curious scythe-shaped eardrops decorated with hollow spheres. The Tush women wear necklaces with silver ornaments hanging down on the breast.

C. G. 301 In Chechnia and N. W. Dagestan head ornaments are found consisting of a band on top of the head with a concatenation of large metal or glass rings hanging down from it on both sides. As to the hairdo, the Georgian women have the hair hanging down loose over the back and shoulders or in braids around the head. Only on the Black Sea coast do they wear it hanging down in long braids. This is also the usual way in the Northern Caucasus. The Tush girls wear the hair in four braids which are cut off when they marry; the latter custom occurs also sporadically in Dagestan.

C. G. 302

C. G. 291 177 It must be emphasized that the traditional costume has in most cases partly or wholly given way to the general European type of dress, and is worn only on holidays and special occasions such as weddings and other celebrations.

[824 cont.]

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Fig. 503. Persian fruit-seller in Baku.

563 through the Tatars, have exerted a strong influence from the
[177] earliest times on southern and eastern Caucasia with regard to mental culture, art, warfare, etc. As a landmark of their power, the great stone wall, which extends from the national portal on the Caspian Sea, from the city [825] of Derbend
[103] (Persian = gate-lock; Tatar, Demír-kapú = iron door; Arabic, Bāb-el-abwāb = gate of gates), to the west 60 to 70 kilometers into the mountains, still stands today. It was erected by the Sassanid king, Khosrau Anōšarvān (531-579 A.D.), for protection against the invasions of the Khazar and Alan, against whom his father, Kobad (491-531), had already built a wall
[512] of mud bricks that was strengthened by many towers and small citadels (kalé). Except for indigenous tribes, Khosrau entrusted the defense of the wall primarily to Iranian settlers whom he had brought over from Persia and the land of Sogd, that is Kharezmia and Samarkand. The inhabitants of the Kaitakh region, the Tabassaran, seem to be descendants of these settlers, and their name may be a contraction of Tabor-i-Khorassan (= host, people from Khorassan); likewise the Tāt between Baku, Kuba, and the Babadagh and near Derbend. The former may have sprung from a mixture of Lezgin with

[825 cont.]

Iranians (cf. p. 674 f. [untranslated]) and accordingly are called by the Tatar āzade khalkh' or khelaiq (= free people), as are all Lezgin, in contrast to the Tāt, who are called raiyat khelaiq (= subject people). Their name is related to that of the central Asian Tajik (see Vol. II, 1, pp. 412 ff.), and their language is close [Fig. 504 appears here] [826] to modern Persian; it is also spoken by the mountain Jews in Dagestan and on the Terek. In their old cemeteries and near their villages there are isolated ruins of buildings that indicate Christianity in former times. Their relatives, the Talysh in humid, hot Lenkoran on the Caspian Sea, surrounded by Azerbaijani and Tatars, speak another variety of modern Persian that is supposed to contain much Old Persian. 563 [172]

As late as the first half of the nineteenth century, a remnant of the Old Persians, adherents of the teachings of Zoroaster or Zerdusht, the Geber, lived on the plain of Surakhane or Ateshga (= fire-land) near Baku, where a temple stood, in which they worshiped the eternal fire fed by a natural gas source. They had moved here from Persia after they had been driven from there and their main temple on the mountain near Yesd destroyed; they gradually

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Fig. 504. Two-wheeled carriage, Baku region.

C. G. 291 is used sparingly and limited to patterns in white on shoes and boots, and silver mountings on the belt. The Pshav have adopted Georgian attire.

C. G. 411 Not only is the Caucasian sober in the use of embellishments on his clothing, which is in itself quite elegant; he also does not wear any ornaments or trinkets. His esthetic sense finds an outlet in the decoration of his arms, however. The sheaths and hilts of daggers and sabers and the grips of pistols were often made of gold or silver, and adorned with precious stones or with niello-work (the latter also on the barrels). The Caucasian dagger--considered as important a part of the attire as is a tie in the West--has a straight, broad, double-edged blade with a groove (blood trough) running down the middle. Formerly, the armature consisted of one or two pistols, tucked behind the belt, a rifle, which the mountaineers always carried in a cover, and a saber. On the belt, various accessories (powderhorn, grease container, flint, etc.) were worn. Only C. G. [713] the Khevsur preserved until quite recently full medieval armor: helmets, coats of mail, shields, swords, clubs and toothed thumb-C. G. [292] rings. The armor was worn on festive occasions and also whenever a man might expect to be attacked because he was involved in a blood-feud, which was usually the case.

C. G. 291 The costume of the Caucasian women shows much more local variation than that of

585 the guests have any questions, it is her girl-companion that must answer. The bride may at the most nod in affirmation.

She remains in her "hermitage" for some months before she is finally permitted to live with the rest of the household.[5]

The following description is chiefly that of the main Cherkess tribe, the Kabardians.

The *kalym* has been paid and the day of the wedding agreed upon. The [478] relatives of the bridegroom begin the necessary wedding preparations. The odour of steaming beer and of the finest dainties creates a distinctive atmosphere, peculiar to a Kabardian wedding. On the eve of the marriage a group of men gallop through the *aul* inviting relatives to a preparatory feast, on the occasion of which a collection is taken to cover some of the expenses of the coming wedding, e. g., purchase of a veil for the bride, chartering of a bridal wagon.

On the following day young men fully-armed gather at the house of the groom and noisely gallop off to the bride's house. The bridegroom, however, [608] does not go with them but "hides" at his best-man's house.[6] By doing so he becomes temporarily an adopted son *(kan)* of the latter's sib. A young companion called *shatso-kot* must always be at his side to protect him.

When the riders (or to be more exact, the bridal procession) reach the bride's house, her attendant, whom the riders brought along, is taken to the women's quarters, while the rest, after having feasted and danced till late into the night, are given lodging either in the house of the bride or of one of the neighbours.

Immediately after breakfast on the following day, the unusual hustle peculiar to a Cherkess wedding is observed outside the bride's house. The horses [493] are being harnessed, the bride's belongings are being packed carefully but hurriedly into a trunk and put on the specially decorated bridal wagon. The bride [492] herself is inside the house, being attired in her finest clothes. From her hair hangs a long white ribbon reaching to the ground. She is veiled, or rather, wrapped in a large white shawl. Her wedding dress differs but slightly from the ordinary Cherkess dress, except that it is made of more costly material. She is assisted on to the wagon and takes her place next to her ever-faithful girl-
585 attendant. As soon as the bridal procession begins to move, the young men of
526 the *aul*, all on horseback, try to snatch the caps away from the guests and thus begin the usual bridal horseraces. When the more "dignified" part of the procession enters the village of the groom, a wedding song is sung. By this time the racers have rested a bit and are ready to break into another wild chase. They again snatch one another's caps, throwing them on the ground, and as the rider gallops past one of the caps, he tries his skill at shooting a hole through it.

The bride is then taken by two women into the women's quarters, whilst outside the cracks of pistols and guns continue. The bride slowly sits down on a specially prepared bench, covered with a carpet. All eyes are fixed on her as a girl-friend of hers has the honour of removing the shawl.

While the riders outside are enjoying their beer, the youth of the village armed with long poles occupy a place difficult for the horsemen to pass. The

[5] Seidlitz, *op. cit.*, pp. 40 f; Deržavin, *op. cit.*, p. 10.
[6] C. Hahn, *Kaukasische Reisen und Studien*, p. 40.

8: Lužbetak E-4 (no date) 1951 RHl Caucasia RHl



riders charge wildly, slashing their whips in all directions against their attackers whose task it is to prevent the horsemen form entering the house. The battle continues till the riders finally manage to jump over the fence or to break it down and thus force their way into the house. The "defenders of the bride" throw away their poles and begin dancing with the girls of the village. At noon they all enter the house to congratulate the parents of the groom. Dances commence again and last until midnight. 585 [526]

All this time, as we have already mentioned, the groom is absent, temporarily adopted by a neighbouring sib and guarded day and night by his *shatso-kot*. When the groom retires, the *shatso-kot* must spend the night in the yard protecting the bridegroom against any intruder. Never may he abandon his post. During the day it is his strict obligation to entertain the groom and this he usually does by horseback riding, away from the village. In the evening the two are joined by other companions. Toward midnight all leave except of course the *shatso-kot*, who must now accompany the groom to his bride.[7] [608]

The first three nights, as a part of the wedding ceremony, the groom must undo the bride's stays.[8] Her corset is a broad red leather belt, which is sewed tightly about her waist and is never removed till the wedding night. According to Pallas, the corset was donned when she was 10 or 12 years old,[9] while other explorers claim that the corset was sewed on soon after the bride was born.[10] In any case, she may never take the corset off: it must remain untouched till it bursts and then it must immediately be replaced by another. The husband alone has the right to undo it, on the wedding night. The corset renders the waist very small in proportion to the shoulders, the purpose being to prevent the growth of the breasts, an essential requirement for Cherkess beauty.[11] In some places at least, the custom of wearing such stays has been recently discarded.[12] [292] [836]

Pallas and Ellis in their reports dating from the 18th century claim that the corset is "cut with a dagger, a custom sometimes productive of very fatal accidents."[13] Today untieing and not cutting the stays is the orthodox ceremony with the Cherkess[14] and the Ossetes. To cut them would subject the groom to endless ridicule.[15] Since the custom of *cutting* was "productive of very fatal accidents" we can easily understand why the pratice has been given up. Sometimes the bride's girl-friends maliciously tie a large number of very difficult knots, so that the temptation to make use of the dagger is not slight. On the first three nights the bride is not allowed to say a word to her husband.[16]

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[7] Hahn, *op. cit.*, pp. 40—44. For a description of a wedding among the Temirgoi see Vasil'kov, *op. cit.*, pp. 89—101.

[8] Ladyženskij, FT, p. 191.

[9] P. S. Pallas, *Bemerkungen auf einer Reise in die südl. Statth. des russ. Reichs etc.*, I, pp. 380 f.

[10] Ellis, *Memoir of a map etc.*, p. 24.

[11] Pallas, *l. c.*; Ellis, *l. c.*; Dubrovin, *Istorija*, I, i, p. 127. Prof. D. Wölfel has called my attention to a similar practice in Tyrol.

[12] For example, Ladyženskij could not find the practice in Kamenomostki Aul in 1927, FT, p. 191.

[13] Pallas, *op. cit.*, I, p. 381; Ellis, *l. c.*

[14] C. Hahn, *op. cit.*, p. 44.

[15] Baddeley, *op. cit.*, I, p. 270.

[16] Hahn, *op. cit.*, p. 45.

585 The Cherkess formerly had a very important ceremony, which however seems no longer to be observed, the virginity test.[17] Formerly if the bride were found to have lost her virginity before her wedding, she would be returned to her father, who would mercilessly mutilate, sell or even kill her.[18]

[591] A week later the so-called *unaishe* (i. e., "introducing the young wife into the household") takes place. Up to this time she had to live in her own quarters, but from now on she is considered a full-fledged member of the family. In the midst of much shouting and shooting, songs and cheers, the young wife is led into the house by two women. She is wrapped in a shawl and wears tiny [592] stilts attached to the soles of her shoes, which make her look unusually tall. She enters, stands shyly against the wall and then waits for someone to remove her shawl. Thereupon a woman places with her finger a sweet liquid called *urtsetl* into the mouth of the bride in order that her life in the new household may be ever as sweet as *urtsetl*.[19]

Only women were present in the house when the bride entered. They now all take a drink of beer from a large common vessel, then sing and finally break into a dance till wedding songs are heard from outside. This is a sign for the bride to come out, and as soon as she crosses the threshold, a boy standing on the roof, lets down a shower of confetti, nuts and tiny pasteries.

The bride then retires to her room, while the guests feast, drink and dance.

Some days later a ceremony called "Reconciliation" takes place. The bride's girl-friends take part in dances at the home of the groom while the young men join the bridegroom in his hiding place, where drinking is preferred [600] to dancing. The groom then makes a little speech, thanking his "foster-father" for his kindness, and in return for all the courtesies shown him during his "adoption," he offers him an ox or a horse. The groom has been "hiding" all this time, and now he feels that it is about time for him to seek "reconciliation" with his family. In the meantime a sheep has been slaughtered and beer has been prepared for a feast when the "prodigal son" returns. A special cup of beer sweetened with honey and a little "snack" are waiting for him on a small side-table. All eyes are riveted on the son who "ran away" from home. The young ladies are bunched together in a corner of the room; the old men are likewise huddled against one of the walls; the parents of the groom and an honoured guest, an old man, stand in another corner of the room, while the bride with her girl-friends stands in the doorway. Suddenly the loud voice of the honoured guest calls all to attention. "Dear son," he cries, "you think that you have offended us, but you are mistaken. On the contrary, you have caused us indescribable joy! Come take this drink as a reward! Come, son, drink it and let us forget about the past." The groom rises and slowly approaches the old man, accepts the beer and hands it to his attendant. Thereupon he steps outside of the house where he drinks the beer and together with his companions partakes of the "snack." After a while he retires, while his companions and guests continue their feasting and dancing till morning.

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[17] Cf. Ladyženskij, FT, p. 184.

[18] Byhan, *op. cit.*, p. 155.

[19] *Urtsetl* is made of sheep's fat or butter mixed with honey.

2: Byhan--53 E-4 (no date) 1926 RI3 Abkhaz
Dagestan RH 8
Caucasia RH 1



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Fig. 468. Implements of Caucasian industry: 1, spinning wheel; 2, ribbon loom; 3, knitting board for stockings; 4, wooden sword for flax-scutching; 5, hemp-ripple of wood with iron teeth; 6, wooden spindle; 7, yarn-spool; 8, ax; 9, cloth-cutter; 10, pitchfork; 11, mattock; 12, sickle; 13, pruning-bill for chopping off twigs; 14, brush-cutter; 15, iron spade with forked handle; 16, wagon frame; 17, plow with iron share and yoke; 18, threshing board, underside set with stone splinters; 1 to 3, Lezgin; 8, Zakataly Avar (2, 1/5 nat. size; 3, 1/3 nat. size; 4, 1/18 nat. size; 6, 7, and 12, 1/6 nat. size). (From Count J. Zichy.)

288 industry is concentrated in the North Caucasus, chiefly at Astrakhan'.

Textile and clothing mills: The most important textile mills are at Baku (Azerbaijan), Leninakan (Armenia), Kutaisi (Georgia), Derbent (Dagestan), Budennovsk (Stavropol' Kray). Clothing mills are concentrated in Georgia
295 (Tbilisi, Batumi), in Armenia (Leninakan), and in the capitals of the Cherkess, Kabardian, and North Ossetian republics.

286 Rug-weaving centers: Rug-weaving is one of the traditional industries of the eastern South Caucasus. Originally it was a home industry of nomadic (mostly Turkic) peoples. The Caucasian rug-weaving industry produces three kinds of rugs: The Daghestani Rug, made in Dagestan and North Azerbaijan; the Shirvan Rug, made in East Azerbaijan; and the Karabagh Rug, made in Armenia and West Azerbaijan.

295 Alunite mines; leather, boot and shoe
282 factories: The most important leather factories are at Baku, Nakhichevan', Tbilisi, Kutaisi, Groznyy, and Stavropol'. Tbilisi, Cherkessk, Rostov, and Taganrog have boot and shoe fac-
317 tories. Alunite, the raw material important for tanning, is mined at Zaglik in Azerbaijan.

313 Lumbering, sawmilling, woodworking
322 plants: Concentrated in Georgia, in the most heavily forested area of the Caucasus. The other areas of concentration are Northern Armenia, and a whole series of cities, towns, and villages, located along the northern slopes of the Greater Caucasus. Important lumbering centers are also Astrakhan' and Rostov, processing imported lumber.

## b. 40 Clothing Mills

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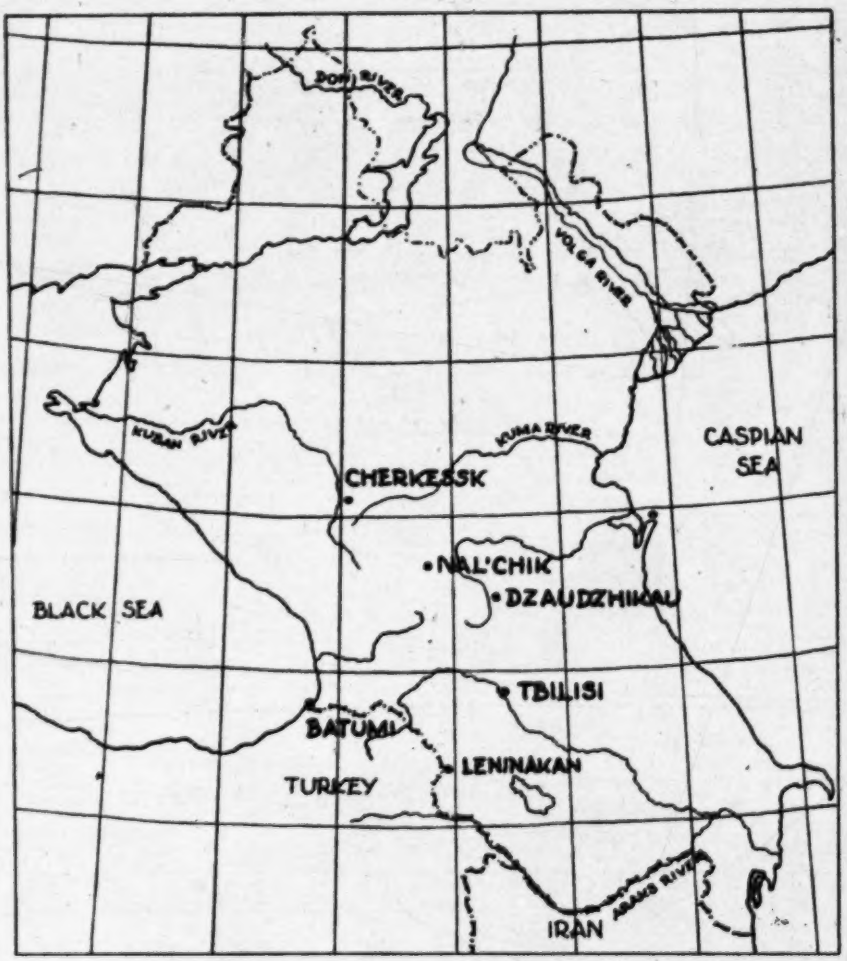

## b. 44 Boot and Shoe Factories

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291 sleeves and a decorated belt. To the sleeves large ellipsoid flaps were attached, embellished with embroidery in gold or silver thread. The patterns of the embroidery on this costume consisted usually of leaf and heart shapes. The headgear consisted of an originally cone-shaped, later truncated, bonnet with parallel galloons around it, and a white veil hanging down from the top. The female costume of Dagestan (and of Chechnia) consists of the basic garments mentioned above (except that instead of shoes, felt boots are often worn), plus a sheepskin coat in cold weather. The variety of the headgear almost matches that of the languages, certain types being limited to no more than a single village. The headgear is often decorated with rows of coins or metal plates, as are sometimes other parts of the clothing. The Kazan-Tatar hairsack, attached at the back of the head, was widespread in Chechnia and is also known in Dagestan. In the Zakataly district apron - like upper garments, worn under the belt, are common.

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G
• 301 The most common ornaments of the Caucasian women are headbands and frontlets, earrings, often with a half-moon-shaped widening at the bottom (Georgia), finger rings and mountings on the belt. The Khevsur women wear iron hoops on the arms and curious scythe-shaped eardrops decorated with hollow spheres. The Tush women wear necklaces with silver ornaments hanging down on the breast.

C. G. 301 In Chechnia and N. W. Dagestan head ornaments are found consisting of a band on top of the head with a concatenation of large metal or glass rings hanging down from it on both sides. As to the hairdo, the Georgian women have the hair hanging down loose over the back and shoulders or in braids around the head. Only on the Black Sea coast do they wear it hanging down in long braids. This is also the usual way in the Northern Caucasus. The Tush girls wear the hair in four braids which are cut off when they marry; the latter custom occurs also sporadically in Dagestan.

C. G. 302

C. G. 291 177 It must be emphasized that the traditional costume has in most cases partly or wholly given way to the general European type of dress, and is worn only on holidays and special occasions such as weddings and other celebrations.

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C. G. 302

C. G. 291 177 It must be emphasized that the traditional costume has in most cases partly or wholly given way to the general European type of dress, and is worn only on holidays and special occasions such as weddings and other celebrations.

847 married life (in Pshavia, not before the third year[36]). The second child may not see the light of day till the seventh year after marriage, and the third child (just as in Pshavia[37]) must be the last.[38] We called the practice "thoroughly un-Georgian" because it is resorted to only when the mountaineers consider it unavoidable. The indescribable poverty of their land "drove" them to this painful extinction of baby girls. It was this same poverty that led the neighbouring South Ossetes (the Tualti, inhabitants of Nar, Tib, Mamisson and other *auls*) in the eighteenth century to expose or strangle their infant girls and to sell their boys into slavery in spite of their great longing for male children.[39] In Ossetia, [132] before the Revolution, physically deformed babes would be choked to death immediately after birth, without even being shown to the mother. Such deformed infants were killed regardless of sex, for the Ossetes believed that such infants owe their existence to evil spirits. Similarly, even today, deformed colts, calves and lambs are killed immediately after birth, because "they come from the evil spirits."[40] We have already mentioned that some Georgian mountaineers kill their baby girls in the belief that the next child will infallibly be a boy.[41]

## § 5. OTHER BIRTH CUSTOMS

### 1. The Couvade

846 The couvade, to my knowledge,[42] is not practiced anywhere in North Caucasia. We do find it among the SOUTHERN CAUCASIANS, where not a few traces of an ancient mother-right culture have survived. The couvade is upposed to be practiced by the Yassai of Sakataly primeval forest, southwest of Daghestan,[43] and according to Strabo by the West Iberians.[44]

### 2. Circumcision

304 This custom, wherever it is found in the Caucasus, is doubtless of Islamic origin.[45] The Mohammedan Ossetes were greatly averse to the practice till the mullahs succeeded in convincing them that all uncircumcised persons would have to spend their eternity without a head.[46]

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[36] Makalatija, *op. cit.*, p. 110.

[37] *ibid.*

[38] Hahn, *Bilder aus dem Kaukasus*, pp. 73 f.

[39] Kovalevskij, *Coutume contemp.*, p. 189.

[40] Pčelina, *op. cit.*, p. 93.

[41] *Supra*, p. 140.

[42] Unfortunately L. M. Melikset-Bekov's study on the couvade in the Caucasus (*K voprosu ob obychae kuvady na Kavkaze v svjazi s jazykovymi perežitkami matriarchatu*) is not at my disposal.

[43] Estadi-Bey, *Der Kaukasus, Seine Berge, Völker und Geschichte*, p. 103.

[44] Strabo, iii.4, 17. Cf. N. Marr, *Der japhetische Kaukasus und das dritte ethnische Element im Bildungsprozess der mittelländischen Kultur*, p. 72; A. Baschmakoff, *Cinquante siècles d'évolution ethnique, etc.*, p. 85.

[45] For example, in Daghestan (cf. Reineggs, *op. cit.*, I, p. 191).

[46] Pčelina, *op. cit.*, p. 97.

317 Gumbra in the vicinity of Kutaisi.

Marl mines, cement mills: The greatest marl deposits are around Novorossiysk. These deposits form the basis of the Novorossi-
[339] ysk cement industry, the principal in the USSR. The cement mills are located both in Novorossiysk proper, and around the city in its various suburbs. There are important cement mills at Ararat (Armenia), at Kaspi (Georgia), at Prokhladnyy (Kabardian ASSR), and at Rostov.

Silicate and kaolin quarries, glass and
[323] porcelain works: The glass-works at Dagestanskie Ogni is the really important one. Porcelain works occur in the North and in the South Caucasus.

Obsidian mines; centers of jeweller's trade: Obsidian, a volcanic glass used especially in the jeweller's trade, occurs in Armen-
[306] ia at Tumanyan. The jewelry center of the Caucasus is Kubachi (in the vicinity of Derbent).

Pyrite mines: Quarried especially at Kedabek and Chiragidzor (West Azerbaijan). It is used in the manufacture of sulfuric acid.

Barite mines: This common mineral quarried or mined at Chovdar (Azerbaijan) and at Kutaisi is one of the basic materials for the paint industry.

38 Chemical industry centers: The most important center is Armenia, where chemical plants have been created at Alaverdi (superphosphate), Amamlu (carbide), Leninakan, Kirovakan, and Yerevan. The Baku area is another important chemical industry center. In addition to these, there are important

3: Anonymous U-4 (no date) 1920 RH1 Caucasia RH1



131 Caspian at Fort St. Nicholas on the Astara. The eastern frontier, some 450 miles in length, is formed by the Caspian Sea from the Bay of Agrakhan to the River Astara.

Geographically Transcaucasia is so placed that, with the development of communications, it should reap considerable advantages from the commercial development both of northern Persia and of north-eastern Asia Minor.

## (2) Surface, Coasts, and River System

### *Surface*

133 Transcaucasia is divided across the centre from west [63] to east by the two valleys of the Rion and Kura, the head-waters of which are separated by the low ridge of the Suram Mountains, connecting the Caucasus with the Armenian Highlands. These valleys run west and east into the Black and Caspian Seas respectively. They are roughly equivalent to the Governments of Kutais (the Rion valley), Tiflis, Elisavetopol, and Baku. The Governments of Kutais and Tiflis and parts of Batum form the region known as Georgia.

The Rion valley is narrowed in its upper part by the mountainous district of Svanetia, but begins to broaden west of Kutais, and becomes a flat, marshy plain. The Kura valley narrows about Tiflis, and then widens till, at the Mughan steppe, it is over 100 miles broad. The valley floor slopes gently east from 1,200 ft. at Tiflis to 500 ft. in the middle of its course, and 85 ft. below sea level at the Caspian. The only interruption is caused by a plateau of between 2,000 and 3,000 ft. along the southern foot-hills of the eastern Caucasus in the region known as Kakhetia.

134 The soil in the Rion and upper Kura valleys is 311 extraordinarily fertile. On the southern slope of the Caucasus, in fact, almost every available patch of ground is successfully utilized for agriculture, even up to a height of 7,000–8,000 ft. Most of the steppes in the lower Kura valley are too dry to be cultivated without the aid of irrigation.

3: Anonymous U-4 (no date) 1920 RH1 Caucasia RH1



own homes, and a rise of from 10 per cent. to 50 per 468
cent. in the rates of pay. A promise of improved housing had been obtained when war broke out, and the men returned to work.

In the matter of wages, the demand at Baku was for 465
a minimum of £3 10*s.* a month; in 1908 an ordinary labourer on the oil-fields had earned only from 32*s.* to 40*s.* a month. In other industries ordinary labourers received from 2*s.* 6*d.* to 5*s.* a day, artisans from 5*s.* to 7*s.* 6*d.*, and miners from 5*s.* to 8*s.* 4*d.* Italian masons were paid from 3*s.* 4*d.* to 6*s.* 8*d.* a day. Agricultural labourers in 1913 were receiving from about 1*s.* 7*d.* to about 2*s.* 2*d.* a day, wages being highest in Kutais and lowest in Terek. Female labour, which is much used both in agriculture and in industry, is very poorly paid.

Since 1912 accident and sickness insurance has been 745
compulsory for large industrial concerns. Medical attendance, maintenance during illness, and pensions for totally disabled workmen and for the dependants of workmen accidentally killed in their employers' service, have to be provided by the employers.

## (2) Agriculture

### (*a*) *Products of Commercial Value.*

*Vegetable Products.—Cereals* grow well in the soil of 243
Ciscaucasia, which is a continuation of the 'black earth' 311
of southern Russia. The area planted with *wheat* in 1914 throughout the country was 12,700,000 acres, yielding nearly 3,000,000 tons of grain; nearly 5,000,000 acres were in Kuban and over 4,000,000 in Stavropol. The area under *barley* in the two divisions of Caucasia in 1914 was about 5,500,000 acres (yielding 1,600,000 tons), and of these more than 4,000,000 were in Ciscaucasia—2,000,000 in Kuban, 1,600,000 in Stavropol, and the rest in Terek. Between 1911 and 1915 Ciscaucasia produced on an average one-third of the total output of winter wheat in the whole Russian Empire and about 15 per cent. of the entire yield of

3: Anonymous U-4 (no date) 1920 RH1 Caucasia RH1



243 wheat and barley. Considerable quantities of both
311 wheat and barley are also grown in the eastern and central parts of Transcaucasia, the area under wheat in 1914 being 475,000 acres in Baku, 692,000 in Elisavetopol, and 680,000 in Tiflis, and that under barley, *which thrives up to an elevation of 8,000 ft.*, being 248,000 acres, 329,000 acres, and 318,000 acres respectively in the same three governments.

*Maize* is the cereal most widely cultivated in north-western Transcaucasia, where it forms the principal food of the population, and whence it is also exported to Europe and Turkey. In Kutais the crop covered 466,000 acres in 1914; and in the little coastal district of Sukhum more than 100,000 acres. The acreage under maize in the whole country was 1,440,000, of which 670,000 acres were in Transcaucasia. Of the 770,000 acres sown in Ciscaucasia, 561,000 were in Terek. The total production of maize in 1914 amounted to 481,000 tons. *Millet* is almost entirely confined to Ciscaucasia, which in 1914, out of a total of 951,000 acres, yielding 355,000 tons, could claim 895,000 acres, more than half of them in Terek and most of the remainder in Stavropol. *Oats* are even more exclusively a product of the northern provinces, for in 1914, of a total of 1,056,000 acres, 512,000 were in Kuban, 301,000 in Stavropol, and 204,000 in Terek. The total yield was 441,000 tons. *Rye* is the least popular of the cereals, there being only 407,000 acres under this crop in the north, of which 246,000 were in Kuban, and 133,000 in the south, of which 75,000 were in Elisavetopol. The total yield was 137,000 tons. The growing of *rice* is decreasing; the yield in 1914 was 28,000 tons, and the area under cultivation 78,000 acres.

248 *Cotton*, first grown in the Government of Kutais in 1860, had come before the war to be cultivated over considerable areas in Elisavetopol and Erivan, and to a smaller extent in Baku, Tiflis, and Kutais, while a beginning had been made in Sukhum and Kars. Indeed the cotton crop, which was superseding rice, was looked on as a promising source of future prosperity, and

3: Anonymous U-4 (no date) 1920 RH1 Caucasia RH1



its cultivation was encouraged by the Government. 248 American cotton gins, irrigation pumping plant, traction engines, and ploughs had been introduced, and cleaning mills of modern pattern built, and it was hoped that on the completion of the irrigation schemes, by which the surplus waters of the Kura and Aras (Araxes) were to be utilized (see pp. 59–60), it would be possible greatly to enlarge the area under cultivation. That area, which [311] thirty years ago was only about 30,000 acres, had already increased by 1910 to 150,000 acres, and by 1912 to 223,000 acres. With regard to the area sown in 1914, there is a wide discrepancy between the Russian official return (186,000 acres) and the figure (337,500 acres) supplied by the British Consul at Batum. The Consul states, however, that owing to a decreased demand and consequent fall in prices, caused by the closing of the Polish mills and the shortage of labour in the manufacturing centres of Russia, there was a tendency among growers to abandon cotton for cereals; and it is possible that his figure is based on an estimate of the probable acreage before this tendency had become fully operative, while the Russian figure represents the area actually cultivated. Of the 186,000 acres of the Russian return, half lay in the Government of Elisavetopol, about a third in that of Erivan, and some 20,000 acres in that of Baku; while of the yield, which was a little under 60,000 tons, 35,500 tons came from Elisavetopol and 18,000 tons from Erivan. This yield, however, owing to heavy rains and cold weather, was below the average.

*Flax* was grown on 168,000 acres in Ciscaucasia and 248 18,000 acres in Transcaucasia in 1914, the total yield 311 being 38,000 tons, which was double the yield of 1910. The cultivation of *hemp* is on a very much smaller, though an equally increasing, scale, and is almost entirely confined to the north. There is, however, a plant closely resembling hemp, called *kanap*, which is easily grown and might be used for the same purposes.

*Fruit.*—Practically all the districts in Transcaucasia 000

7: Columbia U. S-4, 5 1956 RHl Caucasia RHl

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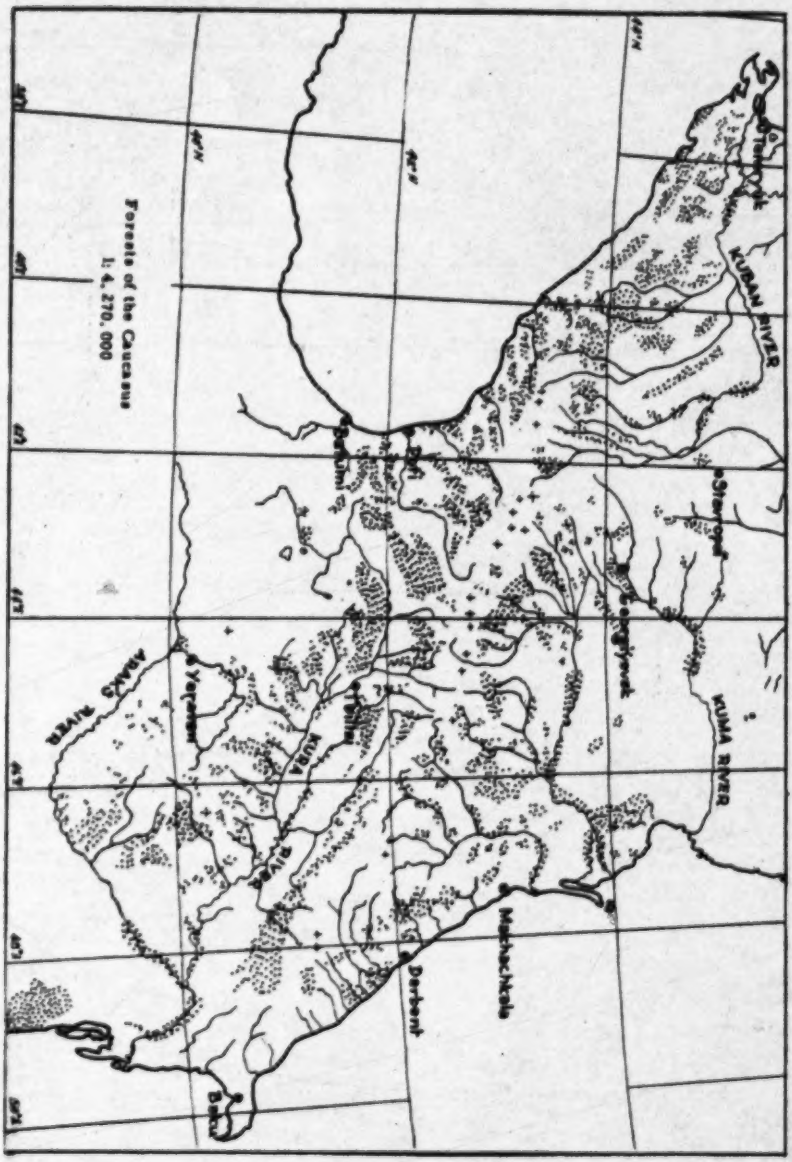

7: Columbia U. S-4, 5 1956 RH1 Caucasia RH1

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a-1.5 Caucasian Industry in Czarist Russia as of 1913

- x : Centers of fuel industry
- △ : Mines
- □ : Centers of metallurgy
- O : Machinery and metal-working plants
- ♀ : Silicate and porcelain works
- ● : Chemical industry centers
- T : Textile industry centers
- F : Food industry centers
- v : Centers of various industries

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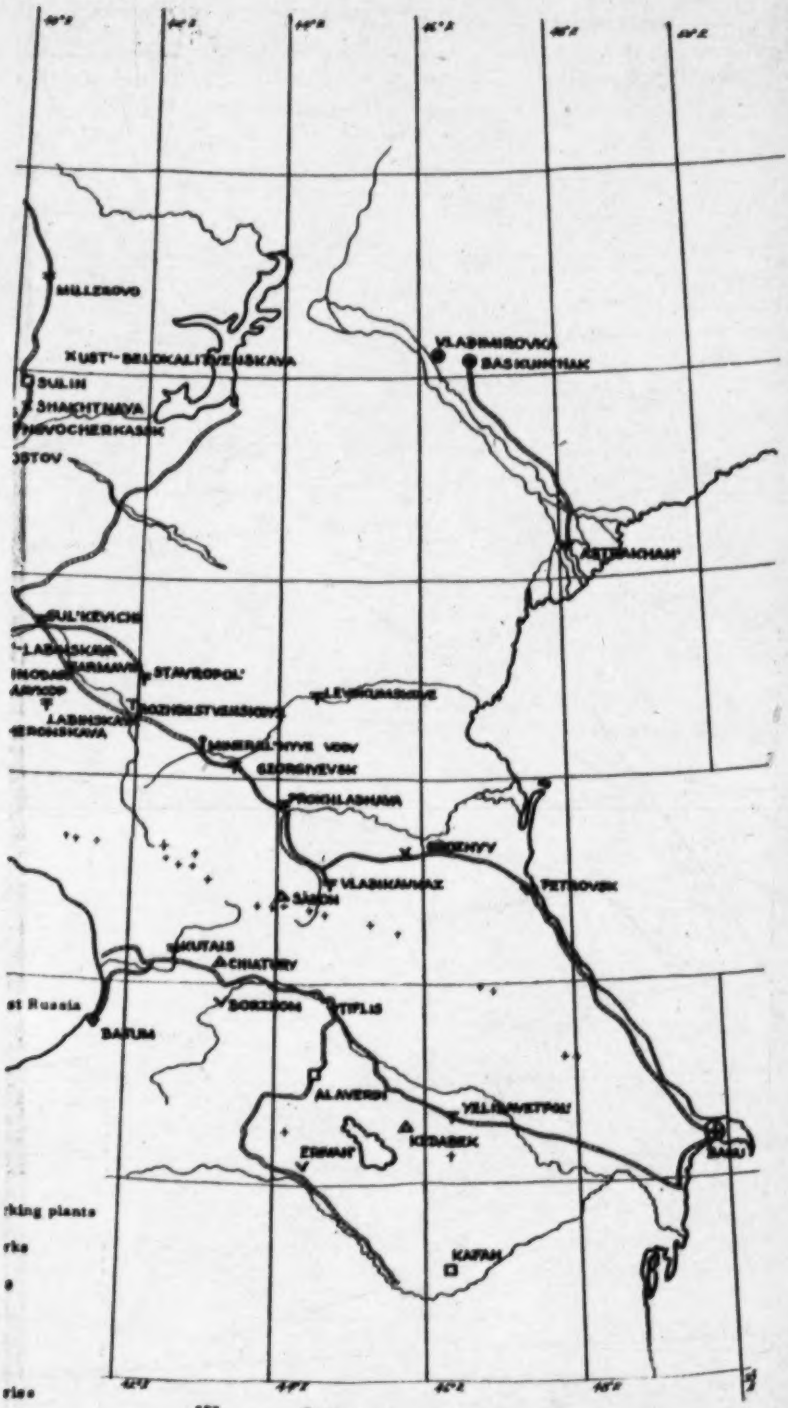




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## Agricultural Potential

311 In the Caucasus all forms of rural economy are represented. In the South Caucasus 1/4, in the North Caucasus roughly 4/5 of the area is under cultivation. The main characteristics of the various economic (and political-administrative) units can be summarized as follows:

Azerbaijan SSR: Farming concentrated on foothills, and more recently in the valleys; agriculture requires irrigation; same features are characteristic for High-Karabakh AO, and for Nakhichevan' ASSR, which is especially dry; Lenkoran' Lowland excels in subtropical crops.

Armenian SSR: The volcanic soil combined with irrigation assures a great productivity to the area; agriculture is concentrated in mid-Aras valley, especially around Yerevan, and in the north in Lori steppe.

Georgian SSR: Though the major part of the republic is still covered by forests, pastures, and arid mountains, the agricultural importance of the area is great; subtropical crops, industrial crops: tobacco, and wine are the chief products of Georgian economy; the agricultural areas are: the Black Sea littoral, the Kura valley, especially between Gori and Tbilisi, and Kakhetia; of the subunits both the Adzhar ASSR, and the Abkhaz ASSR are rich in tobacco and in subtropical crops.

311 Astrakahan' Oblast: Because the oblast has concentrated on fisheries and the fishing industry, the importance of agriculture and even of stock-raising is minor; since the transfer to the predominantly agricultural Stavropol' Oblast of its western rayons, where most of its agriculture and stock-raising was situated, the fishing character of the oblast has been further accentuated; agriculture is concentrated in the irrigated Volga-Akhtuba lowland, completely surrounded by a semi-desert area.

Groznyy Oblast: The importance of agriculture due to the oilfields and oil industry is only secondary; agriculture is concentrated along the Sundzha River and produces cotton among other crops.

Dagestan ASSR: Due to climatic conditions agriculture needs irrigation; it is concentrated especially on the foothills and produces fruits and subtropical crops.

Stavropol' Kray: Chiefly agricultural area; its extreme western part is humid, whereas the bulk of the kray, the eastern part, is dry; this difference in climate explains a certain disparity in the agriculture; the main agricultural activity is grain farming; of the sub-units the Cherkess AO is in the humid zone, whereas the Kabardian ASSR and the North Ossetian ASSR are in the dry zone; the North Ossetian Republic excels especially in corn.

● 311 Krasnodar Kray: The geographical structure of the kray secures to it a great agricultural variety; the sea coast is subtropical, the mountains along this seacoast are covered by forests, whereas the steppe beyond the forests with its black soil is one of the most fertile regions of the USSR; the only sub-unit of the kray, the Adyge AO belongs to the steppe zone.

Rostov Oblast: This oblast formerly included two quite distinct regions; a very dry south-eastern part with agricultural features similar to the eastern Stavropol' Kray, and a more humid northern part which is a kind of continuation of Ukraine; this oblast has recently been broken up, with the northern part forming a new unit, and only the more homogeneous south-eastern part around Sal'sk and the lower-Don valley remaining in the Rostov Oblast; in the remaining part grain farming and sunflowers are especially characteristic.

*

311 243 A clear picture of the agricultural potential of the area, is best given in the form of a list:

Wheat: The main areas are the North Caucasus, in Azerbaijan the northern side of the Kura valley, and in the south the region along the state boundaries. In Trans-caucasia, grain is in general subordinated to industrial and subtropical crops. Wheat is obtained

311
243 mostly by dry farming methods, though in Azerbaijan and Dagestan it is cultivated in irrigated lowlands as well. It is winter wheat which is commonly cultivated. Spring wheat occurs in the Steppe region of the Krasnodar Kray, where there is a very low snow precipitation, and in the irrigated parts of Dagestan. As to the quality, the best wheat is produced along the Kuban River, especially in the Cherkess AO.

Rice: This crop was grown originally only in the South Caucasus. Nowadays it is cultivated in the North Caucasus as well. In the North Caucasus especially the area along the lower Kuban, between Krasnodar and the delta, then the flooded area along the Terek River, and especially the region around Kizlyar are the main rice areas.

Rye: Cultivation area mainly in the Astrakhan' Oblast on both sides of the Volga and Akhtuba Rivers.

Oats: Cultivated mainly in the Stavropol' Kray, in Groznyy Oblast, in the steppe areas of the Krasnodar Kray, and in the northern corner of Dagestan.

Corn: Cultivation area mainly in the North Caucasus. In the South Caucasus (Abkhaz ASSR, Imeretia) it is gradually giving place to subtropical crops. In the North Caucasus, a belt embracing the north and northeastern parts of the Krasnodar Kray, the Cherkes AO, the North Ossetian ASSR, Groznyy Oblast, and the

311
243 Dagestan ASSR is the most important corn producing area. In the belt itself the Cherkess AO, and the North Ossetian ASSR, the corn republic, are the chief producers. In Dagestan, corn is very often cultivated in irrigated areas.

Barley: Almost universal in the Caucasus. In the South Caucasus especially the higher parts of Armenia produce barley. In the North Caucasus the south eastern parts of the Rostov Oblast, and the region in the northern parts of the Krasnodar Kray are important. In Dagestan it is cultivated with dry farming methods.

Millet: Cultivated only in the North Caucasus.

311
244 Potatoes: Important areas both in South and North Caucasus. In the South Caucasus the region around Yerevan is the most important. In addition to this important region are the areas around Tbilisi, and Baku. In the North Caucasus the Kabardian ASSR, the North Ossetian ASSR, the southern parts of the Groznyy Oblast, the north-western part of Dagestan, and the northern areas of the Rostov Oblast are important.

311
245 Horticulture and fruit-gardening: Truck-gardening is characteristic for suburban areas, or those which are in the vicinity of big health resorts. One should mention as main truck-gardening centers the Baku, Yerevan, Rostov and Pyatigorsk areas. Fruit-gardening is widespread in the whole Caucasus. In the

311
245 South Caucasus the Armenian SSR, and the Nakhichevan' ASSR, along the irrigated Aras valley, Kolkhida, Imeretia, northern parts of Kakhetia, in Azerbaijan the High Karabakh AO, and the Kuba region are especially important. In the North Caucasus almost the whole Krasnodar Kray, in the Stavropol' Kray the Kuban, and the upper and middle Kuma valley, the North Ossetian ASSR, and the Groznyy Oblast along the Terek and Sundzha Rivers, Dagestan, and the Akhtuba region of the Astrakhan' Oblast are the chief producers of fruit. One of the characteristic features of Caucasian fruit-gardening is the extensive use of irrigation (Aras, Kura, Kuban, Kuma, Terek, Sundzha, and Akhtuba valleys).

Vineyards: The Caucasus is a famous wine-growing area; soil conditions and climate make it ideal for viniculture. In the South Caucasus the vineyards of Armenia, Nakhichevan', Karabakh, and north Azerbaijan are well known. Yet the most important wine producing area in the South Caucasus is Georgia. Imeretia and Kakhetia are world-famous for their wine. In addition to these places one also finds wine in the Bolnisi area. In the North Caucasus the main wine producing areas are: the littoral parts of the Krasnodar Kray, the area northward from Krasnodar, in the Stavropol' Kray the valley along the Kuma River, the Cherkess AO, the middle Terek valley, the region around Kizlyar, and

211
245 the Caspian littoral in Dagestan. In the north, along the northern shores of the Don River, there extend the vineyards of the former Cossacks of Don. In this area Tsimlyanskaya, and Razdorskaya are the most important wine-growing centers. One part of the vineyards, those along the Kuma and Terek Rivers, and those in Dagestan are irrigated.

Citrus: Tangerines, oranges, lemons, grapefruit were introduced into the Caucasus on an industrial scale during the Soviet period. In the South Caucasus the Lenkoran' Lowland, the Georgian Black Sea littoral, the Abkhaz ASSR and the Adzhar ASSR are the citrus-growing areas. The Adzhar Republic is the most important citrus center of the USSR. In the North Caucasus the Black Sea coast of the Krasnodar Kray is the only citrus-growing area.

311 Sugar beets: The main sugar-beet area
249 is the Kuban valley, northward from Krasnodar. In the South Caucasus this crop was recently introduced to Imeretia (Georgian SSR), and to Armenia.

Tobacco: Especially the Turkish kind is cultivated both in the South and in the North Caucasus. In the South Caucasus the tobacco fields are concentrated in three different areas. One is in Azerbaijan between Zakataly and Kuba. The second is in Armenia and in Nakhichevan' ASSR along the Aras River. The third is in Kolkhida and in the Adzhar and

311
249 Abkhaz republics. In the Adzhar Republic the fields are located around Batumi and in the higher part of the republic. The Abkhaz area, which produces the best quality, is one of the major tobacco-growing areas of the USSR. The center is Sukhumi. In the North Caucasus the main tobacco-growing areas are in the Krasnodar Kray. The fields there are mostly concentrated in the Adyge AO and along the Black Sea littoral.

311
246 Tea: It is one of the recently introduced subtropical plants, and is cultivated mostly in the South Caucasus. The chief tea-growing areas are the Abkhaz and Adzhar republics and Kolkhida. The Adzhar ASSR is the most important tea-growing area in the USSR. In eastern Trans-caucasia an important tea-growing area is the Lowland of Lenkoran'. In addition to these there are some less important tea-growing areas in the interior of Georgia and Azerbaijan as well. In the North Caucasus tea is cultivated only on the Black Sea coast of the Krasnodar Kray, an area adjacent to the tea-growing districts of the Abkhaz Republic.

311
248 Cotton: The most important fiber plant under cultivation in the Caucasus. It came originally from Central Asia to the South Caucasus. During the Soviet period its cultivation crossed the 43rd parallel and was pushed as far as 47° N. Though the Caucasian crops is the second largest in the USSR, production

311
248 is low and cannot be compared with that of Central Asia. In the South Caucasus it is cultivated in irrigated areas. The most important cotton fields are along the Kura and Aras Rivers (Azerbaijan, Nakhichevan' ASSR, Armenia) in which cotton is rotated mostly with alfalfa. Eastern Azerbaijan cultivates especially the long-staple cotton. In other areas of the South Caucasus Kakhetia is trying to introduce cotton. In the North Caucasus cotton cultivation is centered in three distinct areas. One is the coastal area along the Sea of Azov. This area reaches almost to Krasnodar and Rostov and cultivates cotton with dry methods. The second area is in eastern parts of the Stavropol' Oblast, in the middle belt of the Groznyy Oblast and in the northern parts of Dagestan. Cultivation here too is based mostly on dry methods, only the fields around Kizlyar and Khasavyurt being irrigated. The third cotton-growing area of the North Caucasus is the Akhtuba region and the Volga Delta.

Northern Hemp: Occurs in the Kabardian and North Ossetian republics.

Kendyr': A domesticated fiber plant from Central Asia cultivated mostly in the northern parts of the Krasnodar Kray and in the western parts of the Stavropol' Kray. The plant is used in the manufacture of a very resistant cloth.

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231 Maulberry: The trees necessary for silk culture are cultivated especially in the

1/A [Sic. Mulberry?-- Analyst]

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231 South Caucasus: in Middle Azerbaijan; around the cities and town like Zakataly, Nukha, Yevlakh, Kirovabad, Barda, Udzhary, Mir-Bashir, Shusha. One also finds a very important center of silk culture in Kolkhida and Imeretia along the Tbilisi-Sukhumi railroad line.

311
248 Kenaf: A recently introduced fiber plant from India and used as a substitute for jute is cultivated on a commercial scale only in the North Caucasus. The main area of cultivation is Krasnodar Kray around the Adyge AO where it was first cultivated. In addition to this it occurs in the western parts of the Stavropol' Kray, in Dagestan along the Caspian coast, and in the vicinity of Kuba (Azerbaijan). Less important are the kenaf fields in the North Ossetian Republic and along the Akhtuba River.

Ramie or Chinese Nettle: Another recently introduced fiber plant, cultivated nowadays on commercial scale in Kolkhida, north and southward of Mikha-Tskhakaya. To a smaller extent it is well known in the Lenkoran' Lowland as well.

311
249 Castor bean: This plant is cultivated in the North Caucasus, especially in the steppes of the Krasnodar Kray, in the southern parts of Rostov Oblast, in the northern parts of Stavropol' Kray, in Dagestan around Derbent, and in the northeastern corner of Azerbaijan around the town of Kuba.

311 245 Olives: Olive trees are grown in Azerbaijan around Baku and Sal'yany, in Armenia in the Yerevan basin, and in Dagestan along the sea coast.

311 244 Peanuts: The plant grows in two distinct areas in industrial amounts. One is the western steppe region of the Krasnodar Kray, the other is in the dry East Azerbaijan.

311 249 Perilla: A plant the oil of which is used especially in the painting industry. The centers of production are the areas north and westwards from Tbilisi, and in the vicinity of Yevlakh (Azerbaijan).

Tung tree: This tree, which comes from China, furnishes an important ingredient of varnishes and lacquers. It is cultivated in Kolkhida, in the Abkhaz ASSR, and in the Lowland of Lenkoran'.

311 244 Sunflower: A favorite plant especially in the North Caucasus. It likes the dry and sunny steppes and is produced mostly in the Rostov Oblast, in the Krasnodar Kray (in the steppe region), and in the western parts of the Stavropol' Kray. The sunflower of the Cherkess AO is of excellent quality.

Soybeans: Introduced originally from Manchuria. In the Caucasus soybeans are cultivated in the Kuban valley northwest from Krucnodar, and in the Groznyy Oblast.

Linseed-oil Flax: The product of the plant, linseed oil, is used in the painting industry, in medicine, etc. This flax is

•311 cultivated in Rostov Oblast, in Stavropol'
249 Kray (Kabardian ASSR, North Ossetian ASSR), and in Dagestan.

Volatile oil yielding plants: The essential oils used in perfumes, flavoring, or medicine are extracted by various methods from various plants cultivated almost everywhere in the Caucasus.

Kok-sagyz: An important rubber-bearing industrial plant coming originally from Central Asia now is cultivated around the Volga River.

Krym-sagyz: Another imported rubber-bearing plant, is cultivated chiefly in the north western corner of the Krasnodar Kray, and in the Kabardian and North Ossetian autonomous republics (tau-sagyz).

Guayule: The rubber-bearing plant of the South Caucasus. This shrubby plant is native to arid regions of Mexico and the southwestern United States; in the South Caucasus it is cultivated in the arid regions of the Azerbaijan SSR.

Saffron: The flower, the stigmas of which are used as a coloring matter, flavoring, perfume, and medicine, is well known in the North Caucasus. It is cultivated chiefly in the southern parts of the Rostov Oblast, and in the northwestern parts of the Stavropol' Kray.

Bay: One of the evergreen trees cultivated in the South Caucasus. The tree is cultivated especially along the Rion River, and

311
244 around the headwaters of the Kura River.

Cinchona: This subtropical tree, which is the source of quinine, was imported from South America. It is cultivated in the Kura valley westwards from Gori.

Eucalyptus: Occurs in Kolkhida, along the Rion River, then around the headwaters of the Kuban River, and on the Lowland of Lenkoran'. The tree is used as building material, and as a source of oil used in medicine and perfumery.

137 Bamboo: Occurs only in Kolkhida.

Of the other tropical, or subtropical trees, shrubs, or plants the palms, the cactus, and the magnolia are those which occur in significant amounts in the South Caucasus.

a.1 Wheat, Rice

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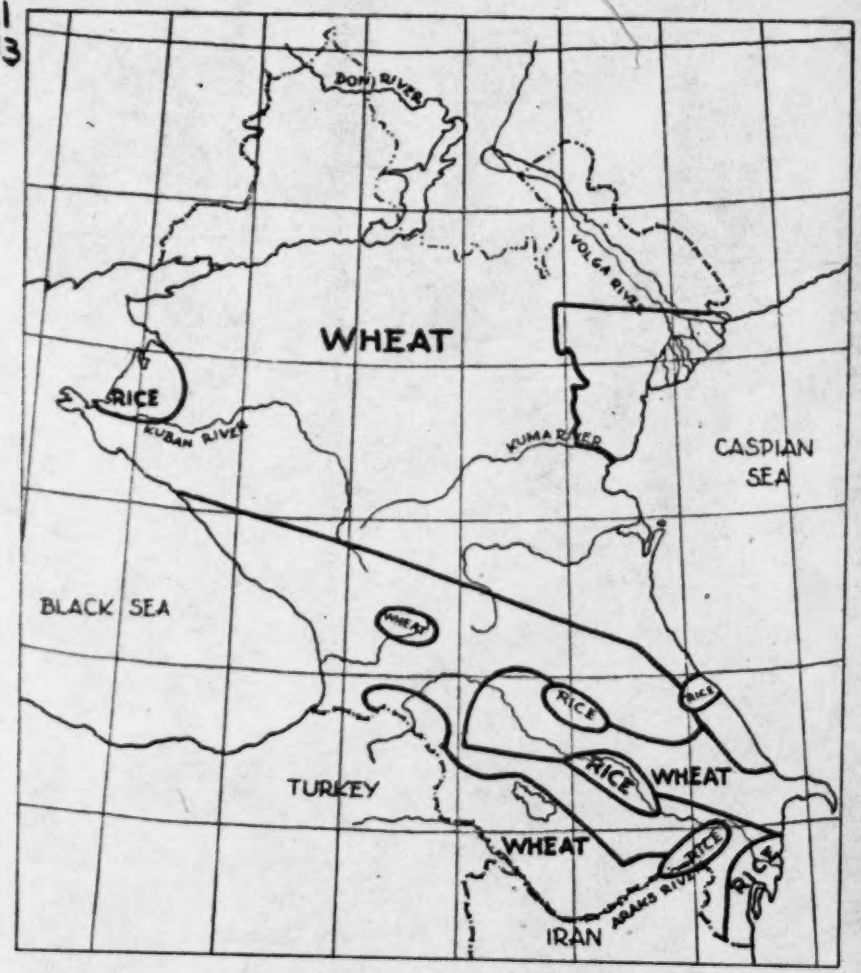

a. 2 Rye, Oats

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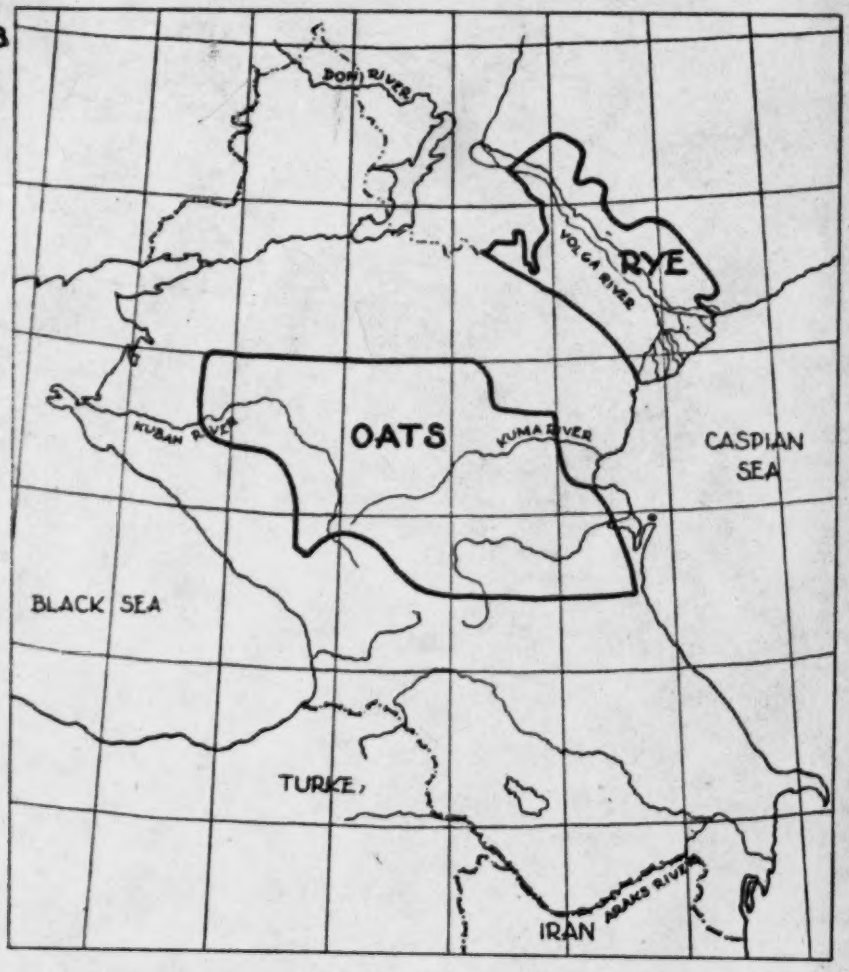

a. 3 Corn

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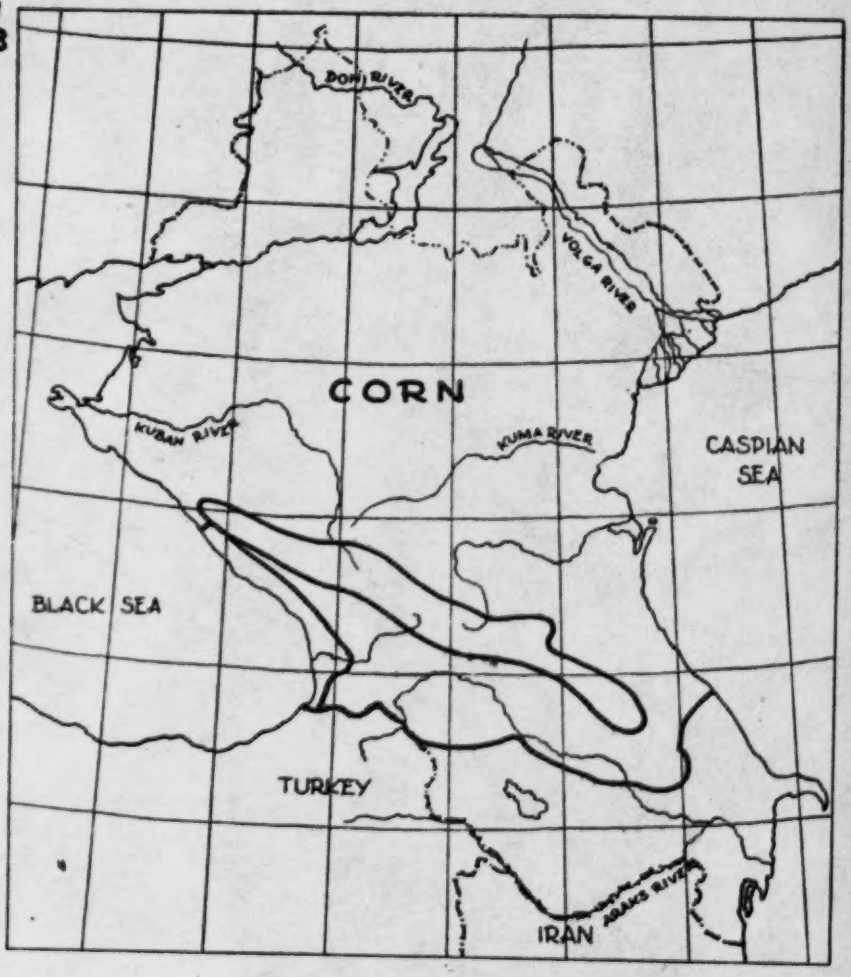

a. 4 Barley

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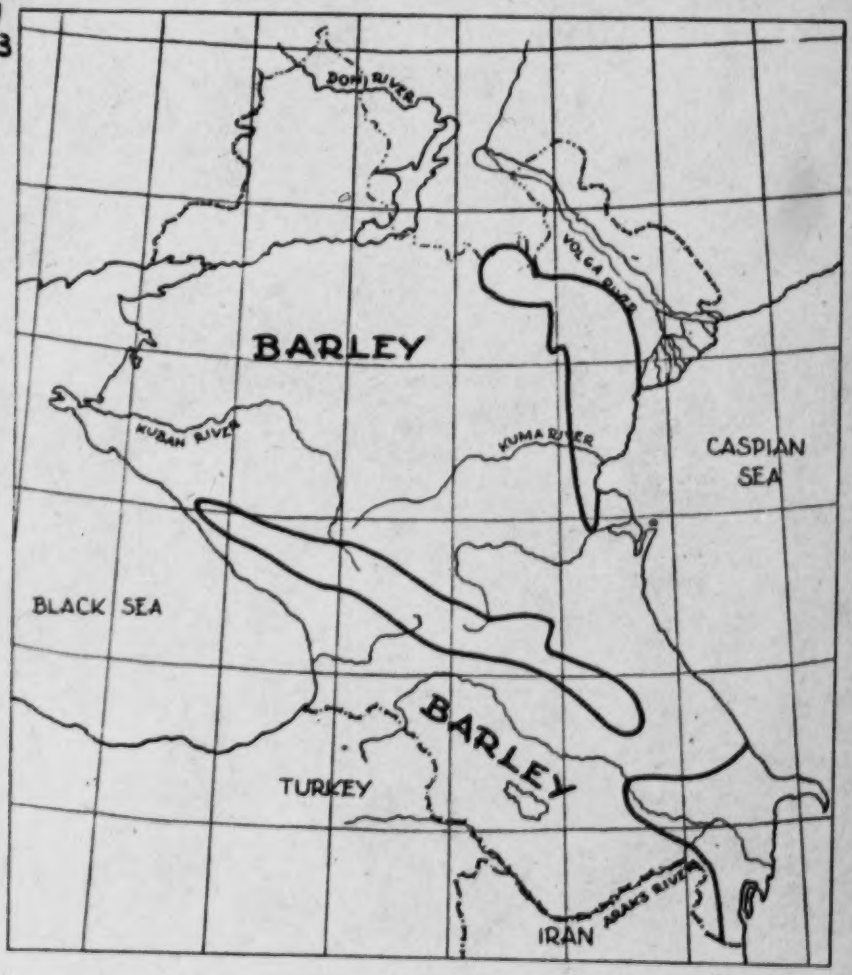

a. 5 Millet

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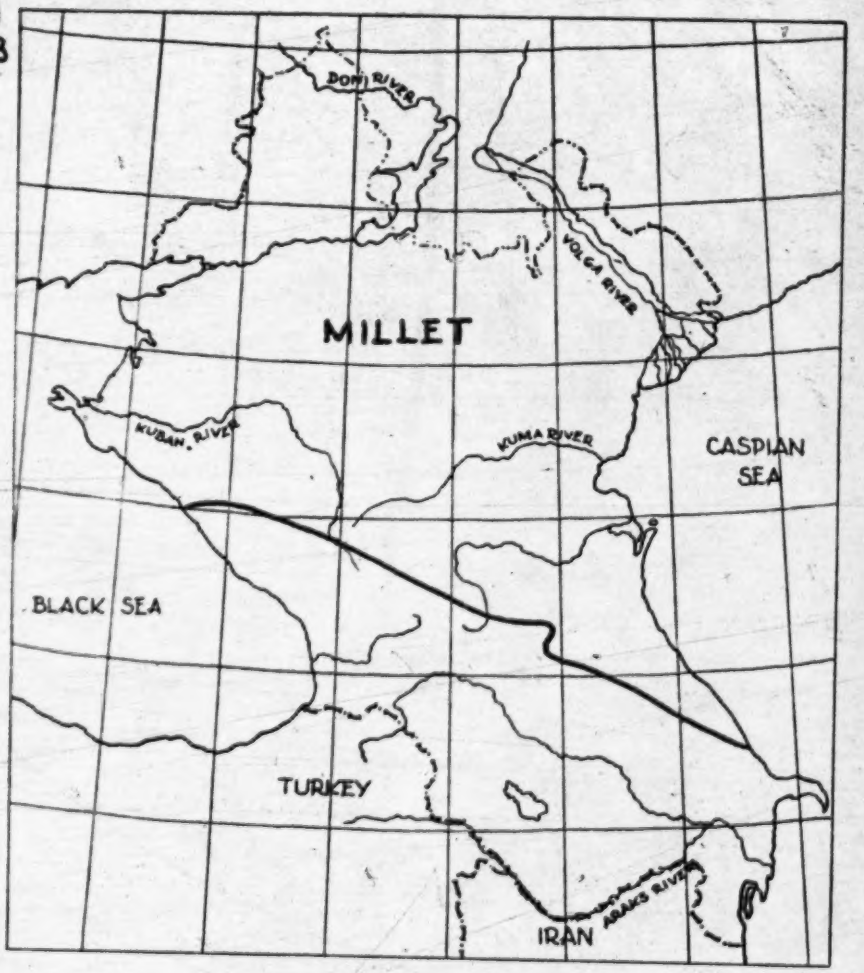

a. 6 · Potatoes

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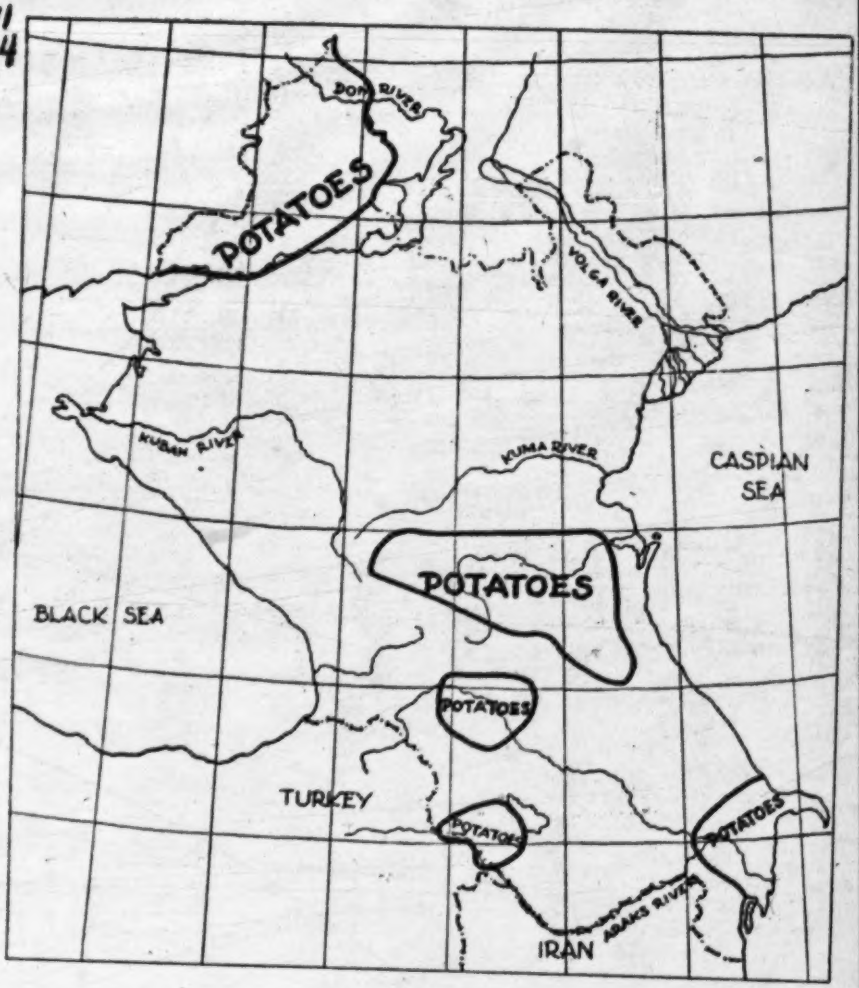

## a. 7 Horticulture and Fruit-gardening

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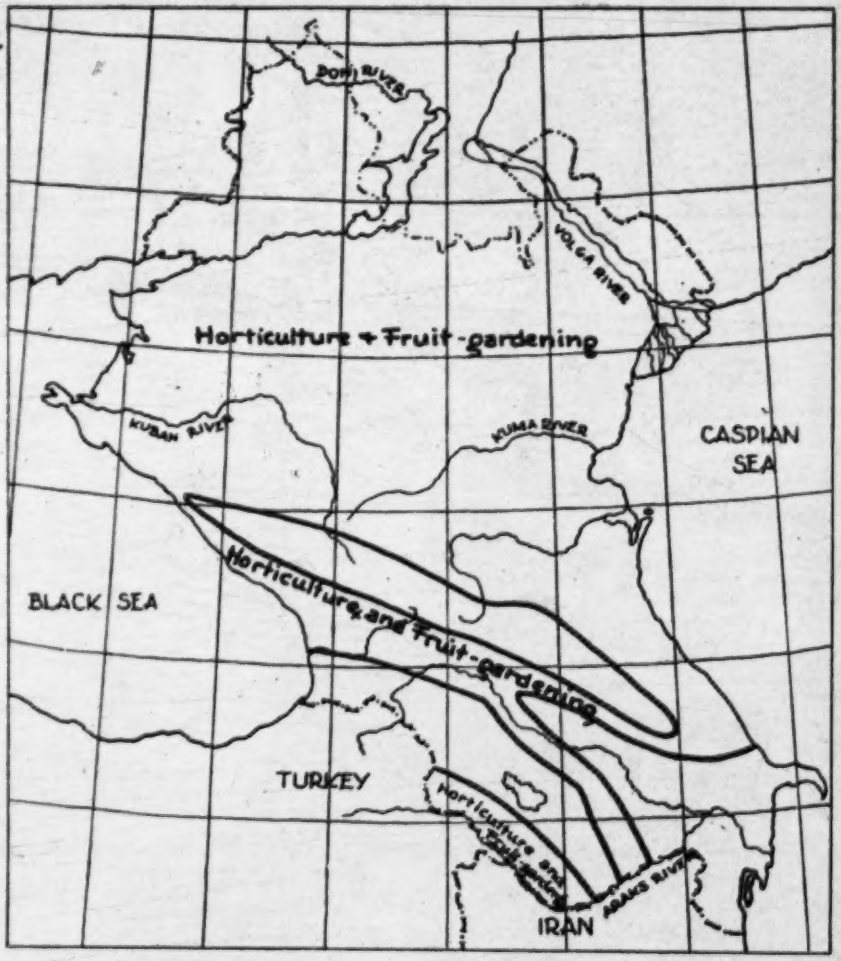

a, 8 Vineyards, Citrus

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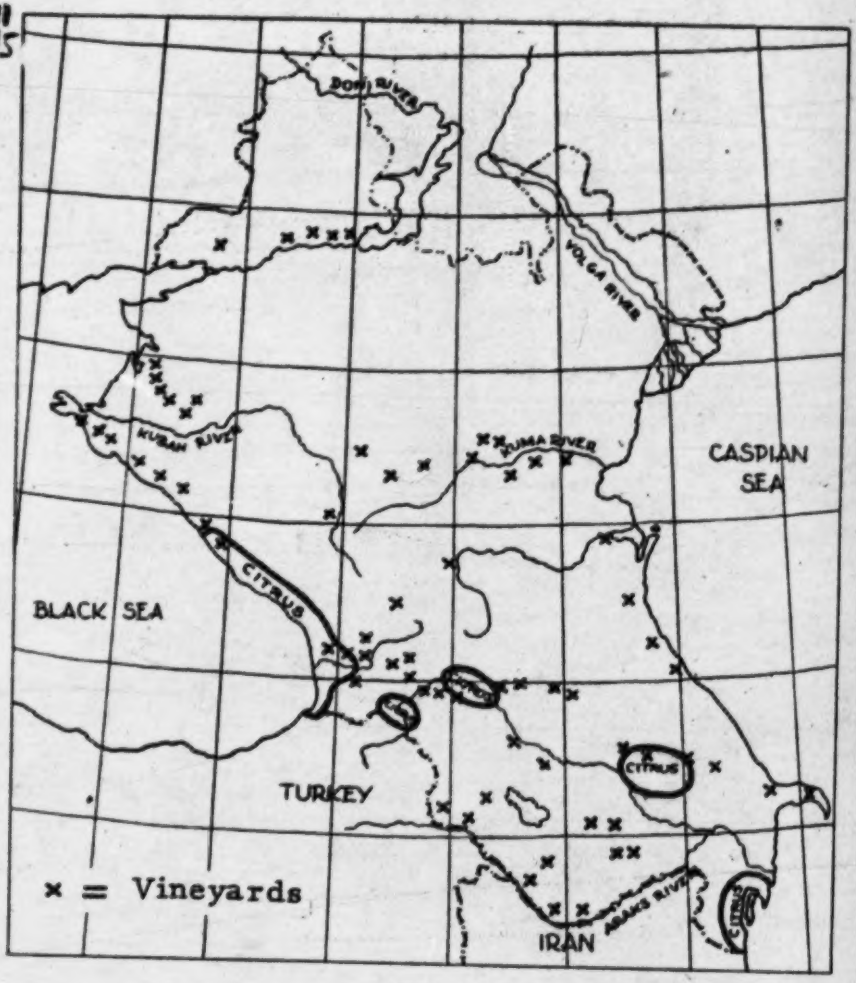

a. 9 Sugar Beets

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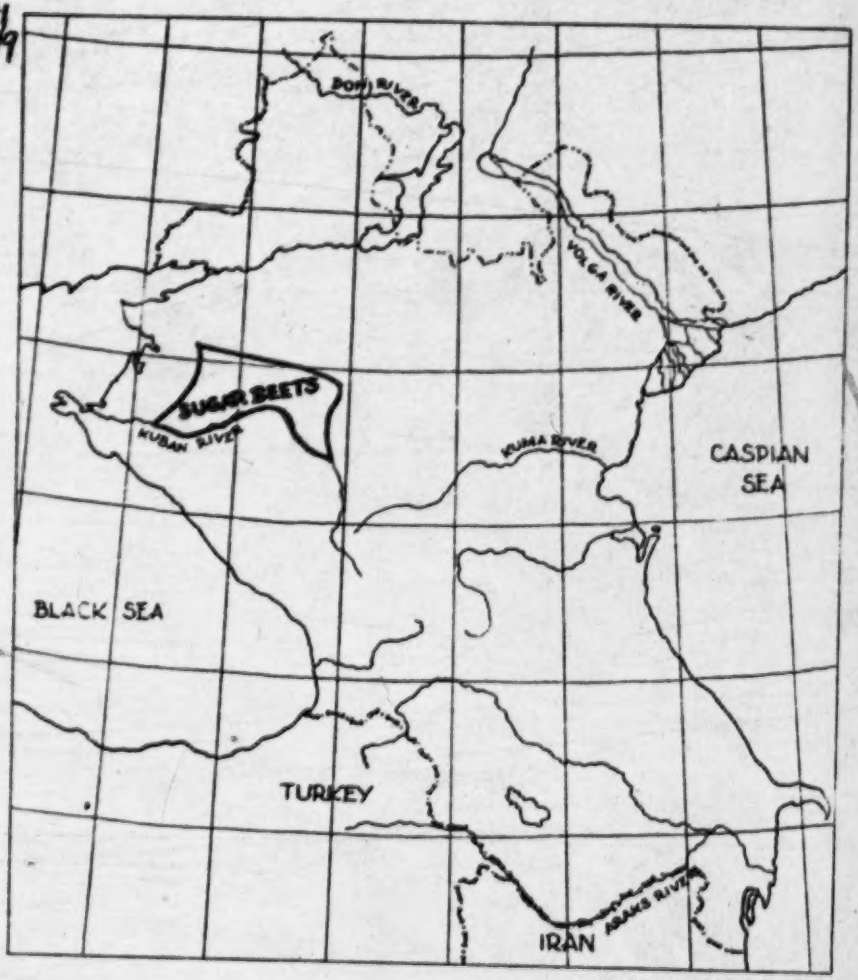

a. 10 Tobacco

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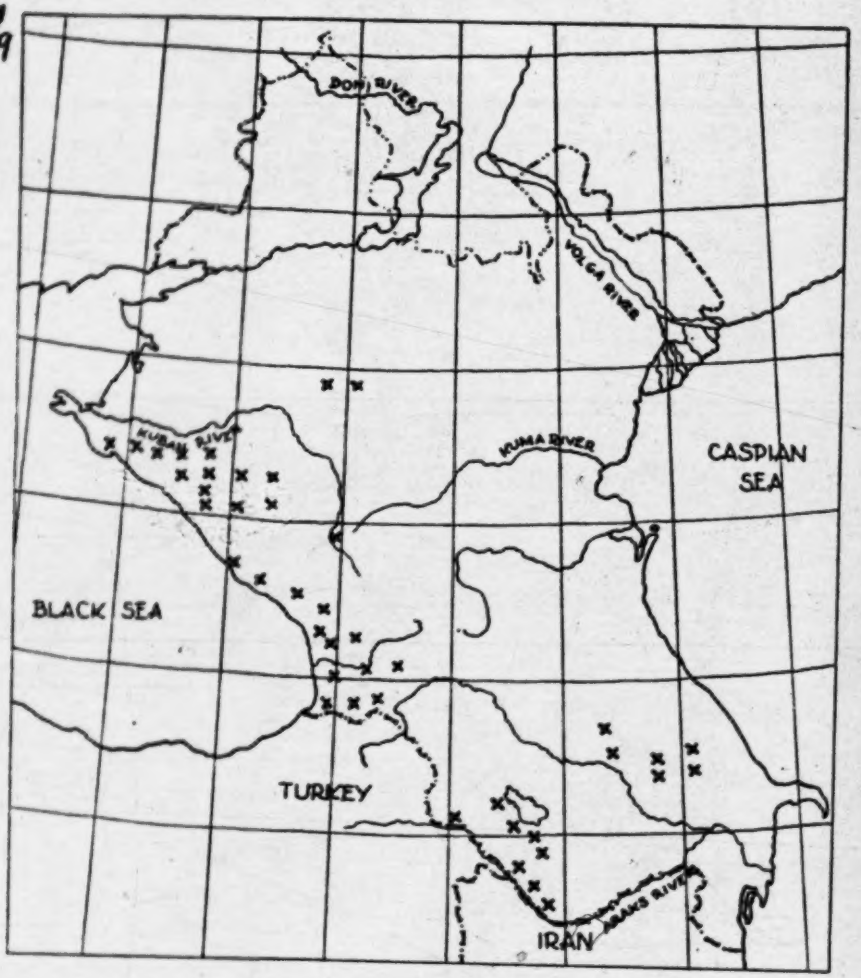

a. 11 Tea

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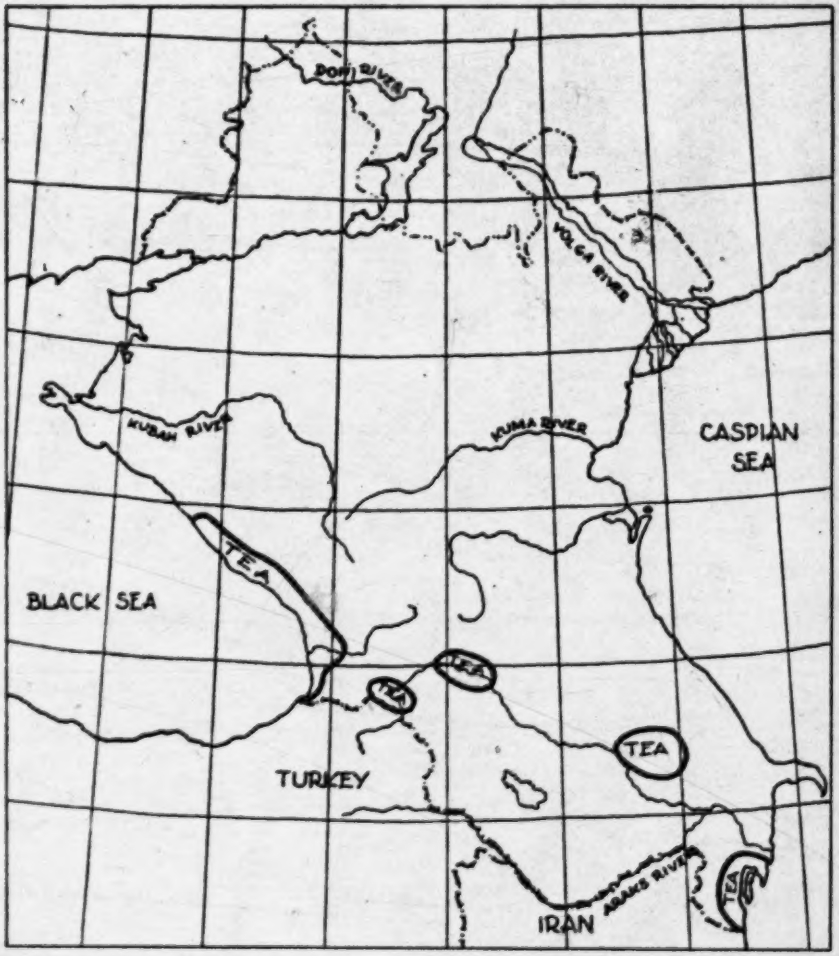

a. 12 Cotton

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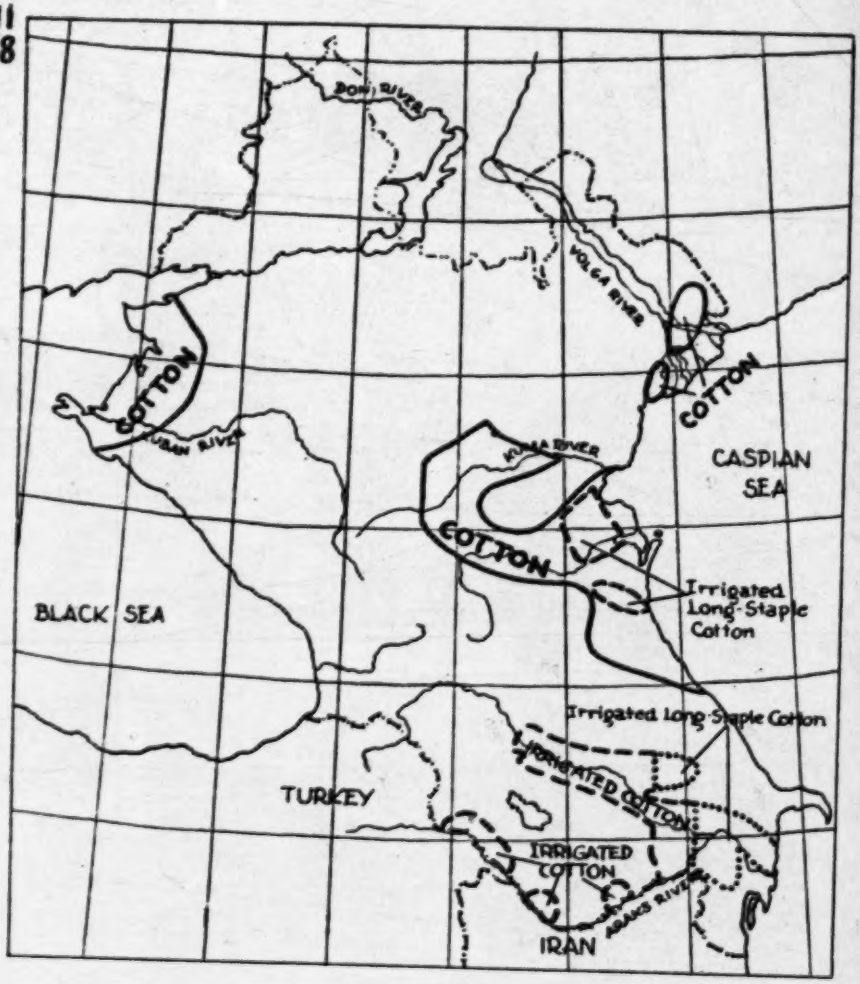

a. 13 Northern Hemp, Kendyr', Silk Culture

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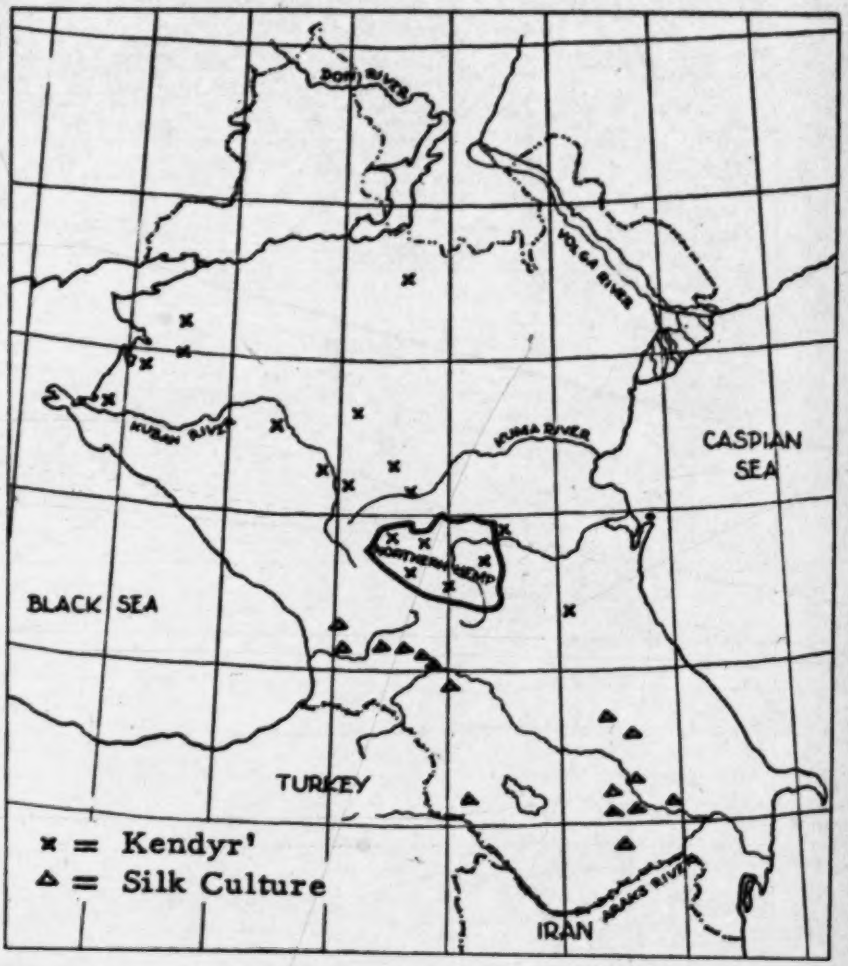

## a. 14 Kenaf, Ramie

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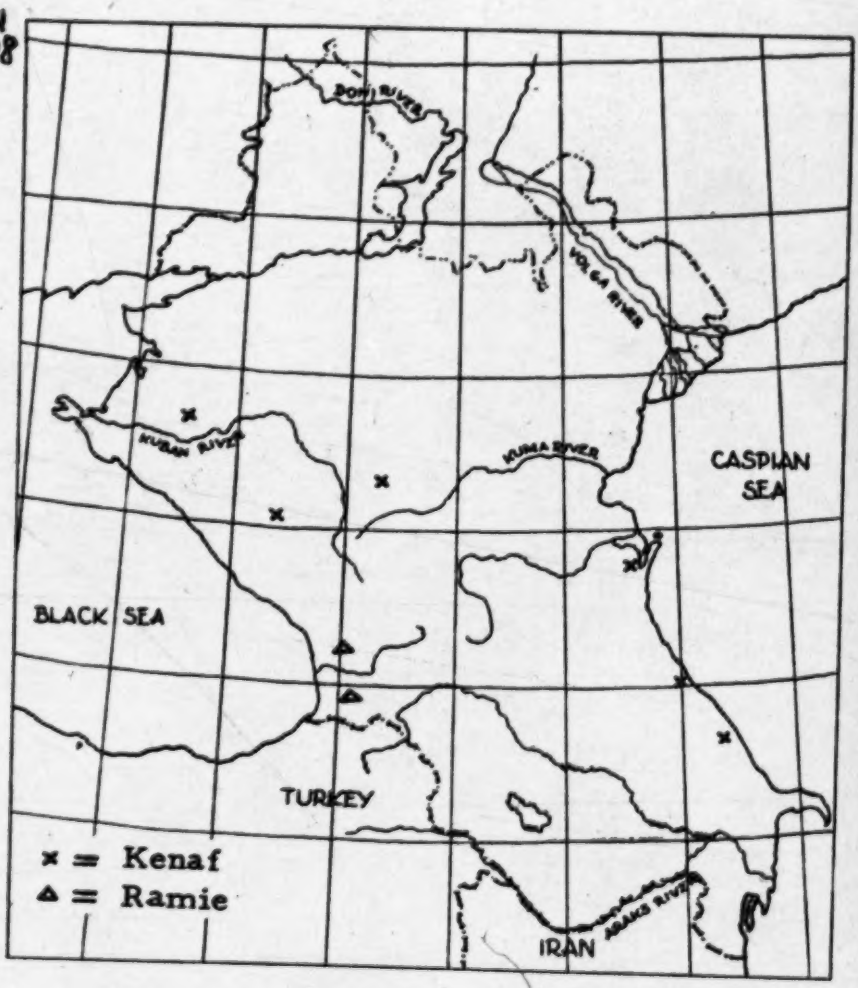

a. 15
Castor Oil Plants, Olive Trees, Peanuts, Perilla, Tung Trees

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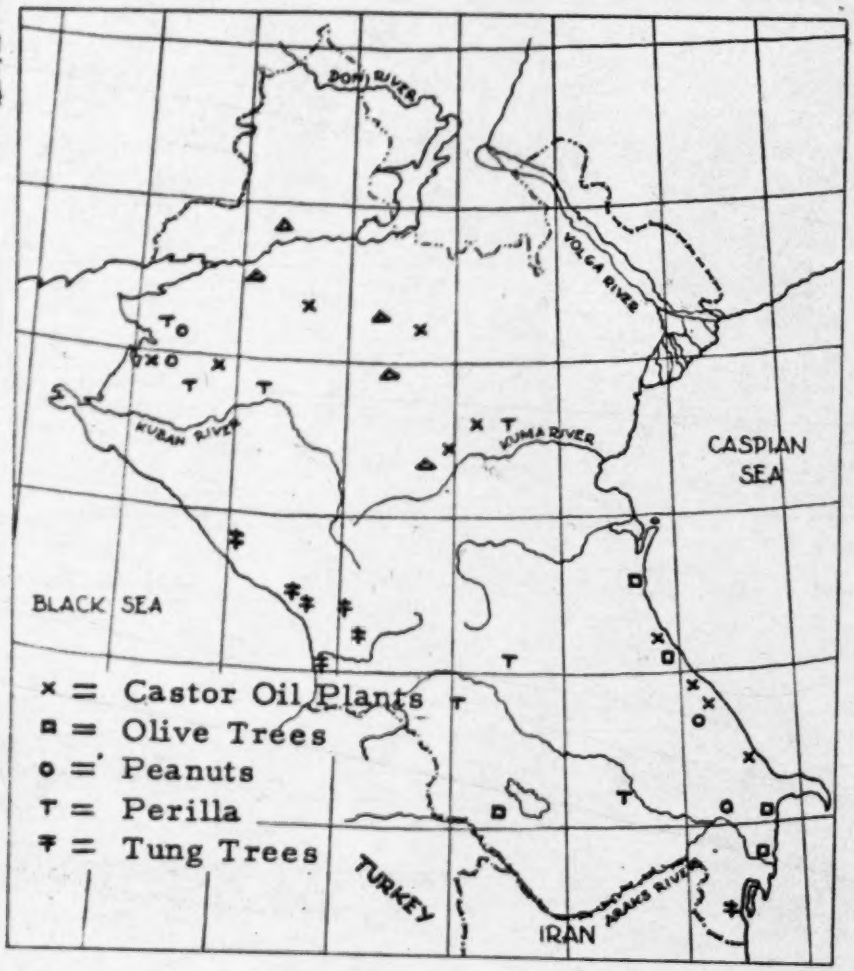

a. 16
Sunflowers, Soy Beans, Linseed Oil Flax

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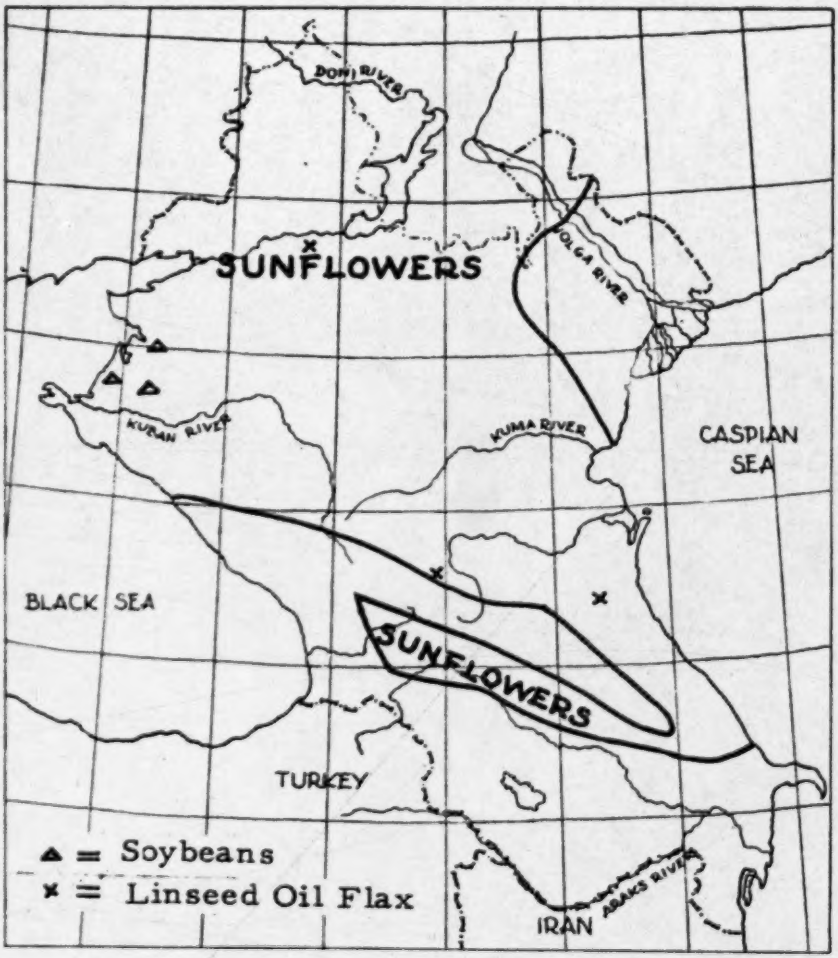

a. 17 Volatile Oil-yielding Plants, Saffron

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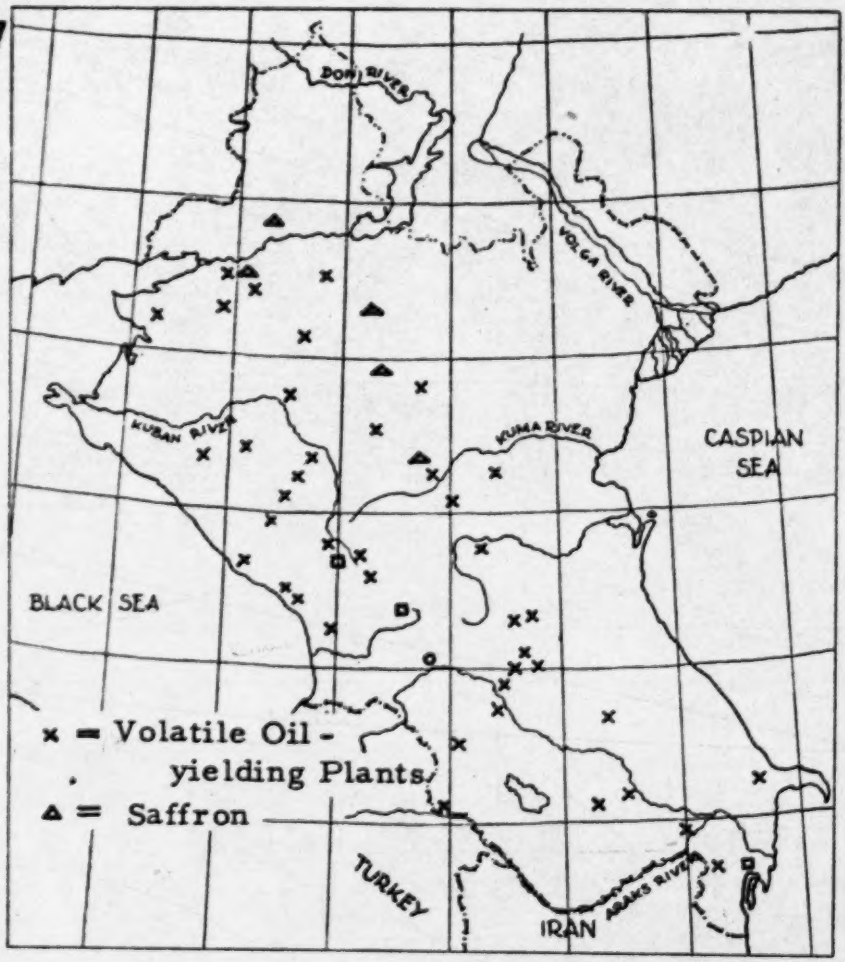

a. 18 Kok-sagyz, Krym-sagyz, Guayule

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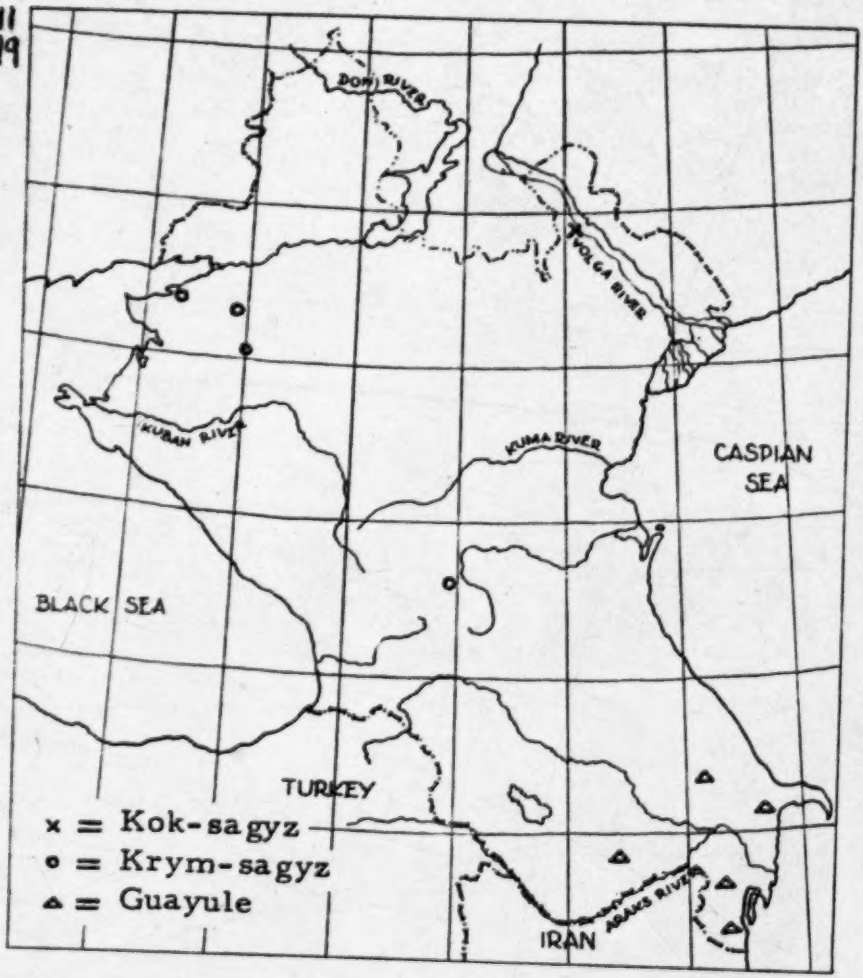

a. 19 Cinchona, Bay, Eucalyptus, Bamboo

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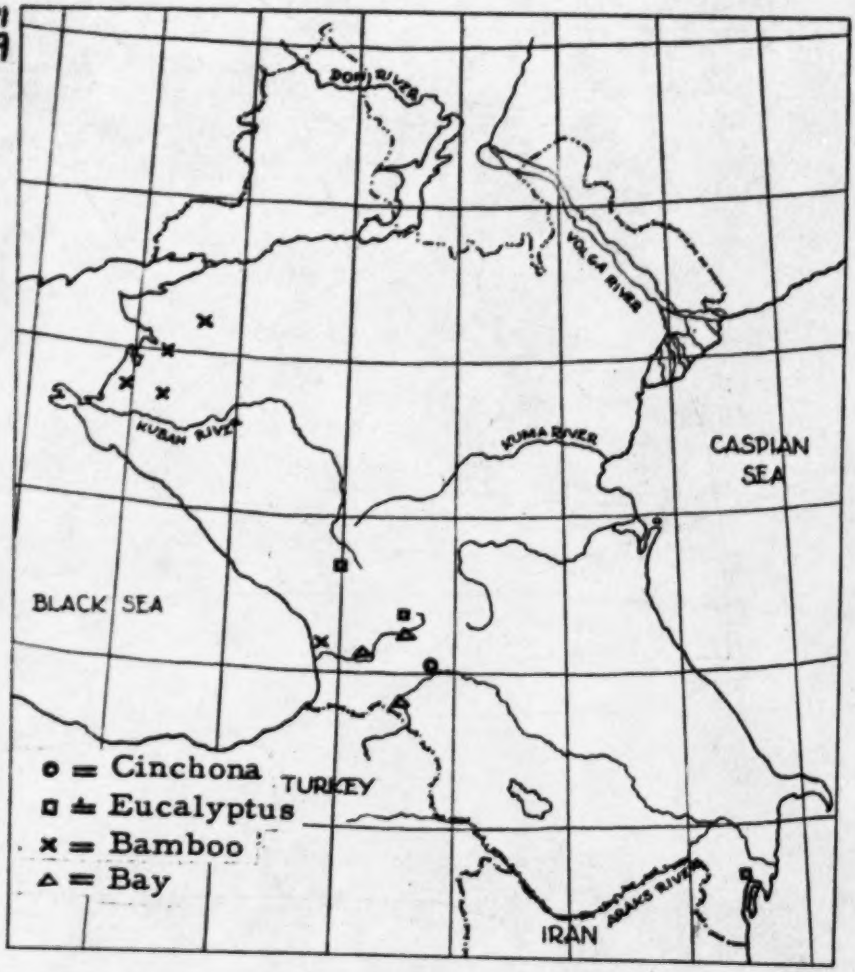

7: Columbia U. S-4,5 1956 RH1 Caucasia
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## Stock-Raising

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234 Stock-raising is the principal economic activity in the dry eastern steppes of the North Caucasus, and in the mountain pastures, which are mostly located at high altitudes. In the lowlands of Azerbaijan on the other hand, stock-raising is seasonal and is combined with other rural activities. Caucasian stock-raising was formerly pretty much nomadic, but is now -- as a result of the introduction of fodder crops, irrigation and other agricultural improvements -- assuming a more sedentary character. The principal stocks raised are various types of dairy and beef cattle, and various kinds of sheep. Sheep are bred not only for wool and mutton, but also for dairy products. Caucasian cheese (of the Swiss type) is famous throughout the entire USSR. Horses are relatively few in number. As draft animals in the North Caucasus oxen are common, whereas in the South Caucasus buffaloes are used. Transportation depends on mule, donkey, and in certain areas on camel, rather than horses. The fodder used in stock-raising varies according to the area and includes grass, grain, rootcrops, waste products, etc. For hogs, corn is used throughout the whole Caucasus.

Taking the various economic and political-administrative units one by one, the distribution of stock-raising is as follows:

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231 Azerbaijan SSR: The lowlands along the Kura and Aras Rivers are the most important winter grazing grounds, not only for Azerbaijan, but for Armenia as well. Of the sub-units, North Karabakh specializes in cattle, sheep, and mules, whereas Nakhichevan' ASSR raises primarily sheep, for the most part in the mountains.

Armenian SSR: Important especially for its summer grazing grounds, on which the livestock of both Armenia and Azerbaijan depend. Armenia is famous for its cheese.

Georgian SSR: Mountain pastures are the basis of Georgian stock-raising, which is important in all the sub-units except the Abkhaz ASSR where, due to health resorts and extensive growing of subtropical crops, only dairy farming has survived.

Astrakhan' Oblast: This area is rich in herds of cattle and sheep, raised mostly for meat and mutton. Camels are used extensively as a means of transportation.

Groznyy Oblast: Stock-raising is concentrated in the mountains (cattle and goats) and in the northern steppe areas (sheep-raising).

Dagestan ASSR: Stock-raising constitutes the main economic activity only in the mountains which are rich in Alpine pastures.

Stavropol' Kray: Livestock-raising is typical for the bulk of the kray. In the southern and southwestern corner, in the health resort section, dairy-farming is practiced. Of

311 the sub-units the Cherkess AO especially is a
231 livestock-raising area. In the Kabardian ASSR, the principal stock raised is in the plain poultry, whereas the mountain pastures are devoted primarily to livestock, which latter also holds for the pastures of the North Ossetian ASSR.

Krasnodar Kray: The Kuban area and the steppe area are among the most active cattle-raising areas of the Caucasus. On the Black Sea coast dairy farming is common, centered especially around Gelendzhik. The Adyge AO is famous for good horses.

Rostov Oblast: Along the lower Don and in the Taganrog-Rostov-Shakhty area, the principal stock raised is dairy cattle. In the southern and southeastern parts of the oblast (i. e., in the Sal Steppe), beef cattle and horses are raised, whereas the eastern parts raise sheep.

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234 The distribution of the individual kinds of stock over the entire Caucasus is as follows:

Dairy cattle: Chiefly raised in the western third of the North Caucasus. In addition to this area, dairy-cattle raising is common in the mountains of the Stavropol' Kray (especially around the health resorts), and in the Groznyy Oblast.

311 Beef cattle: Typical especially for the
231 dry areas of the North Caucasus, and for the whole of Trans-Caucasia. Areas with the most

7: Columbia U. S-4, 5 1956 RHl Caucasia
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311
231 extensive beef-cattle raising are: the Rostov Oblast, the Stavropol' Kray (in both cases the eastern parts), and the Astrakhan Oblast.

Goats: Goats are common in the South Caucasus, in the mountainous areas of the Armenian and Georgian republics. They are also bred in the mountains of the North Caucasus.

Horses: Relatively few and raised chiefly around the Lower Don, in the Kuban Lowland (Adyge AO) and in the mountainous parts of the Stavropol' Kray.

Mules, donkeys: These animals are chiefly bred in the South Caucasus, and along the slopes of the Greater Caucasus.

Camels: Are bred as transportation animals in Astrakhan' Oblast and adjacent areas.

Merino sheep: Several varieties of the Merino sheep are bred almost everywhere in the Caucasus. It is especially raised for its fine wool.

Karakul sheep: This breed of sheep native to Bukhara is bred in the Astrakhan' Oblast, in the southwestern parts of the Krasnodar Kray, and in the Armenian SSR, around Yerevan and Leninakan.

Mutton sheep: Sheep raised solely for mutton are rare in the Caucasus and are chiefly in the northern parts of the Astrakhan' Oblast.

Mutton-dairy sheep: Bred especially in the South Caucasus in the mountains of the Armenian, Georgian, Azerbaijan republics,

311
231 in Nakhichevan' ASSR, and in the area around Baku; in the North Caucasus the Stavropol' Kray is the only noteworthy area. In the southwestern parts of the Stavropol' Kray, the Karachay sheep is raised, whereas the northeastern parts prefer the Volosh sheep.

Hogs: Are raised mostly in the Western Caucasus; and sporadically in the Eastern Caucasus, although this is primarily a Muslim area.

Silkworms: Raised only in the South Caucasus, to wit, in Azerbaijan, in High Karabakh AO and in Western Georgia.

a[1].1 Dairy Cattle, Beef Cattle, Camels

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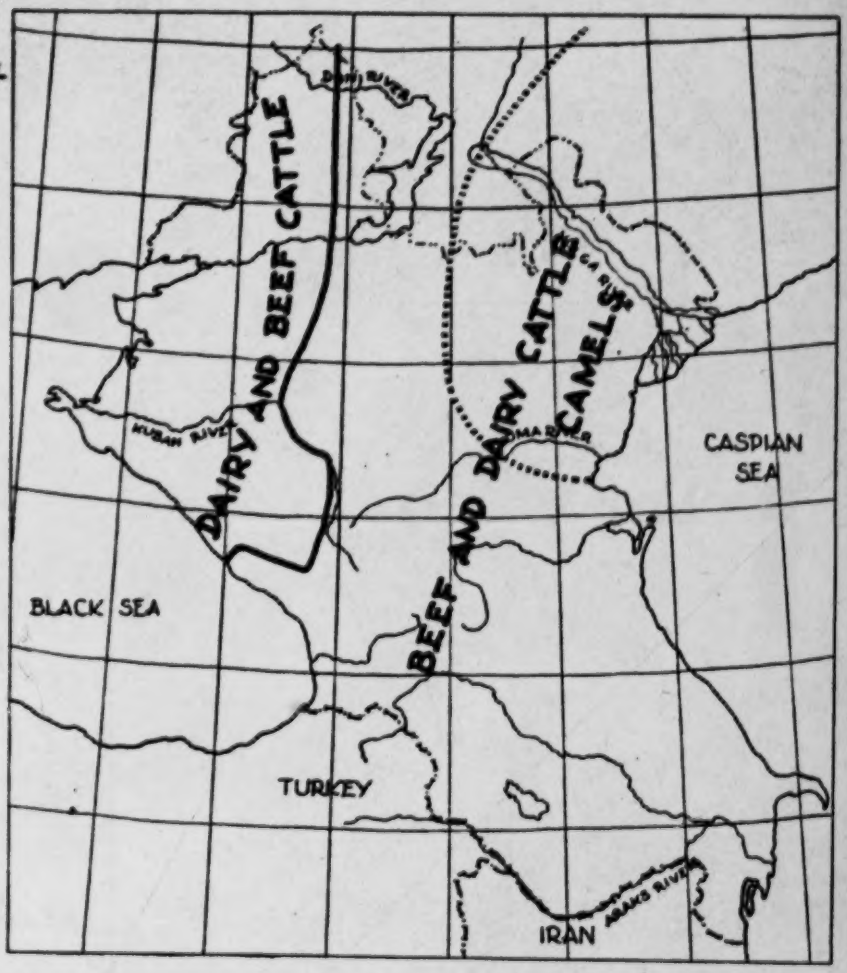

a[1].2 Merino Sheep, Karakul Sheep, Mutton Sheep, Mutton-Dairy Sheep

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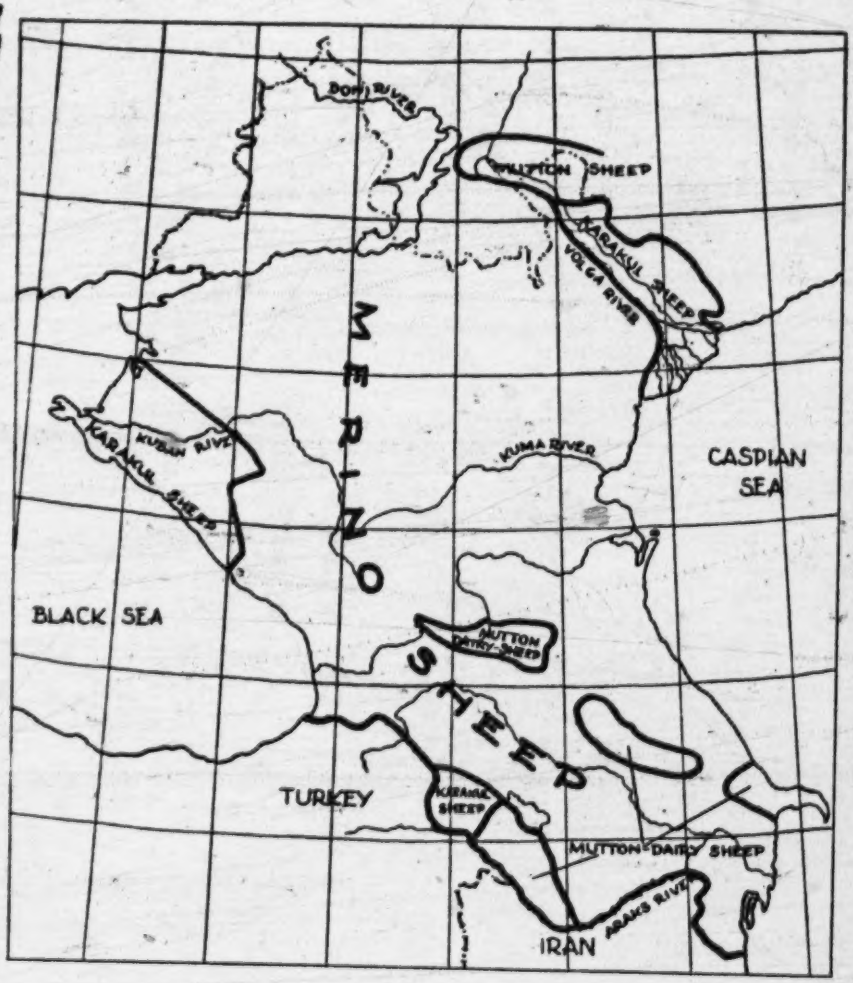

$a^1$, 3 Hogs

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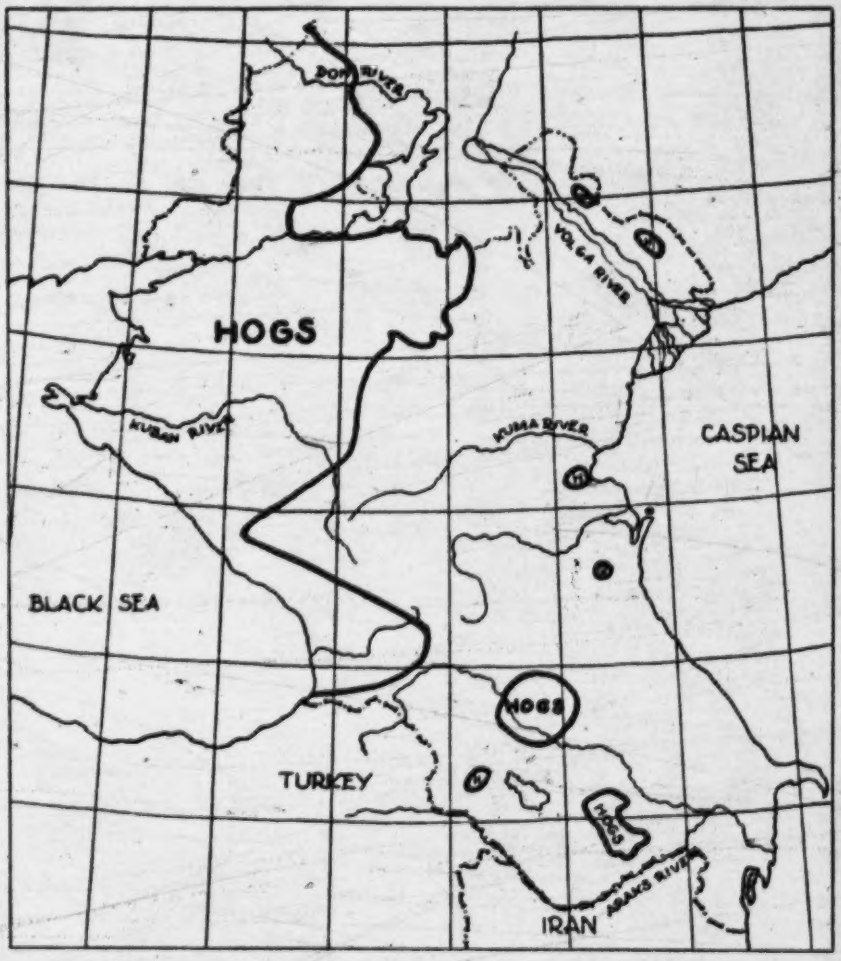

# a[1].4 Silkworms

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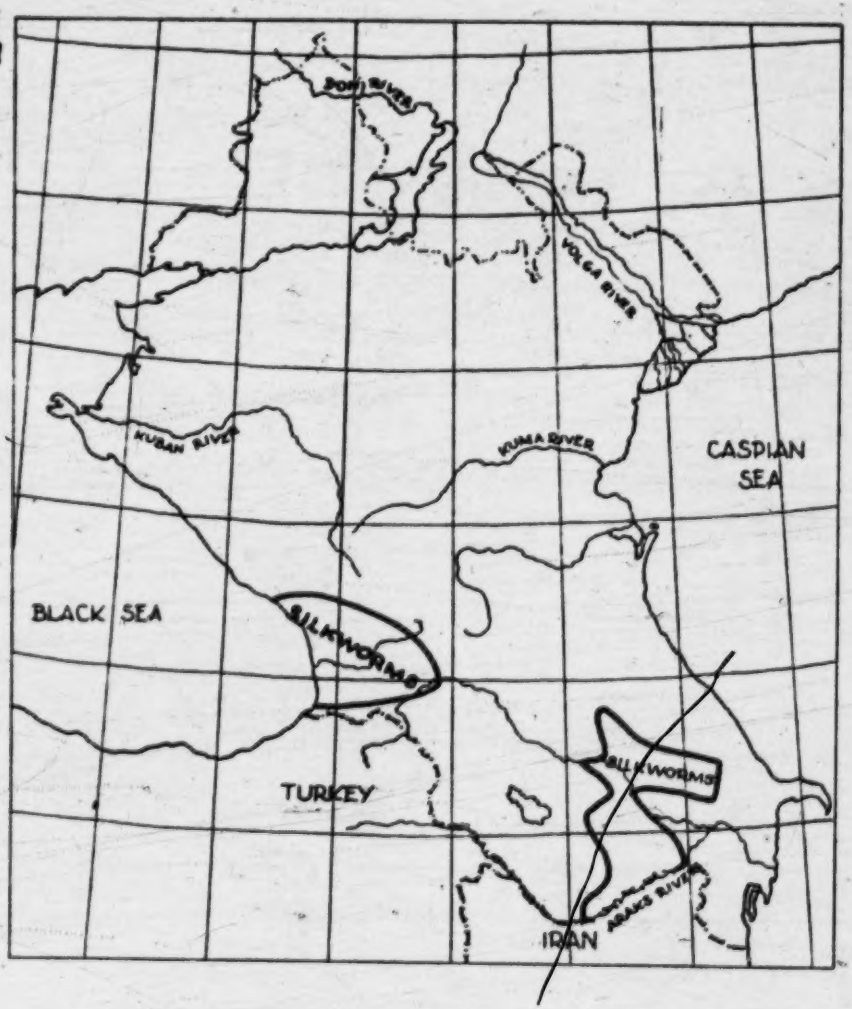

7: Columbia U. S-4, 5 1956 RHl Caucasia
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## Forestry

311 137 38 The subtropical, deciduous (oak, beech, hornbeam) or coniferous (pine, juniper) forests constitute one of the many assets of the Caucasus. The Georgian Republic and the southern sections of the Krasnodar Kray are especially rich in forests. One finds many forests in North Armenia, in West Azerbaijan on the slopes of the Lesser Caucasus, and on the Lenkoran' Lowland, which last is famous for its subtropical forests. On the northern slopes of the Greater Caucasus, in the Stavropol' Kray, in the Groznyy Oblast, and in Dagestan the forests are less dense. Here the forest area is chiefly in the mountainous parts of the various administrative units like the North Ossetian ASSR, the Groznyy Oblast, and the Dagestan ASSR. The numerous lumbering, sawmilling, woodworking and furniture plants of this area indicate an extensive exploitation rather than great forest resources. Further to the north, north of the Kuban-Terek line, forests are virtually non-existent and the lumbering industry of Astrakhan', Rostov, etc. is based on imported timber floated or transported down the Volga and Don Rivers.

311 137 Area by area, the distribution of trees is as follows:

Azerbaijan SSR: Oak prevails in the sparse forests of the Lesser Caucasus and on the lower slopes of the Greater Caucasus,

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137 while oak forests cover the western parts of the Lenkoran' Lowland. Subtropical forests (with chestnut and oak trees together) grow in the vicinity of Lenkoran'. Beech is the typical tree of the higher slopes of the Greater Caucasus.

Armenian SSR: Oak is the predominant tree in the forests of northeastern Armenia. Elsewhere, the forests are almost non-existent.

Georgian SSR: The most heavily forested area in the Caucasus. The forests of Georgia proper offer a great variety of trees. The lower parts of the Rion River valley are covered by subtropical forests (with chestnut and oak trees together), whereas in the lower part of the Kura Valley oak is the typical tree. The higher slopes of these valleys are covered with beech, whereas pine is dominant around the head waters of the Ingur and Rion Rivers. Of the sub-units the Adzhar Republic has, according to the altitude, a subtropical, a beech, and a pine zone; the Abkhaz Republic has similar zones. The forests of the South Ossetian AO are homogeneous, with beech predominating.

Astrakhan' Oblast: Almost completely treeless.

Groznyy Oblast: On the southern slopes of the Sundzha Valley oak, and at higher altitudes beech is common. The rest of the oblast is treeless.

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137 Dagestan ASSR: One finds forests only in the extreme western and eastern sections where the lower slopes are covered by oak, and the higher slopes by beech. The middle part (the valley of the Sulak River and its tributaries), and the northern sections are treeless.

Stavropol' Kray: This kray is almost treeless. Only in the southern part of the North Ossetian ASSR is there an oak zone, and at a higher altitude a beech zone.

Krasnodar Kray: The mountainous southern part and the Black Sea littoral are covered with huge forests which make the Krasnodar Kray the second most heavily forested area of the Caucasus. The northern section has oak, beech, and pine zones according to altitude. On the littoral, around Novorossiysk, oak and juniper, and around Sochi beech are predominant.

Rostov Oblast: Almost completely treeless.

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Caucasian forestry includes the following trees:

Subtropical trees: Chiefly in the Lenkoran' Lowland, on the Black Sea coast of Georgia, (from Sukhumi as far as Batumi) and around the Rion Valley.

Juniper: In the area around Novorossiysk, mostly together with oak.

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Chestnut: This tree is grown on a commercial scale in the subtropical forests of the South Caucasus. In addition to this, it is frequent in the oak forests of the Krasnodar Kray.

Oak: The oak is especially typical of the lower slopes of the Greater and Lesser Caucasus. It is the common tree of the eastern South Caucasus (Azerbaijan, Armenia). In the North Caucasus, except in the Kabardian ASSR, oak forests constitute a belt covering all the northernmost slopes of the Greater Caucasus.

Beech: This higher-altitude tree forms two belts of forests in the South Caucasus. One of them cuts through the whole South Caucasus and stretches from the Tuapse area as far as Kuba (in Azerbaijan). The other, in the Lesser Caucasus, covers the area between Batumi and Tbilisi. In the North Caucasus the beech also forms a forest belt (in three sections), which, however, is less impressive than the oak zone which it parallels.

Pine: This tree of the highest altitudes grows in the western parts of the Greater Caucasus and covers a crescent-shaped area. It occurs also at the highest points of the Adzhar Republic.

## $a^2.2$ Tree Varieties

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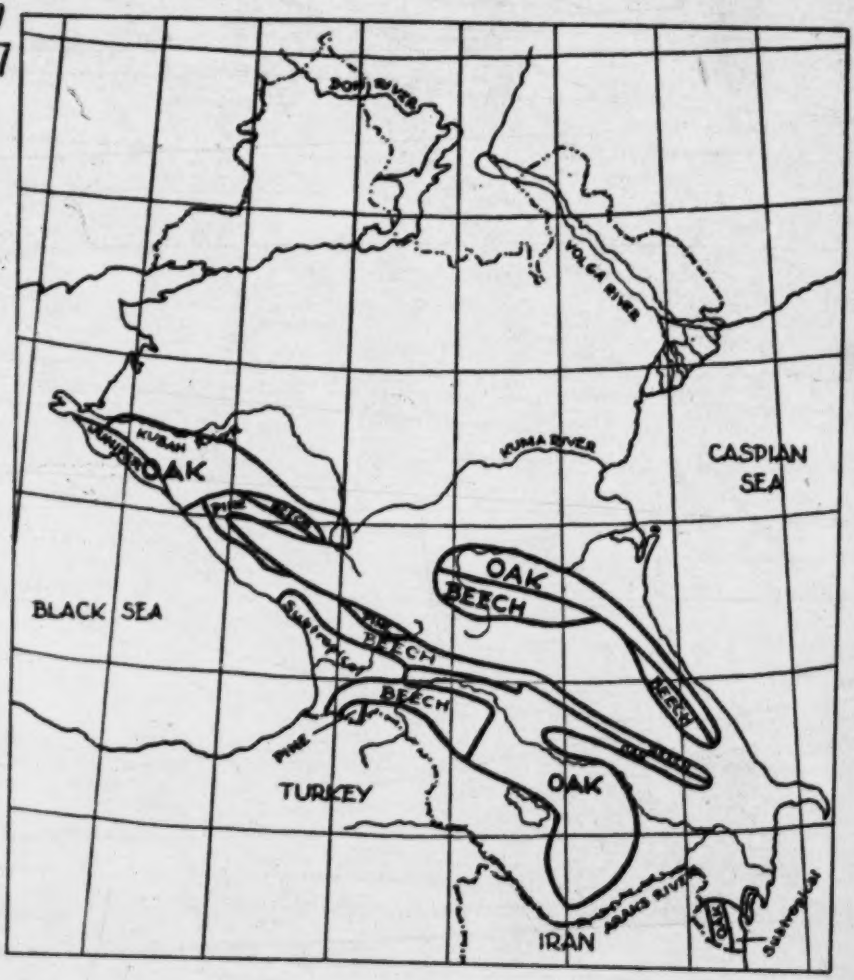
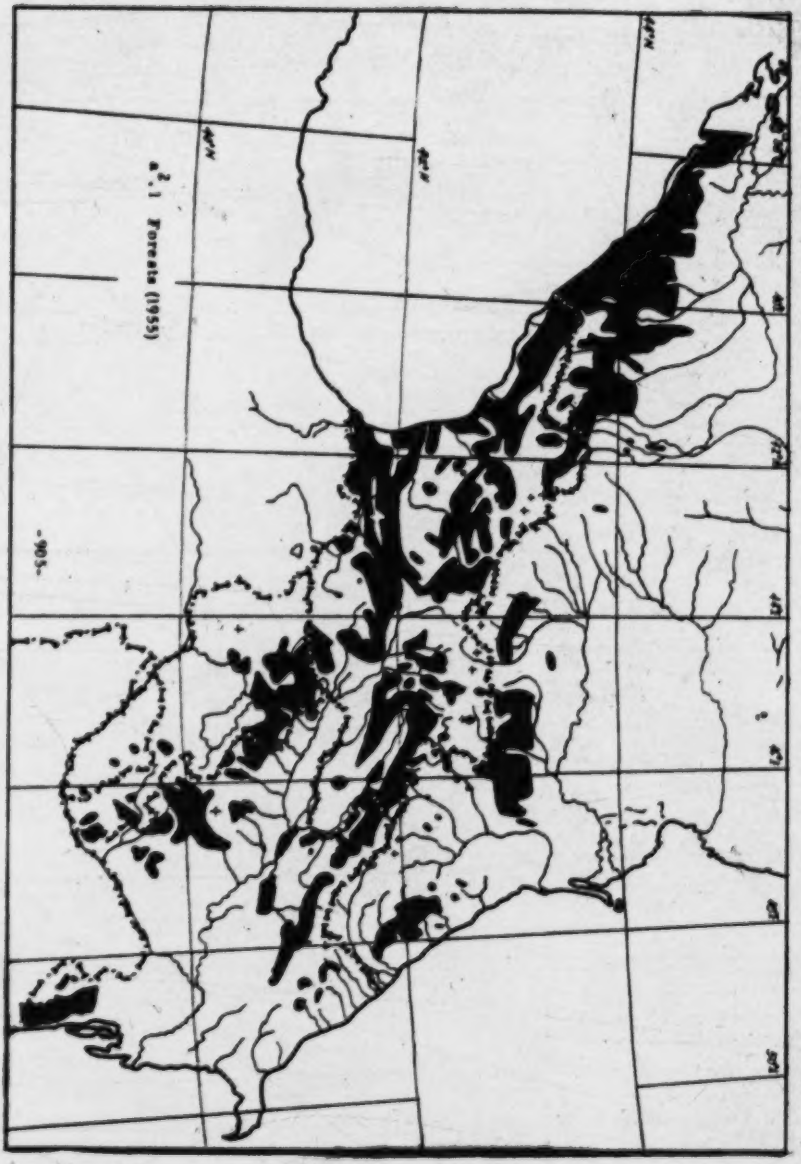


7: Columbia U. S-4, 5 1956 RH1 Caucasia RH1

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## Industrial Potential

433 The industries of the Caucasus present a complicated and uneven pattern. This is due mostly to the distribution of natural resources, but partially also to historical factors. The area is rich in power resources concentrated mostly in the southern parts of the Caucasus; the oil resources and the oil industry are of unionwide significance. Of the mineral resources, manganese and copper are the great assets though the almost complete lack of iron ore (mined only at Dashkesan) constitutes a serious weakness. Also among the important assets are the various machinery plants, which occur almost everywhere, and the series of cement mills around Novorossiysk, the food industry of the North Caucasus, and finally the fishing and fish-canning industry along the coast of the Caspian Sea.

311 433 Taking the sub-areas of the Caucasus one by one, the distribution of the various industries is as follows:

Azerbaijan SSR: The Center of the Russian oil industry; in addition to this it has the only iron mine in the entire Caucasus. The textile industry is also well-developed. The industries in general are concentrated in the Baku and Kirovabad areas. The sub-units (Nakhichevan' ASSR, High-Karabakh AO) have no industries beyond processing agricultural goods.

Armenian SSR: An area rich in manpower, but poor in natural resources. Fuels are non-existent, hence the importance of the

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recently-built hydro-electric plants. Of the industries, copper-mining and smelting, the aluminum industry, and the chemical industry (including the synthetic rubber industry) are important. Among the rural industries are the sugar industry, and the world-famous wine and cognac industry.

Georgian SSR: Rich in coal. The important coal mines of the Caucasus are all in Georgia. In addition to this, the area is very rich in hydro-electric resources. Of the mineral resources, manganese is the most important. Heavy metallurgy is represented by the ferro-manganese works of Zestafoni, and by Rustavi, the latter utilizing Georgian coal and Azeri iron. Kolkhida, the western part of the area, has only rural industry. Of the sub-units the Adzhar Republic is important for its oil-cracking plants (Batumi), and for its tobacco plants. In the Abkhaz Republic, coal-mining, lumbering, and tea-processing constitute the chief industrial activities. The industry of the South Assetian AO is based on a rural economy and on the forest resources of the area.

Astrakhan' Oblast: The fishing center of the USSR. In addition to this the area has very important salt deposits (Baskunchak) providing 1/4 of the Russian output. Sawmilling and wood-working, another important industrial activity of the area, is based on imported lumber.

Groznyy Oblast: The second largest oil-fields and oil industry of the USSR are in this area (centered around Groznyy). The capital of the Oblast is at the same time an important

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center of chemical, lumber, and food industries.

Dagestan ASSR: Area rich in various kinds of industry. The Makhachkala oilfields and oil industry, though less rich than those around Baku or Groznyy, are still of unionwide significance. Among the other industries, the metal handicrafts, the glass industry (Dagestanskie Ogni) are noteworthy. Of the food industries, fishing and fish-canning are important (centered around Makhachkala, Lopatin). The area can at the same time be considered the chief fruit-canning center of the Caucasus.

Stavropol' Kray: The industries are based chiefly on a rural economy. Flour-milling, meat-packing, and wine-producing are the most important industrial activities. Of the sub-units, the Kabardian ASSR has also rural industries and some lumbering. The two other units, the Cherkess AO and the North Ossetian ASSR, offer a greater variety of industrial activities. The Cherkess AO has besides the rural industries a chemical, a textile, and a lumbering industry. The North Ossetian ASSR is rich in hydro-electric power, disposes of considerable oil resources, and is the center of Caucasian non-ferrous metallurgy. The North Ossetian area has a developed lumbering industry as well, and its Beslan kombinat is one of the strongholds of the Caucasian food industry.

Krasnodar Kray: The chief industries of the area are oil, cement, and wine. The oil industry is connected with the oilfields of the Taman'-Belaya River area, and with the oil-refineries at Tuapse. The cement mills are

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433 located around Novorossiysk. The wine industry is also centered around Novorossiysk. The only sub-unit of the kray, the Adyge AO, is highly industrialized. The main industry is the oil industry. Of smaller importance are metallurgy and machinery, and the lumbering, food, and tobacco industries.

Rostov Oblast: Since the detachment from the oblast of the coal-mining areas, its industry consists mostly of various machinery plants concentrated at Rostov, Taganrog, and Novocherkassk.

The distribution of the various industries in the Caucasus is as follows:

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382 Oilfields, centers of oil industry: The oilfields and the oil industry arising from them are the main assets of the Caucasian economy. Of the five oilfields, two are in the South, and three in the North Caucasus. The greatest is the Baku oilfield. The importance of this oilfield is however declining; its output, which constituted 83% of the Russian output in 1913, had fallen to 48 in 1950. Due to the 85 years of exploitation, the wells are very deep and mostly on the bottom of the Caspian Sea. The output is refined mostly in the cracking plants of Baku or sent through two pipelines to Batumi. The second important oilfield of the Caucasus is located around Groznyy. The product of this oilfield furnishes mostly high-octane aviation gasoline. The Groznyy product is either processed in the cracking plants of Groznyy and Malgobek, or piped to the cracking plants of Tuapse, or to Trudovaya in the Donets Basin. The Makhachkala products, however, are refined mostly in Makhachkala itself. The fourth center

54 631 C 631 Until 1936 Transcaucasia formed a single political unit: the Transcaucasian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic, then one of the union republics of the USSR. With the promulgation of the 1936 Constitution, this federated republic was split up into its primary components based on the three principal nationalities: Armenian, Azerbaijan, and Georgian SSR's. Minor nationalities, such as Abkhaz, Adzhars, and Ossetians, are organized into lesser autonomous units such as autonomous SSR's or autonomous oblasts.

54 382 135 C 382 135 Petroleum is the most important single asset of Transcaucasia. The Baku oil region of world-wide significance is the principal petroleum producer of the USSR, furnishing more than one half the total output. Pipe lines for crude oil, kerosene, and other petroleum products lead from Baku across the entire region to Batumi on the Black Sea, next to Baku, the principal oil port and refining center of Transcaucasia. Before the Second World War the petroleum industry accounted for two fifths of all factory workers, two thirds of the use of electric energy, more than one half the industrial production, and almost two thirds of the exports of Transcaucasia. Since then, however, the creation of new industries and the increase of electric power sources have reduced the relative importance of this branch of the economy. Among the other important power resources are the coal mines of Tkibuli and Tkvarcheli in Georgia, especially the reserves of hydroelectric power, which equal the reserves of the European part of the USSR. Among the most important metal deposits are the manganese mines of Chiatura (Georgia), the second largest in the world, copper in Armenia, and iron in Azerbaijan.

54 438* C 438 Manufacturing industries are mainly devoted to the processing of the local agricultural products: fruit canning, wine-making, distilling, and cotton ginning. Azerbaijan has a well-developed textile industry, and many of the precious woods are used in wood-working plants. Heavy metallurgy is represented by the steel mills of Rustavi (Georgia) and the ferro-manganese works of Zestafoni (Georgia), and there are machinery plants in many of the large cities. Chemicals and cement are also produced.

54 311 241 C 311 241 In connection with the varied natural conditions and under the influence of the vertical zoning in the mountains, all rural economy forms are represented—from orchard farming in the irrigated sections to nomadic livestock raising in the drier areas. The land is divided according to usability as follows: one fifth is arid, due to the presence of rocks, sands, or marshes; another fifth is forested; more than one third is

23: Shabad N-4 (no date) 1951 Rl Soviet Union Rl
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Azerbaijan RK2



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pasture land, including the dry lowland steppe areas (used in the winter) and the mountain meadows (used in the summer). Only one fourth of the total area is under cultivation. The principal crops are garden fruits (apples, pears, apricots, peaches, plums, chestnuts, walnuts, and almonds) and subtropical products such as tea and citrus fruits along the Black Sea coast. Sericulture and viticulture are also important. Transcaucasia is the second most important cotton producer of the USSR; the principal cotton areas are in the dry, gray-soil lowlands of the Aras and the Kura, where the most extensive irrigation systems have been developed. In Abkhazia tobacco is grown, and the flooded lowlands of eastern and southern Transcaucasia are suitable for the cultivation of rice. Grains are subordinated in favor of the more specialized industrial and subtropical crops. Livestock is generally driven over great distances, from the winter pastures in the dry steppes to the mountains, where the Alpine meadows furnish excellent summer fodder. This nomadic type of livestock raising is gradually making way for more intensive, sedentary methods, since the dry steppes are gradually being irrigated, and large areas are coming under fodder crops. Sheep and cattle form the principal herds. Horses are few, and they are replaced partly by water buffaloes (for farm work) and partly by camels, mules, and donkeys (for transportation).

SU 231 C 231

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The basic railroads are the Batumi-Baku line, with a large number of branches and spurs, including the coastal railways along the Black and the Caspian seas, and the southern branch, which links Tbilisi and Baku via Dzhul'fa and the Aras valley. The Transcaucasian railway system provides connections with the Turkish rail network at Leninakan, and from Dzhul'fa a line goes south to Tabriz (Iran), with an ultimate extension to Tehran. Most of the lines have been electrified or are in process of electrification. Transportation in the higher sections has to rely on highways, among which the Sukhumi, the Ossetian, and the Georgian military roads across the Greater Caucasus range are most noteworthy. Due to the mountainous character of the river courses, inland navigation is negligible.

## Azerbaijan Soviet Socialist Republic

**Capital, Baku; area, 33,100, population, 3,100,000**

SU 133x A 133

The Azerbaijan (or Azerbaydzhan) SSR lies in the eastern section of Transcaucasia, on the Caspian Sea. It includes the southeastern spurs of the Greater Caucasus, which terminates in the Apsheron peninsula,

3: Anonymous U-4 (no date) 1920 RH1 Caucasia RH1



and east the steppes towards the Caspian and the 133
Kuma-Manych depression are barren and stony or sandy.

*Coasts*

The coast of Ciscaucasia is flat, and the only ports [504]
worth noting are Anapa, Temryuk, and Yeisk. The Ciscaucasian shores of the Caspian Sea are surrounded by steppes and are flat throughout. They are formed chiefly of the alluvial land of the deltas of the rivers Terek and Kuma.

*River System*

The rivers of Ciscaucasia rise in the central Caucasus. There are three river basins, corresponding with the three administrative divisions.

The River *Kuban* rises on the northern side of Mount Elbruz. It is formed by the Khursuk and the Uchkulan, which unite at Uchkulan. It retains its character as a mountain stream until it enters the plain at Batalpashinsk, at a height of 1,075 ft. The middle course extends from the Cossack settlement of Nevinnomysk as far as Ekaterinodar. The river bed is wide, but the river itself is a mere streamlet except in times of flood. After the Kuban turns definitely westward the fall is only about 20 inches in a mile.

The largest tributary of the Kuban is the Laba [312]
(200 miles), a canal from which at Chamlik irrigates several thousand acres of steppe land. Another large tributary is the Byelaya (150 miles). The Kuban flows by many mouths, forming several islands and *limans* (marshy lagoons), into the Gulf of Kyzyltash. The river is frozen from December to March. In the lower part of its course inundations are frequent, and the district is marshy.

The *Terek* (382 miles) rises on the slopes of Mount Kazbek at Zilga-Khokh, and pierces the mountain range by the Dariel gorge, which it leaves at Vladikav-

3: Anonymous U-4 (no date) 1920 RH1 Caucasia RH1



Caucasus, in 1913 there were 803. Agricultural methods were taught in some of the industrial schools. There were experimental botanical gardens, subsidized by the State, at Tiflis and Batum, and a sericultural station. The grants made by the Caucasian Board of Agriculture for the promotion of rural industries in 1913 amounted to £100,000, an advance of 50 per cent. on the sum granted in the previous year. Of this total £61,000 was allocated to research, £2,000 to improvement of live-stock, and £5,000 to grants in aid to agricultural societies.

In 1913 a commission of agriculturists appointed by the Viceroy of the Caucasus recommended that all educational and experimental institutions should be brought under the Board of Agriculture, and that a permanent commission should be formed to control and initiate such institutions, to organize the supply of information, and to compile statistics.

Partly on account of labour difficulties (see p. 50) there was an increasing demand for agricultural machinery, but better methods of cultivation were simultaneously being introduced.

Extensive *irrigation* schemes had been carried out and others were in contemplation. At Chamlik, a canal from the Laba, the largest tributary of the Kuban, irrigates several thousand acres of steppe land. There is an irrigation canal near Tiflis. In 1906, 62,100 acres of land in the Mughan steppe were reclaimed, at a cost to the State of £31,000; 14 villages were planted, and land which had been practically worthless yielded about £4 an acre. In 1913 the Irrigation Board set up a modulation section to test the rise and fall of water for irrigation purposes in the Karayaz experimental fields and the Mughan steppe. The irrigation of the Mughan steppe was completed and the adjoining Mil steppe was made fertile by means of the Romanov Irrigation Canal, which was opened in 1914; in this year a large barrage was under construction at Saalti, and was to have been completed by 1915. A total of 190,000 acres on the Mughan had been reclaimed,

3: Anonymous U-4 (no date) 1920 RH1 Caucasia RH1



312 and 20,000 settlers planted. These improvements had cost £425,000 up to 1914. The water for irrigation was to be obtained chiefly by controlling the rivers Aras and Kura, which in their lower reaches overflow their banks and form permanent marshes. The question of the regulation of all the principal rivers of the country was being officially studied.

### (c) *Forestry*

137 [68] The total area of forest land in Caucasia cannot be stated with certainty. The extent of the forests under the control of the Ministry of Forests was 12,218,000 acres, or about 11 per cent. of the total area of the country and rather more than half of its cultivated area. Kasperowicz[1] puts the total at 16,000,000 acres, and specifies as being favourably situated for commercial exploitation, 1,372,000 acres in Tiflis and Zakatali, 1,008,000 in Elisavetopol, 863,000 in Chernomoria, 807,000 in Kuban, 705,000 in Terek, 647,000 in Batum, 453,000 in Kutais, and 417,000 in Sukhum. The largest tracts of virgin forest are to be found on the mountain slopes of the Black Sea coast; there is a large forest north of Lake Gokcha, and another in the east of Elisavetopol Government; the middle course of the Kura is wooded throughout, and there are considerable forests in the Armenian Highlands. The best exploited forests in Transcaucasia are those in the Ateni valley near Gori, in the Adzhamer valley near Rion, and at Borzhom—all to the west of Tiflis or the east of Kutais.

The trees include walnut, box, beech, oak, birch, Caucasus palm, wych-elm, pine, alder, &c., of which the first five are the most valuable. The walnut and [439] box tree grow extensively in Transcaucasia; their timber formed a valuable article of export, but the quantities exported are declining, since the remaining walnut forests are remote from railways, and the boxwood is being held back to await more favourable

[1] Raffalovich, *Russia: its Trade and Commerce*, p. 94.

5: Allen H-4 (no date) 1923 RH1 Caucasia RH1



and at Delijan, Kazakh, Sagali, Saifalu, and elsewhere in the Government of Elisavetpol. 135

(2) In the Chorokh Basin, the whole length of which is believed to contain rich deposits of ore, the British Caucasus Copper Co. has worked the Dzanzul mine, south of Borchka. In 1912 the production from this mine was 40,000 tons of ore and 3,000 tons of copper, but in the following year the output was disappointing. In the same region Siemens Brothers had begun operations at the Khvartshana mine. 316 471

(3) In the Zangezur region difficulties of transport have prevented adequate exploitation, but work has been undertaken by native firms, notably at Synik, Barabatum and Katar. Other considerable deposits are believed to exist in the Rion Valley round Telav and Zakatali, in the Sukhum district and along the Ossetian Military Road.

*Iron* has been little exploited in the Caucasus, but deposits have been prospected at Khamuli in Kutais, Chachak in Tiflis, on the banks of the Bzib near Sukhum, at Veden in Chechnia, in the Maikop district, and near Lenkoran. 135 316

There are deposits of *lead* and *zinc* ore at Sadon, near Vladikavkaz, in the neighbourhoods of Sukhum and Gori, in the Government of Elisavetpol, near Mozdok and Artvin, and elsewhere, but little exploitation has been undertaken. Deposits of *mercury*, *molybdenum*, *antimony*, *iron pyrites*, *cobalt* and *nickel*, and also small quantities of *gold* and *silver* exist, and would probably repay exploitation.

*Non-Metals.*—*Coal* is exploited in the Caucasus only at the mines of Tkhvibuli in the Government of Kutais, where the annual production for 1911–15 averaged about 5,000 tons. Much of it however was of poor quality. Rich deposits have been prospected at Tkvartcheli, in the Government of Sukhum, and another field has been located near Olti in the Government of Kars.

Deposits of *baryta* have been worked in the Government of Kutais; *asbestos* is produced at Shorapan and elsewhere in Kutais; *sulphur* abounds in the Government of Erivan; *salt* is produced in considerable quantities in the Governments of Baku, Erivan, Kars, and Daghestan; there are *bitumen*-beds on the Black Sea coast; *emery* is found at Kara-Bulakh; fine *lithographic stone* is obtainable at Amlivi, near Tiflis, and *pumice-stone* near Kars; *mica* and *graphite* also exist.

*Mineral Springs.*—The Caucasus is celebrated for its mineral springs, and before the Revolution many thousands of Russians, and even invalids from Western Europe, visited the health- 312 529

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giving waters. In the Northern Caucasus Essentuki, Piatigorsk, Kislovodsk and Zhelesnovodsk were the favourite resorts. In Transcaucasia Borjom, in the Government of Tiflis, an appanage of the Grand Duke Nicholas Nicholaevich, was the most popular resort, and its waters, rich in carbonic acid and comparable with those of Vichy, were exported to Russia, Western Europe and America—in 1913 to the amount of 9,000,000 bottles.

At Abas-Tuman, 40 miles from Borjom, and at Tiflis are hot baths, efficacious for the cure of skin diseases, nervous diseases, rheumatism, etc. Some of the springs contain the same qualities as Cauterets and Barèges in France, and Baden in Austria, while the climate of Abas-Tuman attracts consumptive patients.

Tskhalkubo, near Kutais, possesses warm springs whose radio properties are declared to be equal to those of Teplitz-Schönau in Bohemia. For this resort is prophesied an important future as soon as the nature of the waters is more widely known, and ordered conditions make it accessible to the timid invalids of Western Europe and America.

*Petroleum* (1) The Baku Fields.—The Baku area has hitherto been the most productive source of Caucasian oil. The older oil-fields lie in the Apsheron Peninsula—Balakhani, Sabunchi, Romani, Bibi-Ebyat and Zabrat—while there is a more recently discovered field at Surakhani. The outlying district of Benagadi and Holy and Cheleken Islands in the Caspian, are also worked by the Baku firms. The Baku fields had been exploited since ancient times, and from 1813 some attempt had been made by the Russians to develop their potentialities. An onerous concession system, however, discouraged private enterprise, and when, in the middle of the nineteenth century, a universal demand for crude-oil was created, the fields still remained almost untouched, and Russia became dependent on oil imported from America. In 1872 the concession system was at last abolished, and State participation in the profits was ensured by the imposition of an excise duty. Later, the nascent industry was further assisted by the imposition of a duty on oil imported into Russia.

In 1873 the Swedish Nobel Brothers commenced to bore in the Apsheron fields, and in the following years many foreign groups, principal of which were the French Rothschilds, obtained concessions. In 1908 the prosperity of the Baku fields reached its zenith, and in that year the Caucasian oil-fields together produced 22 per cent. of the world's output. Between 1908 and 1911, however, there took place a serious decrease, the output falling from nearly 7,500,000 metric tons in 1908 to just over 5,000,000 metric tons in 1911.

*133 Black Sea basin. This line constitutes a watershed between the Caspian and the Black Sea basins, determining the course of the rivers streaming from the Caucasus towards the north into two natural groups: the eastern one constituting the Caspian, the western one the Black Sea drainage system.

## Rivers of Dagestan

To the Caspian drainage system belong all the rivers of Dagestan and those of the central Caucasus, which belong to the tributaries of the T'erek. In Dagestan we have, from south to north, the river systems of the Kuba plains, which are numerous little streams named after the inhabited places situated on their banks; for instance, the two larger ones are the Kubinka, on whose bank the city of Kuba is situated, and the Kusar or Kusari-Chai, north of the Kubinka, on which is the town of Kusari, in the northeast foothills of the Caucasus, where this river enters the plain of Kuba. South of Derbent, midway between it and the Kusar, the Samur river, which constitutes the southern frontier of Dagestan and the expansion of the Dagestanian peoples, streams in a huge semi-circle, first to the south and southeast, and then to the east and northeast, to the Caspian Lake.

*133 312 The uneven distribution of water, either seasonal or due to insufficiency, found with the many small streams running down to the

*133 plains of Kusari and Kuba in almost parallel
• 312 courses between the estuary of the Samur and the Kyzyl-Burun ("Red Cape"), has now been regulated by the Samur-Divichi Canal. This canal starts from the lower Samur at a point about 30 km. from the coast, and runs in a southeasterly direction, first at an elevation of between 200 and 300 meters above zero; then, at a point about 25 km. east of Kuba, it gradually descends to lower levels. Near the town of Kyzyl-Burun it joins the sea, having a total length of about 110 km. In this way, water of the Samur can be used in the fertile Kusari-Kuba plains at periods when the water supplied by the smaller streams of that area is diminished or even absent. According to most recent information the Samur-Divichi Canal is being extended beyond Kyzyl-Burun to Apsheron, in order to feed a large reservoir in that arid
*133 area (Dr. Theodore Shabad, orally). The Samur has its sources in the High Caucasus between the two main ridges in the area northwest of Mt. Bazar-Düzü and north of Mt. Magi-Dagh. In the close vicinity of the sources of the Samur, the source of a river system of central Dagestan is found, generally called the system of the Koisu (in Turkic "sheep river"), which has a large drainage system from the northern slopes of the Alakhun-Dagh to the eastern slopes of the Diklos-Mt'a. Here four source rivers are distinguished, three of them called Koisu. The eastern one, which has its sources on the northern slope of the Alakhun-Dagh, is the Koisu of Djumakh; the next one to

*133 The third river is the Yegorlyk. It has its sources in the Southern part of the Stavropol' plateau near Mt. Strizhament and the Kuban valley. It receives most of its tributaries from the right, i.e. northwest, slopes of the Stavropol' plateau. It falls into the western Manych between Lake Manych-Gudilo and the water reservoir slightly west of the intersection of Manych and 42nd E. meridian. Southwest of [312] the city of Stavropol', a canal has been built connecting the Kuban and the Yegorlyk, making use of the subsidence of the flat range of the plateau between Nadzornyi on the Kuban and Sengileyevskaia on the Yegorlyk.

The drainage systems of the Yegorlyk and Kuban, and another one between these two, belong to that of the Black Sea.

The entire portion north of the Manych, particularly the western part, i.e., west of the low, hilly Yergeni range, whose eastern declivity is relatively steep while the western is very flat and subsides smoothly towards the west, belongs to the drainage system of the lower Don which, for a length of about 200 km. between Kalach in the northeast and Tsymliansk in the southwest, has been converted into an extensive artificial lake called the Tsymliansk Sea. A number of small water courses of this region flow into the Tsymliansk Sea. The only larger one is the Sal, which flows into the Don between the estuaries of the Donets and the Manych. The Sal has two source rivers,

*133 Alazani-Kura confluent, the Kura has almost exclusively right, i.e., southern, tributaries from the northeastern slopes of the Anti-Caucasus. About 20 km. below Tiflis and before the Khrami confluent, the Kura supplies an area of about 130 km. with irrigation water.

South of Tiflis, the tributaries Khrami, Debet, and Akstafa constitute the drainage of the Trans-Caucasian plateaus and of the mountains east of the Djavakhetian range and north of the Sevan; the tributaries flowing south of the above are the drainage system of the northeastern and northern slopes of the Sevan range (Shah-Dagh and Murov-Dagh) and of the northern, higher portion of the plateau of High Karabakh. Among these rivers the Shamkhor-Chai, Ganja-Chai (so called after the famous old Azerbaidjanian cities of Shamkhor and Gandja--now Kirovabad--near or through which they flow), and Terter should be mentioned. As soon as the latter enters the plains near the town of Mir-Bashir, it branches off in several courses which serve as natural irrigation systems. The little rivers streaming down from the northeastern slopes of the outer border range of Karabakh do not reach the Kura or Araxes at present; they are exhausted in the
*133 plains right near the foothills. The southern
•312 rivers are interconnected by a long canal system supplying the area with natural irrigation. This system starts a few minutes north of lat. 40° N., and is drawn in a southeasterly direction towards the Araxes, from which an

*133 additional amount of water is derived, since
•312 the above-mentioned rivers are weak and seasonally dry.

*133 The natural southeast borders of the Kara-Yazy and the Shirak steppes are the valleys of Kura and Alazani. A few kilometers before it empties into the Kura, the Alazani receives the Iori or Iora from the right, i.e. northwest; this river flows through the valley separating the two flat, oblong, hilly ranges of the Kara-Yazy and the Shirak steppes. The Iora has its sources south of the Tebulos-Mt'a massif, and streams down the valley between the K'art'alinian and the Kakhet'ian ranges. On the latitude of Tiflis, it turns southeast and from there on continues in a direction roughly parallel to that of the Kura. In its upper course the Iori has a few small tributaries, but loses them as soon as it runs between the two steppes, i. e., roughly from the latitude of Tiflis on.

The Alazani has its sources on the southern slopes of the southern main range of the Caucasus in the immediate vicinity of the sources of the Andi-Koisu, whose largest source river, south of the Tebulos-Mt'a massif, is likewise called Alazani. Around lat. 42° N. it receives a few small tributaries from the west and southwest, coming from the Kakhet'ian range; where the latter subsides and goes over into the flat, hilly range of the Shirak steppe, the tributaries of the Alazani

#133 come almost exclusively from the southern slopes of the Great Caucasus. The majority of these numerous but short tributaries meet the Alazani at a right angle. The upper part of the Alazani is the country of Kakhet'ia, famous for its excellent wines, such as Napareuli, T'elavi, and Tsinandali. The Alazani streams in a southeasterly direction through a valley situated between the flat elevation of the Shirak steppe and the foothills of the Great Caucasus until it receives the Aghry-Chai (or Agiri-Chai), encountering it from exactly the opposite direction, since in this part of the valley there is a slight acclivity towards the southeast. Thus the Alazani turns in a southward direction through a subsidence in the flat range of the Shirak steppe, so that it unites with the Iori and the main river.

At the point of the Alazani-Iori-Kura confluent, the river is not more than 200 m. above the level of the Caspian Sea, at a straight distance of 300 km. from the estuary; thus, the river on this insignificant declivity has a tendency to form many curves and swamps
•[312] and to change its course. Below the Alazani-Kura confluent near the town of Mingechaur the river has been dammed up into the Mingechaur water reservoir, which is to serve as
[377] a hydroelectric station and was put into operation in 1954. It may also be used for irrigation, as well as river regulation purposes.

*133 the south, the Kyzyl-Chai ("Red River"), streams down from the border mountains between Turkey and Persian Azerbaidjan, northwest and north of the Lake of Urmia, into the Araxes.

There have been epochs, and those during times of human history, when the Araxes had a separate estuary south of that of the Kura in the Gulf of Kyzyl-Aghach. In Stieler's Handatlas a branch of the Araxes is indicated as diverting near the village of Agha-Khanly, where the Persian boundary line retreats from the Araxes river to cut in a southeasterly direction across the Mughan steppe towards the foothills of the Talysh Mountains, as the foothills of the Alburz are called here. This branch empties into a small delta in the Kyzyl-Aghach Gulf. The Russian Atlases of 1954 show this branch, as well as several others, and the upper branches, one of which is found at an elevation between zero and 100 m., the rest of them being within the Caspian Depression, i.e., below zero. Some of the lower branches finally take a northeasterly course and unite with the Kura about
*133 50 km. from the sea. The upper branches
• 312 have been used for the Azizbekov canal system, which can be considered the southeastern continuation of the Ordzhonikidze Canal and irrigation system situated before the eastern foothills of High Karabakh. This serves for

*133 the irrigation of the southwestern portion of
• 312 the Mughan steppe as well as for purposes of
river regulation to prevent inundations,
swamp formation, and the unnecessary waste
*133 of water. Partly as a result of this, the salty
lakes of Ak-Chala, as well as the Gulf of
Kyzyl-Aghach itself, have shrunk considerably.
In the Russian Atlases of 1954 there are two
smaller lakes now indicated, a southern one—
Mahmūd-Chala—and a northern one, given as
Ak-Chala, and no branch of the Araxes is
shown as flowing into the Kyzyl-Aghach Gulf.
It would seem, moreover, that the Akusha,
the old western estuary of the Kura, branch-
ing off near the town of Salyany and emptying
into the Kyzyl-Aghach Gulf, is now receiving
waters from the Bolghar-Chai, draining the
northeastern valleys of the Talysh Mountains,
and the Azizbekov Canal; and this is mainly
being used for the irrigation of the southeast-
ern extremity of the Trans-Caucasian part of
the Caspian Depression. As a further conse-
quence of the shrinking of the Kyzyl-Aghach
Gulf, the formerly very small island of Sara,
about 10 km. long, off the coast a few minutes
south of lat. 39° N., is now seen as a long
island extending for about 50 km. from south
to north, taking up considerable space in the
western portion of the former gulf (the new
gulf is named after Kirov, Zaliv im. Kirova).
This reduction of the Kyzyl-Aghach Gulf is pro-
bably not only due to the alluvial deposits of

*/33 during the year 1876; at that time, rocks were thrown as far as Cape Alyat [Alet] on lat. 40° N. on the continent. In this region, the water is often disturbed by submarine volcanic activity, just as near the peninsula of Cheleken, on the opposite shore, south-southwest of Krasnovodsk; and now and then [315] the sea is polluted by naphtha. In the northern part of this region, closer to Baku, near the town of Bibi Eybat, a number of oil derricks stand in the sea. At a distance of 45 km. due east of the Shakhova Kosa (in Turkish, Cape Sarsy-Burun), the southernmost tip of Apsheron, a number of shallow naphtha-ejecting areas, the so-called naphtha banks, are situated under water. These are at present the most important oil wells, known as the Neftyanye Kamni.

## Mineral Springs

•312 As a rule, volcanic areas are rich in sources of mineral water. One of the areas most abundant in mineral springs of various compositions is found in the Besh-Tau ("Five Mountains") area, north-northeast of the Elbrus massif. The mineral sources in this area are undoubtedly a consequence of the volcanic activity in this region and therefore probably connected with the origin of the famous Lakkoliths, with their liparitic cones. In the region of Mt. Besh-Tau, an almost

312 unlimited number of hot springs is found. As early as the first half of the 14th century, the Besh-Tau was visited as a summer resort as well as for medical purposes by Khans and Grandees of the Golden Horde; from the 18th century on it has been attracting Russian visitors. The springs well up from lines of fracture which exhibit an intricate system running across the area in a generally northeast-southwesterly direction, in part also parallel to the axis of the Caucasus system. The temperature of the springs differs according to local conditions. The hottest ones are the natro- and theio-thermal springs of Pyatigorsk, which arise at the foot of Mt. Mashuk at an elevation of 600 m., with a temperature of 45.4° C. At the foot of the Goriachaia gora ("hot mountain") warm sulphur springs are found which have a temperature of 24° C, with a mineral content of 7 °/oo, i.e., 7 g. per liter, and a particularly strong radioactivity (of more than 500 Mach units). The famous and unique Narzan spring (in Kabarda, "spring of the giants") of Kislovodsk, has a maximal content of carbonic acid, and has, as it leaves the soil at an elevation of 920 m, a temperature of only 14°C; while the springs at Yessentuki at an elevation of 650 m, are at 15.6° C. Having

• 312 their origin in different geological strata, these springs do not exhibit any interrelation between absolute elevation and temperature.

Among the springs of Mineral'nye Vody ("mineral waters"), there are three with a temperature above that of the body, two at 45° C. and one at 55° C. Among the northern group of cold springs there is one which has a very high degree of radioactivity. The situation in Pyatigorsk is similar: one of the most powerful springs has a temperature of 42.2° C and a mineralization of 4.34 g per l. of water (4.34‰). Another spring near Mt. Proval has a temperature of 48.5° C and a mineralization of 4.4 g. per l. (i.e., 4.4‰). In addition, there are sulphurous radioactive warm springs.

The springs of Yessentuki are chiefly of two kinds: alkaline springs containing carbonic acid and iron, and magnesium springs containing sulphurous calcium. One of these springs yields a mineralization of 9 g. of dry residue per l., or 9 ‰. The springs of Yessentuki are equivalent in composition and therapeutic value to those of Ems, Vichy, and Karlsbad, but they possess a greater salt content.

The waters of Zheleznovodsk ("iron waters"), situated 14 km. southwest of Mineral'nye Vody, on the northern slope of

312 Mt. Besh-Tau and the southern slope of a lower Lakkolith mountain, the Zheleznaya ("iron one"), spring from the intrusive rocky layers around the Zheleznaya. There are about 20 warm and cold springs, with temperatures ranging from 15.5° to 55° C, of alkaline-salino-tellurian composition, with a considerable content of carbonic acid, whereas their iron content is very small, not exceeding 5 mg. per 1. The springs of Zheleznovodsk combine the qualities of those of Karlsbad and Wildungen.

132 Apart from its wealth of mineral waters of the most various types the entire Besh-Tau area possesses an ideal climate. The average temperature is that of Switzerland and the central Alps but the insolation is more vigorous. The area is protected against northern winds and the humidity is low. It is therefore one of the most healthful spots in the world. The Besh-Tau area has a great number of clear days during the year, so that the higher peaks always afford a most magnificent view of Mt. Elbrus and neighboring peaks of the central Caucasus.

312 In the Groznyi area, well known for its oil wells and the corresponding industry, the hot springs of Goriachevodsk — "hot waters" — now Goriacheistochnenskaya — should be mentioned. They are situated at 212 m. above sea level, 15 km. north of Groznyi, near Staryi Yurt. The temperature of the springs approaches the boiling point, being 80° - 81° and 92° - 95° C. The springs contain only a small

• 312 percentage of sulphur and other minerals. They are very voluminous and are enveloped in clouds of steam as they fall in cascades from an elevation of 30 m. into artificial bathing pools, in which the water remains almost at body temperature. Goriachevodsk belongs to the zone of arid climate. 50 km. west of Groznyi on the railroad, the mineral water area of Sernovodsk ("sulphur waters") and Sleptsovsk (now Ordzhonikidzevskaia) is found. Near Sernovodsk, sulphurous warm springs with an average temperature of 56° C. are located, while the temperature of the Sleptsovsk group is around 30° C. South of these is an area of ferrous springs with a temperature of 28° C., and still farther south, one with cool alkaline springs.

In the vicinity of a naphtha area also are found the hot springs of the northwestern Caucasus. Among them should be mentioned those of Goriachi Klyuch ("hot well"), on the Psekups, on lat. 44° 37' N., in the foothills of the Caucasus. These are hot, sulphurous springs with temperatures ranging from 41-56° C., salt (sodium chloride) springs with a temperature of 18° C., and ferrous springs at 14° C.

About 6 km. east of Sochi on the Black Sea coast, Matsesta is located, famous for its sulphur springs. The waters of these springs are said to be the only ones in the world possessing so high a saturation of sulphurous hydrogen, and to exceed by 100 times the water of the famous ancient sulphurous springs of

312 Brusa (in Bithynia, Northwest Anatolia), or those of Aachen (Kaiserquelle). The temperature of the springs is 21.8° to 24.8° C.

Of the mineral springs of Trans-Caucasia, those of Elisu ("fifty waters") on the Kurmukh (or Kara-) Chai River, 30 km. north-northeast of the ancient town of Nukha, may be mentioned here; these are voluminous hot alkaline, sulphurous springs with temperatures from 38°-42° C.

The Talysh Mountains also have their mineral springs. The only ones used so far for medicinal purposes are those of Andja or Andjinsk resp., 12 km. west of Lenkoran. The latter is situated in a most insalubrious, fever-ridden area extending along the Caspian coast. Andja is located just on the borderline between the Tertiary-Tuffogeneous and the Miocene area; the mineral springs are of the same composition as those of Aachen and Pyatigorsk.

Another region rich in mineral waters is Georgia. About 100 springs of differing volume and composition are known in the territory of Georgia. The most remarkable areas are those of Borzhomi, Bakuriani, and Abast'umani, situated on the upper Kura river in the Adjaro-Imeret'ian and T'rialetian ranges. This is an area of exquisite natural beauty and ideal climate. The region of and around Abast'umani, situated on the southern slopes of the Adjaro-Imeret'ian range south of the Zekari Pass,

•312 over which a road leads northward to Kutaisi, is protected against all cold winds and is on the latitude of 41° 40' at an elevation of 1250-1340 m. This region has natural endowments far superior to Davos and other health resorts of Switzerland. Abastumani has three acrothermal springs; their temperatures are 48.2° C., 43.2° C., and 40° C., for the anti-scrophulosis spring. There are a few sulphurous springs higher in the mountains and near the pass, 4 km. from the village of Zekari.

Borzhomi is situated at an elevation of 810 m. approximately in the center of the Kura valley, which is the subsidence between the Adjaro-Imeretian and the Trialetian ranges. The northernmost projection of the vast volcanic andesite and basalt area in the northern portion of the Anti-Caucasus reaches the Kura valley at Borzhomi, and extends a few kilometers further down the valley. As a health resort with mineral springs, Borzhomi was known as early as the 12th century, during the great flourishing of the Georgian kingdom. The alkaline springs rich in carbonic dioxide are of the same type as those of Vichy, with the possible difference that the Borzhomi water possesses a greater radioactivity.

At a distance of only 10 km. east-southeast of Borzhomi in the volcanic andesite and basalt area, mineral springs are found at the little health resort of Tsagveri (1032 m. above sea level); among them there is a cold,

●3/2 calcareous, ferrous spring. About 7 km. farther to the southeast at an elevation of 1680 m., the health resort of Bakuriani is situated, with alkaline sulphurous mineral springs of a temperature of 32° C. located in the area near the town of Ts'ikhis-Djvari ("fortress hill"). Thirteen kilometers southwest of Bakuriani, the extinct volcano of Ts'khra-Tskharo, 2850 m., is situated.

At a distance of about 12 km. due northwest of K'ut'aisi, on the upper course of the stream Gubis-Tskhali, the town of Tskhaltubo is situated at an elevation of 270 m., famous for its radioactive mineral springs. These springs have a composition similar to those of Wiesbaden and Teplice (Czechoslovakia), with temperatures of 24-39° C. Tskhaltubo always has had a great number of visitors.

At this point, this very brief survey of the Caucasian mineral springs can be concluded. With regard to Armenia, the mineral springs there have not acquired any particular fame because of the climatic conditions of the country, preventing the establishment of major health resorts. It might be added that in 1840, during the volcanic activity of Mt. Ararat, a number of hot springs were seen erupting in big bubbles from the bottom of the Araxes river. Mention may be made here of Djermuk (Dzhermuk; Armen Džermuk', "Warm Springs") and Dilizhan (Delizhan; Deližan), the latter being a climatic health resort.

## Naphtha and Thermal Springs

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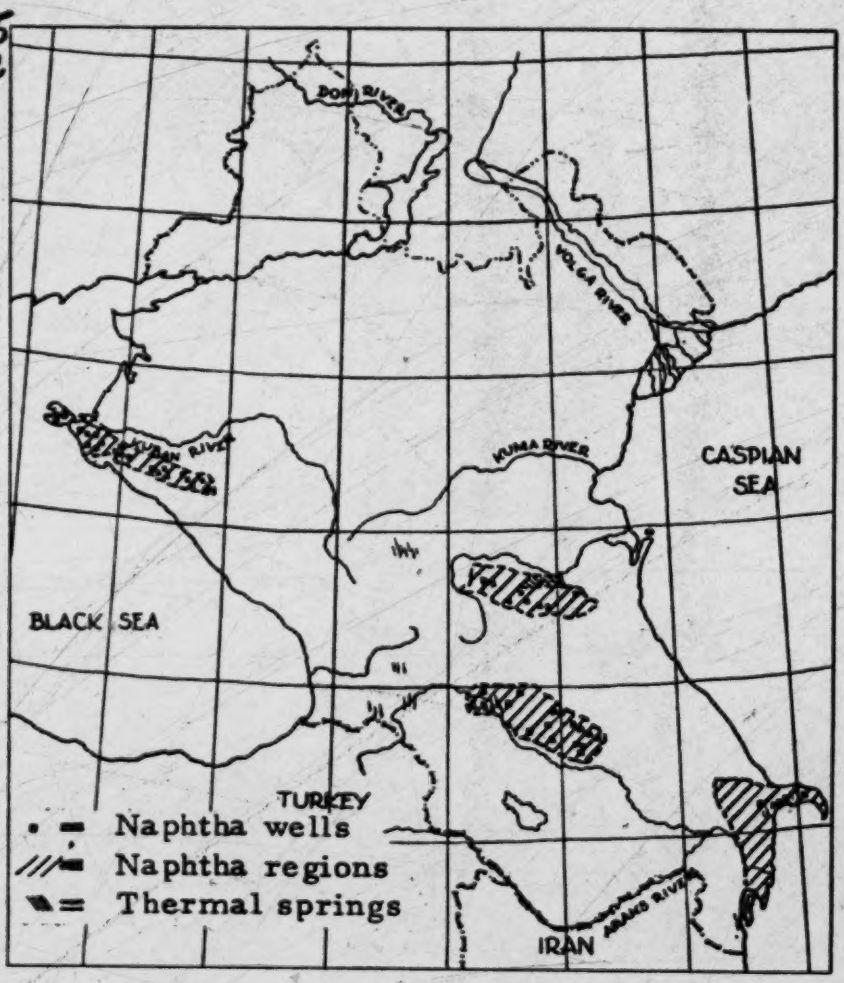

a-1.4 Irrigation Canals

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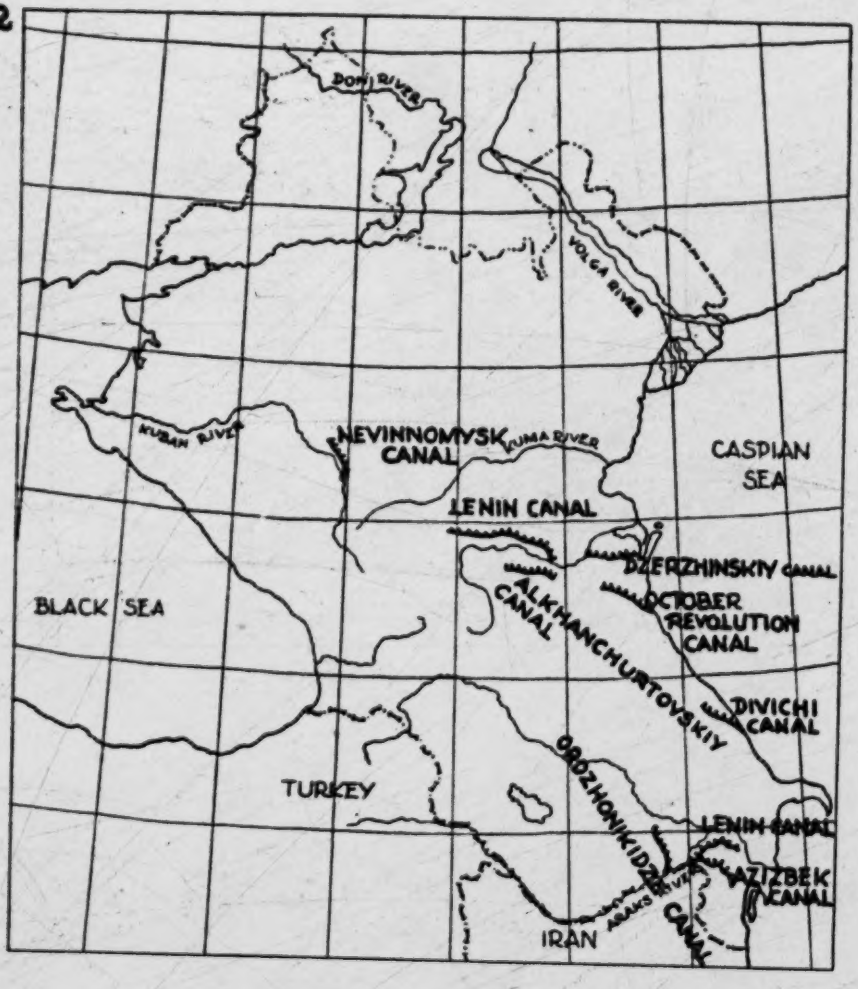

7: Columbia U. S-4, 5 1956 RH1 Caucasia RH1

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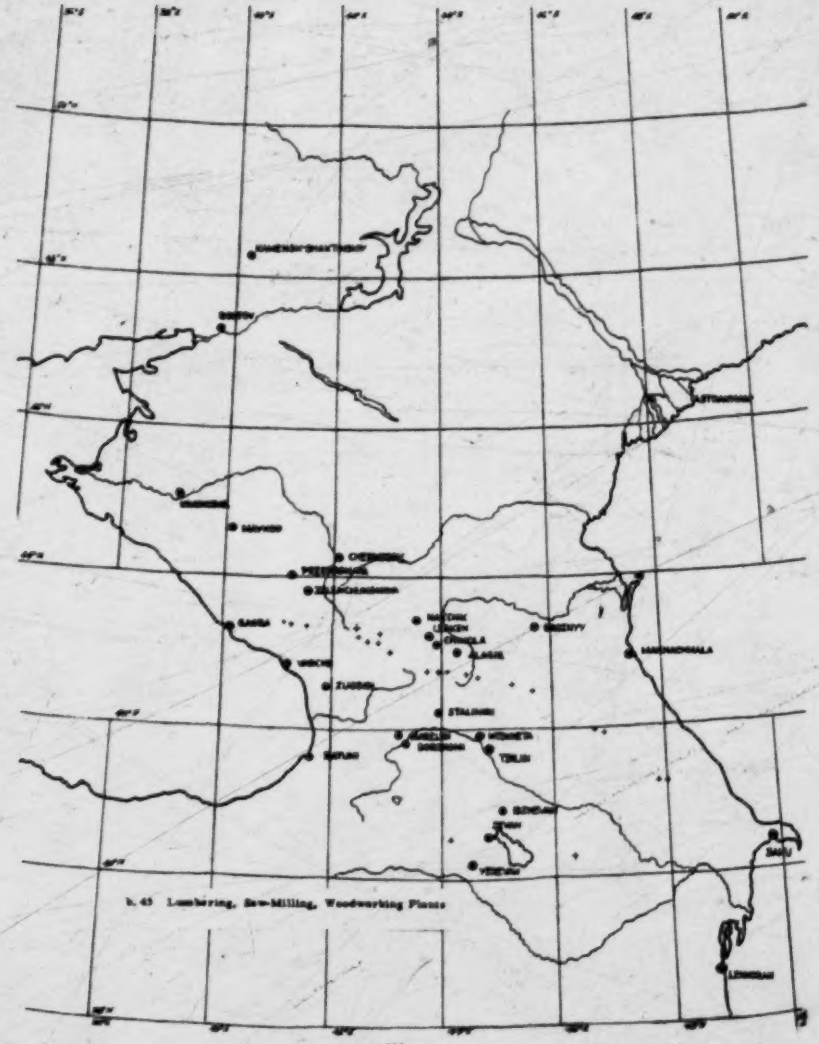


b. 45 Lumbering, Saw-Milling, Woodworking Plants



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3: Anonymous U-4 (no date) 1920 RH1 Caucasia RH1



prices. Special varieties of conifers, birch, oak, and 137
palm grow in the Caucasus. The Caucasus palm or *samshita* is not plentiful, but is greatly valued. The commonest tree is the beech, which occupies 25 per cent. of the total forest area; the oak occupies 16·7 per cent. and the pine 8·1 per cent. Plantations of bamboo at Chavka and Sukhum have been very successful, the cane being used for industrial purposes.

The Italian firm of Sbrajavacca was in 1914 exploiting 313
the pine-forests of Svanetia and Ratce, the timber being 471
floated down the river Rion. The firm has saw-mills at Socilava and Poti.

The Russian State levied on all timber a royalty [659]
varying according to the kind of wood, &c. The State also fixed the amount of timber to be felled in each area, which was then sold to the highest bidder. The total amount of timber which might be cut in the Caucasus was fixed in 1913 at nearly 220,000,000 cubic feet, of which only a little more than a quarter was actually delivered.

### (*d*) *Land Tenure*

The Caucasus as a whole has no fixed system of land 423
tenure, nor are any of the characteristic Russian 471
features of land-holding found there. The various kinds of landowner may be divided into six classes: the old nobility of Georgia; Tatar and Armenian peasant holders; nomad pastoral tribes, who occupy large areas of steppe land, especially in Stavropol Province; Russian settlers, placed on land vacated after the conquest; the Russian State, which owned large areas, mainly forest; and the Imperial family, which had acquired valuable appanages in the Caucasus.

No figures are available to show the proportions in which the land is held by these various owners; and, as a large part of the total productive area is occupied by nomads, no exact statistics would be possible. Moreover, recent events have to a great extent obliterated the old divisions, and new claims to ownership of much valuable land will have to be settled in the course of time.

5: Allen H-4 (no date) 1923 RH1 Caucasia RH1



growth, that the greatest wealth of timber is to be found. It 137
is estimated that nearly 7,000,000 acres, or 38 per cent. of the total extent of the Georgian Republic, are covered with trees. "According to the climate and configuration of the soil the predominant species of tree vary in the different forest districts. In the subtropical zone of the Black Sea shore we find a luxuriant vegetation of leaf-trees and bushes from orange, lemon, pear, peach and apple-trees to beeches, walnut and box-trees. In the Sukhum district the abundance of chestnut-trees is particularly remarkable. From the shore eastward into the Provinces of Kutais and Tiflis beeches and hornbeams form the characteristic outline of the landscape up to an altitude of about 4,000 feet above sea-level, after which they gradually become interspersed, until entirely replaced by coniferous species. Oaks are found chiefly above the 5,500 feet level and form rich forests in Kakhethi; elms, chestnut and lime-trees grow well everywhere up to about 5,000 feet. While the soft-wood, aspen, elder and ash-trees are mostly confined to the moderate altitudes, the birch is found up to the limit of tree-vegetation, i.e. about 8,000 feet.

"The coniferous trees of the Georgian forests, as elsewhere, generally occupy the upper parts of the mountains, beginning above 4,000 feet. They consist of a number of high-stemmed species, several being peculiar to the Caucasus. The most abundant of them are the red and silver firs, pine, larch, yew and maple, the latter growing to enormous heights, particularly in Kakhethi. . . . Firs and Caucasian yew-trees form enormous forests in the districts of Gori and Akhaltsikh. In the lowlands of Eastern Georgia, as in the Shiraki Plain or Lower Kakhethi, the vegetation changes entirely; the high-stemmed trees disappear, and prickly juniper-trees and pistachio-bushes form the chief characteristic of the landscape."[1]

Less than half the area of Transcaucasian forests is sus- 313
ceptible of exploitation, the remaining acreage being at present inaccessible for practical purposes. Until the Revolution the forests were in part the property of the Russian State, in part of the Imperial Family and other landowners. The forests were exploited to a certain extent for local needs. The Italian firm of Sbrajavacca had a concession to cut the forests of Svanetia and Radsha, and floated timber down the Rion to saw-mills on the Black Sea Coast. Export had, however, declined before the war, owing to unfavourable prices.

After the Revolution the forests were declared to be the

[1] *Russo-British Chamber of Commerce Journal*, May 1920.

5: Allen H-4 (no date) 1923 RH1 Caucasia RH1



313 property of the Georgian Government, who have recently exploited the timber of the Kutais and Poti districts for the manufacture of railway sleepers.

433 *Vegetable and Animal Products.*—The Caucasus is essentially an agricultural and pastoral country, and it is estimated that from 75 per cent. to 80 per cent. of the population are engaged in animal and vegetable production. In the mountain-regions, Kabarda, Chechnia, Svanetia, Ossetia, Daghestan and Kara Bagh, the people are virtually self-supporting as regards cereals, but produce little for export. Their surplus production is mainly in animals. In Kabarda and in the Jevad and Gökcha districts of Azerbaijan fine horses are bred, and, in the Mughan, camels. The production of wool, sold for the most part to carpet-weavers, is the main source of living to the mountain and nomad tribes, and in the Borchalu district (south of Tiflis) the Tatars make excellent cheese which is exported to Russia as "Gruyère." The production of wax and honey further forms a secondary occupation of many of the villagers, both of the hills and the plain. In Daghestan and in the Kur Delta there are thriving fisheries. The catch of "puzanka," a small species of herring, off the coast of Daghestan and the mouth of the Terek, averages 40,000 tons a year; while along the Kur the catch of sturgeon gives an annual production of over 300 tons of caviare. Large herds of swine flourish in many parts of Transcaucasia, particularly in the lowlands of Mingrelia and Guria.

433 The chief cereals grown in Transcaucasia are: wheat, which covers approximately 475,000 acres in the Government of
241 Baku, 670,000 acres in the Government of Elisavetpol and 680,000 acres in the Government of Tiflis; maize, which occupies about 470,000 acres in the Government of Kutais, and 180,000 acres in the Government of Sukhum; and rye, which covers about 133,000 acres over Transcaucasia, more than half being grown in the Government of Elisavetpol. Hay occupies about 500,000 acres in the Black Sea and Elisavetpol districts. Rice is grown chiefly in Azerbaijan and Talish, and cotton covers about 200,000 acres over different parts of the country. Cotton has recently tended to supersede rice, especially in the eastern regions, Baku, Elisavetpol and Erivan, where, in 1913, it already covered about 200,000 acres. It is possible that a considerable crop of cotton may in the near future be cultivated in the Mughan Steppe, the irrigation of which the Russian Government had successfully undertaken before the outbreak of war.

7: Columbia U. S-4, 5 1956 RH1 Caucasia
RH1

## Forestry

311 137 313 The subtropical, deciduous (oak, beech, hornbeam) or coniferous (pine, juniper) forests constitute one of the many assets of the Caucasus. The Georgian Republic and the southern sections of the Krasnodar Kray are especially rich in forests. One finds many forests in North Armenia, in West Azerbaijan on the slopes of the Lesser Caucasus, and on the Lenkoran' Lowland, which last is famous for its subtropical forests. On the northern slopes of the Greater Caucasus, in the Stavropol' Kray, in the Groznyy Oblast, and in Dagestan the forests are less dense. Here the forest area is chiefly in the mountainous parts of the various administrative units like the North Ossetian ASSR, the Groznyy Oblast, and the Dagestan ASSR. The numerous lumbering, sawmilling, woodworking and furniture plants of this area indicate an extensive exploitation rather than great forest resources. Further to the north, north of the Kuban-Terek line, forests are virtually non-existent and the lumbering industry of Astrakhan', Rostov, etc. is based on imported timber floated or transported down the Volga and Don Rivers.

311 137 Area by area, the distribution of trees is as follows:

Azerbaijan SSR: Oak prevails in the sparse forests of the Lesser Caucasus and on the lower slopes of the Greater Caucasus,

288 industry is concentrated in the North Caucasus, chiefly at Astrakhan'.

Textile and clothing mills: The most important textile mills are at Baku (Azerbaijan), Leninakan (Armenia), Kutaisi (Georgia), Derbent (Dagestan), Budennovsk (Stavropol' Kray). Clothing mills are concentrated in Georgia
295 (Tbilisi, Batumi), in Armenia (Leninakan), and in the capitals of the Cherkess, Kabardian, and North Ossetian republics.

286 Rug-weaving centers: Rug-weaving is one of the traditional industries of the eastern South Caucasus. Originally it was a home industry of nomadic (mostly Turkic) peoples. The Caucasian rug-weaving industry produces three kinds of rugs: The Daghestani Rug, made in Dagestan and North Azerbaijan; the Shirvan Rug, made in East Azerbaijan; and the Karabagh Rug, made in Armenia and West Azerbaijan.

295 Alunite mines; leather, boot and shoe
282 factories: The most important leather factories are at Baku, Nakhichevan', Tbilisi, Kutaisi, Groznyy, and Stavropol'. Tbilisi, Cherkessk, Rostov, and Taganrog have boot and shoe fac-
317 tories. Alunite, the raw material important for tanning, is mined at Zaglik in Azerbaijan.

313 Lumbering, sawmilling, woodworking
322 plants: Concentrated in Georgia, in the most heavily forested area of the Caucasus. The other areas of concentration are Northern Armenia, and a whole series of cities, towns, and villages, located along the northern slopes of the Greater Caucasus. Important lumbering centers are also Astrakhan' and Rostov, processing imported lumber.

7: Columbia U. S-4, 5 1956 RH1 Caucasia RH1

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h.43 Lumbering, Saw-Milling, Woodworking Plants



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3: Anonymous U-4 (no date) 1920 RH1 Caucasia RH1



nexion is made with all parts of Russia) to Baku, *via* 496
Tikhoretskaya, Kavkazkaya, Armavir, Mineralniyavodi, Beslan, Grozni, Petrovsk, and Derbent. From Tikhoretskaya to Mineralniyavodi the track is double.

There are four principal branches: one runs from Tikhoretskaya to Tsaritsin on the Volga, 333 miles; another from Tikhoretskaya to Ekaterinodar, and thence as a double line to Novorossiisk, 170 miles in all; a third from Kavkazkaya to Ekaterinodar, 85 miles; and a fourth from Kavkazkaya to Stavropol, 93 miles. There are also short branches from Mineralniyavodi to Kislovodsk and other watering-places, from Kotlyarevskaya to Nalchik, and from Beslan to Vladikavkaz.

The Vladikavkaz Railway is considered to be one 473
of the most profitable and best-managed private lines 496
in Russia. The company's original concession expired in 1911, but was renewed for fifteen years, and thereupon various improvements and plans for new branches and terminal facilities were undertaken.

The receipts in 1912 amounted to £5,845,100, and the expenses to £3,137,400, leaving a net profit of £2,707,700, less the sum of £348,400, which the State received in accordance with the rate fixed in the company's statutes. In 1910, the latest year for which such figures are available, the railway carried about 8,000,000 tons of goods.

(ii) The *Transcaucasian Railway* runs from Batum 496
to Baku, a distance of 563 miles, *via* Samtredi, Rion, 475
Sharopan, Michailovo, Tiflis, and Elisavetopol. From Akstafa to Elisavetopol and from Adji-Kabul to Baku the track is double. The railway also owns an 8-in. [315]
pipe line from Baku to Batum, which is capable of delivering 1,600,000 tons of oil per annum.

There are six principal branches: from Samtredi to Poti (41 miles); from Rion, *via* Kutais, to Tkvibuli (33 miles), serving the coal-mines at the latter place; from Sharopan to Sachkeri (narrow gauge, 33 miles), serving the Chiaturi manganese mines; from Michailovo, *via* Borzhom, to Bakuriani; from Tiflis, *via* Alexandropol and Kars, to Sarykamish (226 miles), with

3: Anonymous U-4 (no date) 1920 RH1 Caucasia RH1



135 Kedabek copper mines. *Graphite* and *mercury* have
316 recently been found. *Pyrites* is worked for sulphur in Elisavetopol and Tiflis, and sulphur is also obtained at Bechenakh and Gunur, in Kutais.

### (5) Mineral Oils

#### (*a*) *Sources of Supply*

135 Mineral oil, the great source of Caucasian wealth,
315 is found chiefly in the Governments of Baku, Terek, and Kuban, although small quantities occur elsewhere. Hitherto by far the richest oil-producing area has been that of Baku, comprising the Apsheron Peninsula, Cheleken Island and Holy Island, and the outlying district of Benagadi. In the Apsheron Peninsula lie the older oil-fields: the five belts of Balachani, Sabunchi, Romani, Bibi-Ebyat, and Zabrat, and the comparatively newly-discovered oil district of Surachani, about 12 miles away. Second to those of Baku in importance and apparently of increasing productivity are the Grozni fields in Terek Province. The Maikop oil-fields, in Kuban Province, have since 1912 yielded unsatisfactorily.

In 1908 the Caucasian oil-fields supplied about 22 per cent. of the world's total production, but the proportion has sunk very considerably since then. General figures of the output from 1910 to 1916 are given in Table II of the Appendix (p. 93).

382 The products of the mineral oil include illuminating oils, engine and cylinder oils, solar oils, goudron (asphalt), benzene, residuum (*ostotki*), and crude oil (untreated). Of these, *ostotki* was for years treated as waste, but it is now by far the largest product, having superseded kerosene, which bears a heavy duty, while *ostotki* is untaxed; it has a large sale as fuel for factories, railways, and steamships. Balachani oil is the heaviest in quality; *ostotki* is not so readily formed from the Bibi-Ebyat and Grozni products. Cheleken Island and Telav produce ozokerite (or paraffin wax). The lowest percentage of benzene

3: Anonymous U-4 (no date) 1920 RH1 Caucasia RH1



is yielded by Balachani. Grozni oil is particularly adapted for the manufacture of first grade petrol, great quantities of which have accumulated there during the war.

The following particulars may be given of the chief oil-fields:

(i) *The Baku Fields.*—The first well was bored at Baku in 1871. Since that year the oil-fields have been developed one after another, with capital supplied partly by the Swedish firm of Nobel Brothers, and partly by the French Rothschilds and others. The Balachani–Sabunchi–Romani field occupies about 2,640 acres on a plateau a few miles from the Caspian Sea.[1] At Sabunchi eight very productive belts are known. At Romani there was a natural depression into which ran the water and refuse from adjoining properties, forming a lake of 432 acres; this was drained in 1904 by the Moscow Caucasian Co., by means of a subterranean channel, and an outlet into the Caspian Sea was also provided, which serves as a permanent drain for the whole oil-field. Bibi-Ebyat contains five rich belts, but its productivity is declining. Puta, a continuation of the Bibi-Ebyat fields, has been very little developed. Zabrat has been prospected by a French company, but the yield is only spasmodic.

Between 1908 and 1911 there was a marked decrease in production in all but one of the old Baku oil-fields, as seen by the following comparative table:

| | *Balachani.* | *Sabunchi.* | *Romani.* | *Bibi-Ebyat.* | *Total.* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Metric tons. | Metric tons. | Metric tons. | Metric tons. | Metric tons. |
| 1908 | 1,124,784 | 3,181,936 | 1,222,304 | 1,914,128 | 7,443,152 |
| 1911 [2] | 755,200 | 2,131,200 | 1,019,200 | 1,225,600 | 5,131,200 |

After 1911, in spite of new borings, the production, though increased, did not reach the 1908 level, whilst after 1914 the Surachani output is reckoned in with the old Baku output, and the separate yield of the original oil-fields cannot therefore be calculated. There

[1] On this plateau 120,000,000 gallons of oil were thrown up in 1873 before it was understood how to conserve it.

[2] Ten months only.

3: Anonymous U-4 (no date) 1920 RH1 Caucasia RH1



315 are, however, many localities left in the Apsheron district to be tested when the exhaustion becomes more pronounced.

Surachani, the new Baku oil-field, gives a supply of natural gas, which, through the enterprise of the Baku Naphtha Co., is now conducted in 8 and 10 inch pipes to the various oil-fields, where it is used for boiler-heating. Some wells, about 1,200 ft. deep, yield about 5,000,000 cubic ft. of gas daily. Surachani wells also produce white oil, a medicinal product, of which the output is about 48 tons daily. Crude oil, which lies beneath the natural gas, has also been exploited with good results.

In 1902, 24,000 workers were employed at Baku; by 1916 this number had doubled. The average number of producing wells in the Baku district in 1914 was 2,894, the output per well before exhaustion being from 40,000 to 50,000 tons.

Holy Island produces oil which is shipped by Nobel Brothers in its crude state to the Volga for fuel. The output in 1914 was 94,000 tons.

Cheleken Island produces a heavy petroleum, from which ozokerite is extracted. In 1912 the yield was 209,000 tons, but since that year it has greatly declined. The oil is sent abroad to be refined.

Benagadi produces a very heavy oil, pumped through pipe lines to the railway. The Benagadi output was steadily increasing in 1914. Digga and Sarai localities, near Benagadi, are both petroliferous, and in 1914 were about to be exploited by Baku companies.

The Baku oil-fields seem to have escaped damage and pillage during the military events of 1918.

(ii) *The Grozni Fields* consist of a belt of petroliferous land, 1,800 ft. wide and about 7 miles long. The oil-bearing strata usually lie 1,500 to 1,800 ft. below the surface, but sometimes even deeper, and the deposits are impregnated with lime. The Grozni oil often issues in great spouts, but the life of the wells is usually short. At Mamakai the oil reaches the surface, and has been obtained from hand-dug wells for fifty years past.

3: Anonymous U-4 (no date) 1920 RH1 Caucasia RH1



The European Petrol Co., a British concern, was founded in 1893 to exploit the Grozni oil, and another British company, the Kazbek Syndicate, struck a prolific fountain in 1903. The Anglo-Terek Co. found oil on the western field in 1907 at 2,500 ft. deep, and the parallel ridge of Sundja is expected to prove rich. The area occupied by wells in 1913 was 2,497 acres, in the hands of twelve firms. Several new fields were proved in 1913 in the neighbouring localities of Belik and Chermoff, and 200,000 claims have been staked; the whole country round Grozni for a radius of about 30 miles has been covered with oil claims. The principal new oil districts are Sleptsovskaya, Voznesenskaya, Broguni, Kakhanovskaya, Isstissu, and Chir-Urt nearer Petrovsk. Pipes from both eastern and western fields take the oil to Grozni station, and in 1914 pipes were completed leading to Petrovsk, on the Caspian Sea. 315 [471]

In 1917 the Grozni oil-fields employed 9,000 workmen. The average number of producing wells in that year was 398.

The Grozni oil-fields suffered much more than those of Baku or Maikop in 1918. Almost all the oil-wells and plant have been destroyed or burnt, so that production will be impossible for some years to come.

(iii) *The Maikop Fields* have been scientifically exploited since 1908 only, chiefly by British capital. There are four districts, Shirvansky, Apsheronsky, Nephtianoi, and Hadizhensky, and the wells number about 200. Before the completion of the new Armavir–Tuapse railway, the oil went either to Novorossiisk or Petrovsk. There are two pipe lines, one from Maikop to Tuapse, the other from Shirvansky to Ekaterinodar for transport on the Ekaterinodar–Novorossiisk branch railway; both pipes belong to the Maikop Pipe Line and Transport Co., Ltd., a British concern. Nearly all the Maikop oil has been consumed in Russia. It is refined at Ekaterinodar. The output has been very disappointing, and has steadily declined since 1912. 315 471

3: Anonymous U-4 (no date) 1920 RH1 Caucasia RH1



315 (iv) *Other Sources.*—Berekei and Kaikent in Daghestan
471 have been exploited, but in both the oil is damaged by the inflow of sulphurous water. Berekei was closed in 1907; Kaikent, in the hands of the Anglo-Russian Petrol Co., only yields spasmodically.

Kaluga, in Kuban Province, showed oil in 1907, but work only began in 1914. The Vladikavkaz Railway Company hold 15 plots of promising petroliferous land there, and intend to use the oil for the railway. The prospects are good.

In Tiflis Government two localities have been exploited, one east of Tiflis and the other at Telav. In 1904 the Southern Oil-Fields of Russia Company was working there, and in 1914 the Tiflis locality was again being explored.

315 In 1914 prospecting was going on at many other places, where there are unmistakable indications of large quantities of oil, notably at Guria, where a thick black oil was found, and at Shemakha, Jevat, and Lenkoran. Jingy (or Djeng), near Shemakha, forms the extremity of a huge oil-field with a reputed area of 70,000 square miles, lying chiefly in the Ural Province. Nobel Brothers have already sunk wells there with good results; in October 1915, 225 plots of petroliferous ground near Borz and Jingy were declared open for new claims.

Oil is also obtained from numerous wells on small plots worked by peasants, especially in the Grozni and Maikop districts.

### (*b*) *Methods of Working*

At Baku the Russian system of boring is still in use, the American, although generally superior, being declared to be unsuccessful on account of the frequency of landslips and fractured tubing. Another view, however, is that the continued use at Baku of a comparatively wasteful system has been a factor contributing to the successful competition of American oil in the world market, in spite of the fact that at Baku a few square miles produce as much oil as several

3: Anonymous U-4 (no date) 1920 RH1 Caucasia RH1



thousands of square miles in America, and that a single 315
Baku oil fountain has actually yielded as much in one day as 25,000 wells in America. The American system has been adopted at Grozni and Maikop. Manila ropes have been very generally replaced by wire ropes. Pumps cannot be used at Baku to raise the oil, and it is therefore baled by steam or electric power; air-lifts have recently been found successful. In default of fresh water, steam at Baku has to be obtained from sea-water, which causes rapid destruction of the boilers.

Oil is conveyed to the Black Town (Baku) refineries [47:]
in pipe lines, of which in 1906 there were 39 in private ownership besides the State pipe lines. Large firms had their own pumping stations in addition to those provided for general use. Fountain oil was pumped direct to the stations and measured there. Some of the Bibi-Ebyat oil goes by barge.

From Baku the oil has four means of transit: by [489]
rail to Batum or Poti; by pipe line (kerosene) to Batum; by rail to Petrovsk; and by tank-steamer to Astrakhan and thence up the Volga. The last route, by which the Volga factories are supplied, is only open from April to October.

Electric power was steadily replacing steam power [377]
on the oil-fields in 1914. The Spies Petroleum Co. at Grozni run their works almost wholly by it. There are generating stations at Sabunchi, belonging to Nobel Brothers; at Zabrat, belonging to the Société de la Caspienne et de la Mer Noire; at White Town (1,200 horse-power); and at Baieloff (4,500 horse-power). At Sabunchi and Zabrat the Surachani gas is used to generate electricity.

### (6) Manufactures

Ciscaucasia and Transcaucasia have each their own 438
characteristic industries, which, in the former case, are those proper to a region predominantly agricultural, and in the latter are dependent on the output of the oil-fields.

3: Anonymous U-4 (no date) 1920 RH1 Caucasia RH1


### (b) *Organizations to promote Trade and Commerce*

It is only within recent years that any efforts towards the organization of the trade and industry of Caucasia have been made, but before the outbreak of war a good deal had already been done in that direction. The first chamber of commerce in the country was established at Batum in 1910. The number of trade associations increased rapidly, especially in Ciscaucasia, where the Cossacks take kindly to co-operation, and many credit societies were formed. 441

The chief organizations confined to particular industries were the Association of Baku Naphtha Producers, the Manganese Producers' Association, and the Caucasian Cotton Growers' Association. The first of these levied a tax of 5*d.* a tin on oil products, which it expended on hospitals, &c. It had a statistical bureau, published journals, and held an annual conference which was attended by delegates from the committees of the various oil interests and by a representative of the Minister of Agriculture. The Manganese Producers' Association also levied a tax, which was devoted to improvements in plant, &c. It brought pressure to bear on the State to improve railway facilities and rolling-stock, and was anxious to secure the connexion of the mines with the railway, but did not succeed in this. One of the objects of the Caucasian Cotton Growers' Association was to increase the cultivation of cotton in Caucasia and Russian Central Asia, so that the Central Russian mills could be fed entirely with home-grown supplies. Extensive irrigation was among its schemes.

### (c) *Foreign Interests*

The largest field for the investment of foreign capital in Caucasia is of course the oil industry. This being a matter of international finance, it is impossible to gauge with precision the share which any particular nation has therein; but it was stated in 1919 by an expert of the *Mining Journal* that the controlling 471 315

3: Anonymous U-4 (no date) 1920 RH1 Caucasia RH1



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power was the Deutsche Bank. Of the firms engaged in extracting oil, the Swedish house of Nobel Brothers has the largest interests, its production being double that of any other single firm. French companies financed by the Rothschilds also figure largely in the Baku fields. The chief of these is the Société de la Caspienne et de la Mer Noire, which in 1912 combined with others, among them the British concern known as the Schibaeff Company, to form the Royal Dutch Shell Combine, which is said to be responsible for 11·8 per cent. of the total Baku output. British interests in the Baku fields are comparatively small, but at Grozni and Maikop they are predominant. During the Maikop boom sixty-six companies were formed in London, but of these only five are still working. In 1913 a British company, the Guria Petroleum Corporation, Ltd., acquired a lease of some 70 square miles of land between Batum and Poti. Estimates of the total value of British capital invested in Russian oil-fields vary from £10,000,000 to £17,000,000. Armenian interests are rapidly increasing, especially in the new oil districts round Grozni.

Copper is mainly mined with the aid of British, French, and American capital. The manganese industry, on the other hand, has hitherto been for the most part in native hands, though in recent years British, Dutch, German, and French have begun to participate in it.

Franco-Jewish financiers supplied the capital for the construction of the Transcaucasian railway, which was taken over by the State in 1906. In connexion with the railway expansion schemes of more recent date the Anglo-Russian Trust Company, having a capital of £1,000,000 and debenture stock amounting to £500,000, was formed to place the shares of the Armavir–Tuapse, the Black Sea–Kuban, and the Kakhetian railways on the London market, principal and interest in each case being unconditionally guaranteed by the Russian Government. The same company also invested in the municipal 5 per cent. gold bonds of the city of Baku.

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British capital has played an important part in various other public enterprises. 315 471

Certain minor commercial undertakings, such as pottery-making at Tiflis, wine-growing in Terek, and timber exploitation in the Rion district, are in Italian hands.

### (d) *Methods of Economic Penetration*

For some years past the Germans have adopted their usual business methods with success in the Caucasus.[1] They appointed agents who spoke Russian fluently, and who were invested with full powers to act for the firms they represented. A single firm frequently offered widely varying lines of goods, of which the agents could produce samples. All catalogues and price-lists were printed with Russian quotations in the Russian currency, and were therefore much more popular than those of British firms, which were invariably presented in English only, with prices quoted in English money. 439

The nearest British agencies were at Rostov-on-Don. British firms were unwilling to give the credit expected by Russian merchants, and appeared indifferent to local prejudices and preferences in regard to the nature of goods to be supplied. They were, therefore, at a disadvantage in competing with the more enterprising German. In certain lines of goods, such as ready-made clothes, haberdashery, boots and shoes, drugs, all kinds of fancy goods and stationery, Germany and Austria-Hungary held the market; and they were beginning to encroach on the steel, agricultural machinery, engine, and motor trades, once almost exclusively British.

## (2) Trade with Russia

Most of the manufactured goods required by Caucasia are supplied by Russia, the chief exceptions being machinery and other metal goods; produce of various

[1] In 1916 a German-Georgian society was established in order to cultivate economic intercourse between the two countries.

TABLE II.—OUTPUT OF MINERAL OIL, 1910-16[1]

| *Oil-fields.* | 1910. *Metric tons.* | 1911. *Metric tons.* | 1912. *Metric tons.* | 1913. *Metric tons.* | 1914. *Metric tons.* | 1915. *Metric tons.* | 1916. *Metric tons.* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| *Old Baku* . . . | 8,016,000 | 5,131,200 | 6,758,054 | 6,290,323 | 5,435,484 | 7,264,000 | 7,712,000 |
| *New Baku* . . . | 160,000 | 661,289 | 709,677 | 758,064 | 1,389,774 | | |
| *Maikop* . . . | 16,000 | 128,000 | 145,161 | 96,774 | — | 128,000 | 48,000 |
| *Grozni* . . . | 1,184,000 | 1,200,000 | 1,048,389 | 1,129,032 | 1,593,549 | 1,408,000 | 1,632,000 |
| *Hand-dug wells* . . | — | 161,090 | — | — | 209,677 | — | — |
| Total . . . | 9,376,000 | 7,281,579 | 8,661,281 | 8,274,193 | 8,628,484 | 8,800,000 | 9,392,000 |

[1] The Maikop and other productions of 1914 and various other productions in 1912 and 1913 are classified under 'Other Sources', of which an unknown proportion is of Transcaspian origin, so that the totals for 1912, 1913, and 1914 are really higher than the figures here given.

*133 there are not only harmless mud volcanoes but also lava-ejecting volcanoes, and regions where gases, mineral water, and even mineral oil, come forth from the soil. In some places it is sufficient to strike a match to have flames burst from the ground. Some [315] gas wells are found south of Baku, within the bay; the majority of these are found in the northern part of Apsheron, along the coast. The gas and mineral oil sources have been industrially exploited for a long time; the naphtha sources on Apsheron were the first, those near the village of Balakhany from the 1870s on. The gas was not put to use until much later. Therefore, the city of Baku was for a long time the only Russian or Soviet city where gas, and in this case natural gas, was used for cooking and even heating.

Off the east coast of Apsheron, the Holy Island Sviatol (now Artëm) having the older name of Paralaghai, is situated. This island follows in its main form the folding lines of Apsheron; these were probably caused by lateral pressure. It is of volcanic origin, along with others which form a small archipelago southwest of Baku at a distance up to 20 km. along the coast.

The island of Kumani (long. 49° 35' E., lat. 39° 35' N.) emerged from the sea in 1864, and another one, Lozy, had three eruptions

*133 during the year 1876; at that time, rocks were thrown as far as Cape Alyat [Alet] on lat. 40° N. on the continent. In this region, the water is often disturbed by submarine volcanic activity, just as near the peninsula of Cheleken, on the opposite shore, south-southwest of Krasnovodsk; and now and then [315] the sea is polluted by naphtha. In the northern part of this region, closer to Baku, near the town of Bibi Eybat, a number of oil derricks stand in the sea. At a distance of 45 km. due east of the Shakhova Kosa (in Turkish, Cape Sarsy-Burun), the southernmost tip of Apsheron, a number of shallow naphtha-ejecting areas, the so-called naphtha banks, are situated under water. These are at present the most important oil wells, known as the Neftyanye Kamni.

## Mineral Springs

312 As a rule, volcanic areas are rich in sources of mineral water. One of the areas most abundant in mineral springs of various compositions is found in the Besh-Tau ("Five Mountains") area, north-northeast of the Elbrus massif. The mineral sources in this area are undoubtedly a consequence of the volcanic activity in this region and therefore probably connected with the origin of the famous Lakkoliths, with their liparitic cones. In the region of Mt. Besh-Tau, an almost

496 steppes to the north and northeast of Stavropol. These lines must sooner or later be linked with the Kikhoretskaia-Stalingrad line at Salsk, from where there is a connection with Rostov, and perhaps eventually with the connecting link between Astrakhan and Kizlyar.

In the mountains proper, railroad construction meets certain difficulties or even limitation which prevent the extension of the single subsidiary lines of the mountain areas proper. This is particularly evident with regard to the side-lines of the Trans-Caucasian railroad, all along the southern slopes of the Caucasus.

315 The railroad system of the Caucasus, which has proven insufficient to handle with any efficiency the traffic demands made by the industrial centers, is somewhat compensated for by the oil pipelines. There is the double one across Trans-Caucasia, from Baku, via Tiflis and the Surami pass, to Batumi on the Black Sea; and the North Caucasian pipe line which connects the Groznyi and Maikop petroleum areas with the ports of Makhach-kala on the Caspian Sea and Tuapse on the Black Sea, after which it goes via Rostov directly to the Ukrainian heavy industries. These pipelines relieve the demands upon the railroads to a considerable extent.

497 The above-mentioned inadequacy of the railroad system is typical not only of the Caucasus but of the entire Soviet Union. This

536 5 Bagrimanov
Chechen actor of tragic roles 20. c.

BE I 61:535

665 3 Baibakov, A. S
Member of presidium CC CP Azerb. SSR, 21. s'ezd, 1956

Bak. Rab. 1/26/56

646 3 Baibakov, Nikolai Konstantinovich
665 Deputy to Sov. Soiuz VS SSSR
315 (4. s'ezd, 1954) Born in Sabunchi (near Baku) 1911- oil engineer. Was member of CC CP SSSR (before 1956) Deputy to VS SSSR 2. sozyv. Member of presidium CC CP Azerb. SSR, 21. s'ezd, 1956

Bak. Rab. 3/18/54,3/2/54 ,1/26/56

646 3 Bairamov, Musa Khuda Kerim ogly
665 Deputy to Sov. Soiuz VS SSSR (4. s'ezd, 1954) Member of CC CP Azerb. SSR.

Bak. Rab. 3/18/54

7: Columbia U. S-4,5 1956 RH1 Caucasia
RH1

533
3 Tagi-Zade, Niiazi Zul'fugarovich
see
Niiazi (pseud.)

646
3 Tagiev, Imran Abdulla'ogly
Deputy to Sov. Nats. VS SSSR (4. sozyv, 1954)

Bak. Rab. 3/19/54

646
315 3 Tairova, Taira Akper ogly
Deputy to Sov. Nats. VS SSSR (4. sozyv, 1954). Born in 1913- oil expert; 1942- director of neftano nauchn. issled. inst. in Kuibyshev; subsequently head of various oil enterprises in Azerb. Member of Bakinskii gorodskii komitet. Deputy to Bakinskii gorod. sovet. Deputy VS Azerb. SSR. Member of CC CP Azerb. SSR, 21. s'ezd, 1956

Bak. Rab. 3/19/54, 2/25/54, 1/26/56

533
1 Taktakishvili, Otar Vasil'evich (Tiflis in 1924-) Deputy to Sov. Nats. VS SSSR (4. s'ezd, 1954) composer; wrote state hymn of Georgia for which he was awarded Stalin prize 2. degree; member of CP Gruz. SSR.

Bak. Rab. 3/19/54
Zar. Vost. 2/13/54, 3/11/54

[ist cat. 116, p. 778 -- Analyst]

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a-1, 5 Caucasian Industry in Czarist Russia as of 1913

x : Centers of fuel industry

△ : Mines

□ : Centers of metallurgy

○ : Machinery and metal-working plants

♀ : Silicate and porcelain works

● : Chemical industry centers

T : Textile industry centers

T : Food industry centers

v : Centers of various industries

7: Columbia U. S-4,5 1956 RHl Caucasia RHl

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852a

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433 located around Novorossiysk. The wine industry is also centered around Novorossiysk. The only sub-unit of the kray, the Adyge AO, is highly industrialized. The main industry is the oil industry. Of smaller importance are metallurgy and machinery, and the lumbering, food, and tobacco industries.

Rostov Oblast: Since the detachment from the oblast of the coal-mining areas, its industry consists mostly of various machinery plants concentrated at Rostov, Taganrog, and Novocherkassk.

The distribution of the various industries in the Caucasus is as follows:

315
382 Oilfields, centers of oil industry: The oilfields and the oil industry arising from them are the main assets of the Caucasian economy. Of the five oilfields, two are in the South, and three in the North Caucasus. The greatest is the Baku oilfield. The importance of this oilfield is however declining; its output, which constituted 83% of the Russian output in 1913, had fallen to 48 in 1950. Due to the 85 years of exploitation, the wells are very deep and mostly on the bottom of the Caspian Sea. The output is refined mostly in the cracking plants of Baku or sent through two pipelines to Batumi. The second important oilfield of the Caucasus is located around Groznyy. The product of this oilfield furnishes mostly high-octane aviation gasoline. The Groznyy product is either processed in the cracking plants of Groznyy and Malgobek, or piped to the cracking plants of Tuapse, or to Trudovaya in the Donets Basin. The Makhachkala products, however, are refined mostly in Makhachkala itself. The fourth center

315 382 of Caucasian oil production, the oilfields around Maykop, are richer than those of Makhachkala, though they have not yet fully recovered from the German destruction. The main center of these fields is Maykop. The Maykop product is refined in Maykop, or sent by pipes to the Krasnodar, Tuapse, or Trudovaya refineries. The fifth oilfield is the Shirako oilfield (in eastern Georgia), whose exploitation began only recently. The Shiraki product is processed in the Mirzaani cracking plants. The oil of the Caucasian fields is sometimes used as fuel for thermo-electric plants.

315 Natural gas centers: Though gas occurs around the oilfields at various places, large-scale industrial exploitation is confined to the methane gas wells of Dagestanskie Ognie where it is used for fuel in the glassworks.

316 Coal mines: This very important fuel, if one disregards the mines located in the northern Rostov Oblast, is scarce in the Caucasus. Only Georgia has really important coal mines, of which the Tkibuli and Tkvarcheli mines produce coking coal, whereas the Akhaltsikhe mines produce brown coal. In the North Caucasus, the Rostov coal mines are a continuation of the Donets Basin coal-producing area; they contribute 10% of its output and contain roughly 20% of the Donets Basin reserves. Caucasian coal is very often used as fuel for thermo-electric plants, the most important of which is the Artemovskiy Plant (90,000kw).

377 Water resources and hydro-electric plants: The Caucasus is extremely rich in water resources. Half of the water resources of

7: Columbia U. S-4, 5 1956 RH1 Caucasia RH1

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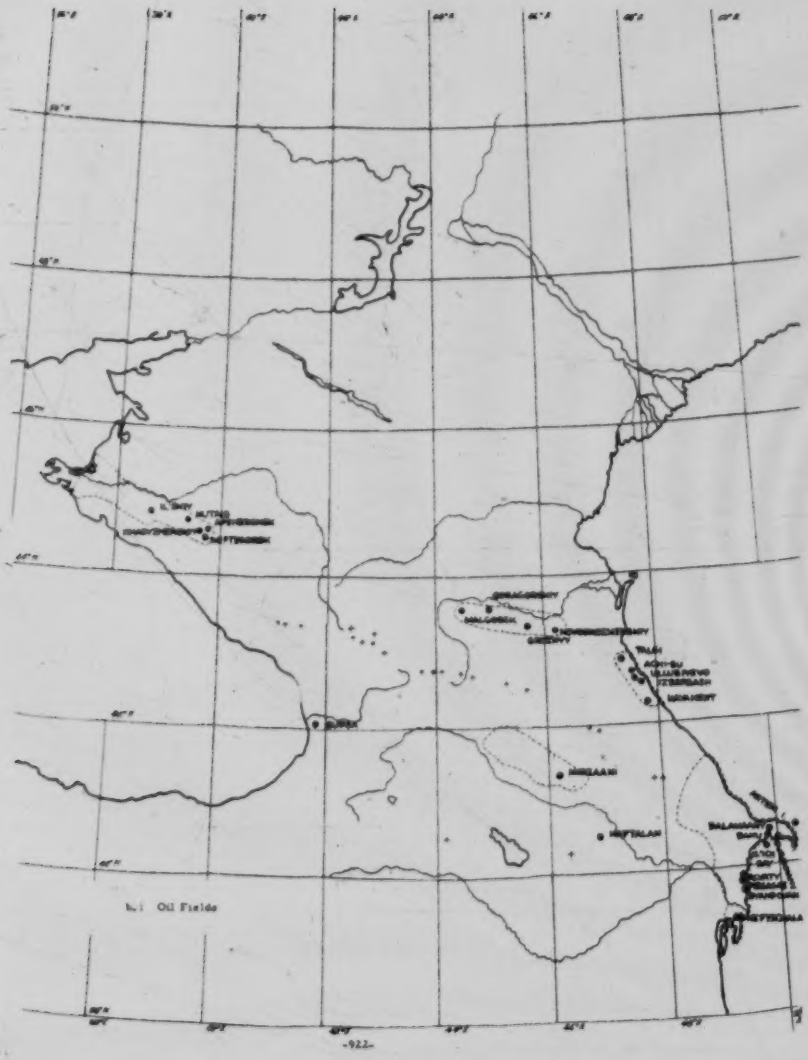




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## b. 3 Pipelines

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## b. 4 Natural Gas Sources

23: Shabad N-4 (no date) 1951 R1 Soviet Union R1
Caucasia RH1



Sal steppes, where because of the dry conditions only sheep and horses can be successfully reared. SU 241 C 241

The rich agricultural production of the Kuban' lowlands is processed at a number of centers, chiefly Krasnodar, Armavir, Kropotkin, and Labinsk. Of great importance are oil presses, canneries, flour mills, and tobacco factories.

The Black Sea littoral is characterized by a humid, maritime climate, luxuriant natural vegetation, mineral springs, and a picturesque location between the mountains and the sea. These factors combine to make the area provide garden crops and health resorts. Because of the limited land area under cultivation and the presence of resorts (Sochi, Matsesta, and Anapa), the growing of vegetables, fruits, vineyards, and dairy farming receive priority. Tobacco, southern hemp, oil-bearing plants are also cultivated. Flower gardens and decorative plants are common. Wine is made chiefly at Anapa, at Abrau-Dyurso near Novorossiysk, and at Solntsedar [gift of the sun], just west of Gelendzhik. Gelendzhik itself is an important dairying center. Tea is processed at Dagomys, northwest of Sochi.

The Kuban'-Black Sea petroleum region (near Maykop) is centered in Neftegorsk [oil mountain] and Apsheronsk (named for the oil-rich Apsheron peninsula). Near by are the oil towns of Khadyzhenskiy and recently-opened Kutais. Another field has been developed at Il'skiy, southwest of Krasnodar. Prior to the Second World War this region was one of the most rapidly developing petroleum areas of the USSR; it had a tenfold increase in production under the Soviet regime. Destruction caused by the war has, however, been responsible for a considerable setback in output. SU 315 C 315

The basic transportation routes are the Rostov-Baku and Novorossiysk-Stalingrad railroads, their junction being at Tikhoretsk, a major rail center with extensive yards and shops. Short branch lines serve most sections of the region. During the Second World War the opening of the Black Sea littoral railroad between Adler and Sukhumi (Georgian SSR) established another vital link across the Greater Caucasus to the Transcaucasian republics. Coastal steamers serve the Black Sea shore, stopping at Sochi, Tuapse, and Novorossiysk, the most important ports. SU 496 C 496

Krasnodar, formerly called Yekaterinodar, lies on the right bank of the Kuban', in the middle of the fertile black-earth agricultural area. Once the capital of the Kuban' Cossacks, it has oil-refining and metalworking industries. It is a major food-processing and rail center, having SU 435* 361 C 438 361

Ca 771 [870] during the summer holidays all that the Soviet authorities wished them to disregard. A number of Ingush party and Communist Youth League members, instead of working against the influence of religion, used themselves to go to the mosques to pray.[7]

Ca 447 191 The difficulties existing between the Soviet authorities and the Chechens and Ingush[2] were not exclusively due to the Bolshevik failure to understand the importance of the religious factor in the life of the mountaineers. There were also extraordinary difficulties of a technical nature, due to the fact that the directives of the central administration were issued in the Russian language and therefore did not reach the Chechen-Ingush masses. Being unable fully to understand the orders received, the local Soviet organs either could not carry them out, or falsified the decisions of the party and of the administration.[8]

## GROZNY – THE OIL CITY

Ca 178 It was the tremendous dead weight of the predominantly Russian capital of Chechenia that prevented the implementation of any genuine Chechen autonomy and finally spelled the doom of the Chechen people. The actual liquidation of the Chechens would probably not have occurred had not the largest town in their homeland become an oil city, and indeed, one of the most important oil centres of the U.S.S.R.

Ca 515 S.U. 315 This oil city had developed out of the little fortress of Grozny[2] Although Grozny oilfields had been discovered as early as 1833, they were hardly exploited at all in the nineteenth century. In 1912, however, they already supplied 11·5 per cent of the entire Russian oil. Between 1913 and 1917 this figure had risen to 16·7 per cent, and in the following four years to nearly 25 per cent. By 1937 the proportion of Grozny oil to total Russian oil production had fallen to 9·25 per cent, but in terms of absolute figures this output represented an increase of 234 per cent, compared to that before the First World War. The development of Ca 361 162 Grozny as an oil centre made for an increase of the population on an 'American scale'. In 1890 the place had no more than 6,000 inhabitants, against 34,067 in 1913, 97,095 in 1926 and 172,468 in 1939. It need hardly be added that the Chechens and Ingush, peoples consisting of shepherds and peasants, could not contribute anything worth mentioning to the rise of the town which was styled, almost ironically, 'Capital of the Chechen-Ingush A.S.S.R.'. Among the oilworkers of Grozny there were probably at no time more than one-tenth of 'natives', and until 1936 there were but 9·7 per cent.

Ca 177 S.U. 583 Unlike so many cities in the Soviet Union, Grozny never changed its name under the Soviet régime, despite the imperialistic history connected with it. As a matter of fact, it was the Soviet oil city of Grozny which spelled the doom of the Chechens and not the little fortress which

1 [Cf. category 116, pp. 186-188, R1 Sov. Union: 21: Kolarz--Analyst]
2 [Cf. category 116, p. 186, R1 188 Sov. Union: 21: Kolarz--Analyst]

3: Anonymous U-4 (no date) 1920 RH1 Caucasia RH1



## (4) Minerals

The mineral resources of Caucasia have never yet been systematically surveyed, but they are known to be both varied and extensive. As at present worked, and excepting mineral oils (see below, p. 68)* which as a source of wealth have hitherto stood alone, the most valuable products are manganese and copper. 316

*Baryta* is produced in Kutais by six enterprises; the output in 1910 amounted to 1,750 metric tons, or five-sixths of Russia's total output.

*Coal* is mined chiefly at Tkvibuli, in Kutais, where the mines are served by a branch railway. This coal yields a dense strong coke useful for metallurgy. A very little coal is also produced in Kuban, and lignite of poor quality is found and consumed locally in the Migri valley, at Manglis and Borchka. Unexploited deposits exist on the Black Sea coast, where the Tkvarcheli forest is believed to cover 54,000 acres of coal of excellent quality. A large deposit occurs near Tiflis, in the valley of the River Oltinsk, and coal has recently been found at Akmetovskoi. The production in recent years shows a steady increase, the total output having been 45,700 metric tons in 1910, 51,000 in 1911, 69,000 in 1912, and 75,000 in 1913.

*Copper.*—The rich copper deposits have hitherto been only partially worked, but three distinct areas are now exploited by foreign capital: 471 316

(i) The Kedabek mines, in Elisavetopol (north-east of Lake Gokcha), are worked by the American firm of Siemens Brothers. There are three mines, at Kedabek, Kalakent, and Karabulakh, which are connected by a metre-gauge railway. The ore contains from 2 to 20 per cent. of copper, and the production of copper in 1913 was 1,272 metric tons. Benzene brought from Baku by pipe line is used for smelting, whereas the companies referred to below use electricity. Siemens Brothers had begun before the war to exploit copper at Kvartshana in the Province of

* [see cat. 116 -- Analyst]

3: Anonymous U-4 (no date) 1920 RH1 Caucasia RH1



471 Batum, and were about to erect blast furnace smelting
36 works there.

(ii) The Allahverdi, Aktala, and Shambru mines, in the Lialvar Mountains (Tiflis), are worked by the French Compagnie Métallurgique et Industrielle du Caucase. At Allahverdi, the most productive mine, the ore (copper sulphide) contains 7·18 to 18·56 per cent. of copper, and the output of copper in 1913 was 4,760 metric tons.

(iii) The Dzansul, Chiakathevi, and Erga mines, on the borders of the Provinces of Batum and Kutais, are exploited by the Caucasus Copper Co., a British company formed in 1900. Heavy initial outlay and climatic difficulties necessitated a large capitalization, but in 1913, when some 12,000 workmen were employed, the profit obtained was £87,800. The ore in the mines contains from 16 to 18 per cent. of copper. In 1912 the production was 40,000 metric tons of ore and 3,000 metric tons of copper, but in 1913 the progress of the company was described as disappointing, the amount of copper produced being only 3,280 metric tons.

In addition to the above, there are various native enterprises. In the Okchi valley in the Sangesur district of Elisavetopol, old mines of great productivity have been reopened, but pack-horses are the only available means of transport. The Katar mine in Sangesur is now worked by electricity. In the Pambak Mountains, also in the Government of Elisavetopol, there are mines at Delijan, Sirimadan, Sagali, Mishkan, and Seifalu; at the last of these the ore yields from 20 to 30 per cent. of copper. The most important native companies are the Melik Azariantz, the Kunduroff, and the Grielsky.

328 The output of copper in Caucasia was 7,536 metric tons in 1908, 9,520 in 1909, and 7,631 in 1910. In 1912, 303,225 metric tons of ore were mined, of which 200,000 were smelted, yielding 9,270 metric tons of metal. In 1913 the production was 9,220 metric tons. The figures for 1912 and 1913 refer to the British, French, and American companies only. It is not clear whether those

3: Anonymous U-4 (no date) 1920 RH1 Caucasia RH1



Other places in Caucasia at which manganese occurs 317
are Kvartala in Batum, where the French Manganese [471]
Ore Co. had arranged for the erection of plant at the end of 1913, Seifalu in Elisavetopol, and in the neighbourhood of Samtredi and Novo-Senaki.

Huge beds of *marl* are now being exploited near Novorossiisk by the cement companies there.

*Salt.*—There are rock-salt deposits in Erivan and Kars. and a certain amount of evaporated salt is produced in Baku and Daghestan. The total output of salt in 1910 was 28,340 metric tons, which consisted of 16,600 tons of rock-salt from Erivan, 6,930 tons of rock-salt from Kars, 4,370 tons of evaporated salt from Baku, and 440 tons of evaporated salt from Daghestan. The total output in 1911 amounted to 37,830 metric tons, and in 1913 to 32,260 metric tons.

*Zinc* is worked by the Alagir Smelting Co. at Sadon 328
and Alagir, and from blende ore near Vladikavkaz. The company's works, which are 60 miles from the mines, are fitted with modern plant. In 1914 the company were planning a new exploitation, on a large scale, of both lead and zinc. The output of zinc in 1910 was 3,400 metric tons, and in 1912 the combined production of zinc and argentiferous lead was 26,000 metric tons.

*Other Minerals.*—At Soglik, near Dash Kessan, in 135
the Gokcha range (Erivan) there is an inexhaustible 316
supply of *alunite*, containing 37·58 per cent. of alum, but it is very little worked. *Antimony* is mined in small quantities in Tiflis. There is *arsenic* ore at Bechenakh, but up to the present it has not been exploited. There is a small output of *asbestos* from Sharbpan, Vzhinevi, and Lechgum in Kutais. There are excellent *bitumen* beds on the Black Sea coast, and *asphalt* is a by-product of the petroleum industry. *Cobalt* is mined in small quantities in Elisavetopol. White *diatomite* (infusorial earth), containing 87 per cent. of silica, is worked at Kissatip, near Akhaltsikh (Tiflis). *Emery* is found at Karabulakh (Elisavetopol). *Gold* exists in very small quantities in the alluvial deposits of the Alindja river, and in the ore of the

3: Anonymous U-4 (no date) 1920 RH1 Caucasia RH1



135 Kedabek copper mines. *Graphite* and *mercury* have
316 recently been found. *Pyrites* is worked for sulphur in Elisavetopol and Tiflis, and sulphur is also obtained at Bechenakh and Gunur, in Kutais.

## (5) Mineral Oils

### (a) *Sources of Supply*

135 Mineral oil, the great source of Caucasian wealth,
315 is found chiefly in the Governments of Baku, Terek, and Kuban, although small quantities occur elsewhere. Hitherto by far the richest oil-producing area has been that of Baku, comprising the Apsheron Peninsula, Cheleken Island and Holy Island, and the outlying district of Benagadi. In the Apsheron Peninsula lie the older oil-fields: the five belts of Balachani, Sabunchi, Romani, Bibi-Ebyat, and Zabrat, and the comparatively newly-discovered oil district of Surachani, about 12 miles away. Second to those of Baku in importance and apparently of increasing productivity are the Grozni fields in Terek Province. The Maikop oil-fields, in Kuban Province, have since 1912 yielded unsatisfactorily.

In 1908 the Caucasian oil-fields supplied about 22 per cent. of the world's total production, but the proportion has sunk very considerably since then. General figures of the output from 1910 to 1916 are given in Table II of the Appendix (p. 93).

382 The products of the mineral oil include illuminating oils, engine and cylinder oils, solar oils, goudron (asphalt), benzene, residuum (*ostotki*), and crude oil (untreated). Of these, *ostotki* was for years treated as waste, but it is now by far the largest product, having superseded kerosene, which bears a heavy duty, while *ostotki* is untaxed; it has a large sale as fuel for factories, railways, and steamships. Balachani oil is the heaviest in quality; *ostotki* is not so readily formed from the Bibi-Ebyat and Grozni products. Cheleken Island and Telav produce ozokerite (or paraffin wax). The lowest percentage of benzene

5: Allen H-4 (no date) 1923 RH1 Caucasia RH1



135 [114] 135 316 [78] 471

exist on the subject, and in Mr. Ghambashidze's book the existence of many important deposits is only broadly indicated.

*Metals.*—*Manganese* is the only metal which has been adequately worked in Georgia, and the growth of this industry has, by creating a community of miners, had an important effect on the industrialisation and subsequent growth of the Socialist movement in the country.

The principal manganese deposit covers an extent of about 100 square miles along both banks of the river Kvirili, in the Government of Kutais, the centre of the mining region being at the town of Chiaturi. The mines were at first worked by a large number of small native firms who, from lack of expert knowledge and capital, employed very unscientific methods, with the result that there was much waste. Later, however, foreign firms, chiefly German, began to purchase holdings and to organise the industry, and towards the end of the last decade of the nineteenth century Georgian manganese rivalled that of Brazil and India. Great Britain was at first the principal purchaser, but Germany and other Continental countries later absorbed the bulk of the output. The industry reached the height of its prosperity in 1906, when a decrease in demand, unusually high sea-freights, and foreign competition caused a depression which lasted until 1911. In that year a revival of prosperity took place, but with the closing of the Dardanelles at the end of 1914 the industry suffered a severe blow. At the end of 1918 work at the mines had practically ceased, and heavy stocks of ore were lying at Chiaturi and Poti.

Further deposits of manganese exist at Khvartata (Batum), Saifalu (Elisavetpol), Samtredi and Novo-Senaki (Kutais).

Outcrops of *copper* occur in many parts of the Caucasus, and its mining has been in progress from the remotest times. There are three main areas which are known to contain rich deposits: (1) south of Tiflis, and east and west of the Tiflis-Kars Railway; (2) in the Chorokh Valley; and (3) in the Zangezur region.

(1) The Kedabeg group, comprising the mines of Kedabeg, Kelakent and Kara-bulag, situated north-east of Gökcha in the Government of Elisavetpol, have been worked by the American firm of Siemens Brothers, whose production of copper in 1913 amounted to 1,272 metric tons. The Allahverdi, Akhtala and Shambru mines, in the Lialvar Hills, south of Tiflis, are worked by the French Cie Métallurgique et Industrielle du Caucase, their production in 1913 amounting to 4,760 metric tons. Native firms also work mines in the Phambak Hills,

5: Allen H-4 (no date) 1923 RH1 Caucasia RH1



and at Delijan, Kazakh, Sagali, Saifalu, and elsewhere in the Government of Elisavetpol. 135 316 471

(2) In the Chorokh Basin, the whole length of which is believed to contain rich deposits of ore, the British Caucasus Copper Co. has worked the Dzanzul mine, south of Borchka. In 1912 the production from this mine was 40,000 tons of ore and 3,000 tons of copper, but in the following year the output was disappointing. In the same region Siemens Brothers had begun operations at the Khvartshana mine.

(3) In the Zangezur region difficulties of transport have prevented adequate exploitation, but work has been undertaken by native firms, notably at Synik, Barabatum and Katar. Other considerable deposits are believed to exist in the Rion Valley round Telav and Zakatali, in the Sukhum district and along the Ossetian Military Road.

*Iron* has been little exploited in the Caucasus, but deposits have been prospected at Khamuli in Kutais, Chachak in Tiflis, on the banks of the Bzib near Sukhum, at Veden in Chechnia, in the Maikop district, and near Lenkoran. 135 316

There are deposits of *lead* and *zinc* ore at Sadon, near Vladikavkaz, in the neighbourhoods of Sukhum and Gori, in the Government of Elisavetpol, near Mozdok and Artvin, and elsewhere, but little exploitation has been undertaken. Deposits of *mercury*, *molybdenum*, *antimony*, *iron pyrites*, *cobalt* and *nickel*, and also small quantities of *gold* and *silver* exist, and would probably repay exploitation.

*Non-Metals.*—*Coal* is exploited in the Caucasus only at the mines of Tkhvibuli in the Government of Kutais, where the annual production for 1911–15 averaged about 5,000 tons. Much of it however was of poor quality. Rich deposits have been prospected at Tkvartcheli, in the Government of Sukhum, and another field has been located near Olti in the Government of Kars.

Deposits of *baryta* have been worked in the Government of Kutais; *asbestos* is produced at Shorapan and elsewhere in Kutais; *sulphur* abounds in the Government of Erivan; *salt* is produced in considerable quantities in the Governments of Baku, Erivan, Kars, and Daghestan; there are *bitumen*-beds on the Black Sea coast; *emery* is found at Kara-Bulakh; fine *lithographic stone* is obtainable at Amlivi, near Tiflis, and *pumice-stone* near Kars; *mica* and *graphite* also exist.

*Mineral Springs.*—The Caucasus is celebrated for its mineral springs, and before the Revolution many thousands of Russians, and even invalids from Western Europe, visited the health- 312 529

7:Columbia U. S-4, 5 1956 RH1 Caucasia

RH1

316 3(?) Kamladze, Aleksandr Artem'evich
Stalin prize 1. class
Mining engineer

Laur. Stalin. prem. 1950
p. 34

669 3(?) Kamo (pseud.) Party-pseudonym of Ter-Petrosian, Semen Arshakovich Born in Gori, 1882-1922. Prof. revolutionary. Died in car accident. Collaborated with Stalin.

BE II 19:543

242 1 Kanchaveli, L.
Director of the Institute of plant protection of Akad. nauk, SSR Gruz., 1954

Zar. Vost. 2/17/54

538 2 Kaputikian, Sil'va Barunakovna 1919- . Armenian poetess, born in Erevan. Stalin prize in 1952. Wrote Vera, Esli vdrug pozuvut menia, etc.

BE II 20:90

646 2 Karapetian, Sashibek Airapetovich
Deputy Sov. Nats. VS SSSR, 4. sozyv, 1954.

Kom. Er. 3/19/54

814 drevnegruzinskoi literatury. 2 vols. 1923-24. 3. ed. 1951-52. Did some work on Byzantine literature as reflected in Georgian translation, and unavailable in the original.

BE II 20:491

646 1 Kemoklidze, Parten Georgevich
Deputy to Sov. Soiuz VS SSSR (4. s'ezd, 1954).

Bak. Rab. 2/18/54

538 5 Kerashev, Tembot Magometovich 1903- . Adygeian prose-writer. Translated "International" into Adygeian. Novel Shambul about collectivization of Adygeia. Rec'd Stalin prize in 1948 for Doroga k schast'iu.

BE II 20:551, I 61:254

•316 3(?) Kereselidze, Konstantin Georgievich
Stalin prize 3. class, 1950. Mining engineer.

Laur. Stalin. prem. 1950
p. 35

665 3 Kerimov, A. G.
CC CP Azerb. SSR, 20. s'ezd, 1954.

7 : Columbia U. S-4, 5 1956 RHl Caucasia

RHl

316
646 1 Sheklashvili, Shalva Spiridonovich
Deputy to Sov. Nats. VS SSSR (4. s'ezd, 1954). Born in Gorisa, 1908- ; mining engineer; since 1949 head of "Chiaturmarganets" trust. Deputy of VS Gruz. SSR since 1951.

Bak. Rab. 3/19/54

445 2 Shekoian, A. A.
Member CC CP Arm. SSR, 17.-18. s'ezd, 1954, 1956

Kom. Er. 1/22/56

538
1 Shengelaia, Demma, 1896-
Georgian writer, symbolist; His big work is Sanavardo, 1924-5 (on how capitalism replaced feudalism). Put' portrays counter-revolutionary heroes. 1927 he wrote Tiflis in which he shows affinity to proletarian ideology.

BE I 62:288

1 Shengelaia, Leon Mikhailovich
see
Kiacheli, Leo 1

1 [cf. cat. 116, p. 747 -- Analyst]

316 2 Vartanian, Konstantin Tigranovich
Stalin prize 3. class, 1950 mining engineer.

Laur. Stalin. prem. 1950
p. 35

536
646 1 Vasadze, Akakii Alekseevich
1899-. Actor; CP member since 1939, deputy to VS Gruz, SSR 1.-2. sozyv. Since 1935 director of Rustaveli theatre in Tiflis; he also acted as Iago, Franz, Vasilli Shuiskii, etc. Worked under influence of Mardzhanishvili. For role in Kidivdze by Daraseli in 1941, Velikii gosudar' by Solov'ev in 1945 and Potoplennye kamni by Mosashvili rec'd. Stalin prizes.

Laur. Stalin. prem. 1950 p. 78
BE II 7:24

646 5 Vas'kov, Aleksei Ivanovich
Cherkes, Deputy Sov. Nats. VS SSSR 4. sozyv. 1954

Pravda 3/18/54

793 2 Vazgen, I
see under
Baldzhian, Armenian Catholicos. 1/1

1/1 [cf. cat. 116, p. 689 -- Anahist]

311
315
316
325
392
323
38
288
25

Map 5 Caucasian Industry in Czarist Russia as of 1913

x : Centers of fuel industry

△ : Mines

□ : Centers of metallurgy

○ : Machinery and metal-working plants

♀ : Silicate and porcelain works

● : Chemical industry centers

T : Textile industry centers

F : Food industry centers

v : Centers of various industries

311
315
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325
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852a

315
382 of Caucasian oil production, the oilfields around Maykop, are richer than those of Makhachkala, though they have not yet fully recovered from the German destruction. The main center of these fields is Maykop. The Maykop product is refined in Maykop, or sent by pipes to the Krasnodar, Tuapse, or Trudovaya refineries. The fifth oilfield is the Shirako oilfield (in eastern Georgia), whose exploitation began only recently. The Shiraki product is processed in the Mirzaani cracking plants. The oil of the Caucasian fields is sometimes used as fuel for thermo-electric plants.

315 Natural gas centers: Though gas occurs around the oilfields at various places, large-scale industrial exploitation is confined to the methane gas wells of Dagestanskie Ognie where it is used for fuel in the glassworks.

316 Coal mines: This very important fuel, if one disregards the mines located in the northern Rostov Oblast, is scarce in the Caucasus. Only Georgia has really important coal mines, of which the Tkibuli and Tkvarcheli mines produce coking coal, whereas the Akhaltsikhe mines produce brown coal. In the North Caucasus, the Rostov coal mines are a continuation of the Donets Basin coal-producing area; they contribute 10% of its output and contain roughly 20% of the Donets Basin reserves. Caucasian coal is very often used as fuel for thermo-electric plants, the most important of which is the Artemovskiy Plant (90,000kw).

377 Water resources and hydro-electric plants: The Caucasus is extremely rich in water resources. Half of the water resources of

377 European Russia are in the Caucasus. Of these water resources a large part is already being exploited. In Azerbaijan: Mingechaur and Terter; in Armenia: Yerevan, Kanaker, Gyumush, Sevan; in Georgia: Zemo-Avchala, Khram, Adzharis-Tskhali, and Rioni are the most important hydro-electric plants. The hydro-electric plants along the Zanga River form the basis of Armenian industry. The industry of Tbilisi is based upon the power coming from Zemo-Avchala, whereas the Rion station supplies power for the Chiatura mines, for the ferro-manganese works of Zestafoni, and for industry in and around Kutaisi. The water resources of the North Caucasus are less exploited, although even there one finds great hydro-electric plants. The Baksan station (in the Kabardian ASSR) furnishes power to the health resorts around Pyatigorsk, the Ardon, Gizel'don, and Dzaudzhikau stations are the basis of North Ossetian industry. Cergebil', in Dagestan, is also one of the important stations (65,000 kw).

316 Iron mines: The Caucasus is poor in iron ore and the only important iron mine is at Dashkesan (Azerbaijan).

Manganese mines: This ore, very important in steel production, is mined at Chiatura, the second largest manganese mine in the world.

327 Centers of ferrous metallurgy: The two most important metallurgical centers are Rustavi, and Zestafoni (both in Georgia). The Rustavi steel mills, based on Tkvarcheli coal and Dashkesan iron, have a complete pig-iron, ingot, and rolled steel cycle. There are important

327 metallurgical centers at Taganrog (with the largest boiler works in the USSR), and at Krasnyy Sulin.

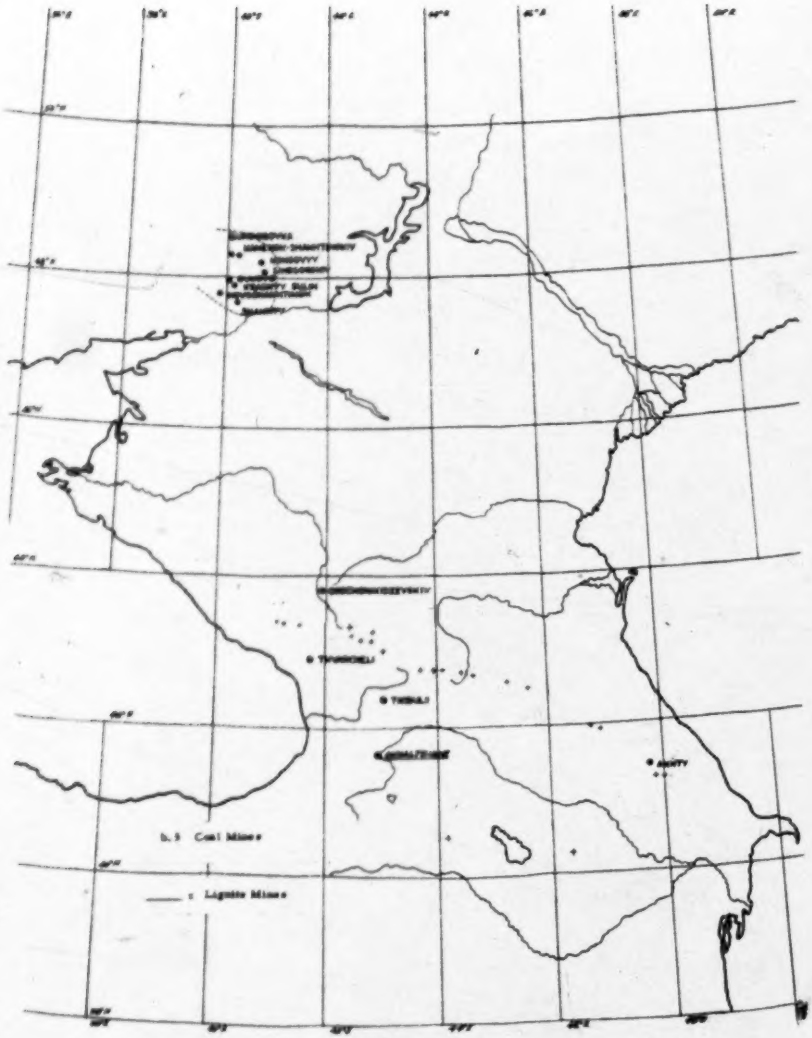
316 Non-ferrous mineral resources: Of these, copper is the most important. It is mined mostly in Armenia (Alaverdi area, and Kafan) and in West Azerbaijan (Kedabek). Silver, lead, and zinc are mined only at Sadon (North Ossetian ASSR). It is noteworthy that the Caucasus (especially Dagestan), which has long been famous for its silver handicraft, has no other silver mine than this one. Molybdenum, one of the rare metals, is mined at Kadzharan (Azerbaijan SSR), and at Tyrny-Auz (Kabardian ASSR).

328 Centers of non-ferrous metallurgy: Located in Armenia and in the North Ossetian ASSR. Armenia has copper smelters at Alaverdi and Kafan, whereas the North Ossetian Republic is famous for its new metallurgical works at Dzaudzhikau which is of unionwide significance and is connected with the Sadon lead and zinc mines. In the same republic, Alagir has lead and zinc smelters and Minur has an ore-concentrating plant.

Centers of aluminum industry: The only plant, one of the important plants in the USSR, is at Yerevan. Production is based on cheap power from the stations on the Zanga River.

312 Machinery and metal-working plants: As the result of the Russian industrialization drive, nowadays almost every large city has machinery plants. Armavir, Maykop, Novorossiysk, Taganrog, and especially Rostov, specialize in

316



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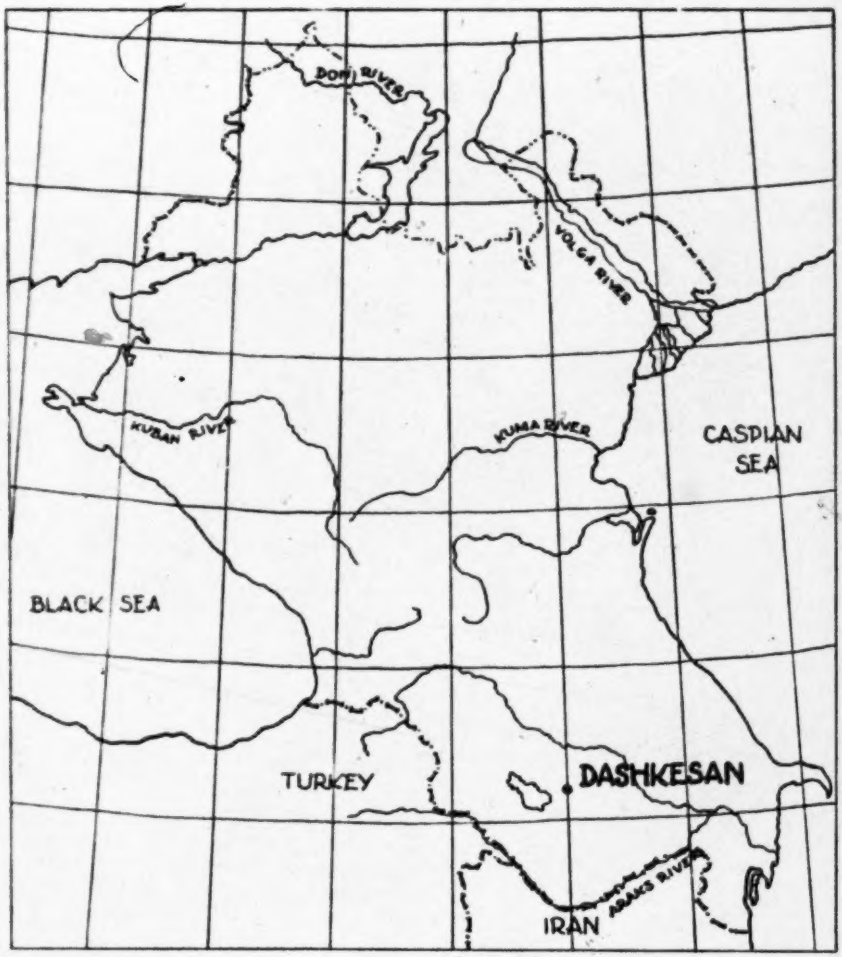
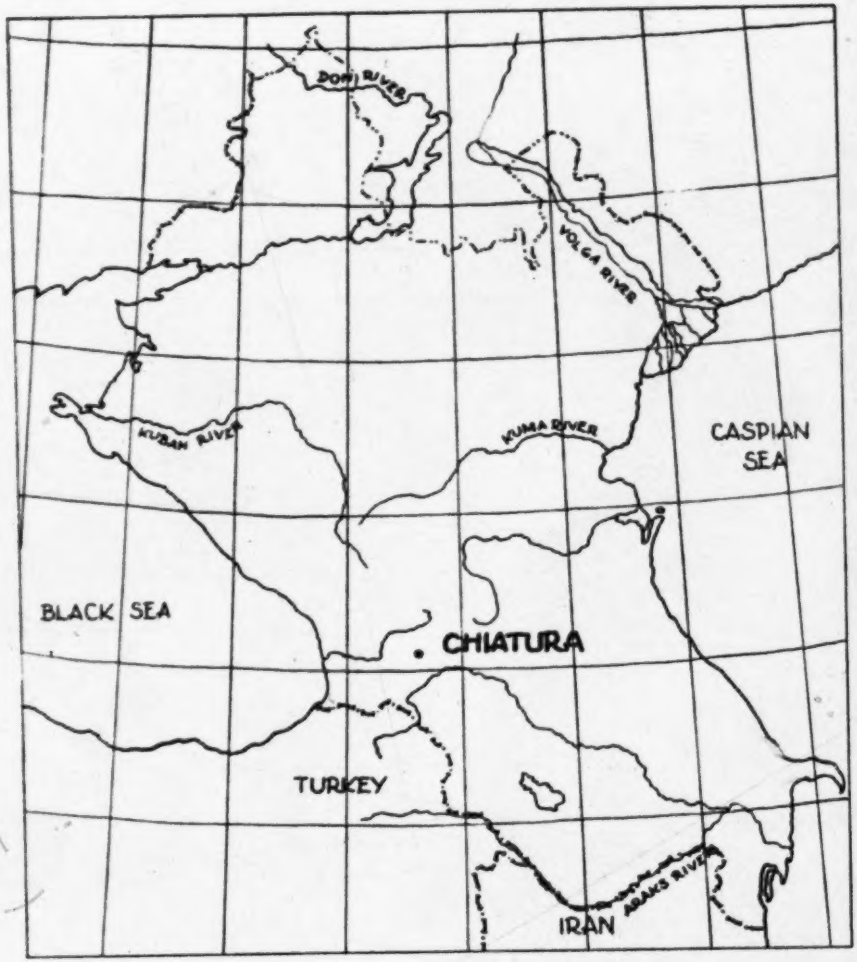
b. 8 Iron Mines



316

## b. 9 Manganese Mines



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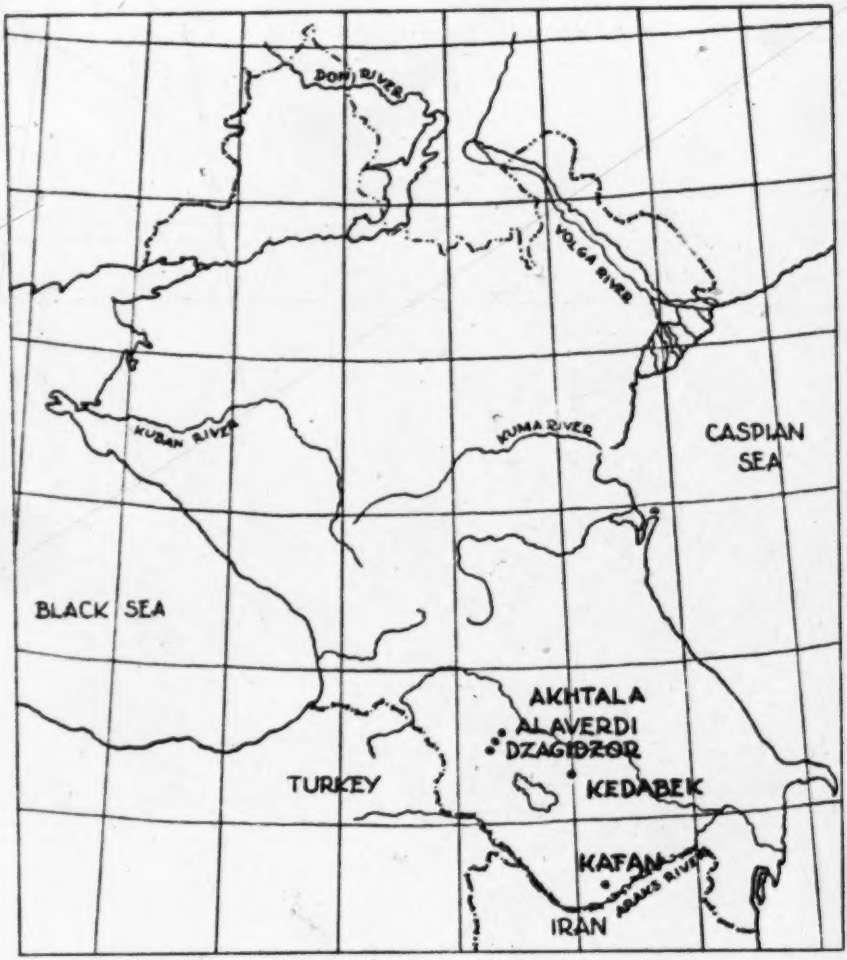
## b.11 Copper Mines



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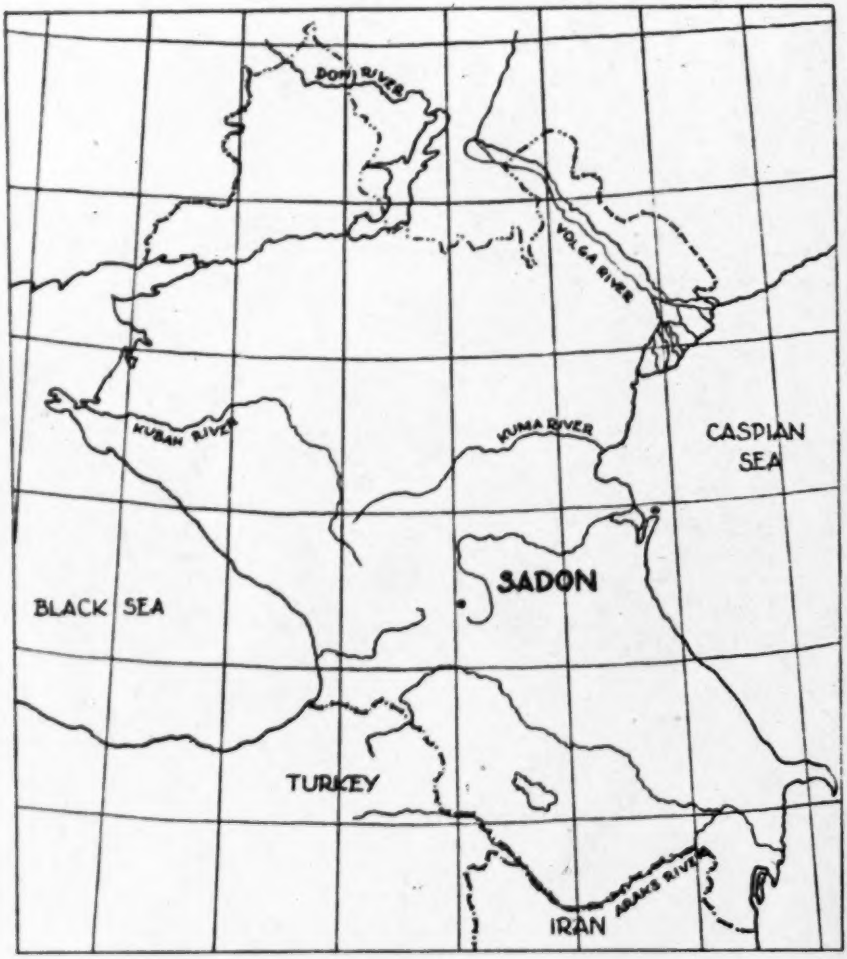
b.12 Silver Mines

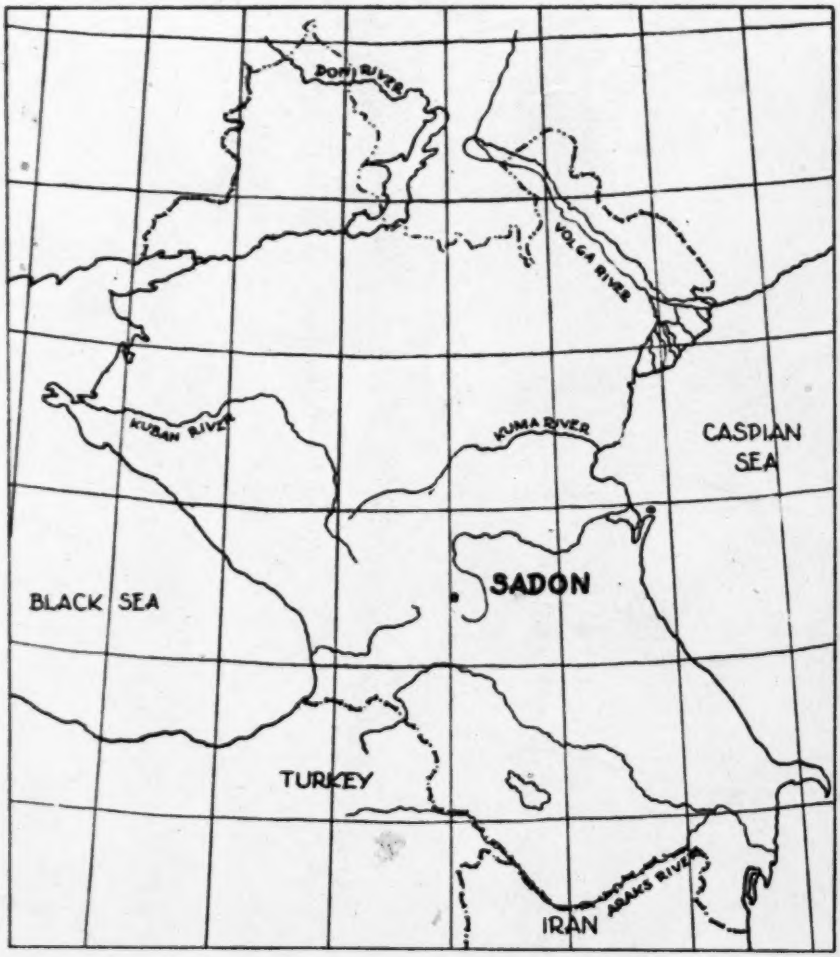
316

## b.13 Zinc Mines



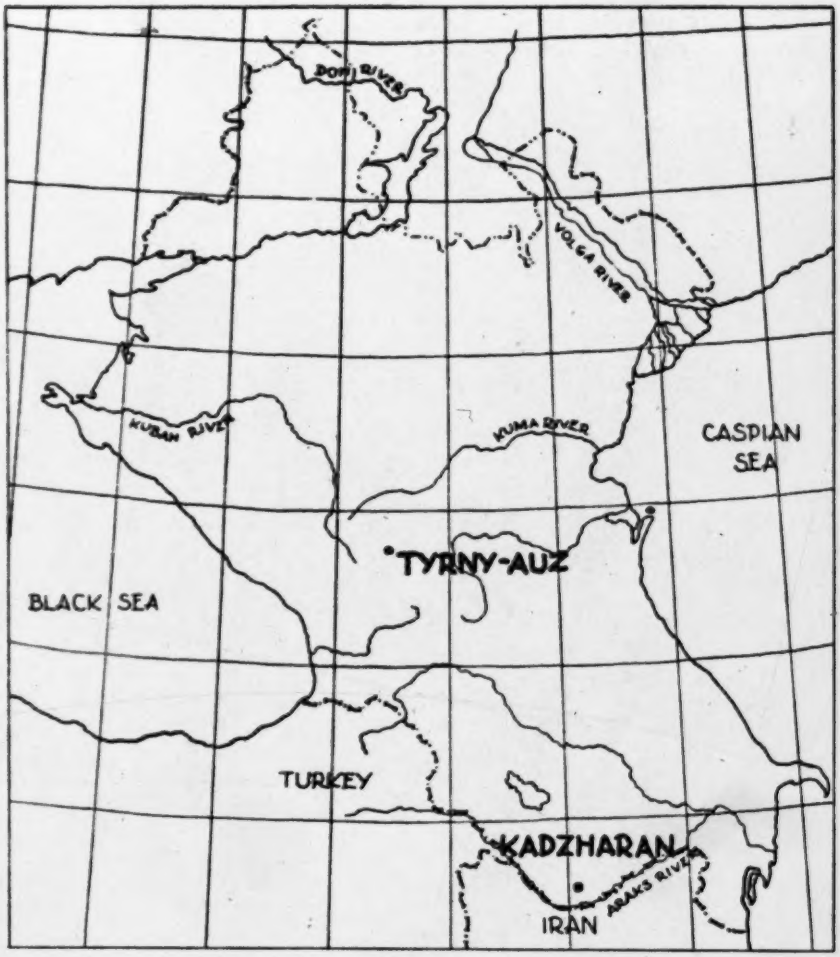
316

b.14 Lead Mines



316

## b.15 Molybdenum Mines



23: Shabad N-4 (no date) 1951 Rl Soviet Union Rl
Caucasia RH1

 SU

The Donets ridge, the major portion lying within the Ukraine, penetrates the oblast between the lower Don and its right affluent, the Northern Donets. It is a plateau of limestone and sandstone, which is deeply dissected by river courses and ravines. On the higher points burial mounds of the ancient steppe dwellers are often found. The villages, normally surrounded by gardens and orchards, lie along the ravines and valleys of small streamlets. A similar landscape is represented by the outliers of the Central Russian upland to the north. The Don steppe, on the contrary, constitutes very level terrain. The wide river valleys, where streams proceed with a sluggish current, are often filled with salt lakes, and salt flats frequently break the expanse of black-earth and chestnut soils which characterize the region. Toward the east the relief gradually merges with the features of the Caspian lowland. 133* C 133

Normally the Don is not a very abundant river, but spring freshets raise its level considerably. At its mouth, on the Taganrog Gulf of the Sea of Azov, it forms a large delta, which, together with the shallow waters of the adjoining sea, abounds in fish of many varieties. SU

The climate is continental, with hot summers and severe, snowless winters. Precipitation varies from 16 inches annually in the west to 12 inches in the east and occurs chiefly in the summer months, in frequent heavy downpours. Easterly prevailing winds blowing in the spring and summer from the dry steppes and deserts of Central Asia and Kazakhstan present a serious danger of drought to the crops. Drought conditions are especially marked in the southeast, along the Sal River, where black earth is largely replaced by chestnut soils. In the well-watered flood plain of the lower Don, alluvial pastures are important for the raising of dairy cattle. 132 C 132 SU

The eastern wing of the Donets Basin penetrates into the oblast along the Northern Donets River. Anthracite predominates in this area and represents about one fifth of the total reserves of the basin. The major coal-mining centers are Shakhty and Novoshakhtinsk. Other coal mines are concentrated in the areas of Gukovo, north of Krasnyy Sulin, and Gundorovka, west of Kamensk-Shakhtinskiy. In the Bogurayev coal field, at the intersection of the Northern Donets River and the Likhaya-Stalingrad railroad, coal is mined at Koksovyy (characteristically named for coke) north of the railroad and at Sinegorskiy to the south. Belaya Kalitva, at the center of this field, has limestone and glassworks. Anthracite dust from the mines is used to feed the power station of Artemovskiy, an eastern suburb of Shakhty, and the Nesvetay station 135 316 C 135 316

23: Shabad N-4 (no date) 1951 R1 Soviet Union R1
Caucasia RH1



in a southwestern suburb of Krasnyy Sulin. The former plays an important role in the mechanization of the coal-mining operations. Before the Second World War, more than 10 percent of the Donbas coal was mined within Rostov Oblast.

On the basis of the coal resources, heavy industry is operating metallurgical plants at Taganrog and Krasnyy Sulin. Rostov is the home of *Rossel'mash*, the largest agricultural machinery plant of the USSR. Agricultural implements are also manufactured at Morozovsk. Other centers engaged in the production of machinery and metal products are Taganrog, Novocherkassk, Glubokiy, and Likhovskoy (at Likhaya station).

In the northern grain-growing district, wheat and sunflower are the dominant crops. Toward the southeast, barley and mustard become important; further on, toward the Caspian Lowland, the emphasis shifts to stock raising. Horses and meat cattle are gradually replaced by sheep in the drier areas. Cotton is grown to some extent in the south and the southeast. Several Cossack villages along the Don River, notably Tsimlyanskaya and Razdorskaya, have extensive vineyards. In a wide zone through the urban and heavily industrialized section of Taganrog-Rostov-Shakhty, truck gardening and the raising of dairy cattle are the principal agricultural activities. The principal agricultural centers are Millerovo and Chertkovo in the north and Sal'sk (with near-by Gigant state farm, one of the largest grain farms of the USSR) in the southeast. These and other towns throughout the oblast mill flour, extract sunflower oil, and process tobacco. The fish catch of the Don delta and adjacent Taganrog Gulf is processed at Azov, a small port southwest of Rostov.

Rostov Oblast is settled by Russians and a Ukrainian minority. Prior to the Second World War some Kalmyk elements were organized into a Kalmyk national rayon, northwest of Zimovniki. In 1944, following the abrogation of the Kalmyk Autonomous SSR, the rayon was also abrogated, and presumably the population was resettled elsewhere. In this connection, Rostov Oblast also acquired the westernmost section of the former Kalmyk Autonomous SSR.

Rostov lies on the elevated, right bank of the Don River at the head of the delta. Thanks to its favorable location at the junction of trade routes between the Black Sea, the Volga, the Ukraine, the European Center, and the Northern Caucasus, it developed early into an important commercial center and transportation hub. With the construction of the

3: Anonymous U-4 (no date) 1920 RH1 Caucasia RH1



for earlier years include also the production of the 328
native undertakings, but in any case their quota is comparatively small. In 1913 Caucasia furnished 31 per cent. of the total Russian output. All Caucasian copper is disposed of in Russia.

Unexploited copper exists in the Naltchinsky Hills 135
and over a small area on each side of the Ossetian Military Road; in both cases the deposits are estimated to be rich.

The production of *Glauber's salt* in Tiflis in 1910, 317
amounting to 725 metric tons, represented nearly half of Russia's total output.

*Iron* is worked only spasmodically. It occurs chiefly 327
in the Government of Elisavetopol, at Chinarlidz, where [135]
the veins are from 2 to 21 metres thick, and as haematite at Sirimadan in the Pambak Mountains and in the Boyan valley. Nearly 2,000 metric tons were produced in 1908, but in no subsequent year does anything approaching that amount appear to have been obtained.

*Lead.*—There are extensive deposits of argentiferous 328
lead, but they have been little worked. The largest 135
production is that of the Alagir Smelting Co. in Terek; but the metal also occurs in the Lialvar district, in the upper valley of the Kura, and near Kedabek, and shortly before the war was found near Akmetovskoi station in Kuban.

*Manganese.*—The principal deposit covers an area 317
of nearly 100 square miles in the Kvirili valley in the [135]
Government of Kutais, the head-quarters of the industry being at Chiaturi. The ore contains on an average 40 per cent. manganese, 0·16 per cent. phosphorus, and 8 per cent. silicon, but in some workings the proportion of manganese is as high as 50 per cent. The ore is got out by means of hand picks, and is sorted by hand in a primitive way. It is soft and readily mined, and the firmness of the rock renders extensive timbering unnecessary. The miners do not fully exhaust the drifts, but work on them until they become dangerous or, on account of diminishing yield, unremunerative, a point which is soon reached owing

3: Anonymous U-4 (no date) 1920 RH1 Caucasia RH1



317 to unscientific methods of removal. Much ore is con-
[364] sequently wasted. Since 1909 an increasing amount of ore has been washed for the preparation of ferro-manganese, and this has resulted in the serious pollution of the River Kvirili, which runs through the mining district. Regulations have been made to control the practice of discharging refuse into the river, and plans formed to collect the refuse-laden water in an artificial basin, where it could be purified and utilized for generating electric power to be employed in the ferro-manganese furnaces. Little improvement, however, had been effected by 1914.

[471] Many small native firms are occupied in manganese-mining. A little before the war foreign capitalists were acquiring manganese-bearing land, which is usually leased in small lots of from half an acre to 50 acres in extent; about 1910 there was an extensive acquisition of unworked land by German firms. The recent tendency has been for the control of the industry to pass from small to large concerns.

There was a heavy slump in manganese just before 1908, but since that year the output has greatly increased: in 1910 it amounted to 548,300 metric tons; in 1911 it fell again to 451,600 metric tons, but in 1912 it rose to the high figure of 913,500 metric tons, and in
[439] 1913 to 1,051,500 metric tons. Nearly the whole output is exported; export figures are given on pp. 83 and 84. The trade was very heavily hit by the war.

Chiaturi competes with India and Brazil for pride of place as supplier of manganese to the world. It has, however, been handicapped by difficulties of transport, though favoured to some extent in the matter of freight rates. The Sharopan–Sachkeri rail-
[492] way lies some distance from the mines, and the ore has to be conveyed in carts or on pack animals to the station, whence further carriage to Poti or Batum is both slow and expensive. The Association of Manganese Producers (see p. 79) had up to 1914 failed to secure from the State anything beyond promises of improvement.

3: Anonymous U-4 (no date) 1920 RH1 Caucasia RH1



Other places in Caucasia at which manganese occurs 317 are Kvartala in Batum, where the French Manganese [471] Ore Co. had arranged for the erection of plant at the end of 1913, Seifalu in Elisavetopol, and in the neighbourhood of Samtredi and Novo-Senaki.

Huge beds of *marl* are now being exploited near Novorossiisk by the cement companies there.

*Salt.*—There are rock-salt deposits in Erivan and Kars. and a certain amount of evaporated salt is produced in Baku and Daghestan. The total output of salt in 1910 was 28,340 metric tons, which consisted of 16,600 tons of rock-salt from Erivan, 6,930 tons of rock-salt from Kars, 4,370 tons of evaporated salt from Baku, and 440 tons of evaporated salt from Daghestan. The total output in 1911 amounted to 37,830 metric tons, and in 1913 to 32,260 metric tons.

*Zinc* is worked by the Alagir Smelting Co. at Sadon 328 and Alagir, and from blende ore near Vladikavkaz. The company's works, which are 60 miles from the mines, are fitted with modern plant. In 1914 the company were planning a new exploitation, on a large scale, of both lead and zinc. The output of zinc in 1910 was 3,400 metric tons, and in 1912 the combined production of zinc and argentiferous lead was 26,000 metric tons.

*Other Minerals.*—At Soglik, near Dash Kessan, in 135 the Gokcha range (Erivan) there is an inexhaustible 316 supply of *alunite*, containing 37·58 per cent. of alum, but it is very little worked. *Antimony* is mined in small quantities in Tiflis. There is *arsenic* ore at Bechenakh, but up to the present it has not been exploited. There is a small output of *asbestos* from Sharopan, Vzhinevi, and Lechgum in Kutais. There are excellent *bitumen* beds on the Black Sea coast, and *asphalt* is a by-product of the petroleum industry. *Cobalt* is mined in small quantities in Elisavetopol. White *diatomite* (infusorial earth), containing 87 per cent. of silica, is worked at Kissatip, near Akhaltsikh (Tiflis). *Emery* is found at Karabulakh (Elisavetopol). *Gold* exists in very small quantities in the alluvial deposits of the Alindja river, and in the ore of the

392 agricultural machinery. The Rossel'mash at Rostov is the largest agricultural machinery plant in the USSR. Baku, Groznyy, Tuapse, Tbilisi, produce machinery used in oil-drilling and in the oil industry, Kutaisi produced machinery for coal mining, Stavropol' for lumbering. [393] Krasnodar has a telephone plant, the area around Pyatigorsk several radio plants. Tbilisi uses machinery used in the textile industry, whereas the machines produced at Taganrog are important in the chemical industry. Taganrog also produces machinery used in the food industry. Batumi and Tbilisi produce machinery used in the tea industry. There are plants like the Dvigatel'stroy at Makahchkala that produce various kinds of machinery.

399 398 397 Transportation machinery: Aircraft is produced at Taganrog, Rostov, and Makhachkala. There is a large automobile plant at Kutaisi, and an auto-assembly plant at Rostov. Novocherkassk produces locomotives (steam), and Novorossiysk bicycles.

396 Shipyards: There are important shipyards at Rostov and Taganrog on the Sea of Azov, at Tuapse on the Black Sea, and at Astrakhan' on the Caspian.

317 Pumice, gypsum, tuff, and bentonite mines: Pumice is quarried chiefly in Armenia at Anipemza and Akhuryan. Gypsum occurs around the Baskunchak salt mines (Astrakhan' Oblast), whereas tuff, used especially in the building industry, is quarried at Artik (Armenia). Bentonite, a fire-proof clay used in foundry work, in the oil industry, etc., is mined at

● 317 Gumbra in the vicinity of Kutaisi.

Marl mines, cement mills: The greatest marl deposits are around Novorossiysk. These deposits form the basis of the Novorossi-
[339] ysk cement industry, the principal in the USSR. The cement mills are located both in Novorossiysk proper, and around the city in its various suburbs. There are important cement mills at Ararat (Armenia), at Kaspi (Georgia), at Prokhladnyy (Kabardian ASSR), and at Rostov.

Silicate and kaolin quarries, glass and
[323] porcelain works: The glass-works at Dagestanskie Ogni is the really important one. Porcelain works occur in the North and in the South Caucasus.

Obsidian mines; centers of jeweller's trade: Obsidian, a volcanic glass used especially in the jeweller's trade, occurs in Armen-
[306] ia at Tumanyan. The jewelry center of the Caucasus is Kubachi (in the vicinity of Derbent).

Pyrite mines: Quarried especially at Kedabek and Chiragidzor (West Azerbaijan). It is used in the manufacture of sulfuric acid.

Barite mines: This common mineral quarried or mined at Chovdar (Azerbaijan) and at Kutaisi is one of the basic materials for the paint industry.

38 Chemical industry centers: The most important center is Armenia, where chemical plants have been created at Alaverdi (superphosphate), Amamlu (carbide), Leninakan, Kirovakan, and Yerevan. The Baku area is another important chemical industry center. In addition to these, there are important

288 industry is concentrated in the North Caucasus, chiefly at Astrakhan'.

Textile and clothing mills: The most important textile mills are at Baku (Azerbaijan), Leninakan (Armenia), Kutaisi (Georgia), Derbent (Dagestan), Budennovsk (Stavropol' Kray). Clothing mills are concentrated in Georgia
295 (Tbilisi, Batumi), in Armenia (Leninakan), and in the capitals of the Cherkess, Kabardian, and North Ossetian republics.

286 Rug-weaving centers: Rug-weaving is one of the traditional industries of the eastern South Caucasus. Originally it was a home industry of nomadic (mostly Turkic) peoples. The Caucasian rug-weaving industry produces three kinds of rugs: The Daghestani Rug, made in Dagestan and North Azerbaijan; the Shirvan Rug, made in East Azerbaijan; and the Karabagh Rug, made in Armenia and West Azerbaijan.

295 Alunite mines; leather, boot and shoe
282 factories: The most important leather factories are at Baku, Nakhichevan', Tbilisi, Kutaisi, Groznyy, and Stavropol'. Tbilisi, Cherkessk, Rostov, and Taganrog have boot and shoe fac-
317 tories. Alunite, the raw material important for tanning, is mined at Zaglik in Azerbaijan.

313 Lumbering, sawmilling, woodworking
322 plants: Concentrated in Georgia, in the most heavily forested area of the Caucasus. The other areas of concentration are Northern Armenia, and a whole series of cities, towns, and villages, located along the northern slopes of the Greater Caucasus. Important lumbering centers are also Astrakhan' and Rostov, processing imported lumber.

322 Furniture plants: Concentrated mostly in Novorossiysk, Maykop, Cherkessk, Rostov, and Kamensk-Shakhtinskiy.

289 Paper mills: There are only two important paper mills in the Caucasus. The large one is at Zugdidi in West Georgia, and the smaller one is at Rostov.

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256 Food industry: This industry is represented everywhere in the Caucasus.

Flour-milling centers: These are located mostly in the Krasnodar and Stavropol' Krays, and in Rostov Oblast.

Centers of starch and molasses industry: The center of this industry is the North Ossetian ASSR with its huge Beslan corn kombinat.

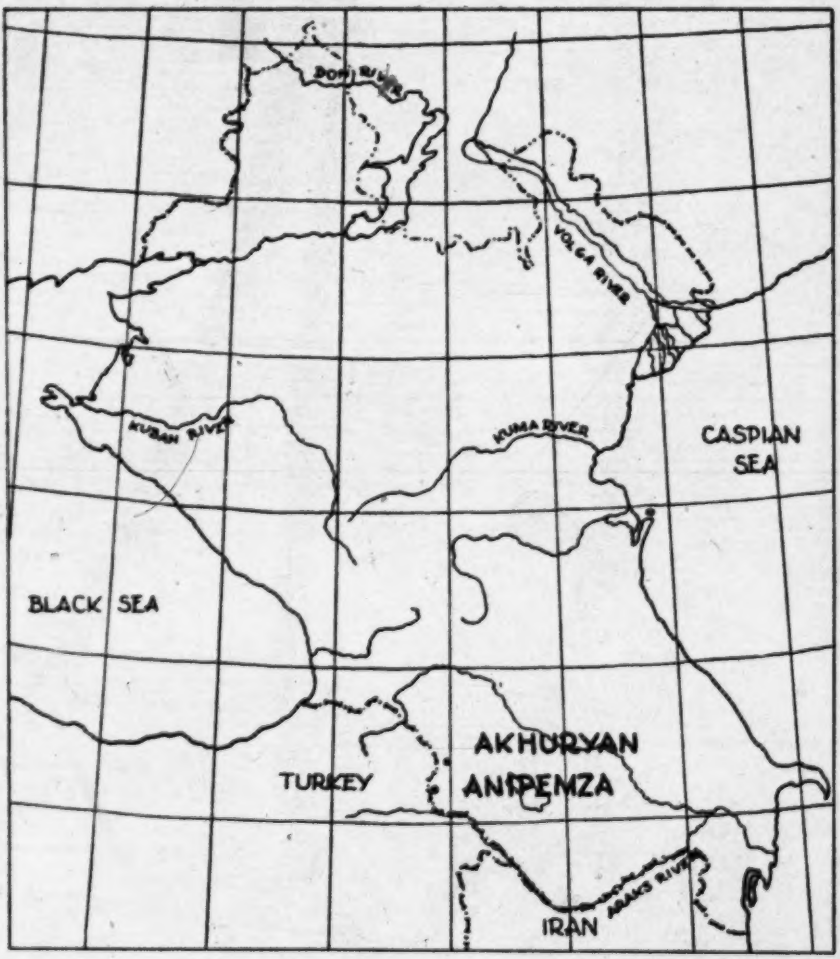
258 Oil presses: Concentrated especially in the western parts of the North Caucasus (Krasnodar and Stavropol'Krays and Rostov Oblast).

257 Sugar refineries: The chief sugar refineries are in Armenia (Amamlu, Leninakan), in Georgia (Agara), and in the Krasnodar Kray (Tikhoretsk, Korenovskaya).

255 Fruit-canning centers: Concentrated mostly in the eastern section of the North Caucasus. Dagestan especially is an important fruit-canning area. Other noteworthy fruit-

b. 21 Pumice Mines

317

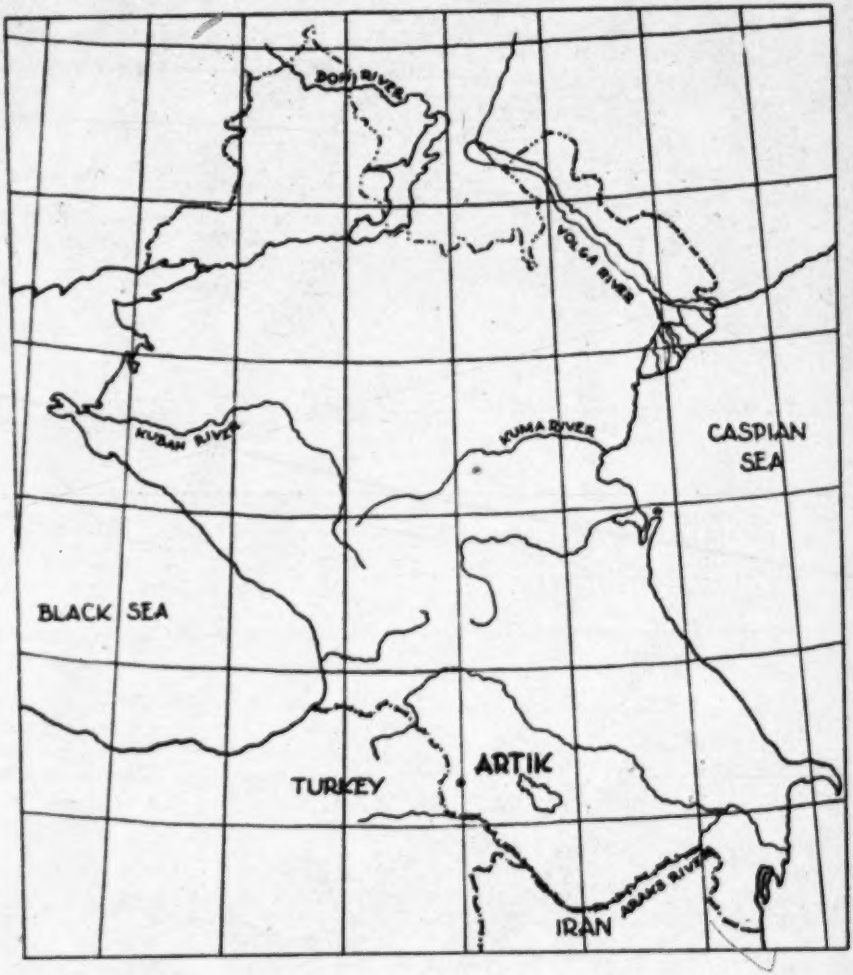


b. 22 Gypsum Mines

317

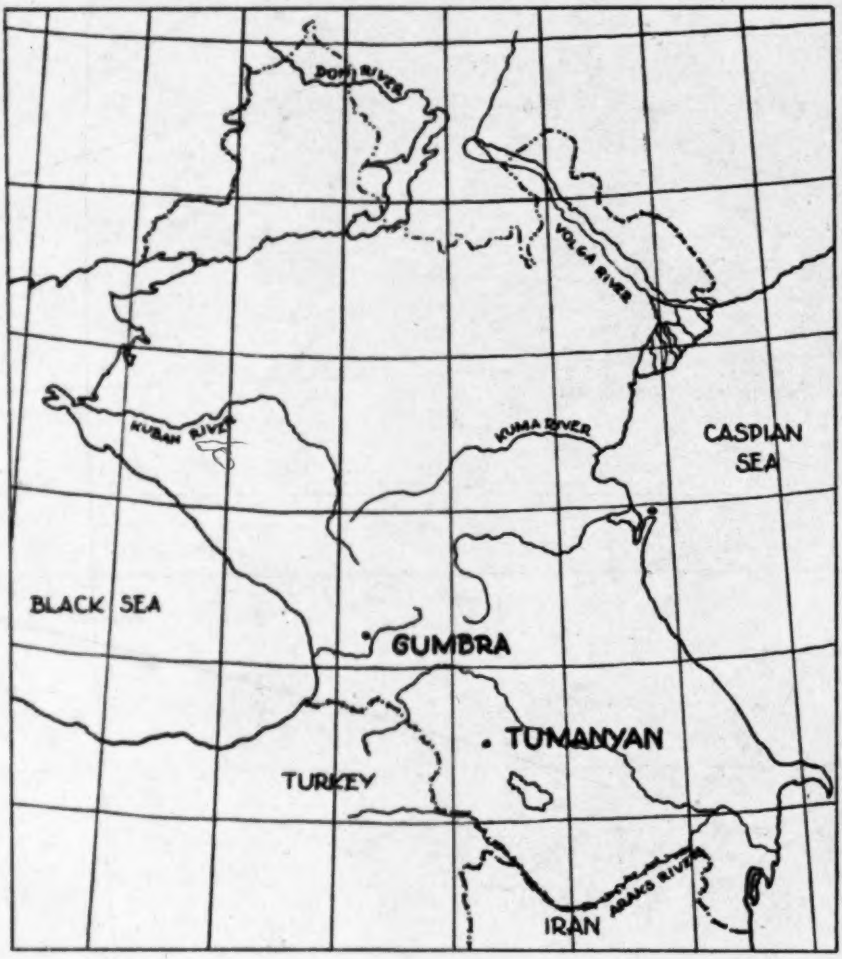
b. 23 Tuff Mines

317



b. 24 Bentonite Mines

317



b. 28 Obsidian Mines

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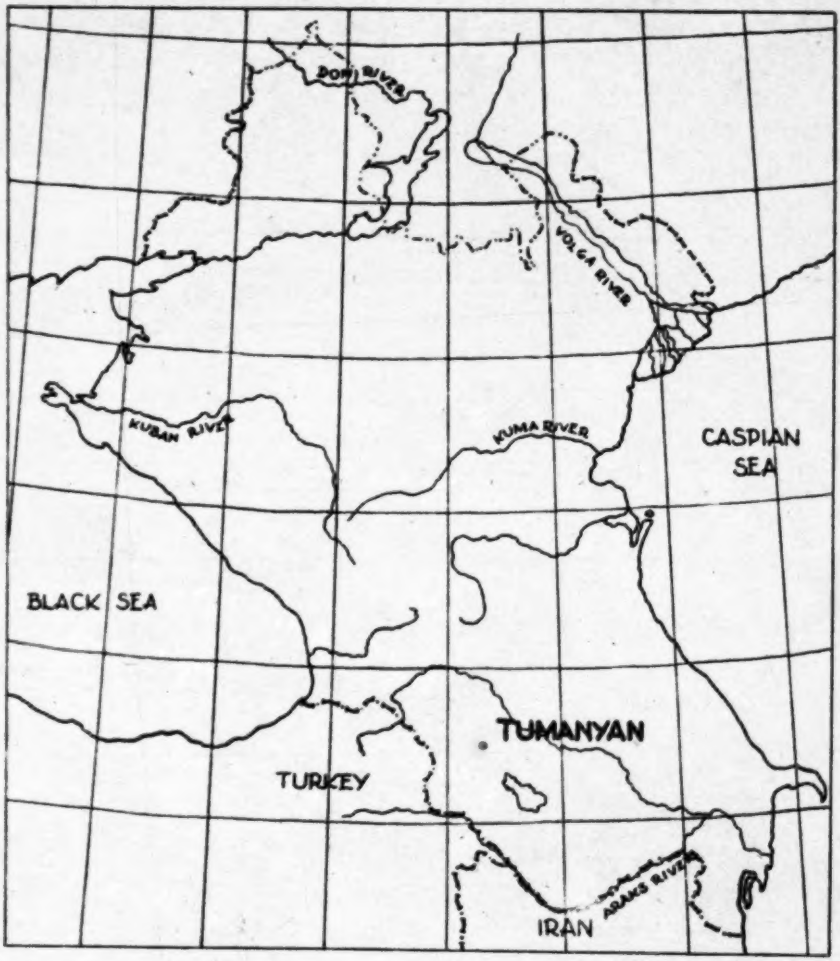

b. 29 Pyrite Mines

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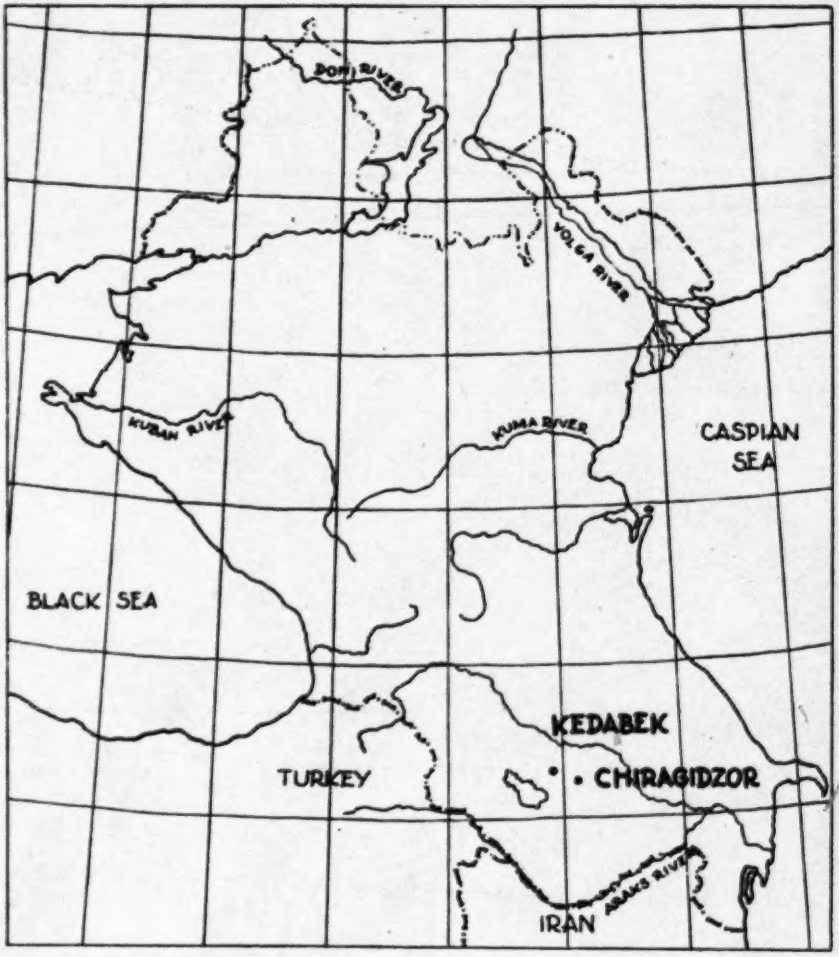

b. 30 Barite Mines

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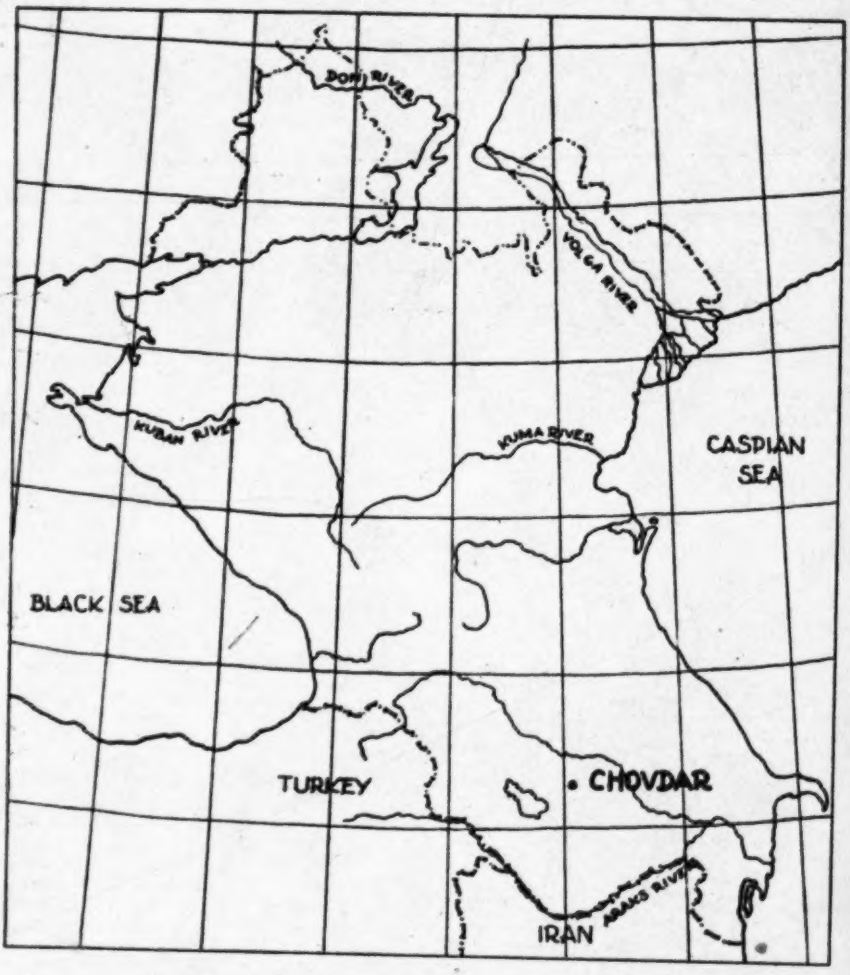

b. 42 Alunite Mines

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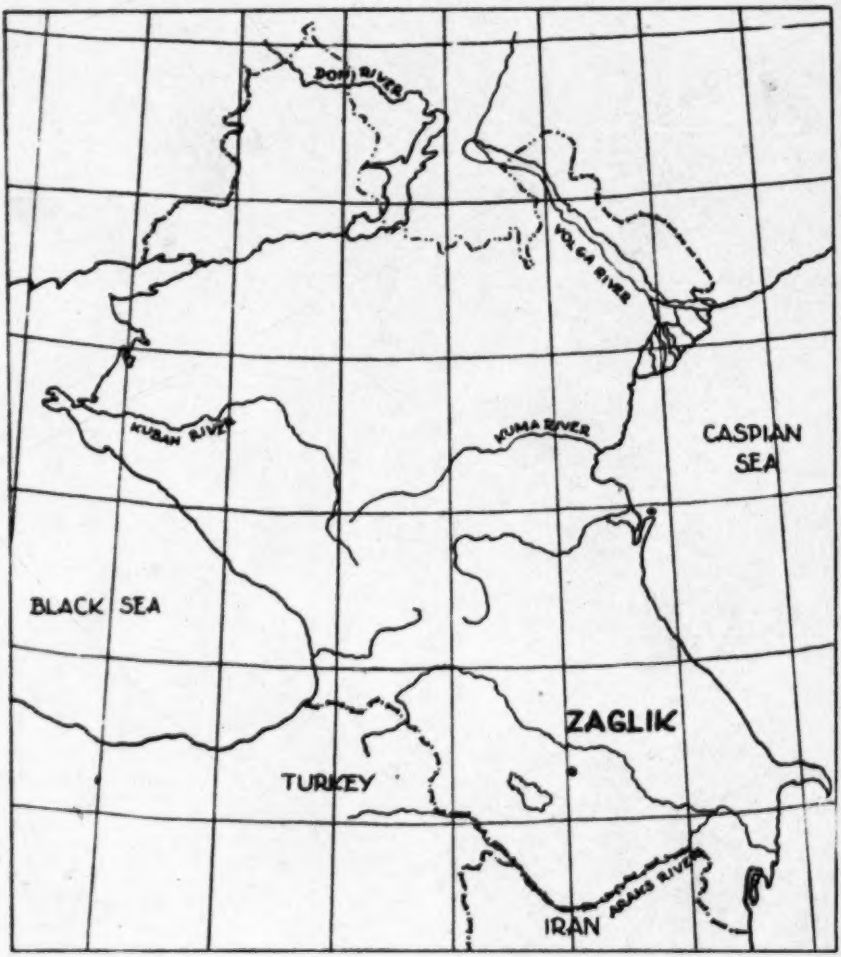
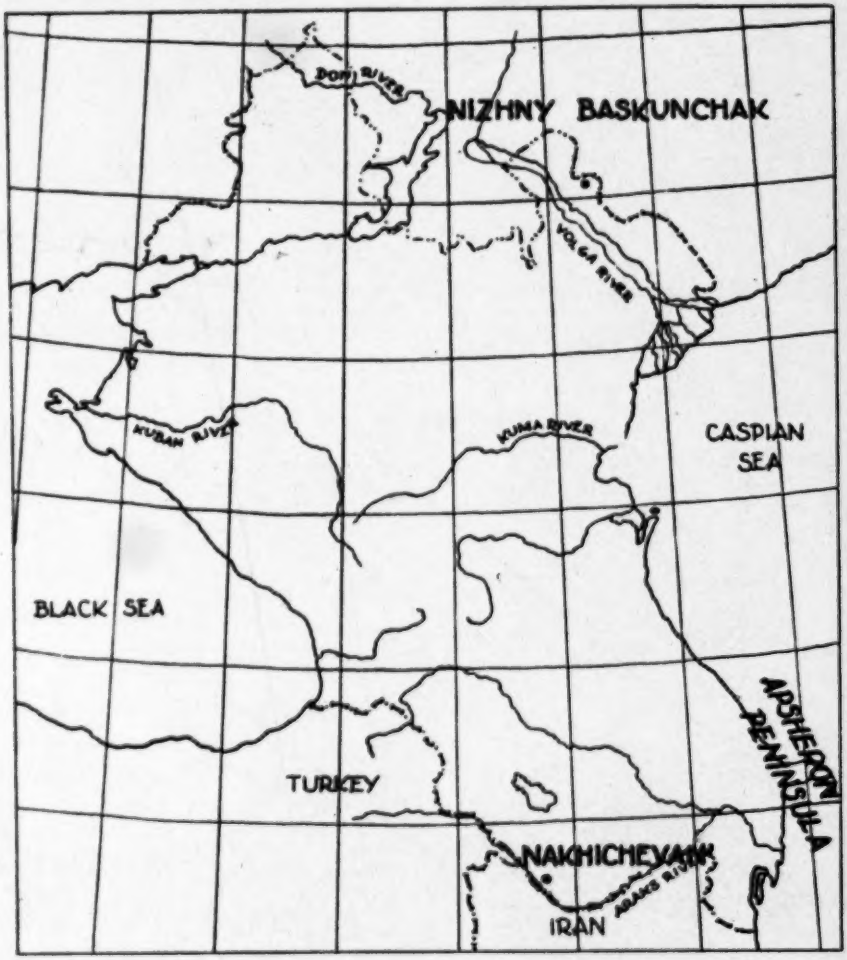


b. 48 Salt Mines

317



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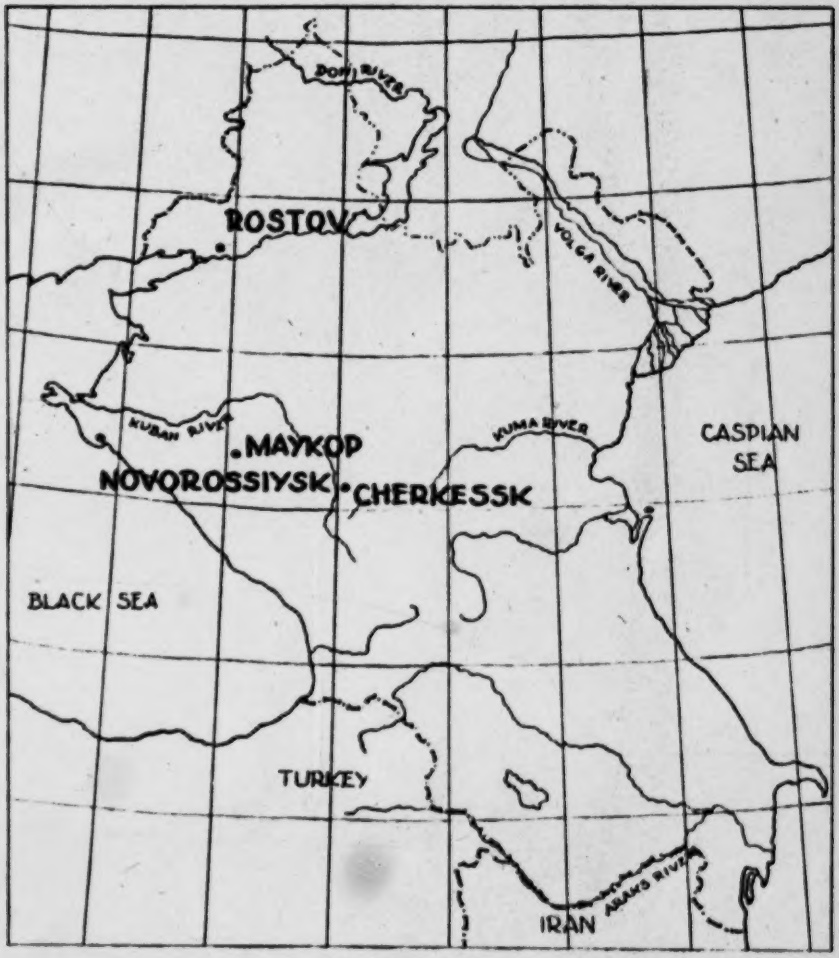
b. 46 Furniture Plants

322



C. D. 438 Many crafts are practiced beyond the requirements of the household for interchange [287] and even export, e. g. the production of black felt for the customary cloaks and of white felt for a local sort of foot-gear, of leather straps and belts, boots and saddles. Usually, a whole village specializes in a certain craft; at the end of the working season the products are loaded on horses, and a caravan of fifty or more men sets out into the plains to barter their goods for corn. Pottery making is practiced C. D. [323] mainly in the villages of Balkhar and Sulevkent; some villages specialize in blacksmithing, C. D. [324] others in the production of grave-plates and tombstones with chiselled ornaments and in- C. D. [326] scriptions. The village of Kubachi is renowned far beyond Dagestan for its highly artistic metalwork (bronze founding and many kinds of inlay-work) which is based on ancient traditions.

7: Columbia U. S-4, 5 1956 RH1 Caucasia RH1

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a-1. 5 Caucasian Industry in Czarist Russia as of 1913

- × : Centers of fuel industry
- △ : Mines
- □ : Centers of metallurgy
- ○ : Machinery and metal-working plants
- ♀ : Silicate and porcelain works
- ● : Chemical industry centers
- T : Textile industry centers
- F : Food industry centers
- ∨ : Centers of various industries

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317 Gumbra in the vicinity of Kutaisi.

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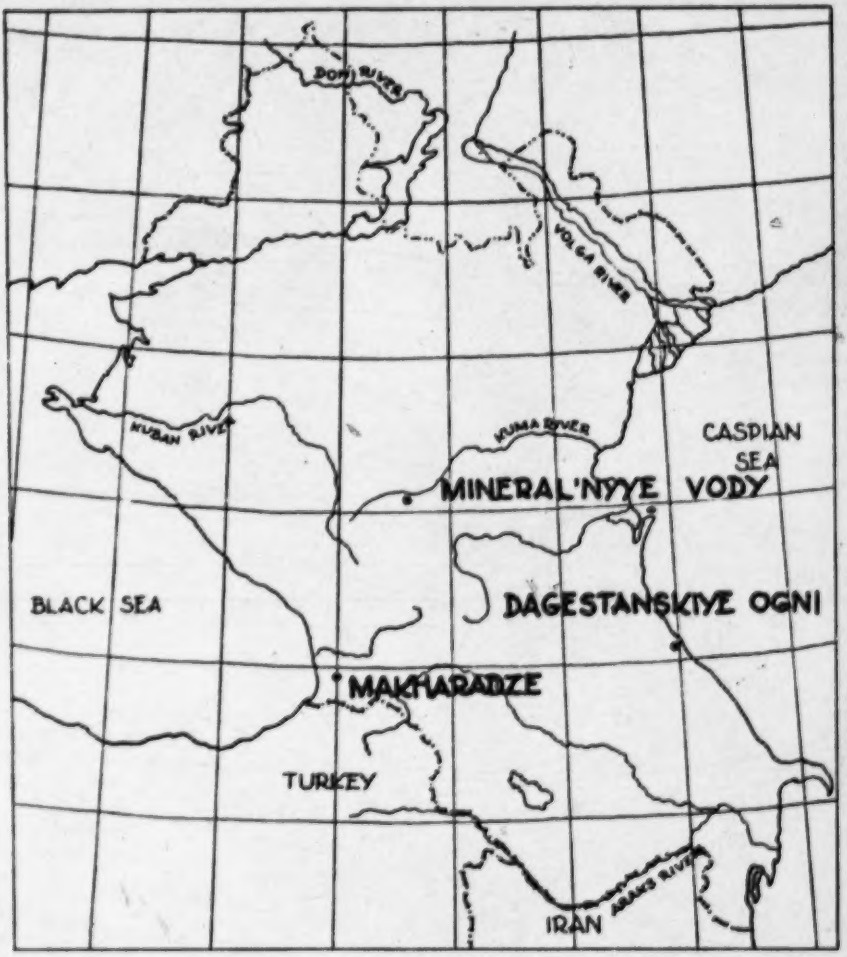
b. 26 Glassworks

323



b. 27 Silicate and Porcelain Works

323

C. D. 438 Many crafts are practiced beyond the requirements of the household for interchange [287] and even export, e. g. the production of black felt for the customary cloaks and of white felt for a local sort of foot-gear, of leather straps and belts, boots and saddles. Usually, a whole village specializes in a certain craft; at the end of the working season the products are loaded on horses, and a caravan of fifty or more men sets out into the plains to barter their goods for corn. Pottery making is practiced C. D. [323] mainly in the villages of Balkhar and Sulevkent; some villages specialize in blacksmithing, C. D. [324] others in the production of grave-plates and tombstones with chiselled ornaments and in- C. D. [326] scriptions. The village of Kubachi is renowned far beyond Dagestan for its highly artistic metalwork (bronze founding and many kinds of inlay-work) which is based on ancient traditions.

646 1 Chichinadze, David Alekseevich
Deputy to Sov. Nats. VS SSSR (4. s'ezd, 1954). Born in Tiflis, 1902- . Blacksmith; head of locomotive concern. Deputy VS SSSR 1.-3. sozyv.

Bak. Rab. 3/19/54
Zar. Vost. 2/14/54

325 Chikashua, David Semenovich
Stalin prize 3. class, 1950
Head of metallurgical laboratory, Zestafonskii zavod.

Laur. Stalin. prem. 1950
p. 32

814 1 Chikobava, Arn. S.
1898- Philologian; follower of Stalin's dicta on linguistics; one of group that studied Caucasian languages. Opened discussion on Marr's theories in Pravda (1950).

BE II 13:70

646 1 Chikovani, Mikhail Gerasimovich
Abkhaz. deputy Sov. Nats. VS SSSR 4. sozyv, 1954. Born in Kazandzhik (Turkmenia), 1911- .

Bak. Rab. 3/18/54
Zar. Vost. 2/13/54

669
645
648

counselor to Turkey 1923-4; chief of Middle East Dept. of Ministry of Foreign Affairs 1941-3; deputy of Ministry of Foreign Affairs 1943-5; ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary to Rumania since 1945.

World Dipl. Dir. 1950, page 853

665 2 Kazarian, V. A.
Member CC CP Arm. SSR, 18.s'ezd 1956.

Kom. Er. 1/22/56

538 1 Kediashvili, D.
1862-1931. Georgian writer. Wrote: Solomon Morbeladze, 1894; Machekha Samanishvili, 1897; Nevzgody Kamushadze, 1900.

BE II 13:78

•325 3(?) Kekelidze, Ivan Grigor'evich
Stalin prize 3. class, for work in metallurgy (1950).

Laur. Stalin. prem. 1950
p. 32

814 1 Kekelidze, Konrelii Samsonovich
1879-. Georgian academician, philologian. Wrote: Istoriia

814 1
646

Lomtatidze, Ketevana Vissarionovna Born in Khidistavi, 1911- philologian; editor of v. 7 Tolkovyi slovar' gruzinskogo iazyka; Director of Inst. iazykoznaniia Akad. nauk Gruz. SSR CP member since 1952. Abkhaz. deputy Sov. Nats. VS SSSR, 4.sozyv, 1954.

Zar. Vost 2/13/54
Bak. Rab. 3/18/54

325 1

Lordkipanidze, Iraklii Semenovich Stalin prize 3. class 1950 for work in metallurgy.

Laur. Stalin. prem. 1950
p. 32

538 1

Lordkipanidze, Konstantin Aleksandrovich 1904 - Didi-Dzhikhanti Georgian writer. Wrote: Novye krest'iane, 1930. Doloi kukuruznuiu respubliku, 1934. Zaria Kolkhidy, 1949 (extols CP of Georgia in this)

BE II 25:412

538 1 Lordkipanidze, Nikolai Merabovich, 1880-1944, born in Chuneshi. Wrote: Razorennye gnezda, 1916; Groznyi vlastelin, 1912; Nepreklonnye, 1938-44. Writes about disintegrating society of landowners, and extols virtues of peasants.

BE II 25:412

46 6 Lyskin, Nikolai Fadeevich
Member of Sov. Soiuz. VS SSSR, 4. sozyv, 1954, Stavropol. krai

Bak. Rab 3/18/54

1 Machavariani, Tamara Akakievna
Deputy to Sov. Nats. VS SSSR (4. s'ezd, 1954)

Bak. Rab. 3/19/54

325 1 Maglakelidze, Lavrentii Sofromovich
Stalin prize 3. class, 1950 metallurgical engineer.

Laur. Stalin.prem. 1950
p. 32

665 3 Mekhi - Zade, M. M.
CC CP Azerb. SSR, 20. s'ezd, 1954

325 1 Meladze, Vladimir Aleksandrovich
Stalin prize 3. class, 1950
metallurgical engineer

Laur. Stalin. prem. 1950
p. 32

533 2 Melikian, Romanos
1882-1935. Armenian composer, brother of Spiridon Melikian. Wrote down many folk songs. Composed Armenian romance Roza, Osennie dni and set to music songs of Isaakian, Tumanian. 1921- director of what later became Erevan conservatory by the name of Komitas.

BE II 27:100

2 Melikian, Spiridon
1881-1933. Armenian composer; in 1912 organized Armianskoe muzykal'noe obshchestvo in Tiflis. Wrote down about 1000 folk songs, dances. Wrote: Gammy armianskoi narodnoi muzyki, 1935. 1930-31 director of Erevan conservatory.

BE II 27:100

RHl

536
3 Sharlakhov, Boris Mikhailovich
People's artist of Azerb. Stalin prize 3. class, 1950 for dramatic role in Zaria nad Kaspiem

Laur. Stalin. prem. 1950
p. 79

381
1 Sharmazanashvili, Luarsab Kharitonovich. Stalin prize 3. class, 1950 chemical engineer.

Laur. Stalin. prem. 1950
p. 33

325
1 Shatirishvili, Georgii Afans'evich
Stalin prize 3. class 1950 for work in metallurgy.

Laur. Stalin. prem. 1950
p. 32

646
6 Shatskii, Ivan Petrovich
Member of VS SSSR, Sov. Soiuz, 4. sozyv, 1954. Krasnodar. krai

Bak. Rab. 3/18/54

204
6452 Shaumian, Stepan Grigor' evich, 1878-1918. One of the most outstanding of the 26 Bakinskii komissary. Editor of various newspapers, also

7: Columbia U. S-4, 5 1956 RH1 Caucasia RH1

311
315
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325
392
323
38
288
25

a-1. 5 Caucasian Industry in Czarist Russia as of 1913

× : Centers of fuel industry

△ : Mines

□ : Centers of metallurgy

○ : Machinery and metal-working plants

♀ : Silicate and porcelain works

● : Chemical industry centers

♈ : Textile industry centers

♈ : Food industry centers

▽ : Centers of various industries

311
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● 325
392
323
38.
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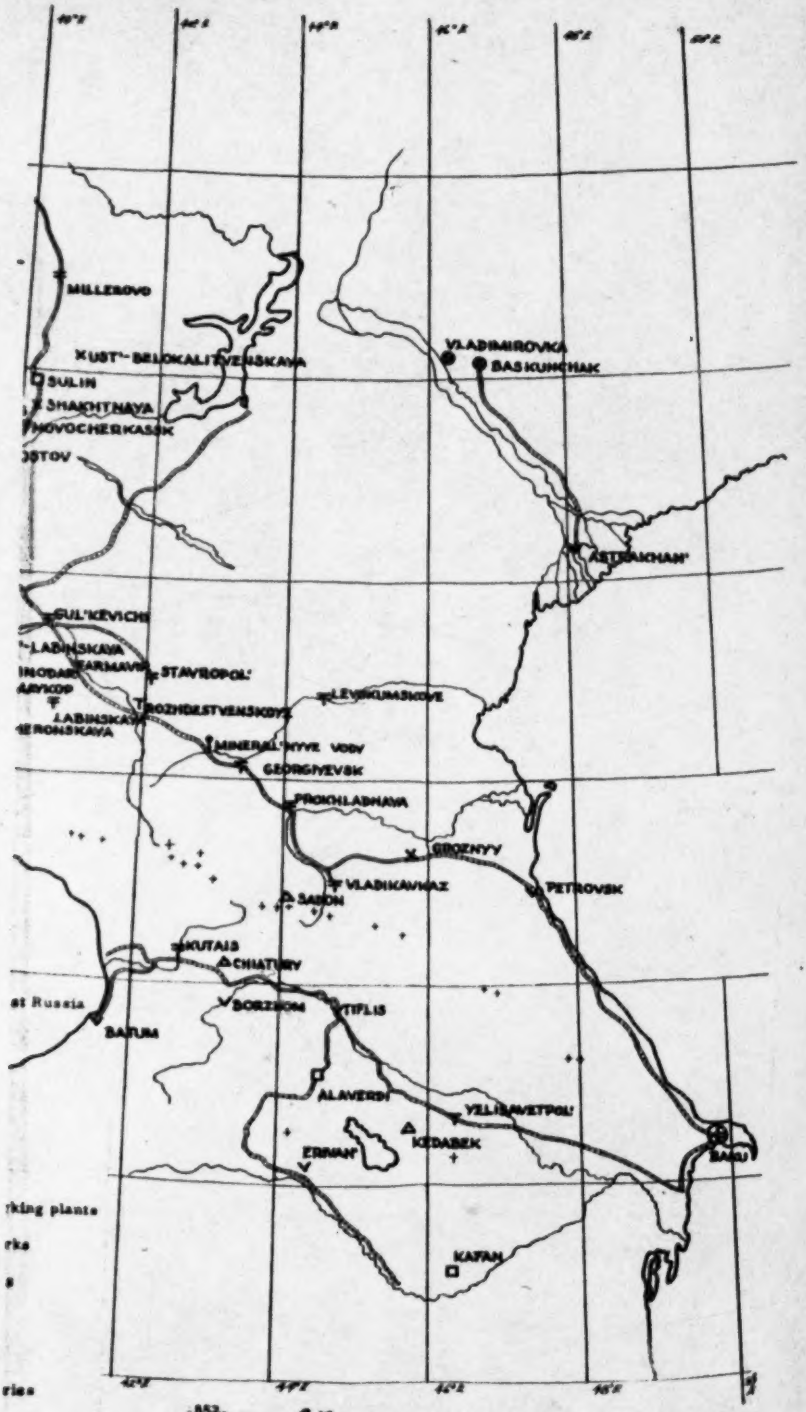





852a

7: Columbia U. S-4, 5 1956 RHl Caucasia
RHl

5331 Amiranashvili, Petr Varlamovich, 1907— Georgian baritone singer; people's artist of Georgia; since 1936 soloist with Palishvili theater and opera in Tiflis; sang Onegin, Rigoletto, Iago, as well as parts in Georgian operas: Absalom i Eteri, Daisi, Kako Kachagi; Stalin prize in 1947 for singing in Mshevelidze opera: Skazanie o Tariele.

BE 2:279

814 1 Amiranashvili, Shalva Laronovich, 1899-- Georgian art historian; corresp. member of Akad. nauk SSSR; wrote: History of Georgian Art, 1944, v. 1, Iranskaia zhivopis' 18-19 vekov.

BE II 2:219

325 3 Amiraslanov, Meibali Fridun ogly
665 Born in Balagasanlu, 1902-
Member of CC CP Azerb. SSR. Metallurgical engineer. Deputy VS Azerb. SSR Nakhichevan deputy to Sov. Nats. VS SSSR 4. sozyv in 1954.

Bak. Rab. 3/2/54. 3/18/54

7:Columbia U. S-4, 5 1956 RH1 Caucasia RH1
Dagestan RH8
Didoi

## 19. DIDO

C. D. 101 NAME: SELF-DESIGNATION: Ts'ezi, pl. Ts'ezibi

RUSSIAN DESIGNATIONS: Didoi, Didoitsy, Tsezy.

OTHER DESIGNATIONS: (Georgian:) Dido; (Kakhetian-Georgian:) Tsunt'a " ragamuffin", a name also used by the Avar and several peoples of the Andi group.

C. D. 161 NUMBER: 1926 3,276 (Russian census, ethn.)
3,198 (Russian census, ling.)

C. D. 162 LOCATION: S of the upper Andiiskoe Koisu.

C. D. 197 LANGUAGE: Dido (Ts'ezias mets') forms with Khvarshi, Kapucha, Khunzal, and Ginukh, the so-called Dido subgroup of the Avaro-Ando-Dido group of the NE Caucasian languages. The language is not written, Avar being used as the literary language.

C. D. 231 241 326 TRADITIONAL ECONOMY: Cattle-breeding; agriculture; home industry (goldsmithing).

C. D. 795 RELIGION: Islam (Sunni).

7:Columbia U. S-4,5 1956 RH1 Caucasia RH1
Dagestan RH8
Khaput

## 20. KAPUCHA

C.
D.
101 NAME: SELF-DESIGNATION: Kapuchias suko or Bezhtl·as suko, depending on the village.
RUSSIAN DESIGNATIONS: Kapuchiny, Bezhitiny.

C.
D.
161 NUMBER: 1926 1,448 (Russian census, ethn.)
1,448 (Russian census, ling.)

C.
D.
162 LOCATION: Upper basin of Avarskoe Koisu (rayon Tliarata, auls Bezhity, Khocharkhota, Tliadal', Dagestan ASSR).

C.
D.
197 LANGUAGE: Kapucha (Bezhtl·alas mits·) forms with Khvarshi, Dido, Khunzal, and Ginukh, the Dido subgroup of the Avaro-Ando-Dido group of the NE Caucasian languages. The language is not written, Avar being used as the literary language.

C.
D.
231 TRADITIONAL ECONOMY: Cattle-breeding;
241 agriculture; home industry (goldsmithing).
●326

C.
D.
795 RELIGION: Islam (Sunni).

7:Columbia U. S-4, 5 1956 RH1 Caucasia RH1
Dagestan RH8

## 27. KUBACHI

C. D. 101 NAME: SELF-DESIGNATION: Ughbug.
RUSSIAN DESIGNATION: Kubachintsy.

C. D. 161 NUMBER: 1926 2,322 (Russian cens., ethn.)
2,470 (Russian cens., ling.)

C. D. 162 LOCATION: Aul Kubachi (rayon Dakhadaev, Dagestan ASSR).

C. D. 197 LANGUAGE: Kubachi (Ughbughan hub) forms with the closely related Dargwa and Kaitak the Dargwa subgroup of the Lak-Dargwa group of the NE Caucasian languages. The language is not written, Dargwa being used as a literary language.

C. D. 231 326 TRADITIONAL ECONOMY: Cattle-breeding; goldsmithing; incrustation work.

C. D. 795 RELIGION: Islam (Sunni).

C.
D. Many crafts are practiced beyond the
438 requirements of the household for interchange
[287] and even export, e. g. the production of black felt for the customary cloaks and of white felt for a local sort of foot-gear, of leather straps and belts, boots and saddles. Usually, a whole village specializes in a certain craft; at the end of the working season the products are loaded on horses, and a caravan of fifty or more men sets out into the plains to barter their
C. goods for corn. Pottery making is practiced
D.
[323] mainly in the villages of Balkhar and Sulevkent; some villages specialize in blacksmithing,
C. others in the production of grave-plates and
D.
[324] tombstones with chiselled ornaments and in-
C. scriptions. The village of Kubachi is renowned
D.
[326] far beyond Dagestan for its highly artistic metalwork (bronze founding and many kinds of inlay-work) which is based on ancient traditions.

for earlier years include also the production of the 328
native undertakings, but in any case their quota is comparatively small. In 1913 Caucasia furnished 31 per cent. of the total Russian output. All Caucasian copper is disposed of in Russia.

Unexploited copper exists in the Naltchinsky Hills 135
and over a small area on each side of the Ossetian Military Road; in both cases the deposits are estimated to be rich.

The production of *Glauber's salt* in Tiflis in 1910, 317
amounting to 725 metric tons, represented nearly half of Russia's total output.

*Iron* is worked only spasmodically. It occurs chiefly 327
in the Government of Elisavetopol, at Chinarlidz, where [135]
the veins are from 2 to 21 metres thick, and as haematite at Sirimadan in the Pambak Mountains and in the Boyan valley. Nearly 2,000 metric tons were produced in 1908, but in no subsequent year does anything approaching that amount appear to have been obtained.

*Lead.*—There are extensive deposits of argentiferous 328
lead, but they have been little worked. The largest 135
production is that of the Alagir Smelting Co. in Terek; but the metal also occurs in the Lialvar district, in the upper valley of the Kura, and near Kedabek, and shortly before the war was found near Akmetovskoi station in Kuban.

*Manganese.*—The principal deposit covers an area 317
of nearly 100 square miles in the Kvirili valley in the [135]
Government of Kutais, the head-quarters of the industry being at Chiaturi. The ore contains on an average 40 per cent. manganese, 0·16 per cent. phosphorus, and 8 per cent. silicon, but in some workings the proportion of manganese is as high as 50 per cent. The ore is got out by means of hand picks, and is sorted by hand in a primitive way. It is soft and readily mined, and the firmness of the rock renders extensive timbering unnecessary. The miners do not fully exhaust the drifts, but work on them until they become dangerous or, on account of diminishing yield, unremunerative, a point which is soon reached owing

377 European Russia are in the Caucasus. Of these water resources a large part is already being exploited. In Azerbaijan: Mingechaur and Terter; in Armenia: Yerevan, Kanaker, Gyumush, Sevan; in Georgia: Zemo-Avchala, Khram, Adzharis-Tskhali, and Rioni are the most important hydro-electric plants. The hydro-electric plants along the Zanga River form the basis of Armenian industry. The industry of Tbilisi is based upon the power coming from Zemo-Avchala, whereas the Rion station supplies power for the Chiatura mines, for the ferro-manganese works of Zestafoni, and for industry in and around Kutaisi. The water resources of the North Caucasus are less exploited, although even there one finds great hydro-electric plants. The Baksan station (in the Kabardian ASSR) furnishes power to the health resorts around Pyatigorsk, the Ardon, Gizel'don, and Dzaudzhikau stations are the basis of North Ossetian industry. Cergebil', in Dagestan, is also one of the important stations (65,000 kw).

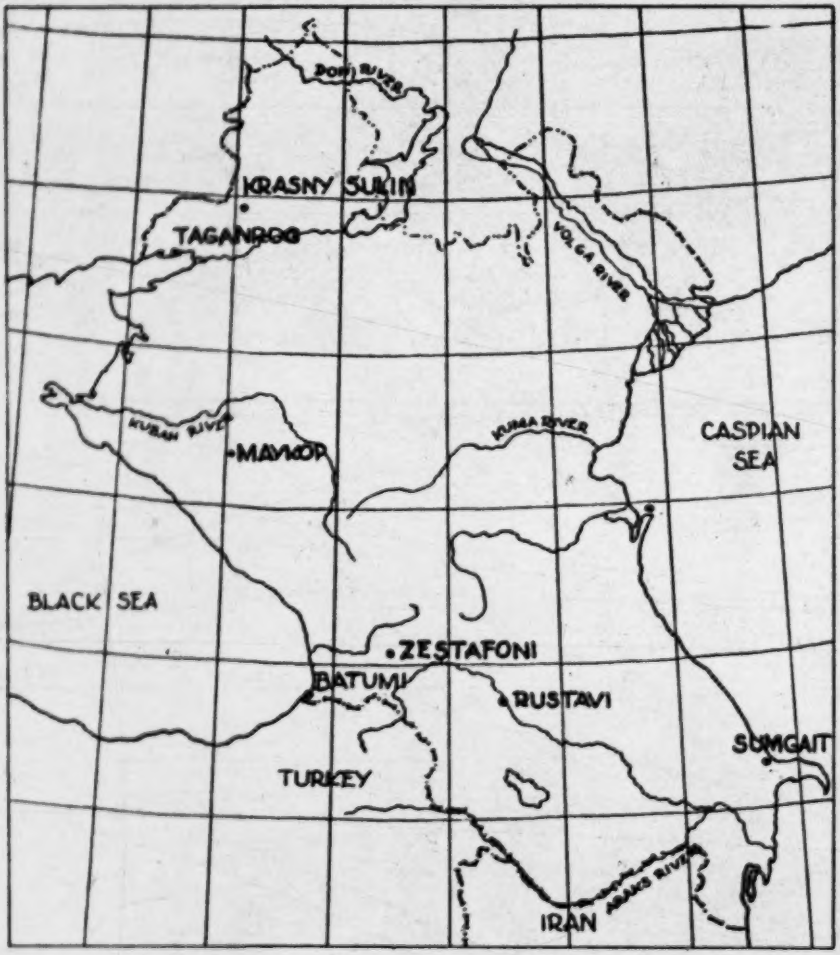
316 Iron mines: The Caucasus is poor in iron ore and the only important iron mine is at Dashkesan (Azerbaijan).

Manganese mines: This ore, very important in steel production, is mined at Chiatura, the second largest manganese mine in the world.

327 Centers of ferrous metallurgy: The two most important metallurgical centers are Rustavi, and Zestafoni (both in Georgia). The Rustavi steel mills, based on Tkvarcheli coal and Dashkesan iron, have a complete pig-iron, ingot, and rolled steel cycle. There are important

327

## b.10 Centers of Ferrous Metallurgy



327 metallurgical centers at Taganrog (with the largest boiler works in the USSR), and at Krasnyy Sulin.

316 Non-ferrous mineral resources: Of these, copper is the most important. It is mined mostly in Armenia (Alaverdi area, and Kafan) and in West Azerbaijan (Kedabek). Silver, lead, and zinc are mined only at Sadon (North Ossetian ASSR). It is noteworthy that the Caucasus (especially Dagestan), which has long been famous for its silver handicraft, has no other silver mine than this one. Molybdenum, one of the rare metals, is mined at Kadzharan (Azerbaijan SSR), and at Tyrny-Auz (Kabardian ASSR).

328 Centers of non-ferrous metallurgy: Located in Armenia and in the North Ossetian ASSR. Armenia has copper smelters at Alaverdi and Kafan, whereas the North Ossetian Republic is famous for its new metallurgical works at Dzaudzhikau which is of unionwide significance and is connected with the Sadon lead and zinc mines. In the same republic, Alagir has lead and zinc smelters and Minur has an ore-concentrating plant.

Centers of aluminum industry: The only plant, one of the important plants in the USSR, is at Yerevan. Production is based on cheap power from the stations on the Zanga River.

312 Machinery and metal-working plants: As the result of the Russian industrialization drive, nowadays almost every large city has machinery plants. Armavir, Maykop, Novorossiysk, Taganrog, and especially Rostov, specialize in

3: Anonymous U-4 (no date) 1920 RH1 Caucasia RH1



471 Batum, and were about to erect blast furnace smelting
36 works there.

(ii) The Allahverdi, Aktala, and Shambru mines, in the Lialvar Mountains (Tiflis), are worked by the French Compagnie Métallurgique et Industrielle du Caucase. At Allahverdi, the most productive mine, the ore (copper sulphide) contains 7·18 to 18·56 per cent. of copper, and the output of copper in 1913 was 4,760 metric tons.

(iii) The Dzansul, Chiakathevi, and Erga mines, on the borders of the Provinces of Batum and Kutais, are exploited by the Caucasus Copper Co., a British company formed in 1900. Heavy initial outlay and climatic difficulties necessitated a large capitalization, but in 1913, when some 12,000 workmen were employed, the profit obtained was £87,800. The ore in the mines contains from 16 to 18 per cent. of copper. In 1912 the production was 40,000 metric tons of ore and 3,000 metric tons of copper, but in 1913 the progress of the company was described as disappointing, the amount of copper produced being only 3,280 metric tons.

In addition to the above, there are various native enterprises. In the Okchi valley in the Sangesur district of Elisavetopol, old mines of great productivity have been reopened, but pack-horses are the only available means of transport. The Katar mine in Sangesur is now worked by electricity. In the Pambak Mountains, also in the Government of Elisavetopol, there are mines at Delijan, Sirimadan, Sagali, Mishkan, and Seifalu; at the last of these the ore yields from 20 to 30 per cent. of copper. The most important native companies are the Melik Azariantz, the Kunduroff, and the Grielsky.

32? The output of copper in Caucasia was 7,536 metric tons in 1908, 9,520 in 1909, and 7,631 in 1910. In 1912, 303,225 metric tons of ore were mined, of which 200,000 were smelted, yielding 9,270 metric tons of metal. In 1913 the production was 9,220 metric tons. The figures for 1912 and 1913 refer to the British, French, and American companies only. It is not clear whether those

3: Anonymous U-4 (no date) 1920 RH1 Caucasia RH1



for earlier years include also the production of the 328
native undertakings, but in any case their quota is comparatively small. In 1913 Caucasia furnished 31 per cent. of the total Russian output. All Caucasian copper is disposed of in Russia.

Unexploited copper exists in the Naltchinsky Hills 135
and over a small area on each side of the Ossetian Military Road; in both cases the deposits are estimated to be rich.

The production of *Glauber's salt* in Tiflis in 1910, 317
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in the Government of Elisavetopol, at Chinarlidz, where [135]
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*Lead.*—There are extensive deposits of argentiferous 328
lead, but they have been little worked. The largest 135
production is that of the Alagir Smelting Co. in Terek; but the metal also occurs in the Lialvar district, in the upper valley of the Kura, and near Kedabek, and shortly before the war was found near Akmetovskoi station in Kuban.

*Manganese.*—The principal deposit covers an area 317
of nearly 100 square miles in the Kvirili valley in the [135]
Government of Kutais, the head-quarters of the industry being at Chiaturi. The ore contains on an average 40 per cent. manganese, 0·16 per cent. phosphorus, and 8 per cent. silicon, but in some workings the proportion of manganese is as high as 50 per cent. The ore is got out by means of hand picks, and is sorted by hand in a primitive way. It is soft and readily mined, and the firmness of the rock renders extensive timbering unnecessary. The miners do not fully exhaust the drifts, but work on them until they become dangerous or, on account of diminishing yield, unremunerative, a point which is soon reached owing

3: Anonymous U-4 (no date) 1920 RH1 Caucasia RH1



Other places in Caucasia at which manganese occurs 317
are Kvartala in Batum, where the French Manganese [471]
Ore Co. had arranged for the erection of plant at the end of 1913, Seifalu in Elisavetopol, and in the neighbourhood of Samtredi and Novo-Senaki.

Huge beds of *marl* are now being exploited near Novorossiisk by the cement companies there.

*Salt.*—There are rock-salt deposits in Erivan and Kars. and a certain amount of evaporated salt is produced in Baku and Daghestan. The total output of salt in 1910 was 28,340 metric tons, which consisted of 16,600 tons of rock-salt from Erivan, 6,930 tons of rock-salt from Kars, 4,370 tons of evaporated salt from Baku, and 440 tons of evaporated salt from Daghestan. The total output in 1911 amounted to 37,830 metric tons, and in 1913 to 32,260 metric tons.

*Zinc* is worked by the Alagir Smelting Co. at Sadon 328
and Alagir, and from blende ore near Vladikavkaz. The company's works, which are 60 miles from the mines, are fitted with modern plant. In 1914 the company were planning a new exploitation, on a large scale, of both lead and zinc. The output of zinc in 1910 was 3,400 metric tons, and in 1912 the combined production of zinc and argentiferous lead was 26,000 metric tons.

*Other Minerals.*—At Soglik, near Dash Kessan, in 135
the Gokcha range (Erivan) there is an inexhaustible 316
supply of *alunite*, containing 37·58 per cent. of alum, but it is very little worked. *Antimony* is mined in small quantities in Tiflis. There is *arsenic* ore at Bechenakh, but up to the present it has not been exploited. There is a small output of *asbestos* from Sharopan, Vzhinevi, and Lechgum in Kutais. There are excellent *bitumen* beds on the Black Sea coast, and *asphalt* is a by-product of the petroleum industry. *Cobalt* is mined in small quantities in Elisavetopol. White *diatomite* (infusorial earth), containing 87 per cent. of silica, is worked at Kissatip, near Akhaltsikh (Tiflis). *Emery* is found at Karabulakh (Elisavetopol). *Gold* exists in very small quantities in the alluvial deposits of the Alindja river, and in the ore of the

328

b.16 Centers of Non-Ferrous Metallurgy

328

b. 17 Centers of Aluminum Industry

327 metallurgical centers at Taganrog (with the largest boiler works in the USSR), and at Krasnyy Sulin.

316 Non-ferrous mineral resources: Of these, copper is the most important. It is mined mostly in Armenia (Alaverdi area, and Kafan) and in West Azerbaijan (Kedabek). Silver, lead, and zinc are mined only at Sadon (North Ossetian ASSR). It is noteworthy that the Caucasus (especially Dagestan), which has long been famous for its silver handicraft, has no other silver mine than this one. Molybdenum, one of the rare metals, is mined at Kadzharan (Azerbaijan SSR), and at Tyrny-Auz (Kabardian ASSR).

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312 Machinery and metal-working plants: As the result of the Russian industrialization drive, nowadays almost every large city has machinery plants. Armavir, Maykop, Novorossiysk, Taganrog, and especially Rostov, specialize in

377 2 Chakharch'ian, Iosif Nazarovich
Stalin prize 2. class, 1950 for production of special asynchronic electric motors.

Laur. Stalin.prem. 1950
p. 41

536 1 Chakhava, Medea Vasil'evan
Stalin prize 3. class for acting in Vasadze's Potoplennye kamni

Laur. Stalin. prem. 1950
p. 78

331 1 (?) Chankotadze, Vakhtang Lavrent'evich
Stalin prize 2. class, 1950
Construction engineer; director of trust Khramgesstroi.

Laur. Stalin. prem. 1950
p. 44

665 2 Charchian, Z. V.
Member CC CP Arm. SSR, 17.-18. s'ezd, 1954, 1956

Kom. Er. 1/22/56

538 1 (2?) Charents
-1937. Armenian poet killed by Bolsheviks. See Kocharian for more information.

646 2 Eslian, Ruben Osipovich
Deputy Sov. Nats. VS SSSR,
4. sozyv, 1954.

Kom. Er. 3/19/54

665 2 Erzinkian, A. G.
Member CC CP Arm. SSR, 18. s'ezd,
1956.

Kom. Er. 1/22/56

331 2 Etmekdzhiian, Ashot Arutiunovich
Stalin prize 1950 for certain iron-
work construction. Head of
Glaviugstroi.

Laur. Stalin.prem. 1950
p. 49

646 4 Farzinova, Zareta Baloevna
Sev. Os. deputy Sov. Nats. VS SSSR
4. sozyv, 1954

Pravda 3/18/54

665 3 Fediuninskii, I. I.
Member of presidium CC CP Azerb.
SSR, 21. s'ezd, 1956

Bak. Rab. 1/26/56

7: Columbia U. S-4, 5 1956 RHI Caucasia RHI

331

2 Mardanian, Mardan Efremovich
Stalin prize 3. class, 1950 for construction work.

Laur. Stalin. prem. 1950
p. 22

536

1 Mardzhanishvili, Konstantin Aleksandrovich (Mardzhanov Kote) 1872-1933. Born in Kvareli; people's artist of Georgia; theater producer; director of Kutaisi theater. Produced Chekhov's Uncle Vania, and Gorkii's Na dne. His producing reflects the style of the Moscow art theater. Directed plays all over Europe until 1922. Director of Rustaveli theater in Tiflis 1922-6. There he produced plays by Molière, Lope de Vega, Shakespeare. His last production was that of Don Carlos by Schiller, done at Moscow's Malyi theater.

BE II 26:265

1 Mardzhanov Kote
see
Mardzhanishvili, Konstantin Aleksandrovich.

646 1 Mertrveli, Ivan Alekseevich
Deputy to Sov. Nats. VS SSSR
(4. s'ezd, 1954)

Bak. Rab. 3/19/54

536 3(?) Miakishev, Konstantin Mikhailovich
Stalin prize 3. class, 1950 for
theatrical performance in Zaria
nad Kaspiem.

Laur. Stalin. prem. 1950
p. 79

331 3(?) Mikaberidze, Aleksandr Sergeevich
Stalin prize 2. degree, 1950
for construction work.

Laur. Stalin.prem.1950
p. 45

532 2 Mikaelian, Mikhail Ivanovich,
1879-1941. Armenian sculptor
born in Shusha, Azerb. Since
1900 lives in Tiflis. Did: Zvonar'
Sakan, Devushka s razbitym
kuvshinom.

BE II 27:416

7: Columbia U. S-4, 5 1956 RHl Caucasia

RHl

816
465
645
643

3 Novruzov, Neimat Guseinovich
Born in Nakhichevani, 1908-
Engineer, cotton-expert; 1950 - minister of Azerb. cotton industry. Member of CC CCP Azerb. SSR. 1952- deputy-minister of goskontrol Azerb. SSR. 1953- president of Council of Minister Nakhichevanskaia ASSR. Unsuccessful candidate in 1954 for Sov. Nats. VS SSSR.

Bak. Rab. 2/25/54

331

3(?) Oboladze, Iraklii Onisimovich
Stalin prize 2. class, 1950, construction engineer.

Laur. Stalin. prem. 1950
p. 44

665

2 Oganesian, G. V.
Member CC CP Arm. SSR, 17. - 18. s'ezd, 1954, 1956.

Kom. Er. 1/22/56

759

2 Oganesian, L. A., 1885-
Physician, Armenian scientist.

Kom. Er. 12/20/55

7: Columbia U. S-4, 5 1956 RH1 Caucasia

RH1

331 3(1?) Tsuleiskir, Georgii Vasil'evich
Stalin prize 2. class, 1950 for certain type of construction work.

Laur. Stalin. prem. 1950
p. 44

536 5 Tubaev, M.
20. c. Kabardian playwright.

BE II 19:218

646 6652 Tukhikian, Nunik Mesropovna
Deputy Sov. Nats. VS SSSR, 4. sozyv, 1954. Member CC CP Arm. SSR, 18 s'ezd, 1956.

Kom. Er. 3/19/54
1/22/56

532 5 Tukhuzhev, A.
20. c. Kabardian artist.

BE II 19:218

538 2 Tumanian, Ovannes, 1869-1923.
Armenian poet, humanist, dramatist. Wrote poem: Anush, Gikor, etc, Many of his songs were used in operatic themes.

BE I 55:146

3: Anonymous U-4 (no date) 1920 RHI Caucasia RH1



228 The *caviare* industry of the Caspian littoral is declining, but is still important (see p. 62).

339 *Cement* is made at Novorossiisk, Gelendjik, Tuapse, and Yeisk. It is used for lining oil wells, and also for harbour works and other purposes. There were nine large cement factories at Novorossiisk in 1917, with an annual output of 4,600,000 barrels, the most important being the Black Sea Cement Manufactory, the Franco-Russian Cement Manufactory, and the Zep Cement Works.

282 *Leather-work* is a fairly extensive industry, of which the chief centres are Alexandropol, Elisavetopol, Shusha, and Tiflis. Tanning is done at Tiflis, and saddlery is well made in Daghestan and the Black Sea districts.

391 *Metallic and Allied Industries.*—The copper and zinc smelting works have already been mentioned (see pp. 63–64 and 67). There are iron foundries at Ekaterinodar, Baku, Tiflis, Batum, and Armavir. 'Colonist' reaping machines are made at Novorossiisk, and galvanized iron roofing and hardware goods at a factory at Baku. Among manufactures subsidiary to the oil industry are those of oil-cases and oil-cans, carried on at Baku and Batum, and of wire rope, carried on at several factories at Baku. The manufacture of small-arms, once a flourishing industry, is declining, but is still carried on at Tiflis and Nukha and in the bazaars of Daghestan and Sukhum. The number of skilled native workers in enamel, filigree, and inlaid metal-ware is also decreasing.

256 The *milling* industry is second in importance only to the refining of oil. There are many flour-mills worked by water-power; those in Stavropol produce 300,000 tons of flour per annum, and those in Kuban, about the same amount; the mills of the Black Sea district give some 20,000 tons yearly. Besides the flour-mills, there are also mills for crushing sunflower seed, linseed, and cotton seed.

382 The *oil refineries* are the most important manufacturing enterprises in the country. They exist at Baku,

317 Gumbra in the vicinity of Kutaisi.

Marl mines, cement mills: The greatest marl deposits are around Novorossiysk. These deposits form the basis of the Novorossi-
[339] ysk cement industry, the principal in the USSR. The cement mills are located both in Novorossiysk proper, and around the city in its various suburbs. There are important cement mills at Ararat (Armenia), at Kaspi (Georgia), at Prokhladnyy (Kabardian ASSR), and at Rostov.

Silicate and kaolin quarries, glass and
[323] porcelain works: The glass-works at Dagestanskie Ogni is the really important one. Porcelain works occur in the North and in the South Caucasus.

Obsidian mines; centers of jeweller's trade: Obsidian, a volcanic glass used especially in the jeweller's trade, occurs in Armen-
[306] ia at Tumanyan. The jewelry center of the Caucasus is Kubachi (in the vicinity of Derbent).

Pyrite mines: Quarried especially at Kedabek and Chiragidzor (West Azerbaijan). It is used in the manufacture of sulfuric acid.

Barite mines: This common mineral quarried or mined at Chovdar (Azerbaijan) and at Kutaisi is one of the basic materials for the paint industry.

38 Chemical industry centers: The most important center is Armenia, where chemical plants have been created at Alaverdi (superphosphate), Amamlu (carbide), Leninakan, Kirovakan, and Yerevan. The Baku area is another important chemical industry center. In addition to these, there are important

## b. 25 Cement Mills

339

7: Columbia U. S-4, 5 1956 RHl Caucasia
RHl

401 2 Chuian, Mikhail Mikhailovich
Stalin prize 1st class, 1950 for mechanical engineering works.

Laur. Stalin. prem. 1950
p. 16.

641 6 Chukhno, Andrei Vasil'evich
Member of Sov. Soiuz VS SSSR
4. sozyv, 1954 Stavropol. krai.

Bak. Rab. 3/18/54

5 Chundukov, Ibragim Saidovich
Adyg. deputy Sov. Nats. VS SSSR
4. sozyv, 1954

Pravda 3/18/54

341 3 Dadashev, Sadykh Alekper ogly, 1905-1946. Architect; artist of Azerb. Built many buildings in Baku, e. g. conservatory, Nizami museum; also statue of Nizami in Baku and Kirovabad. Did the Azerb. pavillion at the Moscow Soviet exposition in 1939. Has written many treatises on Azerb. architecture.

BE II 13:297

7: Columbia U, S -4, 5 1956 RHl Caucasia RHl

665
646 3 Grigorian, Egishe Petrosovich
Born in Magavuz, 1902-
Member of CC CP Azerb. SSR, 20.-21. s'ezd, 1954, 1956. 1942-1952 1st sect. Nagorno-Karabakhskii obkom CP Azerb. SSR. Deputy VS SSSR 2. sozyv; Deputy VS Azerb. SSR. Unsuccessful candidate to Sov. Nats. VS SSSR 4. sozyv in 1954.

Bak. Rab. 2/24/54
1/26/56

• 341 2 Grigorian, Mark Vladimirovich, 1900-
Armenian architect; built the offices of CC CP Arm. SSR in Erevan. Member of CP since 1945. 1938-1950 chief architect of Erevan. Builds in traditional Armenian style, but shows traces of Italian renaissance, too. Stalin prize, 3. class, 1950.

BE II 12:608
Laur. Stalin. prem. 1950
p. 76

665 2 Grigorian, V. KH.
Member CC CP Arm. SSR, 18.s'ezd, 1956.

Kom. Er. 1/22/56

815 3 Kalandzade, Antifor Dmitrievich
Stalin prize 3. class, engineer, geologist

Laur. Stalin. prem. 1950
p. 35

232 2 Kalantar, Avetis Airapetovich
1859-1937. Agriculture expert; educated in Moscow; instrumental in creating dairy business in Vologda. Since 1930 head of dairy industry of Erevan zooveterinary inst.

BE II 19:393

546 1 Kalatozov, Mikhail Konstantinovich
1903-. Georgian movie producer; wrote: Litso Golivuda. Stalin prize in 1951.

BE II, 19:394

• 341 1 Kal'gin, Anatolii Nikolaevich
1875-1943. Lived in Georgia since 1907. Architect interested in Georgian style; built Tiflis public library along traditional Georgian forms.

BE II 19:460

7: Columbia U. S-4, 5 1956 RHl Caucasia RHl

341 1
646

Kurdiani, Archil Grigor'evich
1903 - Georgian architect; 1936-1944 chief architect of Tiflis; rec'd Stalin prize for the Georgia pavilion at the All-Union agricultural exhibit in Moscow, 1941. Deputy to VS SSSR.

BE II 24:90

538 1 (2?)

Kurginian, Shushanik Arutiunovna
1875-1927. Armenian poetess; proletarian themes.

BE II 24:89-90

646 4

Kurmagomedova, Patimat
Dag. deputy Sov. Nats. VS SSSR 4. sozyv, 1954.

Pravda 3/18/54

665 3

Kuz'min, A. V
CC CP Azerb. SSR, 20. s'ezd, 1954.

3

Kuzovenkov, I. E.
CC CP Azerb. SSR, 20. s'ezd, 1954.

646 1

Labakhua, Ketevana Vissarionovna
Abkhaz. deputy Sov. Nats. VS SSSR 4. sozyv, 1954.

Bak. Rab. 3/18/54

7: Columbia U. S-4,5 1956 RHl Caucasia

RHl

533 2 Tal'ian, V.G., 1896-1947
Armenian composer

BE II 3:99

341
2 Tamanian, Aleksandr Ivanovich, 1880-1936. Architect. Partially rebuilt Erevan in 1924. Built Narkomles building, the medic-institute, agriculture school. Posthumously awarded Stalin prize in 1942. His pupil is Grigorian, M. V. Was president of Armenian art academy 1917-18.

BE I 53:519

646
204 1
645 Tarba, Ivan Konstantinovich
Abkhaz. deputy Sov. Nats. VS SSSR, 4. sozyv, 1954. Born in Beslakhuba, 1921- co-editor of Apsny Kapsh; correspondent to Sov. Abkhaziia; since 1943 party official sect. of Abkhazian division of Soiuz Sovet. pisatelei Gruz. SSR. 1953 - minister of education Abkhaz.

Bak. Rab. 3/18/54
Zar. Vost. 2/13/54

7: Columbia U. S-4, 5 1956 RHl Caucasia
RHl

242
1 Ugrekhelidze, Petr Pavlovich
Stalin prize 2. class, 1950 for better cotton production.

Laur. Stalin. prem. 1950
p. 55

165
3 Unanov, B. T.
CC CP Azerb. SSR, 20. s'ezd, 1954.

646
341 3 Useinov, Mikhael Aleskerovich
Deputy to Sov. Nats. VS SSSR (4. sozyv, 1954). Born in Baku, 1905-; architect, representative of Azerb. intelligentsiia (sic!); member of Akad. nauk SSSR and Akad. nauk Azerb. SSR.; since 1940 professor of architect. design. Built movie-house "Nizami", museum, state conservatorium, etc. in Baku. Stalin prize winner. Now building Akad. nauk Azerb. SSSR bldgs. in Baku; director of art and architect. inst. of Akad. nauk Azerb. SSR.

Bak. Rab. 3/19/54
2/18/54

000 outstanding for their height; two meters is not rare.

C. G. 361 342 Svanet'ia is perhaps the only Caucasian country where every individual house is a real fortress. The mountain villages, usually known by the Turkic term aul all over the Caucasus, always consist of a certain number of houses fortified by defense towers. In some parts of the Caucasus every second or third house, or rather estate, has such a tower. In Dagestan, in general, about three-quarters of the houses of a village are fortified. In Svanet'ia, however, most houses are built of stone and have C. G. [101] their own tower. It was known to classical antiquity that many, or at least some, Caucasian peoples dwelt in towers, and the Mossynoikoi, mentioned above as metal workers,[1] were accordingly called "tower dwellers" (mossyn meaning "tower"; Xenophon V, 5; Strabon XII, 3, 18). For lack of wood. brushwood, and clay, stone is the only building material in many auls; but in most auls the houses, usually called by the K'art'uli term sakhli are built of stone for reasons of defense. When the auls are built up the slopes of mountains, the sakhlis are arranged in staircase fashion one above the other, so that it is possible to go through the larger part of an aul using the roofs as the only path, i.e., by climbing from one roof to another. The roofs are flat and consist of stamped clay spread out

[1] [cf. cat. 116, p. 207 -- Amolyst]

C. G. 361 342 over the wooden lattice of the horizontal roof frame. These flat roofs are also much used for growing cereals, vegetables, curing meat, etc. The sakhli is also the common type of house in most parts of Anatolia and Iran, where we also find the staircase-like arrangement of the sakhlis on the mountain slopes.

C. G. 628 These are the lands where the kings of Sak'art'velo or the Emirs and Khans of Shirvan and Arran had no say, nor did the Caliph in Baghdad or the Roman Emperor have any authority, with the result that feuds were fought right on the spot. Thus, there were times when not only one aul fought another, but even one clan or family fought another within the same aul. Hence the many small castles; hence a man always carried his kinzhal; hence such customs as the vendetta, the qan-alma (Turkic: "taking of blood"), which have been preserved C. G. 631 there down to the present time. Svanet'ia consists of three small lands: Free Svanet'ia, Svanet'ia of the Dadishkeliani, and Svanet'ia of the Dadiani, the latter two named after the C. families of their former overlords. Many G. 771 pagan elements are found in the Eastern Orthodox religion of these valiant mountaineers, although to a lesser degree than is true of the Oset'i, as mentioned above, or some of the Dagestanians, who were later converted to Islam.

7:Columbia U. S-4, 5 1956 RH1 Caucasia RH1
Georgia RI1

# HOUSING

C. G. 342

The oldest and now very rare type of Georgian house is a rectangular structure of rough stones without mortar and covered on the inside with clay, usually windowless and with a flat roof consisting of beams resting on cross-beams supported by posts. In flat country it is partly sunk into the ground; in the mountains it is dug into the slope so that the back ends of the roof beams rest on the slope itself. The roof sticks out in front, forming a penthouse, again supported by the poles on the outside. The flat roof is covered with earth; the occupants spend hot evenings and nights on it. The house consists of only one room (darbazi), sometimes with a partitioned area which serves as winter stable for the livestock. In the center is the hearth, with a smoke-vent and chimney above it.

The newer farm buildings have a walled-off stable with its own entrance, saddle-shaped roofs, small windows, and, according to the needs of the family, several rooms with hearths built in projecting parts of the outer walls. The roof often extends not only in front but all the way around the house; it is supported by posts, forming a covered gangway (derepani). The houses of the more well-to-do often have a raised floor with a space under it which is used as a stable. The building materials vary according to locality. In Kartlia the houses are built of stone and earth; in the western lowlands

C. G. 342 (Guria, Mingrelia, part of Imeretia) of wood; in the Imeretian mountains (Racha) of wattle; in Kakhetia all types occur. In eastern and southern Georgia there is also found the so-called "crown-shaped" roof (gvirgvini), which consists of beams over which other beams are placed diagonally, in successive layers narrowing upwards, so that a cupola is formed. Light enters through the spaces between the beams.

C. G. 361 In Kartlia the houses are irregularly grouped into villages, without enclosures and without streets. In the western subtropical region and in Kakhetia the farms are surrounded by fences; in Kakhetia they are situated farther C. G. 343 apart amidst the vineyards. Besides the living quarters, the farms have stables, hen-houses, barns and granaries--the latter made of wattle and raised from the ground on poles. There is usually a hut with a cover of ferns for newly-wed C. G. [354] couples, a well, etc. There is also a baking-oven consisting of a cylinder of wattle coated with clay; after heating the oven with charcoal, the dough is placed inside on the wall, after which the oven is closed with a wooden lid and C. G. 342 cloths. In wine-growing regions there is a wine cellar with a wine press, and large earthenware wine containers, sunk into the ground.

The Svan house is built of rough stones; the ground plan is rectangular. It usually has two stories. The ground floor contains a storeroom which at the same time serves as wine cellar, and the winter-quarters for humans and

G: 342 livestock, the latter being partitioned off by a wooden barrier with openings, in front of which is the manger. The cattle-room is itself divided into two or three floors, the sheep standing above the cows. A ramp leads up to the balcony of the second floor; the latter contains the summer living-quarters and a storeroom. The houses of the Khevsur are built on mountain slopes like those of Dagestan (see below). They are made of rough stones without mortar, sometimes of wattle, and usually have two stories, the lower one for the cattle and for the women and their weaving implements, the upper one for the men. The upper floor stands back from the front, leaving a kind of balcony under the roof. Often a partly open third story is added which serves as summer quarters or as a storeroom for cereals. The settlements of the Pshav and Tush are similar to those of the Khevsur but their houses have a better finish (mortar, whitewash).

C. 342 Before they were settled in the lowlands, the Circassians lived in villages (R. aul) which extended, often for miles, along the numerous rivers originating in the great Caucasian chain. The houses were built at some distances from each other, and always in or near a wooded place where the occupants could hide in case of attack. They were rectangular, made of wattle coated with clay on both sides, and contained several rooms, one being reserved for the lady of the house. The roof was covered with straw and formed a penthouse around the

C. 342 building; the floor consisted of packed earth and contained a firepit, above which was placed a high chimney of straw coated with clay. Outside the enclosure containing living quarters, horse-stable, and sheepfold, there was a special lodging for guests (R. kunatskaia). The C. G. 342 dwellings of the Abkhaz were the most primitive in the Caucasus: They were rectangular structures with walls of wattle, in cold weather sometimes covered with ferns. The thatched roof rested on a beam supported at the rear by a pole, and in front by two slanting poles which touched at the top. In the back there was a partition which served several purposes: storeroom, guest room, winter stable.

C. 342 361 In the mountains of Dagestan the houses are clustered close together into villages which rise terrace-like on inaccessible and easily defended mountain slopes. The houses stand in rows, so that the roofs of one row serve as the front yards of the houses in the row above. The most common building material is rough stone; the houses consist of two or more stories, the lower one being used as stable and storeroom, the upper one containing the rooms for men, for women and for guests.

C. G. 712 A typical feature of the Caucasian mountaineers' settlements are the defense towers, which in the Svan villages are built near almost every house and are also common in the settlements of the Khevsur, Tush and Pshav. On the northern slopes of the Caucasus mountains they are found in Ossete territory and also in the

C. G. 342 (Guria, Mingrelia, part of Imeretia) of wood; in the Imeretian mountains (Racha) of wattle; in Kakhetia all types occur. In eastern and southern Georgia there is also found the so-called "crown-shaped" roof (gvirgvini), which consists of beams over which other beams are placed diagonally, in successive layers narrowing upwards, so that a cupola is formed. Light enters through the spaces between the beams.

C. G. 361 In Kartlia the houses are irregularly grouped into villages, without enclosures and without streets. In the western subtropical region and in Kakhetia the farms are surrounded by fences; in Kakhetia they are situated farther apart amidst the vineyards. Besides the living C. G. 343 quarters, the farms have stables, hen-houses, barns and granaries--the latter made of wattle and raised from the ground on poles. There is usually a hut with a cover of ferns for newly-wed C. G. couples, a well, etc. There is also a baking-[354] oven consisting of a cylinder of wattle coated with clay; after heating the oven with charcoal, the dough is placed inside on the wall, after which the oven is closed with a wooden lid and C. G. cloths. In wine-growing regions there is a wine 342 cellar with a wine press, and large earthenware wine containers, sunk into the ground.

The Svan house is built of rough stones; the ground plan is rectangular. It usually has two stories. The ground floor contains a storeroom which at the same time serves as wine cellar, and the winter-quarters for humans and

7:Columbia U. S-4,5 1956 RH1 Caucasia RH1
Armenia RJ1

C. A. 795-162

The population of Soviet Armenia is estimated to be close to 1,500,000 (1939 census, 1,280,000; 1947 estimate, 1,345,000). Of this total a little more than 85 per cent are Armenians, nearly all presumably in communion with the Armenian Apostolic Church. There are some 130,000 Azerbaijani Turks of the Shiite sect, and about 50,000 Kurds of the Shafiite sect. In addition, there are several thousand Yezidis (devil-worshippers), Nestorians, Russians and Georgians. No information is available concerning these minor groups and their religious institutions. Whatever places of worship the Russians, Nestorians, Georgians and Yezidis might have had prior to the Russian Revolution, they certainly are not in existence now.

C. A. 346

The more numerous Kurds perhaps did have certain places of worship but none seem to remain today; at least there is nothing to indicate that they have such places. For the Azerbaijani Turks there was an old imposing and historic mosque in Erivan, a landmark in the city for centuries. It was still there twenty years ago, a relic of the old era. If still intact, it may be used by the several thousand Azerbaijanis of that city as well as by the Turks. Judging by the old order or organization, the titular spiritual head of the Azerbaijani Turks in Soviet Armenia and his followers there owe allegiance to the Grand Mufty (or the Chief Imam) in Baku. The Grand Mufty probably has his

C. A. 793

C.G. 342 (Guria, Mingrelia, part of Imeretia) of wood; in the Imeretian mountains (Racha) of wattle; in Kakhetia all types occur. In eastern and southern Georgia there is also found the so-called "crown-shaped" roof (gvirgvini), which consists of beams over which other beams are placed diagonally, in successive layers narrowing upwards, so that a cupola is formed. Light enters through the spaces between the beams.

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The Svan house is built of rough stones; the ground plan is rectangular. It usually has two stories. The ground floor contains a storeroom which at the same time serves as wine cellar, and the winter-quarters for humans and

3: Anonymous U-4 (no date) 1920 RH1 Caucasia RH1



563 It will be seen from the above figures that Russians
162 form a majority in Chernomoria only, while the Armenians form a large majority in the Government of Erivan and the Province of Kars, the Georgians in the Governments of Kutais and Tiflis, the Tatars in the Governments of Baku and Elisavetopol, and the Lesghians in Daghestan.

## (6) Population.

### *Distribution and Density*

161 The Russian official census of 1897 gave the total population of Transcaucasia as about 5,565,000. Since then various estimates have been made, based upon this census and the yearly increase of the population so far as it could be ascertained.

*The Statesman's Year Book* for 1918 gives the following statistics (approximate) for the population on January 1, 1915:

| *Area.* | *Population.* | *Density per Square Mile.* |
|---|---|---|
| Baku | 1,119,600 | 75 |
| Batum | 186,000 | 69 |
| Chernomoria | 201,800 | 63 |
| Daghestan | 732,600 | 64 |
| Elisavetopol | 1,117,200 | 66 |
| Erivan | 1,034,800 | 96 |
| Kars | 403,000 | 56 |
| Kutais | 1,070,300 | 130 |
| Sukhum | 147,600 | 58 |
| Tiflis | 1,394,800 | 88 |
| Zakatali | 101,800 | 66 |
| Total | 7,509,500 | 79 |

From this it will be seen that the population is densest in the Governments of Kutais, Erivan, and Tiflis, where the soil is richest and agriculture is the general occupation. The density of the population in the Government of Baku is largely due to the existence of the oil-fields.

### *Towns*

361 *Tiflis* (population in 1913, 327,800) is the capital of
161 Caucasia and the largest town. Next in size is *Baku*

3: Anonymous U-4 (no date) 1920 RH1 Caucasia RH1



(population in 1913, 237,000). Other important towns 361
are *Novorossiisk* (66,700), *Elisavetopol* (63,400 in 1910), 161
*Kutais* (53,900), *Batum* (46,000), and *Erivan* (34,000).
For further particulars concerning these see below, pp. 42 and 77.

*Movement*

Recent statistics are not available, but the annual 161
rate of increase can be roughly estimated at 60,000. 165
It is probable that the Armenians increase at a more rapid rate than the other nationalities in Transcaucasia. The death-rate, particularly among children, is certainly high; for this the unhealthy climate in the west, the rigorous winters in the east and central parts, and the ignorance of the natives are responsible.

Accurate statistics of emigration are not available. 167
Since the great migration of the Cherkess (to Anatolia) and other Mohammedan tribes (to Turkey), which depopulated much of the western coast in the latter half of the nineteenth century, emigration has tended to be spasmodic. A certain number of Armenians emigrate to America. Many tribes still live what is practically a nomadic life; and for those who are not too proud to do manual labour the towns form a continual attraction.

Immigrants are largely Russians, both official and non-official. The latter come very largely from South Russia and settle in the central governments or, for industrial purposes, at Baku. There is a small annual influx of foreigners, but not to the same extent as in Ciscaucasia. Periodically there have been Armenian immigrations from Turkish Armenia, though these have lately been regarded unfavourably by the Government.

## *CISCAUCASIA*

### (1) Position and Frontiers

Ciscaucasia, a district of European Russia, is the 131
northern part of the region of Caucasia. It is bounded on the west by the Black Sea and the Sea of Azov;

3: Anonymous U-4 (no date) 1920 RH1 Caucasia RH1



In the 'black earth' steppes of Ciscaucasia the maximum rainfall is at the beginning of summer; on the eastern steppes, which extend along the Caspian Sea, the maximum is reached in March. 132

### (4) Sanitary Conditions

The science of hygiene is unknown in Caucasian villages, and medical aid is absent or inaccessible in country districts. Malaria is the characteristic disease of Caucasia, but small-pox, scarlet fever, measles, dysentery, typhus, and pneumonia are prevalent and cause many deaths. 758 164

In the fashionable health resorts, such as Kislovodsk, Jelieźnovodsk and Pyatigozsk, there are very up-to-date sanatoria established on the latest German lines, to which people come from all parts of Russia to take the waters and the cure. 529

### (5) Race and Language

Russians form 34 per cent. of the people of Ciscaucasia, and in the Government of Stavropol amount to 90 per cent. In the Province of Kuban 109 per 1,000 are Cossacks; in Terek the proportion is 179 per 1,000. Tatars live in the east and south-east, where they form 19·3 per cent. of the inhabitants. The remainder consists of Kalmucks, Turcomans, Nogai-Tatars, Armenians, Georgians, Germans, Poles, &c. (See also p. 8.) 162

### (6) Population

The population of the three Ciscaucasian provinces on January 1, 1913, was 5,470,600, distributed as follows:

| | *Rural Population.* | *Urban Population.* | *Total.* |
|---|---|---|---|
| Kuban . . | 2,667,000 | 244,800 | 2,911,800 |
| Stavropol . | 1,232,400 | 79,700 | 1,312,100 |
| Terek . . | 1,015,100 | 231,600 | 1,246,700 |

*Towns*

*Ekaterinodar* (population in 1897, 65,697, now about 107,000), the capital of the Province of Kuban, is 161 361

3: Anonymous U-4 (no date) 1920 RH1 Caucasia RH1
CISCAUCASIA



●361 situated on the left bank of the Kuban river, 100 miles
361 from its mouth and 125 miles south of the Sea of Azov. Other towns are *Anapa* (population in 1897, 6,676), a port; *Batalpashinsk* (8,100); *Maikop* (in 1902, 34,191, now about 50,000); *Temryuk* (in 1897, 14,479), a fortified town and port; *Yeisk* (in 1897, 35,446, now about 50,000), a port on the Sea of Azov.

In the Province of Stavropol, *Stavropol* (population in 1897, 41,621, now about 60,000), which is strongly fortified, is the chief town.

In Terek, *Vladikavkaz* (population in 1897, 49,924, now variously estimated at 53,000 to 79,000) is the capital, and is an important centre of communications. Other towns are *Mozdok* (in 1897, 14,583), 50 miles north of Vladikavkaz; *Georgievsk* (11,532), a fortified town on the Podkumka; *Kislyar* (7,353), on the road from Astrakhan to Derbent; *Kislovodsk* (4,078), a Cossack town with hot saline springs.

On the steppes or prairies of the Caucasian Highlands and along the Kuban river there are many prosperous Cossack villages with considerable populations.

3: Anonymous U-4 (no date) 1920 RH1 Caucasia RH1



district); at Dzansul copper mines (1,000 horse-377
power); and two at Erivan.

Smaller electric plants are to be found at New Athos Monastery (at Goro); at Borzhom, on the Grand Ducal estates; and at Akhalkalaki, in private hands.

The electric power-stations on the Baku oil-fields have already been mentioned (see p. 73).

The water-power offered by the rapid streams of the 376
Caucasus has hitherto been almost entirely neglected, but in 1914 an important scheme was set on foot for the erection of two large power-stations, one on the Terek at Kazbek on the Georgian Military Road, and the other at Elenoffka, in Erivan, utilizing the waters of Lake Gokcha. The concession for the erection of [471] turbines and generators for supplying power to all the industrial centres of Caucasia as well as for the lighting of cities was granted to a British company, and preliminary work had been carried out by August 1914.

A scheme was also under discussion in 1913 and 1914 for utilizing the refuse-laden overflow of the River Kvirili for generating electric power to be used in ferro-manganese furnaces.

## (C) COMMERCE

### (1) Domestic

#### (a) *Towns, Markets, and Fairs*

*Baku*, besides being the refining centre for the oil 361
produced in the neighbouring fields, is also a distribut- 439
ing centre for the imports of Central Persia and Transcaspia. The volume of trade which passed through Baku to and from Persia and Russian Central Asia in 1912 amounted to over 5,000,000 tons, and was steadily increasing in 1914 at the expense of that of the trans-Armenian and trans-Mesopotamian routes. The popu- [161] lation of Baku and the adjacent oil-fields in 1914 amounted to nearly 380,000. In 1909 the municipality 361
raised a loan of £2,842,000 (of which £1,300,000 was 653

3: Anonymous U-4 (no date) 1920 RH1 Caucasia RH1



361 subscribed in London) for the purpose of a new water-
653 supply, drainage, and the construction of an electric station. Only the first of these three works has been carried out. A description of the port of Baku is given above, p. 45. 7

361 *Ekaterinodar* is the centre of the increasingly im-
438 portant trade in tobacco. It has an annual fair, at which the value of goods exchanged is said to be about £400,000. There are several refineries, dealing with oil from the Maikop fields. As the town is both an agricultural and an industrial centre, experimental fruit-farms and technical schools have been opened there.

*Tiflis*, the seat of Government, is a fine modern town, with electric light, electric trams, and cold storage facilities. Only in the oriental quarter are there open bazaars. It is the distributing centre for Russian manufactured goods, and also does a large transit trade in Persian exports.

*Vladikavkaz* is the principal town of Ciscaucasia and an important agricultural centre. *Elisavetopol* is a centre for trade in wine, fruit, and cotton; *Erivan* and *Kutais* for trade in wine and fruit. *Stavropol*, *Akhaltsikh*, *Alexandropol*, *Kars*, *Grozni*, *Nukha*, and *Maikop* are all agricultural centres, the last especially for wine, while Nukha, Akhaltsikh, and Alexandropol are particularly concerned with fruit. Grozni and Maikop are also petroleum centres.

The principal centres of industry are *Tiflis*, *Baku*, *Batum*. *Ekaterinodar*, *Shusha*, *Novorossiisk*, and *Chavka*. Batum is declining as an industrial centre, whilst Baku and Ekaterinodar are progressing; both these last-named towns doubled their budgets between 1904 and 1909.

All Transcaucasian towns have their bazaars, and in the less populated and poorer districts monthly fairs take the place of shops.

Batum, Novorossiisk, Poti, and other ports are described above (pp. 42–46).

7 [see cat. 116 -- Analyst]

5: Allen H-4 (no date) 1923 RHI Caucasia RHI



175 on the other the military power of the tribes was a constant menace to the difficult line of communications with Transcaucasia, a menace the more dangerous when considered in conjunction with the friendly relations between the mountaineers and the Turks, and the latter's naval control of the Black Sea. In 1816 therefore, when Yermolov became Viceroy of the Caucasus, Russia's military obligations in Europe and in Persia being for the moment eased, it was decided to undertake the reduction of the mountain tribes.

726 The operations[1] which extended along the whole length of
175 the Cossack Line, a length of over 450 miles, were divided into three groups. On the right flank, the Cherkesses and Abkhazians were to be attacked; on the centre, the Kabards and Ossets; on the left flank the Chechens and the tribes of Daghestan. Of these three groups, the task allotted to the troops on the left flank was the most difficult. The western tribes though brave were not numerous; their strength had been sapped by a plague originally introduced by Turkish sailors, while the central tribes, Kabards and Ossets, had already received some severe lessons and gave little further trouble. The Chechen tribes, however, were numerous and capable guerrilla fighters, while the thick forests covering their hills made difficult any general advance. Daghestan presented still more formidable obstacles. The area inhabited by the troublesome tribes consisted, as we have seen, of a narrow strip of littoral along the Caspian coast and an elevated table-land, through which a large number of streams had cut channels of a great depth, the whole rising south and west to lofty mountain chains, with several peaks of over
726 13,000 feet in height. The Lesghians, further, were the most
361 numerous—at the beginning of the war they are estimated to have numbered nearly 2,000,000—and the most highly
175 organised of all the tribes. And when threatened by superior forces, they would retire into their *auls* or fortified villages, situated on the most inaccessible parts of the mountains. These villages were so placed that the artillery of those days could seldom be brought to bear with effect on them, and their capture was only possible by storm—" a formidable business when every individual house has its garrison of desperate men, and still more desperate women. . . . The houses were of stone, two stories high; . . . they were disposed, as far as possible, amphitheatre-wise, so as to enfilade one another, the streets being tortuous and barely wide enough for two horsemen to ride abreast; straddled, too, in places by a house furnished

[1 [i.e., in the Mountain War of 1824-64; see cat 116, p199 -- Analyst]

5: Allen H-4 (no date) 1923 RH1 Caucasia RH1



with a wooden bar or portcullis, making passage impossible until the defenders posted there had been ousted or killed." [1] 726 361

In 1818–20 Yermolov commenced operations against the Chechens by the construction of the forts of Grozni ("Threatening") and Vnezapnaia ("Fort Surprise"), while the Armenian General Madatov reduced the Lesghian Khanates of Sheki (with Nukha), Kiuri (with Akhti), Tabasseran, Kara-Kaitagh, Kazi-Kumukh, Khuntzakh (the capital of the Avar), and Akusha (the capital of the Dargo) Khans. In 1822 the central part of the Line was advanced into the Kabardan country, and the tribesmen, ravaged by a fourteen-years' plague, were reduced with cruel severity. Two years later the Chechens were attacked, but succeeded in inflicting several small defeats on the Russians. 175

The tribes were thoroughly roused by the brutal methods of the Russians, who had marched over their hills, burning auls, carrying off flocks, destroying crops and levelling trees, and there now arose at Ghimri in Avar Daghestan two preachers, Kazi [2] Mullah and Sheikh Shamil, who initiated a movement, Muridism, which at first advocated religious reform, temperance and the cessation of blood-feuds, but soon developed into a fierce agitation, at once religious and political, against the Russians. A common danger had at last united the warring tribes, and the leaders of the movement appealed to that fanatical religious feeling which alone could bind together peoples lacking common national traditions and ideals. Shamil was the more remarkable, although Kazi Mullah, until his death, overshadowed him as Imam, or secular head of the Murids. Desperately brave, a devoted husband and father, Shamil was at the same time cruel, treacherous, and jealous of the success of his subordinate chiefs. He frequently showed himself not only a skilful partisan-leader but a clever strategist, while his success in uniting the tribes was due as much to his administrative and organising ability as to his personal magnetism and power of rousing the religious fervour of the mass of the mountaineers by rhetoric and by a clever assumption of religious sanctity. In the latter respect he has been compared to Muhammad, for he showed a deep knowledge of psychology and an understanding of dramatic effect in the mysterious ceremonies, personal flagellations and supposed communings with the Prophet by which he imposed on the credulity and ignorance of his followers. But as his courage, organising ability and cunning laid the foundations of his 175 668 159

[1] Baddeley, ch. xxxii.

[2] Properly Ghazi.

.361 But the numerically important groups which have developed a certain economic and political power live in the large valleys of the Caucasus, chiefly in those of Trans-Caucasia, where the natural conditions encourage such development. Thus, we shall find the great majority of the population living at low or even the lowest altitudes, under 750 m., not in the zone between 750 m. and 2000 m. which is most preferable from the point of view of health. The big industrial or otherwise economically important centers of the Caucasus, Maikop, Groznyi, Makhach-Kala, Baku, Kirovabad, Tiflis, K'ut'aisi, P'ot'i, Bat'umi, Tuapse, Novorossiysk, (six of them on the seashore) are situated at altitudes below 500 m., the only exceptions being the economic centers of Armenia, Erivan and the Gokcha power station. In addition the agricultural districts are in the main situated at low altitudes. Only viticulture and horticulture are in many cases beyond the 1000 m. line. The necessity for irrigation is another factor preventing larger populations from living in the more salubrious zones of the Caucasus.

## Density of Population

161 Apart from the big industrial centers, with their accumulation of huge populations in small areas, the regions with the greatest density of population are: first, Western

491 road from avalanches and falling rocks and debris. This road reaches the Kura river [361] at the city of Mts'khet'a, 21 km. north-northwest of Tiflis. Mts'khet'a is the picturesque ancient capital of Georgia, with the Cathedral of Sveti Ts'khoveli and the Samt'auri monastery. On the spot where the cathedral now stands, there existed, prior to the 5th century, a wooden church said to have been erected in 328 during the time of Tsminda Nino (St. Nina), the Apostle of the Georgians. There were about 1500 inhabitants in Mts'khet'a in 1929. In Tiflis the road joins all the important communication lines of Trans-Caucasia. The Georgian Army road is not only the best but also the shortest connecting line between north and south.

## The Oset'ian Army Road

In K'ut'aisi the Oset'ian Army road has its southern end where it joins the west Trans-Caucasian communication system. This road is almost 300 km. long, since it crosses the Caucasus in a general northeast-southwest direction. It starts at one of the small railroad stations west of Ordzhonikidze (Dzaudjykau); in former times this was at the station of El'khotovo, 35 km. northwest of Beslan, the railroad hub from which the

000 outstanding for their height; two meters is not rare.

C. G. 361 342 Svanet'ia is perhaps the only Caucasian country where every individual house is a real fortress. The mountain villages, usually known by the Turkic term aul all over the Caucasus, always consist of a certain number of houses fortified by defense towers. In some parts of the Caucasus every second or third house, or rather estate, has such a tower. In Dagestan, in general, about three-quarters of the houses of a village are fortified. In Svanet'ia, however, most houses are built of stone and have their own tower. It was known to classical antiquity that many, or at least some, Caucasian peoples dwelt in towers, and the Mossynoikoi, mentioned above as metal workers,[1] were accordingly called "tower dwellers" (mossyn meaning "tower"; Xenophon V, 5; Strabon XII, 3, 18). For lack of wood. brushwood, and clay, stone is the only building material in many auls; but in most auls the houses, usually called by the K'art'uli term sakhli are built of stone for reasons of defense. When the auls are built up the slopes of mountains, the sakhlis are arranged in staircase fashion one above the other, so that it is possible to go through the larger part of an aul using the roofs as the only path, i.e., by climbing from one roof to another. The roofs are flat and consist of stamped clay spread out

C. G. [101]

[1] [cf. cat. 116, p. 207 -- Analyst]

7:Columbia U. S-4, 5 1956 RH1 , CaucasiaRH1
Georgia RI1
Swan

C. G. 341 342 over the wooden lattice of the horizontal roof frame. These flat roofs are also much used for growing cereals, vegetables, curing meat, etc. The sakhli is also the common type of house in most parts of Anatolia and Iran, where we also find the staircase-like arrangement of the sakhlis on the mountain slopes.

C. G. 628 These are the lands where the kings of Sak'art'velo or the Emirs and Khans of Shirvan and Arran had no sway, nor did the Caliph in Baghdad or the Roman Emperor have any authority, with the result that feuds were fought right on the spot. Thus, there were times when not only one aul fought another, but even one clan or family fought another within the same aul. Hence the many small castles; hence a man always carried his kinzhal; hence such customs as the vendetta, the qan-alma (Turkic: "taking of blood"), which have been preserved C. G. 631 there down to the present time. Svanet'ia consists of three small lands: Free Svanet'ia, Svanet'ia of the Dadishkeliani, and Svanet'ia of the Dadiani, the latter two named after the C. G. 771 families of their former overlords. Many pagan elements are found in the Eastern Orthodox religion of these valiant mountaineers, although to a lesser degree than is true of the Oset'i, as mentioned above, or some of the Dagestanians, who were later converted to Islam.

## Pattern of Settlement

162 In the Northern Caucasus, the boundary line between the indigenous peoples and the Russian and Ukrainian immigrants lies generally along the Kuban'-Terek river line, with the more recent arrivals settled in the lowlands and the indigenous population in the uplands. There are two exceptions to this general statement: (1) in the extreme west, the Slavic immigrants have penetrated into the mountains in addition to the lowlands; (2) in the extreme east, the lowlands between the Terek and the Kuma rivers are dry semi-desert steppes suitable only for extensive grazing and are therefore very sparsely populated.

161 The average density in the Northern Caucasus is 30 persons per square kilometer. It rises to 50 and more persons, on the one hand, in the more fertile lowland sections and the valleys of major rivers -- the Kuban' and the Terek (in Northern Ossetia), and on the other hand, in industrial areas, such as the Groznyi oilfields. Lower densities of 10 persons and less per square kilometer are found in the higher mountain sections of the Caucasus and the arid steppes of the northeast. Generally speaking, the population is therefore found predominantly in the foothills of the Caucasus.

361 Two sharply different types of rural settlements are found. The Russian and

.361 Ukrainian population tends to be concentrated in large villages, known as stanitsas, with an average population of 5,000 or more, extending along low-lying river banks with large orchards and vegetable gardens attached to each home. The indigenous population in the mountains is found in small villages, known as auls, extending in bead-like fashion along the abrupt banks of mountain streams.

The cities nearly all arose before the Soviet regime. There are vitually no large new industrial centers, such as characterize many other parts of the Soviet Union. The cities arose as fortified points of the Russian and Ukrainian intruders (Vladikavkaz, later renamed Ordzhonikidze), resorts (Piatigorsk, Kislovodsk), or industrial and commercial centers (Krasnodar, Groznyi).

161 The density of population is quite uneven in Transcaucasia. While the upland areas of the Caucasus are often entirely devoid of settlement, river valleys may reach a density of 50 to 100 persons per square kilometer, while especially dense areas may go as high as 200. For the most part, however, the density varies from 25 to 50 persons per square kilometer, descending to 10 to 25 persons in the dry steppes and the upper foothills.

In Georgia, where the average density is 51 persons per square kilometer, 57 per cent of the population lives in areas below 500 meters elevation, while 27.6 per cent live in areas between 500 and 1,000 meters elevation.

.361 The largest metropolitan centers are for the most part ancient cities, such as Tbilisi, Kirovabad, Kutaisi and Erevan. Baku arose before the Bolshevik Revolution as the world's best-known oil producer. Under the Soviet regime, industrial cities have grown rapidly in Transcaucasia and a number of new centers have been established. The most important of these recent creations are probably [438] Sumgait near Baku, and Rustavi near Tbilisi, both founded during the Second World War. Sumgait produces steel pipe, alumimum and synthetic rubber, and is due to get a superphosphate plant during the sixth Five-Year Plan. Rustavi has an integrated steel plant and produces cement and nitrate fertilizer.

C. G. 342 (Guria, Mingrelia, part of Imeretia) of wood; in the Imeretian mountains (Racha) of wattle; in Kakhetia all types occur. In eastern and southern Georgia there is also found the so-called "crown-shaped" roof (gvirgvini), which consists of beams over which other beams are placed diagonally, in successive layers narrowing upwards, so that a cupola is formed. Light enters through the spaces between the beams.

C. G. 361 In Kartlia the houses are irregularly grouped into villages, without enclosures and without streets. In the western subtropical region and in Kakhetia the farms are surrounded by fences; in Kakhetia they are situated farther

C. G. 343 apart amidst the vineyards. Besides the living quarters, the farms have stables, hen-houses, barns and granaries--the latter made of wattle and raised from the ground on poles. There is usually a hut with a cover of ferns for newly-wed

C. G. [354] couples, a well, etc. There is also a baking-oven consisting of a cylinder of wattle coated with clay; after heating the oven with charcoal, the dough is placed inside on the wall, after which the oven is closed with a wooden lid and

C. G. 342 cloths. In wine-growing regions there is a wine cellar with a wine press, and large earthenware wine containers, sunk into the ground.

The Svan house is built of rough stones; the ground plan is rectangular. It usually has two stories. The ground floor contains a storeroom which at the same time serves as wine cellar, and the winter-quarters for humans and

C. 342 building; the floor consisted of packed earth and contained a firepit, above which was placed a high chimney of straw coated with clay. Outside the enclosure containing living quarters, horse-stable, and sheepfold, there was a special lodging for guests (R. kunatskaia). The C. G. 342 dwellings of the Abkhaz were the most primitive in the Caucasus: They were rectangular structures with walls of wattle, in cold weather sometimes covered with ferns. The thatched roof rested on a beam supported at the rear by a pole, and in front by two slanting poles which touched at the top. In the back there was a partition which served several purposes: storeroom, guest room, winter stable.

C. 342 361 In the mountains of Dagestan the houses are clustered close together into villages which rise terrace-like on inaccessible and easily defended mountain slopes. The houses stand in rows, so that the roofs of one row serve as the front yards of the houses in the row above. The most common building material is rough stone; the houses consist of two or more stories, the lower one being used as stable and storeroom, the upper one containing the rooms for men, for women and for guests.

C. G. 712 A typical feature of the Caucasian mountaineers' settlements are the defense towers, which in the Svan villages are built near almost every house and are also common in the settlements of the Khevsur, Tush and Pshav. On the northern slopes of the Caucasus mountains they are found in Ossete territory and also in the

## Major Cities of the Caucasus

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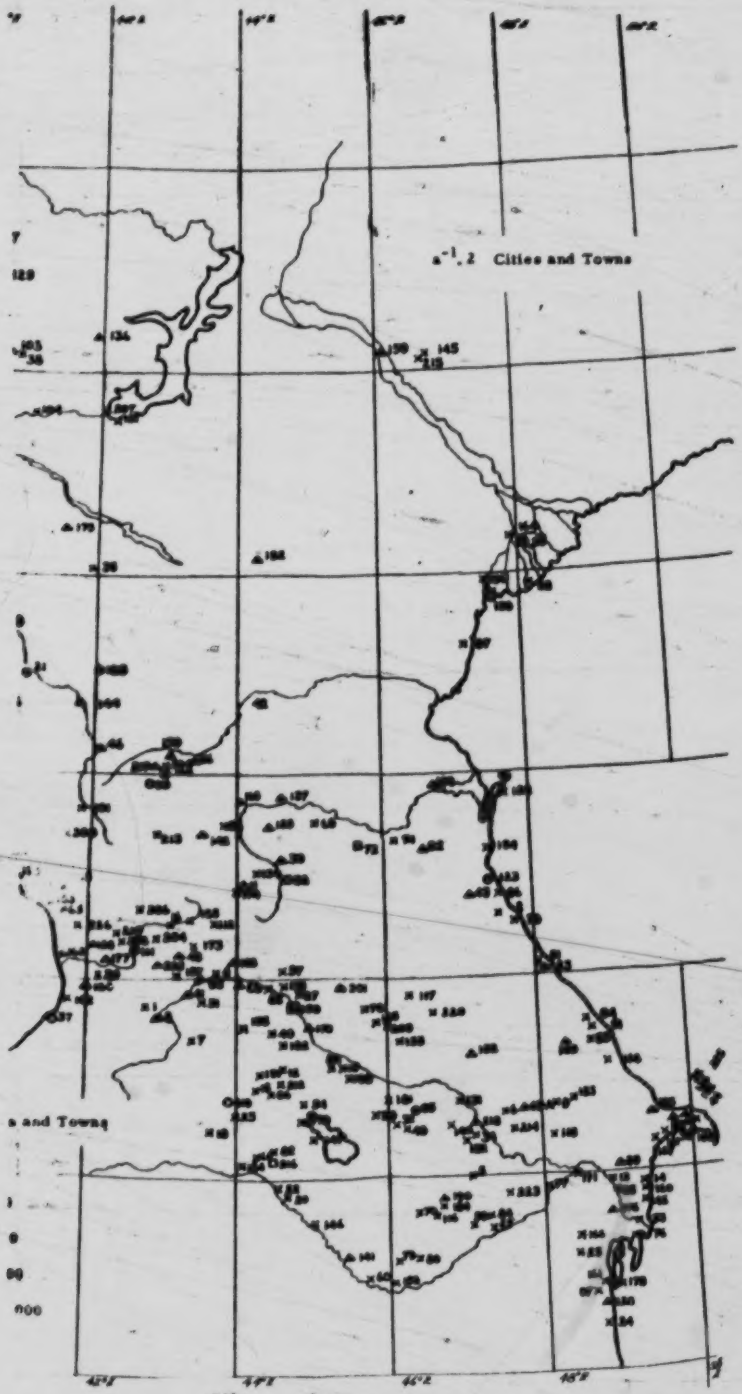




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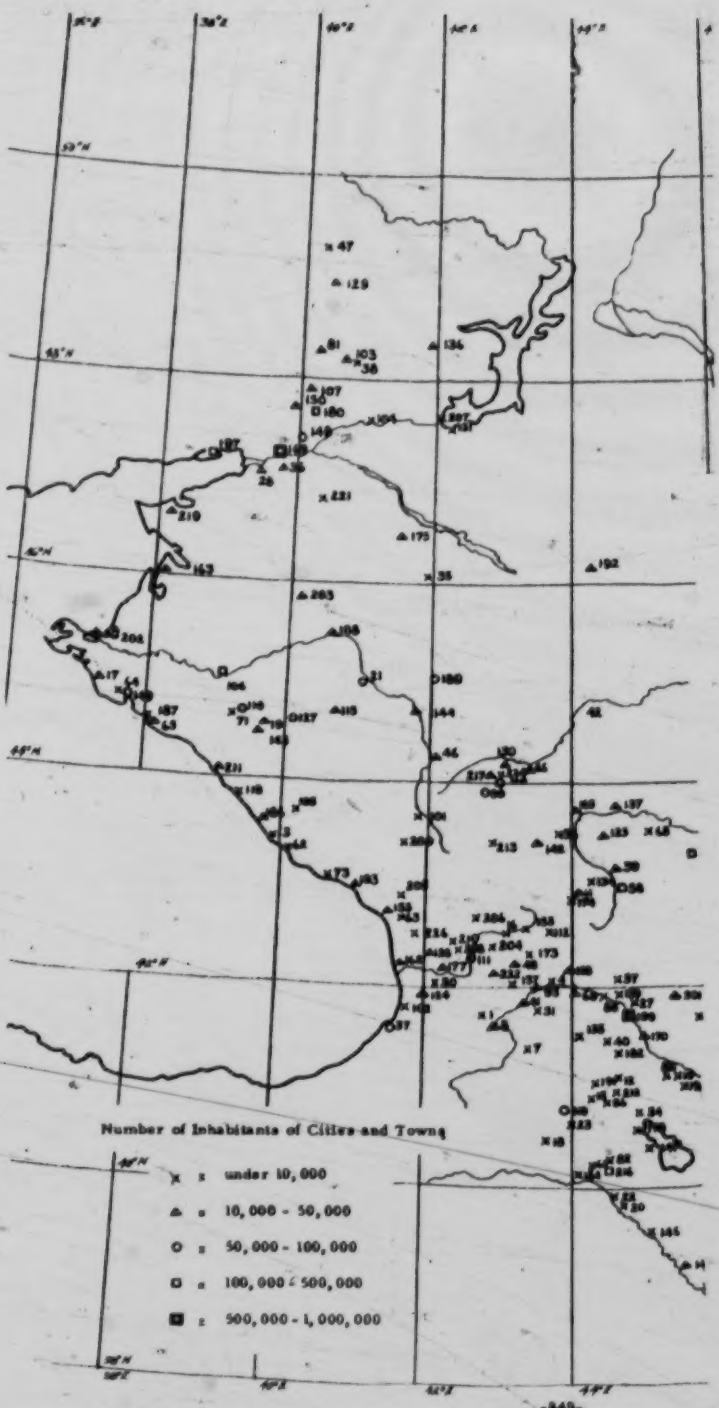
Number of Inhabitants of Cities and Towns
x : under 10,000
▲ : 10,000 - 50,000
○ : 50,000 - 100,000
□ : 100,000 - 500,000
■ : 500,000 - 1,000,000

7:Columbia U. S-4, 5 1956 RH1 Caucasia
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## COMMERCIAL CENTERS

361 The importance of commercial centers in the Soviet is small. Even old and important centers, unless supported by industry or by politico-administrative considerations, tend to decline. Commercial centers of importance are Rostov, Astrakhan', Makhachkala in the North, and Tbilisi in the South Caucasus.

b2.1 Commercial Centers

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in a southwestern suburb of Krasnyy Sulin. The former plays an important role in the mechanization of the coal-mining operations. Before the Second World War, more than 10 percent of the Donbas coal was mined within Rostov Oblast.

On the basis of the coal resources, heavy industry is operating metallurgical plants at Taganrog and Krasnyy Sulin. Rostov is the home of *Rossel'mash*, the largest agricultural machinery plant of the USSR. Agricultural implements are also manufactured at Morozovsk. Other centers engaged in the production of machinery and metal products are Taganrog, Novocherkassk, Glubokiy, and Likhovskoy (at Likhaya station).

In the northern grain-growing district, wheat and sunflower are the dominant crops. Toward the southeast, barley and mustard become important; further on, toward the Caspian Lowland, the emphasis shifts to stock raising. Horses and meat cattle are gradually replaced by sheep in the drier areas. Cotton is grown to some extent in the south and the southeast. Several Cossack villages along the Don River, notably Tsimlyanskaya and Razdorskaya, have extensive vineyards. In a wide zone through the urban and heavily industrialized section of Taganrog-Rostov-Shakhty, truck gardening and the raising of dairy cattle are the principal agricultural activities. The principal agricultural centers are Millerovo and Chertkovo in the north and Sal'sk (with near-by Gigant state farm, one of the largest grain farms of the USSR) in the southeast. These and other towns throughout the oblast mill flour, extract sunflower oil, and process tobacco. The fish catch of the Don delta and adjacent Taganrog Gulf is processed at Azov, a small port southwest of Rostov.

Rostov Oblast is settled by Russians and a Ukrainian minority. Prior to the Second World War some Kalmyk elements were organized into a Kalmyk national rayon, northwest of Zimovniki. In 1944, following the abrogation of the Kalmyk Autonomous SSR, the rayon was also abrogated, and presumably the population was resettled elsewhere. In this connection, Rostov Oblast also acquired the westernmost section of the former Kalmyk Autonomous SSR.

Rostov lies on the elevated, right bank of the Don River at the head of the delta. Thanks to its favorable location at the junction of trade routes between the Black Sea, the Volga, the Ukraine, the European Center, and the Northern Caucasus, it developed early into an important commercial center and transportation hub. With the construction of the

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*Rossel'mash* agricultural machinery works, the city became an industrial 438*
center of first rank. It is the site of an auto-assembly plant, airplane 361
factory, shipyards and machine-tool works, and produces a wide range C
of products, including foods (flour, vegetable oil, meat, canned goods), 438
paints, cement, glass, shoes, furniture, and cigarettes. The city suffered 361
considerably during the Second World War. Across the Don River lies Bataysk, a rail junction and aircraft center with two large airfields and repair shops. Northeast of Rostov, on the Aksay, a branch of the Don, lies the former center of the Don Cossacks, Novocherkassk, at present a machine-manufacturing city, with locomotive works.

Taganrog, the second city of the oblast, is a major coal and grain-shipping port on the Sea of Azov. A foremost industrial center, it has metallurgical and pipe-rolling mills, one of the largest boiler works of the USSR, and produces machines for the food and chemical industries. It manufactures agricultural implements, instruments, and shoes, and has an extensive food-processing industry. Shipbuilding and aircraft manufacturing are also important.

Kamensk-Shakhtinskiy, on the Northern Donets River and the Voronezh-Rostov railroad, has chemical works and lumber mills and produces flour and alcohol.

Shakhty (formerly called Aleksandrovsk-Grushevskiy) is the largest coal-mining center in this section of the Donets Basin. It has a 90,000 kw. power station in its eastern suburb of Artemovskiy, textile, leather and food industries. Its southern suburb, Kamenolomni, has stone quarries (for which it is named) and metalworks. Another coal-mining center, Novoshakhtinsk (until 1939, Komintern), lies west of Shakhty.

## Krasnodar Kray

Capital, Krasnodar; area, 32,800, population, 3,000,000 SU

Krasnodar Kray occupies the western section of the Northern Caucasus 131
adjoining the Sea of Azov and includes a short section of Transcau- C
casia along the Black Sea littoral. The presence within a relatively 131
restricted area of maritime and high-altitude influences bring about a great variety of natural conditions and economic activities. Thus, the forested slopes of the Greater Caucasus are in sharp contrast to the treeless level steppes beyond the Kuban' River, and the subtropical Black Sea coast, protected from the northerly winter winds, is opposed to the continental climate of the remainder of the region.

The entire kray, with the exception of the mountains in the south and ooo

Sal steppes, where because of the dry conditions only sheep and horses can be successfully reared. SU 241 C 241

The rich agricultural production of the Kuban' lowlands is processed at a number of centers, chiefly Krasnodar, Armavir, Kropotkin, and Labinsk. Of great importance are oil presses, canneries, flour mills, and tobacco factories.

The Black Sea littoral is characterized by a humid, maritime climate, luxuriant natural vegetation, mineral springs, and a picturesque location between the mountains and the sea. These factors combine to make the area provide garden crops and health resorts. Because of the limited land area under cultivation and the presence of resorts (Sochi, Matsesta, and Anapa), the growing of vegetables, fruits, vineyards, and dairy farming receive priority. Tobacco, southern hemp, oil-bearing plants are also cultivated. Flower gardens and decorative plants are common. Wine is made chiefly at Anapa, at Abrau-Dyurso near Novorossiysk, and at Solntsedar [gift of the sun], just west of Gelendzhik. Gelendzhik itself is an important dairying center. Tea is processed at Dagomys, northwest of Sochi.

The Kuban'-Black Sea petroleum region (near Maykop) is centered in Neftegorsk [oil mountain] and Apsheronsk (named for the oil-rich Apsheron peninsula). Near by are the oil towns of Khadyzhenskiy and recently-opened Kutais. Another field has been developed at Il'skiy, southwest of Krasnodar. Prior to the Second World War this region was one of the most rapidly developing petroleum areas of the USSR; it had a tenfold increase in production under the Soviet regime. Destruction caused by the war has, however, been responsible for a considerable setback in output. SU 315 C 315

The basic transportation routes are the Rostov-Baku and Novorossiysk-Stalingrad railroads, their junction being at Tikhoretsk, a major rail center with extensive yards and shops. Short branch lines serve most sections of the region. During the Second World War the opening of the Black Sea littoral railroad between Adler and Sukhumi (Georgian SSR) established another vital link across the Greater Caucasus to the Transcaucasian republics. Coastal steamers serve the Black Sea shore, stopping at Sochi, Tuapse, and Novorossiysk, the most important ports. SU 496 C 496

Krasnodar, formerly called Yekaterinodar, lies on the right bank of the Kuban', in the middle of the fertile black-earth agricultural area. Once the capital of the Kuban' Cossacks, it has oil-refining and metalworking industries. It is a major food-processing and rail center, having SU 435 361 C 438 361

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SU 438* dairying, tobacco, distilling, canning, flour, and meat-packing plants. 361 Steel tubing and telephone equipment are also manufactured. Surrounding the city are some of the principal jute-producing lands of the USSR.

C 438 361 Novorossiysk is a well-equipped Black Sea port on Tsemes Bay and the principal cement-milling center of the USSR. It ships the wheat of the Kuban' area and lies amidst such well-known resorts as Anapa, to the northwest, and Kabardinka and Gelendzhik, to the southeast. West of the city is the famous champagne center of Abrau-Dyurso. Novorossiysk produces agricultural machinery, bicycles, furniture, textiles, and flour. Grain elevators and oil tanks lie in the harbor area. The cement mills ("Krasnyy Oktyabr'" and "Krasnyy Proletariy") lie in the suburb Standart, north of the Tsemes Bay. Other mills lie in the towns of Verkhne-Bakanskaya and Gayduk, northwest of Novorossiysk.

Tuapse, another major port on the Black Sea, rivals Batumi in the shipping and refining of petroleum. Surrounded by orchards and vineyards, it is the terminus of an oil pipe line from Groznyy and Neftegorsk. It produces large amounts of fuel oil, which serves as the principal power source for electric stations throughout the region. Shipbuilding and the manufacture of machines for the petroleum industry are also important.

SU 529 Sochi is the most popular health resort on the Black Sea coast. It is C 529 the site of numerous sanitariums and an experimental station for subtropical agriculture. To the southeast lie the satellite resorts of Matsesta (sulphur springs) and Khosta. It became a city of republic rank in 1948.

SU 438* Other important centers of Krasnodar Kray are Armavir, with food C 529 (meat, flour, sunflower oil) and agricultural machinery industries, Yeysk, a fishing port having canning and meat-packing plants, and Kropotkin (food products).

SU 131 Adyge Autonomous Oblast (capital, Maykop; area, 1,700, population, 300,000) is located on the middle Kuban' River, between its left 162 A affluents, the Laba and the Belaya. It was formed in 1922 and is one of 131 the few remaining settlement areas of the Cherkess, or Circassian, ethnic 162 group. The population, which is about 45 percent Cherkess or Adyge (the designation applied by the people to themselves), is for the remainder evenly divided among the Russian and the Ukrainian groups. The rural economy rests chiefly on the cultivation of winter wheat, sunflowers, and tobacco. Horse breeding is also engaged in.

000 Maykop, on the Belaya River, at the north foot of the Caucasus, is

Ca 771 [870] during the summer holidays all that the Soviet authorities wished them to disregard. A number of Ingush party and Communist Youth League members, instead of working against the influence of religion, used themselves to go to the mosques to pray.[7]

Ca 447 191 The difficulties existing between the Soviet authorities and the Chechens and Ingush[1] were not exclusively due to the Bolshevik failure to understand the importance of the religious factor in the life of the mountaineers. There were also extraordinary difficulties of a technical nature, due to the fact that the directives of the central administration were issued in the Russian language and therefore did not reach the Chechen-Ingush masses. Being unable fully to understand the orders received, the local Soviet organs either could not carry them out, or falsified the decisions of the party and of the administration.[8]

## GROZNY – THE OIL CITY

Ca 178 It was the tremendous dead weight of the predominantly Russian capital of Chechenia that prevented the implementation of any genuine Chechen autonomy and finally spelled the doom of the Chechen people. The actual liquidation of the Chechens would probably not have occurred had not the largest town in their homeland become an oil city, and indeed, one of the most important oil centres of the U.S.S.R.

Ca 315 S.U. 315 This oil city had developed out of the little fortress of Grozny.[2] Although Grozny oilfields had been discovered as early as 1833, they were hardly exploited at all in the nineteenth century. In 1912, however, they already supplied 11·5 per cent of the entire Russian oil. Between 1913 and 1917 this figure had risen to 16·7 per cent, and in the following four years to nearly 25 per cent. By 1937 the proportion of Grozny oil to total Russian oil production had fallen to 9·25 per cent, but in terms of absolute figures this output represented an increase of 234 per cent, compared to that before the First World War. The development of Ca 361 162 Grozny as an oil centre made for an increase of the population on an 'American scale'. In 1890 the place had no more than 6,000 inhabitants, against 34,067 in 1913, 97,095 in 1926 and 172,468 in 1939. It need hardly be added that the Chechens and Ingush, peoples consisting of shepherds and peasants, could not contribute anything worth mentioning to the rise of the town which was styled, almost ironically, 'Capital of the Chechen-Ingush A.S.S.R.'. Among the oilworkers of Grozny there were probably at no time more than one-tenth of 'natives', and until 1936 there were but 9·7 per cent.

Ca 177 S.U. 583 Unlike so many cities in the Soviet Union, Grozny never changed its name under the Soviet régime, despite the imperialistic history connected with it. As a matter of fact, it was the Soviet oil city of Grozny which spelled the doom of the Chechens and not the little fortress which

1 [Cf. category 116, pp. 186-188, R1 Sov. Union: 21: Kolarz--Analyst]
2 [Cf. category 116, p. 186, R1 188 Sov. Union 121: Kolarz - Analyst]

ment on 'serious shortcomings and mistakes' committed in Kabarda in 971
the field of national policy. It stressed that conditions in Kabardinian 191
education were in conflict with the constitution of the A.S.S.R., which stipulated the right of the Kabardinian people to schools in their own language.

Although the Kabardinians are by far more numerous and advanced 975
than the peoples of the Soviet Far North, they suffer from the same acute shortage of national teaching-personnel which has been fatal to the national culture of many a minor Soviet nationality. Thus in 1948, the Kabardinian teachers' training college at Nalchik had but fifty-six Kabardinians out of a total of 559 students.[27]

It is to be expected that the survival of a truly Kabardinian culture 167
and Kabardinian language will become even more remote with the 162
increasing pressure of Slav colonization. Between 1926 and 1935 alone the number of Russians and Ukrainians in the Kabardinian A.S.S.R. more than doubled; it increased from about 37,000 to 93,000. This increase was partly due to immigration, partly to the inclusion in Kabarda of a number of Cossack villages in 1932. After the war the numerical relation between 'natives' and colonists changed to the detriment of the former, owing to the forcible departure of the Balkars.* Moreover more Russian colonists came into the country to staff new factories springing up around Nalchik.

* [Cf. category 631, p. 193 - -Analyst]

THE CIRCASSIANS – A RESERVE OF SOVIET MIDDLE EAST POLICY

For the benefit of the remnants of the Circassian people,* the Soviet 631
Government set up two Autonomous Provinces in the western part of 162
the North Caucasus area; the Cherkess Province in the Caucasus foothills and the Adyge Province in the Kuban plain.

Surrounded as they are on all sides by Russian territories these two national units have little chance of long-term survival. This applies in particular to the Adyge Province, whose capital – Maikop – used to be [361]
the third largest Russian oil centre after Baku and Grozny, before the development of the 'second Baku' between the Volga and the Urals.

Originally, Maikop was not included in the Adyge Province, which had a small Adyge majority in its initial stage (55·7 per cent various branches of Adyge, 42·7 per cent Russians and Ukrainians, and the rest made up of other Europeans and Armenians). The size of the Province was increased, however, before the war and the Adyge thus found themselves in the position of a minority. In 1930 the Adyge Province [141]
won doubtful 'fame' owing to its extraordinarily high percentage of disfranchized people. This was due to the arbitrary action of the local Soviet authorities, who had indiscriminately interpreted the terms of 'kulak', 'capitalist' and 'reactionary' with the result that 12 per cent of the entire adult population of the Province were deprived of their civic rights. —

* [Cf. cat. 116, p. 182 Sov. Union-Analyst]

3: Anonymous U-4 (no date) 1920 RH1 Caucasia RH1



317 to unscientific methods of removal. Much ore is con-
[364] sequently wasted. Since 1909 an increasing amount of ore has been washed for the preparation of ferro-manganese, and this has resulted in the serious pollution of the River Kvirili, which runs through the mining district. Regulations have been made to control the practice of discharging refuse into the river, and plans formed to collect the refuse-laden water in an artificial basin, where it could be purified and utilized for generating electric power to be employed in the ferro-manganese furnaces. Little improvement, however, had been effected by 1914.

[471] Many small native firms are occupied in manganese-mining. A little before the war foreign capitalists were acquiring manganese-bearing land, which is usually leased in small lots of from half an acre to 50 acres in extent; about 1910 there was an extensive acquisition of unworked land by German firms. The recent tendency has been for the control of the industry to pass from small to large concerns.

There was a heavy slump in manganese just before 1908, but since that year the output has greatly increased: in 1910 it amounted to 548,300 metric tons; in 1911 it fell again to 451,600 metric tons, but in 1912 it rose to the high figure of 913,500 metric tons, and in
[439] 1913 to 1,051,500 metric tons. Nearly the whole output is exported; export figures are given on pp. 83 and 84. The trade was very heavily hit by the war.

Chiaturi competes with India and Brazil for pride of place as supplier of manganese to the world. It has, however, been handicapped by difficulties of transport, though favoured to some extent in the matter of freight rates. The Sharopan–Sachkeri rail-
[492] way lies some distance from the mines, and the ore has to be conveyed in carts or on pack animals to the station, whence further carriage to Poti or Batum is both slow and expensive. The Association of Manganese Producers (see p. 79) had up to 1914 failed to secure from the State anything beyond promises of improvement.

turn, must have stimulated the entire family to watch most carefully over the conduct of their daughters; and this watchfulness, again, must have been responsible for *adats* threatening the girl as well as any lover with the most severe sanctions not only for an actual perforation of the hymen but also, as the *adats* frequently express it, for any "suspicious approach."[109] 585 826

There have been other explanations offered for the virginity test. Westermarck, for instance, suggested masculine jealousy.[110] But this explanation is not applicable to the peoples of North Caucasia, for, as we have already mentioned, the sexual factor has very little significance in the selection of mates compared to the all-important economic, social, and religious factors. Such a jealousy, where mutual attraction matters so little, is unthinkable.[111] [152]

(6) The custom of the bride thrice walking round the fireplace is an ancient wedding ceremony frequently found among pastoral tribes. As is well known, it was also the custom of the ancient Indo-Europeans. That one of the main wedding ceremonies in the Caucasus should take place at the fireplace is quite in keeping with the deep religious significance of the hearth. Among a large number of Caucasian mountain tribes, especially in North Ossetia, Ingushetia, and Daghestan, we find the custom of never allowing the fire in the hearth to die out, this practice being a form of cult for the dead.[112] The fire and especially the chain above it constitute a connection between the living and the departed. It forms a sacred asylum for any murderer, because as soon as he touches the chain the ancestors of the victim approve of the murderer's adoption into the family. The chain is the symbol of the family: to tear it down is regarded as one of the most abominable crimes imagineable, an insult to the living and dead members of the sib, which must be punished with death. The chain is a symbol of the family and therefore it must be buried with the last member of an extinct sib. To swear by the hearth-chain is an infallible sign that the person is saying the truth, for to do so falsely is unthinkable.[113] Such an oath would be a curse upon the entire sib and their ancestors. In other words, the ancient solidarity of the sib is intimately connected with the ancient religion of the North Caucasians, and the sanctuary of this religion is the hearth. Now, marriage is an act by which a stranger is taken into the family, and one of the most natural means, most in harmony with the ancient Caucasian form of life, is the hearth and hearth-chain. It is indeed striking that in Daghestan the cult of the fireplace still exists today but not the wedding ceremony. This fact confirms rather than disproves our explanation, for in Daghestan the wife was not a stranger: she had to be chosen from within the sib! (Cf. *supra*, pp. 51 f.) 585 614 [778] [769] [372] [605] [789] 582

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[109] *Infra*, Chapter XII, p. 176.

[110] The History of Marriage, I, p. 163.

[111] The jealousy would have to be so great that the disappointed husband would insist that the bride's nose be cut off or that she be otherwise mutilated and even killed, for such are the ancient adats!

[112] Günther, "Zusammenstöße zwischen Gesetz und Gewohnheitsrecht im nördlichen Kaukasus," *Zeitschrift f. vergl. Rechtsw.*, XLVI (1931), p. 324.

[113] Ibid.

1/n [sic - Analyst]

3: Anonymous U-4 (no date) 1920 RH1 Caucasia RH1



district); at Dzansul copper mines (1,000 horse-377
power); and two at Erivan.

Smaller electric plants are to be found at New Athos Monastery (at Goro); at Borzhom, on the Grand Ducal estates; and at Akhalkalaki, in private hands.

The electric power-stations on the Baku oil-fields have already been mentioned (see p. 73).

The water-power offered by the rapid streams of the 376
Caucasus has hitherto been almost entirely neglected, but in 1914 an important scheme was set on foot for the erection of two large power-stations, one on the Terek at Kazbek on the Georgian Military Road, and the other at Elenoffka, in Erivan, utilizing the waters of Lake Gokcha. The concession for the erection of [471]
turbines and generators for supplying power to all the industrial centres of Caucasia as well as for the lighting of cities was granted to a British company, and preliminary work had been carried out by August 1914.

A scheme was also under discussion in 1913 and 1914 for utilizing the refuse-laden overflow of the River Kvirili for generating electric power to be used in ferro-manganese furnaces.

## (C) COMMERCE

### (1) Domestic

#### (a) *Towns, Markets, and Fairs*

*Baku*, besides being the refining centre for the oil 361
produced in the neighbouring fields, is also a distribut- 439
ing centre for the imports of Central Persia and Transcaspia. The volume of trade which passed through Baku to and from Persia and Russian Central Asia in 1912 amounted to over 5,000,000 tons, and was steadily increasing in 1914 at the expense of that of the trans-Armenian and trans-Mesopotamian routes. The popu- [161]
lation of Baku and the adjacent oil-fields in 1914 amounted to nearly 380,000. In 1909 the municipality 363
raised a loan of £2,842,000 (of which £1,300,000 was 653

3: Anonymous U-4 (no date) 1920 RH1 Caucasia RH1



thousands of square miles in America, and that a single 315
Baku oil fountain has actually yielded as much in one day as 25,000 wells in America. The American system has been adopted at Grozni and Maikop. Manila ropes have been very generally replaced by wire ropes. Pumps cannot be used at Baku to raise the oil, and it is therefore baled by steam or electric power; air-lifts have recently been found successful. In default of fresh water, steam at Baku has to be obtained from sea-water, which causes rapid destruction of the boilers.

Oil is conveyed to the Black Town (Baku) refineries [471]
in pipe lines, of which in 1906 there were 39 in private ownership besides the State pipe lines. Large firms had their own pumping stations in addition to those provided for general use. Fountain oil was pumped direct to the stations and measured there. Some of the Bibi-Ebyat oil goes by barge.

From Baku the oil has four means of transit: by [489]
rail to Batum or Poti; by pipe line (kerosene) to Batum; by rail to Petrovsk; and by tank-steamer to Astrakhan and thence up the Volga. The last route, by which the Volga factories are supplied, is only open from April to October.

Electric power was steadily replacing steam power [377]
on the oil-fields in 1914. The Spies Petroleum Co. at Grozni run their works almost wholly by it. There are generating stations at Sabunchi, belonging to Nobel Brothers; at Zabrat, belonging to the Société de la Caspienne et de la Mer Noire; at White Town (1,200 horse-power); and at Baieloff (4,500 horse-power). At Sabunchi and Zabrat the Surachani gas is used to generate electricity.

### (6) Manufactures

Ciscaucasia and Transcaucasia have each their own 438
characteristic industries, which, in the former case, are those proper to a region predominantly agricultural, and in the latter are dependent on the output of the oil-fields.

3: Anonymous U-4 (no date) 1920 RH1 Caucasia PH1



274 22,000,000 gallons in 1914. Were French methods of manufacture employed more extensively, the industry might be greatly developed. There is an Italian firm at Kislovodsk in Terek which makes Riesling and other wines under modern conditions.

*Distilling* is in part an independent industry and in part a means of utilizing the inferior wines. In 1913 there were 15 distilleries—8 in Kuban, 4 in Terek, 2 in Stavropol, and 1 in Kutais—and the output of alcohol in that year was 8,193,000 gallons, of which more than two-thirds were distilled in Kuban.

438 *Other industries* of the country may be very briefly
47 enumerated. A *tea* factory has recently been opened at Chavka, and has an annual output of about 55 tons, and other factories are (or were) being built with Government aid at Baku and Ozurgeti. A *beet-sugar* factory, started in 1913 at Gulevichi, was brought to a standstill for want of beetroot in 1914. There are three *saw-mills* at Tiflis; the Italian firm of Sbrajavacca has saw-mills at Socilava and Poti, which turn out 300 cubic metres daily, and Ananov Brothers have small saw-mills in Kutais, driven by electric power. A factory for making *bamboo furniture* was opened at Chavka in 1907. There are nine *brick* and *tile* factories at Baku and four tile factories at Tiflis, while *pottery* works have been opened at Ksauka, Tiflis, by an Italian firm, which also makes tiles. *Soap* is made at Tiflis, and *sulphuric acid* at Baku.

### (7) Power

• 377 In 1914 there were ten chief power-stations: near Beli Ugol on the Podkumka river (1,000 horse-power); near Sukhum on the Besletk river (owned by the Sukhum Electric Co.); near Gagri on the Jockvar river (working the climatic station); at Batum (water-driven), supplying Batum with electricity; at Kutais, supplying power for Ananov Brothers' saw-mills; at Sanain (700 horse-power), belonging to the Caucasus Metallurgical Co.; at Katar copper mines (Sangesur

3: Anonymous U-4 (no date) 1920 RH1 Caucasia RH1



district); at Dzansul copper mines (1,000 horse-377 power); and two at Erivan.

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*133 come almost exclusively from the southern slopes of the Great Caucasus. The majority of these numerous but short tributaries meet the Alazani at a right angle. The upper part of the Alazani is the country of Kakhet'ia, famous for its excellent wines, such as Napareuli, T'elavi, and Tsinandali. The Alazani streams in a southeasterly direction through a valley situated between the flat elevation of the Shirak steppe and the foothills of the Great Caucasus until it receives the Aghry-Chai (or Agiri-Chai), encountering it from exactly the opposite direction, since in this part of the valley there is a slight acclivity towards the southeast. Thus the Alazani turns in a southward direction through a subsidence in the flat range of the Shirak steppe, so that it unites with the Iori and the main river.

At the point of the Alazani-Iori-Kura confluent, the river is not more than 200 m. above the level of the Caspian Sea, at a straight distance of 300 km. from the estuary; thus, the river on this insignificant declivity has a tendency to form many curves and swamps [312] and to change its course. Below the Alazani-Kura confluent near the town of Mingechaur the river has been dammed up into the Mingechaur water reservoir, which is to serve as [377] a hydroelectric station and was put into operation in 1954. It may also be used for irrigation, as well as river regulation purposes.

377 2 Chakharch'ian, Iosif Nazarovich
Stalin prize 2. class, 1950 for production of special asynchronic electric motors.

Laur. Stalin.prem. 1950
p. 41

536 1 Chakhava, Medea Vasil'evan
Stalin prize 3. class for acting in Vasadze's Potoplennye kamni

Laur. Stalin. prem. 1950
p. 78

331 1 (?) Chankotadze, Vakhtang Lavrent'evich
Stalin prize 2. class, 1950
Construction engineer; director of trust Khramgesstroi.

Laur. Stalin. prem. 1950
p. 44

665 2 Charchian, Z. V.
Member CC CP Arm. SSR, 17.-18. s'ezd, 1954, 1956

Kom. Er. 1/22/56

538 1 (2?) Charents
-1937. Armenian poet killed by Bolsheviks. See Kocharian for more information.

7: Columbia U. S-4, 5 1956 RH1 Caucasia
RH1

814 1
646 Dzhavakhishvili, Ivan Aleksandrovich, 1876-1940
Georgian historian. Wrote on Armenian-Georgian philology in his dissertation. Was among organizers Georgian university. Deputy to VS SSSR. Wrote also: Osnovnye voprosy istorii gruzinsk. iazyka.

BE II 14:198

645 1 Dzhibladze, G. N.
Minister of education Gruz. SSR, 1954

Zar. Vost. 2/18/54

377 1 Dzhigaur, Georgii Mikhailovich
Stalin prize 2. class, 1950 chief specialist of hydrotechnical research of Tiflis Gidroenergoproekt.

Laur. Stalin. prem. 1950
p. 44

646 1 Dzhokhadze, Mariia Nikolaevich
Deputy to Sov. Soiuz VS SSSR
(4. s'ezd, 1954)

Bak. Rab. 2/18/54

643 1 Dzhugashvili*
see Stalin, Iosif Vissarionovich

* [cf. cat. 116, pp. 804-805 -- Analyst]

3773 (?) Ebralidze, Mirian Silovanovich
Stalin prize 2. class, 1950 for collaborating in the building of hydroelectrical plant.

Laur. Stalin. prem. 1950

665 3 Efendiev, A. O.
Member of presidium CC CP Azerb. SSR, 21. s'ezd, 1956

Bak. Rab. 1/26/56

3 Efendiev, G. Sh.
Member of presidium CC CP Azerb. SSR, 21. s'ezd, 1956

Bak. Rab. 1/26/56

3 Efendiev, Kh. S
CC CP Azerb. SSR, 20. s'ezd, 1954.

538 1 Eristavi-Khoshtariia, Anastasii
1868-1951. Belonged to realist school; wrote long novels in which he portrayed the decadence of aristocracy, and the coming up of the bourgeoisie. Best novel: Na skol'zkom puti (in the original: Molipul gzaze, 1897). Also Vokrug tserkvi, against imperalist aim of orthodox church.

BE I 64:595

532 2 Isabekian, E. A.
20th century painter; most famous statue is Abovian Khachatur.

BE II 1:20

646 4 Isaev, Magomed Isaevich
Dag. deputy Sov. Nats. VS SSSR 4. soz. 1954

Pravda 3/18/54

536 5 Isaeva, Asai
20. c. Chechen actress

BE 1 61:535

•377 2 Isagulian, Amasii Vasakovich
Stalin prize 3. class, 1954. Chief constructor of Erevanskii mashinostroi, zavod. Prize for collaborating on a three-phase synchronic generator.

Laur. Stalin. prem. 1950
p. 43.

646 2 Ishkhanian, Ashkhen Tigranovna
Deputy to Sov. Nats. VS SSSR, 4. sozyv, 1954

Kom. Er. 3/19/54

7: Columbia U. S-4, 5 1956 RH1 Caucasia

RH1

646 1 Osin, Nikolai Lavrent'evich
Adzhar. deputy Sov. Nats. VS SSSR 4. sozyv, 1954.

Bak. Rab. 3/18/54

377 2 Ovanesian, Levon Tigranovich
Stalin prize 3. class, 1950 for new type of three-phase synchronic generator.

Laur. Stalin. prem. 1950 p. 43

538 2 Ovanisiian, Mikael
see
Nar-Dos (pseud.) 1

692 2 Ovsepian, Melik R.M.
Member of the criminal collegium of the Armenian Supreme Court

Curr. Digest 1956.

538 5 Pachev, Bekmurza, 1854-1936.
Kabardian poet, born in Nartan. Wrote: Pesnia o Lenine, Pesn' ob Alikhane Kashirgove, Kabarda, Stalin, etc.

BE II 32:251

1 [cf. cat. 116, p. 776 -- Analyst]

RHl

377
2 Safrazbekian, Gurgen Sadatovich
Stalin prize 2. class, 1950, for telemechanization of Mosenergosistem.

Laur. Stalin. prem. 1950
p. 41

646
4 Safronov, Arsenii Mikhailovich
Sev. Os. deputy Sov. Nats. VS SSSR 4. sozyv, 1954

Pravda 3/18/54

536
1 Sagaradze, Georgii Illarionovich
People's artist of Georgia. Stalin prize 3. class, 1950, for role in drama Potoplennye kamni.

Laur. Stalin. Prem. 1950
p. 78

665
3 Samedov, K. A.
Member of presidium CC CP Azerb. SSR, 21. s'ezd, 1956

Bak. Rab. 1/26/56

646
812 3 Samedov, Vitalii Iunusovich
Deputy to Sov. Nats. VS SSSR (4. sozyv, 1954). Born 1919- Went to party schools; holds doctorate in philosophy; 1950-director of Institut istorii i filosofii Akad. nauk

315 382 of Caucasian oil production, the oilfields around Maykop, are richer than those of Makhachkala, though they have not yet fully recovered from the German destruction. The main center of these fields is Maykop. The Maykop product is refined in Maykop, or sent by pipes to the Krasnodar, Tuapse, or Trudovaya refineries. The fifth oilfield is the Shirako oilfield (in eastern Georgia), whose exploitation began only recently. The Shiraki product is processed in the Mirzaani cracking plants. The oil of the Caucasian fields is sometimes used as fuel for thermo-electric plants.

315 Natural gas centers: Though gas occurs around the oilfields at various places, large-scale industrial exploitation is confined to the methane gas wells of Dagestanskie Ognie where it is used for fuel in the glassworks.

316 Coal mines: This very important fuel, if one disregards the mines located in the northern Rostov Oblast, is scarce in the Caucasus. Only Georgia has really important coal mines, of which the Tkibuli and Tkvarcheli mines produce coking coal, whereas the Akhaltsikhe mines produce brown coal. In the North Caucasus, the Rostov coal mines are a continuation of the Donets Basin coal-producing area; they contribute 10% of its output and contain roughly 20% of the Donets Basin reserves. Caucasian coal is very often used as fuel for thermo-electric plants, the most important of which is the Artemovskiy Plant (90,000kw).

377 Water resources and hydro-electric plants: The Caucasus is extremely rich in water resources. Half of the water resources of

377 European Russia are in the Caucasus. Of these water resources a large part is already being exploited. In Azerbaijan: Mingechaur and Terter; in Armenia: Yerevan, Kanaker, Gyumush, Sevan; in Georgia: Zemo-Avchala, Khram, Adzharis-Tskhali, and Rioni are the most important hydro-electric plants. The hydro-electric plants along the Zanga River form the basis of Armenian industry. The industry of Tbilisi is based upon the power coming from Zemo-Avchala whereas the Rion station supplies power for the Chiatura mines, for the ferro-manganese works of Zestafoni, and for industry in and around Kutaisi. The water resources of the North Caucasus are less exploited, although even there one finds great hydro-electric plants. The Baksan station (in the Kabardian ASSR) furnishes power to the health resorts around Pyatigorsk, the Ardon, Gizel'don, and Dzaudzhikau stations are the basis of North Ossetian industry. Gergebil', in Dagestan, is also one of the important stations (65,000 kw).

316 Iron mines: The Caucasus is poor in iron ore and the only important iron mine is at Dashkesan (Azerbaijan).

Manganese mines: This ore, very important in steel production, is mined at Chiatura, the second largest manganese mine in the world.

327 Centers of ferrous metallurgy: The two most important metallurgical centers are Rustavi, and Zestafoni (both in Georgia). The Rustavi steel mills, based on Tkvarcheli coal and Dashkesan iron, have a complete pig-iron, ingot, and rolled steel cycle. There are important

377

## b.6 Thermo-Electric Plants

377

## b.7 Hydro-Electric Plants

7: Columbia U. S-4, 5 1956 RH1 Caucasia RH1

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a-1.5 Caucasian Industry in Czarist Russia as of 1913

- x : Centers of fuel industry
- △ : Mines
- □ : Centers of metallurgy
- ○ : Machinery and metal-working plants
- ♀ : Silicate and porcelain works
- ● : Chemical industry centers
- T : Textile industry centers
- Ŧ : Food industry centers
- v : Centers of various industries

7: Columbia U. S-4, 5 1956 RHl Caucasia RHl

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852a

317 Gumbra in the vicinity of Kutaisi.

Marl mines, cement mills: The greatest marl deposits are around Novorossiysk. These deposits form the basis of the Novorossi-
[339] ysk cement industry, the principal in the USSR. The cement mills are located both in Novorossiysk proper, and around the city in its various suburbs. There are important cement mills at Ararat (Armenia), at Kaspi (Georgia), at Prokhladnyy (Kabardian ASSR), and at Rostov.

Silicate and kaolin quarries, glass and
[323] porcelain works: The glass-works at Dagestanskie Ogni is the really important one. Porcelain works occur in the North and in the South Caucasus.

Obsidian mines; centers of jeweller's trade: Obsidian, a volcanic glass used especially in the jeweller's trade, occurs in Armen-
[306] ia at Tumanyan. The jewelry center of the Caucasus is Kubachi (in the vicinity of Derbent).

Pyrite mines: Quarried especially at Kedabek and Chiragidzor (West Azerbaijan). It is used in the manufacture of sulfuric acid.

Barite mines: This common mineral quarried or mined at Chovdar (Azerbaijan) and at Kutaisi is one of the basic materials for the paint industry.

38 Chemical industry centers: The most important center is Armenia, where chemical plants have been created at Alaverdi (superphosphate), Amamlu (carbide), Leninakan, Kirovakan, and Yerevan. The Baku area is another important chemical industry center. In addition to these, there are important

38 chemical industries at Kutaisi (sulfuric acid) and Rostov (paint).

384 Synthetic rubber plants: Located in Armenia at Yerevan, and in Baku. The Yerevan plant uses as raw material limestone (quarried at Amamlu), and also produces tires. The production of the Baku plant is based on petroleum.

288 Cotton-ginning establishments: The chief goal of the Soviet textile industry is to bring the establishments of the industry as close as possible to the raw materials (cotton, wool, etc.). The cotton-ginning centers are accordingly located in the cotton-growing areas. In the South Caucasus, the cotton-ginning centers are mostly along the Kura River, and along the Aras River (in Nakhichevan' ASSR). In the North Caucasus, Khasavyurt (Dagestan), and the various cities in the Stavropol' Kray have important cotton-ginning establishments.

Cotton mills: The most important cotton mills are in the South Caucasus and Dagestan.

Woolen mills: The important woolen mills are located in the Krasnodar and Stavropol' Krays, in Dagestan, and in the South Caucasus (Baku, Kirovabad, Yerevan, Tbilisi, Kutaisi).

Silk industry centers: Silk industry constitutes an industrial activity only in the South Caucasus. Silk filatories (for reeling and twisting threads) have been built mostly in Georgia. Silk mills on the other hand occur in all the important sericulture areas.

Centers of hemp industry: The hemp

## b. 31 Chemical Industry Centers

38

533 2 Babadzhanian, Arno Arutiunovich
Stalin prize 3. class, 1950 for musical composition: Georgicheskaia ballada.

Laur. Stalin. prem. 1950
p. 72

381 646 2 Babadzhanian, Mariia Arakelovna
Deputy to Sov. Nats. VS SSSR, 4. sozyv, 1954. Party member; chemical engineer; rec'd Stalin prize in 1949 for perfecting glass making via electronics.

Bak. Rab. 3/18/54 & 2/19/54

646 6 Babaevskii, Semen Petrovich
Member of Sov. Soiuz VS SSSR 4. sozyv, Stavropol. krai

Bak. Rab. 3/18/54

665 2 Babaian, L. O.
Member CC CP Arm. SSR, 17-18. s'ezd, 1954, 1956

Kom. Er. 1/22/56

3 Baba-Zade, B. K.
CC CP Azerb. SSR, 20. s'ezd. 1954.

RHl

536
3 Sharlakhov, Boris Mikhailovich
People's artist of Azerb. Stalin prize 3. class, 1950 for dramatic role in Zaria nad Kaspiem

Laur. Stalin. prem. 1950
p. 79

381
1 Sharmazanashvili, Luarsab Kharitonovich. Stalin prize 3. class, 1950 chemical engineer.

Laur. Stalin. prem. 1950
p. 33

325
1 Shatirishvili, Georgii Afans'evich
Stalin prize 3. class 1950 for work in metallurgy.

Laur. Stalin. prem. 1950
p. 32

646
6 Shatskii, Ivan Petrovich
Member of VS SSSR, Sov. Soiuz, 4. sozyv, 1954. Krasnodar. krai

Bak. Rab. 3/18/54

204
6452 Shaumian, Stepan Grigor' evich, 1878-1918. One of the most outstanding of the 26 Bakinskii komissary. Editor of various newspapers, also

3: Anonymous U-4 (no date) 1920 RH1 Caucasia RH1



135 Kedabek copper mines. *Graphite* and *mercury* have
316 recently been found. *Pyrites* is worked for sulphur in Elisavetopol and Tiflis, and sulphur is also obtained at Bechenakh and Gunur, in Kutais.

## (5) Mineral Oils

### (a) *Sources of Supply*

135 Mineral oil, the great source of Caucasian wealth,
315 is found chiefly in the Governments of Baku, Terek, and Kuban, although small quantities occur elsewhere. Hitherto by far the richest oil-producing area has been that of Baku, comprising the Apsheron Peninsula, Cheleken Island and Holy Island, and the outlying district of Benagadi. In the Apsheron Peninsula lie the older oil-fields: the five belts of Balachani, Sabunchi, Romani, Bibi-Ebyat, and Zabrat, and the comparatively newly-discovered oil district of Surachani, about 12 miles away. Second to those of Baku in importance and apparently of increasing productivity are the Grozni fields in Terek Province. The Maikop oil-fields, in Kuban Province, have since 1912 yielded unsatisfactorily.

In 1908 the Caucasian oil-fields supplied about 22 per cent. of the world's total production, but the proportion has sunk very considerably since then. General figures of the output from 1910 to 1916 are given in Table II of the Appendix (p. 93).

382 The products of the mineral oil include illuminating oils, engine and cylinder oils, solar oils, goudron (asphalt), benzene, residuum (*ostotki*), and crude oil (untreated). Of these, *ostotki* was for years treated as waste, but it is now by far the largest product, having superseded kerosene, which bears a heavy duty, while *ostotki* is untaxed; it has a large sale as fuel for factories, railways, and steamships. Balachani oil is the heaviest in quality; *ostotki* is not so readily formed from the Bibi-Ebyat and Grozni products. Cheleken Island and Telav produce ozokerite (or paraffin wax). The lowest percentage of benzene

3: Anonymous U-4 (no date) 1920 RH1 Caucasia RH1



382

is yielded by Balachani. Grozni oil is particularly adapted for the manufacture of first grade petrol, great quantities of which have accumulated there during the war.

The following particulars may be given of the chief oil-fields:

(i) *The Baku Fields.*—The first well was bored at 315
Baku in 1871. Since that year the oil-fields have been 471
developed one after another, with capital supplied partly by the Swedish firm of Nobel Brothers, and partly by the French Rothschilds and others. The Balachani–Sabunchi–Romani field occupies about 2,640 acres on a plateau a few miles from the Caspian Sea.[1] At Sabunchi eight very productive belts are known. At Romani there was a natural depression into which ran the water and refuse from adjoining properties, forming a lake of 432 acres; this was drained in 1904 by the Moscow Caucasian Co., by means of a subterranean channel, and an outlet into the Caspian Sea was also provided, which serves as a permanent drain for the whole oil-field. Bibi-Ebyat contains five rich belts, but its productivity is declining. Puta, a continuation of the Bibi-Ebyat fields, has been very little developed. Zabrat has been prospected by a French company, but the yield is only spasmodic.

Between 1908 and 1911 there was a marked decrease 315
in production in all but one of the old Baku oil-fields, as seen by the following comparative table:

| | *Balachani.* | *Sabunchi.* | *Romani.* | *Bibi-Ebyat.* | *Total.* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Metric tons. | Metric tons. | Metric tons. | Metric tons. | Metric tons. |
| 1908 | 1,124,784 | 3,181,936 | 1,222,304 | 1,914,128 | 7,443,152 |
| 1911 [2] | 755,200 | 2,131,200 | 1,019,200 | 1,225,600 | 5,131,200 |

After 1911, in spite of new borings, the production, though increased, did not reach the 1908 level, whilst after 1914 the Surachani output is reckoned in with the old Baku output, and the separate yield of the original oil-fields cannot therefore be calculated. There

[1] On this plateau 120,000,000 gallons of oil were thrown up in 1873 before it was understood how to conserve it.

[2] Ten months only.

3: Anonymous U-4 (no date) 1920 RHI Caucasia RH1



228 The *caviare* industry of the Caspian littoral is declining, but is still important (see p. 62).

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391 *Metallic and Allied Industries.*—The copper and zinc smelting works have already been mentioned (see pp. 63–64 and 67). There are iron foundries at Ekaterinodar, Baku, Tiflis, Batum, and Armavir. 'Colonist' reaping machines are made at Novorossiisk, and galvanized iron roofing and hardware goods at a factory at Baku. Among manufactures subsidiary to the oil industry are those of oil-cases and oil-cans, carried on at Baku and Batum, and of wire rope, carried on at several factories at Baku. The manufacture of small-arms, once a flourishing industry, is declining, but is still carried on at Tiflis and Nukha and in the bazaars [463] of Daghestan and Sukhum. The number of skilled native workers in enamel, filigree, and inlaid metal-ware is also decreasing.

256 The *milling* industry is second in importance only to the refining of oil. There are many flour-mills worked by water-power; those in Stavropol produce 300,000 tons of flour per annum, and those in Kuban, about the same amount; the mills of the Black Sea district give some 20,000 tons yearly. Besides the flour-mills, there are also mills for crushing sunflower seed, linseed, and cotton seed.

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3: Anonymous U-4 (no date) 1920 RH1 Caucasia RH1



Grozni, and Ekaterinodar, and, on a smaller scale, at 382
Armavir. There are a number of large refineries at Black Town, near Baku, where crude oil is refined to produce kerosene. In 1914 the oil products received from the stills amounted to 4,354,000 tons, while in 1916 there were nearly 5,000 men employed. At Ekaterinodar the oil from Maikop is treated, and the decline in the production from that field has greatly reduced the industry there.

*Potash* is made in Kuban from sunflower stalks, and 385
in 1910 a combine of eighteen firms of potash manufacturers was formed. The industry has doubtless been affected by the decline of sunflower cultivation (p. 54).

Of the *textile industries*, which are in a very backward 288
state, silk-weaving and carpet-making are the most 286
highly developed. Silk is woven at Tiflis, and since the revival of sericulture, steam silk-mills have been started at Shusha and in the Elisavetopol Government. Felt and carpets are made at home by women—chiefly at Shusha, but also at Akhaltsikh, Akhalkalaki, Gadrut, Kasapet, and Kubrassy—with wool bought from the Tatars. Both hand-knitted and woven woollen goods are made. Cotton is spun at Tiflis and Akhaltsikh, and a rough cotton stuff called *khami* and a little linen of indifferent quality are woven by hand.

There are seventeen *tobacco* factories in Caucasia, 277
six being in Tiflis, four in Kuban, two in Daghestan, two in Baku, two in Sukhum, and one in Terek. The industry is controlled by a dozen large firms, and the output in 1914 was 2,395 tons.

*Wine-making and Distilling.*—There is a good deal of 274
wine made, especially in the Province of Kutais; the best quality is produced in the Gelendjik district, and Echmiadzin is one of the great centres. The best known type of wine is the Riesling. At Abrau, a Crown estate near Novorossiisk, is made the Abrau-Dursan champagne, which is considered equal to a good French champagne. The total output of wine in Caucasia was 27,449,350 gallons in 1911 and nearly

5: Allen H-4 (no date) 1923 RH1 Caucasia RH1



giving waters. In the Northern Caucasus Essentuki, Piatigorsk, Kislovodsk and Zhelesnovodsk were the favourite resorts. In Transcaucasia Borjom, in the Government of Tiflis, an appanage of the Grand Duke Nicholas Nicholaevich, was the most popular resort, and its waters, rich in carbonic acid and comparable with those of Vichy, were exported to Russia, Western Europe and America—in 1913 to the amount of 9,000,000 bottles.

At Abas-Tuman, 40 miles from Borjom, and at Tiflis are hot baths, efficacious for the cure of skin diseases, nervous diseases, rheumatism, etc. Some of the springs contain the same qualities as Cauterets and Barèges in France, and Baden in Austria, while the climate of Abas-Tuman attracts consumptive patients.

Tskhalkubo, near Kutais, possesses warm springs whose radio properties are declared to be equal to those of Teplitz-Schönau in Bohemia. For this resort is prophesied an important future as soon as the nature of the waters is more widely known, and ordered conditions make it accessible to the timid invalids of Western Europe and America.

*Petroleum* (1) The Baku Fields.—The Baku area has hitherto been the most productive source of Caucasian oil. The older oil-fields lie in the Apsheron Peninsula—Balakhani, Sabunchi, Romani, Bibi-Ebyat and Zabrat—while there is a more recently discovered field at Surakhani. The outlying district of Benagadi and Holy and Cheleken Islands in the Caspian, are also worked by the Baku firms. The Baku fields had been exploited since ancient times, and from 1813 some attempt had been made by the Russians to develop their potentialities. An onerous concession system, however, discouraged private enterprise, and when, in the middle of the nineteenth century, a universal demand for crude-oil was created, the fields still remained almost untouched, and Russia became dependent on oil imported from America. In 1872 the concession system was at last abolished, and State participation in the profits was ensured by the imposition of an excise duty. Later, the nascent industry was further assisted by the imposition of a duty on oil imported into Russia.

In 1873 the Swedish Nobel Brothers commenced to bore in the Apsheron fields, and in the following years many foreign groups, principal of which were the French Rothschilds, obtained concessions. In 1908 the prosperity of the Baku fields reached its zenith, and in that year the Caucasian oil-fields together produced 22 per cent. of the world's output. Between 1908 and 1911, however, there took place a serious decrease, the output falling from nearly 7,500,000 metric tons in 1908 to just over 5,000,000 metric tons in 1911.

5: Allen H-4 (no date) 1923 RH1 Caucasia RH1



But in 1914, while the production of the older wells was still decreasing, the newly exploited field of Benagadi was giving a steadily increasing output; and it is unquestionable that the oil-deposits of the South-eastern Caucasus are by no means exhausted, and many rich areas remain to be prospected and exploited.

(2) The Grozni Fields.—The petroliferous area round Grozni had been worked for some years to supply local needs when, in 1893, the European Petrol Company, a British concern, commenced scientific exploitation. The oil-bearing area, at present developed, covers an area of about 2,500 acres, while new areas in the neighbourhood have been prospected for a radius of about 30 miles. The whole district is believed to be extremely rich in petroleum products, and experts consider that its output may eventually rival that of Baku. The Kazbek Syndicate and the Anglo-Terek Co., both British concerns, also own important holdings.

(3) The Maikop Fields, originally exploited by British capital in 1908, have proved disappointing. The output has steadily declined since 1912, and little oil has been available for export, the bulk being consumed locally.

Other petroliferous areas are known to exist in the regions of Shemakha, Jevad, Lenkoran, Telav and Ozurgeti.

*Export and Import Trade.*—The bulk of the trade of Transcaucasia was, before the war, carried on with other parts of the Russian Empire, by Batum and Poti to the South Russian ports, and by Baku to Astrakhan and Central Asia. Further Transcaucasia enjoyed the benefits of a growing transit trade between the Mediterranean countries and Russia on the one hand, and Persia and Central Asia on the other.

The Transcaucasus exported into Russia the whole of the copper produced and a proportion of the manganese, together with the bulk of the production of tobacco, tea, raw silk and cocoons, wine, wool and fruit. In return Russia exported into the Transcaucasus machinery and other metal goods and cereals, supplying one-fifth of the consumption of grain in the Transcaucasus. This last item is significant, for it implies the partial dependence of the Transcaucasus, itself an agricultural country, on Russia for food-supply.[1]

On the other hand the Transcaucasus exported to Europe,

[1] "Somme toute, la balance de l'industrie rurale accusait, en Géorgie, avant la guerre, plutôt des déficits que des excédents; le manque de blé n'était pas compensé par un surplus des autres branches de l'agriculture" (V. Vohtinsky, *La Démocratie Géorgienne*).

311
433 located around Novorossiysk. The wine industry is also centered around Novorossiysk. The only sub-unit of the kray, the Adyge AO, is highly industrialized. The main industry is the oil industry. Of smaller importance are metallurgy and machinery, and the lumbering, food, and tobacco industries.

Rostov Oblast: Since the detachment from the oblast of the coal-mining areas, its industry consists mostly of various machinery plants concentrated at Rostov, Taganrog, and Novocherkassk.

The distribution of the various industries in the Caucasus is as follows:

315
382 Oilfields, centers of oil industry: The oilfields and the oil industry arising from them are the main assets of the Caucasian economy. Of the five oilfields, two are in the South, and three in the North Caucasus. The greatest is the Baku oilfield. The importance of this oilfield is however declining; its output, which constituted 83% of the Russian output in 1913, had fallen to 48 in 1950. Due to the 85 years of exploitation, the wells are very deep and mostly on the bottom of the Caspian Sea. The output is refined mostly in the cracking plants of Baku or sent through two pipelines to Batumi. The second important oilfield of the Caucasus is located around Groznyy. The product of this oilfield furnishes mostly high-octane aviation gasoline. The Groznyy product is either processed in the cracking plants of Groznyy and Malgobek, or piped to the cracking plants of Tuapse, or to Trudovaya in the Donets Basin. The Makhachkala products, however, are refined mostly in Makhachkala itself. The fourth center

315 382 of Caucasian oil production, the oilfields around Maykop, are richer than those of Makhachkala, though they have not yet fully recovered from the German destruction. The main center of these fields is Maykop. The Maykop product is refined in Maykop, or sent by pipes to the Krasnodar, Tuapse, or Trudovaya refineries. The fifth oilfield is the Shirako oilfield (in eastern Georgia), whose exploitation began only recently. The Shiraki product is processed in the Mirzaani cracking plants. The oil of the Caucasian fields is sometimes used as fuel for thermo-electric plants.

315 Natural gas centers: Though gas occurs around the oilfields at various places, large-scale industrial exploitation is confined to the methane gas wells of Dagestanskie Ognie where it is used for fuel in the glassworks.

316 Coal mines: This very important fuel, if one disregards the mines located in the northern Rostov Oblast, is scarce in the Caucasus. Only Georgia has really important coal mines, of which the Tkibuli and Tkvarcheli mines produce coking coal, whereas the Akhaltsikhe mines produce brown coal. In the North Caucasus, the Rostov coal mines are a continuation of the Donets Basin coal-producing area; they contribute 10% of its output and contain roughly 20% of the Donets Basin reserves. Caucasian coal is very often used as fuel for thermo-electric plants, the most important of which is the Artemovskiy Plant (90,000kw).

377 Water resources and hydro-electric plants: The Caucasus is extremely rich in water resources. Half of the water resources of

382

b. 2 Centers of Oil Industry

23: Shabad N-4 (no date) 1951 R1 Soviet Union R1
Caucasia RH1



Until 1936 Transcaucasia formed a single political unit: the Transcaucasian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic, then one of the union republics of the USSR. With the promulgation of the 1936 Constitution, this federated republic was split up into its primary components based on the three principal nationalities: Armenian, Azerbaijan, and Georgian SSR's. Minor nationalities, such as Abkhaz, Adzhars, and Ossetians, are organized into lesser autonomous units such as autonomous SSR's or autonomous oblasts.

Petroleum is the most important single asset of Transcaucasia. The Baku oil region of world-wide significance is the principal petroleum producer of the USSR, furnishing more than one half the total output. Pipe lines for crude oil, kerosene, and other petroleum products lead from Baku across the entire region to Batumi on the Black Sea, next to Baku, the principal oil port and refining center of Transcaucasia. Before the Second World War the petroleum industry accounted for two fifths of all factory workers, two thirds of the use of electric energy, more than one half the industrial production, and almost two thirds of the exports of Transcaucasia. Since then, however, the creation of new industries and the increase of electric power sources have reduced the relative importance of this branch of the economy. Among the other important power resources are the coal mines of Tkibuli and Tkvarcheli in Georgia, especially the reserves of hydroelectric power, which equal the reserves of the European part of the USSR. Among the most important metal deposits are the manganese mines of Chiatura (Georgia), the second largest in the world, copper in Armenia, and iron in Azerbaijan.

Manufacturing industries are mainly devoted to the processing of the local agricultural products: fruit canning, wine-making, distilling, and cotton ginning. Azerbaijan has a well-developed textile industry, and many of the precious woods are used in wood-working plants. Heavy metallurgy is represented by the steel mills of Rustavi (Georgia) and the ferro-manganese works of Zestafoni (Georgia), and there are machinery plants in many of the large cities. Chemicals and cement are also produced.

In connection with the varied natural conditions and under the influence of the vertical zoning in the mountains, all rural economy forms are represented—from orchard farming in the irrigated sections to nomadic livestock raising in the drier areas. The land is divided according to usability as follows: one fifth is arid, due to the presence of rocks, sands, or marshes; another fifth is forested; more than one third is

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b. 32 Synthetic Rubber Plants

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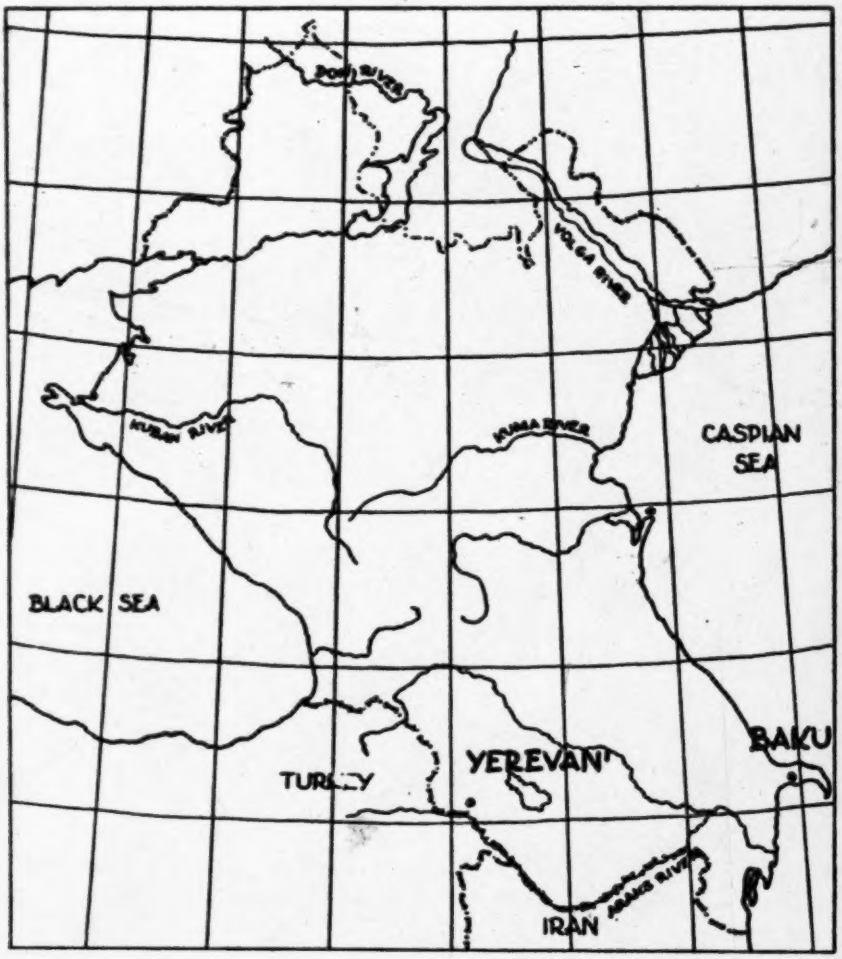

3: Anonymous U-4 (no date) 1920 RH1 Caucasia RH1



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327 metallurgical centers at Taganrog (with the largest boiler works in the USSR), and at Krasnyy Sulin.

316 Non-ferrous mineral resources: Of these, copper is the most important. It is mined mostly in Armenia (Alaverdi area, and Kafan) and in West Azerbaijan (Kedabek). Silver, lead, and zinc are mined only at Sadon (North Ossetian ASSR). It is noteworthy that the Caucasus (especially Dagestan), which has long been famous for its silver handicraft, has no other silver mine than this one. Molybdenum, one of the rare metals, is mined at Kadzharan (Azerbaijan SSR), and at Tyrny-Auz (Kabardian ASSR).

328 Centers of non-ferrous metallurgy: Located in Armenia and in the North Ossetian ASSR. Armenia has copper smelters at Alaverdi and Kafan, whereas the North Ossetian Republic is famous for its new metallurgical works at Dzaudzhikau which is of unionwide significance and is connected with the Sadon lead and zinc mines. In the same republic, Alagir has lead and zinc smelters and Minur has an ore-concentrating plant.

Centers of aluminum industry: The only plant, one of the important plants in the USSR, is at Yerevan. Production is based on cheap power from the stations on the Zanga River.

● 392 Machinery and metal-working plants: As the result of the Russian industrialization drive, nowadays almost every large city has machinery plants. Armavir, Maykop, Novorossiysk, Taganrog, and especially Rostov, specialize in

392 agricultural machinery. The Rossel'mash at Rostov is the largest agricultural machinery plant in the USSR. Baku, Groznyy, Tuapse, Tbilisi, produce machinery used in oil-drilling and in the oil industry, Kutaisi produced machinery for coal mining, Stavropol' for lumbering. [393] Krasnodar has a telephone plant, the area around Pyatigorsk several radio plants. Tbilisi uses machinery used in the textile industry, whereas the machines produced at Taganrog are important in the chemical industry. Taganrog also produces machinery used in the food industry. Batumi and Tbilisi produce machinery used in the tea industry. There are plants like the Dvigatel'stroy at Makahchkala that produce various kinds of machinery.

399 398 397 Transportation machinery: Aircraft is produced at Taganrog, Rostov, and Makhachkala. There is a large automobile plant at Kutaisi, and an auto-assembly plant at Rostov. Novocherkassk produces locomotives (steam), and Novorossiysk bicycles.

396 Shipyards: There are important shipyards at Rostov and Taganrog on the Sea of Azov, at Tuapse on the Black Sea, and at Astrakhan' on the Caspian.

317 Pumice, gypsum, tuff, and bentonite mines: Pumice is quarried chiefly in Armenia at Anipemza and Akhuryan. Gypsum occurs around the Baskunchak salt mines (Astrakhan' Oblast), whereas tuff, used especially in the building industry, is quarried at Artik (Armenia). Bentonite, a fire-proof clay used in foundry work, in the oil industry, etc., is mined at

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b.18 Machinery and Metal-working Plants



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b. 20 Shipyards

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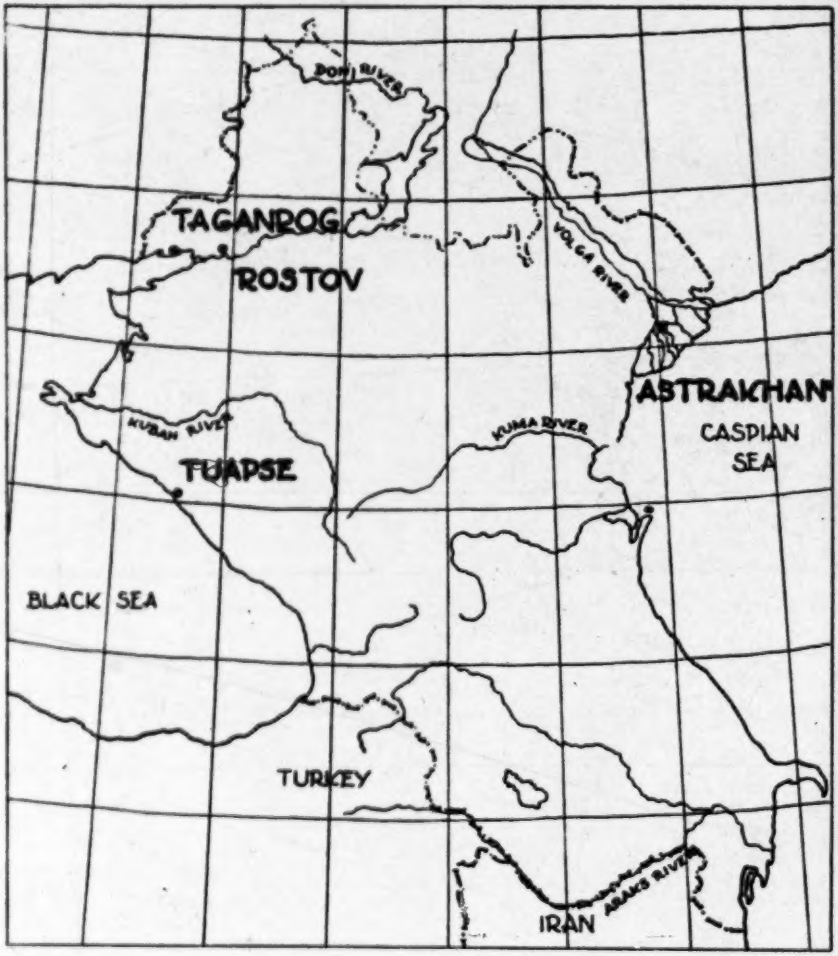

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b.19 Transportation Machinery Plants

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7: Columbia U. S-4, 5 1956 RHl Caucasia
RHl

401 2 Chuian, Mikhail Mikhailovich
Stalin prize 1st class, 1950 for mechanical engineering works.

Laur. Stalin. prem. 1950
p. 16.

641 6 Chukhno, Andrei Vasil'evich
Member of Sov. Soiuz VS SSSR
4. sozyv, 1954 Stavropol. krai.

Bak. Rab. 3/18/54

5 Chundukov, Ibragim Saidovich
Adyg. deputy Sov. Nats. VS SSSR
4. sozyv, 1954

Pravda 3/18/54

341 3 Dadashev, Sadykh Alekper ogly, 1905-1946. Architect; artist of Azerb. Built many buildings in Baku, e. g. conservatory, Nizami museum; also statue of Nizami in Baku and Kirovabad. Did the Azerb. pavillion at the Moscow Soviet exposition in 1939. Has written many treatises on Azerb. architecture.

BE II 13:297

538 2
204

Gaidar (pseud. of Golikov, Arkadii) 1904-1941. Armenian writer, born in L'gov. Wrote: Shkola, Chuk i Gek, Timur i ego komanda; was military correspondent in World War II, and died in war.

Kom. Er. 2/21/54

401 2

Galfaian, Markar Karapetovich
Stalin prize 3. class, 1950 for work on a three-phase generator.

Laur. Stalin.prem. 1950
p. 43

646 2

Galoian, Aslan Akopovich
Deputy to Sov. Nats. VS SSSR, 4. sozyv, 1954

Kom. Er. 3/19/54

665 2

Galstian, N. S
Member CC CP Arm. SSR, 17.-18. s'ezd, 1954, 1956.

Kom. Er. 1/22/56

669 2 Gukasian, Gukas Ogasenovich, 1899-1920 Armenian revolutionary; born in Kalara, near Erevan. Since 1917 Bol'shevik. Fought Mensheviks and dashnaks. His monument in Erevan.

BE II 13:189

665 2 Gukasian, Z.O.
Member CC CP Arm. SSR, 17.-18. s'ezd, 1954, 1956

Kom. Er. 1/22/56

536 2 Gulakian, Armen Karapetovich, 1899- Armenian producer and dramatist. People's artist of Armenia. Deputy to VS SSSR 2.-3. sozyv. Member of CP since 1941. Born in Tiflis. Chief producer of Sundukian theater in Erevan. Produced there: Lermontov's Maskarad, Gorkii's Na dne. Stalin prize in 1946 and 1950.

BE II 13:190

792 2 Gulian, M. T.
Member of Collegium of Armenian Supreme Court.

• 401 2 Guliants, Enovk Airapetovich
Stalin prize, 3. degree 1950 machine engineer.

Laur. Stalin prem. 1950 p. 25

401 1 (?) Mamedzade, Ali Geidar Aga Usein
Stalin prize 2. class, 1950 for better cotton production; Head of machine-building inst. im. Beriia.

Laur. Stalin. prem. 1950
p. 55

646 1 Mamuladze, David Mikhailovich
Adzhar. deputy Sov. Nats. VS SSSR 4. sozyv, 1954.

Bak. Rab. 3/18/54

538 1 Mamulaishvili, I. G.
see
Grishashvili 1/1

84 2 Manandian, Iakov Amazaspovich, 1873-1951. Armenian academician since 1939. Historian; teaches ancient history of Armenia. Wrote: Kriticheskii obzor istorii armianskogo naroda, v. 1, 1945.

BE II 26: 194-5

665 2 Manasarian, A. B.
Member CC CP Arm. SSR, 17.-18. s'ezd, 1954, 1956.

Kom. Er. 1/22/56

1/1 [cf. cat. 116, p. 727 -- Analyst]

535
1 Mirtskhulave, Didim Lavrent'evich
Stalin prize 2. class, 1950. Conductor of Gorda ballet.

Laur. Stalin. prem. 1950
p. 81

538
1 Mitskhulava, Alio Andreevich, 1903-
(his literary pseud. Mashashvili). Georgian poet influenced by Maiakovskii. Gimn rodine, Enguri, etc.

BE II 27:588

535
1 Mirzoian, Ashot Oganesovich
Armenian ballet artist; Stalin prize 3. class, 1950.

Laur. Stalin. prem. 1950
p. 80

533
2 Mirzoian, M. 1888
Armenian composer

BE I 1:478

401
2 Mkrtchian, Derenik Petrovich
Stalin prize 3. class, 1950 for tool building methods.

Laur. Stalin. prem. 1950
p. 28

7: Columbia U. S-4, 5 1956 RHl Caucasia
RHl

533

3 Niiazi (Tagi-Zade, Niiazi Zul'fugarovich) Stalin prize 2. class, 1950 conductor.

Laur. Stalin. prem. 1950
p. 73

532

1 Nikoladze, Iakov Ivanovich, 1876-1951. Georgian realist school sculptor. His are the historical monuments to Rustaveli, Abashidze, Gaprindashvili, Chavchavadze, etc. Studied under Rodin. For portrayal of 12th c. Georgian poet Chakhrukhadze rec'd Stalin prize in 1946. Stalin prize in 1948 for his V. I. Lenin v epokhu sozdaniia "Iskry". As art teacher educated sculptors: S. Ia. Kakabadze, K. M. Merabishvili, etc.

BE II 29:626

401

1 Nikolashvili, Iradion Aleksandrovich Mechanic. Stalin prize 3. class, 1950, for new stakhanovite methods in light industry.

Laur. Stalin. prem. 1950
p. 63

7: Columbia U. S-4,5 1956 RH1 Caucasia RH1
Georgia RI1

## TRADITIONAL ECONOMY

CG 241 Traditional Georgian economy is based on agriculture, horticulture and viniculture; in the mountainous regions cattle-breeding and dairy-farming are no less important than the cultivation of cereals. In the West (Guria, Mingrelia, Imeretia) corn and a variety of millet called ghomi are sown; in the lowlands of Kartlia, wheat; in higher regions, barley; CG in the mountain valleys, oats and rye -- which [407] are also used for baking bread. The ploughing implements differ according to the nature of the soil. In the West the plough is light and simple and drawn by a pair of oxen or buffaloes. In the eastern plains, where the soil becomes very dry and hard during the rainless summer, a large and heavy plough with fore-wheels (gutani), drawn by 4-8 pairs of oxen, is used; the soil is cut to a depth of 2-3 feet and thrown to the side by a shovel-shaped moldboard. Ploughing is done in the fall; sowing in fall (wheat) or spring (barley, corn). The soil is not harrowed, but the seed is covered by dragging bundles of brushwood CG which are attached to a beam over the soil. [407] For thrashing, an oblong or triangular wooden sledge (k'evri) set underneath with sharp stone splinters or pieces of iron is drawn by oxen over the threshing floor (k'alo); the driver stands on top. The grain is then winnowed by throwing it up in the wind with spades. The chaff is used as cattle-feed.

7:Columbia U. S-4, 5 1956 RHI Caucasia RHI
Georgia RI I

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C. G. 231 241 beauty and stamina. Apiculture is also widespread among the Circassians; their beehives, contrary to those of the Georgians and Abkhaz, are similar to those found in Central Europe; they are made of bast or of plaited willow-twigs which are covered with clay or cow-dung.

C. D. 233 In Dagestan, stock-raising is preponderant (sheep, goats, cows, horses, donkeys, buffaloes). In winter, the herds are usually brought to the steppe-country in the South or to the Caspian coast area. C. D. 241 The southeast, i.e. the country of the Lezghi, is comparatively better suited for agriculture, but it is practiced even in the more elevated regions. Wheat, barley and millet are grown in small fields, situated on natural or artificial terraces, which often require artificial irrigation. C D [40] The ground is cultivated with a local kind of light plough called durats, puruts, etc. which only scrapes the soil superficially. As most of the fields require manuring, the constant removing of stones, and even restoring of the soil, which has to be carried up by hand, farming involves hard labor. C. D. 438 As the production of grain has never covered the needs of the population, home-industry is highly developed in Dagestan. C. D. [286] Everywhere the women do their own spinning and weaving. The spinning wheel is unknown; the looms for carpet-weaving differ from those for the weaving of coarse cloth out of homespun wool and of hemp-cloth used for sacks. Many crafts are practiced beyond the

C. G. 162 101 and east of the Rioni) are Georgian, and Imeret'ian and other west Georgian dialects are spoken there. To the Georgian area belongs also Adjaristan (Adžaristan), the valley of the Acharis-Tskhali, which borders in the south and west on Azerbaidjanian and Osman speaking peoples, and in the west, with the Laz people. The Adjarians (Acharians), like their neighbors, are of Mohammedan faith.

## T'ushuri, Khevsuri and P'shaveli

The northeasternmost Georgians, living in the alpine parts of the central Caucasus, are an interesting and distinct people. Although they speak East-K'art'velian dialects and are Orthodox Christians, the Georgians do not consider them as the same nation. The reasons are not only their inaccessibility and age-long seclusion and independence, but also customs and manners which in this way have been preserved from by-gone times. These remote people make up three tribes: the T'ushuri, Khevsuri, and P'shaveli, who live in the high valleys of the source rivers of the Andi-Koisu, Aragvi, and Argun, and of the Iora. In sharp contrast to other Caucasian peoples, blue eyes are not rare with them. Shields, spears, straight long swords, iron or steel helmets, coats of mail and armor were worn by many of them (usually the Khevsurs) as late as the nineteenth century, and in a few instances, even after the Russian Revolution.

C. G. [142] 411 713

C. G. 291 is used sparingly and limited to patterns in white on shoes and boots, and silver mountings on the belt. The Pshav have adopted Georgian attire.

C. G. 411 Not only is the Caucasian sober in the use of embellishments on his clothing, which is in itself quite elegant; he also does not wear any ornaments or trinkets. His esthetic sense finds an outlet in the decoration of his arms, however. The sheaths and hilts of daggers and sabers and the grips of pistols were often made of gold or silver, and adorned with precious stones or with niello-work (the latter also on the barrels). The Caucasian dagger--considered as important a part of the attire as is a tie in the West--has a straight, broad, double-edged blade with a groove (blood trough) running down the middle. Formerly, the armature consisted of one or two pistols, tucked behind the belt, a rifle, which the mountaineers always carried in a cover, and a saber. On the belt, various accessories (powderhorn, grease container, flint, etc.) were worn. Only C. G. [713] the Khevsur preserved until quite recently full medieval armor: helmets, coats of mail, shields, swords, clubs and toothed thumb-C. G. [292] rings. The armor was worn on festive occasions and also whenever a man might expect to be attacked because he was involved in a blood-feud, which was usually the case.

C. G. 291 The costume of the Caucasian women shows much more local variation than that of

Cherkess RH 5
Caucasia RH 1

[759] [Fig. 451 appears here.]

A
Ca
Ch
411

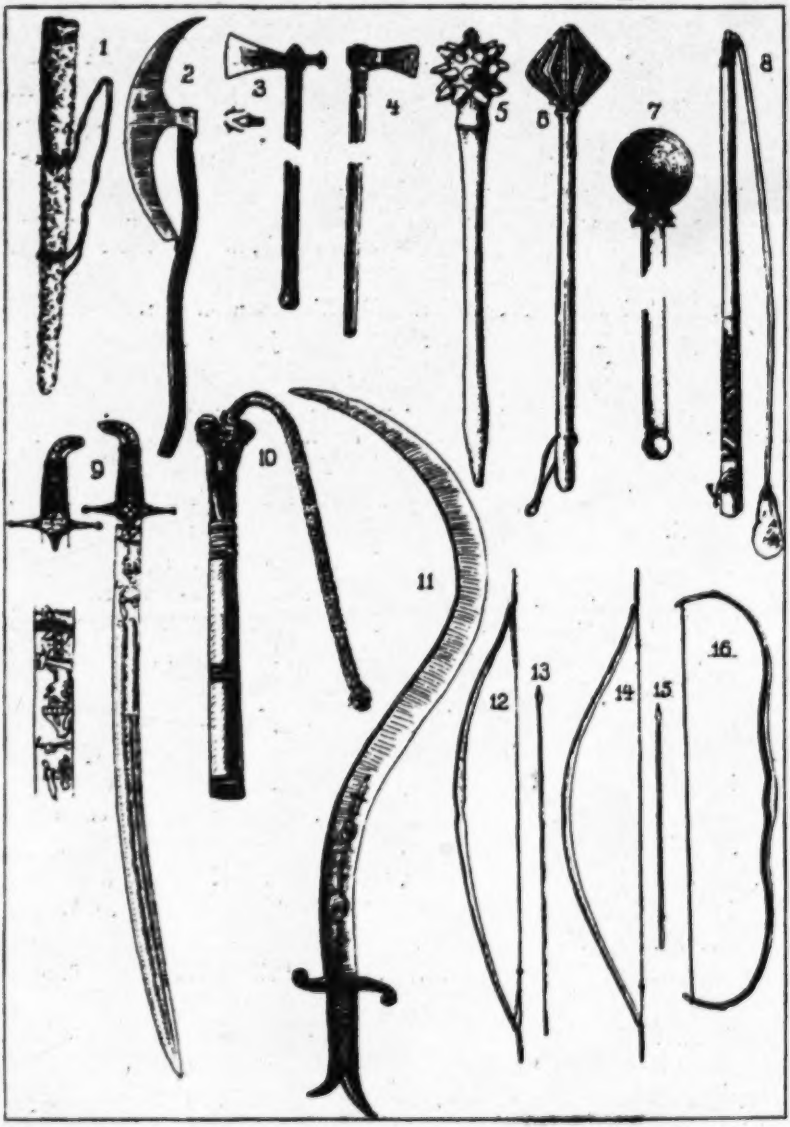


Fig. 451. Caucasian weapons: 1, weapon sheath of black felt with leather fittings; 2, 3, 4, battle-axes with iron blades and wooden stocks; 5, 6, 7, clubs with iron heads; 8, knout with handle decorated with silver; 9, sword with Georgian inscription; 10, knout with plaited leather cord; 11, saber (allegedly Armenian); 12, 14, bows with string of twisted hemp rope; 13, 15, arrows with iron points; 16, bow of horn and bone (Turkish style) (1, 1/22 nat. size; 2-4, 1/10 nat. size; 5-10, 1/7 nat. size; 9, 1/9 nat. size; 12, 14, 16, 1/16 nat. size; 13, 15, 1/15 nat. size) (From Count J. Zichy).

2: Byhan--53 E-4 (no date) 1926 RI3 Abkhaz
Dagestan RH 8
Caucasia RH 1
[788]
CD
283
286
294
493
412

Fig. 468. Implements of Caucasian industry: 1, spinning wheel; 2, ribbon loom; 3, knitting board for stockings; 4, wooden sword for flax-scutching; 5, hemp-ripple of wood with iron teeth; 6, wooden spindle; 7, yarn-spool; 8, ax; 9, cloth-cutter; 10, pitchfork; 11, mattock; 12, sickle; 13, pruning-bill for chopping off twigs; 14, brush-cutter; 15, iron spade with forked handle; 16, wagon frame; 17, plow with iron share and yoke; 18, threshing board, underside set with stone splinters; 1 to 3, Lezgin; 8, Zakataly Avar (2, 1/5 nat. size; 3, 1/3 nat. size; 4, 1/18 nat. size; 6, 7, and 12, 1/6 nat. size). (From Count J. Zichy.)

000 spades. The chaff is used as cattle-feed.

C. G. 245 In the plains, especially in Kakhetia, the production of wine plays an important part in the rural economy. Numerous sorts of grapes are distinguished under locally C G [192] varying names; the word for "wine," ghvino, seems to be a loan-word from pre-literary Armenian. In Western Georgia the vines are allowed to climb on trees, mostly poplars and beeches; they grow half wild and untended and may reach an age of 50 years or more before they are rooted out and replaced by young plants. The vines yielding the renowned Kakhetian wines grow low, in carefully tended vineyards, most of which are artifi- C. G. cially irrigated. The grapes are gathered in 273 September-October and poured into wine presses made of stone or wood (sac'nekheli), where the men tread them out by foot. The juice and skins are allowed to ferment to- C. G. gether; in the West, in the pressing-trough [415] itself, and in Kakhetia in large earthern jugs with a pointed bottom (ch'uri), which are sunk into the ground. These jugs are smeared with naphtha on the inside, which gives the wine a peculiar taste, similar to the Greek rezzinato. When the wine is ready, it is stored in similar jugs, up to eight feet high and five feet in diameter. For transportation the wine is scooped out and poured into cattle- or goat-skins also treated with naphtha.

C. G. Fruits (apricots, peaches, cherries, 245 figs, walnuts, almonds, sweet chestnuts,

3: Anonymous U-4 (no date) 1920 RH1 Caucasia RH1



prices. Special varieties of conifers, birch, oak, and 137
palm grow in the Caucasus. The Caucasus palm or *samshita* is not plentiful, but is greatly valued. The commonest tree is the beech, which occupies 25 per cent. of the total forest area; the oak occupies 16·7 per cent. and the pine 8·1 per cent. Plantations of bamboo at Chavka and Sukhum have been very successful, the cane being used for industrial purposes.

The Italian firm of Sbrajavacca was in 1914 exploiting 313
the pine-forests of Svanetia and Ratce, the timber being 471
floated down the river Rion. The firm has saw-mills at Socilava and Poti.

The Russian State levied on all timber a royalty [659]
varying according to the kind of wood, &c. The State also fixed the amount of timber to be felled in each area, which was then sold to the highest bidder. The total amount of timber which might be cut in the Caucasus was fixed in 1913 at nearly 220,000,000 cubic feet, of which only a little more than a quarter was actually delivered.

### (*d*) *Land Tenure*

The Caucasus as a whole has no fixed system of land 423
tenure, nor are any of the characteristic Russian 471
features of land-holding found there. The various kinds of landowner may be divided into six classes: the old nobility of Georgia; Tatar and Armenian peasant holders; nomad pastoral tribes, who occupy large areas of steppe land, especially in Stavropol Province; Russian settlers, placed on land vacated after the conquest; the Russian State, which owned large areas, mainly forest; and the Imperial family, which had acquired valuable appanages in the Caucasus.

No figures are available to show the proportions in which the land is held by these various owners; and, as a large part of the total productive area is occupied by nomads, no exact statistics would be possible. Moreover, recent events have to a great extent obliterated the old divisions, and new claims to ownership of much valuable land will have to be settled in the course of time.

5: Allen H-4 (no date) 1923 RH1 Caucasia RH1



with the repression of national minorities, tended to form among the Russian and Armenian workmen in Tiflis and Batum a Bolshevist minority. 466 563

The only result of the Revolution which appears likely to be permanent are the measures which expropriated the landowners and gave possession of the land to the peasants. 423

This agrarian revolution was effected by a decree of the Transcaucasian Commissariat (December 16, 1917) which alienated from the original landowners all property over a certain fixed average (about 19 acres of land under intensive culture, vines, tobacco, cotton, etc.; about 41 acres of land under cereals; about 109 acres of pasturage) and appointed local commissions to supervise the division of the land confiscated among those holding less than the scheduled acreage, and among the majority who had hitherto been employed on the land only as paid labourers. In Georgia this agrarian revolution was carried out almost without bloodshed, for whilst many of the largest landowners were Russian Grand Dukes and officers absent from the Caucasus or impotent to protest, the native aristocracy wisely gave their approval to the measure.

In the Tatar districts the change was by no means recognised, and in many parts the begs, supported by the influence of the mullahs, succeeded in maintaining their position.

*Conclusion.*—The economic and social future of the Caucasus is necessarily involved in that of Russia, and the Soviet system of government is being introduced into the Caucasus, in conformity with that of Russia. It is consequently impossible to give here any present financial or commercial details of permanent value. Two points are, however, evident. Firstly, if the industries of the Caucasus—petroleum and manganese—are to be revived, and if its natural resources—copper, timber, water-power and agriculture—are to be developed, such modifications must of necessity be introduced into the social and industrial organisation as will afford to foreign capital some confidence of security of tenure and of amicable relations with labour. Lastly, the development of relations between the Soviet bureaucracy and the peasantry—who in the Caucasus, as in Russia, form the overwhelming majority of the population—must be considered. The peasantry certainly would not hesitate to resist any attempt to modify the terms of their tenure of the land, and the Bolsheviks will scarcely be prepared to risk an issue with them. It remains to be seen whether the efficiency of the young Jewish agri-

21: Kolarz J-4 (no date) 1952 R1 Soviet Union R1
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Ca. 175 177 actions against the Turks. An Ossetin Major-General, K. Zankisov, fought in Poland against the insurgents of 1863–4 and he was by no means the only Ossetin Major-General of that epoch. Furthermore, an 'Ossetin Division' became famous in the course of the Russo-Turkish War in 1877–8, when General Skobelev described its 'chivalrous gallantry' as being 'above any praise'.[12]

Ca. 177 538 Russian cultural work among the Ossetins started much earlier than among other mountain peoples. The first book to appear in the Ossetin language was printed in Moscow in 1798; its object was to serve as a kind of introduction to the study of the Bible. A long period of fruitful association with the Russians and the general peaceful approach of the Ossetins towards Russian military and political rule made them more open to the acceptance of Russian preponderance. The Ossetins were, as a matter of fact, the only people of the Northern Caucasus to produce a great writer in the person of Kosta Khetagurov (1859-1906) who was half Russianized himself and wrote in both the Ossetin and Russian languages. The Soviet régime greatly popularized Khetagurov as a symbol of Russian-Ossetin synthesis, which he undoubtedly was. He had a complete Russian education, had studied at St. Petersburg and was strongly influenced by such progressive Russian writers as Herzen and Chernishevsky, which makes him particularly acceptable from the Soviet point of view.

Ca. 423 668 474 681 Until the Ossetins gave proof of their loyalty to Russia during the war the Soviet régime had had to overcome Ossetin resistance to both the establishment of collective farms and the suppression of tribal customs. During the period of the collectivization Ossetin peasants waged a sort of guerilla warfare against 'socialist property' and while outwardly accepting collectivization, tried to transform the Kolkhoz into an instrument of their respective clans. Ossetin chairmen of collective farms and officials of local Soviets seem to have acted on the principle 'I decide who is a kulak and an enemy of the State and who is not'. Thus, at least during its initial stage, collectivization in Ossetia became a downright farce. Persons belonging to a rival clan were rendered innocuous by being denounced as kulaks; real kulaks, on the other hand, were promoted to the rank of respectable Soviet citizens if they happened to belong to the clan dominating the local village council or the collective farm concerned.[13]

Ca. [725] 631 143 S.U. 563 634 All such 'incidents' were forgotten when the Ossetins redeemed their reputation by their brilliant war record. In the fighting which resulted in the dislodgement of the Germans from the approaches to the Caucasus, Ossetin partisans operating from behind the enemy lines greatly assisted the Red Army.[14] As a mark of appreciation for their loyalty, the Soviet Government allowed the Ossetins to increase substantially the territory of their national republic. A decree of April 8th, 1944, stipulated

582 The NORTHWESTERN CAUCASIANS. No one will take it amiss if an old Kabardian marries a young girl. Although the Cherkess tribes along the coast of the Black Sea strongly discourage such pairing, disparity of age is not considered a marriage impediment.[167] While on his expedition in Circassia in 1927, Ladyženskij found no case of a young *man* marrying an old lady.[168]

Taking the Avars as an example of the NORTHEASTERNERS—marriages between rich old men of 50 to 60 and girls of 12 were not uncommon in the last part of the nineteenth century.[169]

Although neither customary nor Islamic law establish an absolute minimum age,[170] the *adats* sometime determine a *relative* marriage age. Thus a young man sometimes may not marry before his older brother, as is the case, for example among the Chechens[171] and the Cherkess.[172] Only if his brother happens to be far from home and gives his explicit permission, may he marry. Anyone acting [428] contrary to this customary law would *ipso facto* lose all rights to the family inheritance. In spite of this heavy sanction, the bride-price *(kalym)* would be paid for the offender and the marriage would be considered valid. The *adats* of the Cherkess are even stricter about girls marrying before their older sisters. To marry without her parents' permission before her older sister would bring upon her the curse of the family ; in fact, they would even refuse the " filthy " brideprice. The motive behind these customs is to assure a marriage for the older members of the family before they become too old.[172a]

## 2. Debt as an Impediment

[426] According to the adat collection of the Dzher, Kist, Galgai, Tsori, Ingushi and Karabulak tribes a father may not give his daughter in marriage to anyone before he receives permission from his creditor.[173]

## 3. The Obligation of Proving One's Bravery before Marriage

171 582 Baddeley informs us of another very peculiar marriage impediment. " In Deedo-land, formerly, no man would give his daughter or sister in marriage to a suitor who had not at least one Georgian right hand or arm nailed to the wall of his dwelling. "[174] This was, no doubt, intended as a proof of the lover's mettle before the father of the girl would give his consent.[175] Such tests as a *conditio sine qua non* for marriage are found throughout the world, sometimes

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[167] Ladyženskij, FT, pp. 196 f. Castagné, *op. cit.*, p. 259.

[168] Ladyženskij, *op. cit.*, p. 196.

[169] L'vov, " Domašnjaja i semejnaja žizn etc.," p. 20 *note*.

[170] This is especially evidenced by the widespread practice of infant betrothal and marriage in the North Caucasus and neighbourhood (*infra*, pp. 76, 78 ff).

[171] Erckert, *Der Kaukasus*, p. 138.

[172] Ladyženskij, *op. cit.*, p. 196.

[172a] *ibid.*

[173] Leontovič, II, p. 115, § 8.

[174] Baddeley, *The Rugged Flanks of Caucasus*, II, p. 81.

[175] This seems to have been a shortlived observance.

582 relationship by milk. As is well known, Mohammed had an adopted son, his
597 own emancipated slave named Zaid ibn Ḥâriṯah, who had a beautiful wife, at least beautiful in the eyes of the Prophet. Mohammed persuaded Zaid to divorce her and thus to make it possible for the Prophet to marry her. The faithful, however, were greatly scandalized, for the "sinless" Prophet married the wife of his "son". Mohammed seemed to have no way of extricating himself from this awkward position, but fortunately Allah had pity on him and favoured him with another revelation according to which all fosterage is sinful and non-
[60] existent. If anyone dares to call another person by the name of "father" and if that person did not actually beget him, he will infallibly be cursed by Allah and all His Angels.[104] In the Caucasus children are adopted and, as is the case with the Cherkess today, enjoy the full and equal rights of natural sons and daughters.[105] M. Kovalevskij found adoption in practice among the Ossetes. Here too the adopted son would be regarded as a true "son" who was able to perpetuate the family.[106] Formerly fictitious relationship could arise among the Cherkess by a mere pronouncement of the formula, "I adopt you," or "You are my daughter," or "You are my sister." From that moment the person adopted would have to consider the relatives of the person who pronounced
[62] the formula, as his own. A murderer could form a fictitious relationship in Ossetia by consecrating himself to his victim in a special ceremony at his grave.[107] Among the Ossetes adoption sometimes took place before the mother of the family. The person to be adopted would say to her, "From today on you are my mother; I am your son." The mother would then uncover her breast and answer, "I am your mother; you are my son."[108] As is only to be expected, adoption occurs very rarely, in fact only in extreme necessity to pre-
[62] vent extinction of the family. Adoption cannot be frequent because the mountaineers insist on purity of blood, and to adopt a child unnecessarily would imply giving away family property to a fictitious member.[109] Owing to the lack of data, we can only call the attention of the fieldworker to the following two problems: firstly, exactly *which* tribes consider adoption an impediment to mating; secondly, to which degree of fictitious relationship.

### 4. Disparity of Social Rank

565 We now come to the obligation of marrying exclusively within one's own
[582] social rank. But before we can begin to speak of this form of endogamy we must briefly describe the social stratification in the Caucasus.

The NORTHWESTERNERS. The *Abkhazian* society was formerly divided into four distinct classes: (1) the princes, (2) the *Chinakma*, i. e., the

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[104] Koran, xxxiii, 5. Cf. J. Henninger, *Die Familie bei den heutigen Beduinen Arabiens und seiner Randgebiete*, Leiden, 1943, p. 64. Juynboll, *op. cit.*, p. 187. R. Roberts, *Das Familien-, Sklaven- und Erbrecht im Qorân*, Leipzig, 1908, pp. 39 ff.

[105] Ladyženskij, FT, p. 202.

[106] Kovalevskij, *Coutume contemp.*, p. 203.

[107] Kovalevskij, *op. cit.*, p. 204.

[108] *ibid.*

[109] Kovalevskij, *op. cit.*, p. 203.

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Although neither customary nor Islamic law establish an absolute minimum age,[170] the *adats* sometime determine a *relative* marriage age. Thus a young man sometimes may not marry before his older brother, as is the case, for example among the Chechens[171] and the Cherkess.[172] Only if his brother happens to be far from home and gives his explicit permission, may he marry. Anyone acting [428] contrary to this customary law would *ipso facto* lose all rights to the family inheritance. In spite of this heavy sanction, the bride-price *(kalym)* would be paid for the offender and the marriage would be considered valid. The *adats* of the Cherkess are even stricter about girls marrying before their older sisters. To marry without her parents' permission before her older sister would bring upon her the curse of the family; in fact, they would even refuse the "filthy" brideprice. The motive behind these customs is to assure a marriage for the older members of the family before they become too old.[172a]

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[168] Ladyženskij, *op. cit.*, p. 196.

[169] L'vov, "Domalnjaja i semejnaja žizn etc.," p. 20 *note*.

[170] This is especially evidenced by the widespread practice of infant betrothal and marriage in the North Caucasus and neighbourhood (*infra*, pp. 76, 78 ff).

[171] Erckert, *Der Kaukasus*, p. 138.

[172] Ladyženskij, *op. cit.*, p. 196.

[172a] *ibid.*

[173] Leontovič, II, p. 135, § 8.

[174] Baddeley, *The Rugged Flanks of Caucasus*, II, p. 81.

[175] This seems to have been a shortlived observance.

The *khatun-tallkh* is a much stronger oath than any other in Daghestan, even stronger than an oath on the Koran. The wife, therefore, may be the innocent victim of her husband's falsehood. 586 695

The *khatun-tallkh*, according to Robertson-Smith (*Kinship in Early Arabia*, p. 77) and Kohler ("Ueber das vorislamitische Recht der Araber," *Zeitschr. f. vergl. Rechtsw.*, VIII [1888], pp. 246, 251) is a pre-Islamic oath incorporated into Islamic law. Kovalevskij, who cites both authors, maintains that Islamic missionaries are responsible for the practice in Daghestan.[30] We cannot deny the possibility of Islamic origin, but mere similarity is no sufficient proof. If such argumentation were methodologically indisputable, we should be justified in concluding that the levirate, polygyny, divorce, and other institutions have been imported from Arabia. All that we wish to say is that it is not at all so certain that the Caucasian *khatun-tallkh* is of Islamic origin, as Kovalevskij would have us believe. An oath, by its very nature, seeks the strongest sanction possible. Now, we have shown, when treating of the attitude of the Caucasians toward plurality of wives, how highly a wife is esteemed. She is, we said, the best family investment. To be forced to surrender her would therefore be a very efficient sanction against perjury. It may very well be the high esteem for the value of a wife and the need of a strong sanction that gave rise to the *khatun-tallkh* long before Islamism appeared on Caucasian soil, and perhaps belongs to a common substratum of ancient Arabian culture and Caucasian customary law. [177]

Although the question regarding the guardianship of children after divorce has not been studied, we may conjecture that Lesghian *adats* restrict the right to the father alone. Guardianship, as a general rule, in primitive societies, follows the norms of inheritance: in patrilineal families the children remain with the father, in matrilineal, with their divorced mother. Since inheritance is fundamentally patrilineal according to ancient customary law of the Lesghians, we feel justified in making this hypothetical assumption.[31] 586 [428]

The women of the neighbouring peoples enjoy about the same rights of divorce as do the North Caucasian women. Everywhere they are at a disadvantage.

SOUTHERN CAUCASIANS. Eristov tells us that during his time the Georgian mountain tribes would divorce their wives for the least provocation. It happened now and then that a week after marriage the bride would not turn out to be as pleasing as the groom had imagined, or as good a housekeeper as the groom's family hoped for; such a disappointment was sufficient to occasion a divorce.[32] She could also be dismissed for superficiality, theft, or laziness.[33]

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[30] Kovalevskij, *Zakon*, II, p. 127.

[31] Cf. Abercromby, *op. cit.*, p. 97, who believes that the Avars do not have a fixed rule in this regard.

[32] Eristov, *op. cit.*, pp. 112 f.

[33] Seidlitz, "Gemeinde- und Familienleben der Chewsuren," Das Ausland, 1891, No. 17, p. 336. If the woman had a son, it was much more difficult to divorce her (a custom of the Pshavs), cf. Makalatija, "Iz starogo narodnogo byta Pšavov," p. 109.

58 171 (14) Then there is the fact that *a woman constitutes an asylum* for any murderer,[27] a fact found among the North Caucasians as well as among the Asiatic nomads.

(15) The *adats regarding divorce*,[28]

(16) the *penalties for sexual offenses*,[29]

(17) the *division of labour*,[30] allowing men plenty of time for loafing, sport, and raids,

(18) and many other *adats which place the female sex at a great disadvantage*[31] remind us very much of a pastoral society.

171 596 614 (19) Then, of course, there are the many other features of the North Caucasian marriage and family *adats* which we have been able only to touch upon rather superficially, for they refer to the joint-family and kinship in general rather than to the biological family. The North Caucasian society, for example, has had till recently a *patriarchal joint-family organization*[32] very similar to that found among pastoral nomads. Just as among the Indo-Europeans and the Turco-Mongols the central interest of the North Caucasian has been, and in places still is, the joint-family. According to the *adats*, the individual family, till it becomes independent, plays a very subordinate part in society. The tribe and state mean but little. Crimes, criminals, and penalties in the strict sense of the word are of very recent origin : any damage done to the sib (not so much to any individual !), whether accidental or intentional, are the only form [681] of "crime" found in the *adats*. The reparation of the damages made by the "offending" sib (not the individual who inflicted the harm) corresponds to our [428] concept of penalty. We have also said very little about the *inheritance rights* of the mountaineers of North Caucasia, for to speak of inheritance without first describing the joint-family and kinship *adats* would be impossible. It seems that originally, just as is the case in pastoral nomadic societies, the rights were restricted to the male children with special privileges reserved for the first-born [628] son. Finally, there is hardly another place in the world where *blood-feuds* are so common as in the Caucasus ; and, we know, pastoral nomadic peoples have always been fond of settling their quarrels in this particular manner, more so than any other people. In a word, we are dealing with a "pastoral nomadic" marriage and family when we deal with North Caucasian marriage and family *adats*.

171 We must however, keep in mind that there are different zones of intensity of nomadic traits : in North Caucasia the most pastoral nomadic in character are the marriage and family of the Cherkess ; then perhaps follow those of the Abkhaz, then the Chechens, and finally the Lesghians. The Ossetine *adats* are perhaps even more typically pastoral nomadic than those of the Cherkess. The Kumykian and Nogain *adats*, as well as those of other Turco-Mongols of North Caucasus,

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[27] *Supra*, pp. 159 f.
[28] *Supra*, pp. 132—137.
[29] *Supra*, pp. 168—179, 182.
[30] *Supra*, pp. 156—159.
[31] *Supra*, pp. 152—156.
[32] *Supra*, pp. 44 f.

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(6) The *maternal uncle* appears on the scene in marriage and family affairs as an important figure. A special part of the bride price (*madi-arvadai-kal*) of the Ossetes is reserved for the maternal uncle.[56] Among the Ingushi and a number of other tribes in North Caucasia, if someone drinks to the health of his friend's sister and then gives him a present, the friend is obliged to arrange a marriage between his sister and his friend, otherwise a blood-feud will be the result. This custom, as we have said, overrules even the inviolable *patria potestas* and all the *adats* regarding the choice of mates. It is, as it were, an acceptance of the bride price by the brother (" maternal uncle ") without handing the bride over to the purchaser.[57] Moreover, an Ingush lad, after reaching the age when he is allowed to carry arms, has a right to a special present from his maternal uncle. In fact, the youth may go and steal the present with impunity, because he has a *right* to it.[58] This, I think, may very easily be a vestige of a former inheritance rule through the maternal uncle.[59] The Khevsur orphan automatically falls to the guardianship of the maternal uncle.[60] Kovalevskij conjectures that the Georgian institution known as *tsatsali*[61] may be a vestige of the custom to adopt a maternal uncle.[62]

Kovalevskij, Post and other ethnologists of the 19th century " found " an astoundingly large number of " undeniable " vestiges of a former matriarchal culture in the Caucasus. Any custom that would fit into the false principle " mater certa, pater incertus " was " infallibly " a matriarchal vestige. Thus the *atalyk*,[63] the taboos forbidding a father to carry his own child, the prohibition for anyone to ask about the health of another person's wife or child, etc.[64] were all " vestiges " of former matriarchy. The Cherkess *tleush*[65] and the Ingush *taipa*[66] were likewise " vestiges." Kovalevskij's article " La famille matriarcale au Caucase "[67] is a typical example of the matriarchy mania under which the scientists of the past century laboured. Every now and then they would come across a true vestige or a possible indication of matriarchy or mother-right, and these we have incorporated in the present work. The other " vestiges " we have rejected and offered other, more plausible explanations and interpretations.

Russian interest in the problem of mother-right has again been revived. The Russian ethnologist maintains that matriarchy was universal at one time: it was a stage through which all civilizations had to pass, while patriarchy is only

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[56] *Supra*, p. 87.

[57] *Supra*, p. 101. A Berže, Čečnja i čečency, p. 98; Leontovič, II, pp. 251 f, § 149; Kovalevskij, " La famille matriarcale au Caucase," *L'Anthropologie*, IV (1893), pp. 271 f.

[58] Jakovlev, *Ingušii*, p. 47.

[59] This seems to be a genuine vestige.

[60] Kovalevskij, *op. cit.*, p. 273. The maternal uncle also plays an important part in the Khevsurian blood-feuds (Hahn, *Aus dem Kaukasus*, p. 273).

[61] *Supra*, p. 182.

[62] Kovalevskij, *l. c.*

[63] *Supra*, p. 57.

[64] *Supra*, pp. 149 f, 162—167.

[65] *Supra*, p. 55.

[66] *Supra*, p. 84.

[67] *L'Anthropologie*, IV (1893), pp. 259—278. See also Kovalevskij's *Zakon*, I, pp. 3—27.

586 of a husband never justifies a wife to divorce him.[21] In fact, the inequality was
897 even far greater: although a husband's wilful act of adultery was not sufficient grounds for a divorce, rape suffered by an innocent wife was.[22] Other legal
[843] grounds for a divorce were sterility of the wife or the fact that she was "capable" of giving birth only to girls,[23] which is but another form of "sterility."

586 A divorcée has no right to a special alimony. Instead, she has her own personal property and especially her *kebin*.[24]

If a wife abandons her husband for any reason other than the few legal grounds granted her, she not only must return all engagement and wedding gifts received from her husband, but her family must also return the entire *kalym*. In fact, she may not re-marry till the *kalym* is refunded. Sometimes the husband out of mere malice refuses the *kalym*, so that the divorcée must remain unmarried for the rest of her life.[25]

[429] The children remain in the father's household, even if he should soon die after the divorce,[26] the guardianship always remaining in the male line.

According to Lesghian customary divorce laws, which, on the whole, are in harmony with the *šarī'a*,[27] the female mate is again at a disadvantage. An *adat* for North Tabassaran says that "the husband has the right to divorce his wife at any time... But a wife may abandon her husband only if he is impotent, or if he has a contagious disease, or, finally, if he is unable to support her."[28] The disadvantage lies in the restricted legal grounds justifying the women to abandon their husbands and the almost unlimited possibilities of a justified divorce of the men. However, the expression "at any time" in this *adat* is an exaggeration. If a husband divorces his wife unjustifiably, he must pay the sum promised (*kebin*) and forfeits the *kalym*. If the wife abandons her husband for any other reason than the three grounds enumerated, she loses her right to the *kebin* and her family is obliged to refund the *kalym*.[29] Of course, if the husband is willing to pay the *kebin* and lose his right to a refund of the *kalym*, he may divorce her, literally, at any time.

586, 695 Another occasion for divorce is the so-called *khatun-tallkh*. It is a common form of oath in Daghestan, which only a married man can take. The husband declares himself ready to dismiss his wife if he swear falsely. If he has several wives, he must specify which wife he will dismiss in case of perjury.

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[21] Leontovič, II, p. 173, §§ 150, 152.

[22] Leontovič, II, p. 172, § 143.

[23] Grabovskij, "Ekonomičeskij i domašnij byt, etc.," p. 21.

[24] Leontovič, II, p. 169 f, § 119; p. 176, § 172. The special decision of 1862 in this regard seems to be an imitation of the Islamic *kebin*.

[25] Leontovič, II, p. 175, § 166: "čtoby razvedennaja žena ne byla 'ni emu, ni drugomu.'" See also Grabovskij, *op. cit.*, pp. 51 f.

[26] Grabovskij, *op. cit.*, p. 53.

[27] Kovalevskij, *Zakon*, II, pp. 199 f.

[28] "Adaty Južno-Dagestanskich Obščestv," SSKG, VIII (1875), pp. 32. Kovalevskij, *Zakon*, II, p. 199.

[29] "Adaty Južno-Dagestanskich Obščestv," *l. c.*

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584 The Lesghian peoples can all boast of an elaborate engagement procedure. Were we to describe the ceremonies of each of the Lesghian peoples and tribes individually, we could easily fill a complete volume, but a volume with countless repetitions. We shall, therefore, limit ourselves again to what we may call a *typical* Lesghian engagement. Allowing for accidental differences, it is the kind of matchmaking and betrothal one finds among all Lesghians. These ceremonies have been described especially well by Kovalevskij in his *Zakon i obyčaj na Kavkazě*, L'vov, "Domašnjaja i semejnaja žizn Dagestanskich gorcev avarskago plemeni," Omarov, "Kak živut Laki," Gabiev, "Laki, ich prošloe i byt," and Dubrovin, *Istorija vojny i vladičestva russkich na Kavkazě.*

A Lesghian engagement is a long, drawn-out affair, lasting for months or even years,[15] yes, even for a decade or two.[16]

The suitor usually takes the first step himself: he invites the father of his prospective bride to dinner and secretly tries to discover the father's attitude toward such a match.[17]

Soon after that, the hopeful suitor sends a matchmaker to the girl's father. The matchmaker is usually a woman[18] (sometimes the mother or sister of the groom), but sometimes a man is sent instead;[19] and sometimes two matchmakers are sent instead of one.[20] Matchmakers are soon recognized as such by their unusual eloquence and unexpected eulogies.[21] "There is a certain young man, with an incomparable character. He is brave beyond description. And, of course, he is well-to-do. He is a man of reliability. In a word, he possesses all the qualities any and every Lesghian values." Then follows the practical application: "What a blessing it would be if this young gentleman would (Allah granting) become the husband of such a wonderful girl as is your daughter. Can you think of a better match?" But no matter how eager the parents of the girl may be to give her in marriage to this particular "superman," etiquette demands that this part of the premarital arrangements end in excuses and objections: "Oh, you see, our daughter is still so young! And besides, how could we get along without her. You realize the decision is very difficult. Please, let us think the matter over."

Some time later, the girl's parents consent to the marriage, the usual formula being, "Insha-Allah", i. e., "If it please Allah; if Allah so will!"[22]

Now that the girl's parents, especially her father, have no objections to the marriage, the suitor's task is to become acceptable to the girl and her family, and without gifts such a task would be impossible.

584 431 The next part of courtship is called *suknikari*.[23] The matchmaker brings the girl a ring, some clothes, and money. The *suknikari* is a very important

[15] Gabiev, *op. cit.*, p. 108.
[16] Kovalevskij, *Zakon*, II, p. 181.
[17] "Adaty Južno-Dagestanskich Obščestv," SSKG, VIII (1875), p. 41.
[18] Kovalevskij, *l. c.*
[19] "Adaty Južno-Dagestanskich Obščestv," *l. c.*; L'vov, *op. cit.*, p. 22.
[20] "Adaty Južno-Dagestanskich Obščestv," p. 31.
[21] Dubrovin, *Istorija*, I, i, pp. 562 f.
[22] L'vov, *l. c.*
[23] The first visit of the matchmakers was called *sukni* (in Dargwa).

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event in every Lesghian's life, for if these gifts are accepted, the consent of the parents of the girl is considered final.[24] 554 431

The next step consists mainly in an exchange of gifts.

Some days later, the mother of the young man visits the girl's family, bringing with her four loaves of bread and a ram,[25] a large copper basin, clothing, one silver and one golden ring. On accepting the gifts the girl puts the rings on her fingers. This visit of the mother of the groom constitutes the essential part of the engagement: from this moment the two young people are considered engaged.[26] In return the bride's family give the future groom's mother two loaves of bread, a slaughtered ram, and some small coins.

In the near future the fiancée must pay a visit to her parents-in-law. The groom-to-be, however, must absent himself on this occasion. She again receives various gifts: cloth, rings, ear-rings, and a vessel.[27]

Several days later the young man, in turn, pays a visit to his fiancée's family. Now it is the girl's turn to be absent. A small feast is prepared, and the suitor presents the family with some cloth and a slaughtered ram.[28]

The exchange of gifts must continue, vessels, cloth, rams, money, and pastries being the usual gifts. The suitor generally selects holydays as most appropriate for his visits and bestowals. There is especially the *khinki arkhul* which consists of pastries, cloth, an eviscerated ram, six large loaves of bread, and a large cast-iron vessel not less than 16 pounds in weight. These gifts are brought to the fiancée by two male and two female relatives of the suitor. In return the girl sends her future husband some silk cloth and two belts, and a necklace for his sister.[29]

Some time before the wedding, various materials are brought to the future bride, such as hemp, which she must prepare for use in her future home. Two or three years later, she receives 30 or 40 sheep-skins or 9—10 rams. In return she offers some cloth and belts.

The final bestowal of engagement gifts takes place several months later when two men and two women betake themselves to the bride-to-be, this time with one live and one slaughtered sheep, six large loaves of bread, three pieces of clothing of which one is silk, and, finally, a piece of cloth.

The last act of the engagement drama takes place shortly before the wedding. Three to ten relatives of the future bridegroom go to the family of the young lady, where they prepare the *khalba* and for this purpose they bring six pounds of butter and one measure of flour, while the girl's relatives provide other food. This feast is held on Tuesdays, Wednesdays, or Thursdays and usually lasts a day or two. On this occasion two reliable persons representing [527]

[24] Kovalevskij, *Zakon*, II, pp. 181 f.

[25] In Upper Kaitago (in Gank, Gansh, Myura) the groom's sister may come instead of his mother. AJuDO, p. 41.

[26] Kovalevskij, *Zakon*, II, p. 182: "Rešajuščim aktom v dělě svatovstva javljaetsja vstuplenie materi ženicha v dom roditelej nevěsty s četyr'mja bol'šimi chlebami..."

[27] *ibid.*

[28] In some places the suitor's visit precedes that of the fiancée. Cf. "Adaty Južno-Dagestanskich Obščestv," p. 41.

[29] Kovalevskij, *l. c.*

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584 the future groom and two others representing the bride-to-be conclude a formal [431] written contract regarding the *kebin*.[30]

The SOUTHERN CAUCASIANS. Southwest of Daghestan is the province known as Sakataly. A brief description of the Ingiloi betrothal customs will give us a good idea of the entire country bordering Southwestern Daghestan. The matchmaking is carried out by a representative of the suitor and a near relative of the mother of the girl, who, after a preliminary discussion, informs the mother that, " a certain person sent me to you with a little request. He would like to marry your daughter. The young man is truly of a noble character and well-to-do. I advise you to give your consent." Just as among the Chechens and Lesghians, the matchmaker will not receive a favourable answer at once. Only at the third visit is a decision reached, provided that within a definite time the family of the suitor can furnish a piece of silk, a silver ring, a ram, 10 loaves of bread, two liters of nuts, 15 or more eggs, 3 measures of apples, and two pails of wine. On the appointed day the bride-groom's matchmaker and one of his relatives bring these things to the girl's family. When the groom's intermediary arrives, he announces, " All these things were sent by Mr. X to win the favour of your daughter. May God grant them both luck and health, and may He also grant the same to you." Then the ram, which was brought by the matchmaker, is slaughtered ; the cloth, ring, and money are received by the mother of the girl ; the ring is placed on the girl's finger, from which moment she is regarded as definitely engaged. Similar feasts and gifts must follow. It is worthy of note that it is the mother who receives the gifts, the father having pratically nothing to do in the whole engagement ceremony. A final visit, and then the day of the marriage is agreed upon.[31]

To arrange a marriage in Pshavia usually takes about two years. The first discussions between the two families are a mere formality, but a formality that is strictly insisted upon, as it is elsewhere among the mountain peoples of the Caucasus. When the girl's parents finally give their consent, the so-called *agreoba* takes place : that is, bread is broken, distributed among the bride's relatives, and then eaten together with salt as a sign of friendship and betrothal. From this moment the two young people are considered engaged,[32] and the suitor's family is obliged to offer the girl's relatives an engagement gift. About a hundred years ago, according to Eristov,[33] it amounted to one ruble twenty kopeks. Among the Khevsurs it was only 20 kopeks.[34] After some time the future groom is obliged to visit his fiancée's family, and he and his friends are given a feast, but first the visitor must offer the *sakhlis sanakhavi* (" the visitation of the house "), which includes bread, meat, and drinks. The following day a

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[30] Dubrovin, I, i, p. 563.

[31] Cf. Fon-Plotto, " Priroda i ljudi Zakatal'skago Okruga," SSKG, IV (1871), pp. 30 f.

[32] Cf. Makalatija, " Iz starogo narodnogo byta Pšavov," SE, 1938, No. 1, pp. 103 ff.

[33] The Tushi have the same custom (Dubrovin, *Istorija*, I, i, p. 310).

" O Tušino-Pšavo-Chevsurskom Okrugĕ," ZKO, III (1855), pp. 111 f. According to Makalatija, *l. c.*, Rs. 5 to Rs. 15.

[34] Dubrovin, 310.

sheep is slaughtered and a second feast is given at which the husband- and wife-to-be are present. The elder of the village *(khevis-beri)*[A] presides and then recites the special engagement prayer: "Glory to you, George, Angel of the Oak, Lasharis-Dzhbari, and Queen Tamara! George, Angel of the Oak, bless this young couple! Make them happy, rich and prosperous!"[35] After this the *mkepari*[36] are chosen from among the relatives of both partners, whose task it is to collect gifts for the betrothed. The Pshavs do not give their daughters a special dowry, these gifts and the *satavno* taking its place.[37] From now on the suitor is allowed to pay his future wife frequent visits.[38] 584 [176] [431]

There is very little difference to be noted in the OSSETINE matchmaking and betrothal.[39] At first a good friend (generally a woman) of the young man's family is sent to the parents of the girl to learn, unnoticed if possible, about the possiblity of a marriage. If the "spy" returns with a favourable answer, two official matchmakers are sent, generally elderly friends of the family. All dealings are kept secret until the girl's father consents. The town-crier is then notified, for it is his duty and privilege to publicize all engagements. Then the matchmakers bring to the girl's family gifts and the *kalym*, and, as usual, the engagement is celebrated by a feast.[40] [624]

The engagement customs of the KUMYKS are about the same as those of the Chechens.[41] In Balkaria it is the agreement regarding the *kalym* that constitutes the essence of the betrothal.[42]

## 2. Conclusions regarding Matchmaking and Betrothal

(1) All North Caucasians and immediate neighbours have the custom of formal betrothal of one sort or another. (2) Nowhere is the marriage arrangement a private affair. The two persons concerned are either passive, or if they do act, they are simply cooperating in a family matter. (3) Official go-betweens are usually employed. (4) The initiative is taken among all North Caucasians and neighbouring peoples by the male side. (5) Although the mother plays a surprisingly important part in the engagement customs, the final decision rests with the father. 593 584

The premarital arrangements of the Caucasians have a strongly patriarchal character. It is the father who has the final word in matchmaking. Moreover,

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[35] Makalatija, *l. c.* The sacred oak referred to is supposed to be on Mount Lashari in the central part of Pshavia and is tied to heaven with a golden chain (Makalatija, *op. cit.*, p. 103).

[36] Makalatija, *l. c.*

[37] Every girl, while still small, receives a calf as her own property. All the profit she makes by raising the calf becomes her property too.

[38] Makalatija, *l. c.*

[39] Dubrovin, I, i, pp. 329—332.

[40] Hahn, *Bilder aus dem Kaukasus*, pp. 40 f.

[41] For a fine description of Kumykian matchmaking and engagement see Semenov, "Očerki narodnych obyčaev Kumykov Terskoj Oblasti," *Terskij Sbornik*, II (1892), No. 2, Part 2 pp. 68—71; Dubrovin, *Istorija*, I, i, p. 637.

A. Karzulov, "Bolkari na Kavkaže," SMOMPK, XXXVIII (1908), No. 1, p. 146.

A [in Pshavia, southern Caucasia -- Analyst]

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railways and roads, or of adequate accommodation at the ports. A further disadvantage lies in the lack of union among the population, accentuated of late by the increase of political power among the Armenians. The exodus of the Turks, who owned the prosperous tea and tobacco plantations, was an economic loss, though they may be replaced by the Armenians, Tatars, or Georgians. 105

The British consular report for 1913 described Caucasia as a poverty-stricken country, making only the slowest progress. This estimate seems harsh in view of the increasing exports from the three chief ports and the development of the large Russian oil trade. The oil-fields, however, are exploited by international capital, so that most of the profits derived from the trade leave the country. It should be noted, too, that in the new fields oil is found at greater depths than in the old, so that, unless American deep-drilling methods are introduced, production may cease to be profitable. The manganese industry has made great advances, but so far has yielded small profits only, on account of the cost of transport. The increased value of the cereal exports has chiefly benefited a few large landowners. 438 105

The fact remains that Caucasia contains great natural wealth, little exploited as yet. There are openings for development in the use of its forests and water-power; in the exploitation of minerals and mineral springs; in the cultivation of fruit, vines, tea, and, with the help of scientific irrigation, of cotton; and in the production of silk.

Novorossiisk has already shown a remarkable increase in prosperity, although, since its bombardment by the Turks, trade has temporarily deserted it. It was long since pointed out that, with improved harbour facilities and the increase of oil production, Batum had a fair chance of becoming a port of world-wide importance. [509]

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313 property of the Georgian Government, who have recently exploited the timber of the Kutais and Poti districts for the manufacture of railway sleepers.

● 433 *Vegetable and Animal Products.*—The Caucasus is essentially an agricultural and pastoral country, and it is estimated that from 75 per cent. to 80 per cent. of the population are engaged in animal and vegetable production. In the mountain-regions, Kabarda, Chechnia, Svanetia, Ossetia, Daghestan and Kara Bagh, the people are virtually self-supporting as regards cereals, but produce little for export. Their surplus production is mainly in animals. In Kabarda and in the Jevad and Gökcha districts of Azerbaijan fine horses are bred, and, in the Mughan, camels. The production of wool, sold for the most part to carpet-weavers, is the main source of living to the mountain and nomad tribes, and in the Borchalu district (south of Tiflis) the Tatars make excellent cheese which is exported to Russia as "Gruyère." The production of wax and honey further forms a secondary occupation of many of the villagers, both of the hills and the plain. In Daghestan and in the Kur Delta there are thriving fisheries. The catch of "puzanka," a small species of herring, off the coast of Daghestan and the mouth of the Terek, averages 40,000 tons a year; while along the Kur the catch of sturgeon gives an annual production of over 300 tons of caviare. Large herds of swine flourish in many parts of Transcaucasia, particularly in the lowlands of Mingrelia and Guria.

433 The chief cereals grown in Transcaucasia are: wheat, which covers approximately 475,000 acres in the Government of
241 Baku, 670,000 acres in the Government of Elisavetpol and 680,000 acres in the Government of Tiflis; maize, which occupies about 470,000 acres in the Government of Kutais, and 180,000 acres in the Government of Sukhum; and rye, which covers about 183,000 acres over Transcaucasia, more than half being grown in the Government of Elisavetpol. Hay occupies about 500,000 acres in the Black Sea and Elisavetpol districts. Rice is grown chiefly in Azerbaijan and Talish, and cotton covers about 200,000 acres over different parts of the country. Cotton has recently tended to supersede rice, especially in the eastern regions, Baku, Elisavetpol and Erivan, where, in 1913, it already covered about 200,000 acres. It is possible that a considerable crop of cotton may in the near future be cultivated in the Mughan Steppe, the irrigation of which the Russian Government had successfully undertaken before the outbreak of war.

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Millet, oats, flax and hemp are also grown in limited quantities in Transcaucasia. 433 241

Tobacco has been grown with great success in the sheltered subtropical parts of the Black Sea littoral and in the neighbourhoods of Tiflis, Kutais and Zakatali. Of the total Russian output of high quality "Turkish" tobacco in 1915, it is estimated that 33 per cent. came from Transcaucasia. Of this the heaviest crops and the richest quality was grown round Sukhum and Sochi. The tobacco of Batum and Ozurgeti was little inferior.

Wine is made throughout Transcaucasia, and vine-culture is a secondary occupation of many of the peasants. The wines of the Alazan, of Elisavetpol and of Echmiadzin are celebrated in Russia, and much is exported to that country, but for the most part the vintners cater for the very generous local consumption.

Mulberry-trees flourish on the southern slopes of the Caucasus; about 5,000 tons of silk a year are produced, and are mostly consumed by local industry. In Azerbaijan silk has, like rice, suffered from the recent preference accorded to cotton. Other products are: tea, round Ozurgeti and Chavka; plums, the most luscious of which come from Sochi and Sukhum; oranges from Chavka; olives from Artvin and Sukhum; lemons, apples, liquorice-root, the sun-flower—from which a substitute for linseed oil is obtained—attar of roses, *ramie* fibre, and inconsiderable quantities, consumed locally, of potatoes, lentils, beans, haricots and peas.

*Minerals.*—It is only in recent years that the discovery of the existence of a belt of oil-bearing rock (*vide* Petroleum, below), extending from the Northern Caucasus to Southern Persia, has attracted the attention of European capital to the mineral potentialities of the Middle East—particularly of the Caucasus and Persia. The effects of this discovery have already been considerable, and it is probable that the coming half-century will witness, on the one hand the transformation of the Middle East from a backward agricultural to an important industrial region; on the other the concentration of political interest on the area between the Kuban and Terek and the Persian Gulf. 135

The mineral resources of the Caucasus have never been adequately prospected. The Russian Government left the exploration and exploitation of possible mineral deposits to individual enterprise. Thus, with the exception of the very interesting book of Mr. D. Ghambashidze,[1] no reference-books 135 114

[1] D. Ghambashidze, *Mineral Resources of Georgia and Caucasia.*

[see cat. 116, pp 252-253 -- Analyst]

CCO As a consequence of state planning and of the lack of free enterprise, the importance of trade centers is less than it is in free economies. Old trade centers, unless backed by the industrialization policy of the regime, remain stagnant, whereas new industrial centers have spectacular success. Foreign trade was virtually non-existent during the Stalinist period.

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433 178 Economic dynamism, state-planning, and industrialization are also characteristic of the economy of the Caucasus. *

Economic dynamism reveals itself for instance in agriculture. As in the whole SSSR, the area under cultivation shows an increase, and one can witness a sharp rise in the acreage under industrial crops. Similarly, the introduction and acclimatization of new crops, the redistribution of old crops, and a rise in productivity, are also characteristic features of this dynamism. In the South Caucasus the introduction of subtropical crops is especially noteworthy. Another important field of activity of this dynamism is in irrigation and drainage works. The Eastern Caucasus in general, is poor in precipitation, and agriculture only exists when based on irrigation. As a result, in the region of Aras-Kura, upper Kuma rivers, or in Dagestan one finds great and new irrigation systems. (Azerbaijan SSR: Divichi, Lenin,

* [For a summary statement of Soviet economy, see cat. 116, pp. 836-839 -- Analyst]

## Industrial Potential

433 The industries of the Caucasus present a complicated and uneven pattern. This is due mostly to the distribution of natural resources, but partially also to historical factors. The area is rich in power resources concentrated mostly in the southern parts of the Caucasus; the oil resources and the oil industry are of unionwide significance. Of the mineral resources, manganese and copper are the great assets though the almost complete lack of iron ore (mined only at Dashkesan) constitutes a serious weakness. Also among the important assets are the various machinery plants, which occur almost everywhere, and the series of cement mills around Novorossiysk, the food industry of the North Caucasus, and finally the fishing and fish-canning industry along the coast of the Caspian Sea.

311 433 Taking the sub-areas of the Caucasus one by one, the distribution of the various industries is as follows:

Azerbaijan SSR: The Center of the Russian oil industry; in addition to this it has the only iron mine in the entire Caucasus. The textile industry is also well-developed. The industries in general are concentrated in the Baku and Kirovabad areas. The sub-units (Nakhichevan' ASSR, High-Karabakh AO) have no industries beyond processing agricultural goods.

Armenian SSR: An area rich in manpower, but poor in natural resources. Fuels are non-existent, hence the importance of the

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recently-built hydro-electric plants. Of the industries, copper-mining and smelting, the aluminum industry, and the chemical industry (including the synthetic rubber industry) are important. Among the rural industries are the sugar industry, and the world-famous wine and cognac industry.

Georgian SSR: Rich in coal. The important coal mines of the Caucasus are all in Georgia. In addition to this, the area is very rich in hydro-electric resources. Of the mineral resources, manganese is the most important. Heavy metallurgy is represented by the ferro-manganese works of Zestafoni, and by Rustavi, the latter utilizing Georgian coal and Azeri iron. Kolkhida, the western part of the area, has only rural industry. Of the sub-units the Adzhar Republic is important for its oil-cracking plants (Batumi), and for its tobacco plants. In the Abkhaz Republic, coal-mining, lumbering, and tea-processing constitute the chief industrial activities. The industry of the South Assetian AO is based on a rural economy and on the forest resources of the area.

Astrakhan' Oblast: The fishing center of the USSR. In addition to this the area has very important salt deposits (Baskunchak) providing 1/4 of the Russian output. Sawmilling and wood-working, another important industrial activity of the area, is based on imported lumber.

Groznyy Oblast: The second largest oil-fields and oil industry of the USSR are in this area (centered around Groznyy). The capital of the Oblast is at the same time an important

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center of chemical, lumber, and food industries.

Dagestan ASSR: Area rich in various kinds of industry. The Makhachkala oilfields and oil industry, though less rich than those around Baku or Groznyy, are still of unionwide significance. Among the other industries, the metal handicrafts, the glass industry (Dagestanskie Ogni) are noteworthy. Of the food industries, fishing and fish-canning are important (centered around Makhachkala, Lopatin). The area can at the same time be considered the chief fruit-canning center of the Caucasus.

Stavropol' Kray: The industries are based chiefly on a rural economy. Flour-milling, meat-packing, and wine-producing are the most important industrial activities. Of the sub-units, the Kabardian ASSR has also rural industries and some lumbering. The two other units, the Cherkess AO and the North Ossetian ASSR, offer a greater variety of industrial activities. The Cherkess AO has besides the rural industries a chemical, a textile, and a lumbering industry. The North Ossetian ASSR is rich in hydro-electric power, disposes of considerable oil resources, and is the center of Caucasian non-ferrous metallurgy. The North Ossetian area has a developed lumbering industry as well, and its Beslan kombinat is one of the strongholds of the Caucasian food industry.

Krasnodar Kray: The chief industries of the area are oil, cement, and wine. The oil industry is connected with the oilfields of the Taman'-Belaya River area, and with the oil-refineries at Tuapse. The cement mills are

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433 located around Novorossiysk. The wine industry is also centered around Novorossiysk. The only sub-unit of the kray, the Adyge AO, is highly industrialized. The main industry is the oil industry. Of smaller importance are metallurgy and machinery, and the lumbering, food, and tobacco industries.

Rostov Oblast: Since the detachment from the oblast of the coal-mining areas, its industry consists mostly of various machinery plants concentrated at Rostov, Taganrog, and Novocherkassk.

The distribution of the various industries in the Caucasus is as follows:

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382 Oilfields, centers of oil industry: The oilfields and the oil industry arising from them are the main assets of the Caucasian economy. Of the five oilfields, two are in the South, and three in the North Caucasus. The greatest is the Baku oilfield. The importance of this oilfield is however declining; its output, which constituted 83% of the Russian output in 1913, had fallen to 48 in 1950. Due to the 85 years of exploitation, the wells are very deep and mostly on the bottom of the Caspian Sea. The output is refined mostly in the cracking plants of Baku or sent through two pipelines to Batumi. The second important oilfield of the Caucasus is located around Groznyy. The product of this oilfield furnishes mostly high-octane aviation gasoline. The Groznyy product is either processed in the cracking plants of Groznyy and Malgobek, or piped to the cracking plants of Tuapse, or to Trudovaya in the Donets Basin. The Makhachkala products, however, are refined mostly in Makhachkala itself. The fourth center

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purposes, and in that year their aggregate revenue 651
amounted to some £1,250,000 and their aggregate debt to £1,800,000. Baku had a revenue of £670,000 in 1912, Tiflis of £218,000, and Ekaterinodar of £147,000. The remaining towns had revenues of less than £50,000 each.

Rural taxation in Russia was undertaken by the *zemstvos*. Caucasia, however, had no *zemstvos*, and local matters were administered by official boards. The Province of Stavropol acquired a *zemstvo* in 1912, but no record of its activities is available.

### (2) *Currency*

The paper money and coinage current in Caucasia 436
is that of the Russian Empire, but certain silver coins of the old Georgian currency are still in circulation, namely, the *shaur* (worth 5 kopecks, or about 1d.), the *half abaz* (10 kopecks), the *abaz* (20 kopecks), and the *two abaz* (40 kopecks).

### (3) *Banking*

The most important distinctively Caucasian bank is 453
the *Banque de Caucase*, or *Banque de Commerce de Tiflis*, which has its head office at Tiflis and branches at Baku, Batum, Elisavetopol, Erivan, Grozni, Kars, Kutais, and Nukha. Smaller Caucasian banks are the *Tiflis Agrarian Bank* at Tiflis, the *Tifliser Kaufmannsbank* at Tiflis, and the *North Caucasian Commercial Bank* at Armavir.

The following Russian banks have branches in the Caucasus: the *Imperial State Bank*,[1] at Armavir, Baku, Batum, Ekaterinodar, Erivan, Stavropol, Tiflis, and Vladikavkaz; the *Banque Russo-asiatique* (of Petrograd), at Armavir, Baku, Batum, Yeisk, Ekaterinodar, Grozni, Novorossiisk, and Vladikavkaz; the *Banque de Commerce de l'Azoff-Don* (of Petrograd), at Armavir, Elisavetopol, Erivan, Yeisk, Grozni, Novorossiisk, Poti, Stavropol, Tiflis, and Vladikavkaz; the

[1] The functions of the Imperial State Bank are described in *Don and Volga Basins*, No. 53 of this series, p. 100.

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thousands of square miles in America, and that a single 315
Baku oil fountain has actually yielded as much in one day as 25,000 wells in America. The American system has been adopted at Grozni and Maikop. Manila ropes have been very generally replaced by wire ropes. Pumps cannot be used at Baku to raise the oil, and it is therefore baled by steam or electric power; air-lifts have recently been found successful. In default of fresh water, steam at Baku has to be obtained from sea-water. which causes rapid destruction of the boilers.

Oil is conveyed to the Black Town (Baku) refineries [47]
in pipe lines, of which in 1906 there were 39 in private ownership besides the State pipe lines. Large firms had their own pumping stations in addition to those provided for general use. Fountain oil was pumped direct to the stations and measured there. Some of the Bibi-Ebyat oil goes by barge.

From Baku the oil has four means of transit: by [48]
rail to Batum or Poti; by pipe line (kerosene) to Batum; by rail to Petrovsk; and by tank-steamer to Astrakhan and thence up the Volga. The last route, by which the Volga factories are supplied, is only open from April to October.

Electric power was steadily replacing steam power [317]
on the oil-fields in 1914. The Spies Petroleum Co. at Grozni run their works almost wholly by it. There are generating stations at Sabunchi, belonging to Nobel Brothers; at Zabrat, belonging to the Société de la Caspienne et de la Mer Noire; at White Town (1,200 horse-power); and at Baieloff (4,500 horse-power). At Sabunchi and Zabrat the Surachani gas is used to generate electricity.

### (6) Manufactures

Ciscaucasia and Transcaucasia have each their own 438
characteristic industries, which, in the former case, are those proper to a region predominantly agricultural, and in the latter are dependent on the output of the oil-fields.

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274 22,000,000 gallons in 1914. Were French methods of manufacture employed more extensively, the industry might be greatly developed. There is an Italian firm at Kislovodsk in Terek which makes Riesling and other wines under modern conditions.

*Distilling* is in part an independent industry and in part a means of utilizing the inferior wines. In 1913 there were 15 distilleries—8 in Kuban, 4 in Terek, 2 in Stavropol, and 1 in Kutais—and the output of alcohol in that year was 8,193,000 gallons, of which more than two-thirds were distilled in Kuban.

438 *Other industries* of the country may be very briefly
471 enumerated. A *tea* factory has recently been opened at Chavka, and has an annual output of about 55 tons, and other factories are (or were) being built with Government aid at Baku and Ozurgeti. A *beet-sugar* factory, started in 1913 at Gulevichi, was brought to a standstill for want of beetroot in 1914. There are three *saw-mills* at Tiflis; the Italian firm of Sbrajavacca has saw-mills at Socilava and Poti, which turn out 300 cubic metres daily, and Ananov Brothers have small saw-mills in Kutais, driven by electric power. A factory for making *bamboo furniture* was opened at Chavka in 1907. There are nine *brick* and *tile* factories at Baku and four tile factories at Tiflis, while *pottery* works have been opened at Ksauka, Tiflis, by an Italian firm, which also makes tiles. *Soap* is made at Tiflis, and *sulphuric acid* at Baku.

### (7) Power

377 In 1914 there were ten chief power-stations: near Beli Ugol on the Podkumka river (1,000 horse-power); near Sukhum on the Besletk river (owned by the Sukhum Electric Co.); near Gagri on the Jockvar river (working the climatic station); at Batum (water-driven), supplying Batum with electricity; at Kutais, supplying power for Ananov Brothers' saw-mills; at Sanain (700 horse-power), belonging to the Caucasus Metallurgical Co.; at Katar copper mines (Sangesur

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361 subscribed in London) for the purpose of a new water-
653 supply, drainage, and the construction of an electric station. Only the first of these three works has been carried out. A description of the port of Baku is given above, p. 45. *

361 *Ekaterinodar* is the centre of the increasingly im-
438 portant trade in tobacco. It has an annual fair, at which the value of goods exchanged is said to be about £400,000. There are several refineries, dealing with oil from the Maikop fields. As the town is both an agricultural and an industrial centre, experimental fruit-farms and technical schools have been opened there.

*Tiflis*, the seat of Government, is a fine modern town, with electric light, electric trams, and cold storage facilities. Only in the oriental quarter are there open bazaars. It is the distributing centre for Russian manufactured goods, and also does a large transit trade in Persian exports.

*Vladikavkaz* is the principal town of Ciscaucasia and an important agricultural centre. *Elisavetopol* is a centre for trade in wine, fruit, and cotton; *Erivan* and *Kutais* for trade in wine and fruit. *Stavropol*, *Akhaltsikh*, *Alexandropol*, *Kars*, *Grozni*, *Nukha*, and *Maikop* are all agricultural centres, the last especially for wine, while Nukha, Akhaltsikh, and Alexandropol are particularly concerned with fruit. Grozni and Maikop are also petroleum centres.

The principal centres of industry are *Tiflis*, *Baku*, *Batum*, *Ekaterinodar*, *Shusha*, *Novorossiisk*, and *Chavka*. Batum is declining as an industrial centre, whilst Baku and Ekaterinodar are progressing; both these last-named towns doubled their budgets between 1904 and 1909.

All Transcaucasian towns have their bazaars, and in the less populated and poorer districts monthly fairs take the place of shops.

Batum, Novorossiisk, Poti, and other ports are described above (pp. 42–46).

* [see cat. 116 -- Analyst]

361 The largest metropolitan centers are for the most part ancient cities, such as Tbilisi, Kirovabad, Kutaisi and Erevan. Baku arose before the Bolshevik Revolution as the world's best-known oil producer. Under the Soviet regime, industrial cities have grown rapidly in Transcaucasia and a number of new centers have been established. The most important of these recent creations are probably [438] Sumgait near Baku, and Rustavi near Tbilisi, both founded during the Second World War. Sumgait produces steel pipe, alumimum and synthetic rubber, and is due to get a superphosphate plant during the sixth Five-Year Plan. Rustavi has an integrated steel plant and produces cement and nitrate fertilizer.

CD 197

others being Veinakh, Lak-Dargwa, Samurian, Khinalug, and Udi). Avar has the status of a literary language in the Dagestan ASSR. The literary language is based on the Khunzakh dialect which was also the basis of the old "bol mats'" ("army language"), the common Avar lingua franca. Knowledge of Avar is spread well outside its own linguistic territory (Andi-Dido area, Tsakhur area, Archi, W part of Lak and Dargwa areas).

SUBDIVISIONS: There are four major dialects: Khunzakh, Gidatl' -- Andalaly-Karakh, Antsukh, and Char.

CD 231 .438 241

TRADITIONAL ECONOMY: Stockbreeding; home industry (Caucasian felt cloaks, leather goods, wooden objects, metal work, tapestry-weaving, embroidery); horticulture.

CD 795

RELIGION: Islam (Sunni).

7: Columbia U. S-4, 5 1956 RHl Caucasia
Dagestan RH 8
Andi

## 10. ANDI

C.
D.
101 NAME: SELF-DESIGNATION: Qwannaw, pl. Qwannal
RUSSIAN DESIGNATIONS: Andii, Andiitsy (this name is also used to include, besides the Andi proper, the other peoples of the Andi group; cf. below under "Language").
OTHER DESIGNATIONS: (Avar:) Handísew, pl. Handál, the country: Handí.

C.
D.
161 NUMBER: 1926 7,840 (Russian census, ethn.)
7,720 (Russian census, ling.)

C.
D.
162 LOCATION: N of the Andiiskoe Koisu, at its bend eastward (auls Andi, Ghunkha, Ghaghatl, Rik'uan, Chankho, Zilo, Muni in rayon Botlikh and auls Kvankhidatl, and Khuset in rayon Vedeno, Dagestan ASSR).

C.
D.
197 LANGUAGE: Andi (Qwannab mits·i) forms with Botlikh, Godoberi, Karata, Bagulal, Tindi, Chamalal, and Akhvakh, the so-called Andi subgroup of the Avaro-Ando-Dido group of the NE Caucasian languages. The language is not written, Avar being used as the literary language.

C.
D.
231
438 TRADITIONAL ECONOMY: Sheep-raising, home industry (Caucasian felt cloaks, tapestries, goldsmithing).

C.
D.
795 RELIGION: Islam (Sunni).

7: Columbia U. S-4,5 1956 RH1 Caucasia RH1, Dagestan RH8

## 16. CHAMALAL

CD 101 NAME: SELF-DESIGNATION: according to separate villages; as opposed to other peoples: Ch'amalaldu, pl. Ch'amalaldube, collective: Ch'amalali.
RUSSIAN DESIGNATION: Chamalaly.

CD 161 NUMBER: 1926 3,438 (Russian census, ethn.)
3,438 (Russian census, ling.)

CD 162 LOCATION: On the E side of the Andiiskoe Koisu, just below the bend; auls Verkhnii Gakvari (with sub-villages), Nizhnii Gakvari (with sub-villages), Agvali, Tsumada, Tsumada-Urukh, Richaganik, Gadyri (with sub-villages), Gachitl', Gigatl' (with sub-villages), Kvankhi (Tsumada rayon, Dagestan ASSR).

CD 197 LANGUAGE: Chamalal (Ch'amalaldub mits'·) forms with Andi, Botlikh, Godoberi, Karata, Bagulal, Tindi, and Akhvakh, the Andi subgroup of the Avaro-Ando-Dido group of the NE Caucasian languages. The language is not written, Avar being used as the literary language.

SUBDIVISIONS: Dialects: 1a. Gakvari (incl. Gakvari, Agvali, Tsumada, Tsumada-Urukh, Richaganik); 1b. Gadyri (incl. Gachitl' ) and Kvankhi; 2. Gigatl' .

CD 231 438 241 TRADITIONAL ECONOMY: Cattle-breeding; home industry (Caucasian felt cloaks, goldsmithing); agriculture.

CD 795 RELIGION: Islam (Sunni).

7:Columbia U. S-4, 5 1956 RH1 ColumbiaRH1
DagestanRH8
Lak

## 24. LAK

C. D. 101 NAME: SELF-DESIGNATION: Lak; Lakuchū
RUSSIAN DESIGNATIONS: Laki, Kazikumukhtsy.
OTHER DESIGNATIONS: (Avar:) Tumaw, pl. Tumal; Lezgian: Yakholshu

C. D. 161 NUMBER: 1926 40,380 (Russian census, ethn.)
40,336 (Russian census, ling.)
1955 well over 55,000 (estimate, Zhirkov).

C. D. 162 LOCATION: Basin of the upper Tleuserakh, Khatar, and Kazikumukhskoe Koisu (rayons Lak and Kula, separate villages in rayons Tsudakhar, Akusha, Rutul, Kurakh, Charoda, and Dakhadaev). Since 1944 also in the valley of Yaryksu river (Novo-Lak rayon, Dagestan ASSR).

C. D. 197 LANGUAGE: Lak (laku maz) forms with the Dargwa group of languages the Lak-Dargwa subdivision of the NE Caucasian languages, which include also Veinakh, Avaro-Ando-Dido, Samurian, Khinalug, and Udi. Lak has the status of a literary language in the Dagestan ASSR; the written language is based on the Kumukh dialect.

C. D. 231 241 ●438 TRADITIONAL ECONOMY: Cattle-breeding; production of leather goods and pottery; metal-work (weapons); agriculture.

C. D. 795 RELIGION: Islam (Sunni).

7: Columbia U. S-4. 5 1956 RHI Caucasia RHI
Dagestan RH8
Dargin

C.D. 197 SUBDIVISIONS: Dialects: Akusha-(or Akkhusha-)Urakha and Tsudakhar, both with many sub-dialects.

C.S. 241 438 TRADITIONAL ECONOMY: Agriculture, home industry (pottery, leather work, tapestry-weaving, weapon-and tool-making).

C.R. 795 RELIGION: Islam (Sunni).

7:Columbia U. S-4, 5 1956 RH1 Caucasia RH1
Dagestan RH8
Lezgin

C.
D.
231 TRADITIONAL ECONOMY: Cattle-breeding;
241 agriculture; horticulture; home industry
●438 (tapesty-weaving, smith's craft).

C.
D.
795 RELIGION: Islam (Sunni).

## 29. AGUL

C. D. 101 NAME: SELF-DESIGNATION: Aghul, Aghulshuy
RUSSIAN DESIGNATION: Aguly

C. D. 161 NUMBER: 1926 7,653 (Russian census, ethn.)
7,653 (Russian census, ling.)

C. D. 162 LOCATION: Basin of upper Kurakh-chai and Gyulgeri-chai (Magudere), with affluents (rayons Agul and Kurakh, Dagestan ASSR).

C. D. 197 LANGUAGE: Agul (Aghul ch'al, Aghularin ch'al) forms with Lezgian, Rutul, Tsakhur, Tabasaran, Budukh, and Dzhek, the Samurian subdivision of the NE Caucasian language group. The language is not written, Lezgian being used as the literary language.

SUBDIVISIONS: Two dialects: Agul proper and Koshan.

C. D. 231 438 TRADITIONAL ECONOMY: Cattle breeding; home industry (production of cloth, tapestries, felt cloaks).

C. D. 795 RELIGION: Islam (Sunni).

## 30. RUTUL

C. D. 101 NAME: SELF-DESIGNATION: no general one; the inhabitants of the aul Rutul (Mykhád) call themselves Mykhâshura.
RUSSIAN DESIGNATION: Rutuly, Rutul'tsy.

C. D. 161 NUMBER: 1926 10,495 (Russian census, ethn.)
10, 356 (Russian census, ling.)

C. D. 162 LOCATION: Area of confluence of Samur and Kara-Samur (18 villages) (Rutul rayon; vill. Khnov in Akhty rayon (Dagestan ASSR); Shin and Kainar in Nukha rayon, Azerbaidzhan SSR).

C. D. 197 LANGUAGE: Rutul (Mykhánidy ch'äl) forms with Lezghian, Agul, Tsakhur, Tabasaran, Budukh, and Dzhek, the Samurian subdivision of the NE Caucasian language-group. The language is not written, Lezgian being used as the literary language.

C. D. 231 438 TRADITIONAL ECONOMY: Cattle-breeding; home industry (production of cloth, tapestries, felt cloaks).

C. D. 795 RELIGION: Islam (Sunni).

## 31. TSAKHUR

C. D. 101 NAME: SELF-DESIGNATION: No general one; inhabitants of aul Tsakhur (Ts'akhur) call themselves Ts'akhighan, pl. Ts'akhby.
RUSSIAN DESIGNATION: Tsakhury.

C. D. 161 NUMBER: 1926 19,085 (Russian census, ethn.)
10,951 (Russian census, ling.)

C. D. 162 LOCATION: Samur basin W of its confluence with the Kara-Samur (Tsakhur rayon, Dagestan ASSR); also on the S slopes of the Caucasus in the area of Elisu (Azerbaidzhan SSR).

C. D. 197 LANGUAGE: Tsakhur (Ts'akhbishda miz) forms with Lezgian, Agul, Rutul, Tabasaran, Budukh, and Dzhek, the Samurian subdivision of the NE Caucasian language-group. The language is not written, Avar being used as the literary language in the Daghestan ASSR, Azeri in the Azerbaidzhan SSR.

C. D. 231 438 TRADITIONAL ECONOMY: Cattle-breeding; home industry (production of cloth, tapestries, felt cloaks).

C. D. 795 RELIGION: Islam (Sunni).

## 32. TABASARAN

C. D. 101 NAME: SELF-DESIGNATION: Tabasaran zhvi, Tabarasan zhvi, Ghumghum zhvi.
RUSSIAN DESIGNATION: Tabasarantsy.

C. D. 161 NUMBER: 1926 31,983 (Russian census, ethn.)
29,726 (Russian census, ling.)

C. D. 162 LOCATION: Basin of Upper Rubas-chai and Upper Chirakh-chai (rayons Tabasaran and Khiv, Dagestan ASSR).

C. D. 197 LANGUAGE: Tabasaran (Tabasaran ch'al) forms with Lezgian, Agul, Rutul, Tsakhur, Budukh, and Dzhek, the Samurian subdivision of the NE Caucasian language-group. It has the status of a literary language in the Daghestan ASSR; the written language is based on the southern dialect.

SUBDIVISIONS: The language has two main dialects: North (Khanag) and South Tabasaran.

C. D. 241 438 TRADITIONAL ECONOMY: Agriculture; horticulture; home industry (weapon- and tool-making, silversmith's and coppersmith's work, tapestry-weaving).

C. D. 495 RELIGION: Islam (Sunni).

7: Columbia U. S-4, 5 1956 RHI Caucasia RHI
Armenia

197 LANGUAGE: Armenian (Hai lezu) constitutes a separate branch of the Indoeuropean language family. The language has an old literary tradition going back to the 5th century A. D., and a script of its own. This literary language is based on the dialect of Ararat; there is now also a literary tradition for the Western dialect-group.

SUBDIVISIONS: The Armenian dialects are subdivided into an Eastern (Ararat, Karabakh, etc.) and a Western (Erzurum, Hemshin, Istanbul, etc.) group, to which Adjarian adds a third branch including the dialects of Maragha, Khoy, and Artvin.

241
231 TRADITIONAL ECONOMY: Agriculture;
438 viniculture; in the mountains: cattle-breeding; commerce and art crafts.

795 RELIGION: Armenian-Gregorian; there are a Roman Catholic (Uniate) and a Protestant minority. The Khemshin (Hemshin, Hemshili) on the Black Sea coast near the Turkish border (629 in 1926, Russian census) are Muslim.

197 belong Persian and, in the Caucasus, Ossetian and Kurdish.

SUBDIVISIONS: Two main dialects, that of the Muslim and that of the Jewish Tat, the former divided into a number of sub-dialects.

241 TRADITIONAL ECONOMY: Agriculture;
438 horticulture; home crafts (tapestry-weaving, metal-work).

795 RELIGION: Part Muslim (Sunni), part Jewish.

7:Columbia U. S-4, 5 1956 RHl CaucasiaRHl

162 LOCATION: Geographical: Transcaucasia, Northern Caucasus along the Caspian Sea (northward as far as Derbent), northwestern Persia, southern Kurdistan (Iraq).

Political-Administrative: USSR: Azerbaidzhan SSR, Georgian SSR, Dagestan ASSR. Persia: Rizaiyeh, Azerbaijan, Khamseh, Kazvin, Ardelan provinces. Iraq: Erbil, Kirkuk, Sülaimaniya provinces.

197 LANGUAGE: Azeri Turkic; belongs to the Western Oghuz Turkic group and differs very little from Turkish and the Kashkay-Hamse languages; literary language since the 14th century; lingua franca in Transcaucasia, Dagestan ASSR, and northern Persia.

SUBDIVISIONS: Tribal: Settled Azeris; Nomadic Azeris (Iliyat). Dialectal: Northern (USSR); Southern (Persia).

244 231 438 TRADITIONAL ECONOMY: Agriculture; cattle-breeding; commerce; industry.

795 RELIGION: Islam (Shii, Sunni).

C. G. 231 241 beauty and stamina. Apiculture is also widespread among the Circassians; their beehives, contrary to those of the Georgians and Abkhaz, are similar to those found in Central Europe; they are made of bast or of plaited willow-twigs which are covered with clay or cow-dung.

C. D. 233 In Dagestan, stock-raising is preponderant (sheep, goats, cows, horses, donkeys, buffaloes). In winter, the herds are usually brought to the steppe-country in the South or to the Caspian coast area. C. D. 241 The southeast, i.e. the country of the Lezghi, is comparatively better suited for agriculture, but it is practiced even in the more elevated regions. Wheat, barley and millet are grown in small fields, situated on natural or artificial terraces, which often require artificial irrigation. C D [40] The ground is cultivated with a local kind of light plough called durats, puruts, etc. which only scrapes the soil superficially. As most of the fields require manuring, the constant removing of stones, and even restoring of the soil, which has to be carried up by hand, farming involves hard labor. C. D. 438 As the production of grain has never covered the needs of the population, home-industry is highly developed in Dagestan. C. D. [286] Everywhere the women do their own spinning and weaving. The spinning wheel is unknown; the looms for carpet-weaving differ from those for the weaving of coarse cloth out of homespun wool and of hemp-cloth used for sacks. Many crafts are practiced beyond the

C. D. 438 [287] Many crafts are practiced beyond the requirements of the household for interchange and even export, e. g. the production of black felt for the customary cloaks and of white felt for a local sort of foot-gear, of leather straps and belts, boots and saddles. Usually, a whole village specializes in a certain craft; at the end of the working season the products are loaded on horses, and a caravan of fifty or more men sets out into the plains to barter their goods for corn. C. D. [323] Pottery making is practiced mainly in the villages of Balkhar and Sulevkent; some villages specialize in blacksmithing, C. D. [324] others in the production of grave-plates and tombstones with chiselled ornaments and inscriptions. C. D. [326] The village of Kubachi is renowned far beyond Dagestan for its highly artistic metalwork (bronze founding and many kinds of inlay-work) which is based on ancient traditions.

631
178 Azerbaijan, for instance, is handled as a whole. The stock is driven from the winter pastures of Azerbaijan (used as a cotton growing area during the summer) and spends the summer months in Armenia. In the field of industry the Baku oilfields and oil industry are connected through pipelines with the oil industry of Batumi, in Georgia. Similarly, the Rustavi steel mills of the Georgian SSR depend on the iron ore of Dashkesan which is in Azerbaijan.

178 Industrialization in agriculture, stock-
438 raising, and forestry follows the general Soviet patterns. The Kolkhozes and Sovkhozes are predominant, some of them covering large areas like the Gigant (in Rostov Oblast). This centralization makes it easy for the central government to introduce new industrial crops, like tea or various rubber plants, into the South Caucasus, or spread the cultivation of rice or cotton in the North Caucasus. At the same time it presents the opportunity to transform the nomadic features of eastern Caucasian stock-raising into a more sedentary one. In the field of industry proper and related fields, industrialization went ahead with great strides when compared with the 1913 status. In the Czarist period the Caucasus had an oil industry (Baku, Groznyy, Maykop), a mining industry (Chiatura, Sadon and Kedabek), some copper smelters (in Alaverdi and Kafan), and some manufacturing industries (like the food industry in western North Caucasus, the fishing industry

178 along the Caspian coast, the cognac and wine
.438 industry around Yerevan). Soviet industrialization has added the coal mines at Tkvarcheli and Akhaltsikhe (in Georgia), all the thermoelectric and hydroelectric plants, the iron mines at Dashkesan, the molybdenum mines at Kadzharan, and the large centers of heavy metallurgy. The most important centers of ferrous metallurgy are Rustavi, and the ferramanganese works of Zestafoni (both in the Georgian Republic). Similarly the aluminum industry of Yerevan, based on the electric power of the area, is due to Soviet industrialization efforts. Construction of machinery (in the Czarist period mostly at Taganrog and Baku) also got a new impetus. Nowadays almost every city in the Caucasus is equipped with plants producing various kinds of machinery. Armavir, Maykop, Novorossiysk, Taganrog, and especially Rostov, produce agricultural machinery. The Rossel'mash plant in Rostov is the largest one in the USSR. Automobiles are produced in new plants in Kutaisi and Rostov, aircraft in Makhachkala, Rostov, Taganrog; electric locomotives in Novocherkassk. In shipbuilding the changes during the Soviet period have been less striking. Czarist Russia already had a traditional shipbuilding industry. The chemical industry, almost nonexistent in pre-Soviet periods (except around the Lake Baskunchak), has also received a new impetus. Armenia has a whole series of

178
438 chemical centers (Alaverdi, Kirovakan, Amamlu, Leninakan, Yerevan), and Yerevan and Baku are producing synthetic rubber. The textile industry and related fields, except for some silk industry and traditional nomadic rug weaving, were also almost non-existent in the Czarist period. Nowadays, one finds cotton ginning establishments along the Kura and Aras rivers and in or around the cotton growing areas of the North Caucasus (Khasavyurt, Budennovsk, Georgiyevsk, etc.). Cotton mills in Armenia, Azerbaijan, Dagestan, woolen mills along the southern and northern slopes of the Greater Caucasus, and some of the silk filatories and mills were established in recent periods. Textile and clothing mills, almost unknown during the Czarist period, have appeared in such centers as Leninakan. New industries are the large-scale leather, boot, and shoe factories, and the alunite mines at Zaglik, producing the necessary raw material for the tanning trade. Lumbering, sawmilling, woodworking and furniture plants represent also, at least in their present day form, a completely new industry in the Caucasus, as is the paper mill at Zugdidi. In the food industry the results of the Soviet industrialization policy are less striking. The North Caucasus even in the pre-Soviet period had a relatively well-developed food industry. Similarly the salt mines (Baskunchak, Nakhichevan'), producing one of the most important raw

178
438 materials of the food industry, were well exploited under the earlier regime. As a whole, however, one cannot compare the present day variety in food industry with that of Czarist Russia. The giant corn kombinat of Beslan producing starches, molasses, etc. symbolizes the results of the Soviet efforts in this field. The large number of oil presses in the North Caucasus, the sugar refineries in the South Caucasus, the fruit canning centers especially along the slopes of eastern North Caucasus, and the milk industry, centered mostly around the health resorts, were founded in general during the Soviet period. The fishing industry and fish-canning along the Caspian Sea coast and along the shores of the Sea of Azov reached their present size during the recent periods. The wine industry is an old industry in the Caucasus, but the tea industry is a Soviet creation. This new industry is centered in the subtropical western and eastern corners of the South Caucasus.

178
489 Of the related fields, transportation also shows the impact of the new Russian industrialization policy. On the eve of World War I, the Russian railroad system was inadequate. Of the present main lines, only the Baku-Rostov, the Novorossiysk-Tsaritsyn, and the Baku-Batum were in existence. There was also a trunk line connecting Dzhul'fa with Tiflis, and Astrakhan' with Saratov, and Stavropol' with Yekaterinodar. As against this,

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The Kuban' steppes are among the chief grain-producing regions

the USSR. The fertile black earth and sufficient rainfall favor the extensive cultivation of cereals such as wheat, barley, and corn, while of the industrial crops sunflower, cotton, *kenaf*, soy and castor beans are most important. Rice is grown in the swampy delta of the Kuban' River. In the drier eastern portion of the steppes and in the mountainous section of the Northern Caucasus the raising of livestock and allied activities are the main occupations of the rural population.

The industries are concerned primarily with the extraction and refining of petroleum (Groznyy, Makhachkala, and Maykop), the mining of polymetallic ores and molybdenum, and the production of hydroelectric power. In the steppes rural industries process the local products and produce vegetable oils, alcohol, sugar, and starches. Large cement mills at Novorossiysk are notable. Fishing and canning are well developed along the coast. An important role is played by health and tourist resorts, notably Kislovodsk and its satellites in the foothills of the Caucasus and the subtropical resorts of Sochi and Matsesta along the Black Sea littoral.

Two main rail lines serve the steppes of the region. Tikhoretsk is the junction for these two railways coming from Stalingrad and Rostov. The Stalingrad line passes through Krasnodar and on to the Black Sea port of Novorossiysk, while the Rostov trunk railroad runs parallel to the northern foothills of the Greater Caucasus and along the Caspian Sea to Baku. A line branching off at Armavir reaches the Black Sea oil port of Tuapse and continues along the coast past Sochi to the Georgian SSR through a rail link completed during the Second World War. Transportation across the Greater Caucasus range is maintained by three important highways: the Sukhumi military road (Cherkessk-Sukhumi), the Ossetian military road (Alagir-Kutaisi), and the Georgian military road (Dzaudzhikau-Tbilisi).

## Rostov Oblast

Capital, Rostov on the Don; Area, 40,300, population, 2,550,000

Rostov Oblast is astride of the lower Don River, within the bend of the river in proximity to the Volga near Stalingrad. The southern section of the oblast is drained mainly by the Sal and the Manych, two left affluents of the Don. According to its relief, the region may be divided into the eastern end of the Donets ridge, the southeastern outliers of the Central Russian upland in the north and the wide Don steppe in the south.

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Caucasia RH1



in a southwestern suburb of Krasnyy Sulin. The former plays an important role in the mechanization of the coal-mining operations. Before the Second World War, more than 10 percent of the Donbas coal was mined within Rostov Oblast.

On the basis of the coal resources, heavy industry is operating metallurgical plants at Taganrog and Krasnyy Sulin. Rostov is the home of *Rossel'mash*, the largest agricultural machinery plant of the USSR. Agricultural implements are also manufactured at Morozovsk. Other centers engaged in the production of machinery and metal products are Taganrog, Novocherkassk, Glubokiy, and Likhovskoy (at Likhaya station).

In the northern grain-growing district, wheat and sunflower are the dominant crops. Toward the southeast, barley and mustard become important; further on, toward the Caspian Lowland, the emphasis shifts to stock raising. Horses and meat cattle are gradually replaced by sheep in the drier areas. Cotton is grown to some extent in the south and the southeast. Several Cossack villages along the Don River, notably Tsimlyanskaya and Razdorskaya, have extensive vineyards. In a wide zone through the urban and heavily industrialized section of Taganrog-Rostov-Shakhty, truck gardening and the raising of dairy cattle are the principal agricultural activities. The principal agricultural centers are Millerovo and Chertkovo in the north and Sal'sk (with near-by Gigant state farm, one of the largest grain farms of the USSR) in the southeast. These and other towns throughout the oblast mill flour, extract sunflower oil, and process tobacco. The fish catch of the Don delta and adjacent Taganrog Gulf is processed at Azov, a small port southwest of Rostov.

Rostov Oblast is settled by Russians and a Ukrainian minority. Prior to the Second World War some Kalmyk elements were organized into a Kalmyk national rayon, northwest of Zimovniki. In 1944, following the abrogation of the Kalmyk Autonomous SSR, the rayon was also abrogated, and presumably the population was resettled elsewhere. In this connection, Rostov Oblast also acquired the westernmost section of the former Kalmyk Autonomous SSR.

Rostov lies on the elevated, right bank of the Don River at the head of the delta. Thanks to its favorable location at the junction of trade routes between the Black Sea, the Volga, the Ukraine, the European Center, and the Northern Caucasus, it developed early into an important commercial center and transportation hub. With the construction of the

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Caucasia RH1

 SU

*Rossel'mash* agricultural machinery works, the city became an industrial 438*
center of first rank. It is the site of an auto-assembly plant, airplane 361
factory, shipyards and machine-tool works, and produces a wide range C
of products, including foods (flour, vegetable oil, meat, canned goods), 438
paints, cement, glass, shoes, furniture, and cigarettes. The city suffered 361
considerably during the Second World War. Across the Don River lies Bataysk, a rail junction and aircraft center with two large airfields and repair shops. Northeast of Rostov, on the Aksay, a branch of the Don, lies the former center of the Don Cossacks, Novocherkassk, at present a machine-manufacturing city, with locomotive works.

Taganrog, the second city of the oblast, is a major coal and grain-shipping port on the Sea of Azov. A foremost industrial center, it has metallurgical and pipe-rolling mills, one of the largest boiler works of the USSR, and produces machines for the food and chemical industries. It manufactures agricultural implements, instruments, and shoes, and has an extensive food-processing industry. Shipbuilding and aircraft manufacturing are also important.

Kamensk-Shakhtinskiy, on the Northern Donets River and the Voronezh-Rostov railroad, has chemical works and lumber mills and produces flour and alcohol.

Shakhty (formerly called Aleksandrovsk-Grushevskiy) is the largest coal-mining center in this section of the Donets Basin. It has a 90,000 kw. power station in its eastern suburb of Artemovskiy, textile, leather and food industries. Its southern suburb, Kamenolomni, has stone quarries (for which it is named) and metalworks. Another coal-mining center, Novoshakhtinsk (until 1939, Komintern), lies west of Shakhty.

## Krasnodar Kray

**Capital, Krasnodar; area, 82,800, population, 3,000,000** SU

Krasnodar Kray occupies the western section of the Northern Caucasus 131
adjoining the Sea of Azov and includes a short section of Transcau- C
casia along the Black Sea littoral. The presence within a relatively 131
restricted area of maritime and high-altitude influences bring about a great variety of natural conditions and economic activities. Thus, the forested slopes of the Greater Caucasus are in sharp contrast to the treeless level steppes beyond the Kuban' River, and the subtropical Black Sea coast, protected from the northerly winter winds, is opposed to the continental climate of the remainder of the region.

The entire kray, with the exception of the mountains in the south and ...

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Caucasia RH1



Sal steppes, where because of the dry conditions only sheep and horses can be successfully reared. SU 241 C 241

The rich agricultural production of the Kuban' lowlands is processed at a number of centers, chiefly Krasnodar, Armavir, Kropotkin, and Labinsk. Of great importance are oil presses, canneries, flour mills, and tobacco factories.

The Black Sea littoral is characterized by a humid, maritime climate, luxuriant natural vegetation, mineral springs, and a picturesque location between the mountains and the sea. These factors combine to make the area provide garden crops and health resorts. Because of the limited land area under cultivation and the presence of resorts (Sochi, Matsesta, and Anapa), the growing of vegetables, fruits, vineyards, and dairy farming receive priority. Tobacco, southern hemp, oil-bearing plants are also cultivated. Flower gardens and decorative plants are common. Wine is made chiefly at Anapa, at Abrau-Dyurso near Novorossiysk, and at Solntsedar [gift of the sun], just west of Gelendzhik. Gelendzhik itself is an important dairying center. Tea is processed at Dagomys, northwest of Sochi.

The Kuban'-Black Sea petroleum region (near Maykop) is centered in Neftegorsk [oil mountain] and Apsheronsk (named for the oil-rich Apsheron peninsula). Near by are the oil towns of Khadyzhenskiy and recently-opened Kutais. Another field has been developed at Il'skiy, southwest of Krasnodar. Prior to the Second World War this region was one of the most rapidly developing petroleum areas of the USSR; it had a tenfold increase in production under the Soviet regime. Destruction caused by the war has, however, been responsible for a considerable setback in output. SU 315 C 315

The basic transportation routes are the Rostov-Baku and Novorossiysk-Stalingrad railroads, their junction being at Tikhoretsk, a major rail center with extensive yards and shops. Short branch lines serve most sections of the region. During the Second World War the opening of the Black Sea littoral railroad between Adler and Sukhumi (Georgian SSR) established another vital link across the Greater Caucasus to the Transcaucasian republics. Coastal steamers serve the Black Sea shore, stopping at Sochi, Tuapse, and Novorossiysk, the most important ports. SU 496 C 496

Krasnodar, formerly called Yekaterinodar, lies on the right bank of the Kuban', in the middle of the fertile black-earth agricultural area. Once the capital of the Kuban' Cossacks, it has oil-refining and metalworking industries. It is a major food-processing and rail center, having SU 438 341 C 438 361

23: Shabad N-4 (no date) 1951 R1 Soviet Union R1
Caucasia RH1
Adige RH4



SU 438* 361 C 438 361 dairying, tobacco, distilling, canning, flour, and meat-packing plants. Steel tubing and telephone equipment are also manufactured. Surrounding the city are some of the principal jute-producing lands of the USSR.

Novorossiysk is a well-equipped Black Sea port on Tsemes Bay and the principal cement-milling center of the USSR. It ships the wheat of the Kuban' area and lies amidst such well-known resorts as Anapa, to the northwest, and Kabardinka and Gelendzhik, to the southeast. West of the city is the famous champagne center of Abrau-Dyurso. Novorossiysk produces agricultural machinery, bicycles, furniture, textiles, and flour. Grain elevators and oil tanks lie in the harbor area. The cement mills ("Krasnyy Oktyabr'" and "Krasnyy Proletariy") lie in the suburb Standart, north of the Tsemes Bay. Other mills lie in the towns of Verkhne-Bakanskaya and Gayduk, northwest of Novorossiysk.

Tuapse, another major port on the Black Sea, rivals Batumi in the shipping and refining of petroleum. Surrounded by orchards and vineyards, it is the terminus of an oil pipe line from Groznyy and Neftegorsk. It produces large amounts of fuel oil, which serves as the principal power source for electric stations throughout the region. Shipbuilding and the manufacture of machines for the petroleum industry are also important.

SU 529 C 529 Sochi is the most popular health resort on the Black Sea coast. It is the site of numerous sanitariums and an experimental station for subtropical agriculture. To the southeast lie the satellite resorts of Matsesta (sulphur springs) and Khosta. It became a city of republic rank in 1948.

SU 438* C 529 Other important centers of Krasnodar Kray are Armavir, with food (meat, flour, sunflower oil) and agricultural machinery industries, Yeysk, a fishing port having canning and meat-packing plants, and Kropotkin (food products).

SU 131 162 A 131 162 Adyge Autonomous Oblast (capital, Maykop; area, 1,700, population, 300,000) is located on the middle Kuban' River, between its left affluents, the Laba and the Belaya. It was formed in 1922 and is one of the few remaining settlement areas of the Cherkess, or Circassian, ethnic group. The population, which is about 45 percent Cherkess or Adyge (the designation applied by the people to themselves), is for the remainder evenly divided among the Russian and the Ukrainian groups. The rural economy rests chiefly on the cultivation of winter wheat, sunflowers, and tobacco. Horse breeding is also engaged in.

000 Maykop, on the Belaya River, at the north foot of the Caucasus, is

23: Shabad N-4 (no date) 1951 Rl Soviet Union Rl
Caucasia RH1



SU 631 928 C 631 728

persed and resettled, and the Karachay lost official recognition. The autonomous unit was abolished. Its major portion, including the capital, Mikoyan-Shakhar, now Klukhori, and the resort Teberda, and the village Uchkulan, now Madniskhevi, were ceded to the Georgian SSR, the strip along the upper Laba River passed to Krasnodar Kray; another portion, including the village Pregradnaya, was annexed to Cherkess Autonomous Oblast; the remainder became part of Stavropol' Kray proper.

SU 241 C 241

The climatic and soil conditions of the region are favorable to the development of grain farming and the raising of livestock for wool and meat, activities which prevail for similar reasons in the dry steppes of the Lower Volga Region, in northern Kazakhstan, and in Western Siberia. The main crops are winter wheat, sunflowers in the west, and cotton in the east. In the section bordering on the upper and middle Kuma River, irrigated farming is devoted to the raising of orchards, garden crops, and vineyards, the latter particularly in the Budennovsk–Georgiyevsk area. With the construction of the Nevinnomyssk Canal, to be completed during the current Five-Year Plan, the glacier-fed Kuban' River will be linked with the Yegorlyk, an affluent of the Manych, and new areas will be put under irrigation in the western part of Stavropol' Kray. Truck produce is grown intensively in the relatively urban areas of the health resorts (Pyatigorsk, Kislovodsk, and others) in the south and in the southwestern mountain area garden and dairy farming is carried on. In the northern and eastern steppes the raising of sheep is most important. On specially organized state farms two major breeds predominate: the merino sheep for the production of fine wool and the *volosh* sheep, which furnishes meat and coarse wool. The Alpine pastures in the southwest support the so-called Karachay sheep, which also is used mainly for meat. Dairy cattle are raised in the health resort district, and hogs and horses on the mountains slopes.

SU 236 C 236

SU [135] C [135] SU 438* C 438

The mineral resources of the region consist only of coal, which is worked in small amounts at Khumarinskoye and Ordzhonikidzevskiy, just north of Klukhori, of raw material for the chemical industry of Cherkess Autonomous Oblast, and of the mineral springs in the Pyatigorsk-Kislovodsk area. The products of agriculture and of the pastoral economy are partly processed within the region; some are exported in semi-processed form to other areas of the USSR. The principal export items are grain, vegetable oil, meat, tallow, dairy products, raw wool, fruits, and vegetables. The local industries are scattered

23: Shabad N-4 (no date) 1951 R1 Soviet Union R1
Caucasia RH1



throughout the region and are especially concentrated at Stavropol', Georgiyevsk, Nevinnomyssk, and Budennovsk, where flour milling, oil pressing, canning, dairying, wool washing, cotton ginning, and wine making are the principal activities.

Of special importance in the economy of the region are the health and tourist resorts. One of the most important resort areas of the USSR lies in the foothills of the Greater Caucasus. There the resort cities of Zheleznovodsk (ferruginous springs), Pyatigorsk, Yessentuki, and Kislovodsk are linked by an electrified branch with the main Rostov-Baku railroad at Mineral'nyye Vody. The bottling of mineral waters is a major export industry.

For communications the region relies chiefly on the Rostov-Baku trunk line, from which branches penetrate into the remote sections to Divnoye, Blagodarnoye, Budennovsk, and into the foothills of the Caucasus to Ust'-Dzhegutinskaya and Kislovodsk. The Sukhumi military road, one of the three pass roads through the mountains, continues from the Nevinnomyssk-Cherkessk-Ust'-Dzhegutinskaya rail branch through the valley of the Kuban' and the Teberda rivers, and enters the territory of the Georgian SSR at Klukhori. Of extreme importance for the future development of the region will be the final realization of the Manych Canal project linking the Caspian and the Black seas. Prior to the Second World War, the waterway had been canalized for a distance of over 150 miles eastward to the area of Divnoye. Due to destruction caused by the war, several reservoirs were emptied, and the canal installations fell into disuse. Small-scale reconstruction has been undertaken since the war; however, the completion of the project will have to await a future Plan.

Stavropol', the center of the kray, was known as Voroshilovsk from c. 1935 until 1943. It lies in the chief grain area of the region and has flour mills, a meat-packing plant, wool and leather industries, and produces chemicals and lumbering machinery. The vicinity of the city will benefit immeasurably from the new Nevinnomyssk Canal which will provide irrigation to this drought-ridden section.

Pyatigorsk, in the midst of five mountains (whence its name), of which the Besh-Tau and the Mashuk are best known, is the center of the four resort cities of the Northern Caucasus. Its warm sulphur springs and mud baths are much frequented. Next in size is Kislovodsk, at an elevation of 2,695 feet, with carbonated springs. Yessentuki, west of Pyatigorsk, has salt and alkaline springs, and Zheleznovodsk, to the

23: Shabad N-4 (no date) 1951 R1 Soviet Union R1
Caucasia RH1
Cherkess RH5
Kabardin RH6



SU 438* Ca ●438

north, ferruginous springs. In addition to their importance as health resorts, these four cities are centers of light industry, producing radio apparatus (Pyatigorsk), bottled mineral water (Yessentuki), and food products.

SU 631 162 Cs 631 162

The Cherkess Autonomous Oblast (capital, Cherkessk; area, 1,540; population, 100,000) lies along the upper Kuban' River and extends southwestward to the Urup, an affluent of the Kuban'. It was formed in 1926 as a national okrug, following the dissolution of the Karachay-Cherkess Autonomous Oblast (formed originally in 1922), and reached the status of autonomous oblast in 1928. Its population includes several related elements of the Cherkess, or Circassian, ethnic group, including the Kabardinians (who comprise one third of the total population), the Abaza (30 percent), and the Adyge branch of the Cherkess (7 percent). There are also Nogay Tatars (over 15 percent), Russians, and Ukrainians.

SU 438* CS 438

In the northern steppe the economy is based on grain farming, and in the southern foothills on livestock raising. Lumbering is carried on in the mountains in the south. Most of the industry is concentrated in the capital, Cherkessk.

Cherkessk was formerly known as Batalpashinsk; during the late 1930's it was called briefly Sulimov, and, after 1937, Yezhovo-Cherkessk, until the purge of Yezhov, in 1939. It has motor repair shops and chemical works (ammonium sulphate), and produces shoes, furniture, and clothing.

## Kabardinian Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic

Capital, Nal'chik; area, 4,600, population, 300,000

SU 131 K 131

The Kabardinian Autonomous SSR includes the basins of the left affluents of the Terek River, notably the Malka and its branch, the Baksan, and extends from the upper courses of these mountain torrents to the Terek proper in the area where it makes its sharp turn toward the east. From the standpoint of physical geography, the republic includes three separate sections. In the south lies the highest part of the Greater Caucasus, with its glaciated peaks extending eastward from the area of Mount El'brus and including the peaks of Dykh-Tau, Koshtan-Tau, and Shchara, an unsettled, roadless mountain wilderness. The central portion comprises the slopes of the Caucasus, where the population is concentrated in the narrow gorges of the mountain streams flowing to the

Until 1936 Transcaucasia formed a single political unit: the Transcaucasian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic, then one of the union republics of the USSR. With the promulgation of the 1936 Constitution, this federated republic was split up into its primary components based on the three principal nationalities: Armenian, Azerbaijan, and Georgian SSR's. Minor nationalities, such as Abkhaz, Adzhars, and Ossetians, are organized into lesser autonomous units such as autonomous SSR's or autonomous oblasts.

Petroleum is the most important single asset of Transcaucasia. The Baku oil region of world-wide significance is the principal petroleum producer of the USSR, furnishing more than one half the total output. Pipe lines for crude oil, kerosene, and other petroleum products lead from Baku across the entire region to Batumi on the Black Sea, next to Baku, the principal oil port and refining center of Transcaucasia. Before the Second World War the petroleum industry accounted for two fifths of all factory workers, two thirds of the use of electric energy, more than one half the industrial production, and almost two thirds of the exports of Transcaucasia. Since then, however, the creation of new industries and the increase of electric power sources have reduced the relative importance of this branch of the economy. Among the other important power resources are the coal mines of Tkibuli and Tkvarcheli in Georgia, especially the reserves of hydroelectric power, which equal the reserves of the European part of the USSR. Among the most important metal deposits are the manganese mines of Chiatura (Georgia), the second largest in the world, copper in Armenia, and iron in Azerbaijan.

Manufacturing industries are mainly devoted to the processing of the local agricultural products: fruit canning, wine-making, distilling, and cotton ginning. Azerbaijan has a well-developed textile industry, and many of the precious woods are used in wood-working plants. Heavy metallurgy is represented by the steel mills of Rustavi (Georgia) and the ferro-manganese works of Zestafoni (Georgia), and there are machinery plants in many of the large cities. Chemicals and cement are also produced.

In connection with the varied natural conditions and under the influence of the vertical zoning in the mountains, all rural economy forms are represented—from orchard farming in the irrigated sections to nomadic livestock raising in the drier areas. The land is divided according to usability as follows: one fifth is arid, due to the presence of rocks, sands, or marshes; another fifth is forested; more than one third is

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extremity of Burun Tabia, which is the western point of the bay.

The harbours, though approachable in all weathers, are exposed to the violence of south-westerly gales; and in 1910 the British Consul stated that complaints were general with regard to their unsafe condition. In 1911, on the subsidence of one of the moles, a scheme was framed which comprised considerable extensions and improvements. The funds provided by the Congress of Harbour Authorities were at first insufficient, but in 1913 the sum of £750,000 was provisionally assigned. The preliminary work and surveys were completed by June of the following year, but on the outbreak of war the undertaking had to be abandoned.

The dangers incurred by shipping in bad weather and the inadequacy of the port to deal with increased traffic resulting from the manganese trade have for years impeded the commercial development of Batum. From 1878 to 1886, however, it enjoyed eight years of exceptional prosperity as a 'free port'. Even after the withdrawal of this privilege in 1886, the petroleum export maintained trade at a high level until the labour disturbances of 1903–5, from the disastrous effects of which the port has not yet recovered. The total value of its trade in 1913 was £5,134,732, of which £4,552,200 represented exports and £582,532 imports. Coasting trade, carried on exclusively by Russian ships, was very prosperous in that year.

*Gagri* is an open roadstead, providing anchorage for small vessels in 5–6 fathoms. The Government had in contemplation a scheme to build a harbour of refuge there, for which a sum of £211,000 was assigned in 1913.

*Gelendjik Bay*, which is 2½ miles long and 1½ miles deep, is sheltered from the violent north-east winds. Light vessels find good anchorage in 12 ft. of water.

The open roadstead at *Gudaut* is used by coasters only.

*Novorossiisk* harbour has been artificially formed by the construction of two moles, each half a mile long. On

504 [413] the shore front there are 7 piers with depths varying from 19 to 29 ft. at their outer ends. Five of these piers are owned by the Vladikavkaz Railway Company, one by the Russian Steam Navigation and Trading Company, and one by the Russian Standard Oil Company, and all are connected by double lines of rail with the terminus railway station. There is also on the south-west of the harbour a mole, used by coasters, with a depth of 23 ft. alongside. Altogether, there are berths for about 22 steamers.

In autumn and winter anchorage at the head of the bay is rendered very unsafe by the *bora*, a violent north-easterly wind which then prevails; vessels are sometimes unable even to enter.

The harbour is lit by electric light and there are ample loading facilities. The Vladikavkaz Railway storehouses can take 70,000 tons of grain. An iron foundry close to the harbour makes marine boilers and executes repairs.

[439] Novorossiisk has a considerable export trade in grain and mineral oil, amounting to about £5,000,000 a year in value. The imports are inconsiderable, and consist chiefly of machinery, hardware, and coal.

*Poti* harbour affords safe protection to shipping, but is practically unapproachable in bad weather. An outer and inner basin are formed by two moles built of concrete blocks. Another mole in the middle of the outer basin carries two lines of rails and several large sheds. In the inner basin there are berths for eight or ten steamers and an elevator for loading manganese. The length of quayage is 1,500 yds.

[439] In 1913 the value of the exports, of which manganese was by far the most important, was £835,972, whilst the value of the imports for the same year was only £7,350.

*Sochi* is used by sailing vessels, which anchor off Sochi town in 16 fathoms. Steam vessels are able to anchor closer inshore. Sochi was included in the Government scheme for the construction of ports of refuge on this coast.

504 Bailov, and on the east by the Kargin Islands, which lie at the entrance to the bay, 7 miles out at sea. A line of quays extends 4 miles, and there are 14 piers, owned by various shipping companies, each company [655] having its own wharf, warehouses, and offices. In 1914 the State assigned £100,000 for the building of other wharves, although there was already ample accommodation for the steamers engaged in oil transport and in the Transcaspian trade. At Cape Bailov there is a capacious dock.

*Derbent* (Derbend), 154 miles to the north-west of Baku, is an open roadstead, affording no protection from the north and south-east winds, which blow with great violence at certain seasons. There are no harbour facilities, but various shipping lines visit the port regularly. There is a considerable local trade in fish.

*Lenkoran*, on a shallow bay, offers only exposed and indifferent anchorage. Large ships lie 3 miles out to sea. There is a considerable trade in boxwood.

*Petrovsk*, 81 miles north-west of Derbent, has a fair harbour, formed by a curved stone mole, 500 yds. long, on the south. There is a wooden pier on the north, and both mole and pier are connected by lines of rails with the railway station. There are berths for about 10 steamers. The quays and wharves are lit with electric light. The port is closed by ice in January only, and in the winter months, when the Volga is [439] frozen, Petrovsk does a considerable transit trade between Russia in Europe on the one side and Persia and Transcaspia on the other. It also exports oil from Grozni to the Volga. All the Caspian Sea steamship companies call at Petrovsk regularly.

### (b) *Shipping Lines*

505 (i) *Russian.*—The Russian Steam Navigation and [4-11] Trading Co. had almost a monopoly of the Black Sea shipping services, and, under a contract due to expire in 1928, received an annual subsidy of £98,000 from the State. It had piers at the ports of Batum and

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231 wool production was 14,946 tons in 1908, 13,339 tons
236 in 1909, and 17,356 tons, of which 16,473 tons were fine wool and 883 tons coarse, in 1913. The nomad Kurds, the Tatars, the Ossetes, the Svanetians, the Kabards, and the Abkhasians live principally by their flocks and herds, which they raise by primitive methods. Part of the wool crop is sold in the Tatar camps at shearing time to local carpet-weavers; part is exported.

231 *Honey* and *wax* are obtained throughout the Caucasus. In 1912 there were 26,000 apiaries, containing nearly 600,000 hives, and the production was 2,500 tons of honey and 300 tons of wax, most of which was consumed locally.

*Silk.*—Mulberry-trees are grown on the lower slopes of the Transcaucasian mountains, and the silkworm industry, after a period of depression due to the spread of disease amongst the silkworms, has developed greatly of late years, especially in the Governments of Tiflis, Erivan, Elisavetopol, and Kutais. In the Baku Government, where it was once widespread, the industry is only continued to any considerable extent in the district of Geokchai. Much of the output, which in 1914 amounted to over 5,000 tons, is normally con-
[439] sumed in local silk manufactures. Silkworm eggs were imported, principally from Turkey and Italy, and were strictly examined by the Imperial Agricultural Society at Tiflis. The failure of the Turkish supply after 1914 adversely affected subsequent cocoon crops.

### (*b*) *Methods of Cultivation*

242 Ciscaucasia is far in advance of Transcaucasia in respect of agricultural methods, a fact due in part to the more enterprising character of the Cossack population and in part to the less isolated geographical position of the northern provinces. In both divisions of the country, however, there has in recent years been a notable advance in agricultural science, evidenced by the rapid development of co-operation. Whereas in 1909 there were 100 agricultural associations in the

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312 and 20,000 settlers planted. These improvements had cost £425,000 up to 1914. The water for irrigation was to be obtained chiefly by controlling the rivers Aras and Kura, which in their lower reaches overflow their banks and form permanent marshes. The question of the regulation of all the principal rivers of the country was being officially studied.

### (c) *Forestry*

137 [659] The total area of forest land in Caucasia cannot be stated with certainty. The extent of the forests under the control of the Ministry of Forests was 12,218,000 acres, or about 11 per cent. of the total area of the country and rather more than half of its cultivated area. Kasperowicz[1] puts the total at 16,000,000 acres, and specifies as being favourably situated for commercial exploitation, 1,372,000 acres in Tiflis and Zakatali, 1,008,000 in Elisavetopol, 863,000 in Chernomoria, 807,000 in Kuban, 705,000 in Terek, 647,000 in Batum, 453,000 in Kutais, and 417,000 in Sukhum. The largest tracts of virgin forest are to be found on the mountain slopes of the Black Sea coast; there is a large forest north of Lake Gokcha, and another in the east of Elisavetopol Government; the middle course of the Kura is wooded throughout, and there are considerable forests in the Armenian Highlands. The best exploited forests in Transcaucasia are those in the Ateni valley near Gori, in the Adzhamer valley near Rion, and at Borzhom—all to the west of Tiflis or the east of Kutais.

The trees include walnut, box, beech, oak, birch, Caucasus palm, wych-elm, pine, alder, &c., of which the first five are the most valuable. The walnut and box tree grow extensively in Transcaucasia; their [439] timber formed a valuable article of export, but the quantities exported are declining, since the remaining walnut forests are remote from railways, and the boxwood is being held back to await more favourable

[1] Raffalovich, *Russia: its Trade and Commerce*, p. 94.

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317 to unscientific methods of removal. Much ore is con-
[364] sequently wasted. Since 1909 an increasing amount of ore has been washed for the preparation of ferro-manganese, and this has resulted in the serious pollution of the River Kvirili, which runs through the mining district. Regulations have been made to control the practice of discharging refuse into the river, and plans formed to collect the refuse-laden water in an artificial basin, where it could be purified and utilized for generating electric power to be employed in the ferro-manganese furnaces. Little improvement, however, had been effected by 1914.

[471] Many small native firms are occupied in manganese-mining. A little before the war foreign capitalists were acquiring manganese-bearing land, which is usually leased in small lots of from half an acre to 50 acres in extent; about 1910 there was an extensive acquisition of unworked land by German firms. The recent tendency has been for the control of the industry to pass from small to large concerns.

There was a heavy slump in manganese just before 1908, but since that year the output has greatly increased: in 1910 it amounted to 548,300 metric tons; in 1911 it fell again to 451,600 metric tons, but in 1912 it rose to the high figure of 913,500 metric tons, and in
[439] 1913 to 1,051,500 metric tons. Nearly the whole output is exported; export figures are given on pp. 83 and 84. The trade was very heavily hit by the war.

Chiaturi competes with India and Brazil for pride of place as supplier of manganese to the world. It has, however, been handicapped by difficulties of transport, though favoured to some extent in the matter of freight rates. The Sharopan–Sachkeri rail-
[492] way lies some distance from the mines, and the ore has to be conveyed in carts or on pack animals to the station, whence further carriage to Poti or Batum is both slow and expensive. The Association of Manganese Producers (see p. 79) had up to 1914 failed to secure from the State anything beyond promises of improvement.

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district); at Dzansul copper mines (1,000 horse-377
power); and two at Erivan.

Smaller electric plants are to be found at New Athos Monastery (at Goro); at Borzhom, on the Grand Ducal estates; and at Akhalkalaki, in private hands.

The electric power-stations on the Baku oil-fields have already been mentioned (see p. 73).

The water-power offered by the rapid streams of the 376
Caucasus has hitherto been almost entirely neglected, but in 1914 an important scheme was set on foot for the erection of two large power-stations, one on the Terek at Kazbek on the Georgian Military Road, and the other at Elenoffka, in Erivan, utilizing the waters of Lake Gokcha. The concession for the erection of [471] turbines and generators for supplying power to all the industrial centres of Caucasia as well as for the lighting of cities was granted to a British company, and preliminary work had been carried out by August 1914.

A scheme was also under discussion in 1913 and 1914 for utilizing the refuse-laden overflow of the River Kvirili for generating electric power to be used in ferro-manganese furnaces.

## (C) COMMERCE

### (1) Domestic

#### (a) *Towns, Markets, and Fairs*

*Baku*, besides being the refining centre for the oil 361
produced in the neighbouring fields, is also a distribut- 439
ing centre for the imports of Central Persia and Transcaspia. The volume of trade which passed through Baku to and from Persia and Russian Central Asia in 1912 amounted to over 5,000,000 tons, and was steadily increasing in 1914 at the expense of that of the trans-Armenian and trans-Mesopotamian routes. The popu- [161] lation of Baku and the adjacent oil-fields in 1914 amounted to nearly 380,000. In 1909 the municipality 361
raised a loan of £2,842,000 (of which £1,300,000 was 653

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British capital has played an important part in various other public enterprises. 315 471

Certain minor commercial undertakings, such as pottery-making at Tiflis, wine-growing in Terek, and timber exploitation in the Rion district, are in Italian hands.

### (*d*) *Methods of Economic Penetration*

For some years past the Germans have adopted their usual business methods with success in the Caucasus.[1] They appointed agents who spoke Russian fluently, and who were invested with full powers to act for the firms they represented. A single firm frequently offered widely varying lines of goods, of which the agents could produce samples. All catalogues and price-lists were printed with Russian quotations in the Russian currency, and were therefore much more popular than those of British firms, which were invariably presented in English only, with prices quoted in English money. 431

The nearest British agencies were at Rostov-on-Don. British firms were unwilling to give the credit expected by Russian merchants, and appeared indifferent to local prejudices and preferences in regard to the nature of goods to be supplied. They were, therefore, at a disadvantage in competing with the more enterprising German. In certain lines of goods, such as ready-made clothes, haberdashery, boots and shoes, drugs, all kinds of fancy goods and stationery, Germany and Austria-Hungary held the market; and they were beginning to encroach on the steel, agricultural machinery, engine, and motor trades, once almost exclusively British.

## (2) Trade with Russia

Most of the manufactured goods required by Caucasia are supplied by Russia, the chief exceptions being machinery and other metal goods; produce of various

[1] In 1916 a German-Georgian society was established in order to cultivate economic intercourse between the two countries.

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● 439 kinds is sent in exchange. Ciscaucasia, indeed, produces little that cannot be obtained in other parts of the Empire, except the oil of Grozni and Maikop; but Transcaucasia is in somewhat the same relation to Russia as a sub-tropical colony to a northern mother country.

Russia now takes by far the greater part of the Caucasian oil output. At one time no more went thither than was shipped to foreign countries, but the labour troubles of 1905 combined with the competition of America to deprive Baku of its market not only in China and Japan but even in Arabia and Mesopotamia. Compensation for this loss has, however, been found in the increased demand from Russia. In 1913, out of 6,000,000 tons of oil products sent out of Caucasia, 5,000,000 tons went to Russia. Of these, at least 3,000,000 were residuum, which is used as fuel for steamers, locomotives, and factory boilers; 1,000,000 were crude oil; and 1,000,000 refined oil. The export to foreign countries, on the other hand, consisted almost exclusively of lubricating and illuminating oil.

Other commodities which Caucasia sends to Russia are copper, tobacco, wine, raw silk and cocoons, wool, cotton, and fruit. In the case of tobacco, cocoons, and wool, there is also a foreign export, but it is small in comparison. Russia also takes practically all the cement[1] which is shipped from Novorossiisk, and probably the greater part of the live-stock.

### (3) Foreign

#### (*a*) *Exports*

It is not easy to come to any conclusion as to the value of the export trade of Caucasia immediately before the war. No statistics are available for shipments from the smaller ports or for overland trade with Turkey and Persia, but it is unlikely that either was of considerable value. A more serious difficulty is with regard to the value of trade passing through the

[1] 234.000 tons in 1910; 301,000 tons in 1912.

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three chief ports—Batum, Novorossiisk, and Poti. 439 The latest year for which complete figures are available is 1908, when exports from Batum amounted in value to £3,242,138, from Novorossiisk to £2,957,686, and from Poti to £478,345, so that the total value was £6,678,169. In 1913 the total exports from Batum and Poti amounted in value to £5,388,172. A moderate estimate for the export trade of all three ports in that year would be about £14,000,000. If sales to Russia were reckoned as part of the export trade, its total value would hardly have been less than £30,000,000.

The following table shows the value of the principal exports from the three chief ports in 1908:

| *Article.* | *Batum.* | *Novorossiisk.* | *Poti.* | *Total.* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | £ | £ | £ | £ |
| Carpets | 36,000 | — | — | 36,000 |
| Cement | — | 26,533 | — | 26,533 |
| Grain and flour | 40,402 | 1,573,197 | 12,735 | 1,626,334 |
| Liquorice | 93,765 | 37,687 | — | 131,452 |
| Manganese | 11,130 | — | 458,250 | 469,380 |
| Oil products | 2,441,649 | 363,747 | — | 2,805,396 |
| Oil-cake | 19,334 | 626,900 | — | 646,234 |
| Potash | — | 68,632 | — | 68,632 |
| Seeds (linseed and sunflower) | — | 77,574 | — | 77,574 |
| Silk and cocoons | 87,000 | — | — | 87,000 |
| Timber | 348,200 | 47,975 | 6,190 | 402,365 |
| Tobacco | — | 25,272 | — | 25,272 |
| Wool | 48,363 | 15,624 | — | 63,987 |

A few additional particulars may be given with regard to some of these exports:

*Grain and Flour.*—Wheat and barley were shipped largely from Novorossiisk, mainly to Germany direct or *via* Holland, while the export from Poti consisted almost entirely of maize destined for Turkey, Germany, and elsewhere. The values of the Batum and Poti exports in 1913 were £201,900 and £99,815 respectively.

*Liquorice* root was shipped from Batum mainly to the United States. The value of the export in 1913 was £148,700, but this was above the average, and the export is said to have ceased.

*Manganese* exported from Poti in 1913 amounted in value to £649,780, and that from Batum to £399,800.

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439 Most of the Poti manganese went to Germany, which country in 1913 imported from Russia nearly 447,000 metric tons, most of which, if not all, must have come from Chiaturi.

*Oil.*—The market for western Europe has been captured by America, but considerable quantities were sent from Caucasia to eastern Europe. The largest export is from Batum, whence in 1913, 610,400 tons were shipped, amounting in value to £2,817,300. No details of the destination of this oil are available. The shipments from Novorossiisk, exclusive of those to Russia, amounted in 1913 to 170,339 tons, and were distributed as follows:

| | *Tons.* |
|---|---|
| France | 59,076 |
| Holland | 17,000 |
| Great Britain | 54,993 |
| Germany | 22,527 |
| Egypt | 12,300 |
| Gibraltar | 4,443 |

In the same year 26,500 tons were exported direct from Baku to Persia.

*Oil-cake.*—The export from Batum in 1913 was 12,445 tons, valued at £77,200. No figures of value are available for the much larger export of 149,244 tons from Novorossiisk. Germany was the chief buyer.

*Seeds.*—The export of linseed seems to have ceased, but a certain amount of cotton seed was exported to Liverpool, and the export of sunflower seed rose from 10 tons in 1908 to 5,873 tons in 1913.

*Silk* and *cocoons* were exported from Batum only, and in 1913 the value of the export was £207,700. In 1911, and presumably in other years, the greater part of the export consisted of cocoons imported from Persia or Central Asia. Nearly all the cocoons from the Caucasus went to Russia.

*Timber* was shipped from all three ports, but only at Poti was there a steady increase in the quantity exported, which rose from 1,541 tons in 1909 to 11,414 tons in 1913; this was due to Italian enterprise in the

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Rion district (see above, pp. 61, 76). The export values from Batum and Poti in 1913 were £27,900 and £83,590 respectively. 439-

*Tobacco* was exported from Novorossiisk, and, in much smaller quantities, from Batum. The Novorossiisk export gradually increased, as the quality of Kuban tobacco became better recognized in European markets, and during the Balkan wars Caucasian tobacco began to supplement Turkish. In 1913 the total tobacco export amounted to 4,950 tons, of which 2,000 tons went to Egypt and most of the rest to Germany and France, the United States and Great Britain at the same time taking small quantities. The Sukhum merchants were anxious to increase the export to the United States, but were opposed by the American Tobacco Trust. The value of the export from Batum in 1913 was £51,100.

*Wool* was exported mainly from Batum, but also from Novorossiisk. The shipments from Batum in 1913 amounted to 4,677 tons, valued at £222,800, and those from Novorossiisk to 185 tons. In all about 17,000 tons of wool were produced in Caucasia in that year, the balance being either sold locally or sent overland to Russia.

### (*b*) *Imports*

The imports of Caucasia reach a much lower total value than the exports. Very few statistics are obtainable, no values being given in the British consular reports except for 1913, and then only for goods received at Batum. Imports at Novorossiisk were increasing steadily before 1914, but those at Poti were quite inconsiderable.

Of the total import value of £582,532 at Batum in 1913, £235,800 was assigned to sundries, and this heading must include all the textiles, stationery, china and glass, leather goods, fancy goods, &c. The chief imports specified were tin plates (for oil cases and cans) and machinery, of which the respective values were £112,832 and £106,500. The tin plates were supplied

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439 largely, but probably not exclusively, by Great Britain and Turkey. The machinery came from America, Great Britain, and Germany, as well as from Russia. Agricultural machinery was supplied chiefly by the United States, with the exception of ploughs, which for the most part came from Germany. British agricultural implements, though frequently found in Ciscaucasia, are rarely seen in Transcaucasia. France took the leading part in supplying motor-cars, though they were also imported from Germany, Switzerland, Italy, the United States and Russia, and a few of superior quality came from Great Britain. Hardware, house-fittings, lifts, and central-heating apparatus were imported exclusively from Germany. Copper wire and copper sulphate came in considerable quantities from Great Britain, which also supplied fire-clay, iron-ware, carbolic acid, and the best quality of belting, the rest of the belting coming from Russia and Germany. Steel for Baku came exclusively from Austria-Hungary and tiles from France. Coal was imported at Novorossiisk from Great Britain and Germany: in 1913 Great Britain supplied 40,000 tons and Germany nearly 11,000; in 1914 Great Britain sent 164,000 tons. Small quantities of chemical fertilizers for experimental purposes were imported from Great Britain and South America. Textiles no doubt came in bulk from Russia, but Germany was working up a trade in haberdashery and Great Britain supplied a little cloth of fine quality to Baku. Great Britain had at one time a monopoly of the supply of china and glass, but in 1914 the supply came from Continental Europe.

The share of Great Britain in European trade with Caucasia was estimated in 1910 to be about 17 per cent., but in the import of certain classes of goods the competition of Germany was making itself more and more severely felt (see also above, p. 81).

### (c) *Transit Trade*

Caucasia does a large and increasing transit trade between Europe on the one side and Persia and Russian

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Central Asia on the other. In respect of trade with 439 Persia it has largely supplanted Mesopotamia and Turkish Armenia, partly on account of the prohibition of the transit of goods from Europe to Persia through these countries, and partly on account of the superiority of the railway system. Baku is the chief centre of this trade, which is facilitated by the regular services between that port and Astara, Enzeli, and Bandar-i-Gaz. The total volume of trade which passed through Baku in 1912 was 5,338,837 tons, made up of exports from Persia, 194,249 tons, from Russian Central Asia, 583,774 tons; imports into Persia, 90,946 tons, into Russian Central Asia, 4,469,868 tons.

The chief articles exported from Persia in that year were rice, 68,135 tons; grain, 66,262 tons; cotton seed, 20,645 tons; wool and carpets, 6,516 tons; fruit, 5,914 tons; and timber, 4,056 tons. The export of raisins from Persia is a new and promising branch of trade.

The chief articles from Russian Central Asia were crude oil, 182,490 tons; timber, 122,963 tons; fish, 11,223 tons; drinking water, 98,310 tons; fruit, 5,859 tons; and cotton seed, 3,200 tons.

The chief articles imported by Persia were sugar, 49,796 tons; kerosene, 24,302 tons; flour, 9,692 tons; metals, 2,095 tons; and manufactured goods, 1,701 tons.

The chief articles imported by Russian Central Asia were petroleum products, 4,313,971 tons; rice, 35,779 tons; flour, 28,200 tons; metals, 15,000 tons; sugar, 8,232 tons; fruit, 7,966 tons; provisions, 6,872 tons; and tea, 6,624 tons.

The transit trade in tea had declined in comparison with 1910, when it amounted to about 18,000 tons (one-third from China and two-thirds from India).

These statistics from Baku only represent a part of the Russo-Persian transit trade, since considerable quantities of goods used to come by sea to Poti or Batum and were forwarded by rail through Tiflis and Julfa, a roundabout route, but the shortest available. The completion of the Julfa–Tabriz line in 1917 will

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439 have greatly facilitated trade by this route. A direct line from Batum to Kars would, however, effect a still greater economy of cost and time.

A part of the Russian transit trade with Transcaspia and Persia passes through Petrovsk when the Volga is frozen. No statistics of this trade are available.

## (D) FINANCE

### (1) *Public Finance*

652 As a large portion of the Caucasus has only recently been incorporated into the Russian Empire, and parts of the country have been vacated by the former inhabitants owing to their dislike for Christian rule, the country has been treated more as a colony than as an integral portion of Russia. Details of revenue and expenditure are not easily available. It would, however, seem that vast sums have been spent in the past on settling the country, building military roads, &c., and that, owing to the rapid expansion of the oil industry and to fair success in some other mining ventures, together with sound agricultural development and the repute the country has gained as a tourist resort and for its medicinal springs, the revenue was gradually being adjusted to expenditure. The revenue is stated to have risen by 35 per cent. between 1906 and 1910.

651 Taxation in Russia as a whole was mainly indirect, only about 8 per cent. of the revenue being derived from direct taxes on land and trades and industries. Excise revenue furnished about 22 per cent., duties about 8 per cent., royalties (including the profit on the spirit monopoly) about 30 per cent., and profits from State undertakings (forests, railways, State factories, &c.) about 30 per cent. For the Caucasus considered separately, these proportions might differ in certain particulars. It is not possible to trace the incidence of expenditure in the Caucasus at all.

Local taxation is either urban or rural. In 1912 nine towns were entitled to raise revenue for urban

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Western Caucasus among the Cherkesses by Byzantine, Russian and Latin influence. It was not until the sixteenth century, when Turkish influence was strong in the Caucasus, and when the Russians were approaching from the north, that religion, as a political force, became a serious issue.

The relations between the Turks and the Cherkesses, Kabardans and Abkhazians were confined to the exchange of merchandise for slaves and raw materials. Such relations were mutually beneficial, for while the Turks obtained from the Caucasus brave recruits for their Janissary Corps and beautiful wives for their harîms, the young men of the mountains grasped eagerly at the opportunity of a brilliant military career in foreign lands, and the young women forwent with little misgiving the hard domesticity of the mountain huts for the lives of luxurious ease which lay beyond the slave-markets of Trebizond, Akhaltsikh or Constantinople. Militarily the Turks made no attempt to force their hegemony on the mountain tribes, while the latter for their part would have been quick to resent any encroachment on their independence. If Islam spread among the mountaineers, Cherkesses, Kabardans and Abkhazians, it was rather the result of casual but continuous contact with the Mussulman merchants and sailors than of any deliberate policy of proselytisation on the part of the Turks. And it was an easy faith, in the practice of which were mingled many old pagan superstitions and forgotten rites of Zoroastrian and Christian, and which lay as lightly on the mountaineers as had Christianity during the period of Bagratid influence. Klaproth, commenting on the propagation of the Muhammadan faith among the Kabardans during the latter half of the eighteenth century, remarks that "the Porte had endeavoured to spread the religion of Mohammed by means of ecclesiastical emissaries. . . . Their [the Kabardans'] *mullahs* or priests are generally freedmen of the princes or *usden* who go to the Tatars of Tabasseran or to Ender, where they learn to read and write a little, assume the title of *Effendi*, and return to their native country to instruct the people in the Mohammedan faith, and to detach them more and more from the connection with Russia." [1]

In Daghestan Islam had been maintained and consolidated, since the days of the Arabs, by constant contact with the Persians and Tatars of Shirvan. The Daghestanli were for the most part Sunni and, at times, vented their fanaticism on the Shiah townsmen of Derbend and Shemakha.

[1] Klaproth, p. 317.

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But in 1914, while the production of the older wells was still 382
decreasing, the newly exploited field of Benagadi was giving a 471
steadily increasing output; and it is unquestionable that the oil-deposits of the South-eastern Caucasus are by no means exhausted, and many rich areas remain to be prospected and exploited.

(2) The Grozni Fields.—The petroliferous area round Grozni had been worked for some years to supply local needs when, in 1893, the European Petrol Company, a British concern, commenced scientific exploitation. The oil-bearing area, at present developed, covers an area of about 2,500 acres, while new areas in the neighbourhood have been prospected for a radius of about 30 miles. The whole district is believed to be extremely rich in petroleum products, and experts consider that its output may eventually rival that of Baku. The Kazbek Syndicate and the Anglo-Terek Co., both British concerns, also own important holdings.

(3) The Maikop Fields, originally exploited by British capital in 1908, have proved disappointing. The output has steadily declined since 1912, and little oil has been available for export, the bulk being consumed locally.

Other petroliferous areas are known to exist in the regions of Shemakha, Jevad, Lenkoran, Telav and Ozurgeti.

*Export and Import Trade.*—The bulk of the trade of Trans- 439
caucasia was, before the war, carried on with other parts of the Russian Empire, by Batum and Poti to the South Russian ports, and by Baku to Astrakhan and Central Asia. Further Transcaucasia enjoyed the benefits of a growing transit trade between the Mediterranean countries and Russia on the one hand, and Persia and Central Asia on the other.

The Transcaucasus exported into Russia the whole of the copper produced and a proportion of the manganese, together with the bulk of the production of tobacco, tea, raw silk and cocoons, wine, wool and fruit. In return Russia exported into the Transcaucasus machinery and other metal goods and cereals, supplying one-fifth of the consumption of grain in the Transcaucasus. This last item is significant, for it implies the partial dependence of the Transcaucasus, itself an agricultural country, on Russia for food-supply.[1]

On the other hand the Transcaucasus exported to Europe,

[1] "Somme toute, la balance de l'industrie rurale accusait, en Géorgie, avant la guerre, plutôt des déficits que des excédents; le manque de blé n'était pas compensé par un surplus des autres branches de l'agriculture" (V. Vohtinsky, *La Démocratie Géorgienne*).

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439 by Batum and Poti, the bulk of the manganese output and large quantities of petroleum products, together with small quantities of silk and cocoons, timber, tobacco, wool and fruit. In return, the western countries sent machinery and tin plates (for oil cases and cans), textiles, stationery, china and glass, leather goods, fancy goods, etc.

The United States supplied the bulk of the machinery, the European countries the sundry imports. Until the end of the last century Great Britain controlled about 40 per cent. of the foreign trade of the Caucasus, but in recent years has been superseded by Germany, owing, to a great extent, to the more accommodating methods of German importers and to the superior knowledge and linguistic abilities of their travellers. In 1910 the share of Britain in the foreign trade of Caucasia had declined to 17 per cent.

The exports of petroleum products from Transcaucasia to Europe were steadily declining before the outbreak of war. The progressive development of American oil-fields, on the one hand, the revolutionary troubles in the Caucasus on the other, had tended to dislocate the trade with Europe, while the development of Russian industry and communications had created an increased demand from Russia. In 1913, out of 6,000,000 tons of petroleum products exported from the Caucasian fields, Russia consumed 5,000,000 tons, i.e. five-sixths of the output.

The outbreak of war and the subsequent disorders in Russia interrupted the entire economic life of the Caucasus; the closing of the Dardanelles prevented all communication with the Mediterranean, and the disorganisation of the Russian railways hindered the maintenance of regular relations with Russia. At the end of 1914 work ceased at the Chiaturi manganese-mines and at the copper-mines in the Chorokh Basin, while at Groni production was reduced owing to the difficulty of transport and to lack of storage accommodation. Baku continued to supply the requirements of the armies and of the interior of Russia, but towards the end of 1917 work there practically ceased.

The advent of the Germans in the summer of 1918 tended to relieve the situation, for, while they had not time to restore the production of the Baku fields, they hastened to export the large supplies of tobacco accumulated at Sukhum and of manganese at Poti.

During the period of independence from the summer of 1918 to the end of 1920 the economics of the Transcaucasus were in an extremely parlous condition. For Georgia, Armenia and

5: Allen H-4 (no date) 1923 RHL Caucasia RH



Azerbaijan were suffering in a lesser degree from the same economic causes and effects which were then operating in Russia. The war and virtual isolation during four years from the commercial centres of the world had disorganised the whole structure of trade; the railways were in disrepair; factories and machinery were ruined; the peasants were working with worn-out tools, and they lacked the most common necessaries of their occupations and of everyday life. On the other hand, at a time of universal shortage, and with the opening of markets, which were equally in need but at the same time more approachable and more secure, there was little inducement to European capital to resume relations with the Transcaucasus. The export of petroleum by the pipe-line from Baku to Batum recommenced at the end of 1918, and some attempt was made to revive the tobacco and manganese industries in Georgia. But the three Transcaucasian Governments were hampered by the heavy expense involved in the repair of damaged property, in the relief of refugees, in the maintenance of the excessive numbers of officials—whose appearance seems inevitably to follow the establishment of a Socialist régime—and in the pursuit of militant foreign policies whereby to emphasise their national revindications. Economic isolation from Russia further increased the difficulties of the Governments of Georgia and Azerbaijan. On the one hand Denikin's blockade of the northern frontier prevented the transport of the necessary annual supply of grain from the North Caucasus; on the other, the closing of the Volga Basin prevented communication with the greatest market for Caucasian oil. As the Bolsheviks advanced in Southern Russia, the situation of Georgia grew worse. In 1917 the Georgian Government had been successful in negotiating an exchange of Sukhum tobacco for Ukrainian sugar, while they had revived the interest of some foreign importing groups. The Italians, indeed, sent a Commercial Mission to Tiflis. But with the successes of the Bolsheviks, the Georgian rouble fell, and foreign firms became even more chary of undertaking trade in Georgia. The capture of Baku and the occupation of the South-eastern Caucasus by the Bolsheviks was in reality a recognition of the principle—even by the conservative and nationalistic oil-magnates of Baku—of the economic dependence of the Caucasus on Russia. But if Baku depended on the Volga Basin for its market and on the Northern Caucasus for its food, Georgia depended on Baku for its fuel. Thus, without foreign military support and material assistance, it became inevitable that Georgia should submit to economic incorporation in Russia.

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### (b) *Organizations to promote Trade and Commerce*

It is only within recent years that any efforts towards the organization of the trade and industry of Caucasia have been made, but before the outbreak of war a good deal had already been done in that direction. The first chamber of commerce in the country was established at Batum in 1910. The number of trade associations increased rapidly, especially in Ciscaucasia, where the Cossacks take kindly to co-operation, and many credit societies were formed. 4111

The chief organizations confined to particular industries were the Association of Baku Naphtha Producers, the Manganese Producers' Association, and the Caucasian Cotton Growers' Association. The first of these levied a tax of 5*d.* a tin on oil products, which it expended on hospitals, &c. It had a statistical bureau, published journals, and held an annual conference which was attended by delegates from the committees of the various oil interests and by a representative of the Minister of Agriculture. The Manganese Producers' Association also levied a tax, which was devoted to improvements in plant, &c. It brought pressure to bear on the State to improve railway facilities and rolling-stock, and was anxious to secure the connexion of the mines with the railway, but did not succeed in this. One of the objects of the Caucasian Cotton Growers' Association was to increase the cultivation of cotton in Caucasia and Russian Central Asia, so that the Central Russian mills could be fed entirely with home-grown supplies. Extensive irrigation was among its schemes.

### (c) *Foreign Interests*

The largest field for the investment of foreign capital in Caucasia is of course the oil industry. This being a matter of international finance, it is impossible to gauge with precision the share which any particular nation has therein; but it was stated in 1919 by an expert of the *Mining Journal* that the controlling 471 315

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(b) *Aznauri* of the second order. Regular priests and monks. Merchants of the first order (mok'alak'is, i. e., "inhabitants of the city," usually rich Armenian families of merchants living in Tiflis.[139] 565 [141]

(c) *Aznauri* of the third order and landowners. Here we must include also the merchants of the second order and parish priests. (§ 31) [193]

(d) Merchants of the third order and archdeacons. (§ 32)

(e) Merchants of the fourth order, peasants and artisans *(glekhi)*.[140]

East of the Cherkess, separating them from the Northeastern Caucasians, are the probable descendents of the Alans known as OSSETES. Social differentiation was practically unknown in Ossetia. The rank of "nobles" (*aldars* and *badilyats*) was found only among certain Ossete tribes such as those of Kurtatinsk and Tagaursk, and even in these cases the "nobles" did not enjoy any essential privileges. Among the other tribes there existed at the most an initial stage of social stratification.[141] The Alaghir were specially averse to social classes.[142]

Since it is quite probable that the Ossetes are a remnant of the Alans and Sarmatians, we might rightly ask whether social classes disappeared only in their later history or whether it is an ancient tradition. Moses of Chorene (A. D. 370—490) speaks in his *History of the Armenians* of the son of an Ossetine ruler. This prince, we are told, was captured in a battle between the Ossetes and the Armenians. This report, however, is not reliable, being based on mere legend.[143] Ammianus Marcellus (*Rerum gestarum*, xxxi. 2) seems to be closer to the truth when he writes: "All the Alans are equally of noble descent. They have no slaves." Tacitus indeed says that the Alans were "divided into small tribes and groups, each having a chief or prince," but, as Ladyženskij rightly points out, Tacitus is most likely referring here to the *elders* of each sib and not to princes in the strict sense.[144] [101]

Before the abolition of slavery in the Caucasus the following four distinct classes could be found among the Tagaurians:[145]

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[139] Karst, p. 82, *note* 7.

[140] These classes existed in pre-Soviet times. The *eristhavi* or "heads of the people" (a class of nobles who held the position of provincial governors) disappeared much sooner. They used to be appointed by the King; the office however, once bestowed, could be passed down from father to son. Cf. Mourier, *Guide au Caucase*, I, p. 102.
The history of Georgian social classes has been studied by S. Danelia, *Fedaluri revoluthia Sakarthveloli. Narkvevi tarmoïobis istoridan Sakarthveloli* (Feudal Revolution in Georgia. A Historical Sketch of the Origin of Feudalism in Georgia), Tiflis, 1935.

[141] N. F. Takoeva, "Kosta Chetagurov etc.," SE, 1949, No. 2, p. 121. Ladyženskij, "Entstehung und Entwicklung des Staates bei den kaukasischen Bergvölkern," *Zeitschr. f. Völkerpsych. u. Soz.*, VI (1930), pp. 428 f.

[142] A. H. Günther, "Zusammenstöße zwischen Gesetz und Gewohnheitsrecht im nördlichen Kaukasus," *Zeitschr. f. vergl. Rechtsw.*, XLVI (1931), p. 325.

[143] Ladyženskij, "Entstehung und Entwicklung des Staates bei den kaukasischen Bergvölkern," *Zeitschr. f. Völkerpsych. u. Soz.*, VI (1930), p. 443.

[144] *ibid.*

[145] Dirr, AGKB, p. 79, *note* 117. Kovalevskij, *Coutume contemp.*, pp. 17—20. Leontovič, II, p. 9. B. V. Skitskij, *K voprosu o feodalizme v Digorii*, Ordžonikidze, 1933.

1/n [Georgian noble -- Analyst]

[824 cont.]

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Fig. 503. Persian fruit-seller in Baku.

563 [111] through the Tatars, have exerted a strong influence from the earliest times on southern and eastern Caucasia with regard to mental culture, art, warfare, etc. As a landmark of their power, the great stone wall, which extends from the national portal on the Caspian Sea, from the city [825] of Derbend [103] (Persian = gate-lock; Tatar, Demír-kapú = iron door; Arabic, Bāb-el-abwāb = gate of gates), to the west 60 to 70 kilometers into the mountains, still stands today. It was erected by the Sassanid king, Khosrau Anōšarvān (531-579 A.D.), for protection against the invasions of the Khazar and Alan, against whom his father, Kobad (491-531), had already built a wall [112] of mud bricks that was strengthened by many towers and small citadels (kalé). Except for indigenous tribes, Khosrau entrusted the defense of the wall primarily to Iranian settlers whom he had brought over from Persia and the land of Sogd, that is Kharezmia and Samarkand. The inhabitants of the Kaitakh region, the Tabassaran, seem to be descendants of these settlers, and their name may be a contraction of Tabor-i-Khorassan (= host, people from Khorassan); likewise the Tāt between Baku, Kuba, and the Babadagh and near Derbend. The former may have sprung from a mixture of Lezgin with

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453 *Volga-Kama Commercial Bank* (of Petrograd), at Armavir, Baku, Ekaterinodar, Grozni, and Tiflis, with sub-agencies at Elisavetopol, Erivan, Kutais, Maikop, and Novorossiisk; the *Russian Bank for Foreign Trade* (of Petrograd), at Armavir, Baku, Yeisk, Ekaterinodar, and Novorossiisk; the *Russian Commercial and Industrial Bank* (of Petrograd), at Armavir, Baku, Ekaterinodar, Novorossiisk, Petrovsk, and Stavropol; the *Banque de l'Union* (of Moscow), at Baku and Batum; and the *Banque Internationale de Commerce de Petrograd*, at Baku and Tiflis.

[452] The *Peasants' Land Bank*, a State institution, advances money on the security of their crops to peasants desirous of acquiring land. Loans are made either to village communes, to associations of peasants, or to individuals; 2,297 such loans were made between 1883 and 1914—1,463 to individuals, 782 to associations of peasants, and 52 to communes.

474 Of late years there has been a great increase in the
453 number of co-operative banks—including credit societies
452 (open and mutual), joint-stock mortgage institutions, and mutual mortgage institutions—and a less marked increase in the smaller communal loan and savings banks. There were 95 mutual mortgage institutions in 1912. In 1914 there were 633 open credit associations, with a total membership of 308,952, and a total grant of loans to the value of £2,047,071; and 217 associations of mutual credit and savings, with a membership of 105,358, and a total grant of loans to the value of £1,296,706. Kuban has by far the greater proportion of both kinds of credit association. Of the smaller communal loan and savings banks there were 106 in 1914, of which 102 were in Stavropol.

## (E) GENERAL REMARKS

105 Caucasia as a whole is handicapped by the length and severity of its winters and the mountainous character of the country. Up to 1914 little had been done to relieve these natural disabilities by the provision of

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purposes, and in that year their aggregate revenue 651
amounted to some £1,250,000 and their aggregate debt to £1,800,000. Baku had a revenue of £670,000 in 1912, Tiflis of £218,000, and Ekaterinodar of £147,000. The remaining towns had revenues of less than £50,000 each.

Rural taxation in Russia was undertaken by the *zemstvos*. Caucasia, however, had no *zemstvos*, and local matters were administered by official boards. The Province of Stavropol acquired a *zemstvo* in 1912, but no record of its activities is available.

### (2) *Currency*

The paper money and coinage current in Caucasia 436
is that of the Russian Empire, but certain silver coins of the old Georgian currency are still in circulation, namely, the *shaur* (worth 5 kopecks, or about 1d.), the *half abaz* (10 kopecks), the *abaz* (20 kopecks), and the *two abaz* (40 kopecks).

### (3) *Banking*

The most important distinctively Caucasian bank is 453
the *Banque de Caucase*, or *Banque de Commerce de Tiflis*, which has its head office at Tiflis and branches at Baku, Batum, Elisavetopol, Erivan, Grozni, Kars, Kutais, and Nukha. Smaller Caucasian banks are the *Tiflis Agrarian Bank* at Tiflis, the *Tifliser Kaufmannsbank* at Tiflis, and the *North Caucasian Commercial Bank* at Armavir.

The following Russian banks have branches in the Caucasus: the *Imperial State Bank*,[1] at Armavir, Baku, Batum, Ekaterinodar, Erivan, Stavropol, Tiflis, and Vladikavkaz; the *Banque Russo-asiatique* (of Petrograd), at Armavir, Baku, Batum, Yeisk, Ekaterinodar, Grozni, Novorossiisk, and Vladikavkaz; the *Banque de Commerce de l'Azoff-Don* (of Petrograd), at Armavir, Elisavetopol, Erivan, Yeisk, Grozni, Novorossiisk, Poti, Stavropol, Tiflis, and Vladikavkaz; the

[1] The functions of the Imperial State Bank are described in *Don and Volga Basins*, No. 53 of this series, p. 100.

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453 *Volga-Kama Commercial Bank* (of Petrograd), at Armavir, Baku, Ekaterinodar, Grozni, and Tiflis, with sub-agencies at Elisavetopol, Erivan, Kutais, Maikop, and Novorossiisk; the *Russian Bank for Foreign Trade* (of Petrograd), at Armavir, Baku, Yeisk, Ekaterinodar, and Novorossiisk; the *Russian Commercial and Industrial Bank* (of Petrograd), at Armavir, Baku, Ekaterinodar, Novorossiisk, Petrovsk, and Stavropol; the *Banque de l'Union* (of Moscow), at Baku and Batum; and the *Banque Internationale de Commerce de Petrograd*, at Baku and Tiflis.

[452] The *Peasants' Land Bank*, a State institution, advances money on the security of their crops to peasants desirous of acquiring land. Loans are made either to village communes, to associations of peasants, or to individuals; 2,297 such loans were made between 1883 and 1914—1,463 to individuals, 782 to associations of peasants, and 52 to communes.

474 Of late years there has been a great increase in the
453 number of co-operative banks—including credit societies
452 (open and mutual), joint-stock mortgage institutions, and mutual mortgage institutions—and a less marked increase in the smaller communal loan and savings banks. There were 95 mutual mortgage institutions in 1912. In 1914 there were 633 open credit associations, with a total membership of 308,952, and a total grant of loans to the value of £2,047,071; and 217 associations of mutual credit and savings, with a membership of 105,358, and a total grant of loans to the value of £1,296,706. Kuban has by far the greater proportion of both kinds of credit association. Of the smaller communal loan and savings banks there were 106 in 1914, of which 102 were in Stavropol.

## (E) GENERAL REMARKS

105 Caucasia as a whole is handicapped by the length and severity of its winters and the mountainous character of the country. Up to 1914 little had been done to relieve these natural disabilities by the provision of

# POSITION OF WOMEN

C. G. 562 The position of women in the Caucasus was in many respects subordinate to that of men: male children were preferred, descent was patrilineal, residence patrilocal, women were excluded from inheritance rights; in case the headwoman was unable to reconcile a quarrel among the female members of the family, the case was put before the headman; divorces were in general more easily obtained by men than by women, and in the case of adultery the husband had the right to kill or disfigure his wife. The Circassian code of behavior forbade women to sit down while men were standing, and the husband was addressed in terms of respect by his wife. In most areas the women led a life of hard work; besides doing the housework, they also assisted in the work in the field, though certain activities such as tending horses and in most cases ploughing were performed by men only. Among the Georgian mountaineers, women were regarded from a religious point of view as unclean, and were forbidden to enter the walled precincts of the sanctuaries; the Svan had sexual avoidance rules to ensure success in hunting expeditions; in Mingrelia a woman may not kill a chicken or animal she is going to prepare, as this would spoil the food.

C G [684]

C G [462]

C. C. [834]

562 peoples having a patriarchal organization, regardless of religion. We find it
695 among the ancient Indo-European Slavs, Germans, and Ossetes.[28] (3) We also find it among non-Mohammedans of Caucasus.

After this lengthy degression we can offer a few examples to illustrate the relation of conjury to the unequal status of women. In Mugn District (Dargwa Province) women are not allowed to be conjurors. If less than 12 conjurors are required by any *adat*, not only must all conjurors be *male* relatives, but relatives of the *father*.[29] In Hyuraki District[30] and elsewhere[31] female relatives may participate in the conjury only if they are necessary to complete the required number of 40.[32]

[682] The inferior position of the female sex is further expressed in the *adats* determining the amount of bloodwite. Sometimes, it is true, no distinction is made whether a man or a woman is the victim,[33] but sometimes a definite distinction *is* made. The Kurins, for instance, have an established bloodwite of Rs. 250 for the death of a man and only Rs. 125 for the death of a woman.[34] The Ossetine bloodwite for the murder of a man is twice as high as that for a woman.[35]

## § 2. DIVISION OF LABOUR

462 The NORTHWESTERN CAUCASIANS. It is no longer true that all the work must be done by the female members of the family.[36] The men do the ploughing, woodchopping, hunting, and in general all the heavy work; the women do the usual housework, cook, wash, sew and mend clothes, and work in the garden.[37] Formerly, of course, the situation was quite different. The reports of the 18th and 19th century picture the Cherkess and the Abkhaz

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[28] Kovalevskij, *Coutume contemp.*, p. 460.

[29] "Adaty Darginskich Obščestv," p. 60. For *adats* of the Trudakhar District, see "Adaty Darginskich Obščestv," pp. 111 f.

[30] "Adaty Darginskich Obščestv," p. 84.

[31] "Adaty Darginskich Obščestv," p. 71.

[32] If there are still not enough conjurors, the oath must be repeated till the required number of oaths is reached. ("Adaty Darginskich Obščestv," p. 84.)

[33] "Adaty Južno-Dagestanskich Obščestv," SSKG, VIII (1875), p. 47. When we use the words "crime" and "murder" we understand them in the sense of the *adats*. To be more exact we should rather say "damage" and "homicide." Customary law is not interested in *guilt*. It aims to repair damages done to the family and sib, whether that damage be intentional or accidental. If a horse accidentally kicks and kills a passer-by, both the rider and the owner of the horse become blood-enemies of the victim's sib (Leontovič, II, pp. 45 ff). Since customary law is not interested in guilt, it is not interested in *punishing*. It aims to *repair* the damages, hence it matters little whether the "criminal" himself or another member of his family or sib is "punished."

[34] "Adaty Južno-Dagestanskich Obščestv," p. 7.

[35] Dubrovin, *Istorija*, I, i, p. 340.
The position of the female sex in Khevsuria is somewhat better than elsewhere in the mountains (Požidaev, 106 f). She may even take her meals with her husband (Požidaev, *Gorcy severnogo Kavkaza*, p. 107). The Kumyks allow their wives more rights than are granted to women by the *adats* of the true Caucasians (Dubrovin, *Istorija*, I, ii, p. 639).

[36] Ladyženskij, FT, pp. 199 f.

[37] Ladyženskij, FT, p. 201.

menfolk as gentlemen of leisure, the women bearing the burden of the family work practically by themselves.[38] 462

The NORTHEASTERN CAUCASIANS. Practically all the work in the house and in the field is done by the women, while the men usually just stand idly by. The tasks done by the men are generally only seasonal, such as hay-cutting, woodchopping, and ploughing. The women, on the other hand, must slave day after day, doing very strenuous work. And even when they have finished their work out in the field and their other chores, they are kept busy sewing and mending clothes, etc. In a word, life in Chechnia and Ingushetia is that of busy bees and lazy drones.[39] Of course, today there is a marked improvement in the position of the female sex. Even if we allow for the frequent exaggeration of pre-Soviet explorers and *adat* collectors, we cannot deny that the Ingush women were obliged to bear a terribly disproportionate share of the family work. In "The Collection of *Adats* for the Ingush Province of the 1860's" we read : " Only very recently the natives of the Ingush Province, according to an ancient custom, considered the woman a work-animal, a 'thing,' not a being possessing human personality."[40] Vertepov in his monograph on the Ingushi attributes the disproportion in the Ingush sex ratio to the disproportionate division of work. His supposition is confirmed by the fact that the Ingushi of the plains have a much more equal division of labour and at the same time the sex ratio is much more normal.

TABLE 17

Ingush Sex Ratio (Vertepov, "Inguši," **Terskij Sbornik**, II [1892], No. 2, p. 99) [162]

| Location | Male | Female | Sex Ratio |
|---|---|---|---|
| Mountains | 53.5% | 46.5% | 115 : 100 |
| Lowlands | 51.2% | 48.8% | 104.9 : 100 |

The mountaineers of Daghestan belong to the same class of " idlers " as the other North Caucasians.[41] The Avar women must carry loads of wood and hay sometimes from great distances, while the men only idle their time away. Women carry as much as 120 pounds (three *puds*) at a time.[42] L'vov has painted the lot 562

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[38] Dubrovin, *Istorija*, I, ii, p. 42.

[39] Baddeley, *op. cit.*, I, pp. 60, 93 ; Dubrovin, *Istorija*, I, i, p. 437 ; R. Erckert, *Der Kaukasus*, p. 137 ; Engelhardt und Parrot, *Reise in die Krym und den Kaukasus*, I, p. 242 ; Klaproth, " Voyage au Mont Caucase," *Nouvelle Bibliotheque*, XI, p. 175.

[40] Leontovič, II, p. 169, § 115 : " Ełče ves'ma nedavno tuzemcy, naseljajuščie Inguševskij okrug, po obyčaju dobrago starago vremeni smotreli na ženščin, kak na rabočij skot, sčitali ženščinu veščju, ne podozrevaja v nej nikakoj čelovečeskoj ličnosti."

[41] Cf. Omarov, " Kak živut Laki," SSKG, IV (1871), pp. 1—24, where find long detailed account of harvest and work out in field.

[42] Abercromby, *A Trip through the Eastern Caucasus*," p. 101.

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562 of the women of Avaria as a very miserable one indeed. A woman, he tells us, is regarded as nothing more than a "work-animal." The men prefer this sort of "domestic beast" because she can stand much more than a horse or an ox; the only difference between her and a domestic animal is that she eats bread while an animal is satisfied with hay.[43] An ideal wife in the eyes of the Avars is one that is robust and, above all, very diligent.[44] L'vov goes on to call the husband a "heartless tyrant." He may get himself a second wife and regard the first as his slave, and woe to this poor miserable slave-wife if she does not bear a child before the newcomer! Endless jeers and ridicule are all that she can expect! [606] By moving into the house of her husband, she becomes a servant of her mother-in-law, who does only the easy jobs, leaving the disagreeable and difficult tasks to her daughter-in-law.[45] The Dido,[46] Botlikh,[47] Kaitago-Tabassaranians[48] and the other Lesghians do not differ from the Avars.[49] In Daghestan, "it is derogatory for a man to carry anything less dignified than a gun."[50] While the husband stands about and gossips at the local mosque or putters with his gun, the 462 wife must slave from morn till night. The husband, of course, does the sowing, makes the hay, threshes, sheers the sheep, builds houses;[51] but these jobs are not sufficient to keep him busy all year round. The wife does most of the harvesting, and, as Svěčin puts it, "brings half of the grain on her shoulders, leaving the other half for the donkey."[52] She has to cut the grass for the animals, care for the horses, cook, weave, milk the cows, mind the children, do the usual housework, set the cakes of cow-dung out to dry, clean the wool, spin, and fetch water.[53] Even the small girls of the family must take part in all these tasks. Frequently one can see nine- to ten-year-old girls carrying unbelievably heavy jugs of water, while boys as old as they, if not older, sit around and amuse themselves.[54]

The SOUTHERN CAUCASIANS. Among the Khevsurs[55] and the Svans[56] it is again the female sex that must bear practically the whole burden of family work.

The traveller will frequently witness the typically Caucasian scene "of women working and men loafing" also in OSSETIA.[57] The men do the plough-

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[43] L'vov, "Domašnjaja i semejnaja žizn Dagestanskich gorcev Avarskago plemeni," SSKG, III (1870), p. 11, *note*.

[44] L'vov, *op. cit.*, p. 15.

[45] L'vov, *op. cit.*, p. 17.

[46] Merzbacher, *Aus den Hochregionen des Kaukasus*, II, p. 455.

[47] Erckert, *op. cit.*, p. 284; K. N. Rossikov, "Poězdka v Čečnju i Nagornyj Dagestan," ZKO, XIII (1884), pp. 247.

[48] Amirov, *op. cit.*, p. 48.

[49] Amirov, "Sredi gorcev sěvernago Dagestana," SSKG, VII (1873), p. 48, claims that the Lak community of Batsa-Khari is an exception to this general rule.

[50] Abercromby, *op. cit.*, p. 174.

[51] Nansen, *op. cit.*, p. 104.

[52] Svěčin, "Očerk narodonaselenija, nravov i obyčaev Dagestancev," ZKO, II (1853), p. 63.

[53] Svěčin, *op. cit.*, p. 64.

[54] Svěčin, *l. c.*

[55] Eristov, "O Tušino-Pšavo-Chevsurskom Okrugě," ZKO, III (1855), p. 113.

[56] Dubrovin, *Istorija*, I, ii, p. 109.

[57] Baddeley, *op. cit.*, I, p. 69.

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ing transporting and selling the produce, build houses, and do the heavy work; however, this is far from being a full-time employment. The women, on the contrary, are busy all day long: they must milk the cows, fetch water from the well and wood from the forest, and, of course, look after the children. If a man were ever to do any of these jobs, he would become the laughing-stock of the village.[58] 462

## § 3. SPECIAL RIGHTS AND PRIVILEGES OF WOMEN

Despite all that we have said about the disadvantageous and even slavish condition of the woman in North Caucasia and neighbouring territory, the women enjoy certain rights and privileges which must not be overlooked. For example, throughout the Caucasus she alone is the *mistress* of the house.[59] 562 573

The NORTHWESTERN CAUCASIAN (as well as the Chechen), according to an *adat* of the Black Sea Line, Kuban and Terek Territories (§ 174), will permit no one to say anything unfavourable about his wife. The husband will tolerate an insult against his own father or mother, or even against himself, sooner than hear a single abusive word said against his wife.[60] When a daughter is married off into another sib the family does not lose all interest in her; on the contrary, it is this very interest that is her surest protection against ill-treatment. As we shall see in the following chapter, the husband who unjustly takes the life of his wife is infallibly avenged by her relatives. Moreover, the woman enjoys considerable freedom owing to the fact that her husband is frequently absent, either hunting or on a raid.[61] And even in the sixteenth century, as we read in G. B. Ramusio's *Raccolta di viaggi* (1583), the wife had a firm will of her own, which her husband usually respected. In a way, women are considered sacred: blood-vengeance will never take place before a woman,[62] and hence, she is an asylum like the sacred hearth-chain (*supra*, p. 127). The wife, or to be more exact, the mother of the household, is the sole mistress of the house and as such may arrange things within her little kingdom as she pleases and may even give orders to others.[63] In Abkhazia formerly a woman of a privileged class even had the right to preside at certain religious ceremonies, direct civil affairs, and be the leader in a raid.[64]

The NORTHEASTERN CAUCASIAN does not lose interest in his daughter after her marriage, and therefore he too compels her husband to 562 606

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[58] Čursin, *Osetini, etnografičeskij očerk*, p 39; Merzbacher, *op. cit.*, I, p. 204; see Hahn, "Po dolinach Čovka, Urucha i Ardona," SMOMPK, XXV (1898), p. 32.

[59] Ladyženskij, "Zur Erforschung der Rechtsgewohnheiten der Bergvölker des Kaukasus," *Zeitsch. f. Ethnologie*, LXII (1930), p. 231.

[60] Leontovič, II, p. 254, § 175.

[61] Ladyženskij, FT, p. 201.

[62] Mourier, *Guide au Caucase*, I, p. 136.

[63] Castagné, "Le Droit coutumier familial des montagnards du Caucase," Révue des études islamiques, 1929, No. 2, p. 272.

[64] K. Mačavriani, "Někotoryja čerty iz žizni Abchazcev. Poločenie ženščiny v Abchajii," SMOMPK, IV (1884), No. 2, p. 41; P. I. Kovalevskij, *Kavkaz, Narody Kavkaza*, pp. 34 f.

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505 first place, followed, up to the outbreak of the Balkan War, by vessels under the Greek flag. Only Russian-owned vessels trade on the Caspian Sea.

Shipping facilities both on the Black and Caspian Seas were equal to all demands; on the former the majority of the vessels from abroad arrived in ballast, as imports nowhere balanced exports.

Particulars of shipping at the principal ports in 1909 and 1913 are given in Table I of the Appendix (p. 92).

### (c) *Telegraphic and Wireless Communications*

206 The Indo-European Telegraph Co. has a line running from Julfa by Erivan, Tiflis, Zugdidi, Sukhum Kale, Tuapse, Ekaterinodar, and Temryuk to Chushka Point, whence two submarine cables belonging to the company cross the Kerch Straits to Yenikale. Land telegraph lines connect Batum with Constantinople *via* Trebizond. A submarine cable connects Baku with Krasnovodsk in Transcaspia.

Batum possesses a wireless telegraph station, installed in 1911, in communication with Sevastopol. A wireless station with a range of 267 miles connects Petrovsk with Fort Alexandrovsk in Transcaspia, and another of the same power was opened at Baku in 1914. Funds were assigned in that year for erecting stations at Novorossiisk and Poti.

## (B) INDUSTRY

### (1) Labour

### (a) *Labour Supply; Immigration and Emigration*

•463 Agriculture forms the occupation of the majority of
181 the inhabitants of the Caucasus, though in many cases it is pursued in combination with other activities. The numerous peoples of which the population consists (see above, pp. 8–12)* naturally show very various capacities for labour and prejudices with regard to it. The people of Caucasian or Georgian stock are cultivators of the land and keepers of flocks and herds, with little taste

* [see cat. 116 -- Analyst]

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for industrial work; many of them, especially those of the mountainous districts, are very backward (as are also the Kurds and Ossetes), but the Lesghians and Gruzians are reliable and hard-working, and constitute the best native labour supply. The Armenians, on the other hand, find their most congenial employment in trade and usury, though a good many of them are employed on the oil-fields; the Russian colonists make good agriculturists, but are often idle and intemperate; while the Tatars, who in general are farmers and breeders of sheep and cattle, are also the predominant element on the Baku oil-fields. 463 181

The native labour supply, however, is insufficient for the country's requirements on the oil-fields and elsewhere, and there has been a considerable *immigration* for some years past, the chief sources being as follows: 464 167

(i) *Russian.* — When Transcaucasia came under Russian rule in 1878, the State replaced the many Abkhasians and Circassians who left the country by considerable numbers of Russian colonists. Russian settlers have been planted by the State on the reclaimed lands of the Mughan and Mil steppes. There is a seasonal movement of some 300,000 labourers from Central Russia into Ciscaucasia for the harvest. *Artels*, or combines of Russian skilled workers, numbering from 10 to 50 persons, move about the country undertaking various sorts of contract work, and earn high wages.

(ii) *Armenian.*—Except in the two or three years following the establishment of the Young Turk Government, there has been a steady stream of immigration from Turkish Armenia to the Caucasus. This immigration increased during the persecution of the Armenians in 1915, but the fate of the refugees since the Turco-German occupation of the Caucasus is uncertain. Echmiadzin, in the Government of Erivan, the residence of the Armenian Patriarch, was regarded as the national capital of the Armenians.

(iii) *Turkish* labour is imported for the tea plantations on the Black Sea coast, and for the copper mines in the Batum district.

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228 The *caviare* industry of the Caspian littoral is declining, but is still important (see p. 62).

339 *Cement* is made at Novorossiisk, Gelendjik, Tuapse, and Yeisk. It is used for lining oil wells, and also for harbour works and other purposes. There were nine large cement factories at Novorossiisk in 1917, with an annual output of 4,600,000 barrels, the most important being the Black Sea Cement Manufactory, the Franco-Russian Cement Manufactory, and the Zep Cement Works.

282 *Leather-work* is a fairly extensive industry, of which the chief centres are Alexandropol, Elisavetopol, Shusha, and Tiflis. Tanning is done at Tiflis, and saddlery is well made in Daghestan and the Black Sea districts.

391 *Metallic and Allied Industries.*—The copper and zinc smelting works have already been mentioned (see pp. 63–64 and 67). There are iron foundries at Ekaterinodar, Baku, Tiflis, Batum, and Armavir. 'Colonist' reaping machines are made at Novorossiisk, and galvanized iron roofing and hardware goods at a factory at Baku. Among manufactures subsidiary to the oil industry are those of oil-cases and oil-cans, carried on at Baku and Batum, and of wire rope, carried on at several factories at Baku. The manufacture of small-arms, once a flourishing industry, is declining, but is still carried on at Tiflis and Nukha and in the bazaars of Daghestan and Sukhum. The number of skilled native workers in enamel, filigree, and inlaid metal-ware is also decreasir

[463]

256 The *milling* industry is second in importance only to the refining of oil. There are many flour-mills worked by water-power; those in Stavropol produce 300,000 tons of flour per annum, and those in Kuban, about the same amount; the mills of the Black Sea district give some 20,000 tons yearly. Besides the flour-mills, there are also mills for crushing sunflower seed, linseed, and cotton seed.

382 The *oil refineries* are the most important manufacturing enterprises in the country. They exist at Baku,

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for industrial work; many of them, especially those of the mountainous districts, are very backward (as are also the Kurds and Ossetes), but the Lesghians and Gruzians are reliable and hard-working, and constitute the best native labour supply. The Armenians, on the other hand, find their most congenial employment in trade and usury, though a good many of them are employed on the oil-fields; the Russian colonists make good agriculturists, but are often idle and intemperate; while the Tatars, who in general are farmers and breeders of sheep and cattle, are also the predominant element on the Baku oil-fields. 463 181

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464 (iv) *Persians* go to the Baku oil-fields as tub-cleaners,
167 &c.

(v) Induced by the demand for labour on railway construction and other public works, a considerable number of *Italians* immigrated into Transcaucasia about the middle of last century, and remained there in scattered communities. There is also a small seasonal immigration of Italians, chiefly masons, road-makers, and sculptors, which increases whenever new public works are taken in hand.

(vi) A few *Greeks* enter Caucasia, mainly to work in the copper mines.

(vii) There are a few villages inhabited by *German* immigrants of long standing, representing, as in Hungary, early German efforts at colonization.

167 There has been no *emigration* worth mention since the beginning of the present century, except that in 1910 a number of Turkish Armenians returned to their native country, hoping that the Young Turk revolution would secure better political conditions for their race.

### (*b*) *Labour Conditions*

466 Since the revolutionary disturbances at Baku in 1902–5 (see above, p. 29) the conditions of labour in the Caucasus have steadily improved, in spite of the difficulties placed in the way of labour organization
468 by the diversity of nationalities involved. There have been frequent strikes. In 1913 manganese miners, case and can factory hands, copper miners at Dzansul, dock labourers at Poti, and the employees of the Russian Steam Navigation and Trading Company struck for shorter hours, increased pay, and better housing. These movements met with varying degrees of success; an average advance of 30 per cent. in the rate of wages was effected and an eight-hours day was generally conceded. In May 1914 there was a general strike on the Baku fields, the demands including recognition of workmen's committees, better conditions both in the workshops and in the workers'

●464 The manpower necessary to run these new industries[1] is mostly secured from the local population. The North Caucasus, strongly Russified, easily meets its needs. In those industrial areas from which the autochtonous population has been removed in recent periods, as around Groznyy, several hundred thousand new Russian colonists have been brought in and a new economic-administrative unit, the Groznyy Oblast, was formed. The South Caucasus, a densely populated area (at several places over 300 persons per square mile) has even less need of immigrant manpower. Baku has since Czarist times been overfilled with Russians, and to a smaller extent with Armenian workers, who with the local Azeri population are able to run the oilfields, the oil and other industries located around the city. The speedy development of Armenian industry is also connected with the fact that the Armenian SSR has a large number of skilled workers, a circumstance which, in conjunction with the cheap power available, makes this state ideal for industrial development. The fact that the Armenian SSR is on the border is not important with so powerful a country as the USSR.

[697] In addition to "free" labor, there is a presumably large forced labor component in the area; its size is unknown. According to the available data there are three concentration camps in the North Caucasus (Astrakhan', Makhachkala, Nal'chik), and four (Baku, Sal'yany, Sukhumi, Tbilisi) in the South Caucasus.

[1] [cf. cat. 116, pp 842-846 -- Analyst]

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own homes, and a rise of from 10 per cent. to 50 per 468
cent. in the rates of pay. A promise of improved housing had been obtained when war broke out, and the men returned to work.

In the matter of wages, the demand at Baku was for 465
a minimum of £3 10*s.* a month; in 1908 an ordinary labourer on the oil-fields had earned only from 32*s.* to 40*s.* a month. In other industries ordinary labourers received from 2*s.* 6*d.* to 5*s.* a day, artisans from 5*s.* to 7*s.* 6*d.*, and miners from 5*s.* to 8*s.* 4*d.* Italian masons were paid from 3*s.* 4*d.* to 6*s.* 8*d.* a day. Agricultural labourers in 1913 were receiving from about 1*s.* 7*d.* to about 2*s.* 2*d.* a day, wages being highest in Kutais and lowest in Terek. Female labour, which is much used both in agriculture and in industry, is very poorly paid.

Since 1912 accident and sickness insurance has been 745
compulsory for large industrial concerns. Medical attendance, maintenance during illness, and pensions for totally disabled workmen and for the dependants of workmen accidentally killed in their employers' service, have to be provided by the employers.

## (2) Agriculture

### (*a*) *Products of Commercial Value.*

*Vegetable Products.—Cereals* grow well in the soil of 243
Ciscaucasia, which is a continuation of the 'black earth' 311
of southern Russia. The area planted with *wheat* in 1914 throughout the country was 12,700,000 acres, yielding nearly 3,000,000 tons of grain; nearly 5,000,000 acres were in Kuban and over 4,000,000 in Stavropol. The area under *barley* in the two divisions of Caucasia in 1914 was about 5,500,000 acres (yielding 1,600,000 tons), and of these more than 4,000,000 were in Ciscaucasia—2,000,000 in Kuban, 1,600,000 in Stavropol, and the rest in Terek. Between 1911 and 1915 Ciscaucasia produced on an average one-third of the total output of winter wheat in the whole Russian Empire and about 15 per cent. of the entire yield of

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464 (iv) *Persians* go to the Baku oil-fields as tub-cleaners,
167 &c.

(v) Induced by the demand for labour on railway construction and other public works, a considerable number of *Italians* immigrated into Transcaucasia about the middle of last century, and remained there in scattered communities. There is also a small seasonal immigration of Italians, chiefly masons, road-makers, and sculptors, which increases whenever new public works are taken in hand.

(vi) A few *Greeks* enter Caucasia, mainly to work in the copper mines.

(vii) There are a few villages inhabited by *German* immigrants of long standing, representing, as in Hungary, early German efforts at colonization.

167 There has been no *emigration* worth mention since the beginning of the present century, except that in 1910 a number of Turkish Armenians returned to their native country, hoping that the Young Turk revolution would secure better political conditions for their race.

### (*b*) *Labour Conditions*

466 Since the revolutionary disturbances at Baku in 1902–5 (see above, p. 29) the conditions of labour in the Caucasus have steadily improved, in spite of the difficulties placed in the way of labour organization
468 by the diversity of nationalities involved. There have been frequent strikes. In 1913 manganese miners, case and can factory hands, copper miners at Dzansul, dock labourers at Poti, and the employees of the Russian Steam Navigation and Trading Company struck for shorter hours, increased pay, and better housing. These movements met with varying degrees of success; an average advance of 30 per cent. in the rate of wages was effected and an eight-hours day was generally conceded. In May 1914 there was a general strike on the Baku fields, the demands including recognition of workmen's committees, better conditions both in the workshops and in the workers'

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466 *Labour Conditions: Recent Socialist Legislation.*—Previous to the Revolution the economic conditions of the working classes in the Caucasus had left much to be desired. During the first decade of the present century the organisation of unions and their subsequent action had caused the employers, particularly foreign, to concede a number of amelioratory measures, such as the construction of model houses, schools, public libraries, baths and hospitals. The conditions of living on the petroleum fields was less satisfactory than those of the mining-regions, and it was at Baku that the labouring classes were most unsettled. In the summer of 1914 some very significant strikes took place. The demands of the men included better housing, improvement of sanitary conditions of dwellings, a month's holiday each year on full pay, the abolition of overtime and piece-work, etc., etc. It was difficult to foresee to what results the strikes would have led had they continued. At the beginning of war, however, the strikes suddenly came to an end by the men resuming work.

466 578 563 On the outbreak of the Russian Revolution Baku proved to be one of the centres of industrial extremism, and when the Bolsheviks seized power in the autumn of 1917 a Soviet administration was established in the oil-fields which endured until the middle of 1918. With the Turkish occupation the conservative oil-magnates were restored to power, and, basing their policy on the principles of Turan and Islam, they were successful in obtaining the support of the Tatar workmen against their Armenian and Russian fellows. The differences between the Mussulman and Christian elements continued to divide the proletariat of the oil-fields, and the hostility of the Armenian and Russian workmen towards the Tatar Government was one of the factors favourable to the re-establishment of a Russian Bolshevist régime.

466 563 In Georgia, where the industrial element was weaker, the tendency towards extremism was less marked. The Social Democrats indeed had to base their policy on the support of the peasants who, secure in the possession of their land, evinced little sympathy for any other principles of social evolution. A series of regulations establishing workmen's committees to participate in the management of concerns, regulating wages in accordance with the cost of living, guaranteeing security of employment and imposing State arbitration in the case of disputes, were the only modifications of the former industrial organisation which the Social Democratic Government introduced. This moderation in industrial legislation, combined

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with the repression of national minorities, tended to form among the Russian and Armenian workmen in Tiflis and Batum a Bolshevist minority. 466 563

The only result of the Revolution which appears likely to be permanent are the measures which expropriated the landowners and gave possession of the land to the peasants. 423

This agrarian revolution was effected by a decree of the Transcaucasian Commissariat (December 16, 1917) which alienated from the original landowners all property over a certain fixed average (about 19 acres of land under intensive culture, vines, tobacco, cotton, etc.; about 41 acres of land under cereals; about 109 acres of pasturage) and appointed local commissions to supervise the division of the land confiscated among those holding less than the scheduled acreage, and among the majority who had hitherto been employed on the land only as paid labourers. In Georgia this agrarian revolution was carried out almost without bloodshed, for whilst many of the largest landowners were Russian Grand Dukes and officers absent from the Caucasus or impotent to protest, the native aristocracy wisely gave their approval to the measure.

In the Tatar districts the change was by no means recognised, and in many parts the begs, supported by the influence of the mullahs, succeeded in maintaining their position.

*Conclusion.*—The economic and social future of the Caucasus is necessarily involved in that of Russia, and the Soviet system of government is being introduced into the Caucasus, in conformity with that of Russia. It is consequently impossible to give here any present financial or commercial details of permanent value. Two points are, however, evident. Firstly, if the industries of the Caucasus—petroleum and manganese—are to be revived, and if its natural resources—copper, timber, water-power and agriculture—are to be developed, such modifications must of necessity be introduced into the social and industrial organisation as will afford to foreign capital some confidence of security of tenure and of amicable relations with labour. Lastly, the development of relations between the Soviet bureaucracy and the peasantry—who in the Caucasus, as in Russia, form the overwhelming majority of the population—must be considered. The peasantry certainly would not hesitate to resist any attempt to modify the terms of their tenure of the land, and the Bolsheviks will scarcely be prepared to risk an issue with them. It remains to be seen whether the efficiency of the young Jewish agri-

5: Allen H-4 (no date) 1923 RH1 Caucasia RH2

[1811-1917]



177.66 668 receive without assimilating all the latest doctrines of the semi-emancipated workers of Western Europe. And the great mass of casual labour—Gurians, Imeretians and Mingrelians—which flocked back to the villages every few months from the copper and manganese mines or the docks and oilcase factories at Batum, carried with them into the countryside the ill-comprehended doctrines of Marx and Engels which some agitator had muttered into their bucolic ears a few days before.

668 Thus it was not long before a branch of the Russian Social Democratic Party had been formed in Georgia, with local centres at Tiflis, Kutais, Poti and Batum. It was founded by Russians, but a number of able young Georgians were soon at its head. But they were journalists, artisans and lawyers who had replaced the former aristocrats of Chavchavadze's school as the leaders of Georgian opinion. Such were S. Gibladze, "the pioneer of Georgian Socialism," Ninishvili, "the Georgian Gorki," and G. Tsereteli, the founder of the Socialist paper *Kvali*. The Social Democratic movement which professed to despise the Nationalist thought of Chavchavadze and based its theories on the class struggle, began to gain strength about the same time as the Imperial Government was initiating fresh anti-national measures, such as the forced emigration of the Ajars to Turkey (1880) and the enforcement of conscription in the Caucasus (1887). These measures doubtless drove many adherents into the Socialist ranks. In 1896 the railwaymen formed a first trade-union, [46] an example to be followed soon by the printers, iron-workers and other trades. In the same year Georgian Social Democracy received a brilliant recruit in Noah Jordania, who returned hot from the study of Marxism at Geneva to attack Ilia Chavchavadze in a series of articles in *Kvali*. Agitation was now gathering force, and in 1900 Prince Galitsin's Military Law, imposing liability to service in the remoter parts of the Empire, provoked a series of ugly strikes, as a result of which Jordania was arrested, and *Kvali* was suppressed, only to be revived by Irakli, son of Giorgi Tsereteli.

669 Towards the end of 1904 the revolutionary disturbances which had begun in European Russia spread to the Caucasus. The most blood-thirsty manifestations during the period 1904–6 took place at Baku and in the Armeno-Tatar regions, but the disaffection in Georgia was serious. In Tiflis bombs were thrown and officers were assassinated, while the Cossacks on more than one occasion inflicted cruel casualties on the crowd. Strikes took place along the Transcaucasian Railway,

[see cat. 116, pp 206-7 -- Analyst]

7: Columbia U. S-4, 5, 1956 RHl Caucasia

RHl

467

2 Oganesian, O.
Stalin prize winner, profsoiuz innovator.

BE II 3:73

665

3 Oleinik, G. G.
Member of presidium CC CP Azerb. SSR, 21. s'ezd, 1956.

Bak. Rab. 1/26/56

814

1 Orbeli, Iosif Abragovich, 1887-
Member of Akad. nauk Arm. SSR 1943- Director of Ermitazh 1934-1951. 1943-47 president of Akad. nauk Arm. SSR. Edited text: David Sasunskii. Orientalist of Georgia.

BE II 31:134

815

1 Orbeli, Leon Agarovich, 1882-
Physiologist, member of Akad. nauk Arm. SSR and of Akad. nauk SSSR; col. general in medical military service. Stalin prize in 1941, pupil of Pavlov. Director of physiological inst. of Akad. nauk SSSR; 1942-46 vice-president of Akad. nauk SSSR. For his overemphasizing of the sympathetic nervous system, was criticized by Akad. med. nauk in 1950

BE II 31:134

3: Anonymous U-4 (no date) 1920 RH1 Caucasia RH1



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## (2) Agriculture

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133 Sea of Azov, is navigable by light-draught steamers for
505 141 miles from its mouth. On the river and the various tributaries forming its basin there are 964 miles of water suitable for floating timber. The *Terek*, which flows into the Caspian, is navigable by light vessels for 112 miles from its mouth, but there is no steamer traffic. Timber can be floated for 320 miles. It has no tributaries of importance.

In Transcaucasia the navigable rivers are the Chorokh and Rion, emptying into the Black Sea, and the Kura, emptying into the Caspian. The *Rion* is navigable for 83 miles from its mouth at Poti, but no steamers can be used. Timber is floated or rafted for 123 miles. The *Kura* is navigable for 390 miles from its mouth, and of this distance 197 miles are suitable for steamers. Including its tributaries, the basin of the Kura provides 1,098 miles of water upon which timber-floating is possible.

[656] All these navigable waters were under the care of the State, which, through the Ministry of Ways and Communications, was responsible for their maintenance and improvement.

There are no navigable canals in the Caucasus. For irrigation canals, see p. 59.

### (c) *Railways*

496 In 1912 there were 2,442 miles of railway in the Caucasus. 994 miles being in Ciscaucasia and 1,448 miles in Transcaucasia. These are generally of 5-ft. gauge, and, with certain exceptions indicated below, are of single track.

*Principal Railways.*—There are two principal railway systems—the Vladikavkaz and the Transcaucasian.

[471] Both were constructed and maintained originally by private companies, but the latter was acquired by the State in 1906.

(i) The main line of the *Vladikavkaz Railway*, 819 miles in length, runs from Rostov-on-Don (where con-

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the falling off of supplies from Russia since the out-249
break of war. Up to 1914 the export of oil was
considerable.

There were 2,020 acres of land under *tea* along the 245
Black Sea coast in the Province of Batum and 75 acres
in the Government of Kutais in 1914. Of this area, [471]
1,080 acres were in the Imperial Domains, 489 acres
were the property of the firm of Popoff Brothers, and
the remaining plantations belonged to thirteen villages
near Chavka. The revenue from the sale of tea was in
1909 about £26 per acre on the Imperial plantations.
As a result of the success achieved on the Imperial [654]
Domains, tea-growing was beginning to be taken up as
a local industry, and the National Government granted
a sum of about £1,500 towards the construction of
a factory at Batum, under the management of the
Batum Agricultural Society, where locally-grown tea
could be cured. Another factory was also to be erected
at Ozurgeti, under the management of an instructor
from the Imperial plantation at Chavka. The cultiva-
tion of tea was proceeding successfully at Ozurgeti in
1914. In that year the plantations near Batum pro-
duced about 160 tons of leaf.

*Tobacco* is grown in all the provinces of Caucasia 249
except Stavropol, where its cultivation has been aban-
doned since 1911; but the most important centres are
in Kuban, Sukhum, and Chernomoria. The Kuban
plantations apparently give the heaviest crops,[1] but
the tobacco of the best quality grows on the Black Sea
coast, especially near Sukhum and Sochi. Of the
total Russian output of high quality Turkish tobacco
in 1915, 90 per cent. came from Caucasia, and of this 57·6
per cent. originated from Kuban, 21·2 per cent. from
Sukhum, and 11·2 per cent. from other districts. In
1914, out of a total cultivated area of 80,500 acres,
producing 32,600 tons of tobacco, 29,000 acres, pro-

[1] Judging by the returns for 1914; but the figures vary in different reports, and moreover the yield fluctuates considerably according to the weather, so that the figures for one season are not a safe basis for generalization.

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prices. Special varieties of conifers, birch, oak, and 137
palm grow in the Caucasus. The Caucasus palm or *samshita* is not plentiful, but is greatly valued. The commonest tree is the beech, which occupies 25 per cent. of the total forest area; the oak occupies 16·7 per cent. and the pine 8·1 per cent. Plantations of bamboo at Chavka and Sukhum have been very successful, the cane being used for industrial purposes.

The Italian firm of Sbrajavacca was in 1914 exploiting 313
the pine-forests of Svanetia and Ratce, the timber being 471
floated down the river Rion. The firm has saw-mills at Socilava and Poti.

The Russian State levied on all timber a royalty [659]
varying according to the kind of wood, &c. The State also fixed the amount of timber to be felled in each area, which was then sold to the highest bidder. The total amount of timber which might be cut in the Caucasus was fixed in 1913 at nearly 220,000,000 cubic feet, of which only a little more than a quarter was actually delivered.

### (*d*) *Land Tenure*

The Caucasus as a whole has no fixed system of land 423
tenure, nor are any of the characteristic Russian 471
features of land-holding found there. The various kinds of landowner may be divided into six classes: the old nobility of Georgia; Tatar and Armenian peasant holders; nomad pastoral tribes, who occupy large areas of steppe land, especially in Stavropol Province; Russian settlers, placed on land vacated after the conquest; the Russian State, which owned large areas, mainly forest; and the Imperial family, which had acquired valuable appanages in the Caucasus.

No figures are available to show the proportions in which the land is held by these various owners; and, as a large part of the total productive area is occupied by nomads, no exact statistics would be possible. Moreover, recent events have to a great extent obliterated the old divisions, and new claims to ownership of much valuable land will have to be settled in the course of time.

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## (4) Minerals

The mineral resources of Caucasia have never yet been systematically surveyed, but they are known to be both varied and extensive. As at present worked, and excepting mineral oils (see below, p. 68)* which as a source of wealth have hitherto stood alone, the most valuable products are manganese and copper. 316

*Baryta* is produced in Kutais by six enterprises; the output in 1910 amounted to 1,750 metric tons, or five-sixths of Russia's total output.

*Coal* is mined chiefly at Tkvibuli, in Kutais, where the mines are served by a branch railway. This coal yields a dense strong coke useful for metallurgy. A very little coal is also produced in Kuban, and lignite of poor quality is found and consumed locally in the Migri valley, at Manglis and Borchka. Unexploited deposits exist on the Black Sea coast, where the Tkvarcheli forest is believed to cover 54,000 acres of coal of excellent quality. A large deposit occurs near Tiflis, in the valley of the River Oltinsk, and coal has recently been found at Akmetovskoi. The production in recent years shows a steady increase, the total output having been 45,700 metric tons in 1910, 51,000 in 1911, 69,000 in 1912, and 75,000 in 1913.

*Copper.*—The rich copper deposits have hitherto been only partially worked, but three distinct areas are now exploited by foreign capital: 471 316

(i) The Kedabek mines, in Elisavetopol (north-east of Lake Gokcha), are worked by the American firm of Siemens Brothers. There are three mines, at Kedabek, Kalakent, and Karabulakh, which are connected by a metre-gauge railway. The ore contains from 2 to 20 per cent. of copper, and the production of copper in 1913 was 1,272 metric tons. Benzene brought from Baku by pipe line is used for smelting, whereas the companies referred to below use electricity. Siemens Brothers had begun before the war to exploit copper at Kvartshana in the Province of

* [see cat. 116 -- Analyst]

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471 Batum, and were about to erect blast furnace smelting
36 works there.

(ii) The Allahverdi, Aktala, and Shambru mines, in the Lialvar Mountains (Tiflis), are worked by the French Compagnie Métallurgique et Industrielle du Caucase. At Allahverdi, the most productive mine, the ore (copper sulphide) contains 7·18 to 18·56 per cent. of copper, and the output of copper in 1913 was 4,760 metric tons.

(iii) The Dzansul, Chiakathevi, and Erga mines, on the borders of the Provinces of Batum and Kutais, are exploited by the Caucasus Copper Co., a British company formed in 1900. Heavy initial outlay and climatic difficulties necessitated a large capitalization, but in 1913, when some 12,000 workmen were employed, the profit obtained was £87,800. The ore in the mines contains from 16 to 18 per cent. of copper. In 1912 the production was 40,000 metric tons of ore and 3,000 metric tons of copper, but in 1913 the progress of the company was described as disappointing, the amount of copper produced being only 3,280 metric tons.

In addition to the above, there are various native enterprises. In the Okchi valley in the Sangesur district of Elisavetopol, old mines of great productivity have been reopened, but pack-horses are the only available means of transport. The Katar mine in Sangesur is now worked by electricity. In the Pambak Mountains, also in the Government of Elisavetopol, there are mines at Delijan, Sirimadan, Sagali, Mishkan, and Seifalu; at the last of these the ore yields from 20 to 30 per cent. of copper. The most important native companies are the Melik Azariantz, the Kunduroff, and the Grielsky.

32? The output of copper in Caucasia was 7,536 metric tons in 1908, 9,520 in 1909, and 7,631 in 1910. In 1912, 303,225 metric tons of ore were mined, of which 200,000 were smelted, yielding 9,270 metric tons of metal. In 1913 the production was 9,220 metric tons. The figures for 1912 and 1913 refer to the British, French, and American companies only. It is not clear whether those

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317 to unscientific methods of removal. Much ore is con-
[364] sequently wasted. Since 1909 an increasing amount of ore has been washed for the preparation of ferro-manganese, and this has resulted in the serious pollution of the River Kvirili, which runs through the mining district. Regulations have been made to control the practice of discharging refuse into the river, and plans formed to collect the refuse-laden water in an artificial basin, where it could be purified and utilized for generating electric power to be employed in the ferro-manganese furnaces. Little improvement, however, had been effected by 1914.

● [471] Many small native firms are occupied in manganese-mining. A little before the war foreign capitalists were acquiring manganese-bearing land, which is usually leased in small lots of from half an acre to 50 acres in extent; about 1910 there was an extensive acquisition of unworked land by German firms. The recent tendency has been for the control of the industry to pass from small to large concerns.

There was a heavy slump in manganese just before 1908, but since that year the output has greatly increased: in 1910 it amounted to 548,300 metric tons; in 1911 it fell again to 451,600 metric tons, but in 1912 it rose to the high figure of 913,500 metric tons, and in
[439] 1913 to 1,051,500 metric tons. Nearly the whole output is exported; export figures are given on pp. 83 and 84. The trade was very heavily hit by the war.

Chiaturi competes with India and Brazil for pride of place as supplier of manganese to the world. It has, however, been handicapped by difficulties of transport, though favoured to some extent in the matter of freight rates. The Sharopan–Sachkeri rail-
[492] way lies some distance from the mines, and the ore has to be conveyed in carts or on pack animals to the station, whence further carriage to Poti or Batum is both slow and expensive. The Association of Manganese Producers (see p. 79) had up to 1914 failed to secure from the State anything beyond promises of improvement.

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Other places in Caucasia at which manganese occurs 317
are Kvartala in Batum, where the French Manganese [471]
Ore Co. had arranged for the erection of plant at the end of 1913, Seifalu in Elisavetopol, and in the neighbourhood of Samtredi and Novo-Senaki.

Huge beds of *marl* are now being exploited near Novorossiisk by the cement companies there.

*Salt.*—There are rock-salt deposits in Erivan and Kars. and a certain amount of evaporated salt is produced in Baku and Daghestan. The total output of salt in 1910 was 28,340 metric tons, which consisted of 16,600 tons of rock-salt from Erivan, 6,930 tons of rock-salt from Kars, 4,370 tons of evaporated salt from Baku, and 440 tons of evaporated salt from Daghestan. The total output in 1911 amounted to 37,830 metric tons, and in 1913 to 32,260 metric tons.

*Zinc* is worked by the Alagir Smelting Co. at Sadon 328
and Alagir, and from blende ore near Vladikavkaz. The company's works, which are 60 miles from the mines, are fitted with modern plant. In 1914 the company were planning a new exploitation, on a large scale, of both lead and zinc. The output of zinc in 1910 was 3,400 metric tons, and in 1912 the combined production of zinc and argentiferous lead was 26,000 metric tons.

*Other Minerals.*—At Soglik, near Dash Kessan, in 135
the Gokcha range (Erivan) there is an inexhaustible 316
supply of *alunite*, containing 37·58 per cent. of alum, but it is very little worked. *Antimony* is mined in small quantities in Tiflis. There is *arsenic* ore at Bechenakh, but up to the present it has not been exploited. There is a small output of *asbestos* from Sharopan, Vzhinevi, and Lechgum in Kutais. There are excellent *bitumen* beds on the Black Sea coast, and *asphalt* is a by-product of the petroleum industry. *Cobalt* is mined in small quantities in Elisavetopol. White *diatomite* (infusorial earth), containing 87 per cent. of silica, is worked at Kissatip, near Akhaltsikh (Tiflis). *Emery* is found at Karabulakh (Elisavetopol). *Gold* exists in very small quantities in the alluvial deposits of the Alindja river, and in the ore of the

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is yielded by Balachani. Grozni oil is particularly adapted for the manufacture of first grade petrol, great quantities of which have accumulated there during the war.

The following particulars may be given of the chief oil-fields:

(i) *The Baku Fields.*—The first well was bored at Baku in 1871. Since that year the oil-fields have been developed one after another, with capital supplied partly by the Swedish firm of Nobel Brothers, and partly by the French Rothschilds and others. The Balachani–Sabunchi–Romani field occupies about 2,640 acres on a plateau a few miles from the Caspian Sea.[1] At Sabunchi eight very productive belts are known. At Romani there was a natural depression into which ran the water and refuse from adjoining properties, forming a lake of 432 acres; this was drained in 1904 by the Moscow Caucasian Co., by means of a subterranean channel, and an outlet into the Caspian Sea was also provided, which serves as a permanent drain for the whole oil-field. Bibi-Ebyat contains five rich belts, but its productivity is declining. Puta, a continuation of the Bibi-Ebyat fields, has been very little developed. Zabrat has been prospected by a French company, but the yield is only spasmodic.

Between 1908 and 1911 there was a marked decrease in production in all but one of the old Baku oil-fields, as seen by the following comparative table:

| | *Balachani.* | *Sabunchi.* | *Romani.* | *Bibi-Ebyat.* | *Total.* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Metric tons. | Metric tons. | Metric tons. | Metric tons. | Metric tons. |
| 1908 | 1,124,784 | 3,181,936 | 1,222,304 | 1,914,128 | 7,443,152 |
| 1911[2] | 755,200 | 2,131,200 | 1,019,200 | 1,225,600 | 5,131,200 |

After 1911, in spite of new borings, the production, though increased, did not reach the 1908 level, whilst after 1914 the Surachani output is reckoned in with the old Baku output, and the separate yield of the original oil-fields cannot therefore be calculated. There

[1] On this plateau 120,000,000 gallons of oil were thrown up in 1873 before it was understood how to conserve it.

[2] Ten months only.

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The European Petrol Co., a British concern, was founded in 1893 to exploit the Grozni oil, and another British company, the Kazbek Syndicate, struck a prolific fountain in 1903. The Anglo-Terek Co. found oil on the western field in 1907 at 2,500 ft. deep, and the parallel ridge of Sundja is expected to prove rich. The area occupied by wells in 1913 was 2,497 acres, in the hands of twelve firms. Several new fields were proved in 1913 in the neighbouring localities of Belik and Chermoff, and 200,000 claims have been staked; the whole country round Grozni for a radius of about 30 miles has been covered with oil claims. The principal new oil districts are Sleptsovskaya, Voznesenskaya, Broguni, Kakhanovskaya, Isstissu, and Chir-Urt nearer Petrovsk. Pipes from both eastern and western fields take the oil to Grozni station, and in 1914 pipes were completed leading to Petrovsk, on the Caspian Sea. 315 [471]

In 1917 the Grozni oil-fields employed 9,000 workmen. The average number of producing wells in that year was 398.

The Grozni oil-fields suffered much more than those of Baku or Maikop in 1918. Almost all the oil-wells and plant have been destroyed or burnt, so that production will be impossible for some years to come.

(iii) *The Maikop Fields* have been scientifically exploited since 1908 only, chiefly by British capital. There are four districts, Shirvansky, Apsheronsky, Nephtianoi, and Hadizhensky, and the wells number about 200. Before the completion of the new Armavir–Tuapse railway, the oil went either to Novorossiisk or Petrovsk. There are two pipe lines, one from Maikop to Tuapse, the other from Shirvansky to Ekaterinodar for transport on the Ekaterinodar–Novorossiisk branch railway; both pipes belong to the Maikop Pipe Line and Transport Co., Ltd., a British concern. Nearly all the Maikop oil has been consumed in Russia. It is refined at Ekaterinodar. The output has been very disappointing, and has steadily declined since 1912. 315 471

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315 (iv) *Other Sources.*—Berekei and Kaikent in Daghestan
47 have been exploited, but in both the oil is damaged by the inflow of sulphurous water. Berekei was closed in 1907; Kaikent, in the hands of the Anglo-Russian Petrol Co., only yields spasmodically.

Kaluga, in Kuban Province, showed oil in 1907, but work only began in 1914. The Vladikavkaz Railway Company hold 15 plots of promising petroliferous land there, and intend to use the oil for the railway. The prospects are good.

In Tiflis Government two localities have been exploited, one east of Tiflis and the other at Telav. In 1904 the Southern Oil-Fields of Russia Company was working there, and in 1914 the Tiflis locality was again being explored.

315 In 1914 prospecting was going on at many other places, where there are unmistakable indications of large quantities of oil, notably at Guria, where a thick black oil was found, and at Shemakha, Jevat, and Lenkoran. Jingy (or Djeng), near Shemakha, forms the extremity of a huge oil-field with a reputed area of 70,000 square miles, lying chiefly in the Ural Province. Nobel Brothers have already sunk wells there with good results; in October 1915, 225 plots of petroliferous ground near Borz and Jingy were declared open for new claims.

Oil is also obtained from numerous wells on small plots worked by peasants, especially in the Grozni and Maikop districts.

### (*b*) *Methods of Working*

At Baku the Russian system of boring is still in use, the American, although generally superior, being declared to be unsuccessful on account of the frequency of landslips and fractured tubing. Another view, however, is that the continued use at Baku of a comparatively wasteful system has been a factor contributing to the successful competition of American oil in the world market, in spite of the fact that at Baku a few square miles produce as much oil as several

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thousands of square miles in America, and that a single 315
Baku oil fountain has actually yielded as much in one day as 25,000 wells in America. The American system has been adopted at Grozni and Maikop. Manila ropes have been very generally replaced by wire ropes. Pumps cannot be used at Baku to raise the oil, and it is therefore baled by steam or electric power; air-lifts have recently been found successful. In default of fresh water, steam at Baku has to be obtained from sea-water. which causes rapid destruction of the boilers.

Oil is conveyed to the Black Town (Baku) refineries [47] in pipe lines, of which in 1906 there were 39 in private ownership besides the State pipe lines. Large firms had their own pumping stations in addition to those provided for general use. Fountain oil was pumped direct to the stations and measured there. Some of the Bibi-Ebyat oil goes by barge.

From Baku the oil has four means of transit: by [48] rail to Batum or Poti; by pipe line (kerosene) to Batum; by rail to Petrovsk; and by tank-steamer to Astrakhan and thence up the Volga. The last route, by which the Volga factories are supplied, is only open from April to October.

Electric power was steadily replacing steam power [317] on the oil-fields in 1914. The Spies Petroleum Co. at Grozni run their works almost wholly by it. There are generating stations at Sabunchi, belonging to Nobel Brothers; at Zabrat, belonging to the Société de la Caspienne et de la Mer Noire; at White Town (1,200 horse-power); and at Baieloff (4,500 horse-power). At Sabunchi and Zabrat the Surachani gas is used to generate electricity.

## (6) Manufactures

Ciscaucasia and Transcaucasia have each their own 438
characteristic industries, which, in the former case, are those proper to a region predominantly agricultural, and in the latter are dependent on the output of the oil-fields.

274 22,000,000 gallons in 1914. Were French methods of manufacture employed more extensively, the industry might be greatly developed. There is an Italian firm at Kislovodsk in Terek which makes Riesling and other wines under modern conditions.

*Distilling* is in part an independent industry and in part a means of utilizing the inferior wines. In 1913 there were 15 distilleries—8 in Kuban, 4 in Terek, 2 in Stavropol, and 1 in Kutais—and the output of alcohol in that year was 8,193,000 gallons, of which more than two-thirds were distilled in Kuban.

438 *Other industries* of the country may be very briefly
471 enumerated. A *tea* factory has recently been opened at Chavka, and has an annual output of about 55 tons, and other factories are (or were) being built with Government aid at Baku and Ozurgeti. A *beet-sugar* factory, started in 1913 at Gulevichi, was brought to a standstill for want of beetroot in 1914. There are three *saw-mills* at Tiflis; the Italian firm of Sbrajavacca has saw-mills at Socilava and Poti, which turn out 300 cubic metres daily, and Ananov Brothers have small saw-mills in Kutais, driven by electric power. A factory for making *bamboo furniture* was opened at Chavka in 1907. There are nine *brick* and *tile* factories at Baku and four tile factories at Tiflis, while *pottery* works have been opened at Ksauka, Tiflis, by an Italian firm, which also makes tiles. *Soap* is made at Tiflis, and *sulphuric acid* at Baku.

### (7) Power

377 In 1914 there were ten chief power-stations: near Beli Ugol on the Podkumka river (1,000 horse-power); near Sukhum on the Besletk river (owned by the Sukhum Electric Co.); near Gagri on the Jockvar river (working the climatic station); at Batum (water-driven), supplying Batum with electricity; at Kutais, supplying power for Ananov Brothers' saw-mills; at Sanain (700 horse-power), belonging to the Caucasus Metallurgical Co.; at Katar copper mines (Sangesur

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district); at Dzansul copper mines (1,000 horse-377
power); and two at Erivan.

Smaller electric plants are to be found at New Athos Monastery (at Goro); at Borzhom, on the Grand Ducal estates; and at Akhalkalaki, in private hands.

The electric power-stations on the Baku oil-fields have already been mentioned (see p. 73).

The water-power offered by the rapid streams of the 376
Caucasus has hitherto been almost entirely neglected, but in 1914 an important scheme was set on foot for the erection of two large power-stations, one on the Terek at Kazbek on the Georgian Military Road, and the other at Elenoffka, in Erivan, utilizing the waters of Lake Gokcha. The concession for the erection of [471] turbines and generators for supplying power to all the industrial centres of Caucasia as well as for the lighting of cities was granted to a British company, and preliminary work had been carried out by August 1914.

A scheme was also under discussion in 1913 and 1914 for utilizing the refuse-laden overflow of the River Kvirili for generating electric power to be used in ferro-manganese furnaces.

## (C) COMMERCE

### (1) Domestic

#### (a) *Towns, Markets, and Fairs*

*Baku*, besides being the refining centre for the oil 361
produced in the neighbouring fields, is also a distribut- 439
ing centre for the imports of Central Persia and Transcaspia. The volume of trade which passed through Baku to and from Persia and Russian Central Asia in 1912 amounted to over 5,000,000 tons, and was steadily increasing in 1914 at the expense of that of the trans-Armenian and trans-Mesopotamian routes. The popu- [161]
lation of Baku and the adjacent oil-fields in 1914 amounted to nearly 380,000. In 1909 the municipality 363
raised a loan of £2,842,000 (of which £1,300,000 was 653

### (b) *Organizations to promote Trade and Commerce*

It is only within recent years that any efforts towards 411
the organization of the trade and industry of Caucasia have been made, but before the outbreak of war a good deal had already been done in that direction. The first chamber of commerce in the country was established at Batum in 1910. The number of trade associations increased rapidly, especially in Ciscaucasia, where the Cossacks take kindly to co-operation, and many credit societies were formed.

The chief organizations confined to particular industries were the Association of Baku Naphtha Producers, the Manganese Producers' Association, and the Caucasian Cotton Growers' Association. The first of these levied a tax of 5*d.* a tin on oil products, which it expended on hospitals, &c. It had a statistical bureau, published journals, and held an annual conference which was attended by delegates from the committees of the various oil interests and by a representative of the Minister of Agriculture. The Manganese Producers' Association also levied a tax, which was devoted to improvements in plant, &c. It brought pressure to bear on the State to improve railway facilities and rolling-stock, and was anxious to secure the connexion of the mines with the railway, but did not succeed in this. One of the objects of the Caucasian Cotton Growers' Association was to increase the cultivation of cotton in Caucasia and Russian Central Asia, so that the Central Russian mills could be fed entirely with home-grown supplies. Extensive irrigation was among its schemes.

### (c) *Foreign Interests*

The largest field for the investment of foreign capital 471
in Caucasia is of course the oil industry. This being 315
a matter of international finance, it is impossible to gauge with precision the share which any particular nation has therein; but it was stated in 1919 by an expert of the *Mining Journal* that the controlling

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315

power was the Deutsche Bank. Of the firms engaged in extracting oil, the Swedish house of Nobel Brothers has the largest interests, its production being double that of any other single firm. French companies financed by the Rothschilds also figure largely in the Baku fields. The chief of these is the Société de la Caspienne et de la Mer Noire, which in 1912 combined with others, among them the British concern known as the Schibaeff Company, to form the Royal Dutch Shell Combine, which is said to be responsible for 11·8 per cent. of the total Baku output. British interests in the Baku fields are comparatively small, but at Grozni and Maikop they are predominant. During the Maikop boom sixty-six companies were formed in London, but of these only five are still working. In 1913 a British company, the Guria Petroleum Corporation, Ltd., acquired a lease of some 70 square miles of land between Batum and Poti. Estimates of the total value of British capital invested in Russian oil-fields vary from £10,000,000 to £17,000,000. Armenian interests are rapidly increasing, especially in the new oil districts round Grozni.

Copper is mainly mined with the aid of British, French, and American capital. The manganese industry, on the other hand, has hitherto been for the most part in native hands, though in recent years British, Dutch, German, and French have begun to participate in it.

Franco-Jewish financiers supplied the capital for the construction of the Transcaucasian railway, which was taken over by the State in 1906. In connexion with the railway expansion schemes of more recent date the Anglo-Russian Trust Company, having a capital of £1,000,000 and debenture stock amounting to £500,000, was formed to place the shares of the Armavir–Tuapse, the Black Sea–Kuban, and the Kakhetian railways on the London market, principal and interest in each case being unconditionally guaranteed by the Russian Government. The same company also invested in the municipal 5 per cent. gold bonds of the city of Baku.

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British capital has played an important part in various other public enterprises. 315 471

Certain minor commercial undertakings, such as pottery-making at Tiflis, wine-growing in Terek, and timber exploitation in the Rion district, are in Italian hands.

### (d) *Methods of Economic Penetration*

For some years past the Germans have adopted their usual business methods with success in the Caucasus.[1] They appointed agents who spoke Russian fluently, and who were invested with full powers to act for the firms they represented. A single firm frequently offered widely varying lines of goods, of which the agents could produce samples. All catalogues and price-lists were printed with Russian quotations in the Russian currency, and were therefore much more popular than those of British firms, which were invariably presented in English only, with prices quoted in English money. 434

The nearest British agencies were at Rostov-on-Don. British firms were unwilling to give the credit expected by Russian merchants, and appeared indifferent to local prejudices and preferences in regard to the nature of goods to be supplied. They were, therefore, at a disadvantage in competing with the more enterprising German. In certain lines of goods, such as ready-made clothes, haberdashery, boots and shoes, drugs, all kinds of fancy goods and stationery, Germany and Austria-Hungary held the market; and they were beginning to encroach on the steel, agricultural machinery, engine, and motor trades, once almost exclusively British.

## (2) Trade with Russia

Most of the manufactured goods required by Caucasia are supplied by Russia, the chief exceptions being machinery and other metal goods; produce of various

[1] In 1916 a German-Georgian society was established in order to cultivate economic intercourse between the two countries.

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[181.-1917]



Machabeli, who founded a daily paper. The style of this school was for the most part romantically patriotic, and it appealed primarily to the large and impoverished aristocratic class; but of all its disciples Ilia Chavchavadze alone had a following among the people. In general, the Russian Government had little to fear from the patriotic movement of the nobles; the majority of them served faithfully, some with distinction, in the Georgian regiments which played an important part in the Caucasian Campaign of 1877–8. Finally, the incorporation, in 1884, of the hitherto distinct Georgian army in the general military organisation of the Russian Empire marked the disappearance of the last remnant of the independence of the Georgian kingdom.

With the economic development of Transcaucasia the subversive social doctrines already spreading among the workmen of European Russia reached the Caucasus, and the Tiflis administration was confronted with a movement more real and more dangerous than the sentimental romanticism of the native princes. In 1870 European capital began to exploit Baku, and in the same year operations were begun at the great manganese deposits of Chiaturi. The construction of a railway line from Poti to Tiflis had been begun in 1867, and in 1883 this line was continued to Baku. In 1884 foreign capital, chiefly that of the Rothschilds, began to build a port at Batum. During the following thirty years the industrialisation of the Caucasus proceeded. Baku became one of the greatest petroleum centres of the world; further deposits of oil were exploited at Maikop and Grozni; another railway soon linked these towns with the Black Sea, the Caspian and Baku, and Russian, Armenian and foreign companies hastened to undertake the working of the rich manganese and copper deposits and the export of the silk, cotton, timber and wine of the country.

This sudden development soon produced the most complicated problems; antagonisms social and racial were presented in an acute form. The oil-towns were the foci of these antagonisms and the scene of the more sanguinary events of 1904–6, but the conditions there reacted on, and were reproduced in a lesser degree in, Georgia. Foreign capitalism was more than usually aggressive, as it believed itself to be operating in a new country where it was in a position to exploit cheap and inexhaustible supplies of uneducated native labour; and a sudden transition from feudalism to industrialism had created a labouring class the more dangerous because it could

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135 [114] 135 316 [78] 471

exist on the subject, and in Mr. Ghambashidze's book the existence of many important deposits is only broadly indicated.

*Metals.—Manganese* is the only metal which has been adequately worked in Georgia, and the growth of this industry has, by creating a community of miners, had an important effect on the industrialisation and subsequent growth of the Socialist movement in the country.

The principal manganese deposit covers an extent of about 100 square miles along both banks of the river Kvirili, in the Government of Kutais, the centre of the mining region being at the town of Chiaturi. The mines were at first worked by a large number of small native firms who, from lack of expert knowledge and capital, employed very unscientific methods, with the result that there was much waste. Later, however, foreign firms, chiefly German, began to purchase holdings and to organise the industry, and towards the end of the last decade of the nineteenth century Georgian manganese rivalled that of Brazil and India. Great Britain was at first the principal purchaser, but Germany and other Continental countries later absorbed the bulk of the output. The industry reached the height of its prosperity in 1906, when a decrease in demand, unusually high sea-freights, and foreign competition caused a depression which lasted until 1911. In that year a revival of prosperity took place, but with the closing of the Dardanelles at the end of 1914 the industry suffered a severe blow. At the end of 1918 work at the mines had practically ceased, and heavy stocks of ore were lying at Chiaturi and Poti.

Further deposits of manganese exist at Khvartata (Batum), Saifalu (Elisavetpol), Samtredi and Novo-Senaki (Kutais).

Outcrops of *copper* occur in many parts of the Caucasus, and its mining has been in progress from the remotest times. There are three main areas which are known to contain rich deposits: (1) south of Tiflis, and east and west of the Tiflis-Kars Railway; (2) in the Chorokh Valley; and (3) in the Zangezur region.

(1) The Kedabeg group, comprising the mines of Kedabeg, Kelakent and Kara-bulag, situated north-east of Gökcha in the Government of Elisavetpol, have been worked by the American firm of Siemens Brothers, whose production of copper in 1913 amounted to 1,272 metric tons. The Allahverdi, Akhtala and Shambru mines, in the Lialvar Hills, south of Tiflis, are worked by the French Cie Métallurgique et Industrielle du Caucase, their production in 1913 amounting to 4,760 metric tons. Native firms also work mines in the Phambak Hills,

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and at Delijan, Kazakh, Sagali, Saifalu, and elsewhere in the Government of Elisavetpol. 135

(2) In the Chorokh Basin, the whole length of which is believed to contain rich deposits of ore, the British Caucasus Copper Co. has worked the Dzanzul mine, south of Borchka. In 1912 the production from this mine was 40,000 tons of ore and 3,000 tons of copper, but in the following year the output was disappointing. In the same region Siemens Brothers had begun operations at the Khvartshana mine. 316 471

(3) In the Zangezur region difficulties of transport have prevented adequate exploitation, but work has been undertaken by native firms, notably at Synik, Barabatum and Katar. Other considerable deposits are believed to exist in the Rion Valley round Telav and Zakatali, in the Sukhum district and along the Ossetian Military Road.

*Iron* has been little exploited in the Caucasus, but deposits have been prospected at Khamuli in Kutais, Chachak in Tiflis, on the banks of the Bzib near Sukhum, at Veden in Chechnia, in the Maikop district, and near Lenkoran. 135 316

There are deposits of *lead* and *zinc* ore at Sadon, near Vladikavkaz, in the neighbourhoods of Sukhum and Gori, in the Government of Elisavetpol, near Mozdok and Artvin, and elsewhere, but little exploitation has been undertaken. Deposits of *mercury, molybdenum, antimony, iron pyrites, cobalt* and *nickel*, and also small quantities of *gold* and *silver* exist, and would probably repay exploitation.

*Non-Metals.*—*Coal* is exploited in the Caucasus only at the mines of Tkhvibuli in the Government of Kutais, where the annual production for 1911–15 averaged about 5,000 tons. Much of it however was of poor quality. Rich deposits have been prospected at Tkvartcheli, in the Government of Sukhum, and another field has been located near Olti in the Government of Kars.

Deposits of *baryta* have been worked in the Government of Kutais; *asbestos* is produced at Shorapan and elsewhere in Kutais; *sulphur* abounds in the Government of Erivan; *salt* is produced in considerable quantities in the Governments of Baku, Erivan, Kars, and Daghestan; there are *bitumen*-beds on the Black Sea coast; *emery* is found at Kara-Bulakh; fine *lithographic stone* is obtainable at Amlivi, near Tiflis, and *pumice-stone* near Kars; *mica* and *graphite* also exist.

*Mineral Springs.*—The Caucasus is celebrated for its mineral springs, and before the Revolution many thousands of Russians, and even invalids from Western Europe, visited the health- 312 529

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giving waters. In the Northern Caucasus Essentuki, Piatigorsk, Kislovodsk and Zhelesnovodsk were the favourite resorts. In Transcaucasia Borjom, in the Government of Tiflis, an appanage of the Grand Duke Nicholas Nicholaevich, was the most popular resort, and its waters, rich in carbonic acid and comparable with those of Vichy, were exported to Russia, Western Europe and America—in 1913 to the amount of 9,000,000 bottles.

At Abas-Tuman, 40 miles from Borjom, and at Tiflis are hot baths, efficacious for the cure of skin diseases, nervous diseases, rheumatism, etc. Some of the springs contain the same qualities as Cauterets and Barèges in France, and Baden in Austria, while the climate of Abas-Tuman attracts consumptive patients.

Tskhalkubo, near Kutais, possesses warm springs whose radio properties are declared to be equal to those of Teplitz-Schönau in Bohemia. For this resort is prophesied an important future as soon as the nature of the waters is more widely known, and ordered conditions make it accessible to the timid invalids of Western Europe and America.

*Petroleum* (1) The Baku Fields.—The Baku area has hitherto been the most productive source of Caucasian oil. The older oil-fields lie in the Apsheron Peninsula—Balakhani, Sabunchi, Romani, Bibi-Ebyat and Zabrat—while there is a more recently discovered field at Surakhani. The outlying district of Benagadi and Holy and Cheleken Islands in the Caspian, are also worked by the Baku firms. The Baku fields had been exploited since ancient times, and from 1813 some attempt had been made by the Russians to develop their potentialities. An onerous concession system, however, discouraged private enterprise, and when, in the middle of the nineteenth century, a universal demand for crude-oil was created, the fields still remained almost untouched, and Russia became dependent on oil imported from America. In 1872 the concession system was at last abolished, and State participation in the profits was ensured by the imposition of an excise duty. Later, the nascent industry was further assisted by the imposition of a duty on oil imported into Russia.

In 1873 the Swedish Nobel Brothers commenced to bore in the Apsheron fields, and in the following years many foreign groups, principal of which were the French Rothschilds, obtained concessions. In 1908 the prosperity of the Baku fields reached its zenith, and in that year the Caucasian oil-fields together produced 22 per cent. of the world's output. Between 1908 and 1911, however, there took place a serious decrease, the output falling from nearly 7,500,000 metric tons in 1908 to just over 5,000,000 metric tons in 1911.

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But in 1914, while the production of the older wells was still decreasing, the newly exploited field of Benagadi was giving a steadily increasing output; and it is unquestionable that the oil-deposits of the South-eastern Caucasus are by no means exhausted, and many rich areas remain to be prospected and exploited.

(2) The Grozni Fields.—The petroliferous area round Grozni had been worked for some years to supply local needs when, in 1893, the European Petrol Company, a British concern, commenced scientific exploitation. The oil-bearing area, at present developed, covers an area of about 2,500 acres, while new areas in the neighbourhood have been prospected for a radius of about 30 miles. The whole district is believed to be extremely rich in petroleum products, and experts consider that its output may eventually rival that of Baku. The Kazbek Syndicate and the Anglo-Terek Co., both British concerns, also own important holdings.

(3) The Maikop Fields, originally exploited by British capital in 1908, have proved disappointing. The output has steadily declined since 1912, and little oil has been available for export, the bulk being consumed locally.

Other petroliferous areas are known to exist in the regions of Shemakha, Jevad, Lenkoran, Telav and Ozurgeti.

*Export and Import Trade.*—The bulk of the trade of Transcaucasia was, before the war, carried on with other parts of the Russian Empire, by Batum and Poti to the South Russian ports, and by Baku to Astrakhan and Central Asia. Further Transcaucasia enjoyed the benefits of a growing transit trade between the Mediterranean countries and Russia on the one hand, and Persia and Central Asia on the other.

The Transcaucasus exported into Russia the whole of the copper produced and a proportion of the manganese, together with the bulk of the production of tobacco, tea, raw silk and cocoons, wine, wool and fruit. In return Russia exported into the Transcaucasus machinery and other metal goods and cereals, supplying one-fifth of the consumption of grain in the Transcaucasus. This last item is significant, for it implies the partial dependence of the Transcaucasus, itself an agricultural country, on Russia for food-supply.[1]

On the other hand the Transcaucasus exported to Europe,

[1] "Somme toute, la balance de l'industrie rurale accusait, en Géorgie, avant la guerre, plutôt des déficits que des excédents; le manque de blé n'était pas compensé par un surplus des autres branches de l'agriculture" (V. Vohtinsky, *La Démocratie Géorgienne*).

433
178 Azizbek, and Ordzhonikidze Canals; Dagestan ASSR: October Revolution, and Dzerzhinskiy Canals; Groznyy Oblast: Lenin, and Alkhanchurtovskiy Canals; Stavropol' Oblast: Nevinnomysk Canal). In the West Caucasus the problem is rather that of high precipitation, so that there the trend has been towards drainage systems (in the delta of the Rion and Kuban Rivers). In addition to this, several huge reservoirs have been created (Lake Mingechaur), in connection with hydroelectric plants. Dynamism also shows itself in stock raising in the introduction of cross-breeding of various Merino, Karakul, Mutton and Mutton-dairy varieties of sheep. Yet, it shows itself even more clearly in the various industries and connected fields, as within the new mining areas (for instance around Dashkesan), new oil fields (for instance in the Neftegorsk area), a whole series of hydroelectric power plants (at Yerevan, etc.), a brand-new steel mill (Rustavi), or industrial centers (Sumgait, Kirovabad), a new center of the chemical industry (in the Armenian SSR), railroad-building (such as the Black Sea coast and the Caspian Sea coast lines), and many other items, which all prove that this dynamism is a reality.

471
178 State planning also shows its effects in the Caucasian area. Everything is planned well ahead, and in Moscow; independent Caucasian economy-planning does not exist. Although

.471 since the death of Stalin there are some indi-
178 cations, for instance, in the case of the Azerbaijan oil ministry, that the central government will foster local rule in the future.

631 In the realm of state planning, the Cau-
178 casian administrative units represent a solution partly on economic and partly on nationalistic lines. The fact that nationalistic features are more emphasized in this area than elsewhere in Soviet Russia, is due to the ethnic complexity, not to say confusions of the Caucasus. In the Northern Caucasus administrative units like the Rostov, Astrakhan', Groznyy Oblasts, and the Krasnodar, Stavropol' Krays are basically economic units. Those units which are essentially ethnic, though numerous (Adyge AO, Cherkess AO, Kabardian ASSR, North Ossetian ASSR, Dagestan ASSR) are not very important, and their population forms roughly only 10 per cent of that of the whole North Caucasus. The Soviet South Caucasus on the other hand, has only ethnic units. The South Caucasus, a relatively small area, is inhabited by three different non-Russian nations (Armenian, Azeri, Georgia), each of them with the status of a Soviet Socialistic Republic. The territory of these republics was handled during the Czarist regime as a single political and economic unit. This resulted in these republics being even today more interdependent than other Soviet units of a similar grade. The stock-raising of Armenia and

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nexion is made with all parts of Russia) to Baku, *via* 496
Tikhoretskaya, Kavkazkaya, Armavir, Mineralniyavodi, Beslan, Grozni, Petrovsk, and Derbent. From Tikhoretskaya to Mineralniyavodi the track is double.

There are four principal branches: one runs from Tikhoretskaya to Tsaritsin on the Volga, 333 miles; another from Tikhoretskaya to Ekaterinodar, and thence as a double line to Novorossiisk, 170 miles in all; a third from Kavkazkaya to Ekaterinodar, 85 miles; and a fourth from Kavkazkaya to Stavropol, 93 miles. There are also short branches from Mineralniyavodi to Kislovodsk and other watering-places, from Kotlyarevskaya to Nalchik, and from Beslan to Vladikavkaz.

The Vladikavkaz Railway is considered to be one 473
of the most profitable and best-managed private lines 496
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504 the shore front there are 7 piers with depths varying from 19 to 29 ft. at their outer ends. Five of these piers [473] are owned by the Vladikavkaz Railway Company, one by the Russian Steam Navigation and Trading Company, and one by the Russian Standard Oil Company, and all are connected by double lines of rail with the terminus railway station. There is also on the south-west of the harbour a mole, used by coasters, with a depth of 23 ft. alongside. Altogether, there are berths for about 22 steamers.

In autumn and winter anchorage at the head of the bay is rendered very unsafe by the *bora*, a violent north-easterly wind which then prevails; vessels are sometimes unable even to enter.

The harbour is lit by electric light and there are ample loading facilities. The Vladikavkaz Railway storehouses can take 70,000 tons of grain. An iron foundry close to the harbour makes marine boilers and executes repairs.

[439] Novorossiisk has a considerable export trade in grain and mineral oil, amounting to about £5,000,000 a year in value. The imports are inconsiderable, and consist chiefly of machinery, hardware, and coal.

*Poti* harbour affords safe protection to shipping, but is practically unapproachable in bad weather. An outer and inner basin are formed by two moles built of concrete blocks. Another mole in the middle of the outer basin carries two lines of rails and several large sheds. In the inner basin there are berths for eight or ten steamers and an elevator for loading manganese. The length of quayage is 1,500 yds.

[439] In 1913 the value of the exports, of which manganese was by far the most important, was £835,972, whilst the value of the imports for the same year was only £7,350.

*Sochi* is used by sailing vessels, which anchor off Sochi town in 16 fathoms. Steam vessels are able to anchor closer inshore. Sochi was included in the Government scheme for the construction of ports of refuge on this coast.

3: Anonymous U-4 (no date) 1920 RH1 Caucasia RH1



453 *Volga-Kama Commercial Bank* (of Petrograd), at Armavir, Baku, Ekaterinodar, Grozni, and Tiflis, with sub-agencies at Elisavetopol, Erivan, Kutais, Maikop, and Novorossiisk; the *Russian Bank for Foreign Trade* (of Petrograd), at Armavir, Baku, Yeisk, Ekaterinodar, and Novorossiisk; the *Russian Commercial and Industrial Bank* (of Petrograd), at Armavir, Baku, Ekaterinodar, Novorossiisk, Petrovsk, and Stavropol; the *Banque de l'Union* (of Moscow), at Baku and Batum; and the *Banque Internationale de Commerce de Petrograd*, at Baku and Tiflis.

[452] The *Peasants' Land Bank*, a State institution, advances money on the security of their crops to peasants desirous of acquiring land. Loans are made either to village communes, to associations of peasants, or to individuals; 2,297 such loans were made between 1883 and 1914—1,463 to individuals, 782 to associations of peasants, and 52 to communes.

474 Of late years there has been a great increase in the
453 number of co-operative banks—including credit societies
452 (open and mutual), joint-stock mortgage institutions, and mutual mortgage institutions—and a less marked increase in the smaller communal loan and savings banks. There were 95 mutual mortgage institutions in 1912. In 1914 there were 633 open credit associations, with a total membership of 308,952, and a total grant of loans to the value of £2,047,071; and 217 associations of mutual credit and savings, with a membership of 105,358, and a total grant of loans to the value of £1,296,706. Kuban has by far the greater proportion of both kinds of credit association. Of the smaller communal loan and savings banks there were 106 in 1914, of which 102 were in Stavropol.

## (E) GENERAL REMARKS

105 Caucasia as a whole is handicapped by the length and severity of its winters and the mountainous character of the country. Up to 1914 little had been done to relieve these natural disabilities by the provision of

21: Kolarz J-4 (no date) 1952 R1 Soviet Union R1
[Osset] Caucasia RH1



Ca. 175 177 actions against the Turks. An Ossetin Major-General, K. Zankisov, fought in Poland against the insurgents of 1863–4 and he was by no means the only Ossetin Major-General of that epoch. Furthermore, an 'Ossetin Division' became famous in the course of the Russo-Turkish War in 1877–8, when General Skobelev described its 'chivalrous gallantry' as being 'above any praise'.[12]

Ca. 177 538 Russian cultural work among the Ossetins started much earlier than among other mountain peoples. The first book to appear in the Ossetin language was printed in Moscow in 1798; its object was to serve as a kind of introduction to the study of the Bible. A long period of fruitful association with the Russians and the general peaceful approach of the Ossetins towards Russian military and political rule made them more open to the acceptance of Russian preponderance. The Ossetins were, as a matter of fact, the only people of the Northern Caucasus to produce a great writer in the person of Kosta Khetagurov (1859-1906) who was half Russianized himself and wrote in both the Ossetin and Russian languages. The Soviet régime greatly popularized Khetagurov as a symbol of Russian-Ossetin synthesis, which he undoubtedly was. He had a complete Russian education, had studied at St. Petersburg and was strongly influenced by such progressive Russian writers as Herzen and Chernishevsky, which makes him particularly acceptable from the Soviet point of view.

Ca. 423 668 474 681 Until the Ossetins gave proof of their loyalty to Russia during the war the Soviet régime had had to overcome Ossetin resistance to both the establishment of collective farms and the suppression of tribal customs. During the period of the collectivization Ossetin peasants waged a sort of guerilla warfare against 'socialist property' and while outwardly accepting collectivization, tried to transform the Kolkhoz into an instrument of their respective clans. Ossetin chairmen of collective farms and officials of local Soviets seem to have acted on the principle 'I decide who is a kulak and an enemy of the State and who is not'. Thus, at least during its initial stage, collectivization in Ossetia became a downright farce. Persons belonging to a rival clan were rendered innocuous by being denounced as kulaks; real kulaks, on the other hand, were promoted to the rank of respectable Soviet citizens if they happened to belong to the clan dominating the local village council or the collective farm concerned.[13]

Ca. [725] 131 142 S.U. 563 634 All such 'incidents' were forgotten when the Ossetins redeemed their reputation by their brilliant war record. In the fighting which resulted in the dislodgement of the Germans from the approaches to the Caucasus, Ossetin partisans operating from behind the enemy lines greatly assisted the Red Army.[14] As a mark of appreciation for their loyalty, the Soviet Government allowed the Ossetins to increase substantially the territory of their national republic. A decree of April 8th, 1944, stipulated

3: Anonymous U-4 (no date) 1920 RH1 Caucasia RH1



nexion is made with all parts of Russia) to Baku, *via* 496
Tikhoretskaya, Kavkazkaya, Armavir, Mineralniyavodi, Beslan, Grozni, Petrovsk, and Derbent. From Tikhoretskaya to Mineralniyavodi the track is double.

There are four principal branches: one runs from Tikhoretskaya to Tsaritsin on the Volga, 333 miles; another from Tikhoretskaya to Ekaterinodar, and thence as a double line to Novorossiisk, 170 miles in all; a third from Kavkazkaya to Ekaterinodar, 85 miles; and a fourth from Kavkazkaya to Stavropol, 93 miles. There are also short branches from Mineralniyavodi to Kislovodsk and other watering-places, from Kotlyarevskaya to Nalchik, and from Beslan to Vladikavkaz.

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C. G. 596 children; later, married sons with adult offspring would separate from the family even if the father was still alive. The final stage was that each married couple set up a household of its own. The original joint family survived until recently in some remote corners, particularly among the Svan and the Pshav. There C. G. 476 is a tradition of mutual aid between families with regard to tasks exceeding the forces of a single unit (agricultural tasks, vintage, house-building, tapestry-weaving, etc.). These relations obtain even between unrelated families, C. G. 621 but often whole villages or sections of villages consisted of groups of related families (clans). Such family-settlements exist at the present time; a kolkhoz or a brigade in a kolkhoz may consist entirely of persons bearing the same family name.

C. A. 608 In the whole N. Caucasus and also in Armenia the institution of milk-relationship existed. A child suckled by a woman belonging to a certain family became related to that family, as did all its relatives, and these ties were considered as sacred as those of blood relationship. In the N. Caucasus such a relationship could also be established ritually in the case of older persons, namely by mere contact with a woman's breast; this was carried so far that even a forcible performing of this ritual could end a blood feud, as the act made the injured family and that from which "blood was sought" related "by milk." In this

504 Bailov, and on the east by the Kargin Islands, which lie at the entrance to the bay, 7 miles out at sea. A line of quays extends 4 miles, and there are 14 piers, owned by various shipping companies, each company [653] having its own wharf, warehouses, and offices. In 1914 the State assigned £100,000 for the building of other wharves, although there was already ample accommodation for the steamers engaged in oil transport and in the Transcaspian trade. At Cape Bailov there is a capacious dock.

*Derbent* (Derbend), 154 miles to the north-west of Baku, is an open roadstead, affording no protection from the north and south-east winds, which blow with great violence at certain seasons. There are no harbour facilities, but various shipping lines visit the port regularly. There is a considerable local trade in fish.

*Lenkoran*, on a shallow bay, offers only exposed and indifferent anchorage. Large ships lie 3 miles out to sea. There is a considerable trade in boxwood.

*Petrovsk*, 81 miles north-west of Derbent, has a fair harbour, formed by a curved stone mole, 500 yds. long, on the south. There is a wooden pier on the north, and both mole and pier are connected by lines of rails with the railway station. There are berths for about 10 steamers. The quays and wharves are lit with electric light. The port is closed by ice in January only, and in the winter months, when the Volga is [439] frozen, Petrovsk does a considerable transit trade between Russia in Europe on the one side and Persia and Transcaspia on the other. It also exports oil from Grozni to the Volga. All the Caspian Sea steamship companies call at Petrovsk regularly.

### (*b*) *Shipping Lines*

505 (i) *Russian.*—The Russian Steam Navigation and [477] Trading Co. had almost a monopoly of the Black Sea shipping services, and, under a contract due to expire in 1928, received an annual subsidy of £98,000 from the State. It had piers at the ports of Batum and

3: Anonymous U-4 (no date) 1920 RH1 Caucasia RH1
CISCAUCASIA



131 on the south by the Caucasus and the Province of Daghestan; on the east by the Caspian Sea; and on the north by the Kuma-Manych depression, a chain of narrow shallow lakes and river beds filled at certain seasons with water, connecting the Manych, a tributary of the Don, with the Kuma, which flows into the Caspian Sea.

## (2) Surface, Coasts, and River System

### *Surface*

133 The parts of the Caucasus range which are included in Ciscaucasia are (1) the *Black Sea ridge*, 155 miles in length, stretching from Anapa on the coast to Mount Oshten (9,369 ft.). These mountains are covered with thick woods. (2) The *Kuban Caucasus*, 120 miles in length, which extends from Mount Oshten to Mount Elbruz. Here the heights vary from 3,000 to 6,000 ft. (3) The *Central Caucasus*, which contains various subdivisions, included for the greater part in Transcaucasia.

[487] The passes across the Caucasus from Ciscaucasia to Transcaucasia are few and are at high altitudes, varying from 9,000 to 12,000 ft. above sea-level.

The northern foot-hills of the Caucasus form on both sides of the River Terek the mountainous region of the Kabarda. North-eastwards from this stretches highland country, which merges into a depression northwards from Stavropol. Between these two there rises the isolated mass of the Beshtau Mountains.

The plains of Ciscaucasia slope gently from the base of the Caucasus Mountains towards the Kuma-Manych depression. In the centre is the Stavropol plateau, which varies in height from 2,000 to 2,500 ft. and separates the tributaries of the River Kuban from those of the Terek and the Kuma. Towards the foot-hills of the Caucasus the plateau is covered with dense forests; on the west it merges into steppes or ends in the reedy marshes of the Kuban delta. In the north

5: Allen H-4 (no date) 1923 RH1 Caucasia RH1



watered by the streams falling south and west from the Central 132
Caucasus and Daghestan; but the annual rainfall is low in comparison to that of the Mingrelian Plain, and at Baku registers an average of only 13 inches. The destructive measures of invaders and subsequent desiccation have further contributed to the aridity of the eastern region, and the grassy plains which once supported thousands of Mongol ponies have now degenerated in many parts into desert land. But as it is less fertile, so the Kur Valley is more healthy than that of the Rion. The atmosphere is dry, and if the summers are as hot they are not as humid as those of Mingrelia. In the winter extremes of cold are experienced, and snow lies in many parts of the Kur Valley. The third, or south-eastern, area, including Russian Armenia and Kara Bagh, suffers the violent contrasts of heat and cold of the Armenian Plateau. At Erivan and Alexandropol snow lies until April, while the short summers scorch all vegetation. The Araxes Valley suffers in a lesser degree from the same conditions.

*Communications.*—The chief commercial route in Trans- 496
caucasia is the Transcaucasian Railway. The main line runs north from Batum along the Black Sea coast to Nikolaevsk, whence it turns inland, crosses the Rion and at Samtredi joins a line coming from Poti. Thence it runs east-south-east to Gori and Tiflis, traversing the Suram by a tunnel. It follows the course of the Kur until it crosses the Poili bridge, and then runs south-east by Elisavetpol to Alyat on the Caspian Sea, where it turns north to Baku. The total length is 563 miles. The Railway Company further owns a pipe-line following the same route, which is capable of conveying 1,600,000 tons of oil per annum from Baku to Batum. From Tiflis another line runs south by Karakilissa to Alexandropol, whence it branches west to Kars and south-east to Erivan and Julfa. During the war, the Russians continued the Kars line to Sarikamish, whence a light railway connected it with Erzerum. Another light railway connects Julfa with Tabriz. Branch lines also connect the Transcaucasian line with Kutais and the Tkhvibuli coal-fields, with the Chiaturi manganese area, and with the popular health-resort at Borjom.

Until the collapse of Shamil[2] Transcaucasia was almost 487
without land communication with the North Caucasus, except by the Daryal Pass. The principal commercial communications between Transcaucasia and Russia still continue to be marine, on the Black Sea from Poti and Batum to the South Russian ports, on the Caspian from Baku to Astrakhan.

2 [see cat 116, p 201 ff; the date is 1859—Analyst]

5: Allen H-4 (no date) 1923 RH1 Caucasia RH1



491 The Russians have been careful however to develop communications over the Caucasus of extreme military and political [491] importance. A railway from Baku follows the historical passage-way by Derbend and connects with the Vladikavkaz-Rostov line and the main Russian system by Petrovsk, Grozni and Beslan. There is no other railway communication with Transcaucasia, but Russian strategic control has been ensured by four military roads. The main artery, the Georgian Military Road, 382 miles in length, leads from Mozdok via Vladikavkaz and the Daryal to Dushet, Tiflis and Erivan. On the west the Ossetian Military Road runs from Ardon, 20 miles north-west of Vladikavkaz, across the main range of the Caucasus by the Mamison Pass, and reaches Kutais by Oni. Along the formerly impassable Black Sea coast a metalled road now runs from Anapa via Novo-Rossiisk and Sochi to Sukhum and Kutais. On the east a metalled road from Petrovsk traverses Daghestan by Temir Khan Shura and the Vantliashet Pass and leads by Telav to Tiflis. The existence of these four roads is of supreme political importance. The Caucasus is no longer an insuperable military barrier, and the construction of the Black Sea and Ossetian roads has opened two new routes of invasion into Georgia. Other important roads are the lateral road west to east, Kutais—Tiflis—Elisavetpol—Shemakha—Baku; also Tiflis—Kars, Akhaltsikh—Batum, and Akhalkalaki—Ardahan—Ardanuch—Artvin—Batum. Batum has no direct main road connection with Poti or Sukhum.

The Rion is navigable for 83 miles from its mouth at Poti; [492] the Kur for 390 miles.

*Timber Resources.*—The Caucasian area is remarkable for 137 the extent and wealth of its forests, the survival of which has been due as much to the sparsity, and consequently inconsiderable needs of the population, as to inaccessibility and impracticability of transport. In the south-eastern regions much deforestation has taken place, and many of the mountain-sides of Russian Armenia, formerly thickly wooded, are now bare of trees. Similarly, since the Russian conquest, the beech-forests of Chechnia have been greatly thinned. Dense forests of beech, oak and conifers still cover the northern slopes of the Caucasus along the banks of the Kuban and the Terek and their tributaries, while there are extensive forests round Lake Gökcha, east of Elisavetpol, and in Talish.

But it is along the Black Sea coast, on the south-western slopes of the Caucasus and in Georgia, where the many streams and shelter from the winds of the steppe are favourable to

491 excellent map on the scale of 1:150,000 of the Klukhor in the above-quoted work by Freshfield: Explorations of the Caucasus, volume 2, pages 190-1).

## The "Akhty Army Road"

487 The roads leading from Trans-Caucasia to Dagestan do not differ from the Sukhumi Army road; they are all paths. One of them has been given the title of an Army Road: the Akhty Army Road (Voyenno-Akhtinskaia Doroga), which connects Nukha in northwestern Azerbaidjan with the former fortress of Akhty, on the upper Samur river in the area of the Rutuls and Tsakhurs. The straight distance between Nukha and Akhty is only 55 km, and the Akhty Army Road uses the Salavat Pass, elevation 2896 m, due north of Nukha, which it reaches via the Shin Gorge. It descends from the pass in a northeasterly direction, and leads to the Tsakhur mountain village of Borch or Burzh, from where it goes in a generally easterly direction, following the Akhty-Chai valley, and reaches the confluence of the Akhty-Chai and the Samur. From Akhty down the Samur valley, the road is marked on the map of 1916 as a first-class communication line which ultimately leads to the Caspian coast highway, to Derbent or Kuba, etc. But the entire pathway between the highway Nukha-Zakatali, — from which it

.487 branches off about 14 km. northwest of Nukha before the village of Gyuinuk -- and the Akhty road is marked on the maps at my disposal as a mountain path only, just like the Sukhumi Army Road across the Klukhor Pass, not as a suitable road for vehicles, such as the Oset'ian Army Road. (The Guidebook to the Soviet Union, edited by Radó, p. 792, calls it a road, not a path; however, no details are given.)

There are at least three more pathways leading into Dagestan. One of them goes through an unnamed pass at long. 46° 7' E. and lat. 42° N. connecting the Alazani valley with that of the upper Avar Koisu. The other two connect the upper Andi Koisu with the Alazani valley: the eastern one used the Kodor (or Gudur) Pass (2392 m, according to Stieler), north-northeast of Yeniseli, situated on the highway Zakatali-T elavi: and the other leads from Kakhet'ia to the upper Andi-Koisu, using the valley of the Kakhet'ia river (left unnamed on the map of 1916) and the T'ush-Alazani, one of the source rivers of the Andi-Koisu, south of the Komito or Diklos-Mt'a massif.

Similar pathways exist in the northwestern part of the Caucasus, leading from Abkhazia to valleys of some of the tributaries of the Kuban. The map of 1916 indicates five such pathways between the Klukhor Pass and the upper reaches of the Mzymta valley.

3: Anonymous U-4 (no date) 1920 RH1 Caucasia RH1



thousands of square miles in America, and that a single 315
Baku oil fountain has actually yielded as much in one day as 25,000 wells in America. The American system has been adopted at Grozni and Maikop. Manila ropes have been very generally replaced by wire ropes. Pumps cannot be used at Baku to raise the oil, and it is therefore baled by steam or electric power; air-lifts have recently been found successful. In default of fresh water, steam at Baku has to be obtained from sea-water, which causes rapid destruction of the boilers.

Oil is conveyed to the Black Town (Baku) refineries [471]
in pipe lines, of which in 1906 there were 39 in private ownership besides the State pipe lines. Large firms had their own pumping stations in addition to those provided for general use. Fountain oil was pumped direct to the stations and measured there. Some of the Bibi-Ebyat oil goes by barge.

From Baku the oil has four means of transit: by [489]
rail to Batum or Poti; by pipe line (kerosene) to Batum; by rail to Petrovsk; and by tank-steamer to Astrakhan and thence up the Volga. The last route, by which the Volga factories are supplied, is only open from April to October.

Electric power was steadily replacing steam power [377]
on the oil-fields in 1914. The Spies Petroleum Co. at Grozni run their works almost wholly by it. There are generating stations at Sabunchi, belonging to Nobel Brothers; at Zabrat, belonging to the Société de la Caspienne et de la Mer Noire; at White Town (1,200 horse-power); and at Baieloff (4,500 horse-power). At Sabunchi and Zabrat the Surachani gas is used to generate electricity.

### (6) Manufactures

Ciscaucasia and Transcaucasia have each their own 438
characteristic industries, which, in the former case, are those proper to a region predominantly agricultural, and in the latter are dependent on the output of the oil-fields.

# APPENDIX

## TABLE I.—SHIPPING IN 1909 AND 1913

| | 1909. | | | | 1913. | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | *Foreign trade.* | | *Coasting vessels.* | | *Foreign trade.* | | *Coasting vessels.* | |
| 1. *Black Sea.* | *Number.* | *Tonnage.* | *Number.* | *Tonnage.* | *Number.* | *Tonnage.* | *Number.* | *Tonnage.* |
| Batum . | 692 | 661,000 | 777 | 100,000 | 527 | 1,007,027 | 2,484 | — |
| Poti . . | 383 | 516,130 | — | — | 155 (steamers) | 321,933 | 94 (sailing vessels). | 4,790 |
| Sukhum . | — | — | 1,034 | 8,060 | — | — | — | — |
| Novorossiisk | 563 | 1,242,000 | 1,645 | 225,406 | 458 | 810,806 | 1,932 (steamers) | — |
| | | | | | | | 331 (sailing vessels) | — |
| 2. *Sea of Azov.* | | | | | | | | |
| Temryuk . | 36 | 123,340 | 168 | 10,256 | | | | |
| Akhtar Bay | — | — | 340 | 16,130 | | | | |
| Yeisk . | — | — | 913 | 5,677 | | | | |
| 3. *Caspian Sea.* | | | | | *Tons loaded.* | | *Tons discharged.* | |
| Baku . | 646 | 83,726 | 6,870 | 4,800,000 | 5,400,000 | | 664,200 | |
| Derbent . | — | — | 145 | 2,000 | | | | |
| Petrovsk . | 14 | 2,630 | 1,284 | 212,936 | 640,000 | | 233,754 | |
| Lenkoran . | 56 | 300 | 1,394 | 21,742 | | | | |

489

178
439 materials of the food industry, were well exploited under the earlier regime. As a whole, however, one cannot compare the present day variety in food industry with that of Czarist Russia. The giant corn kombinat of Beslan producing starches, molasses, etc. symbolizes the results of the Soviet efforts in this field. The large number of oil presses in the North Caucasus, the sugar refineries in the South Caucasus, the fruit canning centers especially along the slopes of eastern North Caucasus, and the milk industry, centered mostly around the health resorts, were founded in general during the Soviet period. The fishing industry and fish-canning along the Caspian Sea coast and along the shores of the Sea of Azov reached their present size during the recent periods. The wine industry is an old industry in the Caucasus, but the tea industry is a Soviet creation. This new industry is centered in the subtropical western and eastern corners of the South Caucasus.

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489 Of the related fields, transportation also shows the impact of the new Russian industrialization policy. On the eve of World War I, the Russian railroad system was inadequate. Of the present main lines, only the Baku-Rostov, the Novorossiysk-Tsaritsyn, and the Baku-Batum were in existence. There was also a trunk line connecting Dzhul'fa with Tiflis, and Astrakhan' with Saratov, and Stavropol' with Yekaterinodar. As against this,

178 the present Soviet regime has created the
● 489 aforementioned Black Sea and Caspian Sea lines, the line along the Aras River, and, which is very important, a dense network of trunk lines. In navigation the changes during the Soviet period have been less important. This is due partially to the non-existence of foreign trade, to the relative unimportance of coastal shipping, and especially to the fact that in the Caucasus the rivers are unsuited for navigation (the Don and the Volga Rivers do not belong to the Caucasus, but rather mark its northern limits). Similarly, the network of primary roads is extremely skimpy. From this point of view there is no difference between the old and the new regimes. The famous military roads through the Caucasus have more historical, than practical value. According to some recent data, the building of a super-highway has started which will link the Caucasus to Moscow. Completely new is the aviation service which is of great value in a huge country such as Russia. The more important centers like Baku, Yerevan, Kirovabad, Makhachkala, Astrakhan', and Rostov have several airfields or landing grounds.

178 Finally, the network of the health resorts
529 which partially existed even in the Czarist period made the Caucasus the most important center of the hotel and catering trade in the whole USSR.

# TRANSPORTATION

489 Until the end of the nineteenth century Russia's transportation was based on waterways. Thus, the Russians first reached the Caucasus by way of the Volga and Don Rivers. Political difficulties and the paucity of navigable rivers in the Caucasus proper, however, prevented easy and total Russian colonization.
489 Serious exploitation of the area by the Russians
496 did not start until the first railroad line (the Rostov-Baku line) was built in 1870. Today Caucasian transportation is based on railroads. The Soviet regime, realizing the importance of railroads for industrialization (and Russification) has built over 40,000 miles in the USSR during the last thirty-five years, bringing the present day total mileage to 80,000. In the Caucasus, the Czarist railroads were used to transport raw materials from the Caucasus to the processing centers of Inner Russia, and bring the finished products back to this outlying area. The present-day system takes care of local needs as well as over-all Russian requirements; it connects the capitals of the various sub-areas, links the hinterlands to their respective harbors, secures a strong connection with Moscow, and finally takes into consideration military re-
489 quirements as well. The importance of high-
491 ways in the Caucasian transportation system is small. The mountainous parts of the South Caucasus and the Krasnodar Kray in the North Caucasus have relatively better roads. The old military roads across the Caucasus range are primarily of touristic value. The best is the

489 series of trunk lines, the most important of
496 which are the Mirzaani, Telavi, Stalinir, Baku-
riani, Vale, Sachkere, Tkibuli, Tskhaltubo,
[504] Poti, and Zugdidi lines. The main port of the
republic is Poti. The military roads have pri-
[509] marily historical value. Aviation is centered
around Tbilisi. The capitals of the sub-units
(Stalinir, Batumi, Sukhumi) have railroad con-
nections, and Batumi is at the same time one of
the principal petroleum loading ports of the
USSR.

Astrakhan' Oblast: Transportation is based on waterways (the Volga and the Caspian Sea), and more recently on railroads. The principal railroad line is the Saratov-Astrakhan'-Kizlyar line, the Astrakhan'-Kizlyar section of which was recently built. Chief port
[504] of the area is Astrakhan' connected by a 125-mile long channel through the shallow waters of the Caspian Sea with Astrakhan' Port. Astra-
[509] khan' is above all an oil port; in addition to this it is an important aviation center.

Groznyy Oblast: Transportation based on railroads. The oblast is well served by the two Baku-Rostov main lines (along the Sundzha, and the Terek Rivers), and by the new Kizlyar-Astrakhan' line. The chief junction is Gudermes.

Dagestan ASSR: On the Baku-Rostov line. The center of the railroad system is Makhach-
kala, the terminal of several spurs. Makhach-
[504] kala is an important grain, cotton and petroleum port as well, trading mostly with Russian Cen-
[508] tral Asia, and with Persia. There are also several airfields around the city.

489 Stavropol' Kray: Transportation based
496 only on railroads. The chief line is the Baku-Rostov line with spurs penetrating into the steppe and into the Greater Caucasus. Of these trunk lines, which are sometimes electrified, the most important are the Dzaudzhikau, Alagir, Nal'chik, Kislovodsk, Ust'-Dzegutinskaya, Budennovsk, Blagodarnoye, and Divnoye lines. All the capitals of the sub-
[508] units have railroad connections. Airfields are concentrated in the health resort area, around Pyatigorsk.

Krasnodar Kray: Transportation based partially on railroads, partially on coastal shipping. The kray has the most developed railroad system in the Caucasus. The chief lines are the Baku-Rostov, and the Novorossiysk-Stalingrad lines crossing each other at Tikhoretsk. The other important junctions are
[504] Armavir, Krasnodar, and Kropotkin. There is a whole series of good harbors in the area. Tuapse, an oil port, and Novorossiysk, a grain and oil port, are especially important. The harbors on the Sea of Azov are of less impor-
[508] tance. There are several airfields in the area.

Rostov Oblast: Transportation based on waterways (Don; Sea of Azov), and on railroads. The center of the railroad system is Rostov.
[504] Of the ports, Taganrog (coal and grain shipping), and Rostov are the most important.

The distribution of the various means of
496 transportation in the entire Caucasus is as follows:

Railroads: The essential means of

RHl

489 Georgian Military Road connecting Dzaudzhikau
[491] with Tbilisi. Aviation, on the other hand, is very well developed.

The transportation systems of the various sub-areas are as follows:

489 Azerbaijan SSR: Transportation based
496 on railroads. The chief rail junction is Baku, the terminal of the Baku-Rostov, Baku-Tbilisi, and Baku-Dzhul'fa-Tbilisi lines. The main lines are partially electrified as are the railroads on the Apsheron Peninsula. The main
[504] port is Baku (petroleum-loading). The Kura River is navigable as far as Yevlakh. The air-
[508] fields are concentrated around Baku and Kirovabad. The sub-units are well served by railroads. Stepanakert, the capital of the High-Karabakh AO, is the terminal of a trunk line coming from Yevlakh. Dzhul'fa, in the Nakhichevan' ASSR, is an important junction on the Baku-Tbilisi-Tabriz (Persia) lines.

Armenian SSR: Railroads are the chief means of transportation. Important junctions are Zangibazar (on the Leninakan, Zanga, and Dzhul'fa lines), and Leninakan on the Tbilisi,
[491] Dzhul'fa, Artik, and Kars (Turkey) lines. The highways along the slopes of the Lesser Cauca-
[509] sus are relatively good. Yerevan is the aviation center of the republic.

Georgian SSR: Transportation mostly based on railroads. The main lines are the Baku-Tbilisi-Batumi, and the Tbilisi-Sukhumi-Tuapse lines, with Tbilisi, Khashuri, and Samtredia as the chief junctions. The Georgian railroad system has at the same time a whole

23: Shabad N-4 (no date) 1951 R1 Soviet Union R1
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throughout the region and are especially concentrated at Stavropol', Georgiyevsk, Nevinnomyssk, and Budennovsk, where flour milling, oil pressing, canning, dairying, wool washing, cotton ginning, and wine making are the principal activities. SU 438* C 438

Of special importance in the economy of the region are the health and tourist resorts. One of the most important resort areas of the USSR lies in the foothills of the Greater Caucasus. There the resort cities of Zheleznovodsk (ferruginous springs), Pyatigorsk, Yessentuki, and Kislovodsk are linked by an electrified branch with the main Rostov-Baku railroad at Mineral'nyye Vody. The bottling of mineral waters is a major export industry. SU 529 C 529

For communications the region relies chiefly on the Rostov-Baku trunk line, from which branches penetrate into the remote sections to Divnoye, Blagodarnoye, Budennovsk, and into the foothills of the Caucasus to Ust'-Dzhegutinskaya and Kislovodsk. The Sukhumi military road, one of the three pass roads through the mountains, continues from the Nevinnomyssk-Cherkessk-Ust'-Dzhegutinskaya rail branch through the valley of the Kuban' and the Teberda rivers, and enters the territory of the Georgian SSR at Klukhori. Of extreme importance for the future development of the region will be the final realization of the Manych Canal project linking the Caspian and the Black seas. Prior to the Second World War, the waterway had been canalized for a distance of over 150 miles eastward to the area of Divnoye. Due to destruction caused by the war, several reservoirs were emptied, and the canal installations fell into disuse. Small-scale reconstruction has been undertaken since the war; however, the completion of the project will have to await a future Plan. SU 489 C 489 SU 503 C 503

Stavropol', the center of the kray, was known as Voroshilovsk from c. 1935 until 1943. It lies in the chief grain area of the region and has flour mills, a meat-packing plant, wool and leather industries, and produces chemicals and lumbering machinery. The vicinity of the city will benefit immeasurably from the new Nevinnomyssk Canal which will provide irrigation to this drought-ridden section. SU 438* C 438

Pyatigorsk, in the midst of five mountains (whence its name), of which the Besh-Tau and the Mashuk are best known, is the center of the four resort cities of the Northern Caucasus. Its warm sulphur springs and mud baths are much frequented. Next in size is Kislovodsk, at an elevation of 2,695 feet, with carbonated springs. Yessentuki, west of Pyatigorsk, has salt and alkaline springs, and Zheleznovodsk, to the

3: Anonymous U-4 (no date) 1920 RH1 Caucasia RH1



The Caucasus range dominates the whole of Transcaucasia. It is over 400 miles long, while its outskirts stretch for 150 miles and 100 miles respectively to Baku and Novorossiisk. It runs from west-north-west to east-south-east between 45° and 40° north latitude, and falls naturally into three well-defined sections: a western section from Anapa to the upper valley of the Kodor, not far from Sukhum; the main central section from the upper Kodor valley to Mount Kazbek; and an eastern section, including the Highlands of Daghestan, and extending from Mount Kazbek to Baku.

The *western* section commences with hills, which rise gradually to a height of 7,000 ft. at the source of the Kodor. The mountains fall abruptly to the Black Sea.

The *main central* section is entirely mountainous, the general elevation being within the limit of perpetual snow, which on the north side is 9,500 ft. and on the south 10,800 ft. The five highest peaks are Mount Elbruz (18,470 ft.), Koshtan Tau (16,539 ft.), Dikh Tau (16,925 ft.), Janga (16,660 ft.), and Kazbek (16,546 ft.); and there are many others over 14,000 ft. The chief passes are the Mamison Pass (9,253 ft.), across which runs the Ossetian Military Road, connecting Kutais with Vladikavkaz; and the Dariel Pass (4,122 ft.), over which the Georgian Military Road runs from Vladikavkaz to Tiflis. There are no large lakes, and few tarns.

The *eastern* section broadens as it approaches the Caspian, including on the northern side of the main range a triangular area known as the Daghestan Highlands. The country here is difficult of access, and only one military road leads up from the River Terek in Ciscaucasia, the eleven passes being mere bridle-paths. The general elevation of the main range rarely exceeds the line of perpetual snow, but there are three peaks of over 14,000 ft. From Shemakha the elevation declines rapidly; at Baku there are only low hills. The Gudam Pass, 7,977 ft., which forms the western limit of this section, is the best in Transcaucasia. Over the Vantliashet Pass runs the road from Petrovsk to Tiflis.

3: Anonymous U-4 (no date) 1920 RH1 Caucasia RH1



# IV. ECONOMIC CONDITIONS

## (A) MEANS OF COMMUNICATION

### (1) Internal

#### (a) *Roads*

491 In an area of 181,173 square miles there were in the Caucasus in 1912 only 1,950 miles of macadamized road and 5,300 miles of unmetalled road. Progress was being made in some parts, but in others the roads were falling into disrepair. After the outbreak of war important work was carried out on some of the main roads, and in 1915 and 1916 several new military roads were constructed over the Turkish frontier.

The main artery of the country, running from north to south, is the Mozdok–Vladikavkaz–Tiflis–Erivan road, 382 miles in length. The Vladikavkaz–Tiflis section, which crosses the main range of the Caucasus by the Dariel Pass, is known as the Georgian Military Road, and is a fine piece of engineering. There is a motor-car service, run by a French company, along this section.

Two unmetalled roads lead northward from Mozdok—the one runs north-west to Alexandrovskoe, whence a metalled continuation goes to meet at about 25 miles north-east of Stavropol a metalled road from Stavropol to Divnoe near the Astrakhan frontier; the other runs north-east into Astrakhan, dividing at Senkina, some 15 miles from Mozdok, into two branches, both of which eventually cross the border.

A road runs south-westward from Tiflis to Kars, a distance of 167 miles, and is metalled for part of the way.

An important road, the Ossetian Military Road, runs north-west from Vladikavkaz to Ardonskaya and thence

3: Anonymous U-4 (no date) 1920 RH1 Caucasia RH1



south-west to Kutais, a distance of 191 miles. It crosses the Caucasian main range by the Mamison Pass. 491

The most important road from west to east is the Kutais–Tiflis–Elisavetopol–Shemakha–Baku road, with a total length of 542 miles. The Kutais–Tiflis section is known as the Imeretian Military Road.

There are also coast roads along the shores of the Black and Caspian Seas:

On the Black Sea coast a metalled road begins at Anapa, passes through Novorossiisk, 30 miles to the south-east, and runs along the coast to Sukhum and Ochemchiri, where it turns inland, dividing at Novo-Senaki into two branches which meet again at Kutais. The coast section was being improved in 1913.

Other roads terminating on the Black Sea coast are the Armavir–Maikop–Tuapse road, 166 miles long, the Akhaltsikh–Batum road, 110 miles long, and the Akhalkalaki–Artvin–Batum road, 200 miles long. The first of these is now to some extent superseded by the recently constructed railway following the same course. Batum lacks road connexions with the north.

Along the Caspian coast there is a road, for the most part unmetalled, from Astrakhan to Baku, a distance of 600 miles; and there is a road, metalled except where it crosses the Vantliashet Pass, from Petrovsk, on the Caspian, to Tiflis.

Road communications between the Caucasus and Russia are very few, the only ones of importance being the above-mentioned road along the Caspian littoral and one from Stavropol to Rostov-on-Don.

### (*b*) *Rivers and Canals*

Few of the numerous rivers of the Caucasus are navigable, and those are used to a limited extent only for transport. The floating of timber to the seaboard for shipment is the principal traffic in almost every case. 133 505

In Ciscaucasia the Kuban and the Terek have navigable stretches. The *Kuban*, which flows into the

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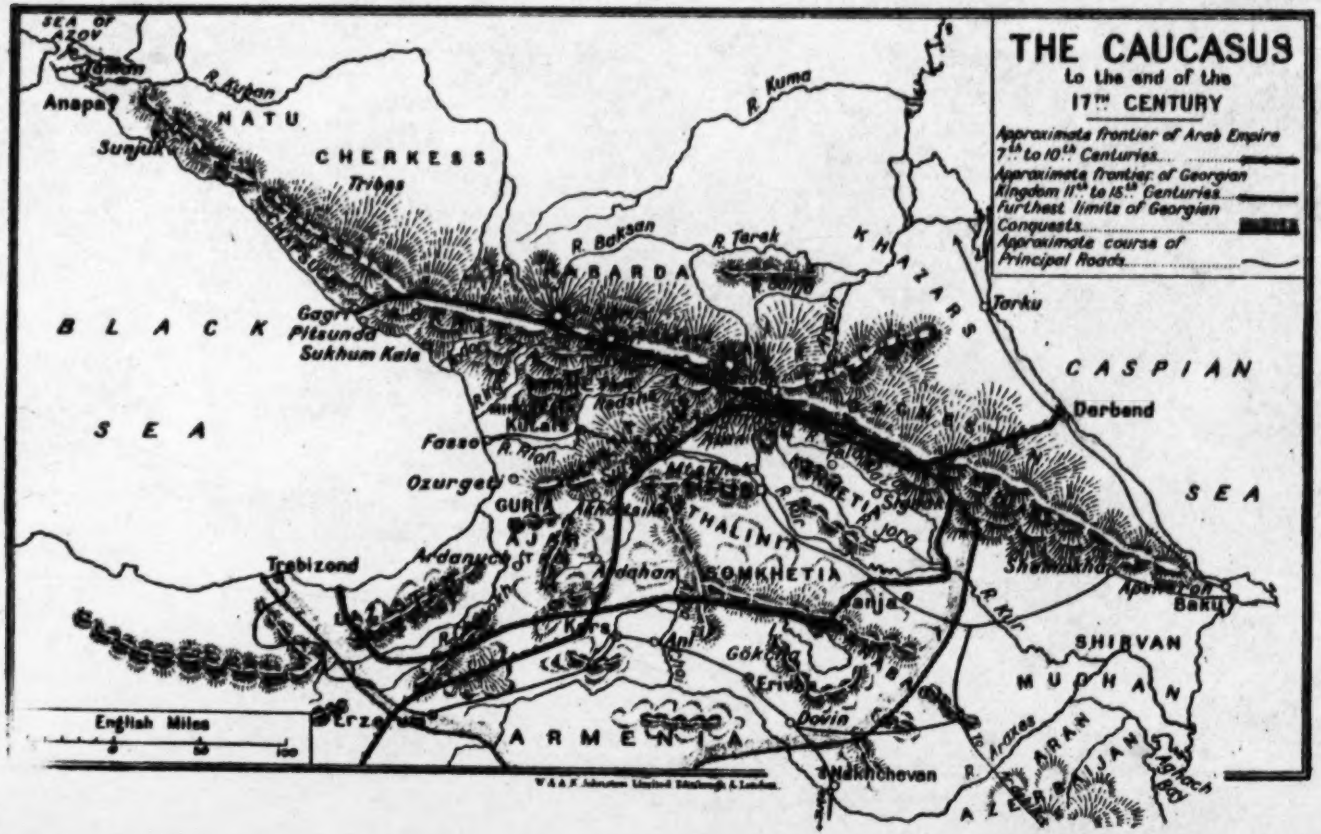


[Facing p. 192]

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5: Allen H-4 (no date) 1923 RH1 Caucasia RH1



491 The Russians have been careful however to develop communications over the Caucasus of extreme military and political [491] importance. A railway from Baku follows the historical passage-way by Derbend and connects with the Vladikavkaz-Rostov line and the main Russian system by Petrovsk, Grozni and Beslan. There is no other railway communication with Transcaucasia, but Russian strategic control has been ensured by four military roads. The main artery, the Georgian Military Road, 382 miles in length, leads from Mozdok via Vladikavkaz and the Daryal to Dushet, Tiflis and Erivan. On the west the Ossetian Military Road runs from Ardon, 20 miles north-west of Vladikavkaz, across the main range of the Caucasus by the Mamison Pass, and reaches Kutais by Oni. Along the formerly impassable Black Sea coast a metalled road now runs from Anapa via Novo-Rossiisk and Sochi to Sukhum and Kutais. On the east a metalled road from Petrovsk traverses Daghestan by Temir Khan Shura and the Vantliashet Pass and leads by Telav to Tiflis. The existence of these four roads is of supreme political importance. The Caucasus is no longer an insuperable military barrier, and the construction of the Black Sea and Ossetian roads has opened two new routes of invasion into Georgia. Other important roads are the lateral road west to east, Kutais—Tiflis—Elisavetpol—Shemakha—Baku; also Tiflis—Kars, Akhaltsikh—Batum, and Akhalkalaki—Ardahan—Ardanuch—Artvin—Batum. Batum has no direct main road connection with Poti or Sukhum.

The Rion is navigable for 83 miles from its mouth at Poti; [492] the Kur for 390 miles.

*Timber Resources.*—The Caucasian area is remarkable for 137 the extent and wealth of its forests, the survival of which has been due as much to the sparsity, and consequently inconsiderable needs of the population, as to inaccessibility and impracticability of transport. In the south-eastern regions much deforestation has taken place, and many of the mountain-sides of Russian Armenia, formerly thickly wooded, are now bare of trees. Similarly, since the Russian conquest, the beech-forests of Chechnia have been greatly thinned. Dense forests of beech, oak and conifers still cover the northern slopes of the Caucasus along the banks of the Kuban and the Terek and their tributaries, while there are extensive forests round Lake Gökcha, east of Elisavetpol, and in Talish.

But it is along the Black Sea coast, on the south-western slopes of the Caucasus and in Georgia, where the many streams and shelter from the winds of the steppe are favourable to

16 central Akhuryan valley around Leninakan; then, marginal areas of Western Georgia (Colchis). In the North Caucasian area the population of the rural districts is generally between 20 and 35 persons per $km^2$, with the greater density along the rivers, such as the Sulak and the T'erek in the east, and the central and lower Kuban in the west. In the northwest, a large strip of this density extends towards the Yeya, and in this entire area the influx of Russian and Ukranian settlers, always strong, is still increasing. These settlers have also occupied a considerable part of the Stavropol' plateau, all around Stavropol'; and farther to the northwest of the town, an area on the central course of the T'erek, around the town of Mozdok. North, northwest, and west of the T'erek the population is exclusively Russian in the area of greatest density; only south and southeast of the T'erek does it become mixed - Russian, Turkic, and Caucasian. All the remaining Caucasian territory has populations of less than 20 $km^2$, depending upon the natural conditions: arid zones, deserts, or the alpine parts of the mountains have practically no inhabitants.

## Communication Lines

491 High mountain areas are naturally inaccessible. Thus, the communication lines connecting Caucasian lands with each other and the outside world are few and difficult. Down to the time of the Russian conquest

.491 nothing like roads or highways existed (even today the means of communication are few and, so far as we know, far from modern). Prior to the Russian conquest there existed caravan routes and paths across the mountain ridges. One of the oldest roads was that leading from coast to coast along the Trans-Caucasian valley, on which such glorious old cities as K'ut'aisi, Mts'kheta--the old capital of Georgia --Kirovabad (Gandja), and Shemakha are situated. This road bifurcates near Tiflis, and has a branch leading through Kakhet'ia via T'elavi, and through the Alazani valley along the slopes of the Caucasus, via Zakatali and Nukha. From there it turns southward toward the Kura, where in the vicinity of the present-day railroad it joins the straight east-west road connecting Kirovabad with Shemakha. At Yevlakh it crosses the Kura along with the railroad, and continues southward to Barda'a, the ancient Part'av, capital of the realm of Alvank or Albania. From there it continues to Shusha and Karabakh, then further into Nakhichevan and Persian Azerbaidjan. The eastern branch of the old Trans-Caucasian valley road continues from Shemakha to Baku, while another old line leads from Shemakha southward to Lenkoran and all along the Caspian littoral--being another old communication line in northern Persia, in this case with the Caspian provinces of Gīlān and Māzandarān; and finally,

.491 in the southeastern part of the Caspian basin, via Astrabad or Gurgan, it leads to Khorasan (Khurasan) and Central Asia. West of Tiflis, which is the capital of Georgia and the most important intersection point of Caucasian roads, one road follows the Kura valley upward, using it as a very convenient way across the northern boundary mountains of High Armenia, and the whole Irano-Anatolian plateau to Akhalts'ikhe. From this point one road leads westward, south of the Adjaro-Imeret'ian range, to the estuary of the Chorokh and the city of Bat'umi; one to the north-northwest across that range to K'ut'aisi; and a third one to the south-east going to Akhalk'alak'i. This third road divides at Akhalk'alak'i: one branch keeps generally to a south-southeast direction via Leninakan to Central Armenia; the other goes southwestward to the Chaldyr-göl and Kars--continuing on to Erzurum, Erzindjan (Erzingyan; Erzincan) and still deeper into the territory of Turkey. This latter road divides, north of the Chaldyr-göl, into sub-branches, one of which leads to Ardahan and further northwestward to the lower Chorokh valley on Turkish territory. The road which leaves the Kura valley and crosses the Surami pass, like the railroad, leads first to Shorapani -this is Strabon's Sarapaná, the place where the pass leading into the Kura Valley beings -, then to K'ut'aisi, west of which it divides, near

.491 Samtredia, into a southwestern branch, leading to Bat'umi, and a northwestern one, reaching the Black Sea coast at Ochamchire, while two subsidiary lines lead to the coast at Kulevi, at the Khobi estuary, and from Zugdidi to Anakliya, at the estuary of the Ingur. Beyond Ochamchire this road follows all along the picturesque Black Sea coast via Sukhumi, Gagra, Sochi, and Tuap'se to Novorossiysk.

From Tiflis, two roads lead to Armenia; the older of them branches off the road to Kirovabad and Baku, at the famous little carpet-weaving town of Kazakh on the lower Akstafa river, which it then follows upward into the Anti-Caucasus. At Dilizhan (Delizhan), it divides into one branch going westward to Leninakan, and another going southward to the northwestern tip of the Sevan, from where it continues down the Zanga valley to Erivan and Central Armenia. These are the main roads from Tiflis southward; there exists a minor road using the Mashavera valley as access to the Armenian plateau. The railroad uses a third road, along the Borchala or Debet-Chai valley. The connection of Armenia with Azerbaidjan is made along the old road via Nakhichevan, Shusha, and Yevlakh (described above). There is none along the Araxes valley, through which, however, the railroad connection with Azerbaidjan has been established. The main road into Persian Azerbaidjan leads

.491 via Nakhichevan and Djulfa southeastward to Tabrīz, Miāne, and then via Zendjān, and Qazvīn to Tehrān.

While the Anti-Caucasus, by its orographical nature, offers fewer obstacles to communication between the Anatolo-Iranian plains and the lands of Trans-Caucasia (and there the roads are older and relatively numerous), the Great Caucasus is an incomparably greater obstacle to direct traffic lines. Roads across the Great Caucasus are the work of most recent times, and it seems that since time immemorial there have been only dangerous, steep, narrow pathways leading across the Caucasus. Perhaps one exception was the Georgian Army road, enlarged by the Russians in the years 1811-14, which nonetheless has to pass the Darial Gorge. This is why migrations of entire tribal groups or peoples across the Caucasus are not possible; why such a great number of linguistically and ethnically distinct groups have survived in the Great Caucasus from pre-historical times; and why the Great Caucasus is a most useful defense line against aggressors from the north, a line which can be protected by relatively small numbers of people. There exists only one relatively open communication line or thoroughfare from Trans-Caucasia to the north: that along the Caspian coast used by the old road from Persian Azerbaidjan and Shirvan via Baku, or simply Apsheron, Kuba,

.491 Derbent, and Makhach-Kala, or Temir-Khan Shura (Buynaksk): and even this road can be sealed off successfully at the narrow point where the city of Derbent ("the closing of the [912] doors") is situated. The Great Caucasus Wall began at Derbent. This wall is a counterpart of the limes romanus in Europe or the Great Chinese Wall, and was built in the 6th century by the Byzantine and Sassanian Empires at their joint, and not insignificant, expense, in order to create an unconquerable defense line against the dangerous nomad tribes of the vast northern plains. At Derbent, the eastern extremity of the wall can still be seen submerged in the Caspian waters; it extended as far west as the Darial Gorge. The western half of the Caucasus was evidently considered to be naturally safe. Surprisingly enough, the communication lines between Trans-Caucasia and the north are still very few in number today, and there exist only two railroad lines, along both coasts, and one major road across the Caucasian range -- the so-called Georgian Army Road from Tiflis to Ordzhonikidze (Vladikaukaz, Dzaudjyqau). The other roads across the Caucasus are not of the same quality as the Georgian Army Road, and are unsuitable for modern heavier traffic. [496] Not a single railroad line has been built across the Great Caucasus, even though as early as the 1870s a number of projects for a railroad crossing the Caucasus between Tiflis and Vladikavkaz were in preparation.

7: Columbia U. S-4,5 1956 RH1 Caucasia RH1

## The Georgian Army Road

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Three cities hold key positions at the southern end of the communication lines across the Caucasus: Sukhumi, K'ut'aisi, and Tiflis. Of these, the last-mentioned is the most important, because the Georgian Army road crossing the mountain system from Vladikavkaz through the Darial Gorge ends here. A quarter of a century ago, this route was the only one suited for automobiles and heavier traffic, used by trucks up to three metric tons capacity, and it still seems to be the only road of relatively modern type. Even in the Darial Gorge and other narrow spots, the road was wide enough to permit two cars to pass each other. The general state of the road was good throughout, and traffic was rather lively. The air distance between Tiflis and Vladikavkaz being 150 km, the length of the Georgian Army road is 214 km. (as given by the Guidebook on the Soviet Union edited by Radó p. 796). The maximum elevation is 2388 m. at the pass of the Holy Cross. During the winter, the pass is usually kept clear of snow for traffic. Wooden and stone walls and fences, and in a few instances also tunnel-like wooden galleries, one of them about 500 m. long, protect the

7: Columbia U. S-4, 5 1956 RH1 Caucasia
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491 road from avalanches and falling rocks and debris. This road reaches the Kura river [361] at the city of Mts'khet'a, 21 km. north-northwest of Tiflis. Mts'khet'a is the picturesque ancient capital of Georgia, with the Cathedral of Sveti Ts'khoveli and the Samt'auri monastery. On the spot where the cathedral now stands, there existed, prior to the 5th century, a wooden church said to have been erected in 328 during the time of Tsminda Nino (St. Nina), the Apostle of the Georgians. There were about 1500 inhabitants in Mts'khet'a in 1929. In Tiflis the road joins all the important communication lines of Trans-Caucasia. The Georgian Army road is not only the best but also the shortest connecting line between north and south.

## The Oset'ian Army Road

In K'ut'aisi the Oset'ian Army road has its southern end where it joins the west Trans-Caucasian communication system. This road is almost 300 km. long, since it crosses the Caucasus in a general northeast-southwest direction. It starts at one of the small railroad stations west of Ordzhonikidze (Dzaudjykau); in former times this was at the station of El'khotovo, 35 km. northwest of Beslan, the railroad hub from which the

491 subsidiary line to Ordzhonikidze branches off. At present, the Oset'ian Army road can be reached at the station of Darg-Kokh, 22 km. northwest of Beslan, on the same line; also from Ardon and Alagir, both along the Oset'ian Army road, by means of a new railroad branch connection with the main line at Darg-Kokh. This branch continues on as far as the lead and silver mines of Mizur (Russ Mizuŕ) and Sadon, situated in a lateral valley joining that of the Ardon from the west, 2 km. south of Mizur, at a distance of about 32 km. southwest of Alagir. The distance from Darg-Kokh to K'ut'aisi along the Oset'ian Army road is 280 km. according to the source cited above (p. 489 f.)

The road follows the beautiful Ardon valley through the Kassara Gorge to the village of Zaromag (or Zaramag), where it turns to the southwest following the Mamyson-don upstream, and finally climbs up the Mamyson Pass (2829 m.; 9282 ft.). South of the Adai-Khokh massif, on the western side of the pass, it descends in serpentine fashion to the Khamkhakhi valley, and soon to that of the upper Rioni, which it follows until K'ut'aisi.

According to more recent data, only the sections of the Oset'ian Army road between Alagir and Ardon (20 km.), and between Oni (the center of the country of Racha on the

191 upper Rioni) and K'ut'aisi, at a distance of 119 km., seem to be first-class roads, i.e., of the quality of the Georgian Army road. The same holds true for the road connecting Alagir with Ordzhonikidze (40 km.).

The section from Alagir to Zaramag seems to have been widened and improved, but the greatest part of the alpine section still seems to be in the same condition in which I found it in 1929. At that time, above Alagir I saw nothing but the heavy horse- or mule-drawn two-wheeled carts of the Caucasian araba type, or the light, horse-drawn four-wheeled passenger vehicles called lineyka ("ruler") in Russian, because of their long, narrow shape. I travelled up to the village ("aul") of Lisri near the Mamyson Pass by lineyka or on foot, and on the way back to Zaramag by a one-horse araba, which I drove myself, followed at a distance by the Oset'ian from whom I had hired it, who was driving a similar conveyance. This alpine part of the road was narrow, so that very often two arabas could not pass each other - particularly disagreeable at turns and sharp curves which could not be seen in their entirety. The road was absolutely unprotected, not having any kind of rails or curbstones; in many places, usually the danger spots, the road was in rather bad

•491 condition, with many bumps and holes. This latter fact showed that the sub-structure of the Oset'ian Army road was rather weak, and not at all suited for any kind of motor traffic. But on the whole, it would not be too difficult to overhaul and modernize the road (perhaps with the exception of certain more difficult spots on the western descent from the Mamyson Pass), since the Oset'ian Army road is well-planned and does not exhibit excessively steep acclivity. At that time I occasionally encountered single mountaineers travelling on arabas or on horseback, as well as entire araba caravans going in both directions, but the traffic was by no means as lively as on the Georgian Army road.

## The Sukhumi Army Road

The Sukhumi Army road, as its name implies, ends in Sukhumi. Like the Oset'ian Army road it crosses the high mountains in a generally northeast-southwest direction, but the angle it must make because of the Klukhor Pass is sharper than that of the Oset'ian Army road, which fact adds to its length. From its northern end at Nevinnomysskaia (long. 41°55' E. and lat 44° 37' N.) on the main railroad line, Rostov-Baku, to its termination point at Sukhumi, the road

.491 measures 337 km. (according to the above-cited source, page 493). The road maintains a generally southern direction along the Kuban river into the mountains, and, during the summer months from May through September, can handle motor traffic as far as Teberda (156 km.) via Cherkessk. From Teberda on, cart or araba traffic is possible, during summer months, up to the barracks (elevation 1923 m., 6307 ft.) at the northwestern descent of the Klukhor Pass, itself in the upper Ganahkhir valley. From there across the main Caucasian range, only pedestrian traffic, including riding animals, is possible as far as the Klych barracks, 90 km. distant from Sukhumi, situated at the junction of the Klukhor-Klych and Gvandra valleys. However, in view of the absence of villages or major settlements in that region, carts or arabas can only be had at the Russian village of Adzhary, where the road also becomes better, or at the larger village of Chkhalty. As far down as Georgievskoye, about 40 km. from Sukhumi, the road is second-class, and joins the Black Sea coast highway at a distance of only 15 km. southeast of Sukhumi. The Klukhor Pass is 2816 m. (9240 ft.) above sea-level, and is free of snow for only two and a half months of the year, from early July to the end of September. (For details on its topography, I refer to the

7: Columbia U. S-4, 5 1956 RHl Caucasia
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491 excellent map on the scale of 1:150,000 of the Klukhor in the above-quoted work by Freshfield: Explorations of the Caucasus, volume 2, pages 190-1).

The "Akhty Army Road"

487 The roads leading from Trans-Caucasia to Dagestan do not differ from the Sukhumi Army road; they are all paths. One of them has been given the title of an Army Road: the Akhty Army Road (Voyenno-Akhtinskaia Doroga), which connects Nukha in northwestern Azerbaidjan with the former fortress of Akhty, on the upper Samur river in the area of the Rutuls and Tsakhurs. The straight distance between Nukha and Akhty is only 55 km, and the Akhty Army Road uses the Salavat Pass, elevation 2896 m, due north of Nukha, which it reaches via the Shin Gorge. It descends from the pass in a northeasterly direction, and leads to the Tsakhur mountain village of Borch or Burzh, from where it goes in a generally easterly direction, following the Akhty-Chai valley, and reaches the confluence of the Akhty-Chai and the Samur. From Akhty down the Samur valley, the road is marked on the map of 1916 as a first-class communication line which ultimately leads to the Caspian coast highway, to Derbent or Kuba, etc. But the entire pathway between the highway Nukha-Zakatali, — from which it

505 handled partially by Odessa and other non-Caucasian Black Sea ports, the importance of Novorossiysk, Poti, and Batumi was still considerable. On the Caspian Sea Makhachkala is the preeminence export harbor. The importance of the Sea of Azov in maritime shipping is smaller.

491 Primary roads: Importance limited. Certain areas, however, are better served. The highways are relatively good in North Azerbaijan along the slopes of the Greater Caucasus. They are also good in the Tbilisi-Yerevan areas. Of the military roads, the Abkhazian and Ossetian Military Roads are famous, but without practical value. The Georgian Military Road, connecting Tbilisi with Dzaudzhikau is somewhat better. The coastal highway is relatively good in Groznyy Oblast, and in Dagestan along the northern slopes of the Greater Caucasus. Krasnodar Kray, along the slopes, has better highways too. Stepnoy (in the Stavropol' Kray) is reported to be connected with Astrakhan' and Stalingrad by a more recent highway.

508 Airfields, landing grounds: The Caucasian aviation system is well developed. The number of civil and military airfields and landing grounds is around 50. Baku, Kirovabad, Yerevan, Tbilisi, Astrakhan', Makhachkala, Mineral'nyye Vody, and Rostov are the aviation centers. They usually have several airfields each, sometimes as many as six.

7: Columbia U. S-4, 5 1956 RHl Caucasia RHl

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3: Anonymous U-4 (no date) 1920 RH1 Caucasia RH1



7,000 tons; buckwheat, 21,000 acres, 7,000 tons; 241
lentils, beans, and haricots, 20,000 acres, 5,300 tons; peas, 9,000 acres, 3,000 tons. Ramie fibre and attar of roses are produced on the Black Sea coast.

*Live-stock and Animal Products.*—Owing to the ten- 231
dency to convert pasture into arable land, there has been a great decrease in the numbers of live-stock raised in Caucasia of late years. To this rule, however, the Jevat and Geokchai districts in Baku Government present an exception; for cattle and horse raising has there been developed into an important industry, the profit obtained in the former region in 1914 being estimated at £70,000. In 1913 the total area devoted to [233]
pasturage, which is situated in the steppes and on the mountain slopes up to an elevation of 9,000 ft., was 3,700,000 acres, and the animals in the country comprised 6,327,000 head of cattle, 2,135,000 horses, 13,336,000 sheep and goats, and 1,215,000 pigs. The largest numbers of animals are found in Kuban and Terek; there were in 1912 nearly 4,500,000 of all kinds in the former province and nearly 3,500,000 in the latter.

*Buffaloes* and a small breed of *oxen* are bred in large [492]
numbers; they are used as draught animals, and in some districts as beasts of burden and for ploughing. The best breed of buffaloes is reared in the Governments of Elisavetopol and Kutais.

*Horses* are raised in other southern districts of Baku besides those already named, and on the Karabagh steppe, which extends from Baku into Elisavetopol; in the valley of the Terek and the Kabarda districts near Vladikavkaz; and in the Provinces of Kuban and Stavropol. A breed of mountain ponies is reared in Kutais. There are numerous private studs.

*Camels*, which are bred in the south-eastern provinces, [492]
are used chiefly as pack animals in the transport of goods to and from Persia, but occasionally also for draught purposes.

Great numbers of *sheep* and *goats* are bred on the 231
steppes and plateaux and in the hill districts. The 236

3: Anonymous U-4 (no date) 1920 RH1 Caucasia RH1



317 to unscientific methods of removal. Much ore is con-
[364] sequently wasted. Since 1909 an increasing amount of ore has been washed for the preparation of ferro-manganese, and this has resulted in the serious pollution of the River Kvirili, which runs through the mining district. Regulations have been made to control the practice of discharging refuse into the river, and plans formed to collect the refuse-laden water in an artificial basin, where it could be purified and utilized for generating electric power to be employed in the ferro-manganese furnaces. Little improvement, however, had been effected by 1914.

[471] Many small native firms are occupied in manganese-mining. A little before the war foreign capitalists were acquiring manganese-bearing land, which is usually leased in small lots of from half an acre to 50 acres in extent; about 1910 there was an extensive acquisition of unworked land by German firms. The recent tendency has been for the control of the industry to pass from small to large concerns.

There was a heavy slump in manganese just before 1908, but since that year the output has greatly increased: in 1910 it amounted to 548,300 metric tons; in 1911 it fell again to 451,600 metric tons, but in 1912 it rose to the high figure of 913,500 metric tons, and in
[439] 1913 to 1,051,500 metric tons. Nearly the whole output is exported; export figures are given on pp. 83 and 84. The trade was very heavily hit by the war.

Chiaturi competes with India and Brazil for pride of place as supplier of manganese to the world. It has, however, been handicapped by difficulties of transport, though favoured to some extent in the matter of freight rates. The Sharopan–Sachkeri rail-
[492] way lies some distance from the mines, and the ore has to be conveyed in carts or on pack animals to the station, whence further carriage to Poti or Batum is both slow and expensive. The Association of Manganese Producers (see p. 79) had up to 1914 failed to secure from the State anything beyond promises of improvement.

491 upper Rioni) and K'ut'aisi, at a distance of 119 km., seem to be first-class roads, i.e., of the quality of the Georgian Army road. The same holds true for the road connecting Alagir with Ordzhonikidze (40 km.).

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[493]

C. G. 233 221 spend the winter in the steppes of the lower Alazani river with their herds of sheep. On the other hand, the Tush living on the Lower Alazani, and also the Bats, move with their families to the mountain pastures in summer, where they live in huts, sunk into the ground and covered with slates. The indigenous means of transportation is a clumsy two-wheeled cart (uremi) drawn by a pair of oxen or buffaloes. The large wooden disk wheels are firmly joined to the axle-tree. In the mountains, sledges are used to carry in the hay. In a peculiar vehicle called chochiala uremi rolling and sliding are combined: the ends of two long poles attached to the yoke, which slide on the ground, serve the purpose of a pair of front wheels.

C. G. 493

C. G. 231 241 The traditional economy of the North-West Caucasian peoples (Abkhaz and Circassians) was based on horse and cattle breeding, agriculture (millet, maize, wheat, rye) some horticulture, beekeeping and (Abkhaz) wine growing. The Abkhaz methods in these activities are the same as the Georgian. Formerly, their economy was largely pastoral, but in the second half of the nineteenth century they became more agricultural. The country is better suited to agriculture, though horse and sheep raising are still important. The Western Circassians, too, were more dependent on cattle-breeding before their forced migration from the mountains to the lowlands of the Kuban. The Kabardians are still mainly sheep-, cattle-, and especially horse-breeders: the Kabardian horses are famous for their

the guests have any questions, it is her girl-companion that must answer. The bride may at the most nod in affirmation.

She remains in her "hermitage" for some months before she is finally permitted to live with the rest of the household.[5]

The following description is chiefly that of the main Cherkess tribe, the Kabardians.

The *kalym* has been paid and the day of the wedding agreed upon. The relatives of the bridegroom begin the necessary wedding preparations. The odour of steaming beer and of the finest dainties creates a distinctive atmosphere, peculiar to a Kabardian wedding. On the eve of the marriage a group of men gallop through the *aul* inviting relatives to a preparatory feast, on the occasion of which a collection is taken to cover some of the expenses of the coming wedding, e. g., purchase of a veil for the bride, chartering of a bridal wagon.

On the following day young men fully-armed gather at the house of the groom and noisely gallop off to the bride's house. The bridegroom, however, does not go with them but "hides" at his best-man's house.[6] By doing so he becomes temporarily an adopted son *(kan)* of the latter's sib. A young companion called *shatso-kot* must always be at his side to protect him.

When the riders (or to be more exact, the bridal procession) reach the bride's house, her attendant, whom the riders brought along, is taken to the women's quarters, while the rest, after having feasted and danced till late into the night, are given lodging either in the house of the bride or of one of the neighbours.

Immediately after breakfast on the following day, the unusual hustle peculiar to a Cherkess wedding is observed outside the bride's house. The horses are being harnessed, the bride's belongings are being packed carefully but hurriedly into a trunk and put on the specially decorated bridal wagon. The bride herself is inside the house, being attired in her finest clothes. From her hair hangs a long white ribbon reaching to the ground. She is veiled, or rather, wrapped in a large white shawl. Her wedding dress differs but slightly from the ordinary Cherkess dress, except that it is made of more costly material. She is assisted on to the wagon and takes her place next to her ever-faithful girl-attendant. As soon as the bridal procession begins to move, the young men of the *aul*, all on horseback, try to snatch the caps away from the guests and thus begin the usual bridal horseraces. When the more "dignified" part of the procession enters the village of the groom, a wedding song is sung. By this time the racers have rested a bit and are ready to break into another wild chase. They again snatch one another's caps, throwing them on the ground, and as the rider gallops past one of the caps, he tries his skill at shooting a hole through it.

The bride is then taken by two women into the women's quarters, whilst outside the cracks of pistols and guns continue. The bride slowly sits down on a specially prepared bench, covered with a carpet. All eyes are fixed on her as a girl-friend of hers has the honour of removing the shawl.

While the riders outside are enjoying their beer, the youth of the village armed with long poles occupy a place difficult for the horsemen to pass. The

[5] Seidlitz, *op. cit.*, pp. 40 f; Deržavin, *op. cit.*, p. 10.
[6] C. Hahn, *Kaukasische Reisen und Studien*, p. 40.

The "Reconciliation" however is not yet over. The following morning an *arba* (Caucasian two-wheeled wagon) drawn by two oxen goes through the village and every family before whose house the *arba* halts is obliged to donate a chicken. In the evening a cartload of chickens arrives, destined for a special "Reconciliation" feast exclusively for women, on which occasion the groom by accepting some beer from his mother is finally "reconciled" also with her. 585 [493]

True, the "Reconciliation" may be over, but the marriage ceremonies are not. Two days later there is more feasting, more drinking, and the so-called *shinak-gagerōs* (i. e., "the twirling of a wooden cup with a long handle") take place. The one toward whom the cuphandle points on stopping after having been twirled must drink its contents. The young people who take part in this drink-feast do not leave the groom's home till there is no more beer left to refill the cup. The old folks have their turn in the celebration in the evening, when the young are obliged to serve the old. One of the main features on the programme is the obligation of all the "old-timers" to take a turn at dancing, ending with a dance of the host and hostess, who, however, have the privilege of exemption from dancing if they drink a cup of beer instead. On this occasion the Kabardian minnesingers called *geguako* are especially welcome. They travel from village to village, playing on their two-stringed instruments, singing and composing beautiful lyrics[20] as the German minnesingers and the French and Italian troubadours once used to do. To each well-wishing of the *geguako* the guests answer with a joyful "Amen!," confirming their "So be it!" with a sip of beer.[21] [524] [273] [533] [534]

The ceremony of thrice walking around the hearth constitutes an important part of the Cherkess wedding just as in Abkhazia.[22]

The official marriage contract is made by representatives of the bride and groom in the presence of the local mullah. Holding both representatives by the hand, he first asks the representative of the bride: "Do you take A as husband for B?" The answer is a simple "Yes!" He then asks the representative of the groom: "Do you take B as wife for A?" "Yes!" This interrogation is repeated a second and a third time. The mullah then recites a prayer and all present, raising their hands heavenward, answer "Amen!"[23]

The expenses entailed in such an elaborate wedding would often bring complete economic ruin to the family, much the same as Caucasian funerals. Ladyženskij implies, however, that such expensive weddings are a thing of the past.[24]

The NORTHEASTERN CAUCASIANS. As our example of a Chechen marriage we have chosen that of the Ingushi, for this group of Chechens has preserved much more of their ancient culture than any other. In so doing, however, we must make allowance for tribal differences. [182]

[20] Hahn, *op. cit.*, pp. 46—49, from whom we have also taken the description of the "Reconciliation." Hahn gives us a few examples of these lyrics, *op. cit.*, pp. 49 ff.

[21] Hahn, *op. cit.*, p. 51.

[22] Dirr, AGKB, p. 25.

[23] Ladyženskij, FT, p. 199.

[24] Ladyženskij, FT, p. 208. See also Dubrovin, *Istorija* for a fairly good description of a Cherkess wedding, I, i, pp. 142 ff, 147 f.

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Fig. 468. Implements of Caucasian industry: 1, spinning wheel; 2, ribbon loom; 3, knitting board for stockings; 4, wooden sword for flax-scutching; 5, hemp-ripple of wood with iron teeth; 6, wooden spindle; 7, yarn-spool; 8, ax; 9, cloth-cutter; 10, pitchfork; 11, mattock; 12, sickle; 13, pruning-bill for chopping off twigs; 14, brush-cutter; 15, iron spade with forked handle; 16, wagon frame; 17, plow with iron share and yoke; 18, threshing board, underside set with stone splinters; 1 to 3, Lezgin; 8, Zakataly Avar (2, 1/5 nat. size; 3, 1/3 nat. size; 4, 1/18 nat. size; 6, 7, and 12, 1/6 nat. size). (From Count J. Zichy.)

[825 cont.]

Iranians (cf. p. 674 f. [untranslated]) and accordingly are called by the Tatar āzade khalkh' or khelaiq (= free people), as are all Lezgin, in contrast to the Tāt, who are called raiyat khelaiq (= subject people). Their name is related to that of the central Asian Tajik (see Vol. II, 1, pp. 412 ff.), and their language is close [Fig. 504 appears here] [826] to modern Persian; it is also spoken by the mountain Jews in Dagestan and on the Terek. In their old cemeteries and near their villages there are isolated ruins of buildings that indicate Christianity in former times. Their relatives, the Talysh in humid, hot Lenkoran on the Caspian Sea, surrounded by Azerbaijani and Tatars, speak another variety of modern Persian that is supposed to contain much Old Persian. 563 [172]

As late as the first half of the nineteenth century, a remnant of the Old Persians, adherents of the teachings of Zoroaster or Zerdusht, the Geber, lived on the plain of Surakhane or Ateshga (= fire-land) near Baku, where a temple stood, in which they worshiped the eternal fire fed by a natural gas source. They had moved here from Persia after they had been driven from there and their main temple on the mountain near Yesd destroyed; they gradually

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Fig. 504. Two-wheeled carriage, Baku region.

## 32. TABASARAN

C. D. 101 NAME: SELF-DESIGNATION: Tabasaran zhvi, Tabarasan zhvi, Ghumghum zhvi.
RUSSIAN DESIGNATION: Tabasarantsy.

C. D. 161 NUMBER: 1926 31,983 (Russian census, ethn.)
29,726 (Russian census, ling.)

C. D. 162 LOCATION: Basin of Upper Rubas-chai and Upper Chirakh-chai (rayons Tabasaran and Khiv, Dagestan ASSR).

C. D. 197 LANGUAGE: Tabasaran (Tabasaran ch'al) forms with Lezgian, Agul, Rutul, Tsakhur, Budukh, and Dzhek, the Samurian subdivision of the NE Caucasian language-group. It has the status of a literary language in the Daghestan ASSR; the written language is based on the southern dialect.

SUBDIVISIONS: The language has two main dialects: North (Khanag) and South Tabasaran.

C. D. 241 438 TRADITIONAL ECONOMY: Agriculture; horticulture; home industry (weapon- and tool-making, silversmith's and coppersmith's work, tapestry-weaving).

C. D. 495 RELIGION: Islam (Sunni).

3: Anonymous U-4 (no date) 1920 RH1 Caucasia RH1



133 Sea of Azov, is navigable by light-draught steamers for
505 141 miles from its mouth. On the river and the various tributaries forming its basin there are 964 miles of water suitable for floating timber. The *Terek*, which flows into the Caspian, is navigable by light vessels for 112 miles from its mouth, but there is no steamer traffic. Timber can be floated for 320 miles. It has no tributaries of importance.

In Transcaucasia the navigable rivers are the Chorokh and Rion, emptying into the Black Sea, and the Kura, emptying into the Caspian. The *Rion* is navigable for 83 miles from its mouth at Poti, but no steamers can be used. Timber is floated or rafted for 123 miles. The *Kura* is navigable for 390 miles from its mouth, and of this distance 197 miles are suitable for steamers. Including its tributaries, the basin of the Kura provides 1,098 miles of water upon which timber-floating is possible.

[656] All these navigable waters were under the care of the State, which, through the Ministry of Ways and Communications, was responsible for their maintenance and improvement.

There are no navigable canals in the Caucasus. For irrigation canals, see p. 59.

### (c) *Railways*

496 In 1912 there were 2,442 miles of railway in the Caucasus, 994 miles being in Ciscaucasia and 1,448 miles in Transcaucasia. These are generally of 5-ft. gauge, and, with certain exceptions indicated below, are of single track.

*Principal Railways.*—There are two principal railway systems—the Vladikavkaz and the Transcaucasian.
[471] Both were constructed and maintained originally by private companies, but the latter was acquired by the State in 1906.

(i) The main line of the *Vladikavkaz Railway*, 819 miles in length, runs from Rostov-on-Don (where con-

3: Anonymous U-4 (no date) 1920 RH1 Caucasia RH1



nexion is made with all parts of Russia) to Baku, *via* 496
Tikhoretskaya, Kavkazkaya, Armavir, Mineralniyavodi, Beslan, Grozni, Petrovsk, and Derbent. From Tikhoretskaya to Mineralniyavodi the track is double.

There are four principal branches: one runs from Tikhoretskaya to Tsaritsin on the Volga, 333 miles; another from Tikhoretskaya to Ekaterinodar, and thence as a double line to Novorossiisk, 170 miles in all; a third from Kavkazkaya to Ekaterinodar, 85 miles; and a fourth from Kavkazkaya to Stavropol, 93 miles. There are also short branches from Mineralniyavodi to Kislovodsk and other watering-places, from Kotlyarevskaya to Nalchik, and from Beslan to Vladikavkaz.

The Vladikavkaz Railway is considered to be one 473
of the most profitable and best-managed private lines 496
in Russia. The company's original concession expired in 1911, but was renewed for fifteen years, and thereupon various improvements and plans for new branches and terminal facilities were undertaken.

The receipts in 1912 amounted to £5,845,100, and the expenses to £3,137,400, leaving a net profit of £2,707,700, less the sum of £348,400, which the State received in accordance with the rate fixed in the company's statutes. In 1910, the latest year for which such figures are available, the railway carried about 8,000,000 tons of goods.

(ii) The *Transcaucasian Railway* runs from Batum 496
to Baku, a distance of 563 miles, *via* Samtredi, Rion, 475
Sharopan, Michailovo, Tiflis, and Elisavetopol. From Akstafa to Elisavetopol and from Adji-Kabul to Baku the track is double. The railway also owns an 8-in. [315]
pipe line from Baku to Batum, which is capable of delivering 1,600,000 tons of oil per annum.

There are six principal branches: from Samtredi to Poti (41 miles); from Rion, *via* Kutais, to Tkvibuli (33 miles), serving the coal-mines at the latter place; from Sharopan to Sachkeri (narrow gauge, 33 miles), serving the Chiaturi manganese mines; from Michailovo, *via* Borzhom, to Bakuriani; from Tiflis, *via* Alexandropol and Kars, to Sarykamish (226 miles), with

496a branch from Alexandropol to Julfa on the Persian
475 border (206 miles), and thence to Tabriz; and from Baku to Sabunchi (double track, 12 miles), with a single-track branch (3 miles) to the Surachani oil-field.

The receipts of the Transcaucasian Railway in 1911, the latest year for which figures are available, were £1,983,455, and the expenses £1,293,485. In 1910 the railway carried 6,000,000 tons of goods. The working of the railway was said to give cause for dissatisfaction in many respects. High freights, deficient rolling-stock, and undue delays were complained of by traders; but though the management made promises of amendment, these had not been fulfilled when war broke out.

473 (iii) An independent company, the *Armavir–Tuapse*
496 *Railway Company*, was the owner of the line, 166 miles long, which runs from Armavir through the Maikop oil-fields to the port of Tuapse. This line was provisionally opened for traffic in 1914 and completed in 1916. No figures as to its working are yet available. Proposed extensions are referred to below.

499 *Railways under construction.*—Eight short lines in the north-western districts of Ciscaucasia were surveyed or under construction in 1914. Their object was to serve agricultural interests in this area. A line along the valley of the Terek to serve Mozdok and shorten the main line to Baku was also being built.

In Transcaucasia the principal lines under construction were extensions into Turkish Armenia, at the time of the invasion of that province by the Russians in 1915–16. A line from Tiflis to Telav, 116 miles long, under construction by an independent company, financed by Georgian landowners, was almost finished in 1914. It was intended to tap a wine-growing district.

*Projected Railways.*—Extensive additions to the Caucasian railway systems had been planned and in some cases surveyed, and money had been raised for their construction when war broke out.

The most important was the Black Sea coast line

5: Allen H-4 (no date) 1923 RH1 Caucasia RH1



watered by the streams falling south and west from the Central Caucasus and Daghestan; but the annual rainfall is low in comparison to that of the Mingrelian Plain, and at Baku registers an average of only 13 inches. The destructive measures of invaders and subsequent desiccation have further contributed to the aridity of the eastern region, and the grassy plains which once supported thousands of Mongol ponies have now degenerated in many parts into desert land. But as it is less fertile, so the Kur Valley is more healthy than that of the Rion. The atmosphere is dry, and if the summers are as hot they are not as humid as those of Mingrelia. In the winter extremes of cold are experienced, and snow lies in many parts of the Kur Valley. The third, or south-eastern, area, including Russian Armenia and Kara Bagh, suffers the violent contrasts of heat and cold of the Armenian Plateau. At Erivan and Alexandropol snow lies until April, while the short summers scorch all vegetation. The Araxes Valley suffers in a lesser degree from the same conditions. 132

*Communications.*—The chief commercial route in Transcaucasia is the Transcaucasian Railway. The main line runs north from Batum along the Black Sea coast to Nikolaevsk, whence it turns inland, crosses the Rion and at Samtredi joins a line coming from Poti. Thence it runs east-south-east to Gori and Tiflis, traversing the Suram by a tunnel. It follows the course of the Kur until it crosses the Poili bridge, and then runs south-east by Elisavetpol to Alyat on the Caspian Sea, where it turns north to Baku. The total length is 563 miles. The Railway Company further owns a pipe-line following the same route, which is capable of conveying 1,600,000 tons of oil per annum from Baku to Batum. From Tiflis another line runs south by Karakilissa to Alexandropol, whence it branches west to Kars and south-east to Erivan and Julfa. During the war, the Russians continued the Kars line to Sarikamish, whence a light railway connected it with Erzerum. Another light railway connects Julfa with Tabriz. Branch lines also connect the Transcaucasian line with Kutais and the Tkhvibuli coal-fields, with the Chiaturi manganese area, and with the popular health-resort at Borjom. 496

Until the collapse of Shamil Transcaucasia was almost without land communication with the North Caucasus, except by the Daryal Pass. The principal commercial communications between Transcaucasia and Russia still continue to be marine, on the Black Sea from Poti and Batum to the South Russian ports, on the Caspian from Baku to Astrakhan. 487

[see cat 116, p 201 ff; the date is 1859—Analyst]

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491 The Russians have been careful however to develop communications over the Caucasus of extreme military and political [491] importance. A railway from Baku follows the historical passage-way by Derbend and connects with the Vladikavkaz-Rostov line and the main Russian system by Petrovsk, Grozni and Beslan. There is no other railway communication with Transcaucasia, but Russian strategic control has been ensured by four military roads. The main artery, the Georgian Military Road, 382 miles in length, leads from Mozdok via Vladikavkaz and the Daryal to Dushet, Tiflis and Erivan. On the west the Ossetian Military Road runs from Ardon, 20 miles north-west of Vladikavkaz, across the main range of the Caucasus by the Mamison Pass, and reaches Kutais by Oni. Along the formerly impassable Black Sea coast a metalled road now runs from Anapa via Novo-Rossiisk and Sochi to Sukhum and Kutais. On the east a metalled road from Petrovsk traverses Daghestan by Temir Khan Shura and the Vantliashet Pass and leads by Telav to Tiflis. The existence of these four roads is of supreme political importance. The Caucasus is no longer an insuperable military barrier, and the construction of the Black Sea and Ossetian roads has opened two new routes of invasion into Georgia. Other important roads are the lateral road west to east, Kutais—Tiflis—Elisavetpol—Shemakha—Baku; also Tiflis—Kars, Akhaltsikh—Batum, and Akhalkalaki—Ardahan—Ardanuch—Artvin—Batum. Batum has no direct main road connection with Poti or Sukhum.

The Rion is navigable for 83 miles from its mouth at Poti; [492] the Kur for 390 miles.

*Timber Resources.*—The Caucasian area is remarkable for 137 the extent and wealth of its forests, the survival of which has been due as much to the sparsity, and consequently inconsiderable needs of the population, as to inaccessibility and impracticability of transport. In the south-eastern regions much deforestation has taken place, and many of the mountain-sides of Russian Armenia, formerly thickly wooded, are now bare of trees. Similarly, since the Russian conquest, the beech-forests of Chechnia have been greatly thinned. Dense forests of beech, oak and conifers still cover the northern slopes of the Caucasus along the banks of the Kuban and the Terek and their tributaries, while there are extensive forests round Lake Gökcha, east of Elisavetpol, and in Talish.

But it is along the Black Sea coast, on the south-western slopes of the Caucasus and in Georgia, where the many streams and shelter from the winds of the steppe are favourable to

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[Facing p. 258]

491 Derbent, and Makhach-Kala, or Temir-Khan Shura (Buynaksk): and even this road can be sealed off successfully at the narrow point where the city of Derbent ("the closing of the [912] doors") is situated. The Great Caucasus Wall began at Derbent. This wall is a counterpart of the limes romanus in Europe or the Great Chinese Wall, and was built in the 6th century by the Byzantine and Sassanian Empires at their joint, and not insignificant, expense, in order to create an unconquerable defense line against the dangerous nomad tribes of the vast northern plains. At Derbent, the eastern extremity of the wall can still be seen submerged in the Caspian waters; it extended as far west as the Darial Gorge. The western half of the Caucasus was evidently considered to be naturally safe. Surprisingly enough, the communication lines between Trans-Caucasia and the north are still very few in number today, and there exist only two railroad lines, along both coasts, and one major road across the Caucasian range -- the so-called Georgian Army Road from Tiflis to Ordzhonikidze (Vladikaukaz, Dzaudjyqau). The other roads across the Caucasus are not of the same quality as the Georgian Army Road, and are unsuitable for modern heavier traffic. [496] Not a single railroad line has been built across the Great Caucasus, even though as early as the 1870s a number of projects for a railroad crossing the Caucasus between Tiflis and Vladikavkaz were in preparation.

7: Columbia U. S-4,5 1956 RH1 Caucasia RH1

## Railroads

.496 The railroad system of the Caucasus is relatively simple, and will be dealt with here on a minor scale only, particularly since the chapter on economic geography will contain more detailed information as well as a railroad map of the Caucasus.[1]

Until World War II, the Caucasus was connected with the Russian railroad system by two railroad lines only, via Rostov-on-the-Don and Stalingrad. The latter, the Stalingrad line, runs from Stalingrad in a southwesterly direction as a lateral connection between Stalingrad and Novorossiysk, so that it crosses the original and primary connection between the Caucasus and Russia at Tikhoretskaia, only 150 km. due south-southeast of Rostov. During World War II, when the Soviet Union was hard-pressed by the German attack, a third connecting line was hastily built to bring the lend-lease material furnished to the Soviet Union by its Western allies from the Near Eastern bases to the Russian defense lines. This railroad connected the North Caucasian main line with Astrakhan and the Trans-Volga railroad, which was to become the railroad most important to the defense of Stalingrad.

As stated above, no railroad cuts through the Great Caucasus system. The system is circumvented by railroads: on

1 [cf. cat. 116, p. 220 -- Analyst]

496 the eastern side along the Caspian coast, and in the west along the coast between Colchis and Tuapse. At Tuapse the railroad turns northeastward using the deep incision of the Tuapse and Pshish valleys, and runs through the district of Maikop via Kurgannaia to Armavir, where it meets the North Caucasian main line. The railroad connection between Tuapse and Georgia along the Black Sea coast was not completed until after the war. As a third railroad line of first-rate significance, the Armenian railroad is to be mentioned. It runs from Tiflis southward through the Borchala (or Debet-Chai) valley via Kirovakan (the former Karaklis) to Leninakan, then along the western slopes of the Alagoz in Central Armenia; and further on all through the Araxes valley to the Caspian Depression, where it joins the Trans-Caucasian railroad near the coast of Cape Alyat (Alat).

From the Armenian railroad, two branches project beyond the territory of the Soviet Union. One branch goes into Turkey from Leninakan via Kars, Sarykamysh and Erzurum, at which point it reaches the connection with the Anatolian railroad system. This branch was built by the Russians before the First World War, when the two vilayets of Kars and Ardahan still formed part of the Trans-Caucasian territory. Thus, the railroad up to the former Russo-Turkish frontier at Sarykamysh was a wide-gauge railroad. Neither

496 before nor after the First World War was there any through-traffic in operation. The other projection is that in Persian Azerbaidjan, starting at Djulfa on the Araxes, and connecting the Armenian railroad with the city of Tabriz, the capital of Persian Azerbaidjan. But Tabriz is not connected with the Persian railroad system, since between Tabriz and Qazvin (air distance 400 km.) no railroad exists as yet. About 30 km. northwest of Tabriz, at Zainabad, a subsidiary line branches off to the west-southwest, leading to Sharif-Khana, a small port on the northeastern bank of Lake Urmia.

While the Caucasus proper possesses only the bare framework for a railroad system serving the most urgent needs (and we must bear in mind that a considerable proportion of these railroads are only single track), the northwestern plain region and the Kuban area in a larger sense - i.e., the triangle between Stavropol', Rostov, and Novorossiysk - have a density of railroad lines almost equal to that of central Russia around Moscow. This is the area of the recent Russian and Ukrainian agricultural settlers, who have begun to occupy in ever-increasing numbers this portion of the North Caucasian plains. In a similar way, the Stavropol' plateau has a few railroad lines of its own, not, however, organically linked with the entire system, but protruding in a somewhat disconnected, haphazard fashion into the

496 steppes to the north and northeast of Stavropol. These lines must sooner or later be linked with the Kikhoretskaia-Stalingrad line at Salsk, from where there is a connection with Rostov, and perhaps eventually with the connecting link between Astrakhan and Kizlyar.

In the mountains proper, railroad construction meets certain difficulties or even limitation which prevent the extension of the single subsidiary lines of the mountain areas proper. This is particularly evident with regard to the side-lines of the Trans-Caucasian railroad, all along the southern slopes of the Caucasus.

315 The railroad system of the Caucasus, which has proven insufficient to handle with any efficiency the traffic demands made by the industrial centers, is somewhat compensated for by the oil pipelines. There is the double one across Trans-Caucasia, from Baku, via Tiflis and the Surami pass, to Batumi on the Black Sea, and the North Caucasian pipe line which connects the Groznyi and Maikop petroleum areas with the ports of Makhach-kala on the Caspian Sea and Tuapse on the Black Sea, after which it goes via Rostov directly to the Ukrainian heavy industries. These pipelines relieve the demands upon the railroads to a considerable extent.

497 The above-mentioned inadequacy of the railroad system is typical not only of the Caucasus but of the entire Soviet Union. This

# TRANSPORTATION

489 Until the end of the nineteenth century Russia's transportation was based on waterways. Thus, the Russians first reached the Caucasus by way of the Volga and Don Rivers. Political difficulties and the paucity of navigable rivers in the Caucasus proper, however, prevented easy and total Russian colonization.
489 Serious exploitation of the area by the Russians
496 did not start until the first railroad line (the Rostov-Baku line) was built in 1870. Today Caucasian transportation is based on railroads. The Soviet regime, realizing the importance of railroads for industrialization (and Russification) has built over 40,000 miles in the USSR during the last thirty-five years, bringing the present day total mileage to 80,000. In the Caucasus, the Czarist railroads were used to transport raw materials from the Caucasus to the processing centers of Inner Russia, and bring the finished products back to this outlying area. The present-day system takes care of local needs as well as over-all Russian requirements; it connects the capitals of the various sub-areas, links the hinterlands to their respective harbors, secures a strong connection with Moscow, and finally takes into consideration military re-
489 quirements as well. The importance of high-
491 ways in the Caucasian transportation system is small. The mountainous parts of the South Caucasus and the Krasnodar Kray in the North Caucasus have relatively better roads. The old military roads across the Caucasus range are primarily of touristic value. The best is the

489 Georgian Military Road connecting Dzaudzhikau
[491] with Tbilisi. Aviation, on the other hand, is very well developed.

The transportation systems of the various sub-areas are as follows:

489 Azerbaijan SSR: Transportation based
496 on railroads. The chief rail junction is Baku, the terminal of the Baku-Rostov, Baku-Tbilisi, and Baku-Dzhul'fa-Tbilisi lines. The main lines are partially electrified as are the railroads on the Apsheron Peninsula. The main
[504] port is Baku (petroleum-loading). The Kura River is navigable as far as Yevlakh. The air-
[508] fields are concentrated around Baku and Kirovabad. The sub-units are well served by railroads. Stepanakert, the capital of the High-Karabakh AO, is the terminal of a trunk line coming from Yevlakh. Dzhul'fa, in the Nakhichevan' ASSR, is an important junction on the Baku-Tbilisi-Tabriz (Persia) lines.

Armenian SSR: Railroads are the chief means of transportation. Important junctions are Zangibazar (on the Leninakan, Zanga, and Dzhul'fa lines), and Leninakan on the Tbilisi,
[491] Dzhul'fa, Artik, and Kars (Turkey) lines. The highways along the slopes of the Lesser Cauca-
[509] sus are relatively good. Yerevan is the aviation center of the republic.

Georgian SSR: Transportation mostly based on railroads. The main lines are the Baku-Tbilisi-Batumi, and the Tbilisi-Sukhumi-Tuapse lines, with Tbilisi, Khashuri, and Samtredia as the chief junctions. The Georgian railroad system has at the same time a whole

489 series of trunk lines, the most important of
496 which are the Mirzaani, Telavi, Stalinir, Baku-
riani, Vale, Sachkere, Tkibuli, Tskhaltubo,
[504] Poti, and Zugdidi lines. The main port of the
republic is Poti. The military roads have pri-
[509] marily historical value. Aviation is centered
around Tbilisi. The capitals of the sub-units
(Stalinir, Batumi, Sukhumi) have railroad con-
nections, and Batumi is at the same time one of
the principal petroleum loading ports of the
USSR.

Astrakhan' Oblast: Transportation is based on waterways (the Volga and the Caspian Sea), and more recently on railroads. The principal railroad line is the Saratov-Astrakhan'-Kizlyar line, the Astrakhan'-Kizlyar sec-
[504] tion of which was recently built. Chief port
of the area is Astrakhan' connected by a 125-
mile long channel through the shallow waters of
the Caspian Sea with Astrakhan' Port. Astra-
[509] khan' is above all an oil port; in addition to this
it is an important aviation center.

Groznyy Oblast: Transportation based on railroads. The oblast is well served by the two Baku-Rostov main lines (along the Sundzha, and the Terek Rivers), and by the new Kizlyar-Astrakhan' line. The chief junction is Gudermes.

Dagestan ASSR: On the Baku-Rostov line. The center of the railroad system is Makhach-
[504] kala, the terminal of several spurs. Makhach-
kala is an important grain, cotton and petroleum
port as well, trading mostly with Russian Cen-
[508] tral Asia, and with Persia. There are also
several airfields around the city.

489 Stavropol' Kray: Transportation based
496 only on railroads. The chief line is the Baku-
● Rostov line with spurs penetrating into the steppe and into the Greater Caucasus. Of these trunk lines, which are sometimes electrified, the most important are the Dzaudzhikau, Alagir, Nal'chik, Kislovodsk, Ust'-Dzegutinskaya, Budennovsk, Blagodarnoye, and Divnoye lines. All the capitals of the sub-
[508] units have railroad connections. Airfields are concentrated in the health resort area, around Pyatigorsk.

Krasnodar Kray: Transportation based partially on railroads, partially on coastal shipping. The kray has the most developed railroad system in the Caucasus. The chief lines are the Baku-Rostov, and the Novorossiysk-Stalingrad lines crossing each other at Tikhoretsk. The other important junctions are
[504] Armavir, Krasnodar, and Kropotkin. There is a whole series of good harbors in the area. Tuapse, an oil port, and Novorossiysk, a grain and oil port, are especially important. The harbors on the Sea of Azov are of less impor-
[508] tance. There are several airfields in the area.

Rostov Oblast: Transportation based on waterways (Don; Sea of Azov), and on railroads. The center of the railroad system is Rostov.
[504] Of the ports, Taganrog (coal and grain shipping), and Rostov are the most important.

The distribution of the various means of
496 transportation in the entire Caucasus is as follows:

Railroads: The essential means of

496 transportation. The Soviet regime, in addition to the inherited railroad lines (Baku-Rostov, Novorossiysk-Stalingrad, Baku-Batumi, Tbilisi-Dzhul'fa, and Astrakhan'-Saratov lines) has built a whole series of main lines (Prokhladnyy-Astrakhan', Armavir-Samtredia, Dzhul'fa-Alyaty) and a whole net of trunks. Thus, today the Caucasus is well served, except for some northeastern sections.

Water ways: Unimportant in the Caucasus because of the mountainous character of
505 the area. Except for the Kura River in Azerbaijan on which there is some navigation on a small scale, only the Volga and the Don Rivers, which constitute the northern boundaries of the Caucasus, are really navigable rivers. Especially the Volga River is important, being the outlet to Russian Central Asia and Persia. On it lumber is floated downstream and fish, salt, and oil are shipped upstream. The seas around the Caucasus are also important in local coastwise shipping, as well as in long distance coastal shipping and in overseas exports. In coastal shipping the Caspian Sea is especially important, oil shipping between Baku-Makhachkala and Astrakhan' being the largest item. Long distance shipping is characteristic of the Black Sea ports like Sochi, Tuapse, Novorossiysk. The cement of Novorossiysk is shipped for instance as far as Leningrad. The Black Sea, open to navigation throughout the year, handles at the same time 50% of the oversea exports of the USSR. Though Soviet exports were relatively small during the Stalinist period, and though it was

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NIZHNIY-BASURKHAN
ASTRAKHAN
STAVROPOL
BAKU
STALINGRAD
TBILISI
GROZNY
MAKHACHKALA
ASTARA
railroads
Capital of Political - administrative unit
Terminal



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Caucasia RH1



SU 241 C 241 The Kuban' steppes are among the chief grain-producing regions the USSR. The fertile black earth and sufficient rainfall favor the extensive cultivation of cereals such as wheat, barley, and corn, while of the industrial crops sunflower, cotton, *kenaf*, soy and castor beans are most important. Rice is grown in the swampy delta of the Kuban' River. In the drier eastern portion of the steppes and in the mountainous section of the Northern Caucasus the raising of livestock and allied activities are the main occupations of the rural population.

SU 435* C 438 The industries are concerned primarily with the extraction and refining of petroleum (Groznyy, Makhachkala, and Maykop), the mining of polymetallic ores and molybdenum, and the production of hydroelectric power. In the steppes rural industries process the local products and produce vegetable oils, alcohol, sugar, and starches. Large cement mills at Novorossiysk are notable. Fishing and canning are well developed along the coast. An important role is played by health and tourist resorts, notably Kislovodsk and its satellites in the foothills of the Caucasus and the subtropical resorts of Sochi and Matsesta along the Black Sea littoral.

SU 496 C 496 Two main rail lines serve the steppes of the region. Tikhoretsk is the junction for these two railways coming from Stalingrad and Rostov. The Stalingrad line passes through Krasnodar and on to the Black Sea port of Novorossiysk, while the Rostov trunk railroad runs parallel to the northern foothills of the Greater Caucasus and along the Caspian Sea to Baku. A line branching off at Armavir reaches the Black Sea oil port of Tuapse and continues along the coast past Sochi to the Georgian SSR through a rail link completed during the Second World War. Transportation across the Greater Caucasus range is maintained by three important highways: the Sukhumi military road (Cherkessk-Sukhumi), the Ossetian military road (Alagir-Kutaisi), and the Georgian military road (Dzaudzhikau-Tbilisi).

## Rostov Oblast

Capital, Rostov on the Don; Area, 40,300, population, 2,550,000

SU 131 C 131 Rostov Oblast is astride of the lower Don River, within the bend of the river in proximity to the Volga near Stalingrad. The southern section of the oblast is drained mainly by the Sal and the Manych, two left affluents of the Don. According to its relief, the region may be divided into the eastern end of the Donets ridge, the southeastern outliers of the Central Russian upland in the north and the wide Don steppe in the south.

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Caucasia RH1



SU 133 C 133 The entire Kray, with the exception of the mountains in the south and the dry steppes in the east, is covered with black earth of the highest grade. The soil conditions and the warm, humid summer climate combine to make the Kuban' region one of the most fertile agricultural regions of the USSR, able to provide a large number of products. In the southwest, along the Black Sea littoral, the subtropical, winterless climate favors the growth of citrus fruits, tea, and similar warm-weather crops. The mountainous portion of the region also presents factors favorable to the development of the economy. The left affluents of the Kuban', the Belaya, the Laba, and the Urup rivers, as well as the upper course of the Kuban' itself are potential sources of hydroelectric power. A rich petroleum-bearing area extends from the Taman' peninsula to the Belaya River along the northern foothills of the Greater Caucasus. Along the Black Sea, southeast of Novorossiysk, extensive marl deposits furnish an important basis for the cement industry. The region also includes the forested slopes of the Caucasus that are covered with oak and chestnut, two valuable types of wood. The Sea of Azov, finally, is rich in fish along the shallow northwest coast of Krasnodar Kray.

SU 162 C 162 The population of the region is predominantly Russian. It includes also large numbers of Ukrainians and Adyge (Cherkess or Circassians), the latter being organized into an autonomous oblast. The Cossacks are concentrated in large villages along the Kuban' River.

SU 496 C 496 The Russian settlement and consequent economic development received their most vigorous impetus from the construction of the Rostov-Baku railroad in the 1870's. During the twenty-five years following the completion of the line the population of the Kuban' district increased twice, and the area under cultivation fivefold. Mechanization was introduced early by the well-to-do peasants, who owned most of the land prior to collectivization. After the adoption of rationalized agriculture, spring wheat and sunflowers were assigned to the dry northern steppes, where the black-earth and chestnut soils suffer from drought in summer and are covered only by a thin snow cover in the winter months. The richest agricultural area lies along the Kuban' River. There, among vast expanses under winter wheat, barley, and corn, large areas are producing garden produce, melons and pumpkins, and fodder crops. The principal old industrial crops are sunflower and tobacco; during recent years cotton, *kenaf*, soy beans, castor beans, and essential-oil-bearing plants were introduced. Rice has been acclimatized in the swampy lowlands bordering on the Kuban', between Krasnodar and the delta. Livestock raising is more intensive here than it is along the Don and in the

SU 241 C 241

7. Krasnodar Kray--Analyst]

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Caucasia RH1



Sal steppes, where because of the dry conditions only sheep and horses can be successfully reared. SU 241 C 241

The rich agricultural production of the Kuban' lowlands is processed at a number of centers, chiefly Krasnodar, Armavir, Kropotkin, and Labinsk. Of great importance are oil presses, canneries, flour mills, and tobacco factories.

The Black Sea littoral is characterized by a humid, maritime climate, luxuriant natural vegetation, mineral springs, and a picturesque location between the mountains and the sea. These factors combine to make the area provide garden crops and health resorts. Because of the limited land area under cultivation and the presence of resorts (Sochi, Matsesta, and Anapa), the growing of vegetables, fruits, vineyards, and dairy farming receive priority. Tobacco, southern hemp, oil-bearing plants are also cultivated. Flower gardens and decorative plants are common. Wine is made chiefly at Anapa, at Abrau-Dyurso near Novorossiysk, and at Solntsedar [gift of the sun], just west of Gelendzhik. Gelendzhik itself is an important dairying center. Tea is processed at Dagomys, northwest of Sochi.

The Kuban'-Black Sea petroleum region (near Maykop) is centered in Neftegorsk [oil mountain] and Apsheronsk (named for the oil-rich Apsheron peninsula). Near by are the oil towns of Khadyzhenskiy and recently-opened Kutais. Another field has been developed at Il'skiy, southwest of Krasnodar. Prior to the Second World War this region was one of the most rapidly developing petroleum areas of the USSR; it had a tenfold increase in production under the Soviet regime. Destruction caused by the war has, however, been responsible for a considerable setback in output. SU 315 C 315

The basic transportation routes are the Rostov-Baku and Novorossiysk-Stalingrad railroads, their junction being at Tikhoretsk, a major rail center with extensive yards and shops. Short branch lines serve most sections of the region. During the Second World War the opening of the Black Sea littoral railroad between Adler and Sukhumi (Georgian SSR) established another vital link across the Greater Caucasus to the Transcaucasian republics. Coastal steamers serve the Black Sea shore, stopping at Sochi, Tuapse, and Novorossiysk, the most important ports. SU 496 C 496

Krasnodar, formerly called Yekaterinodar, lies on the right bank of the Kuban', in the middle of the fertile black-earth agricultural area. Once the capital of the Kuban' Cossacks, it has oil-refining and metalworking industries. It is a major food-processing and rail center, having SU 438 341 C 438 341

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pasture land, including the dry lowland steppe areas (used in the winter) and the mountain meadows (used in the summer). Only one fourth of the total area is under cultivation. The principal crops are garden fruits (apples, pears, apricots, peaches, plums, chestnuts, walnuts, and almonds) and subtropical products such as tea and citrus fruits along the Black Sea coast. Sericulture and viticulture are also important. Transcaucasia is the second most important cotton producer of the USSR; the principal cotton areas are in the dry, gray-soil lowlands of the Aras and the Kura, where the most extensive irrigation systems have been developed. In Abkhazia tobacco is grown, and the flooded lowlands of eastern and southern Transcaucasia are suitable for the cultivation of rice. Grains are subordinated in favor of the more specialized industrial and subtropical crops. Livestock is generally driven over great distances, from the winter pastures in the dry steppes to the mountains, where the Alpine meadows furnish excellent summer fodder. This nomadic type of livestock raising is gradually making way for more intensive, sedentary methods, since the dry steppes are gradually being irrigated, and large areas are coming under fodder crops. Sheep and cattle form the principal herds. Horses are few, and they are replaced partly by water buffaloes (for farm work) and partly by camels, mules, and donkeys (for transportation).

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The basic railroads are the Batumi-Baku line, with a large number of branches and spurs, including the coastal railways along the Black and the Caspian seas, and the southern branch, which links Tbilisi and Baku via Dzhul'fa and the Aras valley. The Transcaucasian railway system provides connections with the Turkish rail network at Leninakan, and from Dzhul'fa a line goes south to Tabriz (Iran), with an ultimate extension to Tehran. Most of the lines have been electrified or are in process of electrification. Transportation in the higher sections has to rely on highways, among which the Sukhumi, the Ossetian, and the Georgian military roads across the Greater Caucasus range are most noteworthy. Due to the mountainous character of the river courses, inland navigation is negligible.

## Azerbaijan Soviet Socialist Republic

**Capital, Baku; area, 33,100, population, 3,100,000**

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The Azerbaijan (or Azerbaydzhan) SSR lies in the eastern section of Transcaucasia, on the Caspian Sea. It includes the southeastern spurs of the Greater Caucasus, which terminates in the Apsheron peninsula,

496 steppes to the north and northeast of Stavropol. These lines must sooner or later be linked with the Kikhoretskaia-Stalingrad line at Salsk, from where there is a connection with Rostov, and perhaps eventually with the connecting link between Astrakhan and Kizlyar.

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315 The railroad system of the Caucasus, which has proven insufficient to handle with any efficiency the traffic demands made by the industrial centers, is somewhat compensated for by the oil pipelines. There is the double one across Trans-Caucasia, from Baku, via Tiflis and the Surami pass, to Batumi on the Black Sea, and the North Caucasian pipe line which connects the Groznyi and Maikop petroleum areas with the ports of Makhach-kala on the Caspian Sea and Tuapse on the Black Sea, after which it goes via Rostov directly to the Ukrainian heavy industries. These pipelines relieve the demands upon the railroads to a considerable extent.

497 The above-mentioned inadequacy of the railroad system is typical not only of the Caucasus but of the entire Soviet Union. This

497 is aggravated by a certain lack of planning and coordination, which is not only a heritage from the Tsarist past but can still be found today. For example, I need only mention Kazakhstan, particularly the area of Karaghanda. The inadequacy of the railroads is especially true with regard to passenger travel, where the needs of the passengers have been treated with complete neglect. A look at the railroad maps and timetables of the Soviet railroads shows immediately that in many cases, the simplest and most convenient (insofar as there is any convenience) connection is not always the one involving the shortest distance. Thus, when travelling from the Caucasus to West Siberia, it has always proved much easier to go via Moscow; many similar cases, as well as certain limitations on the capacity of Russian trains, always cause heavy passenger congestion in Moscow. Another demonstration of neglect of passenger needs is the fact that in many instances the railroads pass by major towns and even cities at a fair distance instead of entering them. This can be noted in many areas of the Soviet Union. In the Caucasus, this is the case with such cities as Kirovabad (Gandža) and K'ut'aisi, both of which are 5 kms away from the main line. K'ut'aisi can be reached by a subsidiary line leading up to Tkvibuli, but Kirovabad (Gandža) requires switching to another means of transportation. A similar situation prevails in Vladikavkaz (Dzaudžyqau), about 22 kms from Beslan, where the subsidiary line branches off from the main

7:Columbia U. S-4, 5 1956 RHl Caucasia
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•497 railroad, which in the Vladikavkaz-Groznyi area is divided into two main lines. Those responsible for building the railroads were evidently "not willing" to lay the southern branch right through Vladikavkaz, or at least its northern suburbs. If a passenger has to travel from Vladikavkaz to Kizlyar, he must change at least three times; so that on this relatively short distance of not quite 300 kms., he loses more time than on a much longer trip--say to Rostov or Baku, for which he may board a direct train right at Vladikavkaz, or at least at Beslan. Many similar situations should be added here. This shows that the railroad system of the Caucasus is concerned chiefly with long-distance transportation and not at all with local needs; moreover, it is primarily concerned with the transport of goods, to the utter neglect of passengers. Apart from this, the strategical significance of this framework of railroads is not inconsiderable.

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496a branch from Alexandropol to Julfa on the Persian
475 border (206 miles), and thence to Tabriz; and from Baku to Sabunchi (double track, 12 miles), with a single-track branch (3 miles) to the Surachani oil-field.

The receipts of the Transcaucasian Railway in 1911, the latest year for which figures are available, were £1,983,455, and the expenses £1,293,485. In 1910 the railway carried 6,000,000 tons of goods. The working of the railway was said to give cause for dissatisfaction in many respects. High freights, deficient rolling-stock, and undue delays were complained of by traders; but though the management made promises of amendment, these had not been fulfilled when war broke out.

473 (iii) An independent company, the *Armavir–Tuapse*
496 *Railway Company*, was the owner of the line, 166 miles long, which runs from Armavir through the Maikop oil-fields to the port of Tuapse. This line was provisionally opened for traffic in 1914 and completed in 1916. No figures as to its working are yet available. Proposed extensions are referred to below.

499 *Railways under construction.*—Eight short lines in the north-western districts of Ciscaucasia were surveyed or under construction in 1914. Their object was to serve agricultural interests in this area. A line along the valley of the Terek to serve Mozdok and shorten the main line to Baku was also being built.

In Transcaucasia the principal lines under construction were extensions into Turkish Armenia, at the time of the invasion of that province by the Russians in 1915–16. A line from Tiflis to Telav, 116 miles long, under construction by an independent company, financed by Georgian landowners, was almost finished in 1914. It was intended to tap a wine-growing district.

*Projected Railways.*—Extensive additions to the Caucasian railway systems had been planned and in some cases surveyed, and money had been raised for their construction when war broke out.

The most important was the Black Sea coast line

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from Tuapse to Novo-Senaki on the Transcaucasian 499 ●
Railway, a distance of 267 miles, which had been undertaken by an independent company, the Kuban–Black Sea Railway Company.

A company called the South Caucasian Railway Company had received a concession for a line from Borzhom to Kars with a branch to Olti, a coal-mining centre, and a line had also been projected from Batum to Kars along the valley of the Chorokh.

The Armavir–Tuapse Railway Company had two extensions in view: one from Armavir to Blagodarnoe (299 miles) to serve Stavropol Province, the other from Kurgannoi to Ust Labinskaya, a narrow-gauge line.

A concession had been granted for a line from Evlakh, a station on the Transcaucasian Railway between Elisavetopol and Baku, to Shusha, 59 miles to the south.

A Caspian coast line from the point south-west of Baku where the main Transcaucasian line turns inland, *via* Salyani and Lenkoran, to Astara, on the Persian frontier, had been planned; and a syndicate for its construction was being formed in 1914.

The question of a railway between Vladikavkaz and Tiflis has been discussed for many years, but the schemes for its construction have all proved abortive on account of the difficulties and high cost of crossing the Caucasus range.

When war broke out railway-building, except on the routes into Turkish Armenia, which were exclusively of military importance, came to a standstill, and all plans for the future fell into abeyance. That construction should begin again is very necessary, for the existing lines are quite inadequate to the economic requirements of the country.

### (*d*) *Posts, Telegraphs, and Telephones*

The postal service was organized on the European 205
model, and there were the usual facilities for sending money by post. The practice of sending parcels, cash

b[1].2 Harbors, Navigable Rivers, Channels

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23: Shabad N-4 (no date) 1951 R1 Soviet Union R1
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throughout the region and are especially concentrated at Stavropol', Georgiyevsk, Nevinnomyssk, and Budennovsk, where flour milling, oil pressing, canning, dairying, wool washing, cotton ginning, and wine making are the principal activities.

Of special importance in the economy of the region are the health and tourist resorts. One of the most important resort areas of the USSR lies in the foothills of the Greater Caucasus. There the resort cities of Zheleznovodsk (ferruginous springs), Pyatigorsk, Yessentuki, and Kislovodsk are linked by an electrified branch with the main Rostov-Baku railroad at Mineral'nyye Vody. The bottling of mineral waters is a major export industry.

For communications the region relies chiefly on the Rostov-Baku trunk line, from which branches penetrate into the remote sections to Divnoye, Blagodarnoye, Budennovsk, and into the foothills of the Caucasus to Ust'-Dzhegutinskaya and Kislovodsk. The Sukhumi military road, one of the three pass roads through the mountains, continues from the Nevinnomyssk-Cherkessk-Ust'-Dzhegutinskaya rail branch through the valley of the Kuban' and the Teberda rivers, and enters the territory of the Georgian SSR at Klukhori. Of extreme importance for the future development of the region will be the final realization of the Manych Canal project linking the Caspian and the Black seas. Prior to the Second World War, the waterway had been canalized for a distance of over 150 miles eastward to the area of Divnoye. Due to destruction caused by the war, several reservoirs were emptied, and the canal installations fell into disuse. Small-scale reconstruction has been undertaken since the war; however, the completion of the project will have to await a future Plan.

Stavropol', the center of the kray, was known as Voroshilovsk from c. 1935 until 1943. It lies in the chief grain area of the region and has flour mills, a meat-packing plant, wool and leather industries, and produces chemicals and lumbering machinery. The vicinity of the city will benefit immeasurably from the new Nevinnomyssk Canal which will provide irrigation to this drought-ridden section.

Pyatigorsk, in the midst of five mountains (whence its name), of which the Besh-Tau and the Mashuk are best known, is the center of the four resort cities of the Northern Caucasus. Its warm sulphur springs and mud baths are much frequented. Next in size is Kislovodsk, at an elevation of 2,695 feet, with carbonated springs. Yessentuki, west of Pyatigorsk, has salt and alkaline springs, and Zheleznovodsk, to the

and east the steppes towards the Caspian and the 133
Kuma-Manych depression are barren and stony or sandy.

*Coasts*

The coast of Ciscaucasia is flat, and the only ports [504] •
worth noting are Anapa, Temryuk, and Yeisk. The Ciscaucasian shores of the Caspian Sea are surrounded by steppes and are flat throughout. They are formed chiefly of the alluvial land of the deltas of the rivers Terek and Kuma.

*River System*

The rivers of Ciscaucasia rise in the central Caucasus. There are three river basins, corresponding with the three administrative divisions.

The River *Kuban* rises on the northern side of Mount Elbruz. It is formed by the Khursuk and the Uchkulan, which unite at Uchkulan. It retains its character as a mountain stream until it enters the plain at Batalpashinsk, at a height of 1,075 ft. The middle course extends from the Cossack settlement of Nevinnomysk as far as Ekaterinodar. The river bed is wide, but the river itself is a mere streamlet except in times of flood. After the Kuban turns definitely westward the fall is only about 20 inches in a mile.

The largest tributary of the Kuban is the Laba [312]
(200 miles), a canal from which at Chamlik irrigates several thousand acres of steppe land. Another large tributary is the Byelaya (150 miles). The Kuban flows by many mouths, forming several islands and *limans* (marshy lagoons), into the Gulf of Kyzyltash. The river is frozen from December to March. In the lower part of its course inundations are frequent, and the district is marshy.

The *Terek* (382 miles) rises on the slopes of Mount Kazbek at Zilga-Khokh, and pierces the mountain range by the Dariel gorge, which it leaves at Vladikav-

205 on delivery, was in existence. Parcels in transit for Persia went duty free.

206 All the principal towns have telegraphic communication with other parts of the Caucasus and with Russia. The lines follow the railway routes, and towns not on these are connected with the main telegraph system by branch lines.

Telephonic communication between Tiflis and Baku was established in 1911, and it was intended, should the innovation prove a financial success, to extend the system to other large towns.

## (2) External

### (a) *Ports and Roadsteads*

(i) *On the Black Sea.*

504 In *Anapa Roads* are two anchorages, the outer exposed from north-west to south-south-west, the inner (for small craft) sheltered from south-west winds. A pier, 175 yds. long, runs out on the north of the town. The Government proposed to carry out harbour works there. The port does a small trade in grain, fur, and wax.

*Batum.*—The bay of Batum is about a mile and a half wide from east to west and half a mile deep from north to south. From the southern shore, in a north-north-westerly direction, extends a mole 275 yds. long, from the head of which another mole, known as the Petroleum Mole, carrying rails and petroleum pipe lines, runs south-west for 440 yds. The harbour thus formed, known as the Western or Petroleum Harbour, has a dredged depth of 24–30 ft., with berths for 20 steamers. A breakwater running north-east from the first mole for 275 yds. forms the Eastern or Coasting Trade Harbour, which is only 7–17 ft. deep, and needs constant dredging. There is also a mole, 200 yds. long and 60 yds. wide, extending towards the north-north-east from the north-western

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extremity of Burun Tabia, which is the western point of the bay. [504]

The harbours, though approachable in all weathers, are exposed to the violence of south-westerly gales; and in 1910 the British Consul stated that complaints were general with regard to their unsafe condition. In 1911, on the subsidence of one of the moles, [653] a scheme was framed which comprised considerable extensions and improvements. The funds provided by the Congress of Harbour Authorities were at first insufficient, but in 1913 the sum of £750,000 was provisionally assigned. The preliminary work and surveys were completed by June of the following year, but on the outbreak of war the undertaking had to be abandoned.

The dangers incurred by shipping in bad weather and the inadequacy of the port to deal with increased traffic resulting from the manganese trade have for years impeded the commercial development of Batum. From 1878 to 1886, however, it enjoyed eight years of exceptional prosperity as a 'free port'. Even after the withdrawal of this privilege in 1886, the petroleum [489] export maintained trade at a high level until the labour disturbances of 1903–5, from the disastrous effects of which the port has not yet recovered. The total value of its trade in 1913 was £5,134,732, of which £4,552,200 represented exports and £582,532 imports. Coasting trade, carried on exclusively by Russian ships, was very prosperous in that year.

*Gagri* is an open roadstead, providing anchorage for small vessels in 5–6 fathoms. The Government had in contemplation a scheme to build a harbour of refuge there, for which a sum of £211,000 was assigned in 1913.

*Gelendjik Bay*, which is 2½ miles long and 1½ miles deep, is sheltered from the violent north-east winds. Light vessels find good anchorage in 12 ft. of water.

The open roadstead at *Gudaut* is used by coasters only.

*Novorossiisk* harbour has been artificially formed by the construction of two moles, each half a mile long. On

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504 the shore front there are 7 piers with depths varying
[413] from 19 to 29 ft. at their outer ends. Five of these piers are owned by the Vladikavkaz Railway Company, one by the Russian Steam Navigation and Trading Company, and one by the Russian Standard Oil Company, and all are connected by double lines of rail with the terminus railway station. There is also on the south-west of the harbour a mole, used by coasters, with a depth of 23 ft. alongside. Altogether, there are berths for about 22 steamers.

In autumn and winter anchorage at the head of the bay is rendered very unsafe by the *bora*, a violent north-easterly wind which then prevails; vessels are sometimes unable even to enter.

The harbour is lit by electric light and there are ample loading facilities. The Vladikavkaz Railway storehouses can take 70,000 tons of grain. An iron foundry close to the harbour makes marine boilers and executes repairs.

[439] Novorossiisk has a considerable export trade in grain and mineral oil, amounting to about £5,000,000 a year in value. The imports are inconsiderable, and consist chiefly of machinery, hardware, and coal.

*Poti* harbour affords safe protection to shipping, but is practically unapproachable in bad weather. An outer and inner basin are formed by two moles built of concrete blocks. Another mole in the middle of the outer basin carries two lines of rails and several large sheds. In the inner basin there are berths for eight or ten steamers and an elevator for loading manganese. The length of quayage is 1,500 yds.

[439] In 1913 the value of the exports, of which manganese was by far the most important, was £835,972, whilst the value of the imports for the same year was only £7,350.

*Sochi* is used by sailing vessels, which anchor off Sochi town in 16 fathoms. Steam vessels are able to anchor closer inshore. Sochi was included in the Government scheme for the construction of ports of refuge on this coast.

*Sukhum Kale* in Sukhum Bay affords indifferent 504
anchorage in 6–8 fathoms. There is a quay, 56 yds. long, built on piles. A sum of £370,000 was assigned in 1913 for improvements to this port.

*Tuapse* roadstead, open to the south and south-west, is protected from north-west winds, and affords good anchorage in 6 fathoms. Two moles, half a mile apart, converge to form the old harbour, the depth inside the eastern mole being 23 ft. When the railway was brought to Tuapse, it was realized that the existing harbour accommodation would be inadequate. A concession to build a safe harbour was [653] granted to a French firm in 1909, but, as they failed to fulfil their agreement, the State took the work over in 1913, and it was nearing completion in the autumn of 1914.

(ii) *On the Sea of Azov.*

The Caucasian ports on the Sea of Azov are as yet undeveloped, and relatively unimportant.

*Akhtar Bay* is so shallow that steamers have to anchor 9 miles from the coast, steam barges bringing out the cargoes.

*Temryuk* stands on a peninsula dividing two shallow lakes. Its harbour is connected with the sea by a channel 12 ft. deep, navigable by light-draught steamers. There are two piers, but vessels anchor out in the bay. A considerable trade is done in grain and fish.

*Yeisk* stands at the base of a sandy spit, on the east of which an artificial harbour has been dredged to a depth of 12 ft., with an inner basin 350 yds. long. Projects have been considered for the construction of a deep water port there, to be connected with Ekaterinodar by a branch line.

(iii) *On the Caspian Sea.*

*Baku* stands on a crescent-shaped bay, 7 miles wide from point to point, protected on the south by Cape

504 Bailov, and on the east by the Kargin Islands, which lie at the entrance to the bay, 7 miles out at sea. A line of quays extends 4 miles, and there are 14 piers, owned by various shipping companies, each company [655] having its own wharf, warehouses, and offices. In 1914 the State assigned £100,000 for the building of other wharves, although there was already ample accommodation for the steamers engaged in oil transport and in the Transcaspian trade. At Cape Bailov there is a capacious dock.

*Derbent* (Derbend), 154 miles to the north-west of Baku, is an open roadstead, affording no protection from the north and south-east winds, which blow with great violence at certain seasons. There are no harbour facilities, but various shipping lines visit the port regularly. There is a considerable local trade in fish.

*Lenkoran*, on a shallow bay, offers only exposed and indifferent anchorage. Large ships lie 3 miles out to sea. There is a considerable trade in boxwood.

*Petrovsk*, 81 miles north-west of Derbent, has a fair harbour, formed by a curved stone mole, 500 yds. long, on the south. There is a wooden pier on the north, and both mole and pier are connected by lines of rails with the railway station. There are berths for about 10 steamers. The quays and wharves are lit with electric light. The port is closed by ice in January only, and in the winter months, when the Volga is [439] frozen, Petrovsk does a considerable transit trade between Russia in Europe on the one side and Persia and Transcaspia on the other. It also exports oil from Grozni to the Volga. All the Caspian Sea steamship companies call at Petrovsk regularly.

### (*b*) *Shipping Lines*

505 (i) *Russian.*—The Russian Steam Navigation and [477] Trading Co. had almost a monopoly of the Black Sea shipping services, and, under a contract due to expire in 1928, received an annual subsidy of £98,000 from the State. It had piers at the ports of Batum and

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railways and roads, or of adequate accommodation at the ports. A further disadvantage lies in the lack of union among the population, accentuated of late by the increase of political power among the Armenians. The exodus of the Turks, who owned the prosperous tea and tobacco plantations, was an economic loss, though they may be replaced by the Armenians, Tatars, or Georgians. 105

The British consular report for 1913 described Caucasia as a poverty-stricken country, making only the slowest progress. This estimate seems harsh in view of the increasing exports from the three chief ports and the development of the large Russian oil trade. The oil-fields, however, are exploited by international capital, so that most of the profits derived from the trade leave the country. It should be noted, too, that in the new fields oil is found at greater depths than in the old, so that, unless American deep-drilling methods are introduced, production may cease to be profitable. The manganese industry has made great advances, but so far has yielded small profits only, on account of the cost of transport. The increased value of the cereal exports has chiefly benefited a few large landowners. 438 105

The fact remains that Caucasia contains great natural wealth, little exploited as yet. There are openings for development in the use of its forests and water-power; in the exploitation of minerals and mineral springs; in the cultivation of fruit, vines, tea, and, with the help of scientific irrigation, of cotton; and in the production of silk.

Novorossiisk has already shown a remarkable increase in prosperity, although, since its bombardment by the Turks, trade has temporarily deserted it. It was long since pointed out that, with improved harbour facilities and the increase of oil production, Batum had a fair chance of becoming a port of world-wide importance. [504]

489 Georgian Military Road connecting Dzaudzhikau
[491] with Tbilisi. Aviation, on the other hand, is very well developed.

The transportation systems of the various sub-areas are as follows:

489 Azerbaijan SSR: Transportation based
496 on railroads. The chief rail junction is Baku, the terminal of the Baku-Rostov, Baku-Tbilisi, and Baku-Dzhul'fa-Tbilisi lines. The main lines are partially electrified as are the railroads on the Apsheron Peninsula. The main
[504] port is Baku (petroleum-loading). The Kura River is navigable as far as Yevlakh. The air-
[508] fields are concentrated around Baku and Kirovabad. The sub-units are well served by railroads. Stepanakert, the capital of the High-Karabakh AO, is the terminal of a trunk line coming from Yevlakh. Dzhul'fa, in the Nakhichevan' ASSR, is an important junction on the Baku-Tbilisi-Tabriz (Persia) lines.

Armenian SSR: Railroads are the chief means of transportation. Important junctions are Zangibazar (on the Leninakan, Zanga, and Dzhul'fa lines), and Leninakan on the Tbilisi,
[491] Dzhul'fa, Artik, and Kars (Turkey) lines. The highways along the slopes of the Lesser Cauca-
[509] sus are relatively good. Yerevan is the aviation center of the republic.

Georgian SSR: Transportation mostly based on railroads. The main lines are the Baku-Tbilisi-Batumi, and the Tbilisi-Sukhumi-Tuapse lines, with Tbilisi, Khashuri, and Samtredia as the chief junctions. The Georgian railroad system has at the same time a whole

489 series of trunk lines, the most important of
496 which are the Mirzaani, Telavi, Stalinir, Baku-
riani, Vale, Sachkere, Tkibuli, Tskhaltubo,
[504] Poti, and Zugdidi lines. The main port of the
republic is Poti. The military roads have pri-
[509] marily historical value. Aviation is centered
around Tbilisi. The capitals of the sub-units
(Stalinir, Batumi, Sukhumi) have railroad con-
nections, and Batumi is at the same time one of
the principal petroleum loading ports of the
USSR.

Astrakhan' Oblast: Transportation is
based on waterways (the Volga and the Caspian
Sea), and more recently on railroads. The
principal railroad line is the Saratov-Astrak-
han'-Kizlyar line, the Astrakhan'-Kizlyar sec-
tion of which was recently built. Chief port
[504] of the area is Astrakhan' connected by a 125-
mile long channel through the shallow waters of
the Caspian Sea with Astrakhan' Port. Astra-
[509] khan' is above all an oil port; in addition to this
it is an important aviation center.

Groznyy Oblast: Transportation based
on railroads. The oblast is well served by the
two Baku-Rostov main lines (along the Sundzha,
and the Terek Rivers), and by the new Kizlyar-
Astrakhan' line. The chief junction is Gudermes.

Dagestan ASSR: On the Baku-Rostov line.
The center of the railroad system is Makhach-
kala, the terminal of several spurs. Makhach-
[504] kala is an important grain, cotton and petroleum
port as well, trading mostly with Russian Cen-
[508] tral Asia, and with Persia. There are also
several airfields around the city.

489 Stavropol' Kray: Transportation based
496 only on railroads. The chief line is the Baku-Rostov line with spurs penetrating into the steppe and into the Greater Caucasus. Of these trunk lines, which are sometimes electrified, the most important are the Dzaudzhikau, Alagir, Nal'chik, Kislovodsk, Ust'-Dzegutinskaya, Budennovsk, Blagodarnoye, and Divnoye lines. All the capitals of the sub-
[508] units have railroad connections. Airfields are concentrated in the health resort area, around Pyatigorsk.

Krasnodar Kray: Transportation based partially on railroads, partially on coastal shipping. The kray has the most developed railroad system in the Caucasus. The chief lines are the Baku-Rostov, and the Novorossiysk-Stalingrad lines crossing each other at Tikhoretsk. The other important junctions are
[504] Armavir, Krasnodar, and Kropotkin. There is a whole series of good harbors in the area. Tuapse, an oil port, and Novorossiysk, a grain and oil port, are especially important. The harbors on the Sea of Azov are of less impor-
[508] tance. There are several airfields in the area.

Rostov Oblast: Transportation based on waterways (Don; Sea of Azov), and on railroads. The center of the railroad system is Rostov.
[504] Of the ports, Taganrog (coal and grain shipping), and Rostov are the most important.

The distribution of the various means of
496 transportation in the entire Caucasus is as follows:

Railroads: The essential means of

b[1]. 2 Harbors, Navigable Rivers, Channels

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south-west to Kutais, a distance of 191 miles. It 491
crosses the Caucasian main range by the Mamison Pass.

The most important road from west to east is the Kutais–Tiflis–Elisavetopol–Shemakha–Baku road, with a total length of 542 miles. The Kutais–Tiflis section is known as the Imeretian Military Road.

There are also coast roads along the shores of the Black and Caspian Seas:

On the Black Sea coast a metalled road begins at Anapa, passes through Novorossiisk, 30 miles to the south-east, and runs along the coast to Sukhum and Ochemchiri, where it turns inland, dividing at Novo-Senaki into two branches which meet again at Kutais. The coast section was being improved in 1913.

Other roads terminating on the Black Sea coast are the Armavir–Maikop–Tuapse road, 166 miles long, the Akhaltsikh–Batum road, 110 miles long, and the Akhalkalaki–Artvin–Batum road, 200 miles long. The first of these is now to some extent superseded by the recently constructed railway following the same course. Batum lacks road connexions with the north.

Along the Caspian coast there is a road, for the most part unmetalled, from Astrakhan to Baku, a distance of 600 miles; and there is a road, metalled except where it crosses the Vantliashet Pass, from Petrovsk, on the Caspian, to Tiflis.

Road communications between the Caucasus and Russia are very few, the only ones of importance being the above-mentioned road along the Caspian littoral and one from Stavropol to Rostov-on-Don.

### (*b*) *Rivers and Canals*

Few of the numerous rivers of the Caucasus are 133
navigable, and those are used to a limited extent only 505
for transport. The floating of timber to the seaboard for shipment is the principal traffic in almost every case.

In Ciscaucasia the Kuban and the Terek have navigable stretches. The *Kuban*, which flows into the

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133 Sea of Azov, is navigable by light-draught steamers for
505 141 miles from its mouth. On the river and the various tributaries forming its basin there are 964 miles of water suitable for floating timber. The *Terek*, which flows into the Caspian, is navigable by light vessels for 112 miles from its mouth, but there is no steamer traffic. Timber can be floated for 320 miles. It has no tributaries of importance.

In Transcaucasia the navigable rivers are the Chorokh and Rion, emptying into the Black Sea, and the Kura, emptying into the Caspian. The *Rion* is navigable for 83 miles from its mouth at Poti, but no steamers can be used. Timber is floated or rafted for 123 miles. The *Kura* is navigable for 390 miles from its mouth, and of this distance 197 miles are suitable for steamers. Including its tributaries, the basin of the Kura provides 1,098 miles of water upon which timber-floating is possible.

[656] All these navigable waters were under the care of the State, which, through the Ministry of Ways and Communications, was responsible for their maintenance and improvement.

There are no navigable canals in the Caucasus. For irrigation canals, see p. 59.

### (c) *Railways*

496 In 1912 there were 2,442 miles of railway in the Caucasus, 994 miles being in Ciscaucasia and 1,448 miles in Transcaucasia. These are generally of 5-ft. gauge, and, with certain exceptions indicated below, are of single track.

*Principal Railways.*—There are two principal railway systems—the Vladikavkaz and the Transcaucasian.
[471] Both were constructed and maintained originally by private companies, but the latter was acquired by the State in 1906.

(i) The main line of the *Vladikavkaz Railway*, 819 miles in length, runs from Rostov-on-Don (where con-

3: Anonymous U-4 (no date) 1920 RH1 Caucasia RH1



504 Bailov, and on the east by the Kargin Islands, which lie at the entrance to the bay, 7 miles out at sea. A line of quays extends 4 miles, and there are 14 piers, owned by various shipping companies, each company [653] having its own wharf, warehouses, and offices. In 1914 the State assigned £100,000 for the building of other wharves, although there was already ample accommodation for the steamers engaged in oil transport and in the Transcaspian trade. At Cape Bailov there is a capacious dock.

*Derbent* (Derbend), 154 miles to the north-west of Baku, is an open roadstead, affording no protection from the north and south-east winds, which blow with great violence at certain seasons. There are no harbour facilities, but various shipping lines visit the port regularly. There is a considerable local trade in fish.

*Lenkoran*, on a shallow bay, offers only exposed and indifferent anchorage. Large ships lie 3 miles out to sea. There is a considerable trade in boxwood.

*Petrovsk*, 81 miles north-west of Derbent, has a fair harbour, formed by a curved stone mole, 500 yds. long, on the south. There is a wooden pier on the north, and both mole and pier are connected by lines of rails with the railway station. There are berths for about 10 steamers. The quays and wharves are lit with electric light. The port is closed by ice in January only, and in the winter months, when the Volga is [489] frozen, Petrovsk does a considerable transit trade between Russia in Europe on the one side and Persia and Transcaspia on the other. It also exports oil from Grozni to the Volga. All the Caspian Sea steamship companies call at Petrovsk regularly.

### (*b*) *Shipping Lines*

505 (i) *Russian.*—The Russian Steam Navigation and [477] Trading Co. had almost a monopoly of the Black Sea shipping services, and, under a contract due to expire in 1928, received an annual subsidy of £98,000 from the State. It had piers at the ports of Batum and

3: Anonymous U-4 (no date) 1920 RH1 Caucasia RH1



Novorossiisk. Its vessels called four times a week at 505 Batum, three times a week at Poti, Gagri, Sukhum Kale, Sochi, Tuapse, and Anapa Roads, and once a week at Gelendjik Bay. In 1914 it possessed 70 steamers with a total tonnage of 142,264.

The Russian Volunteer Fleet Association called at various ports on the Black Sea and the Sea of Azov; in 1914 it had 31 steamers with a total tonnage of 116,264.

The Caucasus and Mercury Co. had 39 steamers, with a total tonnage of 16,504 on the Caspian Sea, and received a grant of £30,350 per annum for its Caspian and Volga services. In 1913 the company demanded an increase to £67,000, which was refused. It had a regular service between Baku, Astrakhan, Krasnovodsk, and smaller Caspian ports.

Other Russian shipowners serving the ports of the Caucasus in 1914 were, on the Black Sea, L. L. Andreis with 12 steamers, Ehrtmann & Geelmuyden with 2 steamers, both of Novorossiisk, and P. Spoliansky of Batum with 2 steamers; on the Caspian, the Eastern Trading Co. with 34 steamers, the Mazut Co. with 14 steamers, the Nadejda Co. (affiliated to the Caucasus and Mercury Co.), Nobel Brothers, and Kachtcheef Brothers.

(ii) *Foreign.*—The Wilson Line, the Oesterreichischer Lloyd, and the Navigazione Generale Italiana had regular services to Batum, Novorossiisk, and Poti; the Compagnie de Navigation Paquet, the Messageries Maritimes, and the Deutsche Levante Linie regular services to Batum and Novorossiisk, and boats calling occasionally at Poti; the Cunard and Moss Companies regular services to Batum only. Vessels of the Ellerman Line called occasionally at Batum, and those of the Danube Steam Navigation Co. (Rumanian) at Batum and Novorossiisk.

A good deal of 'tramp' tonnage was attracted to the Black Sea, especially in the autumn, when grain shipment from Novorossiisk was brisk. The vessels were of all nationalities, but British shipping easily held

3: Anonymous U-4 (no date) 1920 RH1 Caucasia RH1



505 first place, followed, up to the outbreak of the Balkan War, by vessels under the Greek flag. Only Russian-owned vessels trade on the Caspian Sea.

Shipping facilities both on the Black and Caspian Seas were equal to all demands; on the former the majority of the vessels from abroad arrived in ballast, as imports nowhere balanced exports.

Particulars of shipping at the principal ports in 1909 and 1913 are given in Table I of the Appendix (p. 92).

### (c) *Telegraphic and Wireless Communications*

206 The Indo-European Telegraph Co. has a line running from Julfa by Erivan, Tiflis, Zugdidi, Sukhum Kale, Tuapse, Ekaterinodar, and Temryuk to Chushka Point, whence two submarine cables belonging to the company cross the Kerch Straits to Yenikale. Land telegraph lines connect Batum with Constantinople *via* Trebizond. A submarine cable connects Baku with Krasnovodsk in Transcaspia.

Batum possesses a wireless telegraph station, installed in 1911, in communication with Sevastopol. A wireless station with a range of 267 miles connects Petrovsk with Fort Alexandrovsk in Transcaspia, and another of the same power was opened at Baku in 1914. Funds were assigned in that year for erecting stations at Novorossiisk and Poti.

## (B) INDUSTRY

### (1) Labour

### (a) *Labour Supply; Immigration and Emigration*

463 Agriculture forms the occupation of the majority of
181 the inhabitants of the Caucasus, though in many cases it is pursued in combination with other activities. The numerous peoples of which the population consists (see above, pp. 8–12)* naturally show very various capacities for labour and prejudices with regard to it. The people of Caucasian or Georgian stock are cultivators of the land and keepers of flocks and herds, with little taste

* [see cat. 116 -- Analyst]

*133 sources near those of the Kura and unites with the Tortum-Su near the point where it falls into the main river. After the Chorokh breaks through the Pontic Range at lat. 41° 15' N. it also receives from the right, at a distance of only 15 km. from the seacoast, the Acharis-Tskhali. From this junction point on, the Chorokh is the frontier between Turkey and the Soviet Union. The Acharis-Tskhali runs for its entire course, however short, (80 km. long) on Soviet territory. It has its sources on the western slope of the ridge abutting in the north against the Adjaro-Imeret'ian range, and extending to the south in two branches, one southeast, the other southwest, thus enclosing the Ardahan-Kars plateaus from the north. This ridge and its southwestern branch are the watershed between the Black Sea and the Caspian Sea. From its eastern slopes the Pos-Khevi-Tskhali streams down and falls, as mentioned earlier, into the upper Kura near the town of Akhalts'ikhe. Another spur parallel to the first projects from the Arsiya massif (map of 1916: 2616 m.) northwestward, then west and west-southwestward, forming the southern boundary of the Acharis-Tskhali valley.

*133 505 None of the Caucasian rivers has any significance as lines of communication and transport, in sharp contrast to the two great rivers north of the area, the Don and the Volga. Navigation on a minor, insignificant

*133
505 scale is possible on the Kuban up to the Belaia estuary, east of Krasnodar, only about 220 km. from the Kuban estuary; and on the Kura up to the Mingechaur "water hub" near Yevlakh. The latter point is about 300 km. from the Caspian coast.

496 transportation. The Soviet regime, in addition to the inherited railroad lines (Baku-Rostov, Novorossiysk-Stalingrad, Baku-Batumi, Tbilisi-Dzhul'fa, and Astrakhan'-Saratov lines) has built a whole series of main lines (Prokhladnyy-Astrakhan', Armavir-Samtredia, Dzhul'fa-Alyaty) and a whole net of trunks. Thus, today the Caucasus is well served, except for some northeastern sections.

Water ways: Unimportant in the Caucasus because of the mountainous character of
505 the area. Except for the Kura River in Azerbaijan on which there is some navigation on a small scale, only the Volga and the Don Rivers, which constitute the northern boundaries of the Caucasus, are really navigable rivers. Especially the Volga River is important, being the outlet to Russian Central Asia and Persia. On it lumber is floated downstream and fish, salt, and oil are shipped upstream. The seas around the Caucasus are also important in local coastwise shipping, as well as in long distance coastal shipping and in overseas exports. In coastal shipping the Caspian Sea is especially important, oil shipping between Baku-Makhachkala and Astrakhan' being the largest item. Long distance shipping is characteristic of the Black Sea ports like Sochi, Tuapse, Novorossiysk. The cement of Novorossiysk is shipped for instance as far as Leningrad. The Black Sea, open to navigation throughout the year, handles at the same time 50% of the oversea exports of the USSR. Though Soviet exports were relatively small during the Stalinist period, and though it was

505 handled partially by Odessa and other non-Caucasian Black Sea ports, the importance of Novorossiysk, Poti, and Batumi was still considerable. On the Caspian Sea Makhachkala is the preeminence export harbor. The importance of the Sea of Azov in maritime shipping is smaller.

491 Primary roads: Importance limited. Certain areas, however, are better served. The highways are relatively good in North Azerbaijan along the slopes of the Greater Caucasus. They are also good in the Tbilisi-Yerevan areas. Of the military roads, the Abkhazian and Ossetian Military Roads are famous, but without practical value. The Georgian Military Road, connecting Tbilisi with Dzaudzhikau is somewhat better. The coastal highway is relatively good in Groznyy Oblast, and in Dagestan along the northern slopes of the Greater Caucasus. Krasnodar Kray, along the slopes, has better highways too. Stepnoy (in the Stavropol' Kray) is reported to be connected with Astrakhan' and Stalingrad by a more recent highway.

508 Airfields, landing grounds: The Caucasian aviation system is well developed. The number of civil and military airfields and landing grounds is around 50. Baku, Kirovabad, Yerevan, Tbilisi, Astrakhan', Makhachkala, Mineral'nyye Vody, and Rostov are the aviation centers. They usually have several airfields each, sometimes as many as six.

507 2 Mikoian, Artem, 1905-
Aircraft designer; studied in Tiflis; graduated from Zhukovskii air academy. Designed under Polikarpov; built the first fighter plane, MIK-I, 1939, and built many new types of speed planes. Designed jet plane in 1947. Stalin prizes in 1941, 1947, 1952. Now with ministry of Air Craft Industry in Erevan.

BE II 27:431
World Biogr. 1954, p. 808

645
665 3 Mirzoev, Sultan Abas ogly
Minister of sovkhozy (Azerb., 1954). Member CC CP Azerb. SSR.

Bak. Rab. 3/10/54

538 3 Mir-Dzhalal (pseud of Pashaev, Mir-Dzhalal Ali ogly), 1908-. Azerb. writer. Wrote: Voskresshii chelovek, 1935, Manifest molodogo cheloveka, 1939.

BE II 27:565

759
646 3 Mir-Kasimov, Mir Asadulla Mir Alekper ogly, 1883- . surgeon; president of Azerb. Akad. nauk, 1945-7. Deputy of VS SSSR 1.-3. sozyv. 1931- prof. of Azerb. Med. inst.

BE II 27:571

489 Georgian Military Road connecting Dzaudzhikau
[491] with Tbilisi. Aviation, on the other hand, is very well developed.

The transportation systems of the various sub-areas are as follows:

Azerbaijan SSR: Transportation based
489 on railroads. The chief rail junction is Baku,
496 the terminal of the Baku-Rostov, Baku-Tbilisi, and Baku-Dzhul'fa-Tbilisi lines. The main lines are partially electrified as are the railroads on the Apsheron Peninsula. The main
[504] port is Baku (petroleum-loading). The Kura River is navigable as far as Yevlakh. The air-
[508] fields are concentrated around Baku and Kirovabad. The sub-units are well served by railroads. Stepanakert, the capital of the High-Karabakh AO, is the terminal of a trunk line coming from Yevlakh. Dzhul'fa, in the Nakhichevan' ASSR, is an important junction on the Baku-Tbilisi-Tabriz (Persia) lines.

Armenian SSR: Railroads are the chief means of transportation. Important junctions are Zangibazar (on the Leninakan, Zanga, and Dzhul'fa lines), and Leninakan on the Tbilisi,
[491] Dzhul'fa, Artik, and Kars (Turkey) lines. The highways along the slopes of the Lesser Cauca-
[509] sus are relatively good. Yerevan is the aviation center of the republic.

Georgian SSR: Transportation mostly based on railroads. The main lines are the Baku-Tbilisi-Batumi, and the Tbilisi-Sukhumi-Tuapse lines, with Tbilisi, Khashuri, and Samtredia as the chief junctions. The Georgian railroad system has at the same time a whole

489 series of trunk lines, the most important of
496 which are the Mirzaani, Telavi, Stalinir, Baku-
riani, Vale, Sachkere, Tkibuli, Tskhaltubo,
[504] Poti, and Zugdidi lines. The main port of the
republic is Poti. The military roads have pri-
[509] marily historical value. Aviation is centered
around Tbilisi. The capitals of the sub-units
(Stalinir, Batumi, Sukhumi) have railroad con-
nections, and Batumi is at the same time one of
the principal petroleum loading ports of the
USSR.

Astrakhan' Oblast: Transportation is based on waterways (the Volga and the Caspian Sea), and more recently on railroads. The principal railroad line is the Saratov-Astrakhan'-Kizlyar line, the Astrakhan'-Kizlyar sec-
[504] tion of which was recently built. Chief port
of the area is Astrakhan' connected by a 125-
mile long channel through the shallow waters of
the Caspian Sea with Astrakhan' Port. Astra-
[509] khan' is above all an oil port; in addition to this
it is an important aviation center.

Groznyy Oblast: Transportation based on railroads. The oblast is well served by the two Baku-Rostov main lines (along the Sundzha, and the Terek Rivers), and by the new Kizlyar-Astrakhan' line. The chief junction is Gudermes.

Dagestan ASSR: On the Baku-Rostov line. The center of the railroad system is Makhach-
[504] kala, the terminal of several spurs. Makhach-
kala is an important grain, cotton and petroleum
port as well, trading mostly with Russian Cen-
[508] tral Asia, and with Persia. There are also
several airfields around the city.

489 Stavropol' Kray: Transportation based
496 only on railroads. The chief line is the Baku-Rostov line with spurs penetrating into the steppe and into the Greater Caucasus. Of these trunk lines, which are sometimes electrified, the most important are the Dzaudzhikau, Alagir, Nal'chik, Kislovodsk, Ust'-Dzegutinskaya, Budennovsk, Blagodarnoye, and Divnoye lines. All the capitals of the sub-
[508] units have railroad connections. Airfields are concentrated in the health resort area, around Pyatigorsk.

Krasnodar Kray: Transportation based partially on railroads, partially on coastal shipping. The kray has the most developed railroad system in the Caucasus. The chief lines are the Baku-Rostov, and the Novorossiysk-Stalingrad lines crossing each other at Tikhoretsk. The other important junctions are
[504] Armavir, Krasnodar, and Kropotkin. There is a whole series of good harbors in the area. Tuapse, an oil port, and Novorossiysk, a grain and oil port, are especially important. The harbors on the Sea of Azov are of less impor-
[508] tance. There are several airfields in the area.

Rostov Oblast: Transportation based on waterways (Don; Sea of Azov), and on railroads. The center of the railroad system is Rostov.
[504] Of the ports, Taganrog (coal and grain shipping), and Rostov are the most important.

The distribution of the various means of
496 transportation in the entire Caucasus is as follows:

Railroads: The essential means of

505 handled partially by Odessa and other non-Caucasian Black Sea ports, the importance of Novorossiysk, Poti, and Batumi was still considerable. On the Caspian Sea Makhachkala is the preeminence export harbor. The importance of the Sea of Azov in maritime shipping is smaller.

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7: Columbia U. S-4,5 1956 RH1 Caucasia RH1

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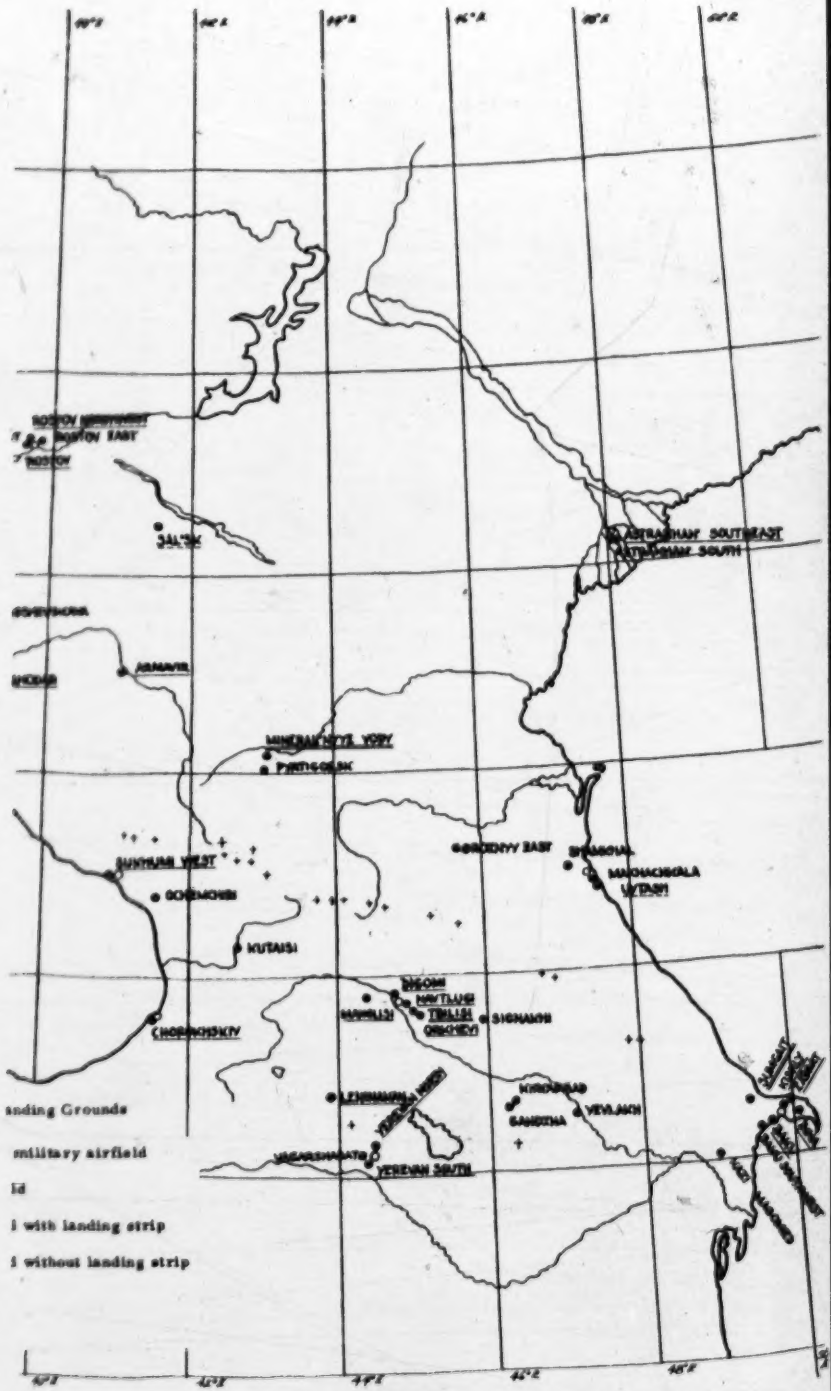
ASTRAKHAN SOUTHEAST
ASTRAKHAN SOUTH
SALSK
MINERALNYYE VODY
PYATIGORSK
GROZNYY EAST
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YEVLAKH
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anding Grounds
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995a

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[508] tral Asia, and with Persia. There are also
several airfields around the city.

585 however, we must make allowance for tribal differences. The Ingush wedding has been described especially well by Jakovlev.[25]

There is excitement in the village,[26] and the whole atmosphere is festive. Before one of the Ingush houses a crowd is gathering, the riders towering above all. There is reason for this excitement and festivity, for a son is being married. Inside the house, too, there is excitement—but perhaps we should call it [273] "activity" instead. A sheep is being slaughtered, *braga* is being brewed, cakes are being baked. But in spite of all this hustle, there seems to be time and reason enough to interrupt all work—just for a moment—the butcher, the brewer, the baker, one and all, go to the door and gaze a moment at the crowd as it begins to form into a semi-orderly wedding procession. At the head we see the proud father of the groom, and behind him his male relatives and some girls. Even billy-goats and rams are there (gifts for the bride's family)—all are there except the groom. He and one of his comrades disappeared several days ago and have not been heard of since. (The bride vanished from her home too, but by now she has most likely returned.) The bridegroom is no doubt "hiding" with a neighbour. The whole village is excited—everybody, we are told, except the groom, for etiquette demands that he act as unconcerned as if marriage were an everyday affair.

Men on horseback, men, women, and noisy children on creaky carts or on foot, wend their way down the dusty village road. When they reach the bride's house her father dashes out in front of the procession and with beaming face [534] welcomes all heartily. The *pandir* (a native three-stringed instrument) begins a joyful wedding tune and all join in the customary marriage songs. Formerly the girls would form into two contending choirs, the friends of the groom against [522] the friends of the bride, alternately singing songs and trying to out-ridicule the other,[27] a veritable battle of tongues and voices.

Singing, dancing, and feasting, continue till evening, when the procession [526] is formed again (but this time not without the bride). The horsemen now gallop off and begin their wild, dangerous wedding races.[28]

As soon as the procession reaches the groom's house, the bride enters the *saklia* and receives some honey and butter, coyly listening to the words "Be thou ever soft as butter and ever sweet as honey."

After this little ceremony she is led behind a curtain where she must remain for the next few days, entertained only by a number of girl-companions.

The formal marriage contract takes place according to the simple Islamic rite. The mullah, as usual, presides, while the parents of the bride and groom make the contract.

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[25] Jakovlev, *Ingali*, pp. 52—56.
See also Dubrovin's description, *Istorija*, I, i, pp. 430—435.

[26] A year or two may elapse after the betrothal, the time of marriage depending mainly on how soon the *kalym* can be paid. Cf. Berže, *Čečnja i Čečency*, p. 98.

[27] For texts of wedding songs see Jakovlev, *l. c.*

[28] Grabovskij, "Ekonomičeskij i domašnij byt, etc.," p. 21. Horseraces play an important part in funerals throughout the Caucasus. See R. Bleichsteiner, "Rossweihe und Pferderennen im Totenkult der kaukasischen Völker," *Wiener Beiträge zur Kulturgeschichte und Linguistik*, Salzburg-Leipzig, 1936, pp. 414—495.

The "Reconciliation" however is not yet over. The following morning an *arba* (Caucasian two-wheeled wagon) drawn by two oxen goes through the village and every family before whose house the *arba* halts is obliged to donate a chicken. In the evening a cartload of chickens arrives, destined for a special "Reconciliation" feast exclusively for women, on which occasion the groom by accepting some beer from his mother is finally "reconciled" also with her. 585 [493]

True, the "Reconciliation" may be over, but the marriage ceremonies are not. Two days later there is more feasting, more drinking, and the so-called *shinak-gagerös* (i. e., "the twirling of a wooden cup with a long handle") take place. The one toward whom the cuphandle points on stopping after having been twirled must drink its contents. The young people who take part in this drink-feast do not leave the groom's home till there is no more beer left to refill the cup. The old folks have their turn in the celebration in the evening, when the young are obliged to serve the old. One of the main features on the programme is the obligation of all the "old-timers" to take a turn at dancing, ending with a dance of the host and hostess, who, however, have the privilege of exemption from dancing if they drink a cup of beer instead. On this occasion the Kabardian minnesingers called *geguako* are especially welcome. They travel from village to village, playing on their two-stringed instruments, singing and composing beautiful lyrics[20] as the German minnesingers and the French and Italian troubadours once used to do. To each well-wishing of the *geguako* the guests answer with a joyful "Amen !," confirming their "So be it!" with a sip of beer.[21] [524] [273] [533] [534]

The ceremony of thrice walking around the hearth constitutes an important part of the Cherkess wedding just as in Abkhazia.[22]

The official marriage contract is made by representatives of the bride and groom in the presence of the local mullah. Holding both representatives by the hand, he first asks the representative of the bride: "Do you take A as husband for B?" The answer is a simple "Yes!" He then asks the representative of the groom: "Do you take B as wife for A?" "Yes!" This interrogation is repeated a second and a third time. The mullah then recites a prayer and all present, raising their hands heavenward, answer "Amen!"[23]

The expenses entailed in such an elaborate wedding would often bring complete economic ruin to the family, much the same as Caucasian funerals. Ladyženskij implies, however, that such expensive weddings are a thing of the past.[24]

The NORTHEASTERN CAUCASIANS. As our example of a Chechen marriage we have chosen that of the Ingushi, for this group of Chechens has preserved much more of their ancient culture than any other. In so doing, however, we must make allowance for tribal differences. [182]

[20] Hahn, *op. cit.*, pp. 46—49, from whom we have also taken the description of the "Reconciliation." Hahn gives us a few examples of these lyrics, *op. cit.*, pp. 49 ff.

[21] Hahn, *op. cit.*, p. 51.

[22] Dirr, AGKB, p. 25.

[23] Ladyženskij, FT, p. 199.

[24] Ladyženskij, FT, p. 208. See also Dubrovin, *Istorija* for a fairly good description of a Cherkess wedding, I, i, pp. 142 ff, 147 f.

8: Lužbetak E-4 (no date) 1951 RHI Caucasia RHI



As soon as the procession reaches the bridegroom's house, his mother takes a plate of honey and smears some on the bride's lips and extends her an official invitation to enter.[51] The honey symbolizes the readiness of the mother-in-law to offer the bride any and every gift, but especially the greatest gift of all, entrance into the household.[52] A pleasant and sweet life awaits her in such friendly surroundings. 585

Now an ox (or any other head of large cattle)[53] is led before the bride. The ear of the animal is then cut as a sign that from now on it belongs to the bride alone.[54] If the bride stands motionless in the doorway, everyone understands that the bride is still not satisfied and therefore a second animal must be brought before her and its ear must be cut in a similar manner. Sometimes a horse is presented to her instead of two oxen, in which case a clump of hair is cut off the horse's tail, leaving the ear intact.[55] On accepting these gifts, the bride is congratulated, welcomed, honoured with songs and pistol shots, and is then solemnly led across the threshold of the *saklia* by her mother-in-law. Sometimes, as the bride steps over the threshold, the bridegroom, standing behind the door, gives his wife three slight strokes[56] symbolizing his authority over her.[57]

The programme now calls for a tug of war between the villagers and the members of the groom's household. A carpet (the one the bride stepped on when crossing the threshold) is placed between the two groups, everyone taking as good a hold of it as possible and then pulling with all his strength, the villagers pulling away from the house and the others toward it. This is, doubtless, a form of ceremonial bride capture. The winners receive a special delicacy called *airisa*, a mixture of flour, butter and honey, as well as their favourite drink *buza*, while the losers must be satisfied with the drink.[58] 583 585 [524] [262]

There are two other forms of ceremonial bride capture, found among other Lesghians. In Dido-land the friends of the groom "break" into the bride's house, throw a sheep-skin over her head, and drag her into the street, where the villagers throw filth at her till she reaches her new home. The Andi of T'indi are supposed to have had the following custom: the bride riding on a horse, accompanied by men and women armed with torches and long poles, rides toward the groom who is similarly guarded. When the two groups meet, a mock battle is declared. The parties must try to extinguish each other's torches. In

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[51] Kovalevskij, *l. c.* Amirov omits this ceremony.

[52] This is Kovalevskij's interpretation. Unfortunately our sources fail to mention whether the mother-in-law accompanies her action with words as in the case of other North Caucasians or not.

[53] Amirov, *op. cit.*, p. 31, who mentions the possibility of presenting a horse instead of two oxen.

[54] Kovalevskij, *l. c.*; Amirov, *l. c.*

[55] Amirov, *l. c.*

[56] Kovalevskij, *Zakon*, II, p. 186.

[57] Amirov's and Kovalevskij's interpretation.

[58] Amirov, *op. cit.*, pp. 31 f.

[sic--Ana/yst]

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# Chapter VII

# The Wedding

## § 1. DESCRIPTION

The NORTHWESTERN CAUCASIANS. The finest descriptions of the Abkhazian wedding, to my mind, are those of Deržavin and Seidlitz.[1] Unless indicated, our data have been taken from the latter author. 585

On the appointed day the bridegroom and his attendants hasten to the home of the bride, and after having extended them a hearty welcome, her father solemnly hands her over to the groom. A procession is formed, which then proceeds towards the bride's new home. The Abkhazian bridal song, "Bedniera" ("Happiness"), and continuous pistol salutes fill the air as the horsemen suddenly break into a wild gallop and begin their famous Caucasian *dzhigirt* (riding stunts). [586]

As soon as the wedding procession nears the groom's house, one of the riders gallops ahead. A pistol salute lets all know that the bride is near.

As soon as she reaches the house, an immense round loaf of millet bread is tossed over her head three times, then broken, and eaten by all present.

A bridal arch is formed at the doorway of the house by two men with crossed swords. On the threshold she is given some sugar and honey with the words "May God grant you a tongue as sweet as sugar and honey."[2]

She then crosses the threshold and receives a dish of *ghomi* (millet) and an egg. What the significance of this ceremony may be we are not told. She is then led thrice round the hearth, scattering grains of millet in all directions.

The bride then sits down and a little boy is brought to her. She takes him on her lap, in order that she too may, before long, have the happiness of becoming the mother of a boy.[3] [587]

After this ceremony she is taken to the *ambara* (little house or hut).

On the following day visitors arrive to become acquainted with the bride[4] and to offer her various gifts. An attendant is always at her side to introduce the guests as they come. The veil is lifted from her face as she stands before the visitor motionless, with downcast eyes, and not uttering a single word. If

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[1] N. C. Deržavin, "Iz oblasti kavkazskoj etnografii. Svad'ba v Abchazii," SMOMPK, XXXVI (1906), No. 2, pp. 1—10. N. von Seidlitz, "Die Abchasen," *Globus*, LXVI (1894), No. 3, pp. 40 f. See also Dubrovin's description, *Istorija*, I, ii, pp. 49 ff.

[2] It is most likely the mother of the household who invites the bride to cross the threshold, a custom found also among other peoples of North Caucasus.

[3] Cf. *infra*, p. 205.

[4] Deržavin, *op. cit.*, p. 8.

p. 111

the guests have any questions, it is her girl-companion that must answer. The bride may at the most nod in affirmation.

She remains in her "hermitage" for some months before she is finally permitted to live with the rest of the household.[5]

The following description is chiefly that of the main Cherkess tribe, the Kabardians.

The *kalym* has been paid and the day of the wedding agreed upon. The relatives of the bridegroom begin the necessary wedding preparations. The odour of steaming beer and of the finest dainties creates a distinctive atmosphere, peculiar to a Kabardian wedding. On the eve of the marriage a group of men gallop through the *aul* inviting relatives to a preparatory feast, on the occasion of which a collection is taken to cover some of the expenses of the coming wedding, e. g., purchase of a veil for the bride, chartering of a bridal wagon.

On the following day young men fully-armed gather at the house of the groom and noisely gallop off to the bride's house. The bridegroom, however, does not go with them but "hides" at his best-man's house.[6] By doing so he becomes temporarily an adopted son *(kan)* of the latter's sib. A young companion called *shatso-kot* must always be at his side to protect him.

When the riders (or to be more exact, the bridal procession) reach the bride's house, her attendant, whom the riders brought along, is taken to the women's quarters, while the rest, after having feasted and danced till late into the night, are given lodging either in the house of the bride or of one of the neighbours.

Immediately after breakfast on the following day, the unusual hustle peculiar to a Cherkess wedding is observed outside the bride's house. The horses are being harnessed, the bride's belongings are being packed carefully but hurriedly into a trunk and put on the specially decorated bridal wagon. The bride herself is inside the house, being attired in her finest clothes. From her hair hangs a long white ribbon reaching to the ground. She is veiled, or rather, wrapped in a large white shawl. Her wedding dress differs but slightly from the ordinary Cherkess dress, except that it is made of more costly material. She is assisted on to the wagon and takes her place next to her ever-faithful girl-attendant. As soon as the bridal procession begins to move, the young men of the *aul*, all on horseback, try to snatch the caps away from the guests and thus begin the usual bridal horseraces. When the more "dignified" part of the procession enters the village of the groom, a wedding song is sung. By this time the racers have rested a bit and are ready to break into another wild chase. They again snatch one another's caps, throwing them on the ground, and as the rider gallops past one of the caps, he tries his skill at shooting a hole through it.

The bride is then taken by two women into the women's quarters, whilst outside the cracks of pistols and guns continue. The bride slowly sits down on a specially prepared bench, covered with a carpet. All eyes are fixed on her as a girl-friend of hers has the honour of removing the shawl.

While the riders outside are enjoying their beer, the youth of the village armed with long poles occupy a place difficult for the horsemen to pass. The

[5] Seidlitz, *op. cit.*, pp. 40 f; Deržavin, *op. cit.*, p. 10.
[6] C. Hahn, *Kaukasische Reisen und Studien*, p. 40.

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riders charge wildly, slashing their whips in all directions against their attackers whose task it is to prevent the horsemen form entering the house. The battle continues till the riders finally manage to jump over the fence or to break it down and thus force their way into the house. The "defenders of the bride" throw away their poles and begin dancing with the girls of the village. At noon they all enter the house to congratulate the parents of the groom. Dances commence again and last until midnight. 585 [526]

All this time, as we have already mentioned, the groom is absent, temporarily adopted by a neighbouring sib and guarded day and night by his *shatso-kot*. When the groom retires, the *shatso-kot* must spend the night in the yard protecting the bridegroom against any intruder. Never may he abandon his post. During the day it is his strict obligation to entertain the groom and this he usually does by horseback riding, away from the village. In the evening the two are joined by other companions. Toward midnight all leave except of course the *shatso-kot*, who must now accompany the groom to his bride.[7] [608]

The first three nights, as a part of the wedding ceremony, the groom must undo the bride's stays.[8] Her corset is a broad red leather belt, which is sewed tightly about her waist and is never removed till the wedding night. According to Pallas, the corset was donned when she was 10 or 12 years old,[9] while other explorers claim that the corset was sewed on soon after the bride was born.[10] In any case, she may never take the corset off: it must remain untouched till it bursts and then it must immediately be replaced by another. The husband alone has the right to undo it, on the wedding night. The corset renders the waist very small in proportion to the shoulders, the purpose being to prevent the growth of the breasts, an essential requirement for Cherkess beauty.[11] In some places at least, the custom of wearing such stays has been recently discarded.[12] [292] [836]

Pallas and Ellis in their reports dating from the 18th century claim that the corset is "cut with a dagger, a custom sometimes productive of very fatal accidents."[13] Today untieing and not cutting the stays is the orthodox ceremony with the Cherkess[14] and the Ossetes. To cut them would subject the groom to endless ridicule.[15] Since the custom of *cutting* was "productive of very fatal accidents" we can easily understand why the pratice has been given up. Sometimes the bride's girl-friends maliciously tie a large number of very difficult knots, so that the temptation to make use of the dagger is not slight. On the first three nights the bride is not allowed to say a word to her husband.[16]

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[7] Hahn, *op. cit.*, pp. 40—44. For a description of a wedding among the Temirgoi see Vasil'kov, *op. cit.*, pp. 89—101.

[8] Ladyženskij, FT, p. 191.

[9] P. S. Pallas, *Bemerkungen auf einer Reise in die südl. Statth. des russ. Reichs etc.*, I, pp. 380 f.

[10] Ellis, *Memoir of a map etc.*, p. 24.

[11] Pallas, *l. c.*; Ellis, *l. c.*; Dubrovin, *Istorija*, I, i, p. 127. Prof. D. Wölfel has called my attention to a similar practice in Tyrol.

[12] For example, Ladyženskij could not find the practice in Kamenomostki Aul in 1927, FT, p. 191.

[13] Pallas, *op. cit.*, I, p. 381; Ellis, *l. c.*

[14] C. Hahn, *op. cit.*, p. 44.

[15] Baddeley, *op. cit.*, I, p. 270.

[16] Hahn, *op. cit.*, p. 45.

585 however, we must make allowance for tribal differences. The Ingush wedding has been described especially well by Jakovlev.[25]

There is excitement in the village,[26] and the whole atmosphere is festive. Before one of the Ingush houses a crowd is gathering, the riders towering above all. There is reason for this excitement and festivity, for a son is being married. Inside the house, too, there is excitement—but perhaps we should call it [273] "activity" instead. A sheep is being slaughtered, *braga* is being brewed, cakes are being baked. But in spite of all this hustle, there seems to be time and reason enough to interrupt all work—just for a moment—the butcher, the brewer, the baker, one and all, go to the door and gaze a moment at the crowd as it begins to form into a semi-orderly wedding procession. At the head we see the proud father of the groom, and behind him his male relatives and some girls. Even billy-goats and rams are there (gifts for the bride's family)—all are there except the groom. He and one of his comrades disappeared several days ago and have not been heard of since. (The bride vanished from her home too, but by now she has most likely returned.) The bridegroom is no doubt "hiding" with a neighbour. The whole village is excited—everybody, we are told, except the groom, for etiquette demands that he act as unconcerned as if marriage were an everyday affair.

Men on horseback, men, women, and noisy children on creaky carts or on foot, wend their way down the dusty village road. When they reach the bride's house her father dashes out in front of the procession and with beaming face [534] welcomes all heartily. The *pandir* (a native three-stringed instrument) begins a joyful wedding tune and all join in the customary marriage songs. Formerly the girls would form into two contending choirs, the friends of the groom against [522] the friends of the bride, alternately singing songs and trying to out-ridicule the other,[27] a veritable battle of tongues and voices.

Singing, dancing, and feasting, continue till evening, when the procession [526] is formed again (but this time not without the bride). The horsemen now gallop off and begin their wild, dangerous wedding races.[28]

As soon as the procession reaches the groom's house, the bride enters the *saklia* and receives some honey and butter, coyly listening to the words "Be thou ever soft as butter and ever sweet as honey."

After this little ceremony she is led behind a curtain where she must remain for the next few days, entertained only by a number of girl-companions.

The formal marriage contract takes place according to the simple Islamic rite. The mullah, as usual, presides, while the parents of the bride and groom make the contract.

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[25] Jakovlev, *Ingši*, pp. 52—56.
See also Dubrovin's description, *Istorija*, I, i, pp. 430—435.

[26] A year or two may elapse after the betrothal, the time of marriage depending mainly on how soon the *kalym* can be paid. Cf. Berže, *Čečnja i Čečency*, p. 98.

[27] For texts of wedding songs see Jakovlev, *l. c.*

[28] Grabovskij, "Ekonomičeskij i domašnij byt, etc.," p. 21. Horseraces play an important part in funerals throughout the Caucasus. See R. Bleichsteiner, "Rossweihe und Pferderennen im Totenkult der kaukasischen Völker," *Wiener Beiträge zur Kulturgeschichte und Linguistik*, Salzburg-Leipzig, 1936, pp. 414—495.

# TABLE 16

## Marriage Ceremonies of N. Caucasians And Neighbours

| Marriage Ceremonies | Procession | | | Dramatization of capture | Horse-racing | Both sibs (families) present | Groom absent for large part of wedding | Segregation of bride during wedding | Bride's submission to husband | Wedding elaborate, expensive with much feasting & dancing | Mother-in-law † | | | Corset ceremony | Proof of Virginity | Child placed on bride's lap | Special wishes for boys | Fire-place ceremony | Gifts to bride from own sib | "Tramping on bed" ceremony | Sword placed over bride's head | Special attendant for groom | Special attendant for bride | Mother plays important rôle | Maternal uncle important rôle | Formal religious contract | Reconciliation ceremony | Predominant Character of Ceremonies |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | From groom's house to bride | Return with bride to groom's house | Groom is absent | | | | | | | | Invites bride to cross threshold | Offers bride some honey | Bride's submission to | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Abkhaz | + | + | − | | + | + | | + | | + | + | + | | + | | + | + | + | + | − | + | | + | − | − | + | | Pastoral |
| Cherkess | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | | + | + | + | | + | + | + | + | + | + | − | + | + | + | − | − | + | + | Pastoral |
| Ingushi | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | | + | | + | | | ? | + | + | + | + | − | | + | + | − | − | + | | Pastoral |
| Other Chechens | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | | + | | + | | | | + | + | ? | + | − | | + | + | − | − | + | | Pastoral |
| Avars | + | + | + | + | | + | + | | + | + | + | + | + | | + | | | ? | + | + | | + | + | + | − | + | | Pastoral + Agrarian |
| Dargwa | + | + | + | + | | + | + | | + | + | + | + | + | | + | | | ? | + | + | | + | + | + | − | + | | Pastoral + Agrarian |
| Other Lesghians | + | + | + | + | | + | + | | + | + | + | + | + | | + | | | | + | + | | + | + | + | − | + | | Pastoral + Agrarian |
| Khevsurs | + | + | | + | | + | | | | | | | | | + | | | + | | − | | | | + | − | + | | Pastoral + Agrarian |
| Pshavs * | + | + | − | | | + | | | | + | + | + | | | + | | + | + | + | − | | + | + | + | − | + | | Pastoral + Agrarian |
| Tushi | | | | | | | | | | | | + | | | | | | | | | | | | | + | + | | |
| Ingiloi | + | + | | | | | | | | | | | | | + | | | | | | | | | + | − | | | |
| Ossetes | + | + | | + | | + | + | + | + | + | | + | + | + | | + | + | + | + | − | + | + | + | − | − | + | | Pastoral |
| Karachai | | | | + | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |

* Cf. Makalatija. "Iz starogo narodnogo byta Pšavov," SE, 1938, No. 1, pp. 105.

† It is usually the mother-in-law.

585 [583] [326] [606] [842]

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event in every Lesghian's life, for if these gifts are accepted, the consent of the parents of the girl is considered final.[24] 584 431

The next step consists mainly in an exchange of gifts.

Some days later, the mother of the young man visits the girl's family, bringing with her four loaves of bread and a ram,[25] a large copper basin, clothing, one silver and one golden ring. On accepting the gifts the girl puts the rings on her fingers. This visit of the mother of the groom constitutes the essential part of the engagement: from this moment the two young people are considered engaged.[26] In return the bride's family give the future groom's mother two loaves of bread, a slaughtered ram, and some small coins.

In the near future the fiancée must pay a visit to her parents-in-law. The groom-to-be, however, must absent himself on this occasion. She again receives various gifts: cloth, rings, ear-rings, and a vessel.[27]

Several days later the young man, in turn, pays a visit to his fiancée's family. Now it is the girl's turn to be absent. A small feast is prepared, and the suitor presents the family with some cloth and a slaughtered ram.[28]

The exchange of gifts must continue, vessels, cloth, rams, money, and pastries being the usual gifts. The suitor generally selects holydays as most appropriate for his visits and bestowals. There is especially the *khinki arkhul* which consists of pastries, cloth, an eviscerated ram, six large loaves of bread, and a large cast-iron vessel not less than 16 pounds in weight. These gifts are brought to the fiancée by two male and two female relatives of the suitor. In return the girl sends her future husband some silk cloth and two belts, and a necklace for his sister.[29]

Some time before the wedding, various materials are brought to the future bride, such as hemp, which she must prepare for use in her future home. Two or three years later, she receives 30 or 40 sheep-skins or 9—10 rams. In return she offers some cloth and belts.

The final bestowal of engagement gifts takes place several months later when two men and two women betake themselves to the bride-to-be, this time with one live and one slaughtered sheep, six large loaves of bread, three pieces of clothing of which one is silk, and, finally, a piece of cloth.

The last act of the engagement drama takes place shortly before the wedding. Three to ten relatives of the future bridegroom go to the family of the young lady, where they prepare the *khalba* and for this purpose they bring six pounds of butter and one measure of flour, while the girl's relatives provide other food. This feast is held on Tuesdays, Wednesdays, or Thursdays and usually lasts a day or two. On this occasion two reliable persons representing [527]

[24] Kovalevskij, *Zakon*, II, pp. 181 f.

[25] In Upper Kaitago (in Gank, Gansh, Myura) the groom's sister may come instead of his mother. AJuDO, p. 41.

[26] Kovalevskij, *Zakon*, II, p. 182: "Rešajuščim aktom v dělě svatovstva javljaetsja vstuplenie materi ženicha v dom roditelej nevěsty s četyr'mja bol'šimi chlebami..."

[27] *ibid.*

[28] In some places the suitor's visit precedes that of the fiancée. Cf. "Adaty Južno-Dagestanskich Obščestv," p. 41.

[29] Kovalevskij, *l. c.*

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In the 'black earth' steppes of Ciscaucasia the maximum rainfall is at the beginning of summer; on the eastern steppes, which extend along the Caspian Sea, the maximum is reached in March. 132

### (4) Sanitary Conditions

The science of hygiene is unknown in Caucasian villages, and medical aid is absent or inaccessible in country districts. Malaria is the characteristic disease of Caucasia, but small-pox, scarlet fever, measles, dysentery, typhus, and pneumonia are prevalent and cause many deaths. 758 164

In the fashionable health resorts, such as Kislovodsk, Jelieźnovodsk and Pyatigozsk, there are very up-to-date sanatoria established on the latest German lines, to which people come from all parts of Russia to take the waters and the cure. 529

### (5) Race and Language

Russians form 34 per cent. of the people of Ciscaucasia, and in the Government of Stavropol amount to 90 per cent. In the Province of Kuban 109 per 1,000 are Cossacks; in Terek the proportion is 179 per 1,000. Tatars live in the east and south-east, where they form 19·3 per cent. of the inhabitants. The remainder consists of Kalmucks, Turcomans, Nogai-Tatars, Armenians, Georgians, Germans, Poles, &c. (See also p. 8.) 162

### (6) Population

The population of the three Ciscaucasian provinces on January 1, 1913, was 5,470,600, distributed as follows:

| | *Rural Population.* | *Urban Population.* | *Total.* |
|---|---|---|---|
| Kuban | 2,667,000 | 244,800 | 2,911,800 |
| Stavropol | 1,232,400 | 79,700 | 1,312,100 |
| Terek | 1,015,100 | 231,600 | 1,246,700 |

### *Towns*

*Ekaterinodar* (population in 1897, 65,697, now about 107,000), the capital of the Province of Kuban, is 161 361

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and at Delijan, Kazakh, Sagali, Saifalu, and elsewhere in the Government of Elisavetpol. 135 316

(2) In the Chorokh Basin, the whole length of which is believed to contain rich deposits of ore, the British Caucasus Copper Co. has worked the Dzanzul mine, south of Borchka. In 1912 the production from this mine was 40,000 tons of ore and 3,000 tons of copper, but in the following year the output was disappointing. In the same region Siemens Brothers had begun operations at the Khvartshana mine. 471

(3) In the Zangezur region difficulties of transport have prevented adequate exploitation, but work has been undertaken by native firms, notably at Synik, Barabatum and Katar. Other considerable deposits are believed to exist in the Rion Valley round Telav and Zakatali, in the Sukhum district and along the Ossetian Military Road.

*Iron* has been little exploited in the Caucasus, but deposits have been prospected at Khamuli in Kutais, Chachak in Tiflis, on the banks of the Bzib near Sukhum, at Veden in Chechnia, in the Maikop district, and near Lenkoran. 135 316

There are deposits of *lead* and *zinc* ore at Sadon, near Vladikavkaz, in the neighbourhoods of Sukhum and Gori, in the Government of Elisavetpol, near Mozdok and Artvin, and elsewhere, but little exploitation has been undertaken. Deposits of *mercury*, *molybdenum*, *antimony*, *iron pyrites*, *cobalt* and *nickel*, and also small quantities of *gold* and *silver* exist, and would probably repay exploitation.

*Non-Metals.*—*Coal* is exploited in the Caucasus only at the mines of Tkhvibuli in the Government of Kutais, where the annual production for 1911–15 averaged about 5,000 tons. Much of it however was of poor quality. Rich deposits have been prospected at Tkvartcheli, in the Government of Sukhum, and another field has been located near Olti in the Government of Kars.

Deposits of *baryta* have been worked in the Government of Kutais; *asbestos* is produced at Shorapan and elsewhere in Kutais; *sulphur* abounds in the Government of Erivan; *salt* is produced in considerable quantities in the Governments of Baku, Erivan, Kars, and Daghestan; there are *bitumen*-beds on the Black Sea coast; *emery* is found at Kara-Bulakh; fine *lithographic stone* is obtainable at Amlivi, near Tiflis, and *pumice-stone* near Kars; *mica* and *graphite* also exist.

*Mineral Springs.*—The Caucasus is celebrated for its mineral springs, and before the Revolution many thousands of Russians, and even invalids from Western Europe, visited the health- 312 529

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giving waters. In the Northern Caucasus Essentuki, Piatigorsk, Kislovodsk and Zhelesnovodsk were the favourite resorts. In Transcaucasia Borjom, in the Government of Tiflis, an appanage of the Grand Duke Nicholas Nicholaevich, was the most popular resort, and its waters, rich in carbonic acid and comparable with those of Vichy, were exported to Russia, Western Europe and America—in 1913 to the amount of 9,000,000 bottles.

At Abas-Tuman, 40 miles from Borjom, and at Tiflis are hot baths, efficacious for the cure of skin diseases, nervous diseases, rheumatism, etc. Some of the springs contain the same qualities as Cauterets and Barèges in France, and Baden in Austria, while the climate of Abas-Tuman attracts consumptive patients.

Tskhalkubo, near Kutais, possesses warm springs whose radio properties are declared to be equal to those of Teplitz-Schönau in Bohemia. For this resort is prophesied an important future as soon as the nature of the waters is more widely known, and ordered conditions make it accessible to the timid invalids of Western Europe and America.

*Petroleum* (1) The Baku Fields.—The Baku area has hitherto been the most productive source of Caucasian oil. The older oil-fields lie in the Apsheron Peninsula—Balakhani, Sabunchi, Romani, Bibi-Ebyat and Zabrat—while there is a more recently discovered field at Surakhani. The outlying district of Benagadi and Holy and Cheleken Islands in the Caspian, are also worked by the Baku firms. The Baku fields had been exploited since ancient times, and from 1813 some attempt had been made by the Russians to develop their potentialities. An onerous concession system, however, discouraged private enterprise, and when, in the middle of the nineteenth century, a universal demand for crude-oil was created, the fields still remained almost untouched, and Russia became dependent on oil imported from America. In 1872 the concession system was at last abolished, and State participation in the profits was ensured by the imposition of an excise duty. Later, the nascent industry was further assisted by the imposition of a duty on oil imported into Russia.

In 1873 the Swedish Nobel Brothers commenced to bore in the Apsheron fields, and in the following years many foreign groups, principal of which were the French Rothschilds, obtained concessions. In 1908 the prosperity of the Baku fields reached its zenith, and in that year the Caucasian oil-fields together produced 22 per cent. of the world's output. Between 1908 and 1911, however, there took place a serious decrease, the output falling from nearly 7,500,000 metric tons in 1908 to just over 5,000,000 metric tons in 1911.

## HEALTH RESORTS

529 Health resorts play a very important role in the Caucasian economy. They consist of mineral springs, of healing mud baths, climatological resorts, etc.; they are mostly located along the slopes of the Greater and Lesser Caucasus. The number of health resorts is around 50. Taking the areas one by one, the distribution of the most important health resorts is as follows:

Azerbaijan SSR: Apsheron Peninsula with numerous resorts, and Naftalan, with raw petroleum for medicinal purposes, are noteworthy.

Armenian SSR: Has only one health resort at Dilizhan.

Georgian SSR: Rich in health resorts. Abastumani, Bakuriani, Borzhomi, Surani, Tsagveri (at the headwaters of the Kura River), and finally Tbilisi, have various springs, whereas Teberda is a noted health resort. Of the subunits, the Adzhar Republic has fine seaside resorts. The Abkhaz Republic, the subtropical health center of the USSR, has a whole line of tourist places and sanatoria. The most famous are those in Sukhumi. The South Ossetian AO has tourist resorts like Dzhava.

Dagestan ASSR: Buynaksk and Talgi are noted health resorts.

Stavropol'Kray: The Pyatigorsk area is one of the most important resort areas of the USSR. Pyatigorsk has sulphur springs and mud baths; Yessentuki, salt and alkaline baths;

529 Kislovodsk, carbonated springs; Zheleznovodsk, ferruginous springs. Of the sub-units, the Kabardian and the North Ossetian Republics have summer resorts (Nal'chik, Alagir), and are much frequented by Alpinists.

Krasnodar Kray: Mineral springs and their picturesque location have singled out the littoral section to be one of the important health resort areas of the USSR. The sanatoria of Sochi and the sulphur springs of Matsesta are very much frequented. The health resorts around Novorossiysk, like Anapa, Kabardinka and Gelendzhik are also famous.

7: Columbia U. S-4, 5 1956 RHI Caucasia RHI

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23: Shabad N-4 (no date) 1951 R1 Soviet Union R1
Caucasia RH1
Adige RH4



dairying, tobacco, distilling, canning, flour, and meat-packing plants. Steel tubing and telephone equipment are also manufactured. Surrounding the city are some of the principal jute-producing lands of the USSR.

Novorossiysk is a well-equipped Black Sea port on Tsemes Bay and the principal cement-milling center of the USSR. It ships the wheat of the Kuban' area and lies amidst such well-known resorts as Anapa, to the northwest, and Kabardinka and Gelendzhik, to the southeast. West of the city is the famous champagne center of Abrau-Dyurso. Novorossiysk produces agricultural machinery, bicycles, furniture, textiles, and flour. Grain elevators and oil tanks lie in the harbor area. The cement mills ("Krasnyy Oktyabr'" and "Krasnyy Proletariy") lie in the suburb Standart, north of the Tsemes Bay. Other mills lie in the towns of Verkhne-Bakanskaya and Gayduk, northwest of Novorossiysk.

Tuapse, another major port on the Black Sea, rivals Batumi in the shipping and refining of petroleum. Surrounded by orchards and vineyards, it is the terminus of an oil pipe line from Groznyy and Neftegorsk. It produces large amounts of fuel oil, which serves as the principal power source for electric stations throughout the region. Shipbuilding and the manufacture of machines for the petroleum industry are also important.

Sochi is the most popular health resort on the Black Sea coast. It is the site of numerous sanitariums and an experimental station for subtropical agriculture. To the southeast lie the satellite resorts of Matsesta (sulphur springs) and Khosta. It became a city of republic rank in 1948.

Other important centers of Krasnodar Kray are Armavir, with food (meat, flour, sunflower oil) and agricultural machinery industries, Yeysk, a fishing port having canning and meat-packing plants, and Kropotkin (food products).

Adyge Autonomous Oblast (capital, Maykop; area, 1,700, population, 300,000) is located on the middle Kuban' River, between its left affluents, the Laba and the Belaya. It was formed in 1922 and is one of the few remaining settlement areas of the Cherkess, or Circassian, ethnic group. The population, which is about 45 percent Cherkess or Adyge (the designation applied by the people to themselves), is for the remainder evenly divided among the Russian and the Ukrainian groups. The rural economy rests chiefly on the cultivation of winter wheat, sunflowers, and tobacco. Horse breeding is also engaged in.

Maykop, on the Belaya River, at the north foot of the Caucasus, is

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throughout the region and are especially concentrated at Stavropol', Georgiyevsk, Nevinnomyssk, and Budennovsk, where flour milling, oil pressing, canning, dairying, wool washing, cotton ginning, and wine making are the principal activities. SU 438* C 438

Of special importance in the economy of the region are the health and tourist resorts. One of the most important resort areas of the USSR lies in the foothills of the Greater Caucasus. There the resort cities of Zheleznovodsk (ferruginous springs), Pyatigorsk, Yessentuki, and Kislovodsk are linked by an electrified branch with the main Rostov-Baku railroad at Mineral'nyye Vody. The bottling of mineral waters is a major export industry. SU 529 C 529

For communications the region relies chiefly on the Rostov-Baku trunk line, from which branches penetrate into the remote sections to Divnoye, Blagodarnoye, Budennovsk, and into the foothills of the Caucasus to Ust'-Dzhegutinskaya and Kislovodsk. The Sukhumi military road, one of the three pass roads through the mountains, continues from the Nevinnomyssk-Cherkessk-Ust'-Dzhegutinskaya rail branch through the valley of the Kuban' and the Teberda rivers, and enters the territory of the Georgian SSR at Klukhori. Of extreme importance for the future development of the region will be the final realization of the Manych Canal project linking the Caspian and the Black seas. Prior to the Second World War, the waterway had been canalized for a distance of over 150 miles eastward to the area of Divnoye. Due to destruction caused by the war, several reservoirs were emptied, and the canal installations fell into disuse. Small-scale reconstruction has been undertaken since the war; however, the completion of the project will have to await a future Plan. SU 489 C 489 SU 503 C 503

Stavropol', the center of the kray, was known as Voroshilovsk from c. 1935 until 1943. It lies in the chief grain area of the region and has flour mills, a meat-packing plant, wool and leather industries, and produces chemicals and lumbering machinery. The vicinity of the city will benefit immeasurably from the new Nevinnomyssk Canal which will provide irrigation to this drought-ridden section. SU 438* C 438

Pyatigorsk, in the midst of five mountains (whence its name), of which the Besh-Tau and the Mashuk are best known, is the center of the four resort cities of the Northern Caucasus. Its warm sulphur springs and mud baths are much frequented. Next in size is Kislovodsk, at an elevation of 2,695 feet, with carbonated springs. Yessentuki, west of Pyatigorsk, has salt and alkaline springs, and Zheleznovodsk, to the

242 3 Abdulragimov, Tagi Abragim ogly
645 Stalin prize 2. class, 1950 for new ways of producing agricultural plants, mainly cotton. Deputy Minister of vodnoe khoziaistvo Azerb. SSR, 1950

Laur. Stalin prem. 1950
p. 55

532 3 Abdurakhman, Fuad Gason ogly
Stalin prize 3. class, 1950 for his sculpture "Chaban." Born 1915- Among famous statues are: Nizami in Baku; also portraits of Bagirov, Azi Aslanov. Corresp. member of Akad. khudozh. SSSR.

Laur. Stalin prem. 1950
p. 76
BE II 1:14

814 2 Abegian, Manuk Khachaturovich
1865-1944. Armenian folklorist, linguist; Professor of Erevan univ. Wrote: Armianskie narodnye mify, 1899; Armianskii narodnyi epos, 1908; Russko-armianskii voennyi slovar' 1925; Metrika armianskogo stikha, 1933; 2 vols. of Armenian literature from V-XVIII c. (1944-46).

BE II 1:15-16

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• 532 2 Abegian, Mger Manukovich
1909- Armenian painter; studied in Erevan and Moscow. Famous works "Makravanskii peizazh, "1939; "V sadakh Armenii," 1945; "Vstuplenie I. V. Stalina na rabochem sobranii v Tiflise 18. okt. 1905 g."

BE II 1:16
v. 3, p. 90 (picture)

536 2 Abelian, Ovanes Artem'evich
1865-1936. Armenian actor; people's artist of Armenia and Azerbaidzhan; portrayed about 52 different roles in the famed Sundukian theater of Erevan (Oedipus rex; Egor Bulichev; Dr. Stockman, etc.).

BE II 1:16

646 5 Abidokova, Mar'ian Magometovna
Cherkes. deputy Sov. Nats. VS SSSR 4. sozyv, 1954

Pravda, 3/18/54

701 646 3 Abilov, Makhmud Abdul-Rza ogly
Deputy to Sov. Nats. VS SSSR (4. sozyv, 1954). Born in Ukur, 1898- Rose from ordinary private to general of Red Army. Fought at Smolensk, Berlin. Rec'd Orders of Krasnoe znamia, Surorov, Kutuzov and foreign decorations.

Bak. Rab. 3/19/54. 2/20/54

242 2 Agababian, Shavarsh Mnetsakonovich
Stalin prize, 2. class, 1950 for his work on Kormovye rasteniia senokosov i pastbishch SSR, v. 1, 1950. Armenian agronomist.

Laur. Stalin. prem. 1950
p. 11

665 2 Agadzhanian, E. M.
Member CC CP Arm. SSR, 17-18. s'ezd, 1954, 1956.

Kom. Er. 1/22/56

• 532 2 Agadzhanian, Stepan Meliksetovich
1863-1940. Armenian landscape painter; people's artist of Armenia. "Portret matery" "Portret ottsa," both in 1900; "Portret Spandariana," 1936. Lives and teaches in Erevan.

BE II 1:286

646 3 Agaev, Sabir Bala Ali ogly (Azerbaidzhani). Deputy to Sov. Soiuz VS SSR (4. s'ezd, 1954) Born in Sarai, 1927- Began as shepherd, then became metallurgical worker.

Bak. Rab. 3/18/54, 2/18/54

532 2 Akhikian, Vrtanes Galustovich 1872-1936. Armenian landscape painter. "Ataka krasnoi konnitsy," 1933.

BE II 3:565

465 3 Akhmedov, A. M. Member of presidium CC CP Azerb. SSR. 21. s'ezd, 1956

Bak. Rab. 1/26/56

533 3 Akhmedova, Frangiz Iusuf kyzy Born in Baku, 1928- Soloist of Azerb. state theatre and opera; sings arias from classical opera, as well as Azerb. folk-songs. Deputy of Bakinskii gorod. sovet. Unsuccessful candidate to Sov. Nats. VS SSSR in 1954.

Bak. Rab. 2/21/54

646 5 Akhokhov, Aslambi Nakhovich Kab. deputy Sov. Nats. VS SSSR 4. sozyv, 1954

Pravda 3/18/54

532 3 Akhundov, Ismail Gusein ogly, 1907- Azerb artist. Rec'd Stalin

532 prize in 1950 for illustrating a work devoted to the 70. birthday of Stalin.

BE II 3:570

536 3 Akhundov, Sigdi Rukhulla Fatulla ogly
1886- Azerb. actor; people's artist of SSR; played in 300 roles (Revizor, King Lear, Othello, etc.) Stalin prize in 1948.

BE II 3:572

3 Akhundov, Suleiman Sani
1875-1939. Azerb. writer, dramatist
Sokolinoe gnezdo, 1921 (drama); Zvezda svobody, 1905; Liubov'i mest', 1922

BE II 1:469
v. 3:572

533 2 Akhverdian, G.
Armenian folk-song singer; gusan of 20. c.

BE II 3:97

536 3 Akhverdov, Abduragim
1870-1933
Azerb. dramatist, influenced by Ostrovskii. Wrote: Razorennoe gnezdo; and Neschastnyi iunosha

BE II 1:563

532 1 Akhvlediani, Elena Dmitrievna
1901- Georgian landscape painter; Studied in Paris; her themes are on World War II.

BE II 3:564

814 1 Akhvlediani, Georgii Saridanovich
1887- Georgian linguist; member of Akad. nauk Gruz. SSR. Writes on general phonetics, especially in Caucasian languages. Voprosy obshchei i gruzinskoi fonetiki, 1938

BE II 3:563

692 2 Akopian, A. A.
Member of Armenian Supreme Court Collegium

538 2 Akopian, Akop
1866-1937 in Kirovabad. Founder of Armenian proletarian lit. Collection of poems appeared in 1899. Party member since 1904. In 1923 was named: people's poet of Armenia and Georgia. Wrote: Novoeutro, Shirkanal (praising Bolshevik electrification).

BE I 2:19
II 1:607

532 2 Akopian, Amaiak Stepanovich
1871-1939. Armenian painter; his favorite subjects are scenes from old Tiflis; in Soviet period did many charcoal drawings. Studied in Munich.

BE II 1:607

665 2 Akopian, S. S.
Member of CC CP Arm. SSR, 18. s'ezd, 1956.

Kom. Er. 1/22/56

3 Alekperov, M. G
CC CP Azer. SSSR, 20. s'ezd, 1954

646 3 Alekperova, Shukhiufa Alekser kyzy
Deputy to Sov. Nats. VS SSSR (4. sozyv, 1954)

Bak. Rab. 3/19/54

535 1 Aleksidze, Irina Aleksandrovna
Stalin prize 2. class for ballet performances in 1950

Laur. Stalin prem. 1950
p. 81

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538 1 Aragvispireli, Shio Zakhar'evich
(Now: Dedobrishvili) 1876-1926
Georgian writer, wrote:
Vot nasha zhizn', Uzhas

BE II 2:604

646 2 Arakelian, Astkhik Sarkisovna
Deputy Sov. Soiuz VS SSSR (4. sozyv, 1954)

Kom. Er. 3/18/54

665 2 Arakelian, S. V.
Member of CC CP Arm. SSR, 17-18. s'ezd, 1954, 1956.

Kom. Er. 1/22/56

532 2 Arakelian, Sedrak Arakelovich, 1884-1942. Armenian landscape painter. During Civil War painted many inflammatory posters; among first to glorify socialism. Painted: "Artiktuk", 1930. "Kal'liura v gory", 1936. Influenced by impressionist style.

BE II 2:607

7: Columbia U. S-4, 5 1956 RHl Caucasia
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533 1 Arakishvili (Arakchiev) Dmitrii Ignat'evich, 1873- Georgian composer; people's artist of Georgia. Studied in Moscow. Wrote: Gruz narodnoe muzik, tvorchestvo, 1916. Composed first Georgian opera: Skazanie o Shota Rustaveli, 1914; with slight changes the opera appeared first in 1919 and them with Shanshiashvili libretto in 1947.

BE II 2:607-8;13:91

538 2 Arzai (pseud. of Movses Arutiunian) 1878 - Founder of proletarian prose in pre revolutionary Armenia. Wrote: Solntse, 1913. Skazka, Nedostroennyi dom, 1913. Good short-story writer: Ogni, Tovarishch Mukuch Tysiachegolov

BE II 2:606

875 1 Ardzinba, Grigorii Shagovich
646 Abkhaz. deputy to Sov. Nats. VS SSSR, 4. sozyv, 1954. Born in Duripsh, 1919- Teacher; deputy to VS SSSR 1-3. sozyv.

Bak. Rab. 3/18/54

532 2 Artsatbanian, V. G.
Armenian painter 20th c.

BE II 3:90

646 665 2 Arushaniian, Shmavon Minasovich
Deputy Sov. Nats. VS SSSR, 4. sozyv, 1954. Member of CC CP Armen. SSR, 17-18. s'ezd, 1954, 1956.

Kom. Er. 3/19/54
1/22/56

665 3 Arushanov, P. A.
CC CP Azerb. SSR, 20. s'ezd, 1954

● 532 2 Arutch'ian, Mikhail Avetovich, 1897-
Armenian theater artist; studied in Paris. Worked on Armenian pavilion for Soviet exhibit in 1939. Designed sets for operas: Lusabatsin, Otello

BE II 3:150

665 646 2 Arutinov, Griogorii Artem'evich, 1900-
Born in Telavi, Georgia. 1st sect. CC CP Arm. SSR. Rec'd three Stalin prizes. Deputy VS SSSR 1-3 sozyv; CP member 1919- ; deputy people's commissar RKI Gruzii; 1931-member of secretariat CC CP Gruz. SSR.

BE II 3:150

533 2 Arutiunian, Aleksandr Grigor'evich, 1920- Armenian composer; Stalin prize in 1948 for his Kantata o Stalinc His is a well-known piano concerto.

BE II 3:150
3:99

701 2 Avetisian, Unan Makichevich, (1914-1943) Geroi Sovet. Soiuz.; sergeant; took part and died in battle of Krasnodarskii krai.

BE II 1:70

5335 Avraamov, A. (1886-1944) Aul Batyr ouverture (first Kabardian instrumental composition) written by him. Collected folk songs (Kabardian) He is Soviet musician.

BE I 19:218
BE II

665 3 Azaeva, Ch. A. Member of presidium CC CP Azerb. SSR, 21. s'ezd, 1956.

Bak. Rab. 1/26/56

5323 Azim-Zade, A. (1880-1943) Caricaturist, journalist; contributed to paper Molla Nasredin; drew many posters. Did the famous sketches: 100 tipov starogo Baku. Was director of Azerb. art inst.

BE II 1:490, 474.

538 1 Chikovani, Simon
1901-. Georgian writer; began as a futurist, now representative of proletarian ideology in literature. While he is against glorification of past, he defends revolutionary romanticism in his works. Wrote: Makholod Lekseti, Bedi respublika, Ot Kavkaza do Taganroga (poem)

BE I 61:579
BE II 13:78

815 1 Chitaia, Trofim Levonovich
Stalin prize 3. class for directing certain Georgian geological undertaking.

Laur. Stalin. prem. 1950
p. 35

532 1 Chkheidze, Konstantin Viacheslavovich
Stalin prize 2. class, 1950 for architectural decorations in the theater in Chiaturi (?).

Laur. Stalin. prem. 1950
p. 76

665 1 Chkheidze, Nikolai Semenovich
1864-1926. Menshevik; after annexation of Georgia to USSR, went abroad, and shortly thereafter committed suicide.

BE I 61:782

552 646 1 Dzhaparidze, Ucha Malakievich 1906- in Tiflis. Painter; member CP SSSR 1944- Painted portraits of Shota Rustaveli, Chavchavadze (1937), Paliashvili (1941). Beriia (1950). Most known painting: "l. maiskaia demonstratsiia v Tbilise." Deputy VS Gruz. SSR l. 3. sozyv; people's artist of Georgia. Studied under Toidze, Lansere.

BE II 14:214

815 1 Dzhavakhishvili, Aleksandr Nikolaevich, 1875-
Geographer and anthropologist; member of Akad. nauk Gruz. SSR. Organized cartography inst. Wrote Antropologiia Gruzii, 1908-1914, in 2 vols. Also: Geografiia Gruzii in 1926.

BE II 14:198

643 665 1 Dzhavakhishvili, Givi Dmitrievich Premier of Georgia. Member CC CP SSSR 1956 - (20. s'ezd) Member Sov. Soiuz, VS SSSR 1954- (4. s'ezd)

NYT 2/27/56
Bak. Rab. 3/18/54
Zar. Vost. 2/17/54

532 1 Gabashvili, Georgii Ivanovich, 1862-1936.
Georgian realist painter, influenced by Repin. Paintings: Posle dozhda, Prodavets chaia, Khramovoi prazdnik. Prefers to paint scenes from present and past local Georgian life. Organized art academy in Tiflis.

BE II 9:590

538 5 Gabiev, Said, 1877-
Lak poet; wrote; zvuki lakskoi chengury, 1928.

BE II 13:288

646 5 Gabitov, Abdulla Gismotullovich
Kab. deputy Sov. Nats. VS SSSR 4. sozyv, 1954

Pravda, 3/18/54

533 2 Gabrielian, Avet Karpovich, 1899-
Violinist; people's artist of Armenia; teaches at Moscow conservatory; member of Komitats chamber orchestra group, awarded Stalin prize in 1946.

BE II 9:595

665 2 Gevondian, S. A.
Member CC CP Arm. SSR, 17.-18. s'ezd, 1954, 1956

Kom. Er. 1/22/56

3 Gidaiatov, E. I.
CC CP Azerb. SSR, 20. s'ezd, 1954.

816 645 3 Giulmamedov, Ibragim Alekper ogly
Stalin prize 2. class, 1950 for new ways of agricultural plant production. Minister of vodnoe khoziaistvo Azerb. SSR.

Luar. Stalin.prem. 1950
p. 55

532 646 2 Giurdzhian, Gabriel Mikhailovich, 1892- Armenian painter; deputy to VS SSSR 1st and 3rd sozyv. Professor of Erevan art academy.
Zavodskii peizazh, 1949.
Ukladka kolkhoznogo sena v stoga, 1944, Vesna v Armenii, 1945

BE II 3:390
13:252

646 1 Gogitidze, Naziko Khasanovna
Adzhar, deputy Sov. Nats. VS SSSR 4. sozyv, 1954.

Bak. Rab. 3/18/54

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RH1

•532 2 Isabekian, E. A.
20th century painter; most famous statue is Abovian Khachatur.

BE II 1:20

646 4 Isaev, Magomed Isaevich
Dag. deputy Sov. Nats. VS SSSR 4. soz. 1954

Pravda 3/18/54

536 5 Isaeva, Asai
20. c. Chechen actress

BE 1 61:535

377 2 Isagulian, Amasii Vasakovich
Stalin prize 3. class, 1954. Chief constructor of Erevanskii mashinostroi, zavod. Prize for collaborating on a three-phase synchronic generator.

Laur. Stalin. prem. 1950
p. 43

646 2 Ishkhanian, Ashkhen Tigranovna
Deputy to Sov. Nats. VS SSSR, 4. sozyv, 1954

Kom. Er. 3/19/54

646 3
816

Islam-Zade, Islam Mamedovich
Deputy to Sov. Nats. VS SSSR (4. sozyv, 1954). Born in Baku, 1910-; Engineer; deputy to VS Azerb. SSR

Bak. Rab. 3/19/54

665 3

Ismailov, K. G.
CC CP Azerb. SSR, 20. s'ezd, 1954

646 5

Kade, Khalid Batkerievich
Adyg. deputy Sov. Nats. VS SSSR 4. sozyv, 1954

Pravda 3/18/54

• 532 3
(1?)

Kakabadze, Silovan Iakimovich
1895-. Azerb. sculptor; studied under Nikoladze. Did busts of Geladze, a socialist worker and Dzhanashi, academician. Stalin prize in 1941 for his Stalin monument in Tiflis.

BE II 19:392

646 1

Kakhadze, Rusudana Davidovna
Deputy to Sov. Soiuz VS SSSR (4. s'ezd, 1954)

Bak. Rab. 2/18/54

815 2 Knuniants, Ivan Liudvigovich, 1906-
Stalin prizes in 1943, 1948, and 1950 for his achievements in chemistry. Member of Akad. nauk SSSR since 1946. Synthesized pyrimidine analogs of dyes.

BE II 21:482

538 5 Koble, Bitlestan, 1902
Cherkessian author of historical drama Khimsad; written both in Adygei and Russian

BE I 61:254

532 1 Kobuladze, Sergei Solomonovich, 1909- Stalin prize in 1947 for sets to Mshvelidze's opera: Skazanie o Tarieli, and prize in 1948 for sets to Kiladze's ballet Sinatle. CP member since 1947. Studied art, drawing at univ. Tiflis. Illustrated Slovo o polku Igoreve (1939-1942); also illustrated Rustaveli's Vitiaz' v tigrovoi shkure.

BE II 21:496

652 2 Kocharian, L. M.
Member CC CP Arm. SSR, 17.-18. s'ezd, 1954, 1956

Kom. Er. 1/22/56

7: Columbia U. S-4, 5 1956 RHI Caucasia RHI

533 2(3?) Kocharian, A. Armianskaia Narodnaia muzyka-obshchii obzov. M. 1939

BE I 3:99

2 Kocharian, Suren Akimovich
People's artist of Armenia; member of Moscow's philharmonia orchestra. Stalin prize 3. class, 1950

Laur. Stalin.prem. 1950
p. 73

646 6 Kochergov, Vasilii Nikitovich
Member of Sov. Soiuz VS SSSR, Krasnodar. krai, 4. sozyv, 1954

Bak. Rab. 3/18/54

646 2
665 Kochinian, Anton Ervandovich
Deputy to Sov. Soiuz VS SSSR 4. sozyv, 1954. Member CC CP Arm. SSR, 18. s'ezd, 1956. Might be the chairman of the Council of Ministers of Armenia, 1955

Kom. Er. 3/18/54, 1/22/54

532 2 (3?) Kodzhoian, A. G.
"Prazdnik urozhaia" Armenian painting 1947.

BE II 3:90

532 1 Lansere, Evgenii Evgen'evich 1875-1946. Member of "mir iskusstva" school of painting; began painting with historical portraits. Painted: Zangezur 1926, Krasnye partizany Dagestana, 1931. Illustrated L. Tolstoy's Kazaky and Khadzhi Murat.

BE II 24: 283-4

535 1 Lapiashvili, Parnaoz Georgevich Stalin prize 2. class, for ballet performance in Gorda.

Laur. Stalin prem. 1950 p. 81

645 1 Leleshvili, M. M. Minister of transportation, Gruz. SSR, 1954.

Zar. Vost. 2/17/54

538 646 1 Leonidze, Georgii Nikolaevich, born in Patardzeuli 1889-. Georgian writer; depicts socialism. CP member since 1945. Deputy VS Gruz. SSR 3.sozyv. Started career as symbolist poet of "Golubye rogi" group. Later wrote: Leninu, 1936, Rodinu poiu, 1936. Stalin prize in 1941, 1952. Now works on history of Georgian lit. 17-19th c.

BE II 24-578

875
1 Melikishvili, P. G. 1850-1927
1st rector of Tbilisi university.

BE II 13:70

665
2 Melkonian, G.O.
Member of CC CP Arm. SSR, 17.-18. s'ezd, 1954, 1956.

Kom. Er. 1/22/56

2 Melkumian, S. A.
Member CC CP Arm. SSR, 17.-18. s'ezd, 1954, 1956.

Kom. Er. 1/22/56

2 Meloian, A. M.
Member CC CP Arm. SSR, 17.-18. s'ezd, 1954, 1956.

Kom. Er. 1/22/56

532
1 Merabishvili, Konstantin Mikhailovich, 1906-sculptor; in 1930 finished Tiflis art academy, studied under Nikoladze. Did bust of Stalin in 1936, also the Rustaveli moument in Tiflis, for which he rec'd Stalin prize in 1943. Did monuments to Eristavi in Gori 1950. Teaches now.

BE II 27:164

7: Columbia U.S-4, 5 1956 RHI Caucasia RHI

646 1 Mertrveli, Ivan Alekseevich
Deputy to Sov. Nats. VS SSSR
(4. s'ezd, 1954)

Bak. Rab. 3/19/54

536 3(?) Miakishev, Konstantin Mikhailovich
Stalin prize 3. class, 1950 for
theatrical performance in Zaria
nad Kaspiem.

Laur. Stalin. prem. 1950
p. 79

331 3(?) Mikaberidze, Aleksandr Sergeevich
Stalin prize 2. degree, 1950
for construction work.

Laur. Stalin.prem.1950
p. 45

532 2 Mikaelian, Mikhail Ivanovich,
1879-1941. Armenian sculptor
born in Shusha, Azerb. Since
1900 lives in Tiflis. Did: Zvonar'
Sakan, Devushka s razbitym
kuvshinom.

BE II 27:416

7: Columbia U. S-4, 5 1956 RHI Caucasia
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532
1 Mrevlishvili, Aleksandr Romanovich 1866-1933. Georgian realist school painter. In his works he lashes at bureaucratic officials of czarist era.
I éto nazyvaetsia svoboda
U kantselarii, etc.

BE II 28:485

538
2 Mshvelidze, Shalva Mikhailovich, 1904- Georgian composer; deputy VS Gruz. SSR 3. sozyv. Member of CP 1947- Collected Georgian songs; developed rhythmic polyphonic qualities of Georgian music. Wrote: Gost'i khoziain, 1940 (Stalin prize) Skazanie o Tariele, Stalin prize in 1947. Now teaches at Tiflis univ.

BE II 28:614

646
3 Mukhin, Nikolai Pavlovich
Deputy to Sov. Nats. VS SSSR (4. sozyv, 1954)

Bak. Rab. 3/19/54

7: Columbia U. S-4,5 1956 RHl Caucasia
RHl

532
2 Nalbandian, Dmitrii Arkad'evich, 1906- Born in Tiflis; painter of landscapes. During World War II depicted war themes. Vlast' sovetam-mir narodam, Stalin prize in 1951. The picture of Stalin in 1945, got him Stalin prize in 1946. Nakanune Batumskoi demonstratsii v 1902, painted in 1950-2.

BE II 29:75

465
2 Nalbandian, V.S.
Member CC CP Arm. SSR, 17.-18. s'ezd, 1954, 1956.

Kom. Er. 1/22/56

3 Namazov, R.A.
CC CP Azerb. SSR, 20. s'ezd, 1954.

538
2 Nar-Dos (pseud. of Ovanisiian, Mikael) 1867-1933. Born in Tiflis. Portrays decadence of bourgeois class, Smert', Ubityi golub, etc. Was influenced by Turgenev, Tolstoy, Goncharov.

BE II 29:123

7: Columbia U. S-4, 5 1956 RHl Caucasia
RHl

533

3 Niiazi (Tagi-Zade, Niiazi Zul'fugarovich) Stalin prize 2. class, 1950 conductor.

Laur. Stalin. prem. 1950
p. 73

532

1 Nikoladze, Iakov Ivanovich, 1876-1951. Georgian realist school sculptor. His are the historical monuments to Rustaveli, Abashidze, Gaprindashvili, Chavchavadze, etc. Studied under Rodin. For portrayal of 12th c. Georgian poet Chakhrukhadze rec'd Stalin prize in 1946. Stalin prize in 1948 for his V. I. Lenin v epokhu sozdaniia "Iskry". As art teacher educated sculptors: S. Ia. Kakabadze, K. M. Merabishvili, etc.

BE II 29:626

401

1 Nikolashvili, Iradion Aleksandrovich Mechanic. Stalin prize 3. class, 1950, for new stakhanovite methods in light industry.

Laur. Stalin. prem. 1950
p. 63

7: Columbia U. S-4,5 1956 RHI Caucasia

RHI

538

3 Rustamo, Suleiman Aliabbas ogly
1906- Azerb. poet; deputy to VS Azerb. SSR. In 1927 published collection of poems: K radosti. Translated from Georgian Rustaveli's Vitiaz' v tigrovoi shkure.

BE I 49:906

665

2 Saakian, S.M.
Member of CC CP Arm. SSR, 17.-18. s'ezd, 1954, 1956

Kom. Er. 1/22/56

815

1 Sabashvili, M.
Director of soil science institute of Akad. nauk Gruz. SSR, 1954

Zar. Vost 2/17/54

532

3 Sabsaem, P.
Azerb. sculptor; member of Akad. nauk. Azerb. SSR; Stalin prize for S.M. Kirov statue in Baku park.

BE II 1:475

665

3 Sadykov, R.N.
CC CP Azerb. SSR, 20. s'ezd, 1954

3 Safaraliev, R.K.
CC CP Azerb. SSR, 20. s'ezd, 1954

7: Columbia U. S-4, 5 1956 RHI Caucasia

RHI

532 2 Sar'ian, Martiros Sergeevich, 1880-
Armenian painter born in Nakhichevan. Worked under Serov and Korovin. In the beginning painted themes from fables; middle period is devoted to landscapes with oriental coloring; 1911- post-impressionistic. Did portrait of Simonov. Received Stalin prize for sets of opera Almast. Deputy to Sov. Soiuz VS SSSR 4. sozyv, 1954.

BE I 50:307
Kom. Er. 3/18/54

625 2 Sarkisov, B.E.
Member CC CP Arm. SSR, 18. s'ezd, 1956

Kom. Er. 1/22/56

625 1 Savitskii, K.S.
Former investigator for Georgian Commissariat of Int. Aff. Executed Nov. 1955.

NYT
Zaria Vostoka

7: Columbia U. S-4,5 1956 RHl Caucasia
RHl

533
2 Stepanian, Aro Leonovich, 1897-
Born in Kirovabad. 1940- president of Soiuz sovet. kompozitorov Armenii. For opera Geroinia Stalin prize 3. class in 1950. Wrote: operas, Khrabryi Nazar, David Sasunskii, Lusabatin; also Simfonia pamiati 26. komissarov. Deputy of VS SSSR 1. -2. sozyv.

BE I 52:840-1
Laur. Stalin. prem. 1950, p. 80

665
2 Stepanian, L. A.
Member CC CP Arm. SSR, 18 s'ezd, 1956

Kom. Er. 1/22/56

707
2(?) Stepanian, Nel'son
Geroi Sov. soiuza (flyer), fought in battle of Moscow, Sevastopol

BE I 3:68

532
2 Stepanian, Suren L., 1895-
Armenian sculptor; did famous monument to Gukas Gukasian, 1935, also Azizbekov's statue in Tiflis, 1933

BE I 52:851

532
2 Tatevosian, Egishe, 1870-1936
Born in Vagarshapat; landscape painter. Painted: Aragats (view) Komitas, Tumanian, Akopian (portraits)

BE I 53:666
Kom. Er. 1/28/56

536
1 Tavadze, Dimitrii Matveevich
for acting role in Potoplennye kamni, Stalin prize, 3. class, 1950

Laur. Stalin. prem.
p. 78

533
646 2 Tavrizian, Mikhail Arsen'evich
for operatic role in Geroinia, Stalin prize 3. class, 1950. Deputy Sov. Nats. VS SSSR 4. sozyv, 1954

Laur. Stalin. prem. 1950
p. 80
Kom. Er. 3/19/54

646
4 Tekhova, Mariia Iordanovna
Iugo-Os. deputy Sov. Nats. VS SSSR 4. sozyv. 1954

Pravda 3/18/54

533
2 Ter-Gevondian, Anushavan Grigor'-evich, 1887- . Composer; wrote opera: Seda; ballet: Anait, Nevasta ogna; symphonies: Akhtamar, Rozhdenie, Vaagna, etc.

BE I 54:99

532
2 Terlemezian, Fanas Pavlovich, 1865-1941. Armenian painter of landscapes. Did "Tov. Stalin, Molotov i Voroshilov na aerodrome" in 1939. "Zimnii den' v Erevane", 1933. People's artist of Armenia.

BE I 54:106

538
5 Teuchezh, Tsug, 1855-1944
Adygei poet. Struggled against oppression, spoke of the better Soviet life to come; glorified Stalin

BE II 1:427

5 Teunov, Kh., 1912-
Kabardian author. Wrote Novyi potok, poem, 1946

BE II 19:216

532 1 Toidze, Iraklii Mosevich, 1902-
Finished Tiflis art academy in 1930. Revolutionary paintings: Podarok k oktiabriu, 1930; Stalin na Riongese, 1935; did illustrations to Rustaveli's Vitiaz' v tigrovoi shkure, for which he received Stalin prize in 1941; Stalin prize 3. class in 1950 for illustration to Istoriia Gruzii.

BE I 54: 410
Laur. Stalin. prem. 1950, p. 75

646
665 3 Tolstikov, Oleg Viktorovich
Deputy to Sov. Nats. VS SSR (4. sozyv, 1954). Member of CC CP Azerb. SSR.

Bak. Rab. 3/19/54

665 2 Topchian, E.S.
Member CC CP Arm. SSR, 18. s'ezd, 1956

Kom. Er. 1/22/56

643
204 3 Toptsibashev, M.A.
President of VS Azerb. SSR (5. s'ezd, 1954). Editor in chief of Dokl. Akad. Nauk. Azerb. SSR

Bak. Rab. 3/10/54

RHl

331
3(1?) Tsuleiskir, Georgii Vasil'evich
Stalin prize 2. class, 1950 for certain type of construction work.

Laur. Stalin. prem. 1950
p. 44

536
5 Tubaev, M.
20. c. Kabardian playwright.

BE II 19:218

646
6652 Tukhikian, Nunik Mesropovna
Deputy Sov. Nats. VS SSSR, 4. sozyv, 1954. Member CC CP Arm. SSR, 18 s'ezd, 1956.

Kom. Er. 3/19/54
1/22/56

532
5 Tukhuzhev, A.
20. c. Kabardian artist.

BE II 19:218

538
2 Tumanian, Ovannes, 1869-1923.
Armenian poet, humanist, dramatist. Wrote poem: Anush, Gikor, etc. Many of his songs were used in operatic themes.

BE I 55:146

7: Columbia U. S-4, 5 1956 RHI Caucasia

RHI

532
1 Vepkhvadze, Ivan Alekseevich, 1888-
Landscape painter. Did:
Na tammerforsskoi konferentsii, 1936; I. V. Stalin sredi zheleznodorozhnikov, 1949; painted many portraits (Kirov, Beriia, etc.)

BE II 7:472

646
665 3 Verdieva, Gilas Shamil kyzy
Deputy to Sov. Soiuz VS SSSR (4. s'ezd, 1954) Born in Salakhly, 1930- Cotton-picker with high quota; Member of CP since 1953. Member of presidium CC CP Azerb SSR, 21. s'ezd, 1956.

Bak. Rab. 3/18/54
2/18/54
1/26/56

665
3 Vezirov, Kh. G.
CC CP Azerb. SSR, 20. s'ezd, 1954.

3 Vezirov, S. A.
Member of presidium CC CP Azerb. SSR, 21. s'ezd, 1956.

Bak. Rab. 1/26/56

## FOLKLORE, MUSIC, AND DANCE

538 533 Due to the central position of the Caucasus between different and changing hearths of civilization, and to contacts with various nomadic peoples, Caucasian folklore has a wealth of themes. All possible types are represented: epics, historical songs, religious songs, war chants, riding, hunting, and pastoral songs, ballads, dance songs, lyrical and love songs, lullabies and mourning chants, satirical songs which often are partly or wholly improvised at celebrations; besides fairy tales, there are many legends, partly dealing with the same subjects as the epic and historical songs. Among the mountaineers, the lyrical songs often are accompanied by a story explaining their origin or background. Part of this material is indigenous to the Caucasus, continuing ancient mythical traditions or dealing with local events. But the oral literature that came to the Caucasus from outside has also received a typical Caucasian coloring by the addition or stressing of certain traits, such as the themes of blood vengeance, hospitality, and loyalty between friends, which has precedence ultimately over love for a wife or betrothed.

The Kartvelian peoples possess a large store of folk tales which usually begin with the words: "There was and there was not..."; the fairy princesses are called mzetunakhavi

538 533 "not seen by the sun." Some popular epic songs are derived from literary works such as the Georgian translation of the "Shahname" or Rustaveli's poem "The Knight in the Panther Skin" of the end of the twelfth century; these popular variants show considerable divergences. In the legend of the valiant and beneficent hero Amirani--who dares, however, to measure his strength against God and in punishment is chained to a mountain--a literary subject is curiously blended with ancient mythical traditions: the name of the hero as well as some other names and certain incidents of the story are taken from the heroic epic "Amirandare-djiani," probably translated from Persian in the eleventh century; but the main substance is a myth which is known also to other Caucasian peoples, and which is connected with the Greek myth of Prometheus chained to a rock in the Caucasus. The Georgian historical songs relate particularly skirmishes with the N. Caucasian mountain tribes, and the exploits of famous brigands and outlaws.

The oldest layer of the North-Caucasian folklore consists of the epopee of the Narts. In Dagestan the latter are simply synonymous with "giants," in the Central and Western Caucasus they have individual names and personalities: Uryzmag (Ozermeg, etc.), the oldest and wisest of the Narts; Batraz (Peterez, etc.), the young valiant hero; Sozruko (Sesrkvaj, etc.), also rich in adventures, who

538
533

dies the death of Achilles; Satana, the protectoress of the hearth, the dominant female figure in the epic. The Nart epic contains no historical references; the Narts fight one-eyed giants, descend to the country of the dead, have supernatural qualities and powers. The historical songs of the North Caucasian peoples preserve the memory of intertribal clashes, of wars with invaders, of raids into Russian or Georgian territory, of famous abreks (outlaws). Both songs and tales exhibit typical features of the mountaineer culture. There is the young fatherless boy whose mother keeps secret from him that his father was killed by a giant, as she fears for her son's life. When his playmates inform him that his father was killed and that his mother knows by whom, he pretends to be sick. She prepares a hot honey drink for him, and he grabs her hand and holds it in the hot beverage until she tells him the name of the killer. He finds the giant, who defeats him in battle, but does not want to kill the child. The giant treats him kindly, which gives the boy a chance to kill him in his sleep and to "fulfill the law of his fathers." There is the young man who falls in love with the girl who is secretly engaged to his best friend. The friend, taken in confidence, without a word makes all the preparations for his comrade's wedding. The latter finds out at the last moment, when he notices that his bride is distressed, and inquires as to the cause.

538 He cuts off the fingers with which he has
533 touched her dress and takes her back to his friend. Another recurrent theme is that of the mother who suckles the man whose blood is sought by her son, thus establishing a milk relationship, and ending the feud, "sparing the lives of two sons rather than losing her only one." In the genre of humoristic tales, Nasreddin Hoja stories enjoy wide popularity in the Caucasus.

533 Formerly the epical and historical songs were recited by bards, usually liberated serfs, who found employment in the houses of princes and nobles. They accompanied themselves on string instruments.

The characteristic feature in W. Georgian music is part-singing of men's choirs, the second voice, called k'rimanch'uli, executing improvised wordless flourishes in the highest falsetto. In the N. W. Caucasus a solo voice sings the words of the song, the choir accompaning it unisono in long-drawn tones as a kind of organ point, or with an independent melody. Dances are accompanied
535 by musical instruments: in Georgia, bagpipes
[534] (zazandari), lute (ch'onguri), violin with spherical body (ch'ianuri), several kinds of flutes (duduki, zurna, salamuri) and drums (dali, diplipito); in the N. Caucasus, a two-stringed violin, flutes and castanets. The most popular Caucasian dance is the so-called

538 3 Abashidze, Grigol (Grigorii Grigor'evich)
Stalin prize 2. class, 1950 for poetry collection: Lenin y Samgori
Na iuzhnoi granitse.

Laur. Stalin prem. 1950
BE I 1:67

646 1 Abashidze, Iraklii Vissarionovich
1st sect. Soiuz sovet. pisatelei Gruz. SSR, 1954 Abkhaz. deputy Sov. Nats. VS SSSR, 4. sozyv, 1954

Zar. Vost. 2/17/54
Bak. Rab. 3/19/54

533 3 Abbasov, A.
Azerbaidzhani musician, 20th c.

BE II 1:478

646 3
665 Abbasov, Kurban Abas Kuli ogly
Nakhichev. deputy Sov. Nats. VS SSSR 4. sozyv, 1954. Member of CC CP Azerb. SSR, 20-21 s'ezd, 1954, 1956

Bak. Rab. 3/18/54
Bak. Rab. 1/26/56

532 2 Akhikian, Vrtanes Galustovich 1872-1936. Armenian landscape painter. "Ataka krasnoi konnitsy," 1933.

BE II 3:565

665 3 Akhmedov, A. M. Member of presidium CC CP Azerb. SSR. 21. s'ezd, 1956

Bak. Rab. 1/26/56

533 3 Akhmedova, Frangiz Iusuf kyzy Born in Baku, 1928- Soloist of Azerb. state theatre and opera; sings arias from classical opera, as well as Azerb. folk-songs. Deputy of Bakinskii gorod. sovet. Unsuccessful candidate to Sov. Nats. VS SSSR in 1954.

Bak. Rab. 2/21/54

646 5 Akhokhov, Aslambi Nakhovich Kab. deputy Sov. Nats. VS SSSR 4. sozyv, 1954

Pravda 3/18/54

532 3 Akhundov, Ismail Gusein ogly, 1907- Azerb artist. Rec'd Stalin

532 prize in 1950 for illustrating a work devoted to the 70. birthday of Stalin.

BE II 3:570

536 3 Akhundov, Sigdi Rukhulla Fatulla ogly
1886- Azerb. actor; people's artist of SSR; played in 300 roles (Revizor, King Lear, Othello, etc.) Stalin prize in 1948.

BE II 3:572

3 Akhundov, Suleiman Sani
1875-1939. Azerb. writer, dramatist Sokolinoe gnezdo, 1921 (drama); Zvezda svobody, 1905; Liubov'i mest', 1922

BE II 1:469
v. 3:572

• 533 2 Akhverdian, G.
Armenian folk-song singer; gusan of 20. c.

BE II 3:97

536 3 Akhverdov, Abduragim
1870-1933
Azerb. dramatist, influenced by Ostrovskii. Wrote: Razorennoe gnezdo; and Neschastnyi iunosha

BE II 1:563

7: Columbia U. S-4, 5 1956 RHl Caucasia
RHl

5331 Amiranashvili, Petr Varlamovich, 1907— Georgian baritone singer; people's artist of Georgia; since 1936 soloist with Palishvili theater and opera in Tiflis; sang Onegin, Rigoletto, Iago, as well as parts in Georgian operas: Absalom i Eteri, Daisi, Kako Kachagi; Stalin prize in 1947 for singing in Mshevelidze opera: Skazanie o Tariele.

BE 2:279

814 1 Amiranashvili, Shalva Laronovich, 1899-- Georgian art historian; corresp. member of Akad. nauk SSSR; wrote: History of Georgian Art, 1944, v. 1, Iranskaia zhivopis' 18-19 vekov.

BE II 2:219

325 3
665 Amiraslanov, Meibali Fridun ogly Born in Balagasanlu, 1902- Member of CC CP Azerb. SSR. Metallurgical engineer. Deputy VS Azerb. SSR Nakhichevan deputy to Sov. Nats. VS SSSR 4. sozyv in 1954.

Bak. Rab. 3/2/54. 3/18/54

533 1 Arakishvili (Arakchiev) Dmitrii Ignat'evich, 1873- Georgian composer; people's artist of Georgia. Studied in Moscow. Wrote: Gruz narodnoe muzik, tvorchestvo, 1916. Composed first Georgian opera: Skazanie o Shota Rustaveli, 1914; with slight changes the opera appeared first in 1919 and them with Shanshiashvili libretto in 1947.

BE II 2:607-8;13:91

538 2 Arzai (pseud. of Movses Arutiunian) 1878 - Founder of proletarian prose in pre revolutionary Armenia. Wrote: Solntse, 1913. Skazka, Nedostroennyi dom, 1913. Good short-story writer: Ogni, Tovarishch Mukuch Tysiachegolov

BE II 2:606

875 1 Ardzinba, Grigorii Shagovich
646 Abkhaz. deputy to Sov. Nats. VS SSSR, 4. sozyv, 1954. Born in Duripsh, 1919- Teacher; deputy to VS SSSR 1-3. sozyv.

Bak. Rab. 3/18/54

532 2 Artsatbanian, V. G. Armenian painter 20th c.

BE II 3:90

646 665 2 Arushaniian, Shmavon Minasovich
Deputy Sov. Nats. VS SSSR, 4. sozyv, 1954. Member of CC CP Armen. SSR, 17-18. s'ezd, 1954, 1956.

Kom. Er. 3/19/54
1/22/56

665 3 Arushanov, P. A.
CC CP Azerb. SSR, 20. s'ezd, 1954

532 2 Arutch'ian, Mikhail Avetovich, 1897-
Armenian theater artist; studied in Paris. Worked on Armenian pavilion for Soviet exhibit in 1939. Designed sets for operas: Lusabatsin, Otello

BE II 3:150

665 646 2 Arutinov, Griogorii Artem'evich, 1900-
Born in Telavi, Georgia. 1st sect. CC CP Arm. SSR. Rec'd three Stalin prizes. Deputy VS SSSR 1-3 sozyv; CP member 1919- ; deputy people's commissar RKI Gruzii; 1931-member of secretariat CC CP Gruz. SSR.

BE II 3:150

533 2 Arutiunian, Aleksandr Grigor'evich, 1920- Armenian composer; Stalin prize in 1948 for his Kantata o Staline. His is a well-known piano concerto.

BE II 3:150
3:99

701 2 Avetisian, Unan Makichevich, (1914-1943) Geroi Sovet. Soiuz.; sergeant; took part and died in battle of Krasnodarskii kraĭ.

BE II 1:70

• 5335 Avraamov, A. (1886-1944) Aul Batyr ouverture (first Kabardian instrumental composition) written by him. Collected folk songs (Kabardian) He is Soviet musician.

BE I 19:218
BE II

665 3 Azaeva, Ch. A. Member of presidium CC CP Azerb. SSR, 21. s'ezd, 1956.

Bak. Rab. 1/26/56

5323 Azim-Zade, A. (1880-1943) Caricaturist, journalist; contributed to paper Molla Nasredin; drew many posters. Did the famous sketches: 100 tipov starogo Baku. Was director of Azerb. art inst.

BE II 1:490, 474.

533 2 Babadzhanian, Arno Arutiunovich
Stalin prize 3. class, 1950 for musical composition: Georgicheskaia ballada.

Laur. Stalin prem. 1950
p. 72

381 646 2 Babadzhanian, Mariia Arakelovna
Deputy to Sov. Nats. VS SSSR, 4. sozyv, 1954. Party member; chemical engineer; rec'd Stalin prize in 1949 for perfecting glass making via electronics.

Bak. Rab. 3/18/54 & 2/19/54

646 6 Babaevskii, Semen Petrovich
Member of Sov. Soiuz VS SSSR 4. sozyv, Stavropol. krai

Bak. Rab. 3/18/54

65 2 Babaian, L. O.
Member CC CP Arm. SSR, 17-18. s'ezd, 1954, 1956

Kom. Er. 1/22/56

3 Baba-Zade, B. K.
CC CP Azerb. SSR, 20. s'ezd. 1954.

815 1 Bakhtadze, Kseniia Ermolaevna
Adzhar Deputy Sov. Nats. VS SSSR 4. sozyv, 1954. Born 1899- in Tiflis; seed specialist. Wrote: Morfologicheskii sostav chaia v Gruzii

Bak. Rab. 3/18/54
Zar. Vost. 2/27/54

533 1 Bakhutashvili, Ol'ga Aleksandrovna, 1876-1950 Georgian coloratura singer. People's artist of Georgia; was first to sing in Paliashvili operas. Taught at Tiflis conservatory.

BE II 4:331

692 2 Bakoev, U. B.
Chairman of criminal collegium of the Armenian Supreme Court

Curr. digest 1956

533 1 Balanchivadze, Andrei Melitonovich 1905- Rec'd three Stalin prizes for his musical compositions. Wrote: Zhizn', comic opera

BE II 4:115

533 1 Balanchivadze, Meliton Antonovich 1862-1937 Georgian composer of romances. People's artist of Georgia. Father of composer Andrei Melit. Balanchivadze. Wrote opera: Kovarnaia Daredzhan, 1937

BE II 4:115

793 2 Baldzhian, Vazgen I, Catholicos, formerly BISHOP BALDZHIAN Elected Sept. 30, 1955. Born in 1908, Bucharest, Rumania. Graduate of philosophical and theological faculties of Bucharest Univ. Headed Arm. diocese in Rumania while the country was allied to Germany and continued to do so after Soviet occupation of Rumania. Had visited Soviet Armenia in 1945, 1948, 1951, 1954 and in his book: Under the Sun of the Motherland, he strictly conformed to Soviet propaganda. Head of Armenian Church in SSSR. For the first time in 1956 Catholicos Edzhmiazin came to Jerusalem with the intention of anointing a new Patriarch of Cilicia (Bishop Sareh of Aleppo, supported by the Dashnag Natl. party appeared certain to win election)

NYT 2/20/56
Bull. Inst. Munich,3, No. 2, Feb. 1956, 42-46

538 1
646

Baratashvili, Mariia Gervasevna
Deputy to Sov. Nats. VS SSSR
(4. s'ezd, 1954) Born in Chiatura,
1908- Graduated from Tiflis univ.
fac. philology in 1945; since 1936 a
writer of lyric poetry; Wrote comedy
"Strekoza" (Marine)

Bak. Rab. 2/19/54
Zar. Vost. 2/13/54

533 2

Barkhudarian, Sergei (Sarkis)
Vasil'evich, 1887-
Armenian composer; 1923-- professor
at Tiflis conservatory. Wrote: Narine,
ballet, 1938; Keri-Kuchi, children's
opera. Anush, symphonic poem. Uses
Armenian themes in his works.

BE II 4:276

538 1

Barnovi, Vasilii Zakhar'evich,
1856-1934 Georgian realist writer.
Wrote: Torzhestvo zmeia; Nevesta
Tebery; Muchenitsa liubvy; Zaria Isani
His early works are concerned with
historial themes; language a bit archaic.

BE II 4:252

646 1

Basistyi, Nikolai Efremovich
Deputy to Sov. Nats. VS SSSR
(4. s'ezd, 1954)

Bak. Rab. 2/19/54

7:Columbia U. S-4,5 1956 RH1 Caucasia
RH1

875 1 Burchuladze, E. E.
Rector of Tiflis Univ. im. Stalina, 1954.

Zar. Vost. 2/18/54

646 1 Burchuladze, Mariia Ivlianovna
Adzhar. deputy Sov. Nats. VS SSSR 4. sozyv, 1954

Bak. Rab. 3/18/54

1 Burdzhanadze, Magdana Davidovna
Deputy to Sov. Nats. VS SSSR (4. s'ezd) 1954

Bak. Rab. 2/19/54

535 1 Chabukiani, Vakhtang Mikhailovich
Stalin prize 2. class, 1950
Choreographer of ballet Gorda, performed in Gruz. gos. teatr opery i baleta im. Paliashvili.

Laur. Stalin. prem. 1950
p. 81

759 1 Chachava, Mikhail Konstantinovich
646 Adzhar. deputy Sov. Nats. VS SSSR 4. sozyv, 1954. Born in Lanchkhuti 1902- Military physician; since 1930 surgeon in Tiflis. No party affiliation

Bak. Rab. 3/18/54
Zar. Vost. 2/13/54

815 1 Dalakishvili, Mikhail Semenovich
Stalin prize 3. class. Director of Inst. polevodstva Akad. nauk. Gruz. SSR. Prize rec'd for work: Vozdelyvanie pshenitsy v nizmennoi zone Zapadnoi Gruzii, publ. in Trudy Adzhametskoi opytnoi stantsii polevodstva Akad. nauk Gruz. SSR, 1949/50

Laur. Stalin. prem. 1950
p. 11

665 4
646 Danialov, Abdurakhmin Daniialovich
1st sect. CC CP Dagestan
Member CC CP SSSR 1956- (20. s'ezd). Member Sov. Soiuz VS SSSR 1954- (4. s'ezd)

NYT 2/27/56
Bak. Rab. 3/18/54

• 533 2
646 Danielian, Aikanush Bagdasarovna, 1893- Armenian singer. Born in Tiflis. Made debut in St. Petersburg. Now soloist with Erevan opera im. Spendiarov since 1932. Sings in Armenian operas mostly, but occasionally in Glinka and Meyerbeer operas also. Deputy to VS SSSR 2. sozyv.

BE II 13:338

7: Columbia U. S-4, 5 1956 RHl Caucasia

RHI

546 1 Dolidze, Semen Vissarionovich, 1903-
Georgian artist; CP member since 1942; film-producer. Films: Poslednye krestonostsy 1933, in 1936 historical film: Dariko, and in 1944 Shchit Dzhurgaia. He rec'd Stalin prize for latter in 1950. Film proclaims brotherhood of peoples of USSR.

BE II 15:25

533 1 Dolidze, Viktor Isidorovich, 1890-1933
Born in Ozurgetash (now Makharadze in Georgia) Composer and mandolin player. Wrote opera Leila in 1922, Tsisana in 1929. His is the unfinished Ossetian opera Zamira.

BE II 13:91
15:25

536 3 (?) Dolidze, Vladimir Sergeevich
Stalin prize for acting in Vasadz's Potoplennye kamni

Laur. Stalin prem. 1950
p. 78

814 2 Drzhbashian, M. M.
Corresp. member of Akad. nauk Arm. SSR and deputy chief editor of Doklady Akad. nauk Srm. SSR

532 1 Gabashvili, Georgii Ivanovich, 1862-1936.
Georgian realist painter, influenced by Repin. Paintings: Posle dozhda, Prodavets chaia, Khramovoi prazdnik. Prefers to paint scenes from present and past local Georgian life. Organized art academy in Tiflis.

BE II 9:590

538 5 Gabiev, Said, 1877-
Lak poet; wrote; zvuki lakskoi chengury, 1928.

BE II 13:288

64 5 Gabitov, Abdulla Gismotullovich
Kab. deputy Sov. Nats. VS SSSR 4. sozyv, 1954

Pravda, 3/18/54

533 2 Gabrielian, Avet Karpovich, 1899-
Violinist; people's artist of Armenia; teaches at Moscow conservatory; member of Komitats chamber orchestra group, awarded Stalin prize in 1946.

BE II 9:595

7: Columbia U. S-4, 5 1956 RHI CaucasiaRHI

533 3 Gadzhibabekov, Gusein Aga Sultan ogly, 1898- ; tenor; people's artist of Azerb. Sang in chorus 'Nidzhat' of Baku. Since 1917 in Azerb. opera. Has rather high voice, andin pre-revolutionary times when women were not allowed to sing on stage, sang many feminine roles; Since 1920 soloist of Akhundov opera in Baku. Sings many roles of Gadzhibekov and Magomaev operas.

BE II 9:611

533 3
646 Gadzhibekov, Uzeir Abdul Gusein ogly, 1885-1948 (born in Agdzhabed) Composer, founder of Azerb. opera; people's artist of SSSR. Rec'd Stalin prize twice. Member of Akad. nauk Azerb. SSR since 1945; deputy to VS SSSR 1-2 sozyv, CP member since 1938. Studied in teachers seminary of Gori. Wrote: Leila i Medzhun 1908, Sheikh Senan, Rustam i Zokhrab; 1936 heroic opera: Ker-Ogly, produced in Moscow in 1938. In 1939 cantata for Stalin's 60. birthday. Rec'd Stalin prize for film made after his musical comedy Arshin mal alan. Wrote unfinished opera: Firuza. Wrote on folk themes of Azerb. opera in Osnovy azerb. narodnoi muzyki, 1945.

BE II 9:611-3

538 1 Gamsakhurdia, Konstantin Semenovich, 1891- Georgian writer; member of Akad. nauk Gruz. SSR. Wrote: Vstrecha s mertvetsom, 1924 Ulybka Dionisa, 1933; in both he portrays decadent bourgeois trends. David Stroitel' in 3 vols, 1945-9. Language is archaic. Translated Dante's Divina Commedia into Georgian.

BE II 10:195-6

4 Gamzat, Tsadasa, 1877-1951 Dagestani satirical poet.

BE II 13:287

1 Gaprindashvili, Valerian Ivanovich, 1889-1941. Georgian symbolist poet; his poems are filled with mysticism, individualistic, decadent traits. After revolution he stopped his symbolism and turned to "true lyricism" glorifying Lenin and Stalin.

BE II 10:216

533 4 Gasanov, Gotfrid Alievich, 1900- Dagestani musicologist Lezgian by nationality. Deputy to VS SSSR 1.-3. sozyv. Wrote opera Khochbar 1937 and Dagestankaia kantata o Staline for which he rec'd Stalin prize in 1950.

BE II 10:257 Laur. Stalin prem 1950 p. 71

646 3 Gasanova, Gyzgaid Salman kyzy
Deputy to Sov. Nats. VS SSSR
(4. sozyv, 1954)

Bak. Rab. 3/19/54

3 Gasanova, Shamama Makhmudali kyzy
Deputy to Sov. Soiuz VS SSSR.
(4. s'ezd, 1954) Born in 1923-
Cotton-worker; Geroi sotsial. truda.

BE II 10:257
Bak. Rab. 3/18/54

665 2 Gasparian, D. A
Member CC CP Arm. SSR, 17.-18.
s'ezed, 1954, 1956.

Kom. Er. 1/22/56

•5332 Gasparian, Goar Mikaelovna
Stalin prize 3. class, 1950 for operatic
role in Stepanian's Geroinia.

Laur. Stalin.prem. 1950
p. 80

665 2 Gazarian, V. R.
Member of CC CP Arm. SSR, 18. s'ezd,
1956

Kom. Er. 1/22/56

646 1 Gegeshidze, Georgii Andreevich
Deputy to Sov. Soiuz VS SSSR
(4. s'ezd, 1954)

Bak. Rab. 2/18/54

646 1
.533 Georgadze, Leila Mikhailovna
Deputy to Sov. Nats. VS SSSR
(4. s'ezd, 1954) Born in Tiflis,
1924- ; singer; graduated from
Saradzhishvili conservatorium;
presently with the Tiflis Paliashvili
opera & theater.

Bak. Rab. 2/19/54
Zar. Vost. 2/13/54

646 1
643 Georgadze, Mikhail Porfi'evich
Deputy to Sov. Nats. VS SSSR
(4. s'ezd, 1954) 1st deputy president
of Georgia. Minister of agriculture
of Georgia.

Bak. Rab. 2/19/54
Zar. Vost. 2/17/54

646 5 Gerasimov, Sergei Appolinarievich
Adyg. deputy Sov. Nats. VS SSSR
4. sozyv, 1954

Pravda 3/18/54

• 533 2 Grigorian, Vagram Mkrtichevich
Stalin prize 3. class, 1950 opera artist

Laur. Stalin,prem. 1950
p. 80

538 1 Grishashvili (pseud. Iosif Grigor'evich Mamulaishvili) 1899-
Georgian poet; member of Akad. nauk Gruz. SSR. Born in Tiflis. First lyric poems: Buket roz, 1906 Proshchanie so starym Tbilisi, 1925. Stalin prize in 1950. Wrote also: Lermontov i gruzin. lit, and Ostrovskii i gruzin. teatr. Translated many Armenian works into Georgian.

BE II 12:624

815 3 Grossgein, Aleksandr Al'fonsovich, 1888-1948. Azerb. botanist; member of Azerb. Akad. nauk; taught in Tiflis 1917- Director of botanical inst. of Azerb. Akad. nauk; at the Azerb. Kirov univ. created chair of morphology and systematology of higher plants. Wrote Flora Kavkaza, 1928 in 4 vols. Analiz flory Kavkaza 1936 and Rastitel'nye resursy Kavkaza, 1946. The bibliography of his works appears in Botanicheskii zhurnal, 1949, No. 3

BE II 13:17-18

646 665 3 Karasev, Aleksandr Petrovich
Deputy to Sov. Nats. VS SSSR (4. sozyv, 1954). Member of CC CP Azerb. SSSR

Bak. Rab. 3/19/54

• 533 1 Karashvili, Andrei Nikolaevich
1857-1925. Georgian composer; wrote 1st Georgian quartet based on folk melody.

BE II 20:144

646 5 Kardanov, Adam Aisovich
Cherkes. deputy Sov. Nats. VS SSSR 4. sozyv, 1954.

Pravda 3/18/54

645 665 3 Kasim-Zade, Enver Ali ogly
Minister of civilian housing, Azerb. 1954. Member of CC CP Azerb. SSR.

Bak. Rab. 3/10/54

665 646 643 3 Kasumov, Mir Bashir Fattakh ogly
1879-1949. Born in Tebriz. Party organizer; revolutionary member of CP Azerb. SSR. 1920-21 head of Baku worker-peasant inspection.

665 3 Kerimova, Z. A.
CC CP Azerb. SSR, 20. s'ezd, 1954

538 5 Keshokov, A.
1914-
Kabardian author; wrote poem
U podnozh'ia gor, 1941

BE II 19:216

815 1
875
646 Ketskhoveli, Nikolai Nikolaevich
1897-. Botanist; member of Akad. nauk Gruz. SSR since 1941; rector of Tiflis univ. since 1945. Collected material on Georgian forests. Published: Atlas kul'turnoi flory Gruzii, Flora Gruzii. Deputy to VS SSR I. 3. sozyv. Head of agricult. div. Akad. nauk Gruz. SSR.

BE II 20:578
Zar. Vost. 2/17/54

645 1 Ketsoveli, Z. N.
Minister of food industry Gruz. SSR, 1954.

Zar. Vost. 2/17/54

533 2 Khachaturian, Aram Il'ich
1904-, Tiflis. Finished conservatory in Moscow 1934. Began with

533 cello studies; then worked under Gnessin; influenced by Armenian poet minstrels: ashugs. Wrote his piano concerto in 1935 (1st British performance in 1940). His 2nd symphony was performed in USSR in 1943, for which he rec'd Stalin prize. Authority on oriental music. In Feb. 1948 along with Shostakovich and Prokofiev was accused by CC CP SSSR of "...formalistic distortions and anti-democratic tendencies... passion for muddled neuropathic combinations.." He admitted to charges (published in Daily Worker, Mar. 24, 1948). In Feb. 1956 he seems to be back in favor. His wife, Nina Makarova, writes songs. Wrote Dance of the Rose Maidens, ballet Schast'e. President of Union of Soviet composers since 1948. For further refs. see: Mod. Music, Ja./Fe. 1936, 13:21; International Who's Who, 1955, p. 502. Thompsen's: Internat'l Cycl. Music & Musicians, 1943.

BE I 59:474, II 3:73, 99
Current Biogr. 1948, p. 344-46
World Biogr. 1954, p. 633

665 2 Khachaturian, R. G.
Member of CC CP Arm. SSR, 17.-18. s'ezd, 1954, 1956.

Kom. Er. 1/22/56

6922 Khurshudian, A. A.
Member of Collegium of Armenian Supreme Court.

5331 Kiladze, Grigorii Varfolomeevich, 1902- Composer; artist of Georgia; prof. since 1941, director since 1945 of Tiflis conservatory im. Saradzhishvili. 1940- CP member; Composes mainly symphonies; Wrote: Gandegili, bases on poem by Chavchavadze, for which he rec'd Stalin prize in 1941. Wrote opera Bakhtrioni and ballet Sinatle (Stalin prize in 1948.) Wrote music to films: Poslednyi maskarad, Arsen.

BE II 20:617

6652 Kirakosian, A. M.
Member CC CP Arm. SSR, 17.-18. s'ezd, 1954, 1956

Kom. Er. 1/22/56

3 Kislin, S. I.
Member of presidium CC CP Azerb. SSR, 21. s'ezd, 1956

Bak. Rab. 1/26/56

7: Columbia U. S-4, 5 1956 RHI Caucasia RHI

533 2(3?) Kocharian, A. Armianskaia Narodnaia muzyka-obshchii obzov. M. 1939

BE I 3:99

2 Kocharian, Suren Akimovich
People's artist of Armenia; member of Moscow's philharmonia orchestra. Stalin prize 3. class, 1950

Laur. Stalin.prem. 1950
p. 73

646 6 Kochergov, Vasilii Nikitovich
Member of Sov. Soiuz VS SSSR, Krasnodar. krai, 4. sozyv, 1954

Bak. Rab. 3/18/54

646 2
665 Kochinian, Anton Ervandovich
Deputy to Sov. Soiuz VS SSSR 4. sozyv, 1954. Member CC CP Arm. SSR, 18. s'ezd, 1956. Might be the chairman of the Council of Ministers of Armenia, 1955

Kom. Er. 3/18/54, 1/22/54

532 2 (3?) Kodzhoian, A. G.
"Prazdnik urozhaia" Armenian painting 1947.

BE II 3:90

7: Columbia U. S-4, 5 1956 RHI Caucasia RHI

646 5 Komarov, Pavel Timofeevich
Kab. deputy Sov. Nats VS SSSR
4. sozyv, 1954.

Pravda 3/18/54

533 2 Komitas
1869-1935 (real name: Sogomonian, Sogomon Gevorkovich) Born in Kuti, Turkey. Armenian composer; studied at Echmiadzin seminary. In 1910 went to Constantinople and finally died in Paris. Buried in Soviet Armenia. Wrote down over 3000 Armenian folk songs.

BE II 20:159-160

665 3 Kremleva, E. A.
CC CP Azerb. SSR, 20.s'ezd, 1954

647 1 Krimian, N. A. --Nov. 1955
Executed as possible Beriia accomplice. Former investigator in Georgian Commissariat of Internal Affairs.

NYT

Zaria Vostoka

646 1 Kuchava, Mitrofan Ionovich
Deputy to Sov. Nats. VS SSSR
(4. s'ezd, 1954)

Bak. Rab. 2/19/54

7: Columbia U.S-4.5 1956 RHI Caucasia RHI

646
645
645 3 Magomaev, Dzamal Eddin Muslimovich Deputy to Sov. Nats. VS SSSR (4. sozyv, 1954) Deputy president of VS Azerb. SSR. 1948- Born in Lenkorani, 1910- 1952-2nd sect. Bakinskii oblast. komitet, 1953 minister of local industry Azerb Member of CC CP Azerb. SSSR.

Bak. Rab. 3/19/54
3/10/54
2/24/54

646 4 Magomedov, Dzhamaludin Makhmudovich, Dag. deputy Sov. Nats. VS SSSR 4.sozyv, 1954.

Pravda 3/18/54

533 1(3?) Magomaev, Muslim Magometovich, 1885-1937, Operatic composer; wrote Shakh Ismail, 1916. Lived in Baku, where he conducted most of his operas. Wrote opera Negriz, 1935 extolling in it the Soviet power in Azerbaidzhan.

BE II 26:43

646 4 Magomedova, Aishat Gamzatovna Dag. deputy Sov. Nats. VS SSSR 4. sozyv, 1954.

Pravda 3/18/54

7:Columbia U. S-4, 5 1956 RH1 Caucasia
RH1

665 3 Mekhi - Zade, M. M.
CC CP Azerb. SSR, 20. s'ezd, 1954

325 1 Meladze, Vladimir Aleksandrovich
Stalin prize 3. class, 1950
metallurgical engineer

Laur. Stalin. prem. 1950
p. 32

533 2 Melikian, Romanos
1882-1935. Armenian composer, brother of Spiridon Melikian. Wrote down many folk songs. Composed Armenian romance Roza, Osennie dni and set to music songs of Isaakian, Tumanian. 1921- director of what later became Erevan conservatory by the name of Komitas.

BE II 27:100

2 Melikian, Spiridon
1881-1933. Armenian composer; in 1912 organized Armianskoe muzykal'noe obshchestvo in Tiflis. Wrote down about 1000 folk songs, dances. Wrote: Gammy armianskoi narodnoi muzyki, 1935. 1930-31 director of Erevan conservatory.

BE II 27:100

535
1 Mirtskhulave, Didim Lavrent'evich
Stalin prize 2. class, 1950. Conductor of Gorda ballet.

Laur. Stalin. prem. 1950
p. 81

538
1 Mitskhulava, Alio Andreevich, 1903-
(his literary pseud. Mashashvili). Georgian poet influenced by Maiakovskii. Gimn rodine, Enguri, etc.

BE II 27:588

535
1 Mirzoian, Ashot Oganesovich
Armenian ballet artist; Stalin prize 3. class, 1950.

Laur. Stalin. prem. 1950
p. 80

533
2 Mirzoian, M. 1888
Armenian composer

BE I 1:478

401
2 Mkrtchian, Derenik Petrovich
Stalin prize 3. class, 1950 for tool building methods.

Laur. Stalin. prem. 1950
p. 28

7: Columbia U. S-4, 5 1956 RHl Caucasia

RHl

532

1 Mrevlishvili, Aleksandr Romanovich 1866-1933. Georgian realist school painter. In his works he lashes at bureaucratic officials of czarist era.
I éto nazyvaetsia svoboda
U kantselarii, etc.

BE II 28:485

533

2 Mshvelidze, Shalva Mikhailovich, 1904- Georgian composer; deputy VS Gruz. SSR 3. sozyv. Member of CP 1947- Collected Georgian songs; developed rhythmic polyphonic qualities of Georgian music. Wrote: Gost'i khoziain, 1940 (Stalin prize) Skazanie o Tariele, Stalin prize in 1947. Now teaches at Tiflis univ.

BE II 28:614

646

3 Mukhin, Nikolai Pavlovich
Deputy to Sov. Nats. VS SSSR (4. sozyv, 1954)

Bak. Rab. 3/19/54

7: Columbia U. S-4, 5 1956 RH1 Caucasia
RH1

665
3 Muliavko, A. D.
Member of presidium CC CP Azerb. SSR, 21. s'ezd, 1956.

Bak. Rab. 1/26/56

533
5 Muradeli, Vano Il'ich, 1908-
Kabardian composer; studied in Tiflis. Wrote: Gimn Mezhdunarodnogo soiuza studentov, 1949.

BE II 28: 564

665
2 Muradian, B. A.
Member CC CP Arm. SSR, 18. s'ezd, 1956

Kom. Er. 1/22/56

646
803 1 Muskhelishvili, Nikolai Ivanovich, 1891- Deputy to Sov. Soiuz VS SSSR (4. s'ezd, 1954) President of Akad. nauk Gruz. SSR, 1941-; mathematician; Stalin prizes in 1941, 1947. Since 1922 professor of polytech. inst. Tiflis. Expert on theory of resilience. Instrumental in creating Tiflis math inst. in 1935. His chief works: Matematika SSSR za let 1917-1947. Mekhanika v SSSR za let 1917-1947. Uspekhi matemat. nauk, 1951, 4.6 vyp. 2 contains his works.

7: Columbia U. S-4, 5 1956 RHl Caucasia
RHl

533

3 Niiazi (Tagi-Zade, Niiazi Zul'fugarovich) Stalin prize 2. class, 1950 conductor.

Laur. Stalin. prem. 1950
p. 73

532

1 Nikoladze, Iakov Ivanovich, 1876-1951. Georgian realist school sculptor. His are the historical monuments to Rustaveli, Abashidze, Gaprindashvili, Chavchavadze, etc. Studied under Rodin. For portrayal of 12th c. Georgian poet Chakhrukhadze rec'd Stalin prize in 1946. Stalin prize in 1948 for his V. I. Lenin v epokhu sozdaniia "Iskry". As art teacher educated sculptors: S. Ia. Kakabadze, K. M. Merabishvili, etc.

BE II 29:626

401

1 Nikolashvili, Iradion Aleksandrovich Mechanic. Stalin prize 3. class, 1950, for new stakhanovite methods in light industry.

Laur. Stalin. prem. 1950
p. 63

7: Columbia U. S-4,5 1956 RHl Caucasia

RHl

665 2 Pakhlevanian, G.A.
Member CC CP Arm. SSR, 17.-18. s'ezd, 1954, 1956

Kom. Er. 1/22/56

814 3 Pakhomov, Evgenii Aleksandrovich, 1880- Historian; member of Inst. istorii Akad. nauk Azerb. SSR.

Bak. Rab. 12/28/55

533 1 Paliashvili, Ivan Petrovich, 1868-1934. Brother of Zakharii Paliashvili. Produced opera in Kiev, Kharkov, Tiflis; taught opera courses at Tiflis conservatory.

BE II 31:606

1 Paliashvili, Zakharii Petrovich, 1871-1933, born in Kutaisi. Classical music composer. Taught in Tiflis; director of Georgian philharmonic orchestra 1908-1917. Romance: Iunoi poliubiv dushoi. Opera: Abesalom i Eteri, Daisi. The opera and ballet theater of Tiflis is named after him.

BE II 31:604-6

7: Columbia U. S-4, 5 1956 RHl Caucasia

KHl

538

3 Pashaev, Mir-Dzhalal ogly
see
Mir-Dzhalal (pseud.) 1/1

665

2 Pavlovskii, I. G.
Member CC CP Arm. SSR, 18. s'ezd, 1956

Kom. Er. 1/22/56

533

? Peiko, Nikolai Ivanovich, 1916-
Kab. composer. 1940 finished Moscow conservatory where he now teaches. Composes themes from nationalities like "Prazdnichnaia uvertiura na kabardinskie temy" (1951), "Moldavskaia suita" (Stalin prize 1947, 1951)

BE I 19:218; BE II 32:283

646

1 Pervukhin, Mikhail Georgevich
Deputy to Sov. Soiuz VS SSSR (4. s'ezd, 1954)

Bak. Rab. 2/18/54

6 Petukhov, Boris Fedorovich
Member of Sov. Soiuz Krasnodar. krai, VS SSSR, 4. sozyv, 1954.

Bak. Rab. 3/18/54

7: Columbia U. S-4, 5 1956 RHl Caucasia
RHl

533 2 Petrosian, Avak Gegamovich
Stalin prize 3. class, 1950 for performing in opera Geroinia.

Laur. Stalin. prem. 1950
p. 80

646
665 2 Petrosian, Garegin Bakhshievich
815
875
Deputy Sov. Nats. VS SSSR, 4 sozyv, 1954. Member CC CP Arm. SSR, 17.-18. s'ezd, 1954, 1956. Rector of Erevan univ. since 1949. Physicist-mathematician; wrote Matematika v drevnei i srednevekov. Armenii.

Kom. Er. 3/19/54, 1/22/56, 2/27/54

815 2 Piotrovskii, Boris Borisovich, 1908-
Chlen-korrespondent Akad. nauk. Arm. SSSR (1945). Archeologist. Specialist on Zakavkaze. 1930 Archeological research in Teishebiani on hill Karmir-Blur near Erevan, and contributes source material on history of Urartu state 6-8 c. BC. 1946 Stalin prize. Interested in Scythian problem and origin of Armenians.

BE I 3:80, BE II 33:58

204
645

of Bakinskii rabochii. Translated into Armenian: Manifest kommunist. partii. Knew Lenin, Plekhanov. In 1918 was komissar of foreign affairs.

BE I 61:878-9

646
5

Shebzukhova, Natal'ia Danilovna
Kab. deputy Sov. Nats. VS SSSR 4. sozyv, 1954

Pravda 3/18/54

533
3

Sheibler, T. K
Wrote 1. Kantata o Staline dlia khora; 2. Fortepiannaia rapsodiia na Kab. iaz.

BE I 19:218

536
5

Shekikhachev,
Kabardian dramatist who with Naloev wrote: Korigat, a historical tragedy, presented in Kabardian in 1934.

BE I 30:419

7: Columbia U. S-4,5 1956 RHI Caucasia
RHI

546
1 Shengelaia, Nikolai Mikhailovich, 1903-
Georgian film-producer; 1928 -
film: Eliso, 26 komissarov.
Portrays the working class in realist manner.

BE I 62:288

646
6 Shipilov, Boris Semenovich
Member of Sov. Soiuz VS SSSR, 4. sozyv, 1954. Krasnodar. krai

Bak. Rab. 3/18/54

533
2 Sheram, 1857-1936.
One of the most famous Armenian wandering minstrels (gusan).

BE II 3:97

536
3 Shirvanadze, Aleksandr, 1856-1935
Drama critic, of the critical realist school. Wrote dramas: Namus, Zloi dukh, Iz-za chesti, Khaos (chief work). Influenced by Balzac.

BE I 62:422-3

646
5 Shkakhov, Khamid Makhmudovich
Kab. Deputy Sov. Nats. VS SSSR 4. sozyv, 1954

Pravda 3/18/54

538
5 Shogentsukov, Ali, 1900-1942
Kabardian poet; introduced classic metric system into Kabardian poetry. Wrote novel: Kambot i Liatsa, 1932-6

BE I 30:419

5 Shortanov, A., 1916-
Kabardian novelist

BE II 19:216

665
2 Simonian, Sh. S.
Member CC CP Arm. SSR, 18. s'ezd, 1956

Kom. Er. 1/22/56

2 Sochinskii, I. I.
Member CC CP Arm. SSR, 17.-18. s'ezd, 1954, 1956

Kom. Er. 1/22/56

533
2 Sogomonian, Sogomon Gevorkovich
see
Komitas (pseud.) 1/A

816
3 Spanaki, Evgenii Akhillesovich
Stalin prize 2. class, engineer

Laur. Stalin. prem. 1950
p. 55

1/A [cf. cat. 116, 751 -- Analyst]

533 2 Spendiarov, Aleksandr Afanas'evich 1871-1928. Armenian composer born in Kakhovka. Studied under Rimskii-Korsakov, Glazunov. Used Armenian themes in his compositions. Almast his best opera on poem by Tumanian. First shown in Moscow in 1930, now in repertory of Erevan opera house.

BE I 52:392

643
645 1 Stalin (Dzhugashvili) Iosif Vissarionovich. Dec. 21, 1879 in Gori-March 5, 1953. Studied in Gori ecclesiastic seminary, 1888-1894. 1898 joined Rossiisk. sots. demokr. raboch. partiia of Tiflis. Met Lenin at Tammersfors in 1905; frequently imprisoned during 1903-7.

Founded Pravda in 1911, worked on revolutionary paper Brdzola (Bor'ba) with Ketskhoveli, as well as on Lenin's Iskra. 1917- Commissar of nationalities; 1922- gen. sect. CC CP SSSR; Lenin's successor as chairman of Politbureau in 1924; exiled Trotskii in 1928; purge trial of enemies in 1934-38; Marshal of SSSR in 1943; initiated the first 5 year plan; member of supreme Soviet; people's commissar for the defense of SSSR until

7: Columbia U. S-4, 5 1956 RHl Caucasia
RHl

533
2 Stepanian, Aro Leonovich, 1897-
Born in Kirovabad. 1940- president of Soiuz sovet. kompozitorov Armenii. For opera Geroinia Stalin prize 3. class in 1950. Wrote: operas, Khrabryi Nazar, David Sasunskii, Lusabatin; also Simfonia pamiati 26. komissarov. Deputy of VS SSSR I. -2. sozyv.

BE I 52:840-1
Laur. Stalin. prem. 1950, p. 80

665
2 Stepanian, L. A.
Member CC CP Arm. SSR, 18. s'ezd, 1956

Kom. Er. 1/22/56

707
2(?) Stepanian, Nel'son
Geroi Sov. soiuza (flyer), fought in battle of Moscow, Sevastopol

BE I 3:68

532
2 Stepanian, Suren L., 1895-
Armenian sculptor; did famous monument to Gukas Gukasian, 1935, also Azizbekov's statue in Tiflis, 1933

BE I 52:851

7: Columbia U. S-4, 5 1956 RH1 Caucasia

RH1

533
3 Tagi-Zade, Niiazi Zul'fugarovich
see
Niiazi (pseud.)

646
3 Tagiev, Imran Abdulla ogly
Deputy to Sov. Nats. VS SSSR (4. sozyv, 1954)

Bak. Rab. 3/19/54

646
315 3 Tairova, Taira Akper ogly
Deputy to Sov. Nats. VS SSSR (4. sozyv, 1954). Born in 1913- oil expert; 1942- director of neftano-nauchn. issled. inst. in Kuibyshev; subsequently head of various oil enterprises in Azerb. Member of Bakinskii gorodskii komitet. Deputy to Bakinskii gorod. sovet. Deputy VS Azerb. SSR. Member of CC CP Azerb. SSR, 21. s'ezd, 1956

Bak. Rab. 3/19/54, 2/25/54, 1/26/56

533
1 Taktakishvili, Otar Vasil'evich (Tiflis in 1924-) Deputy to Sov. Nats. VS SSSR (4. s'ezd, 1954) composer; wrote state hymn of Georgia for which he was awarded Stalin prize 2. degree; member of CP Gruz. SSR.

Bak. Rab. 3/19/54
Zar. Vost. 2/13/54, 3/11/54

[IZ cat. 116, p. 778 -- Analyst]

7: Columbia U. S-4, 5 1956 RHl Caucasia
RHl

533 2 Tal'ian, V.G., 1896-1947
Armenian composer

BE II 3:99

341
2 Tamanian, Aleksandr Ivanovich, 1880-1936. Architect. Partially rebuilt Erevan in 1924. Built Narkomles building, the medic-institute, agriculture school. Posthumously awarded Stalin prize in 1942. His pupil is Grigorian, M. V. Was president of Armenian art academy 1917-18.

BE I 53:519

646
204 1
645
Tarba, Ivan Konstantinovich
Abkhaz. deputy Sov. Nats. VS SSSR, 4. sozyv, 1954. Born in Beslakhuba, 1921- co-editor of Apsny Kapsh; correspondent to Sov. Abkhaziia; since 1943 party official sect. of Abkhazian division of Soiuz Sovet. pisatelei Gruz. SSR. 1953 - minister of education Abkhaz.

Bak. Rab. 3/18/54
Zar. Vost. 2/13/54

532
2 Tatevosian, Egishe, 1870-1936
Born in Vagarshapat; landscape painter. Painted: Aragats (view) Komitas, Tumanian, Akopian (portraits)

BE I 53:666
Kom. Er. 1/28/56

536
1 Tavadze, Dimitrii Matveevich
for acting role in Potoplennye kamni, Stalin prize, 3. class, 1950

Laur. Stalin. prem.
p. 78

533
646 2 Tavrizian, Mikhail Arsen'evich
for operatic role in Geroinia, Stalin prize 3. class, 1950. Deputy Sov. Nats. VS SSSR 4. sozyv, 1954

Laur. Stalin. prem. 1950
p. 80
Kom. Er. 3/19/54

646
4 Tekhova, Mariia Iordanovna
Iugo-Os. deputy Sov. Nats. VS SSSR 4. sozyv. 1954

Pravda 3/18/54

RHI

533
2 Ter-Gevondian, Anushavan Grigor'-evich, 1887- . Composer; wrote opera: Seda; ballet: Anait, Nevasta ogna; symphonies: Akhtamar, Rozhdenie, Vaagna, etc.

BE I 54:99

532
2 Terlemezian, Fanas Pavlovich, 1865-1941. Armenian painter of landscapes. Did "Tov. Stalin, Molotov i Voroshilov na aerodrome" in 1939. "Zimnii den' v Erevane", 1933. People's artist of Armenia.

BE I 54:106

538
5 Teuchezh, Tsug, 1855-1944
Adygei poet. Struggled against oppression, spoke of the better Soviet life to come; glorified Stalin

BE II 1:427

5 Teunov, Kh., 1912-
Kabardian author. Wrote Novyi potok, poem, 1946

BE II 19:216

7: Columbia U. S-4,5 1956 RH1 Caucasia RH1

•533 2 Tigranian, Armen Tigranovich, 1879-
Armenian composer: pioneer of national Armenian opera. Wrote: Anush, Turk opera based on poem by Tumanian. It was played in Moscow in 1937, and received Lenin prize.

BE I 54: 242

2 Tigranian, Nikolai Fadeevich, 1856-
Armenian composer; blind since 9. year. Studied in St. Petersburg, Vienna. Concentrated on folk-songs of Armenia, Turkey, 1939 received order trudovogo krasnogo znameni.

BE I 54: 242

665 3 Titarenko, A. I.
CC CP Azerb. SSR, 20. s'ezd, 1954

645 1 Tkhilaishvili, Aleksandr Dursunovich
Adzhar, deputy Sov. Nats. VS SSSR 4. sozyv, 1954

Bak. Rab. 3/18/54

5 Tlostanov, Kalimet Tutovich
Kab. deputy Sov. Nats. VS SSSR 4. sozyv, 1954

Pravda 3/18/54

7: Columbia U. S-4, 5 1956 RHl Caucasia

RHl

693

1 Topuridze, M. E.
Prokuror Gruz. SSR, 1954

Zar. Vost. 2/18/54

533

1 Toradze, David Aleksandrovich
Georgian composer; Stalin prize 2. class in 1950 for his ballet Gorda

Laur. Stalin. prem. 1950
p. 81
Zar. Vost. 2/18/54

646
665 2 Tovmasian, Suren Akopovich
Member Sov. Soiuz VS SSSR 1954- (4. s'ezd). Member CC CP SSSR 1956- . 1st Sect. CC CP Armeniia 1954- (17. s'ezd)

NYT 2/27/56
Kom. Er. 3/18/54, 2/17/54, 1/22/56

665

3 Tret'iakova, A. N.
Member of presidium CC CP Azerb. SSR, 21. s'ezd, 1956.

Bak. Rab. 1/26/56

The "Reconciliation" however is not yet over. The following morning an *arba* (Caucasian two-wheeled wagon) drawn by two oxen goes through the village and every family before whose house the *arba* halts is obliged to donate a chicken. In the evening a cartload of chickens arrives, destined for a special "Reconciliation" feast exclusively for women, on which occasion the groom by accepting some beer from his mother is finally "reconciled" also with her. 585 [493]

True, the "Reconciliation" may be over, but the marriage ceremonies are not. Two days later there is more feasting, more drinking, and the so-called *shinak-gagerös* (i. e., "the twirling of a wooden cup with a long handle") take place. The one toward whom the cuphandle points on stopping after having been twirled must drink its contents. The young people who take part in this drink-feast do not leave the groom's home till there is no more beer left to refill the cup. The old folks have their turn in the celebration in the evening, when the young are obliged to serve the old. One of the main features on the programme is the obligation of all the "old-timers" to take a turn at dancing, ending with a dance of the host and hostess, who, however, have the privilege of exemption from dancing if they drink a cup of beer instead. On this occasion the Kabardian minnesingers called *geguako* are especially welcome. They travel from village to village, playing on their two-stringed instruments, singing and composing beautiful lyrics[20] as the German minnesingers and the French and Italian troubadours once used to do. To each well-wishing of the *geguako* the guests answer with a joyful "Amen!," confirming their "So be it!" with a sip of beer.[21] [524] [273] [533] [534]

The ceremony of thrice walking around the hearth constitutes an important part of the Cherkess wedding just as in Abkhazia.[22]

The official marriage contract is made by representatives of the bride and groom in the presence of the local mullah. Holding both representatives by the hand, he first asks the representative of the bride: "Do you take A as husband for B?" The answer is a simple "Yes!" He then asks the representative of the groom: "Do you take B as wife for A?" "Yes!" This interrogation is repeated a second and a third time. The mullah then recites a prayer and all present, raising their hands heavenward, answer "Amen!"[23]

The expenses entailed in such an elaborate wedding would often bring complete economic ruin to the family, much the same as Caucasian funerals. Ladyženskij implies, however, that such expensive weddings are a thing of the past.[24]

The NORTHEASTERN CAUCASIANS. As our example of a Chechen marriage we have chosen that of the Ingushi, for this group of Chechens has preserved much more of their ancient culture than any other. In so doing, however, we must make allowance for tribal differences. [182]

[20] Hahn, *op. cit.*, pp. 46—49, from whom we have also taken the description of the "Reconciliation." Hahn gives us a few examples of these lyrics, *op. cit.*, pp. 49 ff.

[21] Hahn, *op. cit.*, p. 51.

[22] Dirr, AGKB, p. 25.

[23] Ladyženskij, FT, p. 199.

[24] Ladyženskij, FT, p. 208. See also Dubrovin, *Istorija* for a fairly good description of a Cherkess wedding, I, i, pp. 142 ff, 147 f.

538 He cuts off the fingers with which he has
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8: Lužbetak E-4 (no date) 1951 RH1 Caucasia RH1



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585 however, we must make allowance for tribal differences. The Ingush wedding has been described especially well by Jakovlev.[25]

There is excitement in the village,[26] and the whole atmosphere is festive. Before one of the Ingush houses a crowd is gathering, the riders towering above all. There is reason for this excitement and festivity, for a son is being married. Inside the house, too, there is excitement—but perhaps we should call it [273] "activity" instead. A sheep is being slaughtered, *braga* is being brewed, cakes are being baked. But in spite of all this hustle, there seems to be time and reason enough to interrupt all work—just for a moment—the butcher, the brewer, the baker, one and all, go to the door and gaze a moment at the crowd as it begins to form into a semi-orderly wedding procession. At the head we see the proud father of the groom, and behind him his male relatives and some girls. Even billy-goats and rams are there (gifts for the bride's family)—all are there except the groom. He and one of his comrades disappeared several days ago and have not been heard of since. (The bride vanished from her home too, but by now she has most likely returned.) The bridegroom is no doubt "hiding" with a neighbour. The whole village is excited—everybody, we are told, except the groom, for etiquette demands that he act as unconcerned as if marriage were an everyday affair.

Men on horseback, men, women, and noisy children on creaky carts or on foot, wend their way down the dusty village road. When they reach the bride's house her father dashes out in front of the procession and with beaming face [534] welcomes all heartily. The *pandir* (a native three-stringed instrument) begins a joyful wedding tune and all join in the customary marriage songs. Formerly the girls would form into two contending choirs, the friends of the groom against [522] the friends of the bride, alternately singing songs and trying to out-ridicule the other,[27] a veritable battle of tongues and voices.

Singing, dancing, and feasting, continue till evening, when the procession [526] is formed again (but this time not without the bride). The horsemen now gallop off and begin their wild, dangerous wedding races.[28]

As soon as the procession reaches the groom's house, the bride enters the *saklia* and receives some honey and butter, coyly listening to the words "Be thou ever soft as butter and ever sweet as honey."

After this little ceremony she is led behind a curtain where she must remain for the next few days, entertained only by a number of girl-companions.

The formal marriage contract takes place according to the simple Islamic rite. The mullah, as usual, presides, while the parents of the bride and groom make the contract.

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[25] Jakovlev, *Ingušli*, pp. 52—56.
See also Dubrovin's description, *Istorija*, I, i, pp. 430—435.

[26] A year or two may elapse after the betrothal, the time of marriage depending mainly on how soon the *kalym* can be paid. Cf. Berže, *Čečnja i Čečency*, p. 98.

[27] For texts of wedding songs see Jakovlev, *l. c.*

[28] Grabovskij, "Ekonomičeskij i domašnij byt, etc.," p. 21. Horseraces play an important part in funerals throughout the Caucasus. See R. Bleichsteiner, "Rossweihe und Pferderennen im Totenkult der kaukasischen Völker," *Wiener Beiträge zur Kulturgeschichte und Linguistik*, Salzburg-Leipzig, 1936, pp. 414—495.

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535 Lezginka (Georg. lek'uri), performed by a man holding one hand on his breast and the other stretched sideways, and a woman who gracefully moves her arms up and down; both move in a circle keeping the upper part of the body as quiet as possible and moving only the legs. Now they dance together, then again the woman escapes and the man pursues her; the pair are never in contact.

532 2 Akopian, Amaiak Stepanovich
1871-1939. Armenian painter; his favorite subjects are scenes from old Tiflis; in Soviet period did many charcoal drawings. Studied in Munich.

BE II 1:607

665 2 Akopian, S. S.
Member of CC CP Arm. SSR, 18. s'ezd, 1956.

Kom. Er. 1/22/56

3 Alekperov, M. G
CC CP Azer. SSSR, 20. s'ezd, 1954

646 3 Alekperova, Shukhiufa Alekser kyzy
Deputy to Sov. Nats. VS SSSR (4. sozyv, 1954)

Bak. Rab. 3/19/54

535 1 Aleksidze, Irina Aleksandrovna
Stalin prize 2. class for ballet performances in 1950

Laur. Stalin prem. 1950
p. 81

7:Columbia U. S-4,5 1956 RH1 Caucasia
RH1

646 4 Baskaev, Dzambolat Timofeevich
Sev. Osset. deputy Sov. Nats. VS SSSR,
4. sozyv, 1954

Pravda 3/18/54

535 1 Bauer, Maria Veniaminovna
Stalin prize 2. class, 1950 ballerina

Laur. Stalin prem. 1950
p. 81

646 1 Bazhunaishvili, Suleiman Dzhemalovich
Adzhar. deputy Sov. Nats. VS SSSR
4. sozyv, 1954
Born in Kveda-Sameba, 1922-
kolkhoz worker, member of CP

Bak. Rab. 3/18/54
Zar. Vost. 2/13/54

665 3 Begrambekov, B. L.
CC CP Azerb. SSR, 20 s'ezd, 1954

546 2 Bek-Nazarov, Amo Ivanovich
1892- Armenian film-producer;
director of Tiflis Goskinprom.
Directed films: Pepo, Zangezur, for
which he was awarded Stalin prize in
1941. People's artist of Armenia.

BE II 4:405

7:Columbia U. S-4, 5 1956 RHl Caucasia
RHl

646 6 Boitsov, Ivan Pavlovich
Member of Sov. Soiuz VS SSSR, 4. sozyv, 1954; Stavropol. krai

Bak. Rab. 3/18/54

5 Bondarchuk, Tat'iana Nikolaevna
Kab. deputy Sov. Nats. VS SSSR 4. sozyv, 1954

Pravda, 3/18/54

535 1 (?) Bregvadze, Boris Iakovlevich
Stalin prize 2. class, 1950; ballet dancer; for role in Ali-Batyr, performed in Leningr. gos. akad. teatr opery i baleta im. S.M. Kirova.

Laur. Stalin. prem. 1950
p. 81

665 3 Bulyga, A. E.
CC CP Azerb. SSR, 20. s'ezd, 1954.

646 665 2 Buniatian, Artavazd Avakovich
Deputy to Sov. Nats. VS SSSR, 4. sozyv, 1954. Member CC CP Arm. SSR, 17-18. s'ezd, 1954, 1956

Kom. Er. 3/19/54, 1/22/56

538 1 Kiacheli, Leo
(presently called:Shengelaia, Leon Mikhailovich). 1884-. Georgian writer; born in Obudzhi. Wrote Krov', Gvadi Bigva, 1938, for which he rec'd Stalin prize in 1941.

BE II 20:582

535 1 Kikaleishvili, Zurabu Malakievich.
People's artist of Georgia; Stalin prize winner for dance choreography. (Collaborated with Chabukiani on ballet Gorda.)

Zar. Vost. 2/30/55
Laur. Stalin. prem. 1950, p. 81

646 5 Khmelev, Ivan Fedorovich
Cherkes. deputy Sov. Nats. VS SSSR 4. sozyv, 1954.

Pravda 3/18/54

536 1 Khorava, Akakii Alekseevich
Deputy to Sov. Nats. VS SSSR (4. s'ezd, 1954). Born Ochkhomuri, 1895-. Actor (classical roles); director of Tiflis Rustaveli theatre (1949-); member of committee awarding Stalin prizes on lit. and drama. Won 5 Stalin prizes.

Bak. Rab. 3/19/54
Zar. Vost 2/13/54

532 1 Lansere, Evgenii Evgen'evich 1875-1946. Member of "mir iskusstva" school of painting; began painting with historical portraits. Painted: Zangezur 1926, Krasnye partizany Dagestana, 1931. Illustrated L. Tolstoy's Kazaky and Khadzhi Murat.

BE II 24: 283-4

535 1 Lapiashvili, Parnaoz Georgevich Stalin prize 2. class, for ballet performance in Gorda.

Laur. Stalin prem. 1950 p. 81

645 1 Leleshvili, M. M. Minister of transportation, Gruz. SSR, 1954.

Zar. Vost. 2/17/54

538 646 1 Leonidze, Georgii Nikolaevich, born in Patardzeuli 1889-. Georgian writer; depicts socialism. CP member since 1945. Deputy VS Gruz. SSR 3.sozyv. Started career as symbolist poet of "Golubye rogi" group. Later wrote: Leninu, 1936, Rodinu poiu, 1936. Stalin prize in 1941, 1952. Now works on history of Georgian lit. 17-19th c.

BE II 24-578

535
1 Mirtskhulave, Didim Lavrent'evich
Stalin prize 2. class, 1950. Conductor of Gorda ballet.

Laur. Stalin. prem. 1950
p. 81

538
1 Mitskhulava, Alio Andreevich, 1903-
(his literary pseud. Mashashvili). Georgian poet influenced by Maiakovskii. Gimn rodine, Enguri, etc.

BE II 27:588

535
1 Mirzoian, Ashot Oganesovich
Armenian ballet artist; Stalin prize 3. class, 1950.

Laur. Stalin. prem. 1950
p. 80

533
2 Mirzoian, M. 1888
Armenian composer

BE I 1:478

401
2 Mkrtchian, Derenik Petrovich
Stalin prize 3. class, 1950 for tool building methods.

Laur. Stalin. prem. 1950
p. 28

RHI

645
625 1 Tsereteli, S.S.
Former deputy People's Commissar and deputy Minister for Internal Affairs. Executed Nov. 1955, for alleged treason, counter-revolutionary crimes, for bringing false accusations ("slanderous evidence" against Ordzhonikidze); tried under Soviet criminal code 58 (high treason) in Sept. 1955 in Tiflis by military collegium of Soviet Supreme Court, headed by Lieut. Gen. A.A Cheptsov.

NYT
Zaria Vost.

535
1 Tsignadze, Vera Varlamovna
Stalin prize 2. class, 1950 for ballet role in Gorda ballet.

Laur. Stalin. prem. 1950
p. 81

646
645 1
665 Tsimakuridze, Kondratii Sokratovich
Deputy to Sov. Nats. VS SSSR (4. s'ezd, 1954). Born in Tlukhi, 1904-1937-1947 narodnyi komissar finansov Gruz. SSR. 1953- minister finansov Gruz. SSR. Member CC CP Gruz. SSR.

Bak. Rab. 2/19/54
Zar. Vost. 2/13/54

646
2422 Virabian, Ninel' Avetisovna
Deputy to Sov. Nats. VS SSSR 4. sozyv, 1954. In 1948 completed Erevan agriculture inst.; increased vegetable production in kolkhoz im. Stalina where she is employed.

Kom Er. 3/19/54
2/19/54

535 3(?) Virsaladze, Simon Bagratovich, 1909-
Choreographer of various ballets. Stalin prize in 1949 for staging Glazunov's Raimonda, and also in 1951 for Kabalevskii's Sem'ia Tarasa. Did sets to operas W. Tell. E. Onegin.

BE II 8:152-3
Laur. Stalin. prem. 1950, p. 79

665
3 Vorob'ev, P. F.
CC CP Azerb. SSR, 20.s'ezd, 1954

2 Voskanian, S. A.
Member CC CP Arm. SSR, 18.s'ezd, 1956.

Kom. Er. 1/22/56

8: Lužbetak E-4 (no date) 1951 RH1 Caucasia RH1



Feasting, dancing and singing continue for the next two or three days. The guests are especially fond of their version of the *Lesghinka*.[29] 585 [535]

The newly-weds may not see each other till toward the close of the festivities. Finally the clapping of hoofs, cracks of pistols, and deep manly voices announce the return of the groom from his "hiding" place. He enters the bridal chamber, where his wife is waiting for him. The heart of a sheep, daintily roasted, lies hidden somewhere in the room. The groom or the bride begins to search for it and when found it is eaten by both. This little ceremony is to ensure marital concord.[30]

Jakovlev fails to mention two ceremonies which older authors include as important parts of a Chechen wedding. First of all, there is the custom of placing a child on the bride's lap with the wish that she too may before long give birth to a boy and become the mother of many children. Then there is the custom of walking round the hearth three times, a custom found among the Cherkess, Abkhaz, Ossetes, and the Ingushi,[31] but, as it seems, not among the other Chechens.

After the wedding the father of the bridegroom receives various gifts from the guests, sometimes enough to cover the expenses of the wedding.[32]

When speaking of the Lesghian group we shall not describe the customs of each people separately, but, as we have done in the section on engagements, we shall endeavour to present what may be called a *typical* Lesghian wedding. We shall borrow much from Kovalevskij's *Zakon i obyčaj na Kavkazě* (II, pp. 185—188), a description based on two reliable sources, L'vov and Bašir Dalgat, a native Caucasian. Though L'vov's article[33] is easily available, Dalgat's precious manuscript is not, and hence our recourse to Kovalevskij is mainly to get at Dalgat's valuable material. These two sources describe the Avarian and Dargwa marriage customs, but as Kovalevskij rightly points out, the description, except for a few accidentals, holds for *all* Lesghians. Other good articles on the present subject, which we shall use to complement Kovalevskij's two sources, are those of Gabiev, describing the wedding customs of the Laks,[34] of G. M. Amirov, describing the customs in North Daghestan,[35] of Fon-Plotto describing the Lesghians of Sakataly,[36] of Dubrovin describing the

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[29] The *Lesghinka* is a popular Caucasian dance, which originated, as its name implies, in Daghestan, and then was borrowed by all mountain tribes of the Caucasus, each tribe, of course, adding an original touch to the dance.

[30] Baddeley, *op. cit.*, I, p. 237.

[31] Dirr, AGKB, p. 25; Dubrovin, *Istorija*, I, i, p. 433.

[32] These contributions are perhaps of a relatively recent origin, as a result of Russian legislation against costly weddings.
The explorers are silent about the presence or absence of a proof of virginity. Even though the practice perhaps does not exist today, the possibility of its former existence cannot be denied, especially since the Ingush customs are very similar to those of the Ossetes.

[33] "Domašnjaja i semejnaja žizn Dagestanskich Gorcev," SSKG, III (1870), pp. 1—32.

[34] "Laki, Ich prošloe i byt," SMOMPK, XXXVI (1906), pp. 109 f.

[35] "Sredi gorcev sěvernago Dagestana," SSKG, VII (1873), pp. 31 f.

[36] "Priroda i ljudi Zakatal'skago Okruga," SSKG, IV (1871), pp. 31—44. Though the marriage Fon-Plotto describes is really that of the Georgian Ingiloi, according to the author's own observation, it is identical with that of all non-Georgians in Sakataly.

532 2 Abegian, Mger Manukovich
1909- Armenian painter; studied in Erevan and Moscow. Famous works "Makravanskii peizazh, "1939; "V sadakh Armenii," 1945; "Vstuplenie I. V. Stalina na rabochem sobranii v Tiflise 18. okt. 1905 g."

BE II 1:16
v. 3, p. 90 (picture)

536 2 Abelian, Ovanes Artem'evich
1865-1936. Armenian actor; people's artist of Armenia and Azerbaidzhan; portrayed about 52 different roles in the famed Sundukian theater of Erevan (Oedipus rex; Egor Bulichev; Dr. Stockman, etc.).

BE II 1:16

646 5 Abidokova, Mar'ian Magometovna
Cherkes. deputy Sov. Nats. VS SSSR 4. sozyv, 1954

Pravda, 3/18/54

701 646 3 Abilov, Makhmud Abdul-Rza ogly
Deputy to Sov. Nats. VS SSSR (4. sozyv, 1954). Born in Ukur, 1898- Rose from ordinary private to general of Red Army. Fought at Smolensk, Berlin. Rec'd Orders of Krasnoe znamia, Surorov, Kutuzov and foreign decorations.

Bak. Rab. 3/19/54. 2/20/54

665 2 Abramian, R. T.
645 Member CC CP Arm. SSR. 17.-18. s'ezd, 1954, 1956. Minister of Agriculture Arm. SSR, 1956

Kom. Er. 1/22/56, 1/21/56

646 1 Abuladze, Eteri Baratalovna
Adzhar. deputy Sov. Nats. VS SSSR 4. sozyv, 1954. Born Vashlovani, 1926- No party affiliation.

Bak. Rab. 3/18/54
Zar. Vost. 2/13/54

242 3 Adibekov, Ogan Aleksandrovich
Stalin prize, 2. class, 1950 for new ways of producing agricultural plants, mainly cotton. Head of trust "Azvodstroi." (1950)

Laur. Stalin. prem. 1950
p. 55

536 2 Adzhemian, Vartan Mkrtichevich
Stalin prize, 3. class, 1950. Artist; for participation in Stepanian's opera "Geroinia."

Laur. Stalin. prem. 1950
p. 80

532 prize in 1950 for illustrating a work devoted to the 70. birthday of Stalin.

BE II 3:570

536 3 Akhundov, Sigdi Rukhulla Fatulla ogly
1886- Azerb. actor; people's artist of SSR; played in 300 roles (Revizor, King Lear, Othello, etc.) Stalin prize in 1948.

BE II 3:572

3 Akhundov, Suleiman Sani
1875-1939. Azerb. writer, dramatist
Sokolinoe gnezdo, 1921 (drama); Zvezda svobody, 1905; Liubov'i mest', 1922

BE II 1:469
v. 3:572

5332 Akhverdian, G.
Armenian folk-song singer; gusan of 20. c.

BE II 3:97

5363 Akhverdov, Abduragim
1870-1933
Azerb. dramatist, influenced by Ostrovskii. Wrote: Razorennoe gnezdo; and Neschastnyi iunosha

BE II 1:563

665 3 Alikhanov, E.N.
CC CP Azerb. SSR, 20. s'ezd, 1954

645 3 Alikperov, Aga Mekhti Salman ogly
Minister of industrial building material (1954)- Azerb.

Bak. Rab. 3/10/54

646 3 Alikulieva, Rubaba Alikuli kyzy
Nakhichev. deputy Sov. Nats. VS SSSR, 4. sozyv, 1954. Born in Garachuk, 1929 - cotton picker.

Bak. Rab. 3/18/54, 2/21/54

• 536 5 Alili, Mamed
Chechen 20. c. theater producer influenced by Meyerhold, Tairov.

BE I 61:535

645 4 Alimov, Tair
Deputy to Sov. Soiuz VS SSSR, 4. sozyv, 1954

Kom. Er. 3/18/54

665 2
646 Allakherian, Karapet Navasardovich
Deputy to Sov. Nats. VS SSSR, 4. sozyv, 1954. Member of CC CP Armen. SSR, 18. s'ezd, 1956

Kom. Er. 3/19/54
1/22/56

7: Columbia U. S-4, 5 1956 RHl Caucasia
RHl

538 5 Anchby-Shervanize (no initials)
Published in Paris, 1923:
Abkhazskie legendy; acc. to inform.
in encyclopedia: the work is without
literary merit.

BE I 1:118

646 6 Andrianovia, Mariia Fedorovna
Member of Sov. Soiuz VS SSSR,
4. sozyv, Stavropol. krai.

Bak. Rab. 3/18/54

1 Antonov, Aleksei Innokent'evich
Deputy to Sov. Soiuz VS SSSR (4.
s'ezd) 1954

Bak. Rab. 2/18/54

536 1 Apkhaidze, Emanuil Eliseevich
Stalin prize 3. class, 1950 for
acting in "Potoplennye kamni".
People's artist of Georgia.

Laur. Stalin. prem. 1950
p. 78

646 6 Apollova, Valentina Fedorovna
Member of Sov. Soiuz, VS SSSR,
4. sozyv, 1954; Krasnodar. krai

Bak. Rab. 3/18/54

538 2 Arutiunian, Movses
see
Arazi*

665 2 Arzumanian, G. A.
Member of CC CP Arm. SSR, 18. s'ezd, 1956.

Kom. Er. 1/22/56

2 Asaturian, A. T.
Member of CC CP Arm. SSR, 18. s'ezd, 1956

Kom. Er. 1/22/56

814 5 Ashkamaf, D. A.
Grammarian; wrote on Adygei language.

BE II 1:427

536 3 Ashumov, Mageram Kiazim ogly
Azerb. actor. Stalin prize 3. class, 1950 for role in Zaria nad Kaspiem presented in Azerb. gos. teatr russkoi dramy.

Laur. Stalin prem. 1950
p. 79

*[cf. cat. 116, p. 677 -- Analyst]

RHl

536 5 Askerkhanov,
Chechen 20. c. actor of comic roles.

BE I 61:535

646 665 3 Askerov, Ismail Nasrulla, ogly
Deputy to Sov.Soiuz VS SSSR (4. s'ezd, 1954) Member of CC CP Azerb. SSR. Born in Ordubad, 1914- ; head of Dom propagandista i agitatora im S. M. Kirova (in Moscow?) Since 1943 sect. of propaganda in Azerbaidzhan; 1945 1st sect. CC Komsomol Azerb. SSR. 1950- president of Azerb. Sov. Profsoiuzov; 1952-1st sect. Nakhichevan. oblast. komitet. CP Azerb. SSR.

Bak. Rab. 3/18/54, 2/21/54

665 2 Aslanian, S.K.
Member of CC CP Arm. SSR, 18. s'ezd, 1956.

Kom. Er. 1/22/56

646 665 3 Aslanova, Chimnaz Abdul Ali kyzy
Nakhichev. deputy Sov. Nats. VS SSSR, 4. sozyv, 1954. Member CC CP Azerb. SSR. Born in Mardakian, 1914- Deputy to ov. Nats. VS SSSR since 1937-

Bak. Rab.3/18/54 2/25/54

665 2 Astsatrian E. T.
Member of CC CP Arm. SSR, 17-18. s'ezd, 1954, 1956.

Kom. Er. 1/22/56

815 2 Atalian, Arfeniia Arkad'evna
Stalin prize 3. class, for work in chemistry (on lubricating fats)

Laur. Stalin prem. 1950
p. 39

2 Avakian, Artavazd Arshakovich
Stalin prize 2. degree, 1950 for the theory on development of plant organisms. Corresp. member of Akad. nauk SSSR.

Laur. Stalin. prem. 1950
p. 10

536 2 Avetisian, Avet Markosovich, 1897-
Armenian actor; portrayed about 200 roles in Sundukian theater of Erevan; Stalin prize in 1941 for movie role in Zangezur.

BE II 1:70

646 5 Babich, Vasilii Ivanovich (Kabardian)
Deputy to Sov. Soiuz VS SSSR
4. sozyv, 1954

Kom. Er. 3/18/54

665 2 Badamiants, G. A.
Member CC CP Arm. SSR, 18. s'ezd, 1956

Kom. Er. 1/22/56

536 5 Baduev, Said
Chief Chechen dramatist; wrote Krasnaia krepost', 1930.

BE I 61:535

665 3 Bagabova, S. G.
Member of presidium CC CP Azerb. SSR, 21. s'ezd, 1956

Bak. Rab. 1/26/56

646 2 Bagdasarian, Grant Bakhshievich
Deputy to Sov. Nats. VS SSSR
4. sozyv, 1954. Born in Egvard, 1925- oil-driller

Kom. Er. 3/19/54
2/19/54

7: Columbia U. S-4, 5 1956 RHl Caucasia
RHl

536 5 Bagrimanov
Chechen actor of tragic roles 20. c.

BE I 61:535

665 3 Baibakov, A. S
Member of presidium CC CP Azerb. SSR, 21. s'ezd, 1956

Bak. Rab. 1/26/56

646 665 315 3 Baibakov, Nikolai Konstantinovich
Deputy to Sov. Soiuz VS SSSR (4. s'ezd, 1954) Born in Sabunchi (near Baku) 1911- oil engineer. Was member of CC CP SSSR (before 1956) Deputy to VS SSSR 2. sozyv. Member of presidium CC CP Azerb. SSR, 21. s'ezd, 1956

Bak. Rab. 3/18/54,3/2/54 ,1/26/56

646 665 3 Bairamov, Musa Khuda Kerim ogly
Deputy to Sov. Soiuz VS SSSR (4. s'ezd, 1954) Member of CC CP Azerb. SSR.

Bak. Rab. 3/18/54

377 2 Chakharch'ian, Iosif Nazarovich
Stalin prize 2. class, 1950 for production of special asynchronic electric motors.

Laur. Stalin.prem. 1950
p. 41

• 536 1 Chakhava, Medea Vasil'evan
Stalin prize 3. class for acting in Vasadze's Potoplennye kamni

Laur. Stalin. prem. 1950
p. 78

331 1 (?) Chankotadze, Vakhtang Lavrent'evich
Stalin prize 2. class, 1950
Construction engineer; director of trust Khramgesstroi.

Laur. Stalin. prem. 1950
p. 44

665 2 Charchian, Z. V.
Member CC CP Arm. SSR, 17.-18. s'ezd, 1954, 1956

Kom. Er. 1/22/56

538 1 (2?) Charents
-1937. Armenian poet killed by Bolsheviks. See Kocharian for more information.

815 1 Daraseliia, Mikhail Konstantinovich
Stalin prize 3. class, 1950 for his: Krasnozemnye i podzolistye pochvy Gruzii i ikh ispol'zovanie pod subtropicheskie kul'tury, 1949. Geologist; head of Vsesoiuz. nauchn. issled. inst. chaia i subtropich. kul'tur.

Laur. Stalin. prem. 1950
p. 11

• 536 5 Daud, Tsei, 1900-
Cherkessian dramatist

BE I 61:254

665 3 Davidian, O. G.
CC CP Azerb. SSR, 20. s'ezd, 1954

7:Columbia U. S-4, 5 1956 RH1 Caucasia
RH1

815 1 Davitshvili, Leo Shioevich, 1895-
Paleontologist; member of Akad. nauk. Gruz. SSR since 1944. Wrote: Razvitie idei i metodov v paleontologii posle Darvina, 1940 and and Istoriia evoliutsionnoi paleontologii ot Darvina do nashikh dnei, 1948. Rec'd Stalin prize for the latter.

BE II 13:260
19:279

665 2 Davtian, G.S.
Member CC CP Arm. SSR, 18. s'ezd, 1956. Editor of Doklady Akad. nauk Arm. SSR.

Kom. Er. 1/22/56

• 53 3 Davudova, Marziia Iusif kyzy, 1901-
Actress; member of CP SSSR since 1942. Deputy VS Azerb. SSR 2. -3. sozyv. Acted in Azizbekov theater in Baku. Stalin prize in 1948 for role Giul'zar in play Utro Vostoka E. Mamedkhanlyi.

BE II 13:266

538 1 Dedobrishvili
see Aragvispireli, S. Z. 1/1

1/1 [cf. cat. 116, p. 676 -- Analyst]

7: Columbia U. S-4, 5 1956 RHI Caucasia

RHI

546 1 Dolidze, Semen Vissarionovich, 1903-
Georgian artist; CP member since 1942; film-producer. Films: Poslednye krestonostsy 1933, in 1936 historical film: Dariko, and in 1944 Shchit Dzhurgaia. He rec'd Stalin prize for latter in 1950. Film proclaims brotherhood of peoples of USSR.

BE II 15:25

533 1 Dolidzé, Viktor Isidorovich, 1890-1933
Born in Ozurgetash (now Makharadze in Georgia) Composer and mandolin player. Wrote opera Leila in 1922, Tsisana in 1929. His is the unfinished Ossetian opera Zamira.

BE II 13:91
15:25

• 536 3 (?) Dolidze, Vladimir Sergeevich
Stalin prize for acting in Vasadz's Potoplennye kamni

Laur. Stalin prem. 1950
p. 78

814 2 Drzhbashian, M. M.
Corresp. member of Akad. nauk Arm. SSR and deputy chief editor of Doklady Akad. nauk Srm. SSR

7: Columbia U. S-4, 5 1956 RHI Caucasia
RHI

665 3 Dun'iamaliev, K. G.
CC CP Azerb. SSR, 20. s'ezd, 1954

• 536 3 Dzhabarly, Dzafar, 1899-1934
Azerb. dramatist. His best known drama is V 1905 godu; Aidyn, 1922 Iashar, 1932, Almas, 1930. Stands for emancipation of women in Azerb. Born in Khizy near Baku

BE II 14:197

665 3 Dzhafarov, A. A.
CC CP Azerb. SSR, 20. s'ezd, 1954.

643 3
665 Dzhafarov, S. M
Sect. of presidium VS SSR Azerb. (5. s'ezd, 1954) Member CC CP Azerb.

Bak. Rab. 3/10/54

814 1 Dzhanashia, Simon Nikolaevich, 1900-1947. Historian of Georgia. Deputy to VS SSSR 2. sozyv. Member of CP SSSR since 1940. Wrote dissertation on: feudalism in Georgia. Since 1943 director of Inst. istorii Akad. nauk Gruz. SSR. Wrote on genetic resemblance between Georgians and Orientals. Twice rec'd Stalin prize, 1942, 1947.

BE II 14:211

7: Columbia U, S-4, 5 1956 RHl Caucasia RHl

538 2 Golikov, Arkadii
see
Gaidar (pseud) 1/1

646 6 Golovchenko, Vasilii Ivanovich
Member of Sov. Soiuz Krasnodar. krai, VS SSSR, 4. sozyv, 1954.

Bak. Rab. 3/18/54

2 Gorbatov, Aleksandr Vasil'evich
Deputy Sov. Nats. VS SSSR
4. sozyv, 1954

Kom. Er. 3/19/54

• 536 1 Gotsiridze, N. S.
1872-1949; Georgian actor.

BE II 13:95

646 1 Gotsiridze, Otar Davidovich
Deputy to Sov. Nats. VS SSSR
(4. s'ezd, 1954)

Bak. Rab. 2/19/54

1 [cf. cat. 116, p. 720 - - Analyst]

7: Columbia U, S-4, 5 1956 RHI Caucasia RHI

669 2 Gukasian, Gukas Ogasenovich, 1899-1920 Armenian revolutionary; born in Kalara, near Erevan. Since 1917 Bol'shevik. Fought Mensheviks and dashnaks. His monument in Erevan.

BE II 13:189

665 2 Gukasian, Z.O.
Member CC CP Arm. SSR, 17.-18. s'ezd, 1954, 1956

Kom. Er. 1/22/56

•536 2 Gulakian, Armen Karapetovich, 1899- Armenian producer and dramatist. People's artist of Armenia. Deputy to VS SSSR 2.-3. sozyv. Member of CP since 1941. Born in Tiflis. Chief producer of Sundukian theater in Erevan. Produced there: Lermontov's Maskarad, Gorkii's Na dne. Stalin prize in 1946 and 1950.

BE II 13:190

792 2 Gulian, M. T.
Member of Collegium of Armenian Supreme Court.

401 2 Guliants, Enovk Airapetovich
Stalin prize, 3. degree 1950 machine engineer.

Laur. Stalin prem. 1950 p. 25

532 2 Isabekian, E. A.
20th century painter; most famous statue is Abovian Khachatur.

BE II 1:20

646 4 Isaev, Magomed Isaevich
Dag. deputy Sov. Nats. VS SSSR 4. soz. 1954

Pravda 3/18/54

536 5 Isaeva, Asai
20. c. Chechen actress

BE 1 61:535

377 2 Isagulian, Amasii Vasakovich
Stalin prize 3. class, 1954. Chief constructor of Erevanskii mashinostroi, zavod. Prize for collaborating on a three-phase synchronic generator.

Laur. Stalin. prem. 1950
p. 43

646 2 Ishkhanian, Ashkhen Tigranovna
Deputy to Sov. Nats. VS SSSR, 4. sozyv, 1954

Kom. Er. 3/19/54

232 3 Khachaturovna, Mosesian Margo
Born in Nagorno-Karabakhskaia oblast, 1925. Veterinarian; since 1953 in kolkhoz im. Stalin in Martuninskii raion. Unsuccessful candidate Sov. Nats. VS SSSR 4. sozyv, 1954.

Bak. Rab. 2/18/54.

536 5 Khadzhieva, Tashu
20. c. Chechen actress

BE I 61:535

538 5 Chakurate, S.
Famous Cherkessian author; head of Gorskii ispolkom 1921.

BE I 61:254

759 5
815 Khanene, Filipp Semenovich
Stalin prize 3. class, 1950, for combatting bacillary dysentery. Head of laboratory of Vsesoiuz, nauch. issled. khimiko-farmatseut. inst. im. S. Ordzhonikidze.

Laur. Stalin. prem. 1950
p. 65

538 5 Khatkov, Akhmet 1902-
Rec'd prizes at the North-Caucasian Olympics of national arts; writes poems, stories of con-

538 1 Kiacheli, Leo
(presently called:Shengelaia, Leon Mikhailovich). 1884-. Georgian writer; born in Obudzhi. Wrote Krov', Gvadi Bigva, 1938, for which he rec'd Stalin prize in 1941.

BE II 20:582

535 1 Kikaleishvili, Zurabu Malakievich.
People's artist of Georgia; Stalin prize winner for dance choreography. (Collaborated with Chabukiani on ballet Gorda.)

Zar. Vost. 2/30/55
Laur. Stalin. prem. 1950, p. 81

646 5 Khmelev, Ivan Fedorovich
Cherkes. deputy Sov. Nats. VS SSSR 4. sozyv, 1954.

Pravda 3/18/54

536 1 Khorava, Akakii Alekseevich
Deputy to Sov. Nats. VS SSSR (4. s'ezd, 1954). Born Ochkhomuri, 1895-. Actor (classical roles); director of Tiflis Rustaveli theatre (1949-); member of committee awarding Stalin prizes on lit. and drama. Won 5 Stalin prizes.

Bak. Rab. 3/19/54
Zar. Vost. 2/13/54

7: Columbia U. S-4, 5 1956 RHI Caucasia RHI

331
2 Mardanian, Mardan Efremovich
Stalin prize 3. class, 1950 for construction work.

Laur. Stalin. prem. 1950
p. 22

536
1 Mardzhanishvili, Konstantin Aleksandrovich (Mardzhanov Kote) 1872-1933. Born in Kvareli; people's artist of Georgia; theater producer; director of Kutaisi theater. Produced Chekhov's Uncle Vania, and Gorkii's Na dne. His producing reflects the style of the Moscow art theater. Directed plays all over Europe until 1922. Director of Rustaveli theater in Tiflis 1922-6. There he produced plays by Molière, Lope de Vega, Shakespeare. His last production was that of Don Carlos by Schiller, done at Moscow's Malyi theater.

BE II 26:265

1 Mardzhanov Kote
see
Mardzhanishvili, Konstantin Aleksandrovich.

646 1 Mertrveli, Ivan Alekseevich
Deputy to Sov. Nats. VS SSSR
(4. s'ezd, 1954)

Bak. Rab. 3/19/54

536 3(?) Miakishev, Konstantin Mikhailovich
Stalin prize 3. class, 1950 for
theatrical performance in Zaria
nad Kaspiem.

Laur. Stalin. prem. 1950
p. 79

331 3(?) Mikaberidze, Aleksandr Sergeevich
Stalin prize 2. degree, 1950
for construction work.

Laur. Stalin.prem.1950
p. 45

532 2 Mikaelian, Mikhail Ivanovich,
1879-1941. Armenian sculptor
born in Shusha, Azerb. Since
1900 lives in Tiflis. Did: Zvonar'
Sakan, Devushka s razbitym
kuvshinom.

BE II 27:416

759 1 Pantsulaia, Zinaida Illarionovich
Abkhaz. deputy Sov. Nats. VS SSSR 4. sozyv, 1954. Born in Sukhumi 1920. Physician; no party affiliation.

Bak. Rab. 3/18/54
Zar. Vost. 2/14/54

536 2 Papazian, Vagram Kamerovich, 1888-
Born in Istambul; people's artist of Armenia, Georgia. Finished Armenial lyceum in Venice, Italy. Actor in various Caucasian theaters. Protagonist of many tragic roles chiefly in dramas of Armenian Adamian.

BE II 32:18

646 2 Papian, Matsak Petrosovich
Deputy Sov. Nats. VS SSSR 4. sozyv, 1954.

Kom. Er. 3/19/54

625 1 Paramonov, G. I. ,-1955
Executed for treason; was investigator of NKVD of Georgia.

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RHl

377
2 Safrazbekian, Gurgen Sadatovich
Stalin prize 2. class, 1950, for telemechanization of Mosenergosistem.

Laur. Stalin. prem. 1950
p. 41

646
4 Safronov, Arsenii Mikhailovich
Sev. Os. deputy Sov. Nats. VS SSSR 4. sozyv, 1954

Pravda 3/18/54

536
1 Sagaradze, Georgii Illarionovich
People's artist of Georgia. Stalin prize 3. class, 1950, for role in drama Potoplennye kamni.

Laur. Stalin. Prem. 1950
p. 78

665
3 Samedov, K. A.
Member of presidium CC CP Azerb. SSR, 21. s'ezd, 1956

Bak. Rab. 1/26/56

646
8123 Samedov, Vitalii Iunusovich
Deputy to Sov. Nats. VS SSSR (4. sozyv, 1954). Born 1919- Went to party schools; holds doctorate in philosophy; 1950-director of Institut istorii i filosofii Akad. nauk

7: Columbia U. S-4, 5 1956 RHl Caucasia

RHl

646
665 2 Savoian, Andranik Israelovich
Deputy Sov. Nats. VS SSSR, 4. sozyv, 1954. Member CC CP Arm. SSR, 17.-18. s'ezd 1954, 1956

Kom. Er. 3/19/54 and 1/22/56

• 536 2 Sazandarian, Tatevik Tigranovna
Stalin prize 3. class for performance in opera Geroinia.

Laur. Stalin. prem. 1950
p. 80

646
665
647 3 Seidov, Gasan ogly
Deputy to Sov. Nats. VS SSSR (4. sozyv. 1954) Born in 1906- . 1937- head of Azerb. nauchno-issled. inst. khlopkovodstva in Kirovabad. 1946-2nd. sect. CC CP Azerb. SSSR; 1953- president of Gosplan Azerb. SSR. Member of CC CP Azerb. SSR, 20.-21. s'ezd, 1954, 1956

Bak. Rab. 3/19/54, 3/2/54, 1/26/56

242
643 3 Seidov, Mamed Mir Aziz ogly
645
Born in Sadarak, 1907- . Agriculture expert, partly official; deputy-president of Council of Ministers. 1954-minister of agriculture Azerb. SSR; Deputy VS Nakhichevanskaia ASSR; Unsuccessful candidate to VS SSSR (Sov. Nats., 1954)

Bak. Rab. 2/25/54

7: Columbia U. S-4, 5 1956 RHl Caucasia

RHl

665

2 Shakhbazian, L. T.
Member CC CP Arm. SSR, 17.-18. s'ezd, 1954, 1956

Kom. Er. 1/22/56

3 Shakhramanian, R. T.
Member of presidium CC CP Azerb. SSR, 21. s'ezd, 1956

Bak. Rab. 1/26/56

556

1 Shanshiashvili, Sandro, 1888-
Georgian dramatist, symbolist poet. Dramas: Nekoronovannye tsari, Berdo Zmaniia, Anzor. His work Zakavkazskie narody shows sketchiness (rather than profoundness?)

BE I 61:832-3

146

4 Shaposhnikova, Aleksandra Andreevna
Sev. Os. deputy Sov. Nats. VS SSSR 4. sozyv, 1954

Pravda 3/18/54

4 Sharifov, Nazhmutdin Sharifovich
Dag. deputy Sov. Nats. VS SSSR 4. sozyv, 1954

Pravda 3/18/54

536
3 Sharlakhov, Boris Mikhailovich
People's artist of Azerb. Stalin prize 3. class, 1950 for dramatic role in Zaria nad Kaspiem

Laur. Stalin. prem. 1950
p. 79

381
1 Sharmazanashvili, Luarsab Kharitonovich. Stalin prize 3. class, 1950 chemical engineer.

Laur. Stalin. prem. 1950
p. 33

325
1 Shatirishvili, Georgii Afans'evich
Stalin prize 3. class 1950 for work in metallurgy.

Laur. Stalin. prem. 1950
p. 32

646
6 Shatskii, Ivan Petrovich
Member of VS SSSR, Sov. Soiuz, 4. sozyv, 1954. Krasnodar. krai

Bak. Rab. 3/18/54

204
6452 Shaumian, Stepan Grigor' evich, 1878-1918. One of the most outstanding of the 26 Bakinskii komissary. Editor of various newspapers, also

204
645

of Bakinskii rabochii. Translated into Armenian: Manifest kommunist. partii. Knew Lenin, Plekhanov. In 1918 was komissar of foreign affairs.

BE I 61:878-9

646
5 Shebzukhova, Natal'ia Danilovna
Kab. deputy Sov. Nats. VS SSSR 4. sozyv, 1954

Pravda 3/18/54

533
3 Sheibler, T. K
Wrote 1. Kantata o Staline dlia khora; 2. Fortepiannaia rapsodiia na Kab. iaz.

BE I 19:218

536
5 Shekikhachev,
Kabardian dramatist who with Naloev wrote: Korigat, a historical tragedy, presented in Kabardian in 1934.

BE I 30:419

7: Columbia U. S-4,5 1956 RHl Caucasia

RHl

546

1 Shengelaia, Nikolai Mikhailovich, 1903-
Georgian film-producer; 1928 - film: Eliso, 26 komissarov. Portrays the working class in realist manner.

BE I 62:288

646

6 Shipilov, Boris Semenovich
Member of Sov. Soiuz VS SSSR, 4. sozyv, 1954. Krasnodar. krai

Bak. Rab. 3/18/54

533

2 Sheram, 1857-1936
One of the most famous Armenian wandering minstrels (gusan).

BE II 3:97

536

3 Shirvanadze, Aleksandr, 1856-1935
Drama critic, of the critical realist school. Wrote dramas: Namus, Zloi dukh, Iz-za chesti, Khaos (chief work). Influenced by Balzac.

BE I 62:422-3

646

5 Shkakhov, Khamid Makhmudovich
Kab. Deputy Sov. Nats. VS SSSR 4. sozyv, 1954

Pravda 3/18/54

7: Columbia U. S-4, 5 1956 RHl Caucasia
RHl

645
3 Sultanov, Shamsadin Kurbanovich
Minister of commerce Azerb., 1954

Bak. Rab. 3/10/54

536
2 Sundukian, G., 1825-1912
Armenian playwright; wrote: Pepo, Razrushennyi ochag, Khatabala. Represents critical realism; depicts themes about workers against bourgeoisie. Many younger Armenian dramatists were influenced by him.

BE II 3:86

646
5 Suprunov, Valentin Kuz'mich
Adyg. deputy Sov. Nats. VS SSSR 4. sozyv, 1954

Pravda, 3/18/54

6 Suslov, Victor Maksimovich
Member of Sov. Soiuz VS SSSR, 4. [redacted], 1954. Krasnodar. krai.

Bak. Rab. 3/18/54

7: Columbia U. S-4, 5 1956 RHl Caucasia

RHl

532
2 Tatevosian, Egishe, 1870-1936
Born in Vagarshapat; landscape painter. Painted: Aragats (view) Komitas, Tumanian, Akopian (portraits)

BE I 53:666
Kom. Er. 1/28/56

536
1 Tavadze, Dimitrii Matveevich
for acting role in Potoplennye kamni, Stalin prize, 3. class, 1950

Laur. Stalin. prem.
p. 78

533
646 2 Tavrizian, Mikhail Arsen'evich
for operatic role in Geroinia, Stalin prize 3. class, 1950. Deputy Sov. Nats. VS SSSR 4. sozyv, 1954

Laur. Stalin. prem. 1950
p. 80
Kom. Er. 3/19/54

646
4 Tekhova, Mariia Iordanovna
Iugo-Os. deputy Sov. Nats. VS SSSR 4. sozyv. 1954

Pravda 3/18/54

7: Columbia U. S-4, 5 1956 RH1 Caucasia
RH1

646
6 Trofimenkov, Nikolai Ivanovich
Member of Sov. Soiuz, VS SSSR, 4. sozyv, 1954, Krasnodar. krai.

Bak. Rab. 3/18/54

538
4 Tsadasa, no initials
Dagestani post-war (1945-) poet. Wrote: Skazanie o Chabanakh; he rec'd Stalin prize in 1950 for collection: Izbrannoe.

BE II 13:289

4 Tsagalov, Georgii, 1871-
Ossetian poet; since 1890 wrote in Russian, rebelling against tsarist absolutism. Wrote: Osetinskie motivy, Tembolat.

BE I 60:305

538
536 5 Tsei, Ibragim, 1895-
Cherkessian poet, dramatist; contributed to the development of the Cherkessian Theater. Wrote: Khodzhas, on battle of peasants against princes. Drama: Uzyshko, Kharach, etc.

BE I 61:254

RHl

331
3(1?) Tsuleiskir, Georgii Vasil'evich
Stalin prize 2. class, 1950 for certain type of construction work.

Laur. Stalin. prem. 1950
p. 44

536
5 Tubaev, M.
20. c. Kabardian playwright.

BE II 19:218

646
6652 Tukhikian, Nunik Mesropovna
Deputy Sov. Nats. VS SSSR, 4. sozyv, 1954. Member CC CP Arm. SSR, 18 s'ezd, 1956.

Kom. Er. 3/19/54
1/22/56

552
5 Tukhuzhev, A.
20. c. Kabardian artist.

BE II 19:218

538
2 Tumanian, Ovannes, 1869-1923.
Armenian poet, humanist, dramatist. Wrote poem: Anush, Gikor, etc. Many of his songs were used in operatic themes.

BE I 55:146

7: Columbia U. S-4, 5 1956 RHl Caucasia

RHl

815

1 Uznadzem, Dmitrii Nikolaevich, 1886-. Psychology professor at Tiflis univ. Member of Akad. nauk Gruz. SSR. Wrote on "Psychologie der Einstellung", his thesis being: "Ustanovka - eto izmenenie lichnosti kotoroe voznikaet v rezul'tate vozdeistviia vneshnego mira na aktivno deistvuiushchii organism."

BE I 55:706

536

1 Vachnadze, Nataliia Georgievna, 1904- . People's artist of Georgia. Acted in "Arsen-Razboinik" in 1923; rec'd Stalin prize in 1941 for film role in Zolotistaia dolina.

BE II 7:67

5 Vakhtangov, Evgenii Bagrationovich, 1883-1922. Born in Dzaudzhikau, of Russian Armenian family. Famous producer; follower of Stanislavskii theories in theater. Produced Chekhov's Svad'ba in 1920. There is theater by his name in Moscow.

BE II 7:63

7: Columbia U. S-4,5 1956 RH1 Caucasia
RH1

538
2 Vardanian, Anushavan, 1879-
Armenian writer, dramatist. Wrote: Signal, Krasnye partizany, about effects of Civil War on Armenia. Na beregu Araksa, 1940, Patrioty about collectivization in Soviet Armenia.

BE II 6:627

536
2 Vardanian, Ruzana Tigranovna, 1896-
Actress, people's artist of Armenia. Made debut in Sundukian theatre of Erevan; played roles of Ostrovskii, Gorkii, Sundukian. Delegate to 2. vsesoiuznaia konferentsiia storonnikov mira.

BE II 6:627

536
6462 Vardanian, Vavik (Anushavan) Tigranovich, 1901 - . Actor; deputy to VS Arm. SSR 2.-3. sozyv, member of CP since 1945. Producer of Sundukian theatre in Erevan since 1937. Follower of the Moscow Art Theater style of producing. Put on plays by Gorkii, Pogodin, Simonov. Since 1944 head of theater inst. in Erevan.

BE II 6:627

316 2 Vartanian, Konstantin Tigranovich
Stalin prize 3. class, 1950 mining engineer.

Laur. Stalin. prem. 1950
p. 35

536
646 1 Vasadze, Akakii Alekseevich
1899-. Actor; CP member since 1939, deputy to VS Gruz, SSR 1.-2. sozyv. Since 1935 director of Rustaveli theatre in Tiflis; he also acted as Iago, Franz, Vasilli Shuiskii, etc. Worked under influence of Mardzhanishvili. For roles in Kidivdze by Daraseli in 1941, Velikii gosudar' by Solov'ev in 1945 and Potoplennye kamni by Mosashvili rec'd. Stalin prizes.

Laur. Stalin. prem. 1950 p. 78
BE II 7:24

646 5 Vas'kov, Aleksei Ivanovich
Cherkes, Deputy Sov. Nats. VS SSSR 4. sozyv. 1954

Pravda 3/18/54

793 2 Vazgen, I
see under
Baldzhian, Armenian Catholicos. 1/1

1/1 [cf. cat. 116, p. 689 -- analyst]

5: Allen H-4 (no date) 1923 RH1 Caucasia RH1

[1811 - 1917]



643 power, which gave him in effect the position of an autocratic monarch during the period of his viceroyalty. From 1882 to
631 1905 the administration was yet further centralised by the substitution for the Viceroy of a Governor-General, directly controlled by a Caucasian Committee at St. Petersburg. A civil Governor subordinate to the Viceroy or Governor-General ruled each Province, with the exception of those of Daghestan, Sukhum, Batum and Kars, where the Governor was a military officer. The Provinces were divided into districts, governed by officials bearing the title *nachalnik*, and the districts were divided into communes (*volost*), where the chief authority was a native elder (*volostnoi starshina*) elected by the community and assisted by a headman of each village (*starosh*). With regard to the law, small cases were tried by local magistrates; those involving more than 2,000 roubles by Russian judges in the district courts.

It will thus be seen that while the Russian administrative
186 machine provided for a degree of local autonomy, the natives
469 had no influence on the conduct of Caucasian or even of provincial affairs. But this system was suitable enough to the mass of the peasantry who, under native rule, had lain in still deeper servitude. The Tatar peasantry, particularly, after the termination of the national struggle for independence, reconciled themselves to Russian rule. The Georgian aristocracy, still inspired by some glimmerings of sentimental patriotism, and resenting at once the supremacy of the Russian bureaucracy, the decline of their own feudal powers, and the steady growth of an Armenian bourgeoisie, alone of all the elements in the Transcaucasus continued to foster a vivid resentment against the existing régime. The Russian policy of Russification, the chief incidents of which were the subjecting of the Georgian Autocephalous Church to the Holy Synod (1811) and the abolition of the autonomy of Svanetia (1833) and of Mingrelia (1867), roused them more than once to sporadic revolt. Thus risings, partly nationalist and partly agrarian in character, in which members of the nobility led the peasant bands, took place at different dates—in Imeretia (1821), in Guria (1822) and in Mingrelia (1857).

During the same period, and parallel with the political
538 discontent, the patriotic literary revival, initiated during the
186 previous century by Vakhtang VI and Prince Vakhusht, was developed, and a school arose of aristocratic journalists and poets, chief of whom were Alexander and Ilia Chavchavadze, Giorgi Eristavi (a Decabrist), Grigor Orbelian and Ivané

5: Allen H-4 (no date) 1923 RH1 Caucasia RH1

[181.-1-117]



Machabeli, who founded a daily paper. The style of this school was for the most part romantically patriotic, and it appealed primarily to the large and impoverished aristocratic class; but of all its disciples Ilia Chavchavadze alone had a following among the people. In general, the Russian Government had little to fear from the patriotic movement of the nobles; the majority of them served faithfully, some with distinction, in the Georgian regiments which played an important part in the Caucasian Campaign of 1877–8. Finally, the incorporation, in 1884, of the hitherto distinct Georgian army in the general military organisation of the Russian Empire marked the disappearance of the last remnant of the independence of the Georgian kingdom.

With the economic development of Transcaucasia the subversive social doctrines already spreading among the workmen of European Russia reached the Caucasus, and the Tiflis administration was confronted with a movement more real and more dangerous than the sentimental romanticism of the native princes. In 1870 European capital began to exploit Baku, and in the same year operations were begun at the great manganese deposits of Chiaturi. The construction of a railway line from Poti to Tiflis had been begun in 1867, and in 1883 this line was continued to Baku. In 1884 foreign capital, chiefly that of the Rothschilds, began to build a port at Batum. During the following thirty years the industrialisation of the Caucasus proceeded. Baku became one of the greatest petroleum centres of the world; further deposits of oil were exploited at Maikop and Grozni; another railway soon linked these towns with the Black Sea, the Caspian and Baku, and Russian, Armenian and foreign companies hastened to undertake the working of the rich manganese and copper deposits and the export of the silk, cotton, timber and wine of the country.

This sudden development soon produced the most complicated problems; antagonisms social and racial were presented in an acute form. The oil-towns were the foci of these antagonisms and the scene of the more sanguinary events of 1904–6, but the conditions there reacted on, and were reproduced in a lesser degree in, Georgia. Foreign capitalism was more than usually aggressive, as it believed itself to be operating in a new country where it was in a position to exploit cheap and inexhaustible supplies of uneducated native labour; and a sudden transition from feudalism to industrialism had created a labouring class the more dangerous because it could

## FOLKLORE, MUSIC, AND DANCE

538 533 Due to the central position of the Caucasus between different and changing hearths of civilization, and to contacts with various nomadic peoples, Caucasian folklore has a wealth of themes. All possible types are represented: epics, historical songs, religious songs, war chants, riding, hunting, and pastoral songs, ballads, dance songs, lyrical and love songs, lullabies and mourning chants, satirical songs which often are partly or wholly improvised at celebrations; besides fairy tales, there are many legends, partly dealing with the same subjects as the epic and historical songs. Among the mountaineers, the lyrical songs often are accompanied by a story explaining their origin or background. Part of this material is indigenous to the Caucasus, continuing ancient mythical traditions or dealing with local events. But the oral literature that came to the Caucasus from outside has also received a typical Caucasian coloring by the addition or stressing of certain traits, such as the themes of blood vengeance, hospitality, and loyalty between friends, which has precedence ultimately over love for a wife or betrothed.

The Kartvelian peoples possess a large store of folk tales which usually begin with the words: "There was and there was not..."; the fairy princesses are called mzetunakhavi

538 "not seen by the sun." Some popular epic
533 songs are derived from literary works such as the Georgian translation of the "Shahname" or Rustaveli's poem "The Knight in the Panther Skin" of the end of the twelfth century; these popular variants show considerable divergences. In the legend of the valiant and beneficent hero Amirani--who dares, however, to measure his strength against God and in punishment is chained to a mountain--a literary subject is curiously blended with ancient mythical traditions: the name of the hero as well as some other names and certain incidents of the story are taken from the heroic epic "Amirandaredjiani," probably translated from Persian in the eleventh century; but the main substance is a myth which is known also to other Caucasian peoples, and which is connected with the Greek myth of Prometheus chained to a rock in the Caucasus. The Georgian historical songs relate particularly skirmishes with the N. Caucasian mountain tribes, and the exploits of famous brigands and outlaws.

The oldest layer of the North-Caucasian folklore consists of the epopee of the Narts. In Dagestan the latter are simply synonymous with "giants," in the Central and Western Caucasus they have individual names and personalities: Uryzmag (Ozermeg, etc.), the oldest and wisest of the Narts; Batraz (Peterez, etc.), the young valiant hero; Sozruko (Sesrkvaj, etc.), also rich in adventures, who

538
533 dies the death of Achilles; Satana, the protectoress of the hearth, the dominant female figure in the epic. The Nart epic contains no historical references; the Narts fight one-eyed giants, descend to the country of the dead, have supernatural qualities and powers. The historical songs of the North Caucasian peoples preserve the memory of intertribal clashes, of wars with invaders, of raids into Russian or Georgian territory, of famous abreks (outlaws). Both songs and tales exhibit typical features of the mountaineer culture. There is the young fatherless boy whose mother keeps secret from him that his father was killed by a giant, as she fears for her son's life. When his playmates inform him that his father was killed and that his mother knows by whom, he pretends to be sick. She prepares a hot honey drink for him, and he grabs her hand and holds it in the hot beverage until she tells him the name of the killer. He finds the giant, who defeats him in battle, but does not want to kill the child. The giant treats him kindly, which gives the boy a chance to kill him in his sleep and to "fulfill the law of his fathers." There is the young man who falls in love with the girl who is secretly engaged to his best friend. The friend, taken in confidence, without a word makes all the preparations for his comrade's wedding. The latter finds out at the last moment, when he notices that his bride is distressed, and inquires as to the cause.

538 533 He cuts off the fingers with which he has touched her dress and takes her back to his friend. Another recurrent theme is that of the mother who suckles the man whose blood is sought by her son, thus establishing a milk relationship, and ending the feud, "sparing the lives of two sons rather than losing her only one." In the genre of humoristic tales, Nasreddin Hoja stories enjoy wide popularity in the Caucasus.

533 Formerly the epical and historical songs were recited by bards, usually liberated serfs, who found employment in the houses of princes and nobles. They accompanied themselves on string instruments.

The characteristic feature in W. Georgian music is part-singing of men's choirs, the second voice, called k'rimanch'uli, executing improvised wordless flourishes in the highest falsetto. In the N. W. Caucasus a solo voice sings the words of the song, the choir accompaning it unisono in long-drawn tones as a kind of organ point, or with an independent melody. Dances are accompanied 535 [534] by musical instruments: in Georgia, bagpipes (zazandari), lute (ch'onguri), violin with spherical body (ch'ianuri), several kinds of flutes (duduki, zurna, salamuri) and drums (dali, diplipito); in the N. Caucasus, a two-stringed violin, flutes and castanets. The most popular Caucasian dance is the so-called

538 3 Abashidze, Grigol (Grigorii Grigor'evich)
Stalin prize 2. class, 1950 for poetry collection: Lenin y Samgori
Na iuzhnoi granitse.

Laur. Stalin prem. 1950
BE I 1:67

646 1 Abashidze, Iraklii Vissarionovich
1st sect. Soiuz sovet. pisatelei Gruz. SSR, 1954 Abkhaz. deputy Sov. Nats. VS SSSR, 4. sozyv, 1954

Zar. Vost. 2/17/54
Bak. Rab. 3/19/54

533 3 Abbasov, A.
Azerbaidzhani musician, 20th c.

BE II 1:478

646 3
665 Abbasov, Kurban Abas Kuli ogly
Nakhichev. deputy Sov. Nats. VS SSSR 4. sozyv, 1954. Member of CC CP Azerb. SSR, 20-21 s'ezd, 1954, 1956

Bak. Rab. 3/18/54
Bak. Rab. 1/26/56

532 1 Akhvlediani, Elena Dmitrievna
1901- Georgian landscape painter; Studied in Paris; her themes are on World War II.

BE II 3:564

84 1 Akhvlediani, Georgii Saridanovich
1887- Georgian linguist; member of Akad. nauk Gruz. SSR. Writes on general phonetics, especially in Caucasian languages. Voprosy obshchei i gruzinskoi fonetiki, 1938

BE II 3:563

692 2 Akopian, A. A.
Member of Armenian Supreme Court Collegium

538 2 Akopian, Akop
1866-1937 in Kirovabad. Founder of Armenian proletarian lit. Collection of poems appeared in 1899. Party member since 1904. In 1923 was named: people's poet of Armenia and Georgia. Wrote: Novoeutro, Shirkanal (praising Bolshevik electrification).

BE I 2:19
II 1:607

7: Columbia U. S-4, 5 1956 RHl Caucasia
RHl

538 5 Anchby-Shervanize (no initials) Published in Paris, 1923: Abkhazskie legendy; acc. to inform. in encyclopedia: the work is without literary merit.

BE I 1:118

646 6 Andrianovia, Mariia Fedorovna Member of Sov. Soiuz VS SSSR, 4. sozyv, Stavropol. krai.

Bak. Rab. 3/18/54

1 Antonov, Aleksei Innokent'evich Deputy to Sov. Soiuz VS SSSR (4. s'ezd) 1954

Bak. Rab. 2/18/54

536 1 Apkhaidze, Emanuil Eliseevich Stalin prize 3. class, 1950 for acting in "Potoplennye kamni". People's artist of Georgia.

Laur. Stalin. prem. 1950 p. 78

646 6 Apollova, Valentina Fedorovna Member of Sov. Soiuz, VS SSSR, 4. sozyv, 1954; Krasnodar. krai

Bak. Rab. 3/18/54

7: Columbia U. S -4, 5 1956 RHI Caucasia
RHI

538 1 Aragvispireli, Shio Zakhar'evich (Now: Dedobrishvili) 1876-1926 Georgian writer, wrote: Vot nasha zhizn', Uzhas

BE II 2:604

646 2 Arakelian, Astkhik Sarkisovna Deputy Sov. Soiuz VS SSSR (4. sozyv, 1954)

Kom. Er. 3/18/54

665 2 Arakelian, S. V. Member of CC CP Arm. SSR, 17-18. s'ezd, 1954, 1956.

Kom. Er. 1/22/56

532 2 Arakelian, Sedrak Arakelovich, 1884-1942. Armenian landscape painter. During Civil War painted many inflammatory posters; among first to glorify socialism. Painted: "Artiktuk", 1930. "Kal'liura v gory", 1936. Influenced by impressionist style.

BE II 2:607

7: Columbia U. S-4, 5 1956 RHl Caucasia
RHl

533 1 Arakishvili (Arakchiev) Dmitrii Ignat'evich, 1873- Georgian composer; people's artist of Georgia. Studied in Moscow. Wrote: Gruz narodnoe muzik, tvorchestvo, 1916. Composed first Georgian opera: Skazanie o Shota Rustaveli, 1914; with slight changes the opera appeared first in 1919 and them with Shanshiashvili libretto in 1947.

BE II 2:607-8;13:91

538 2 Arzai (pseud. of Movses Arutiunian) 1878 - Founder of proletarian prose in pre revolutionary Armenia. Wrote: Solntse, 1913. Skazka, Nedostroennyi dom, 1913. Good short-story writer: Ogni, Tovarishch Mukuch Tysiachegolov

BE II 2:606

875 1 Ardzinba, Grigorii Shagovich
646 Abkhaz. deputy to Sov. Nats. VS SSSR, 4. sozyv, 1954. Born in Duripsh, 1919- Teacher; deputy to VS SSSR 1-3. sozyv.

Bak. Rab. 3/18/54

532 2 Artsatbanian, V. G. Armenian painter 20th c.

BE II 3:90

538 2 Arutiunian, Movses
see
Arazi

665 2 Arzumanian, G. A.
Member of CC CP Arm. SSR, 18. s'ezd, 1956.

Kom. Er. 1/22/56

2 Asaturian, A. T.
Member of CC CP Arm. SSR, 18. s'ezd, 1956

Kom. Er. 1/22/56

814 5 Ashkamaf, D. A.
Grammarian; wrote on Adygei language.

BE II 1:427

536 3 Ashumov, Mageram Kiazim ogly
Azerb. actor. Stalin prize 3. class, 1950 for role in Zaria nad Kaspiem presented in Azerb. gos. teatr russkoi dramy.

Laur. Stalin prem. 1950
p. 79

[cf. cat. 116, p. 677 -- Analyst]

7: Columbia U. S-4,5 1956 RH1 CaucasiaRH1

538 4 Bagraev, Sozur Kurmanovich 1888-1928. Poet of Sev. Oset. oblast'. Wrote in Digor dialect Dyer' serdtsa, lyric poems, 1908

BE II 4:25

701 646 2 Bagramian, Ivan Khristoforovich 1897- in Kirovabad. Began as squadron commander in Ararat valley, 1922. Finished Frunze acad. mil. in Moscow. 1941 col. in Ukraine; 1943 cracked Bryansk front; became asst. chief of Timoshenko; fought at Khar'kov. Order of Kutuzov; commander of Baltic army (the only non-Russian to command a Red Army front-Curr. Biogr.) Won victory at Vitebsk, January 27, 1944. Deputy to VS SSSR 1-3 sozyv. Deputy chief of staff 1941 1945.

BE II 4:25
Curr. Biogr. 1944, p. 27-28
Curr. Digest news 9'55, 8-10

232 645 2 Bagratian, Malkhas Galustovich Stalin prize 3. class, 1950 for new breed of rabbits. Minister of Agriculture Arm. SSR, 1950

Laur. Stalin prem. 1950 p. 59

•538 1
646

Baratashvili, Mariia Gervasevna
Deputy to Sov. Nats. VS SSSR
(4. s'ezd, 1954) Born in Chiatura,
1908- Graduated from Tiflis univ.
fac. philology in 1945; since 1936 a
writer of lyric poetry; Wrote comedy
"Strekoza" (Marine)

Bak. Rab. 2/19/54
Zar. Vost. 2/13/54

533 2

Barkhudarian, Sergei (Sarkis)
Vasil'evich, 1887-
Armenian composer; 1923-- professor
at Tiflis conservatory. Wrote: Narine,
ballet, 1938; Keri-Kuchi, children's
opera. Anush, symphonic poem. Uses
Armenian themes in his works.

BE II 4:276

538 1

Barnovi, Vasilii Zakhar'evich,
1856-1934 Georgian realist writer.
Wrote: Torzhestvo zmeia; Nevesta
Tebery; Muchenitsa liubvy; Zaria Isani
His early works are concerned with
historial themes; language a bit archaic.

BE II 4:252

646 1

Basistyi, Nikolai Efremovich
Deputy to Sov. Nats. VS SSSR
(4. s'ezd, 1954)

Bak. Rab. 2/19/54

377 2 Chakharch'ian, Iosif Nazarovich
Stalin prize 2. class, 1950 for production of special asynchronic electric motors.

Laur. Stalin.prem. 1950
p. 41

536 1 Chakhava, Medea Vasil'evan
Stalin prize 3. class for acting in Vasadze's Potoplennye kamni

Laur. Stalin. prem. 1950
p. 78

331 1 (?) Chankotadze, Vakhtang Lavrent'evich
Stalin prize 2. class, 1950
Construction engineer; director of trust Khramgesstroi.

Laur. Stalin. prem. 1950
p. 44

665 2 Charchian, Z. V.
Member CC CP Arm. SSR, 17.-18. s'ezd, 1954, 1956

Kom. Er. 1/22/56

538 1 (2?) Charents
-1937. Armenian poet killed by Bolsheviks. See Kocharian for more information.

7:Columbia U. S-4,5 1956 RH1 Caucasia
RH1

• 538 1 Cheishvili, Aleksandr Nikolaevich
Stalin prize 2. class, 1950, for novel Lelo.

Laur. Stalin. prem. 1950
p. 66

646 5 Chekmenev, Dmitrii Rodionovich
Kab. deputy Sov. Nats. VS SSSR
4. sozyv, 1954

Pravda, 3/18/54

546 1 Chiaureli, Mikhail Edisherovich
1894-. Film script writer; best films: Saba, Khabarda, etc. Rec'd Stalin prize in 1947. Also sculptor; did Lenin's statue in Tiflis. In his writings shows satirical bent. Acted in first Georgian film: Arsen Dzhordiiashvili, 1921. In 1946 directed film: Kliatva Stalina po mogile Lenina.

BE I 61:571
Soviet Calendar 1917-1947

646 4 Chibirov, Khristofor Tadiozovich
Sev. Os. deputy Sov. Nats. VS SSSR
4. sozyv, 1954.

Pravda, 3/18/54

538 1 Chikovani, Simon
1901-. Georgian writer; began as a futurist, now representative of proletarian ideology in literature. While he is against glorification of past, he defends revolutionary romanticism in his works. Wrote: Makholod Lekseli, Bedi respublika, Ot Kavkaza do Taganroga (poem)

BE I 61:579
BE II 13:78

815 1 Chitaia, Trofim Levonovich
Stalin prize 3. class for directing certain Georgian geological undertaking.

Laur. Stalin. prem. 1950
p. 35

5[illegible]2 1 Chkheidze, Konstantin Viacheslavovich
Stalin prize 2. class, 1950 for architectural decorations in the theater in Chiaturi (?).

Laur. Stalin. prem. 1950
p. 76

665 1 Chkheidze, Nikolai Semenovich
1864-1926. Menshevik; after annexation of Georgia to USSR, went abroad, and shortly thereafter committed suicide.

BE I 61:782

204 1 Chkhikvishvili, I.
Editor of Zaria vostoka (1955)

815 1 Chkhikvishvili, Zebed Iraklievich
Stalin prize 3. class, 1950
for geological works.

Laur. Stalin. prem. 1950
p. 35

538 1 Chkhivadze, Panteleimon
1903- . Georgian, proletarian
writer. Member of CP SSSR. In his
works he extolls possibilities of to-
morrow. Wrote: Tov. Butkhuzi,
Etazhi. Both are translated into
Russian.

BE I 61:782

646 1 Chochua, Andrei Maksimovich
Abkhaz. deputy Sov. Nats. VS SSSR
4. sozyv, 1954

Bak. Rab. 3/18/54

665 2 Cholakchian, G. T.
Member CC CP Arm. SSR, 18. s'ezd,
1956.

Kom. Er. 1/22/56

7: Columbia U. S-4, 5 1956 RHI Caucasia
RHI

538 1 Dadiani, Shalva Nikolaevich, 1874-
Georgian writer. Member of CP SSSR since 1945. People's artist of Georgia. Representative of critical realism in Georgian lit. Wrote: Iz iskry (1937) which was translated into Russian in 1940. Wrote 37 plays. Deputy to VS SSSR 1.-2. sozyv. Rec'd Lenin order.

BE II 13:299

646 4 Dagirov, Nabi Sadykovich
Dag. deputy Sov. Nats. VS SSSR, 4. soz., 1954

Pravda 3/18/54

646 815 2 Daian, Viktoriia Ovanesovna
Deputy Sov. Nats. VS SSSR, 4. sozyv, 1954. Born 1904- in Nor Baiazet. Economist; teacher

Kom. Er. 3/19/54
2/17/54

7:Columbia U. S-4, 5 1956 RH1 Caucasia
RH1

815 1 Davitshvili, Leo Shioevich, 1895-
Paleontologist; member of Akad. nauk. Gruz. SSR since 1944. Wrote: Razvitie idei i metodov v paleontologii posle Darvina, 1940 and and Istoriia evoliutsionnoi paleontologii ot Darvina do nashikh dnei, 1948. Rec'd Stalin prize for the latter.

BE II 13:260
19:279

665 2 Davtian, G. S.
Member CC CP Arm. SSR, 18. s'ezd, 1956. Editor of Doklady Akad. nauk Arm. SSR.

Kom. Er. 1/22/56

53 3 Davudova, Marziia Iusif kyzy, 1901-
Actress; member of CP SSSR since 1942. Deputy VS Azerb. SSR 2. -3. sozyv. Acted in Azizbekov theater in Baku. Stalin prize in 1948 for role Giul'zar in play Utro Vostoka E. Mamedkhanlyi.

BE II 13:266

538 1 Dedobrishvili
see Aragvispireli, S. Z. 1/1

1/1 [cf. cat. 116, p. 676 -- Analyst]

7: Columbia U. S-4, 5 1956 RHl Caucasia
RHl

538 2 Demirchian, Derenik Karapetovich
1877- Armenian writer; born in Akhalkalaki in Georgia. Began as poet in 1893, later influenced by Gorkii. Wrote short story Sato in 1929, comedy Khrabryi Nazar in 1942, historical novel Vartanidy (2 vols. 1943/44)

BE II 3:87
13:652

646 1 Dgebuadze, Nina Kalistratovna
Deputy to Sov. Nats. VS SSSR (4. s'ezd, 1954)

Bak. Rab. 2/19/54

665 2 Dilanian, A. O.
Member CC CP Arm. SSR, 17.-18. s'ezd, 1954, 1956

Kom. Er. 1/22/56

3 Dmitriev, A. P.
CC CP Azerb. SSR, 20. s'ezd, 1954

377 3 (?) Ebralidze, Mirian Silovanovich
Stalin prize 2. class, 1950 for collaborating in the building of hydroelectrical plant.

Laur. Stalin. prem. 1950

665 3 Efendiev, A. O.
Member of presidium CC CP Azerb. SSR, 21. s'ezd, 1956

Bak. Rab. 1/26/56

3 Efendiev, G. Sh.
Member of presidium CC CP Azerb. SSR, 21. s'ezd, 1956

Bak. Rab. 1/26/56

3 Efendiev, Kh. S
CC CP Azerb. SSR, 20. s'ezd, 1954.

538 1 Eristavi-Khoshtariia, Anastasii
1868-1951. Belonged to realist school; wrote long novels in which he portrayed the decadence of aristocracy, and the coming up of the bourgeoisie. Best novel: Na skol'zkom puti (in the original: Molipul gzaze, 1897). Also Vokrug tserkvi, against imperalist aim of orthodox church.

BE I 64:595

665 3 Filiashkin, K. I.
CC CP Azerb. SSR, 20. sezd, 1954

669 3 Fioletov, Ivan Timofeevich (Vania)
1884-1918. Azerb. revolutionary. One of the 26 Bakinskie komissary, organizer of Bakinskaia kommuna. Bol'shevik since 1903. After February revolution elected to Ispol. komit. sovet. Fought against Mensheviks, dashnaky and mussavisty. Komissar and president of Sovet narod. khoziaist. in Baku; member of Kavkazskii krai. kometet bol'shevikov. Executed in 1918.

BE I 57:630

641 5 Firsov, Vasilii Nikiforovich
Cherkes. deputy Sov. Nats. VS SSSR 4. sozyv, 1954

Pravda 3/18/54

4 Fomicheva, Efrosin'ia Alekseevna
Dag. deputy Sov. Nats. VS SSSR 4. sozyv, 1954

Pravda 3/18/54

538 1 Gabashvili, Ekaterina Revazovna
1851-1938. Born in Gori. Wrote on peasant themes and stood for feminist movements.

BE II 13:77

532 1 Gabashvili, Georgii Ivanovich, 1862-1936.
Georgian realist painter, influenced by Repin. Paintings: Posle dozhda, Prodavets chaia, Khramovoi prazdnik. Prefers to paint scenes from present and past local Georgian life. Organized art academy in Tiflis.

BE II 9:590

538 5 Gabiev, Said, 1877-
Lak poet; wrote; zvuki lakskoi chengury, 1928.

BE II 13:288

641 5 Gabitov, Abdulla Gismotullovich
Kab. deputy Sov. Nats. VS SSSR 4. sozyv, 1954

Pravda, 3/18/54

533 2 Gabrielian, Avet Karpovich, 1899-
Violinist; people's artist of Armenia; teaches at Moscow conservatory; member of Komitats chamber orchestra group, awarded Stalin prize in 1946.

BE II 9:595

7: Columbia U, S-4, 5 1956 RHI CaucasiaRHI

●538 2 Gabrielian, Rachii Kocharovich
see
Rachii Kochar (pseud.) 1

815 1 Gabuniia, Evtikhii Bagratovich
Stalin prize 3. class, 1950 geologist.

Laur. Stalin.prem. 1950
p. 35

538 4(1?) Gadiev, Tsomak, Mikhail Iur'evich, 1883-1931
Ossetian revolutionary poet; son of Osset. revolutionary Seka Gadiev. The poems lash against czarist regime. Narod, Nabat; Glorification of socialism Chest' predkov, 1931, about Osset. peasants becoming collectivized. Unfinished trilogy: Idushchie k schast'iu, 1929-

BE II 9:613

646 1 Gadliia, Mariia Vladimirovna
Abkhaz. deputy Sov. Nats. VS SSSR, 4. sozyv, 1954.

Bak. Rab. 3/18/54

1 [cf. cat. 116, p. 788 -- Analyst]

665 3 Gadzhiev, N. M.
Member of presidium CC CP Azerb. SSR, 20.-21. s'ezd, 1954, 1956.

Bak. Rab. 1/26/56

646 759 3 Gadzhi-Kasumov, Mustafa Makhmud ogly. Nakhichev. deputy Sov. Nats. VS SSSR, 4. sozyv, 1954. Finished med. faculty of Kharkov in 1910; professor of gynecology of Azerb. inst. of medicine since 1938. Was member of Zakavkaz. ispolnit. kom. Deputy to VS Azerb. SSR.

Bak. Rab. 3/18/54
2/20/54

538 4 Gafurov, Abutalid, 1883-
Dagestani poet; at 18. s'ezd of CP SSSR read poem about Stalin Reki stremiatsia k moriu.

BE II 13:288

646 1 Gagiev, Aleksei Davidovich
Iugo-Os. deputy Sov. Nats. VS SSSR 4. sozyv, 1954

Pravda 3/18/54

538 2
204

Gaidar (pseud. of Golikov, Arkadii) 1904-1941. Armenian writer, born in L'gov. Wrote: Shkola, Chuk i Gek, Timur i ego komanda; was military correspondent in World War II, and died in war.

Kom. Er. 2/21/54

401 2

Galfaian, Markar Karapetovich
Stalin prize 3. class, 1950 for work on a three-phase generator.

Laur. Stalin.prem. 1950
p. 43

646 2

Galoian, Aslan Akopovich
Deputy to Sov. Nats. VS SSSR, 4. sozyv, 1954

Kom. Er. 3/19/54

665 2

Galstian, N. S
Member CC CP Arm. SSR, 17.-18. s'ezd, 1954, 1956.

Kom. Er. 1/22/56

538 1 Gamsakhurdia, Konstantin Semenovich, 1891- Georgian writer; member of Akad. nauk Gruz. SSR. Wrote: Vstrecha s mertvetsom, 1924 Ulybka Dionisa, 1933; in both he portrays decadent bourgeois trends. David Stroitel' in 3 vols, 1945-9. Language is archaic. Translated Dante's Divina Commedia into Georgian.

BE II 10:195-6

4 Gamzat, Tsadasa, 1877-1951 Dagestani satirical poet.

BE II 13:287

1 Gaprindashvili, Valerian Ivanovich, 1889-1941. Georgian symbolist poet; his poems are filled with mysticism, individualistic, decadent traits. After revolution he stopped his symbolism and turned to "true lyricism" glorifying Lenin and Stalin.

BE II 10:216

533 4 Gasanov, Gotfrid Alievich, 1900- Dagestani musicologist Lezgian by nationality. Deputy to VS SSSR 1.-3. sozyv. Wrote opera Khochbar 1937 and Dagestankaia kantata o Staline for which he rec'd Stalin prize in 1950.

BE II 10:257 Laur. Stalin prem 1950 p. 71

7: Columbia U, S-4, 5 1956 RH1 Caucasia RH1

● 538 2 Golikov, Arkadii
see
Gaidar (pseud) 1/1

646 6 Golovchenko, Vasilii Ivanovich
Member of Sov. Soiuz Krasnodar. krai, VS SSSR, 4. sozyv, 1954.

Bak. Rab. 3/18/54

2 Gorbatov, Aleksandr Vasil'evich
Deputy Sov. Nats. VS SSSR
4. sozyv, 1954

Kom. Er. 3/19/54

536 1 Gotsiridze, N. S.
1872-1949; Georgian actor.

BE II 13:95

646 1 Gotsiridze, Otar Davidovich
Deputy to Sov. Nats. VS SSSR
(4. s'ezd, 1954)

Bak. Rab. 2/19/54

1 [cf. cat. 116, p. 720 -- Analyst]

533 2 Grigorian, Vagram Mkrtichevich
Stalin prize 3. class, 1950 opera artist

Laur. Stalin,prem. 1950
p. 80

•538 1 Grishashvili (pseud. Iosif Grigor'evich Mamulaishvili) 1899-
Georgian poet; member of Akad. nauk Gruz. SSR. Born in Tiflis. First lyric poems: Buket roz, 1906 Proshchanie so starym Tbilisi, 1925. Stalin prize in 1950. Wrote also: Lermontov i gruzin. lit, and Ostrovskii i gruzin. teatr. Translated many Armenian works into Georgian.

BE II 12:624

815 3 Grossgein, Aleksandr Al'fonsovich, 1888-1948. Azerb. botanist; member of Azerb. Akad. nauk; taught in Tiflis 1917- Director of botanical inst. of Azerb. Akad. nauk; at the Azerb. Kirov univ. created chair of morphology and systematology of higher plants. Wrote Flora Kavkaza, 1928 in 4 vols. Analiz flory Kavkaza 1936 and Rastitel'nye resursy Kavkaza, 1946. The bibliography of his works appears in Botanicheskii zhurnal, 1949, No. 3

BE II 13:17-18

815 1 Guliashvili, Vasilii Zakhar'evich, 1903- Soviet forestry expert; member of Akad. nauk Gruz. SSR; writes on biology, ecology. Director of Forestry inst. of Akad. nauk Gruz. SSR in 1954.

BE II 13:192
Zar. Vost. 2/17/54

•538 1 Gulia, Dmitrii Iosifovich
Abkhaz. deputy Sov. Nats. VS SSSR, 4. sozyv. 1954. Born in 1874-Varch; national poet of Abkaziia; founder of Abkhaz art and lit. Taught Abkhazian at Tiflis univ. Translates into Abkhaz. language Pushkin, Krylov, Nekrasov.

Bak. Rab. 3/18/54 & Zar. Vost 2/23/54
BE II 13:191-2
I 19:785

1 Gulia, Georgii Dmitrievich, 1913-
Abkhaz. artist, writer; member of CP SSR since 1940. Writes in Russian. Born in Sukhumi. Son of writer D. I. Gulia. For Vesna v Sakene rec'd Stalin prize in 1948. Wrote first Abkhazian grammar, and edited first Abkhazian periodical Apsny, (Abkhazia). Translated the "International" into Abkhazian. Member of VS Abkhaz. SSR. His first works: Abrakil and Kamachich. After revolution dedicates many of his poems to Lenin, Stalin and Beriia, and extol the wisdom of CP, the new Soviet man, etc. Wrote the first Abkhaz. short story: Pod chuzhim nebom.

BE: II 13:191

646 665 3 Gus'kov, Anatolii Mikhailovich
Deputy to Sov. Soiuz. VS SSSR
(4. s'ezd, 1954)
Member of CC CP Azerb. SSR.,
20.-21. s'ezd, 1954, 1956
Born in Moscow, 1914-
Member of Internal Affairs Azerb.
SSR since 1953.

Bak. Rab. 3/18/54, 2/25/54, 1/26/56

538 1 Gvetadze, Razhden Matveevich
1897- . Georgian writer, symbolist
Belonged to group Golubye rogi,
Georgian symbolist poets. Translated Chanson de Roland and Ramayana into Georgian.

BE II 10:290

665 3 Iakovlev, D. D.
Member of presidium CC CP Azerb.
SSR, 21. s'ezd, 1956

Bak. Rab. 1/26/56

3 Ibragimov, A. I.
CC CP Azerb. SSR, 20. s'ezd, 1954

646 4 Ibragimov, Davud
Dag. deputy Sov. Nats. VS SSR
4. sozyv, 1954

Pravda, 3/18/54

646 643 538 3 Ibragimov, Mirza Azhdar ogly (born in 1911- no place found) Deputy to Sov. Nats. VS SSSR (4. sozyv, 1954) President of Presidium VS Azerb. SSR since 1954- President of Soiuz sovet. pisat. Azerb. Member of CC CP Azerb. SSR 20-21 s'ezd 1954, 1956. Philologian, writer; member of Akad. nauk Azerb. SSR. Dramas: Khaiat (1937), Madrid (1938), Nastupit den' (1948; rec'd Stalin prize for it in 1951).

Bak. Rab. 3/19/54 and 3/10/54; 2/28/54, 1/26/56, 12/28/55

Laur. Stalin. prem. 1950 p. 66

646 1 Ignitian, Sergei Mezovich Deputy to Sov. Nats. VS SSSR (4. s'ezd, 1954)

Bak. Rab. 2/19/54

665 3 Ignatov, I. P. Member of presidium CC CP Azerb. SSR, 21. s'ezd, 1956

Bak. Rab. 1/26/56

646 1 Inauri, Aleksei Nikolaevich
Deputy to Sov. Soiuz VS SSSR
(4. s'ezd, 1954)

Bak. Rab. 2/18/54

665 2 Ioannesian, K. I.
693 Member of CC CP Arm. SSR, 17.-18. s'ezd, 1954, 1956. Public prosecutor of Armenian Supreme Court.

Kom. Er. 1/22/56

538 2 Isaakian, Avetik Saakovich
646 1875-, Aleksandropol (now Leninakan). President of writers' union of Armenia. Since 1946 member of Akad. nauk Arm. SSR. Deputy to VS SSR 3. sozyv. Studied in Leipzig. Stalin prize 1946. Lyric poet; studied in ecclesiastic. seminary. Famous poem: Abu-Lala-Maari translated into many European languages. 1930-36 lived in Paris where he worked against enemies of Armenian dashnaky. Very nationalistically inclined.

BE II 3:86 18:471-2
I 29:280-1

316 3(?) Kamladze, Aleksandr Artem'evich
Stalin prize 1. class
Mining engineer

Laur. Stalin. prem. 1950
p. 34

669 3(?) Kamo (pseud.) Party-pseudonym of Ter-Petrosian, Semen Arshakovich Born in Gori, 1882-1922. Prof. revolutionary. Died in car accident. Collaborated with Stalin.

BE II 19:543

242 1 Kanchaveli, L.
Director of the Institute of plant protection of Akad. nauk, SSR Gruz., 1954

Zar. Vost. 2/17/54

• 538 2 Kaputikian, Sil'va Barunakovna 1919- . Armenian poetess, born in Erevan. Stalin prize in 1952. Wrote Vera, Esli vdrug pozuvut menia, etc.

BE II 20:90

646 2 Karapetian, Sashibek Airapetovich
Deputy Sov. Nats. VS SSSR, 4. sozyv, 1954.

Kom. Er. 3/19/54

669
645
648

counselor to Turkey 1923-4; chief of Middle East Dept. of Ministry of Foreign Affairs 1941-3; deputy of Ministry of Foreign Affairs 1943-5; ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary to Rumania since 1945.

World Dipl. Dir. 1950, page 853

665 2 Kazarian, V. A.
Member CC CP Arm. SSR, 18.s'ezd 1956.

Kom. Er. 1/22/56

538 1 Kediashvili, D.
1862-1931. Georgian writer. Wrote: Solomon Morbeladze, 1894; Machekha Samanishvili, 1897; Nevzgody Kamushadze, 1900.

BE II 13:78

325 3(?) Kekelidze, Ivan Grigor'evich
Stalin prize 3. class, for work in metallurgy (1950).

Laur. Stalin. prem. 1950
p. 32

814 1 Kekelidze, Konrelii Samsonovich
1879-. Georgian academician, philologian. Wrote: Istoriia

814 drevnegruzinskoi literatury. 2 vols. 1923-24. 3. ed. 1951-52. Did some work on Byzantine literature as reflected in Georgian translation, and unavailable in the original.

BE II 20:491

646 1 Kemoklidze, Parten Georgevich
Deputy to Sov. Soiuz VS SSSR (4. s'ezd, 1954).

Bak. Rab. 2/18/54

• 538 5 Kerashev, Tembot Magometovich 1903- . Adygeian prose-writer. Translated "International" into Adygeian. Novel Shambul about collectivization of Adygeia. Rec'd Stalin prize in 1948 for Doroga k schast'iu.

BE II 20:551, I 61:254

316 3(?) Kereselidze, Konstantin Georgievich
Stalin prize 3. class, 1950. Mining engineer.

Laur. Stalin. prem. 1950
p. 35

665 3 Kerimov, A. G.
CC CP Azerb. SSR, 20. s'ezd, 1954.

7:Columbia U. S-4, 5 1956 RH1 Caucasia
RH1

665 3 Kerimova, Z. A.
CC CP Azerb. SSR, 20. s'ezd, 1954

• 538 5 Keshokov, A.
1914-
Kabardian author; wrote poem
U podnozh'ia gor, 1941

BE II 19:216

815 1
875
646 Ketskhoveli, Nikolai Nikolaevich
1897-. Botanist; member of Akad. nauk Gruz. SSR since 1941; rector of Tiflis univ. since 1945. Collected material on Georgian forests. Published: Atlas kul'turnoi flory Gruzii, Flora Gruzii. Deputy to VS SSR I. 3. sozyv. Head of agricult. div. Akad. nauk Gruz. SSR.

BE II 20:578
Zar. Vost. 2/17/54

645 1 Ketsoveli, Z. N.
Minister of food industry Gruz. SSR, 1954.

Zar. Vost. 2/17/54

533 2 Khachaturian, Aram Il'ich
1904-, Tiflis. Finished conservatory in Moscow 1934. Began with

232 3 Khachaturovna, Mosesian Margo
Born in Nagorno-Karabakhskaia oblast, 1925. Veterinarian; since 1953 in kolkhoz im. Stalin in Martuninskii raion. Unsuccessful candidate Sov. Nats. VS SSSR 4. sozyv, 1954.

Bak. Rab. 2/18/54.

536 5 Khadzhieva, Tashu
20. c. Chechen actress

BE I 61:535

● 538 5 Chakurate, S.
Famous Cherkessian author; head of Gorskii ispolkom 1921.

BE I 61:254

759 5 Khanene, Filipp Semenovich
815
Stalin prize 3. class, 1950, for combatting bacillary dysentery. Head of laboratory of Vsesoiuz, nauch. issled. khimiko-farmatseut. inst. im. S. Ordzhonikidze.

Laur. Stalin. prem. 1950
p. 65

538 5 Khatkov, Akhmet 1902-
Rec'd prizes at the North-Caucasian Olympics of national arts; writes poems, stories of con-

538 temporary life. Cherkessian.

BE I 61:254

5 Khavpachev, Amirkhan
1882-. Kabardian poet; wrote: Partizany Kabardy, My pobediteli, Slava Stalinu.

BE II 19:216

647 1 Khazan, A. S.
Former investigator of Georgian Commissariat of Int. Aff. Executed Nov. 1955.

NYT
Zar. Vost.

646 4 Khetagurova, Tamara Soltanovna
Sev. Os. deputy Sov. Nats. VS SSSR 4. sozyv, 1954.

Pravda, 3/18/54

6 Khoruzhenko, Ol'ga Petrovna
Member of Sov. Soiuz VS SSSR, 4. sozyv, 1954; Krasnodar. krai

Bak. Rab. 3/18/54

7:Columbia U. S-4,5 1956 RH1 Caucasia

RH1

538 1 Kiacheli, Leo
(presently called:Shengelaia, Leon Mikhailovich). 1884-. Georgian writer; born in Obudzhi. Wrote Krov', Gvadi Bigva, 1938, for which he rec'd Stalin prize in 1941.

BE II 20:582

535 1 Kikaleishvili, Zurabu Malakievich.
People's artist of Georgia; Stalin prize winner for dance choreography. (Collaborated with Chabukiani on ballet Gorda.)

Zar. Vost. 2/30/55
Laur. Stalin. prem. 1950, p. 81

646 5 Khmelev, Ivan Fedorovich
Cherkes. deputy Sov. Nats. VS SSSR 4. sozyv, 1954.

Pravda 3/18/54

536 1 Khorava, Akakii Alekseevich
Deputy to Sov. Nats. VS SSSR (4. s'ezd, 1954). Born Ochkhomuri, 1895-. Actor (classical roles); director of Tiflis Rustaveli theatre (1949-); member of committee awarding Stalin prizes on lit. and drama. Won 5 Stalin prizes.

Bak. Rab. 3/19/54
Zar. Vost 2/13/54

815 2 Knuniants, Ivan Liudvigovich, 1906-
Stalin prizes in 1943, 1948, and 1950 for his achievements in chemistry. Member of Akad. nauk SSSR since 1946. Synthesized pyrimidine analogs of dyes.

BE II 21:482

538 5 Koble, Bitlestan, 1902
Cherkessian author of historical drama Khimsad; written both in Adygei and Russian

BE I 61:254

5321 Kobuladze, Sergei Solomonovich, 1909- Stalin prize in 1947 for sets to Mshvelidze's opera: Skazanie o Tarieli, and prize in 1948 for sets to Kiladze's ballet Sinatle. CP member since 1947. Studied art, drawing at univ. Tiflis. Illustrated Slovo o polku Igoreve (1939-1942); also illustrated Rustaveli's Vitiaz' v tigrovoi shkure.

BE II 21:496

6652 Kocharian, L. M.
Member CC CP Arm. SSR, 17.-18. s'ezd, 1954, 1956

Kom. Er. 1/22/56

341/646 1 Kurdiani, Archil Grigor'evich
1903 - Georgian architect; 1936-1944 chief architect of Tiflis; rec'd Stalin prize for the Georgia pavilion at the All-Union agricultural exhibit in Moscow, 1941. Deputy to VS SSSR.

BE II 24:90

538 1 (2?) Kurginian, Shushanik Arutiunovna
1875-1927. Armenian poetess; proletarian themes.

BE II 24:89-90

646 4 Kurmagomedova, Patimat
Dag. deputy Sov. Nats. VS SSSR 4. sozyv, 1954.

Pravda 3/18/54

665 3 Kuz'min, A. V
CC CP Azerb. SSR, 20. s'ezd, 1954.

3 Kuzovenkov, I. E.
CC CP Azerb. SSR, 20. s'ezd, 1954.

646 1 Labakhua, Ketevana Vissarionovna
Abkhaz. deputy Sov. Nats. VS SSSR 4. sozyv, 1954.

Bak. Rab. 3/18/54

532 1 Lansere, Evgenii Evgen'evich 1875-1946. Member of "mir iskusstva" school of painting; began painting with historical portraits. Painted: Zangezur 1926, Krasnye partizany Dagestana, 1931. Illustrated L. Tolstoy's Kazaky and Khadzhi Murat.

BE II 24: 283-4

535 1 Lapiashvili, Parnaoz Georgevich Stalin prize 2. class, for ballet performance in Gorda.

Laur. Stalin prem. 1950 p. 81

645 1 Leleshvili, M. M. Minister of transportation, Gruz. SSR, 1954.

Zar. Vost. 2/17/54

538 646 1 Leonidze, Georgii Nikolaevich, born in Patardzeuli 1889-. Georgian writer; depicts socialism. CP member since 1945. Deputy VS Gruz. SSR 3.sozyv. Started career as symbolist poet of "Golubye rogi" group. Later wrote: Leninu, 1936, Rodinu poiu, 1936. Stalin prize in 1941, 1952. Now works on history of Georgian lit. 17-19th c.

BE II 24-578

814 1
646

Lomtatidze, Ketevana Vissarionovna Born in Khidistavi, 1911- philologian; editor of v. 7 Tolkovyi slovar' gruzinskogo iazyka; Director of Inst. iazykoznaniia Akad. nauk Gruz. SSR CP member since 1952. Abkhaz. deputy Sov. Nats. VS SSSR, 4.sozyv, 1954.

Zar. Vost 2/13/54
Bak. Rab. 3/18/54

325 1

Lordkipanidze, Iraklii Semenovich Stalin prize 3. class 1950 for work in metallurgy.

Laur. Stalin. prem. 1950
p. 32

538 1

Lordkipanidze, Konstantin Aleksandrovich 1904 - Didi-Dzhikhanti Georgian writer. Wrote: Novye krest'iane, 1930. Doloi kukuruznuiu respubliku, 1934. Zaria Kolkhidy, 1949 (extols CP of Georgia in this)

BE II 25:412

7: Columbia U,S-4, 5 1956 RHI Caucasia RHI

538 1 Lordkipanidze, Nikolai Merabovich, 1880-1944, born in Chuneshi. Wrote: Razorennye gnezda, 1916; Groznyi vlastelin, 1912; Nepreklonnye, 1938-44. Writes about disintegrating society of landowners, and extols virtues of peasants.

BE II 25:412

646 6 Lyskin, Nikolai Fadeevich
Member of Sov. Soiuz. VS SSSR, 4. sozyv, 1954, Stavropol. krai

Bak. Rab 3/18/54

1 Machavariani, Tamara Akakievna
Deputy to Sov. Nats. VS SSSR (4. s'ezd, 1954)

Bak. Rab. 3/19/54

325 1 Maglakelidze, Lavrentii Sofromovich
Stalin prize 3. class, 1950 metallurgical engineer.

Laur. Stalin.prem. 1950
p. 32

538
3 Mamedkulidze, Dzhalil, 1869-1932. Azerb. realist school writer; born in Nakhichevan. Studied at Gori seminary. Edited satirical journal Molla Nasredin since 1906. On the pattern of Revizor, he wrote comedy Mertvetsy.

BE II 26:189

645
3 Mamedli, R. I.
Member of presidium CC CP Azerb. SSR, 21. s'ezd, 1956.

Bak. Rab. 1/26/56

646
3 Mamedov, Gusein Kurban ogly
Born in Dyrnis, 1900-
1951-sect. Nakhichevanskii oblast. komitet partii. 1952-president of presidium VS Nakhichevan. ASSR Deputy VS Azerb. SSR of all 3 sozyv. In 1954 was candidate for Sov. Nats. VS SSSR, and got elected as Nakhichevan deputy.

Bak. Rab. 3/10/54 & 3/18/54
2/24/54

665
3 Mamedov, Kh. B
Member of CC CP Azerb. SSR, 20.-21. s'ezd, 1954, 1956.

Bak. Rab. 1/26/56

401 1 (?) Mamedzade, Ali Geidar Aga Usein
Stalin prize 2. class, 1950 for better cotton production; Head of machine-building inst. im. Beriia.

Laur. Stalin. prem. 1950
p. 55

646 1 Mamuladze, David Mikhailovich
Adzhar. deputy Sov. Nats. VS SSSR 4. sozyv, 1954.

Bak. Rab. 3/18/54

538 1 Mamulaishvili, I. G.
see
Grishashvili 1

84 2 Manandian, Iakov Amazaspovich, 1873-1951. Armenian academician since 1939. Historian; teaches ancient history of Armenia. Wrote: Kriticheskii obzor istorii armianskogo naroda, v. 1, 1945.

BE II 26: 194-5

665 2 Manasarian, A. B.
Member CC CP Arm. SSR, 17.-18. s'ezd, 1954, 1956.

Kom. Er. 1/22/56

1 [cf. cat. 116, p. 727 -- Analyst]

7:Columbia U. S-4, 5 1956 RHl Caucasia RHl

507 2 Mikoian, Artem, 1905-
Aircraft designer; studied in Tiflis; graduated from Zhukovskii air academy. Designed under Polikarpov; built the first fighter plane, MIK-I, 1939, and built many new types of speed planes. Designed jet plane in 1947. Stalin prizes in 1941, 1947, 1952. Now with ministry of Air Craft Industry in Erevan.

BE II 27:431
World Biogr. 1954, p. 808

645
665 3 Mirzoev, Sultan Abas ogly
Minister of sovkhozy (Azerb., 1954). Member CC CP Azerb. SSR.

Bak. Rab. 3/10/54

538 3 Mir-Dzhalal (pseud of Pashaev, Mir-Dzhalal Ali ogly), 1908-. Azerb. writer. Wrote: Voskresshii chelovek, 1935, Manifest molodogo cheloveka, 1939.

BE II 27:565

759
646 3 Mir-Kasimov, Mir Asadulla Mir Alekper ogly, 1883- . surgeon; president of Azerb. Akad. nauk, 1945-7. Deputy of VS SSSR 1.-3. sozyv. 1931- prof. of Azerb. Med. inst.

BE II 27:571

535
1 Mirtskhulave, Didim Lavrent'evich
Stalin prize 2. class, 1950. Conductor of Gorda ballet.

Laur. Stalin. prem. 1950
p. 81

538
1 Mitskhulava, Alio Andreevich, 1903-
(his literary pseud. Mashashvili). Georgian poet influenced by Maiakovskii. Gimn rodine, Enguri, etc.

BE II 27:588

535
1 Mirzoian, Ashot Oganesovich
Armenian ballet artist; Stalin prize 3. class, 1950.

Laur. Stalin. prem. 1950
p. 80

533
2 Mirzoian, M. 1888
Armenian composer

BE I 1:478

401
2 Mkrtchian, Derenik Petrovich
Stalin prize 3. class, 1950 for tool building methods.

Laur. Stalin. prem. 1950
p. 28

815
1 Modebadze, Tamara Razhdenovna
Deputy to Sov. Soiuz VS SSSR (4. s'ezd, 1954). Born in Chiatura 1912- chemist; no party affiliation.

Bak. Rab. 2/18/54
Zar. Vost. 2/13/54

538
1 Mosashvili, Il'o Onisimovich, 1896-1954. Georgian poet, dramatist Deputy VS SSSR 1.-3. sozyv. Born in Chargali. Since 1926 worked on various Georgian newspapers. Paid tribute to Michurin adherents in poem: Ego zvezda, 1950. Won Stalin prize in 1950 for his drama Potoplennye kamni.

Laur. Stalin prem. 1950, p. 68
BE II 28:360

665
2 Movsesian, K. M.
Member CC CP Arm. SSR, 18. s'ezd, 1956.

Kom. Er. 1/22/56

2 Movsesian, S. A.
Member CC CP Arm. SSR, 17.-18. s'ezd, 1954, 1956.

Kom. Er. 1/22/56

7: Columbia U. S-4,5 1956 RHl Caucasia
RHl

532
2 Nalbandian, Dmitrii Arkad'evich, 1906- Born in Tiflis; painter of landscapes. During World War II depicted war themes. Vlast' sovetam-mir narodam, Stalin prize in 1951. The picture of Stalin in 1945, got him Stalin prize in 1946. Nakanune Batumskoi demonstratsii v 1902, painted in 1950-2.

BE II 29:75

465
2 Nalbandian, V.S.
Member CC CP Arm. SSR, 17.-18. s'ezd, 1954, 1956.

Kom. Er. 1/22/56

3 Namazov, R.A.
CC CP Azerb. SSR, 20. s'ezd, 1954.

538
2 Nar-Dos (pseud. of Ovanisiian, Mikael) 1867-1933. Born in Tiflis. Portrays decadence of bourgeois class, Smert', Ubityi golub, etc. Was influenced by Turgenev, Tolstoy, Goncharov.

BE II 29:123

7: Columbia U. S-4, 5, 1956 RHl Caucasia
RHl

•538 3 Ordubady, Mamed Said, 1872-1950. Azerb. novelist, born in Ordubad. Collaborated on paper Molla Nasredin. Translated Pushkin's Bakhchisaraiskii fontan, Boris Godunov. Wrote: Tebriz tumannyi, 1933-48 4 vols. Early work: Neschastnyi millioner in 1914.

BE II 31:177

645 1 Ordzhonikidze, Grigorii Konstantinovich, 1886-1937. Born in Goresha. Member of Bolshevik party since 1903. Carried out Stalin plan to defeat Denikin. 1926-30 people's commissar of the workers and peasants' inspection of USSR. 1930- chairman of Supreme council of national economy of USSR. Later people's commissar of heavy industry. 1930- member of Politbureau. His obituary appears in Pravda, Feb. 17, 1937.

Soviet Calendar, Feb. 18
BE II 31:171-3

665 3 Orudzhev, M. B.
Member of presidium CC CP Azerb. SSR, 20.-21.s'ezd, 1954, 1956.

Bak. Rab. 1/26/56

646 1 Osin, Nikolai Lavrent'evich
Adzhar. deputy Sov. Nats. VS SSSR 4. sozyv, 1954.

Bak. Rab. 3/18/54

377 2 Ovanesian, Levon Tigranovich
Stalin prize 3. class, 1950 for new type of three-phase synchronic generator.

Laur. Stalin. prem. 1950
p. 43

538 2 Ovanisiian, Mikael
see
Nar-Dos (pseud.) 1

692 2 Ovsepian, Melik R.M.
Member of the criminal collegium of the Armenian Supreme Court

Curr. Digest 1956.

538 5 Pachev, Bekmurza, 1854-1936.
Kabardian poet, born in Nartan. Wrote: Pesnia o Lenine, Pesn' ob Alikhane Kashirgove, Kabarda, Stalin, etc.

BE II 32:251

1 [cf. ost. 116, p. 776 -- Analyst]

538
3 Pashaev, Mir-Dzhalal ogly
see
Mir- Dzhalal (pseud.) 1/1

666
2 Pavlovskii, I. G.
Member CC CP Arm. SSR, 18. s'ezd, 1956

Kom. Er. 1/22/56

533
? Peiko, Nikolai Ivanovich, 1916-
Kab. composer. 1940 finished Moscow conservatory where he now teaches. Composes themes from nationalities like "Prazdnichnaia uvertiura na kabardinskie temy" (1951), "Moldavskaia suita" (Stalin prize 1947, 1951)

BE I 19:218; BE II 32:283

646
1 Pervukhin, Mikhail Georgevich
Deputy to Sov. Soiuz VS SSSR (4. s'ezd, 1954)

Bak. Rab. 2/18/54

6 Petukhov, Boris Fedorovich
Member of Sov. Soiuz Krasnodar. krai, VS SSSR, 4. sozyv, 1954.

Bak. Rab. 3/18/54

646
6 Proshunin, Nikolai Emmanuilovich
Member of Sov. Soiuz VS SSSR, 1954, 4. sozyv, Stavropol. krai

Bak. Rab. 3/18/54

665
3 Prusskii, A. L.
Member of presidium CC CP Azerb. SSR, 21. s'ezd, 1956

Bak. Rab. 1/26/56

646
1 Purtskhvanidze, Shalva Estatievich
Deputy to Sov. Nats. VS SSSR (4. s'ezd, 1954)

Bak. Rab. 3/19/54

538
2 Rachiia Kochar (pseud. of Gabrielian, Rachiia Kocharovich) 1910-
Armenian writer; member of CP 1939- Wrote humorous novels: Puteshestviia Ogešena Vaspura, 1937; Deti bol'shogo doma, 1952.

BE II 36:133

3 Ragim, Mamed
Azerb. poet; rec'd Stalin prize in 1949 for poem: Nad Leningradom

BE II 1:471

538
3 Rustamo, Suleiman Aliabbas ogly
1906- Azerb. poet; deputy to VS Azerb. SSR. In 1927 published collection of poems: K radosti. Translated from Georgian Rustaveli's Vitiaz' v tigrovoi shkure.

BE I 49:906

665
2 Saakian, S.M.
Member of CC CP Arm. SSR, 17.-18. s'ezd, 1954, 1956

Kom. Er. 1/22/56

815
1 Sabashvili, M.
Director of soil science institute of Akad. nauk Gruz. SSR, 1954

Zar. Vost 2/17/54

532
3 Sabsaem, P.
Azerb. sculptor; member of Akad. nauk. Azerb. SSR; Stalin prize for S.M. Kirov statue in Baku park.

BE II 1:475

665
3 Sadykov, R.N.
CC CP Azerb. SSR, 20. s'ezd, 1954

3 Safaraliev, R.K.
CC CP Azerb. SSR, 20. s'ezd, 1954

646
812 Azerb. SSR. Member of CC CP Azerb. SSR.

Bak. Rab. 3/19/54, 2/28/54

646
4 Sanakoev, Grigorii Georgievich
Iugo-Os. deputy Sov. Nats. VS SSSR 4. sozyv, 1954

Pravda, 3/18/54

4 Sarakaev, Vladimir Basaevich
Sev. Os. deputy Sov. Nats. VS SSSR 4. sozyv, 1954

Pravda 3/18/54

538
2 Sarian, Gegam, 1902-
Armenian poet born in Iran; wrote: Strana sovetskaia, 1930; Polden', 1935. Glorifies Civil War themes, success of socialism. His works are translated into Russian. Was one of the authors who composed Pis'ma tov. Stalinu.

BE I 50: 307

RHI

316
646 1 Sheklashvili, Shalva Spiridonovich
Deputy to Sov. Nats. VS SSSR (4. s'ezd, 1954). Born in Gorisa, 1908- ; mining engineer; since 1949 head of "Chiaturmarganets" trust. Deputy of VS Gruz. SSR since 1951.

Bak. Rab. 3/19/54

445 2 Shekoian, A. A.
Member CC CP Arm. SSR, 17.-18. s'ezd, 1954, 1956

Kom. Er. 1/22/56

• 538
1 Shengelaia, Demma, 1896-
Georgian writer, symbolist; His big work is Sanavardo, 1924-5 (on how capitalism replaced feudalism). Put' portrays counter-revolutionary heroes. 1927 he wrote Tiflis in which he shows affinity to proletarian ideology.

BE I 62:288

1 Shengelaia, Leon Mikhailovich
see
Kiacheli, Leo 1/1

1/1 [cf. cat. 116, p. 747 -- Analyst]

7: Columbia U. S-4,5 1956 RHI Caucasia
RHI

538
5 Shogentsukov, Ali, 1900-1942
Kabardian poet; introduced classic metric system into Kabardian poetry. Wrote novel: Kambot i Liatsa, 1932-6

BE I 30:419

5 Shortanov, A., 1916-
Kabardian novelist

BE II 19:216

665
2 Simonian, Sh. S.
Member CC CP Arm. SSR, 18. s'ezd, 1956

Kom. Er. 1/22/56

2 Sochinskii, I. I.
Member CC CP Arm. SSR, 17.-18. s'ezd, 1954, 1956

Kom. Er. 1/22/56

533
2 Sogomonian, Sogomon Gevorkovich
see
Komitas (pseud.) 1/A

816
3 Spanaki, Evgenii Akhillesovich
Stalin prize 2. class, engineer

Laur. Stalin. prem. 1950
p. 55

1/A [Ct. cat. 116, 751 -- Analyst]

7: Columbia U. S-4, 5 1956 RHl Caucasia
RHl

643
665

Feb. 1947. Generalissimo in 1945; took part in Teheran (1943), Yalta (1945) Potsdam (1945) conferences. Wrote: October Revolution, Marxism and the National and Colonial Question, Leninism, Problems of Leninism, etc. Attacked at the 1956 Party congress by Krushchev.

BE I 52:535-622
BE II only X-ref. from Dzhugashvili to yet unpublished volume
Curr. Biogr. 1953, p. 584 & 1942, p. 790-7
Obituary NYT 3/6/53
International Who's Who, 1948/49, p. 1615

538
6654

Stal'skii, Suleiman ashug, 1869-1937
Lezgin poet; people's artist of Dagestan. Member of CC CP Dag. SSR. Born in Ashaga-Stal'. Was not educated and transmitted his songs orally, telling about the difficult life of the peasants. 1934- deputy to 1. vsesoiuz. s'ezd sovet. pisateli. Best work: Poema o Sergo. Buried in Makhachkala. His Pesnia o Staline, Krasnaia Armiia set to music.

BE I 52:670-1
BE II 13:288

7: Columbia U. S-4,5 1956 RHl Caucasia
RHl

646 6 Svechnikov, Petr Nikolaevich
Member of Sov. Soiuz, VS SSSR, Krasnodar. krai, 4. sozyv, 1954

Bak. Rab. 3/18/54

6 Svinareva, Natal'ia Ivanovna
Member of Sov. Soiuz VS SSSR, 4. sozyv, 1954, Krasnodar. krai.

Bak. Rab. 3/18/54

665
2042 Syrtsev, V.A.
Member CC CP Arm. SSR, 17.-18. s'ezd, 1954, 1956. Editor of Kommunist; organ tsentral'nogo i erevanskogo komitetov KP Armenii.

Kom. Er. 1/22/56

538
1 Tabidze, Galaktion, 1892-
Georgian symbolist poet. Wrote: Ia i noch', Veter; later poems extoll proletarian way of life Epokha, Patsifism; Revoliutsionnaia Gruziia. 1944- member of Akad. nauk Gruz. SSR. His novels are: Rodnaia moia zemlia, Rodina-zhiz'n moia. Since 1933 people's poet of Georgia.

BE I 53:391

533
2 Ter-Gevondian, Anushavan Grigor'-evich, 1887- . Composer; wrote opera: Seda; ballet: Anait, Nevasta ogna; symphonies: Akhtamar, Rozhdenie, Vaagna, etc.

BE I 54:99

532
2 Terlemezian, Fanas Pavlovich, 1865-1941. Armenian painter of landscapes. Did "Tov. Stalin, Molotov i Voroshilov na aerodrome" in 1939. "Zimnii den' v Erevane", 1933. People's artist of Armenia.

BE I 54:106

538
5 Teuchezh, Tsug, 1855-1944
Adygei poet. Struggled against oppression, spoke of the better Soviet life to come; glorified Stalin

BE II 1:427

5 Teunov, Kh., 1912-
Kabardian author. Wrote Novyi potok, poem, 1946

BE II 19:216

7: Columbia U. S-4, 5 1956 RHl Caucasia
RHl

646
6 Trofimenkov, Nikolai Ivanovich
Member of Sov. Soiuz, VS SSSR, 4. sozyv, 1954, Krasnodar. krai.

Bak. Rab. 3/18/54

538
4 Tsadasa, no initials
Dagestani post-war (1945-) poet. Wrote: Skazanie o Chabanakh; he rec'd Stalin prize in 1950 for collection: Izbrannoe.

BE II 13:289

4 Tsagalov, Georgii, 1871-
Ossetian poet; since 1890 wrote in Russian, rebelling against tsarist absolutism. Wrote: Osetinskie motivy, Tembolat.

BE I 60:305

538
536 5 Tsei, Ibragim, 1895-
Cherkessian poet, dramatist; contributed to the development of the Cherkessian Theater. Wrote: Khodzhas, on battle of peasants against princes. Drama: Uzyshko, Kharach, etc.

BE I 61:254

7: Columbia U. S-4, 5 1956 RHl Caucasia

RHl

331 3(1?) Tsuleiskir, Georgii Vasil'evich
Stalin prize 2. class, 1950 for certain type of construction work.

Laur. Stalin. prem. 1950
p. 44

536 5 Tubaev, M.
20. c. Kabardian playwright.

BE II 19:218

646 6652 Tukhikian, Nunik Mesropovna
Deputy Sov. Nats. VS SSSR, 4. sozyv, 1954. Member CC CP Arm. SSR, 18 s'ezd, 1956.

Kom. Er. 3/19/54
1/22/56

532 5 Tukhuzhev, A.
20. c. Kabardian artist.

BE II 19:218

538 2 Tumanian, Ovannes, 1869-1923.
Armenian poet, humanist, dramatist. Wrote poem: Anush, Gikor, etc. Many of his songs were used in operatic themes.

BE I 55:146

7: Columbia U. S-4,5 1956 RH1 Caucasia
RH1

538
2 Vardanian, Anushavan, 1879-
Armenian writer, dramatist. Wrote: Signal, Krasnye partizany, about effects of Civil War on Armenia. Na beregu Araksa, 1940, Patrioty about collectivization in Soviet Armenia.

BE II 6:627

536
2 Vardanian, Ruzana Tigranovna, 1896-
Actress, people's artist of Armenia. Made debut in Sundukian theatre of Erevan; played roles of Ostrovskii, Gorkii, Sundukian. Delegate to 2. vsesoiuznaia konferentsiia storonnikov mira.

BE II 6:627

536
6462 Vardanian, Vavik (Anushavan) Tigranovich, 1901 - . Actor; deputy to VS Arm. SSR 2.-3. sozyv, member of CP since 1945. Producer of Sundukian theatre in Erevan since 1937. Follower of the Moscow Art Theater style of producing. Put on plays by Gorkii, Pogodin, Simonov. Since 1944 head of theater inst. in Erevan.

BE II 6:627

RHl

● 538 3 Vekilov (pseud)
see
Vurgun, Samed Iosif (Vekilov) 1/1

665 2 Velibekov, D. M.
Member CC CP Arm. SSR, 17.-18. s'ezd, 1954; 1956.

Kom. Er. 1/22/56

2 Velibekov, R. Kh.
Member CC CP Arm. SSR, 17.-18. s'ezd, 1954, 1956.

Kom. Er. 1/22/56

646 3 Veli-Zade, Almas Gusein kyzy
Deputy to Sov. Nats. VS SSSR (4 sozyv, 1954)

Bak. Rab. 3/19/54

538 1 Vepkhvadze, Aleksei Ivanovich, 1921-
Georgian landscape painter. Rec'd Stalin prize in 1950 for Vysylka I. V. Stalina iz Batuma v 1903 goda.

Laur. Stalin. prem. 1950, p. 74
BE II 7:472

1/1 [cf. cat. 116, p. 828 -- Analyst]

7: Columbia U. S-4,5 1956 RH1 Caucasia
RH1

538
646 3
665

Vurgun, Samed Iosif (Vekilov)

Born at Salakhli (Azerb), 1906- Poet; Gek Gel, collection of poetry in 1926; play Vagif (1939); drama Farkhad i Shirin (based on lines by old poet Nizami) won him Stalin prize in 1942. Translated Pushkin, Gorkii into Azerb. Deputy to 1.-3. sozyv VS SSSR and in 1954 again to Sov. Nats. VS SSSR (4.sozyv); Member of CC CP SSSR (before 1956); member of Akad. nauk Azerb. SSR. Member of presidium CC CP Azerb. SSR, 21.s'ezd, 1956.

Bak. Rab. 3/19/54
BE II 1:470 9:406-7
Bak. Rab. 1/26/56

665 2

Zakharian, V. S.

Member CC CP Arm. SSR, 17.-18. s'ezd, 1954, 1956.

Kom. Er. 1/22/56

538 2

Zarian, Nairi Egiazarovich, 1900

Armenian poet. Member of CP since 1930. Born in Turkish Armenia. Studied at Erevan univ. Wrote: V goluboi strane kanalov, 1926; Stalin, 1935; Armeniia 1937. His themes are world peace, socialism. Influenced by Maiakovskii. Comedy: Priusadebnyi uchastok, about the return home of Armenians.

BE II 16:477

7: Columbia U.S -4, 5 1956 RHI Caucasia

RHI

646
558 2

Zorian, Stefan Egiiaevich
Deputy to Sov. Nats. VS SSSR, 4. sozyv, 1954. Born in Kirovakan, 1890. Writer, influenced by Chekhov; Translated Tolstoi, Turgenev into Armenian. Wrote: Predsedatel' revkoma, 1926
Devushka iz biblioteki, 1926
and autobiographical novel in 1934–1937 Istoriia odnoi zhizni.

Kom. Er. 3/19/54
BE II 3:87 17:210

8: Lužbetak E-4 (no date) 1951 RHl Caucasia RHl



the person raped is a minor or an adult: blood-enmity or bloodwite of Rs. 250 (AJuDO, p. 9). 684

(14) If the adulteress escapes, she becomes the blood-enemy of her husband as well as of her own family. The same holds for her lover. The offended husband is allowed to kill his wife and spare the adulterer, but not vice versa, without becoming a *qanly*. In case of fornication, if both partners are not killed, they have the strict obligation of marrying or else become outcasts and are banished (AJuDO, pp. 43 f).

(15) If a man is accused of adultery and fails to justify himself by an oath taken together with 40 conjurors, the adulteress may be killed by her husband. If a husband decides to kill his adulterous wife, her lover automatically becomes a blood-enemy. The adulterer can choose to pay a bloodwite of Rs. 60 and a fine of six head of cattle instead. The fine is paid to the district (AJuDO, p. 26). If the father of a girl insists, the man who had intercourse with her must marry her, otherwise he must pay a fine of six oxen and becomes a blood-enemy of the girl's family (AJuDO, p. 26). The penalty for raping a widow is three head of cattle. If the woman attacked is married, the offender becomes a blood-enemy if he fails to justify himself by an oath taken together with 40 conjurors (Cf. AJuDO, p. 26).

(16) The adulteress may be divorced (ADOiZO, p. 548, § 19; Dirr, AGKB, p. 75). If the offended husband makes use of this right, the adulterer must pay a bloodwite and is banished for 20—30 days (*ibid.*).

(17) The fornicators are obliged to marry, otherwise they may be killed by the girl's family. Anyone who rapes a girl, widow, divorcée, or a married woman is obliged to marry her, otherwise he too may be killed (AJuDO, p. 48).

In pre-Russian times it was sufficient if the husband had learned by mere hearsay that his wife had been unfaithful: he could at once inflict the death-blow without further investigation.[27] Although during the Russian occupation the right to kill one's adulterous wife still existed (namely, if the wife had been caught in the act or if she had fled with her lover on being detected, or if she had been found guilty by the people's court), the husband seldom made use of his right. A wife was generally divorced, and as compensation, the offended husband kept all her property.[28] We say that she was "generally" divorced, for, if we go through the various criminalogical reports of the Russian (pre-Soviet) times, we find not a few cases where the right to kill has been actually made use of. To mention but a few of these official reports: "December 28, 1869, a citizen of the aul Orot, of the Province of Avaria, by the name of Gamzat Labazan-ogdy, stabbed his brother to death because Ali (his brother) had committed adultery with Gamzat's wife, whose name is Patimat Mutalilov-kizy."[29] Or again, "December 12, 1869, a native of the aul Arsug . . . having caught his wife, Kifi Rodzheb-kizy, in an adulterous union with his co-villager, Ramazan Adzhab-Palay-ogdy, killed her with the help of her own kinsman, Dzhabrank Tseyd-ogdy."[30] [586]

The Lesghians love to repeat the ballad of Nika Bulat. It is a tragic tale indeed, but a tale that clearly conveys the deep conviction of these mountaineers of the heinousness of adultery. Nika Bulat, we must remember, was a righteous 684 538 837

[27] Kovalevskij, *Zakon*, II, pp. 195 f.

[28] Similar changes are noticeable throughout the Caucasus.

[29] "Iz gorskoj kriminalistiki," SSKG, III (1870), p. 19.

[30] *ibid.*

684 man. He loved his mother as every faithful son should. In fact, he loved her
[538] with an exceptionally deep filial love. But alas! How painful it must have
been for him to learn that his mother, whom he so worshipped, had an illicit
[837] lover! His heart burst with grief and rage. Nika Bulat at once rushed to the adulterer's home; his eyes flashed with rage as he whipped out his dagger and plunged it into the lover's heart. Nika Bulat then hacked off his head and hands, and took these gory limbs and head to his mother, and staring at her for a moment as if he had gone mad, dropped them at her feet. On seeing her furious son and especially the gruesome sight before her, she burst into tears, but tears that only served to make Nika Bulat's blood boil with rage even still more violently. With one thrust of his dagger, his mother lay dying beside the head and hands she once so wrongfully loved to clasp. But that is not the end of the tragedy. Nika Bulat's sisters were present and witnessed all. They fell down on their knees, weeping bitterly on their mother's breast, as she bled and gasped. But Nika Bulat did not allow his sisters to weep. That same dagger was whipped out once again, and like a flash plunged into the heart of one of his sisters, and then into the heart of the other, thus putting an end to their sobs, sobs that were, in eyes of Nika Bulat, an approval of their mother's crime. For this great act of heroism Nika Bulat was admired by all and proclaimed the head of the village.[31]

[834] This abhorrence of sexual crimes is brought out further by the fact that any accidental touch of the bare hand of a strange woman is considered a violation, and both are regarded as "unclean."[32] Especially in dances all physical contact must be scrupulously avoided, no matter how small and crowded the room may be. Baddeley describes how the dancers curve in and out within a few inches of each other, but never is there even the slightest bodily contact, "the breach of this observance, even inadvertently, leading to many a fatal quarrel. A husband, brother or lover, looking on with jealous eye, would whip out his 'kinjal' at the mere suspicion of a touch..."[33] A further reflexion of this extreme sensitivity is the considerably large number of *adats* which make no distinction between mere contact and actual rape. In the Districts of Hyuraki, Usisha, and Mugn, for example, actual rape, attempted rape, and a mere suspicious touch or approach are all equally punished.[34]

684 Homosexuality is punished as severely as voluntary illicit relations between
838 persons of the opposite sex. To mention but a few examples: in Hyuraki District, the two persons caught in the act may be killed on the spot by their relatives, or else, if spared, each must pay a fine of three oxen to the community, and both persons are banished for a year, not to mention other penalties;[35] in

[31] Cf. Dirr, AGKB, pp. 75 f.

[32] L'vov, "Domašnjaja i semjnaja žizn Dagestanskich gorcev Avarskago plemeni," SSKG, III (1870), p. 21.

[33] Baddeley, *op. cit.*, II, p. 13.

[34] Cf. "Adaty Darginskich Obščestv," SSKG, VII (1873), pp. 65, 91, 105.

[35] "Adaty Darginskich Obščestv," p. 92. To free one's self from a charge of homosexuality 40 conjurors are required just as in the case of murder *(ibid.)*.

adulterer and the adulteress escape, they both become blood-enemies of the husband and must pay a bloodwite of Rs. 100.[59] 684

In case of fornication, marriage between the two lovers becomes obligatory. The lover may divorce his wife immediately after marriage, but by so doing he incurs the obligation of paying the customary *kebin-khak*.[60] If the girl is too young to marry, the man must wait till she becomes old enough.[61] In case of incest, the regulations set down in the *šarî'a* are followed rather than the *adats*.[62]

Pederasty and sodomy occur very seldom among the North Caucasians and Ossetes, whereas they are rather frequent among the neighbouring Karachai and Taulu.[63] [838]

The KURDS also have the practice of cutting off the adulteress' ears and nose.[64]

## § 2. PROBLEMS AND GENERAL CONCLUSIONS

### 1. Historical Reconstruction

Despite the many dissimilarities we have noticed in the customary penal laws of the various peoples of North Caucasus, it is quite possible that the differences are merely different *stages* of one and the same *adat*. (1) According to the oldest customary laws, the adulteress had to be punished, and she alone. She was punished if she had been caught in the act, or even if the husband had learned of her infidelity from others. Sometimes mutilation (nose, ears or arms were cut off, hair clipped, cheeks slit, etc.) preceded the execution; sometimes, after thus being mutilated, she was sold into slavery. (2) It seems that later on, at least in some parts of North Caucasus, she might be mutilated, but not killed. If the jealous husband would nevertheless take her life, he would become a blood-enemy of her relatives. (3) Later still, especially, but not exclusively, through Islamic influence, the adulterer too had to be punished. He would have to pay a certain sum to the offended husband, a sum sufficient to reconcile himself with the relatives of his adulterous wife, whom he had slain and thereby become their blood-enemy. The *adats* which insist on the *death* of the adulterer seem to be relatively recent. (4) As a precaution against over-hasty and unjunst action, the husband was obliged to kill both partners or none at all. To slay only the adulteress or only the adulterer was now looked upon as suspicious and even unjust, and therefore the avenger himself became a blood-enemy of the relatives of the partner he happened to kill. The insistence on killing the culprits *in the act* seems also to be a later innovation, a means to check false suspicion and [567]

[59] "Adaty žitelej kumyskoj ploskosti," SSKG, VI (1872), p. 13; Leontovič, II, p. 205, § 13. See also N. Semenov, "Očerki narodnych obyčaev Kumykov Terskoj Oblasti," *Terkskij Sbornik* II (1892), No. 2, Part 2, pp. 75 f.

[60] The *kebin-khak* is generally Rs. 100. Cf. Semenov, *op. cit.*, p. 75.

[61] "Adaty žitelej kumyskoj ploskosti," p. 15, § 10.

[62] "Adaty žitelej kumyskoj ploskosti," p. 13.

[63] Kovalevskij *Coutume contemp.*, p. 340.

[64] Jankó, "Néprajzi, etc.," Zichy's *Kaukázusi és középázsiai utazásai*, p. 62.

[Sic.. Analyst]

21: Kolarz J-4 (no date) 1952 R1 Soviet Union R1
[Osset] Caucasia RH1



Ca. 175 177 actions against the Turks. An Ossetin Major-General, K. Zankisov, fought in Poland against the insurgents of 1863–4 and he was by no means the only Ossetin Major-General of that epoch. Furthermore, an 'Ossetin Division' became famous in the course of the Russo-Turkish War in 1877–8, when General Skobelev described its 'chivalrous gallantry' as being 'above any praise'.[12]

Ca. 177 ● 538 Russian cultural work among the Ossetins started much earlier than among other mountain peoples. The first book to appear in the Ossetin language was printed in Moscow in 1798; its object was to serve as a kind of introduction to the study of the Bible. A long period of fruitful association with the Russians and the general peaceful approach of the Ossetins towards Russian military and political rule made them more open to the acceptance of Russian preponderance. The Ossetins were, as a matter of fact, the only people of the Northern Caucasus to produce a great writer in the person of Kosta Khetagurov (1859-1906) who was half Russianized himself and wrote in both the Ossetin and Russian languages. The Soviet régime greatly popularized Khetagurov as a symbol of Russian-Ossetin synthesis, which he undoubtedly was. He had a complete Russian education, had studied at St. Petersburg and was strongly influenced by such progressive Russian writers as Herzen and Chernishevsky, which makes him particularly acceptable from the Soviet point of view.

Ca. 423 448 474 681 Until the Ossetins gave proof of their loyalty to Russia during the war the Soviet régime had had to overcome Ossetin resistance to both the establishment of collective farms and the suppression of tribal customs. During the period of the collectivization Ossetin peasants waged a sort of guerilla warfare against 'socialist property' and while outwardly accepting collectivization, tried to transform the Kolkhoz into an instrument of their respective clans. Ossetin chairmen of collective farms and officials of local Soviets seem to have acted on the principle 'I decide who is a kulak and an enemy of the State and who is not'. Thus, at least during its initial stage, collectivization in Ossetia became a downright farce. Persons belonging to a rival clan were rendered innocuous by being denounced as kulaks; real kulaks, on the other hand, were promoted to the rank of respectable Soviet citizens if they happened to belong to the clan dominating the local village council or the collective farm concerned.[13]

Ca. [725] 631 162 S.U. 563 634 All such 'incidents' were forgotten when the Ossetins redeemed their reputation by their brilliant war record. In the fighting which resulted in the dislodgement of the Germans from the approaches to the Caucasus, Ossetin partisans operating from behind the enemy lines greatly assisted the Red Army.[14] As a mark of appreciation for their loyalty, the Soviet Government allowed the Ossetins to increase substantially the territory of their national republic. A decree of April 8th, 1944, stipulated

21: Kolarz J-4 (no date) 1952 R1 Soviet Union R1
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achieved a dual purpose. In addition to punishing the Balkars it served as a warning for the Kabardinians, who from then on hastened to express their loyalty towards Soviet Russia in a very demonstrative, even effusive, way.

Ca. 177.81 814 S.U. 563 814

After the war the Soviet authorities found it advisable to provide for the Kabardinians, as a means of strengthening their allegiance to the Soviet State, a clear conception of history which would unequivocally show that the Russians had always been the protectors of the Kabardinian people. The task of formulating the details of this conception was assigned to the 'Kabardinian Research Institute', whose headquarters are in Nalchik, the capital of the Kabardinian A.S.S.R. The new conception implied the 'official recognition' of Temryuk Idarovich as the national hero of Kabarda. Kabardinian children are expected to look up to Temryuk with the same awe as Russian boys and girls to Peter the Great or Suvorov. According to the new official thesis Temryuk, a Kabardinian prince who lived around 1550, 'endeavoured to build up a strong centralized State able to resist Turkish and Crimean Tartar oppressors'. Temryuk had realized that the Kabardinians were incapable of withstanding their enemies if they were to rely on their own forces only; establishment of close contacts with Muscovy was therefore the only wise Kabardinian policy.[15]

It is the same story which is told with some variation to all the peoples of the Soviet Union in all their many languages. There is always a grain of truth in the story, but never the entire truth, since history is not so simple and so clear-cut that it would fit the purposes of a one-sided propaganda. It is a historical fact that Temryuk asked Ivan the Terrible for protection and even gave him his daughter for wife. Originally, in the days of greater internationalism, Soviet historians failed to stress this fact, and laid more emphasis on the slave trade in which the Kabardinian feudal lords had engaged with the Crimean Tartar Khanate. However, since events had proved the necessity of increasing the attachment and loyalty of the Kabardinians to the Russians and the Soviet State, Temryuk had to be brought to the forefront of Kabardinian history.

Ca. 177.53 538 Ca. 871 191

Kabardinian post-war literature also pursued the aim of re-educating the Kabardinian people. The central theme of the first Kabardinian literary almanac consisted in showing that it was 'the friendship with the Russian people that led the Kabardinians towards a better life.'[16]

While a great deal was done for 're-education' in the sense required by the Russians, education as such had been neglected during the first post-war years, at least as far as the Kabardinian language was concerned. The so-called 'national' schools in the Kabardinian A.S.S.R. were Kabardinian in the first four forms only; from the fifth form onwards teaching was in the Russian language exclusively. The Central Committee of the All-Union Communist Party issued in 1948 a state-

7:Columbia U. S-4,5 1956 RH1 Caucasia
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646 4 Baskaev, Dzambolat Timofeevich
Sev. Osset. deputy Sov. Nats. VS SSSR,
4. sozyv, 1954

Pravda 3/18/54

535 1 Bauer, Maria Veniaminovna
Stalin prize 2. class, 1950 ballerina

Laur. Stalin prem. 1950
p. 81

646 1 Bazhunaishvili, Suleiman Dzhemalovich
Adzhar. deputy Sov. Nats. VS SSSR
4. sozyv, 1954
Born in Kveda-Sameba, 1922-
*kolkhoz worker, member of CP*

Bak. Rab. 3/18/54
Zar. Vost. 2/13/54

665 3 Begrambekov, B. L.
CC CP Azerb. SSR, 20 s'ezd, 1954

546 2 Bek-Nazarov, Amo Ivanovich
1892- Armenian film-producer;
director of Tiflis Goskinprom.
Directed films: Pepo, Zangezur, for
which he was awarded Stalin prize in
1941. People's artist of Armenia.

BE II 4:405

7:Columbia U. S-4,5 1956 RH1 Caucasia
RH1

538 1 Cheishvili, Aleksandr Nikolaevich
Stalin prize 2. class, 1950, for novel Lelo.

Laur. Stalin. prem. 1950
p. 66

646 5 Chekmenev, Dmitrii Rodionovich
Kab. deputy Sov. Nats. VS SSSR
4. sozyv, 1954

Pravda, 3/18/54

546 1 Chiaureli, Mikhail Edisherovich
1894-. Film script writer; best films: Saba, Khabarda, etc. Rec'd Stalin prize in 1947. Also sculptor; did Lenin's statue in Tiflis. In his writings shows satirical bent. Acted in first Georgian film: Arsen Dzhordiiashvili, 1921. In 1946 directed film: Kliatva Stalina po mogile Lenina.

BE I 61:571
Soviet Calendar 1917-1947

646 4 Chibirov, Khristofor Tadiozovich
Sev. Os. deputy Sov. Nats. VS SSSR
4. sozyv, 1954.

Pravda, 3/18/54

546 1 Dolidze, Semen Vissarionovich, 1903-
Georgian artist; CP member since 1942; film-producer. Films: Poslednye krestonostsy 1933, in 1936 historical film: Dariko, and in 1944 Shchit Dzhurgaia. He rec'd Stalin prize for latter in 1950. Film proclaims brotherhood of peoples of USSR.

BE II 15:25

533 1 Dolidze, Viktor Isidorovich, 1890-1933
Born in Ozurgetash (now Makharadze in Georgia) Composer and mandolin player. Wrote opera Leila in 1922, Tsisana in 1929. His is the unfinished Ossetian opera Zamira.

BE II 13:91
15:25

536 3 (?) Dolidze, Vladimir Sergeevich
Stalin prize for acting in Vasadz's Potoplennye kamni

Laur. Stalin prem. 1950
p. 78

814 2 Drzhbashian, M. M.
Corresp. member of Akad. nauk Arm. SSR and deputy chief editor of Doklady Akad. nauk Srm. SSR

815 3 Kalandzade, Antifor Dmitrievich
Stalin prize 3. class, engineer, geologist

Laur. Stalin. prem. 1950
p. 35

232 2 Kalantar, Avetis Airapetovich
1859-1937. Agriculture expert; educated in Moscow; instrumental in creating dairy business in Vologda. Since 1930 head of dairy industry of Erevan zooveterinary inst.

BE II 19:393

• 546 1 Kalatozov, Mikhail Konstantinovich
1903-. Georgian movie producer; wrote: Litso Golivuda. Stalin prize in 1951.

BE II, 19:394

341 1 Kal'gin, Anatolii Nikolaevich
1875-1943. Lived in Georgia since 1907. Architect interested in Georgian style; built Tiflis public library along traditional Georgian forms.

BE II 19:460

7: Columbia U. S-4, 5 1956 RHl Caucasia

RHl

646
1 Romelashvili, David Zakhar'evich
Deputy to Sov. Nats. VS SSSR (4. s'ezd, 1954); sect. CC CP Gruz. SSR.

Bak. Rab. 3/19/54
Zar. Vost. 2/18/54

546
1 Rondeli-Tsagareishvili, D. E.
Georgian film producer; received Stalin prize in 1950 for collaboration with Dolidze, S. V. on film Shchit Dzhurgaia

BEII 15:25

645
625 1 Rukhadze, N. M. -Nov. 1955
Former investigation chief in the Georgian Internal Affairs Commissariat and later Georgian Minister of State Security. Helped oust Rapava in 1951. Tried and executed under Article 58 (Crimes connected with protection of Beriia acc. to Soviets).

NYT
Zaria Vost.

7: Columbia U. S-4, 5 1956 RHI Caucasia
RHI

546
1 Shengelaia, Nikolai Mikhailovich, 1903-
Georgian film-producer; 1928 -
film: Eliso, 26 komissarov.
Portrays the working class in realist manner.

BE I 62:288

646
6 Shipilov, Boris Semenovich
Member of Sov. Soiuz VS SSSR, 4. sozyv, 1954. Krasnodar. krai

Bak. Rab. 3/18/54

533
2 Sheram, 1857-1936
One of the most famous Armenian wandering minstrels (gusan).

BE II 3:97

536
3 Shirvanadze, Aleksandr, 1856-1935
Drama critic, of the critical realist school. Wrote dramas: Namus, Zloi dukh, Iz-za chesti, Khaos (chief work). Influenced by Balzac.

BE I 62:422-3

646
5 Shkakhov, Khamid Makhmudovich
Kab. Deputy Sov. Nats. VS SSSR 4. sozyv, 1954

Pravda 3/18/54

## BIRTH

842 847 Except in some of the economically poorest areas any increase of the family was a cause for joy- in the country not just for the immediate family, but for the whole village. However, boys were greatly preferred, especially among the mountaineers, the birth of a girl being something of a disappointment. Among the Kartvelian mountaineers, female infanticide still occurred in the nineteenth century; the Khevsur and Pshav practiced birth control mainly by abortion, no couple being allowed to have their first child until the third year of marriage, the second after seven years, while the third must be the last. During menstruation and childbirth the Khevsur women were considered unclean and were banished to special huts (called samrevlo) outside the village. 841 844

551 The names given to children are now mostly those usual in Christian and Islamic countries, though the older custom of giving animal names to boys and terms of affection to girls has not died out, especially among the highlanders.

### 3. Naming

Islamism has greatly influenced the custom of naming children, though the ancient names of animals are still given to children. The Ingush boy often receives a name of an animal, for example, Ox, Dog. The girl may be called *Asi-vakhara* ("She who Mounts a Calf"), or *Dzhali-vakhara* ("She Whose Keeper is a Dog").[47] The Kists call their boys by such names as *Ali, Tashtarukva, Gers, Choch, Elbert, Shoka, Bosh, Ekash, Noga, Mahemet*; the girls, by such names as *Sauvalik, Badigi, Balakai, Tutai, Patuma, Tsabi, Aragus.*[48] Among the Avars every boy and girl receives a name immediately after birth; after the demise of the father, his first name is added to that of his child, for example, Mahamed, the Son of Ali, or "... the Daughter of Ali." The Avars do not have family names, and never is a child named after the mother.[49] The Khevsurs and the Pshavs often name their boys after wild animals, as symbols of the future character of the boy. Girls are often named after words of affection.[50] A boy may receive a name such as *Mgela* ("Wolf"), *Vepkhvia* ("Panther"), *Datvia* ("Bear"),[51] *Zizila* ("Chick"),[52] *Zaglika* ("Dog"),[53] whereas a girl may be called *Mzia* ("Little Sun"), *Tetrua* ("Fair-Complexioned"), *Gulta-mze* ("Sun of the *Heart*"), *Mze-vinari* ("Who is the Sun?"), *Mzekala* ("Miss Sun"), *Deduna* ("Mother Dear"), *Natela* ("Brightness"), *Gandza* ("Treasure"). Of course they have also other names, some being of Christian origin: *Khutara* ("The Witty One"), *Gamikhard* ("Joy Bringer"), *Berdeva* ("The Old Lady"), *Imeda* ("Hope"), *Georgi, Ivane, Mariam, Tamara, Elena.*[54] Some favourite Christian names among the Tushi are: *Georgi, Gabrill, Theodor, David, Tamar, Maria, Anna.*[55] The Pshavs sometimes receive a Christian name from their priest; nevertheless the family insist on calling their children by an ancient Pshav name.[56] The Ossetes are fond of names of animals too. According to Kovalevskij, a child receives two names, an official Christian or Mohammedan name and one of a wild or domestic animal.[57] Pčelina believes that "strange" names like *Khoebys* ("Puppy"), *Saukuydz* ("Black Dog"), *Dombay*

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[47] Potocki, *Voyage dans les steps d'Astrakhan et du Caucase*, II, p. 125.

[48] Güldenstädt, *Beschreibung der kaukasischen Länder*, p. 149.

[49] Abercromby, *A Trip through the Eastern Caucasus, etc.*, p. 96. However, there is one exception: when the Akhtinians and Rutulians marry one of their daughter to another sib in order to keep the groom's sib from dieing out. Cf. *supra*, p. 52.

[50] Mourier, *Guide au Caucase*, I, pp. 152 f.

[51] Eristov, *op. cit.*, pp. 114 f.

[52] Hahn, *Bilder aus dem Kaukasus*, p. 65.

[53] Hahn, *op. cit.*, p. 82.

[54] Eristov, *l. c.*; Hahn, *op. cit.*, pp. 65, 82; Mourier, *l. c.*

[55] Güldenstädt, *Reisen durch Russland und im kaukasischen Gebirge*, I, p. 378.

[56] Makalatija, "Iz starogo narodnogo byta Pšavov," SE, 1938, No. 1, p. 113. See his large list of Pshav names, *op. cit.*, pp. 113 f.

[57] Kovalevskij, *Coutume contemp.*, p. 212. For examples see Erckert, *Der Kaukasus*, p. 117.

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551 (" Lion "), *Vari* (" Vulture "), etc. are intended to deceive the evil spirits, who are able to take the life of the child only if they can call it by its true name.[58]

### 4. Segregation

814 784 A Lesghian woman becomes unclean through childbirth, and hence the father may not be present at the birth nor during the entire period of uncleaness, which lasts for several weeks.[59] Child-bearing renders the mother unclean in Ossetia as well. The Mountain Georgians have special birthhouses for expectent mothers. In Svanetia the mother is unclean for 40 days,[60] in Khevsuria and Pshavia, a few days longer.[61] A woman can be cleansed (in Khevsuria and Pshavia) by washing her hair in cow's urine.[62] In Ossetia a woman is considered unclean for six weeks after childbirth. During this period she is not allowed to work, except to sweep the floor and look after the children. The marital act is likewise forbidden.[63] [823]

### 5. Weaning

862 Very little data is available regarding weaning of children and taboos during the period of lactation. As a general rule, the Lesghians wean their children at the age of five or six.[64] The Avars usually do not wean them before they have reached the use of reason.[65] Pshav children are weaned at the age of four.

### 6. Fire-place Ceremony

851 We have seen what an important part the hearth played in the marriage ceremonies of the Northwestern Caucasians, the Ingushi and Ossetes. By circling round the hearth the bride officially became a member of the family. We should also expect a birth ceremony of some sort or other at the fire-place, by which the infant would likewise be officially recognized as a fully fledged member of the family and by which the newborn would come in contact with the ancestors and receive their protection. We find such a ceremony among the neighbouring peoples of Iranian stock, the Ossetes[66] and the Kurds.[67] Though the hearth

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[58] Pčelina, " Rodil'nye obyčai u Osetin," SE, 1937, No. 4, p. 98.
For Ossetine naming ceremony, see *op. cit.*, pp. 96 ff.
Could not this fondness for animal names be a vestige of individual totemism?

[59] Kovalevskij, " Iranian Culture in the Caucasus," *The Archaeological Review*, June, 1888, cited by Kovalevskij, *Zakon*, II, p. 202. See also *op. cit.*, I, pp. 97 f, 139 f.

[60] Dubrovin, *Istorija*, I, ii, p. 110.

[61] G. Demidov, *V uščelijach pervobytnoj gruzii (Chevsuretija)*, Moscow-Leningrad, 1930, p. 16. Požidaev (*Gorcy severnago kavkaza*, p. 107) says that the Khevsur mother is " unclean " for 30 days.

[62] Demidov, *l. c.* After delivery, the mother must remain in the birth-hut for two weeks; after that she must live in the stable for about five weeks. S. I. Makalatija, *op. cit.*, p. 112. Today the Pshavs use holy water instead of urine (*ibid.*).

[63] Pčelina, *op. cit.*, p. 99.

[64] Nansen, *op. cit.*, p. 104.

[65] Erckert, *op. cit.*, p. 268.

[66] Pčelina, *op. cit.*, p. 95.

[67] Jankó, *Néprajzi, etc.* Zichy's *Kaukázusi és középázsiai utazásai*, p. 63.

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among the Ingiloi (Islamized Georgians). It has effected the greatest changes in Daghestan, where it has existed the longest. It assumes a middle position in Circassia and Chechnia, where, however, there are important tribal differences that must be taken into account. The Abadzekhs, Shapsugs, Natukhazh, Beshilbey, and Barakey follow their own customary laws rather than the *šarî'a* much more so than do the Bzhedukh, Beslenians, and Kabardians who place both customary and Islamic law on the same level. In regard to the Chechen tribes, we must remember, the *šarî'a* was not accepted by the Ichkerians and Chechens properly so-called till Shamyl's time, while the Karabulaks, Kists, Galgai and Galashi have never expressly aknowledged it.[2] 177.58 58

Of the non-Caucasians, the Kumyks and the Nogai have been the most thoroughly Islamized,[3] being among the first to accept the Koran. The Ossetes and the Karachai disregard the *šarî'a* almost completely, following their own *adats* instead.[4]

### 3. Lesser Historical Influences

(1) **Christianity.** Christianity, too, has left its marks on the customary marriage and family law of the Caucasians. For example, one of the strongest counteractions against Avestic *endogamy* in Northwest and South Caucasus was Christianity (*supra*, pp. 53 f). Official *naming* of children (*supra*, p. 143), official *marriage contracts*, some *penal laws* (e. g., *supra*, p. 178), and, in some cases, changes in *divorce laws* and in the practice of *polygyny* (*supra*, p. 42) are certainly of Christian origin. [551]

Christianity, of course, has had the greatest influence among the Georgians of the lowlands, and considerably less among the mountain tribes of Georgia, and still less among the Northwestern Caucasians and Chechens, and least of all among the Lesghians. [595]

(2) **Avesta.** We have found a few traces of Avestic teaching in the marriage and family observances of the Caucasians, such as the rule of *endogamy* among all the Lesghians (and in pre-Christian Georgia). Zoroastrianism is also a possible explanation for the *local endogamy* of the Svans (*supra*, p. 53) and perhaps also for the obligation of purification after childbirth by washing in cow's urine.[5] The sphere of Iranian influence stretched far beyond Georgia and Daghestan. There is no longer any doubt, for example, that the laws of the Vendidats were known also to the Ossetes.[6] Nevertheless, the influence on North Caucasian marriage and family law has been only slight. [844]

(3) **Armenian, Byzantine, and Roman Influences.** There have been other historical causes for the change and unification of the marriage and family *adats* of the Caucasians, such as Armenian, Byzantine, Roman influence etc., but

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[2] Leontovič, II, p. 233, § 8.

[3] Leontovič, II, p. 233, § 4.

[4] Leontovič, II, p. 232, § 7.

[5] Kovalevskij, *Zakon*, I, pp. 97 f. Cf. also Zacharias, *Protohistory*, p. 351.

[6] Ladyženskij, *op. cit.*, p. 243.

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We may go a step further and say that if it is the wife who secures the family economically and religiously, the family will be respected by others in proportion to the number of mothers it has. In a word, the *social* status of the family depends on the economic and religious status, and these in turn depend very much on the number of wives. Doubtless, investment in wives is the best investment of any North Caucasian family.

Polygyny being part and parcel of the family organization of the North Caucasian peoples, we must, therefore, in seeking the origin of the institution, go back beyond Islamic times, beyond Christian and Avestic times, and perhaps beyond historical times. North Caucasian polygyny was born when the North Caucasian family organization was born.

A corollary to the question regarding the origin of polygyny in North Caucasia is the enquiry into the motives for polygynous unions. The sexual factor has relatively little significance. Not lust, not desire to have a young wife, not a surplus of women, but craving for a large family, for many labourers, for economic and religious prepetuation of the family, for the rise in social prestige—these are the motives that generally induce a man to marry a second wife.

(3) A glance at Table 5 under the columns "Usually restricted to bigyny" and "Enjoyed by rich alone" will reveal that plural marriages among the North Caucasian peoples and their neighbours are usually cases of *bigamy* and that polygyny is more the exception than the rule. This state of affairs would seem to contradict what we have just said about the importance of polygyny. Why is this all-important institution practiced only by a *few* and generally *limited* to one and at the most two additional wives? Why this difference in theory and practice? This fact is all the more striking because all our North Caucasian peoples are Mohammedans and according to the Koran, iv. 3 and Islamic tradition everyone is entitled to have up to four wives.

The first reason, and no doubt, the most important one is that Nature herself prevents universal polygyny. The relative number of males and females is dictated by a biological law, the sex ratio rarely exceeding 100:110 in favour of either sex.[33] Usually the ratio is 106 males to 100 females, but, we must remember, child mortality is far greater among boys than girls, so that in the long run the ratio of marriageable persons is about 100:100.[34] Nowhere in the world does it approximate a 1:2 ratio, which would be necessary to make bigyny a general practice.[35]

Theoretically speaking, a surplus of women could result in the Caucasus from blood-feuds, dangerous occupations, infanticide, and other major disturbances affecting the *male* population alone. Such a preponderance of female sex would necessitate many of them remaining unmarried or several women would be obliged to marry one man. But are there such major disturbances affecting the sex ratio in the Caucasus? Since the Soviet government prohibits polygyny and in recent decades polygyny has become extremely rare, it would seem much

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[33] R. H. Lowie, *An Introduction to Cultural Anthropology*, (New York, 1947), p. 243.

[34] Günther, *Formen und Urgeschichte der Ehe*, p. 100.

[35] R. H. Lowie, *Social Organization*, p. 113.

583 to assume the character of a dowry, as it had tended much earlier in Daghestan. A bitter struggle is going on between ancient *adats*, the *šarî'a*, and Russian laws.

(3) *Kalym* (even in recent times) is generally high.

[585] (4) Everywhere except among the Ingiloi and the Chechens of Nazran (*supra*, pp. 84, 86) the *kalym* and *kebin* are much higher for a virgin than a non-virgin. Virginity therefore is one of the most important factors in determining the amount of bride wealth.

[614] (5) Generally the family or a larger social group as the sib or *tleusn* provide the necessary bride wealth. The groom never has to amass the *kalym* [581] himself, another fact clearly showing that mating is not a private affair.

(6) The *kebin* is found in all North Caucasia and Mohammedan neighbourhood.

[554] (7) Everywhere the social status of the partners is an important factor in determining the amount of *kalym* and *kebin*.[1]

The uniform evolution of the North Caucasian bride purchase is indeed striking. Originally all peoples of North Caucasus seem to have had actual bride purchase: the bride was actually sold and considered as a chattel. Then the bride-price began to lose its character of a purchase, a development contemporaneous with the spread of Islamism and Russian influence. Mohammedanism does not recognize bride purchase as such:[53] it recommends a bridal gift and prescribes the *kebin (mahr)* instead. The Russian Military Government in pre-Soviet times regarded bride purchase as a serious "abuse" and according to a decision of 1857 one third of the bride-price was to become the property of the bride as a form of social security.[54] Later the Soviet Government contributed its share in modifying the custom especially through industrialization, as we have seen is the case of the Cherkess living in the larger cities.[55]

583 554 That social rank should play such an imporant part in determing the amount of bride wealth (whether bride price, gifts or *kebin*) is quite natural, universal and in full accord with Islamic law.[56] In fact, according to Mohammedan teaching, the *walî mujbir* loses his right to marry his daughter or granddaughter against her will if the bride wealth does not correspond to the girl's social rank.[57]

Nowhere in the Caucasus has bride purchase been considered as something humiliating or degrading. After all, even the Cherkess princesses were purchased. The bride wealth corresponded to the social status and therefore added dignity to the purchase. Moreover, the higher the price the greater the social respect

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[53] Juynboll, *op. cit.*, p. 190. The *mahr* is also called *sakâk* in Islamic law.
[54] A. Dirr, AGKB, p. 124.
[55] *Supra*, p. 83.
[56] Juynboll, *op. cit.*, p. 215.
[57] *ibid.*

[1] [i.e., bride-price and bride's security against divorce—Analyst]

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for the family accruing from such a purchase. And as anywhere else in the world, only *good* brides were bought. The fact that a girl was purchased was a kind of flattery and even a definite proof of her good standing. The "price-tag" remained attached to her for the rest of her life, and in it she could find sufficient food for her vanity and self-complacency. 583 [554]

*Kebin* occupies a middle position between an actual bride-price and a dowry. Like a dowry it aims at being a security for the bride's future, and like the dowry it is given to the *bride* and not to her family. On the other hand, it resembles the bride-price in as much as it is paid by the *groom's* family, it is accompanied with much bargaining, and, finally, the amount is determined according to the same standards as the bride-price.

We have said above that through the influence of Russian and Islamic law bride purchase has become more and more like a guarantee against divorce or security in case of widowhood. However, we did not wish to say that before the coming of Islamism or of the Russians there was no economic security given to the bride. A less developed and relatively small dowry or *kebin* could have existed in the Caucasus long before Islamic *mahr* "received full approbation from Allah." We know that, independently of Islamism, the position of the female sex was greatly improved by a dowry, e. g., among the Japanese, Chinese, Ancient Germans, Kelts, and Babylonians. The Romans and the Greeks regarded a marriage without a dowry practically as concubinage.[58] If it could exist among these peoples independently of Mohammed, it could have existed in the Caucasus independently of Islamism as well. In fact we find a kind of dowry in North Caucasus in the practical wedding gifts given to the bride by her family.[59] Of course, a large dowry is out of place in such a strongly exogamous society as we find in the greater part of North Caucasia, for the family property must remain within the family. On the other hand, from our description of the wedding customs we shall be able to observe the relatively important rôle these gifts play in the endogamous part of North Caucasus. [177]

In conclusion, it is worth noting that bride purchase in the strict sense of the word fits into the Caucasian economic form of life quite well. Though bride wealth is found equally in mother-right and father-right societies, bride purchase in the strict sense is an institution found almost exclusively in pastoral societies or in societies that have been greatly influenced by pastoral peoples, or that have passed through pastoral stages, such as we find in Africa, Asia, and Europe. We do not find the bride-*price* in Australia, Melanesia, Polynesia or in America.[60] [171]

## § 2. BY CAPTURE

"Bride capture" is just as much a blanket term as "bride purchase." Here too we must distinguish between genuine bride capture and various forms

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[58] Schmidt-Koppers, *Völker und Kulturen*, p. 310.

[59] Amirov, "Sredi gorcev severnago Dagestana," SSKG, VII (1873), p. 30 f.

[60] R. Briffault, *op. cit.*, II, p. 218; Westermarck, *History of Marriage*, II (1925), pp. 278 ff.

# POSITION OF WOMEN

C. G. 562 The position of women in the Caucasus was in many respects subordinate to that of men: male children were preferred, descent was patrilineal, residence patrilocal, women were excluded from inheritance rights; in case the headwoman was unable to reconcile a quarrel among the female members of the family, the case was put before the headman; divorces were in general more easily obtained by men than by women, and in the case of adultery the husband had the right to kill or disfigure his wife. The Circassian code of behavior forbade women to sit down while men were standing, and the husband was addressed in terms of respect by his wife. In most areas the women led a life of hard work; besides doing the housework, they also assisted in the work in the field, though certain activities such as tending horses and in most cases ploughing were performed by men only. Among the Georgian mountaineers, women were regarded from a religious point of view as unclean, and were forbidden to enter the walled precincts of the sanctuaries; the Svan had sexual avoidance rules to ensure success in hunting expeditions; in Mingrelia a woman may not kill a chicken or animal she is going to prepare, as this would spoil the food.

C G [684]

C G [462]

C. G. [834]

E. G. 562 In spite of these restrictions on her actions and rights, the Caucasian woman enjoyed more privileges than her sisters in other parts of the Near East, and she was held in higher esteem than in most societies. In Eastern Georgia, where Persian influence has been strong, and in general in the political and cultural centers, the women led a comparatively sheltered life. But where the indigenous Caucasian culture is better preserved, farther from the centers and especially in the mountain areas, women enjoyed a large degree of freedom. Besides playing an important role in the life of the family, they also engaged in public activities, could have their say in community gatherings, take the witness stand and even be mediators in judicial proceedings. Perhaps more important than legal status is the chivalrous respect for women which is characteristic of the Caucasian. No Circassian, however enraged, would start a fight in the presence of a woman, and the intercession of a woman during a fight or drunken brawl among the Khevsur - by throwing her head-cloth (mandili) before the feet of the combatants - would immediately separate them. The same respect is apparent in the customs relating to adoption, in folklore, and, curiously, in the Georgian language, where when male and female are mentioned together, the female always takes the first place: ded-mama "mother and father" (deda

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"mother," mama "father"!), tsol-kmari "wife and husband," da-dzma "sister and brother," kal-vazhi "daughter and son."

c.
o.
796 fasting, the favor that the wolves be deaf and
785 voiceless, immovable and weak, and that the sheep of the worshippers be the ghosts of the spirit and enjoy his mercy. (From the wording of the prayer we may conclude that in his capacity as ruler of the wolves, Tutyr is also thought to possess the power of keeping the wolves from the sheep.)

c.
o. The festival devoted to the guardian
796 spirit of the family is usually celebrated at night. After a goat has been slaughtered at midnight, the member of the family walk to the barn where they pray to the spirit, thanking him for the blessings of the past year and imploring him to grant new blessings in the year to come. Then they drink the millet beverage and eat a dish of goat's liver wrapped in the intestines and roasted on the grill, keeping completely silent during the ceremony. Afterwards, the men return home and eat their festival meal.

c.
o: It is of special interest that the worship
796 of the god of health, Kuni-Bara, is exclusively
782 reserved for the women. After a sick person
562 has recovered, the woman of the house and those of neighboring families go to a tree which is considered sacred. They take cheese cakes and a jug of milk along and a dried sturgeon (Käf), which had been hanging above the head of the sick person, with a silver coin fastened to the fish. The oldest of the women, followed by the others, puts the cheese cakes down under the tree, which she sprinkles with milk while

C. O. 796 782 562

while singing sacred songs. After this ceremony they sit down under the tree, eat the cheese cake and the fish and hang on a few perforated coins on the tree as a votive offering to Kuni-Bara. Any person daring to steal these coins, would be affected with the disease of the former patient.

C. O. 796 562

Another festival with which only women are concerned, is the "feast of the virgins," which is celebrated at the end of autumn in the house of some old woman. It is only superficially linked with the Christian religion, insofar as it is celebrated in honor of Mary (Mairäm), "the Mother of God." The girls bake cakes with different fillings in the house of the old woman. The oldest girls takes one and prays first to Mary and then to the guardian spirit of the house and to other spirits for a bridegroom and for protection against sickness and wicked women. Afterwards, each girl takes one of the cakes and looks at its filling. When the filling is cheese, it means that her husband will be a rich owner of cattle, when it is a corn filling, the girl is destined to marry a rich farmer, and so on.

C O 796

On New Year's eve, the last, or next to the last, Friday of December, the Ossets start celebrating the New Year. For the holiday the housewife prepares beverages, a large cake and a number of small cakes formed in the shapes of ploughs, harrows, wheels and other utensils which give expression to their hope for a good harvest. At the approach of dusk the whole family sits down around the

595 (1) Custom permits *all* North Caucasians and their neighbours, whether Christian or Mohammedan, to marry more than one wife. The Tartars near the city of Derbend in the eighteenth century are the only exception, but even in this single case, it ist not certain whether they were monogamists *de jure* or only *de facto*.

[177] (2) Everywhere polygyny is *pre-Islamic*, even if previous to their conversion to Islamism the particular tribe happened to be Christian. We might rightly, therefore, inquire into the possible origin of polygyny in the Caucasus. Polygyny, if borrowed at all, was not borrowed as an *isolated* institution. On the contrary, it seems to be a North Caucasian possession, first of all, as old as the practice [594] of levirate (*infra*, pp. 71—75). Furthermore, it seems to be a North Caucasian [614] cultural possession as old as the economic, social, and religious structure of the North Caucasian family itself. Here we understand " family " in its broad sense, including the joint-family and sib. We cannot now describe this family structure in detail. Briefly, by " the economic, social, and religious structure of the family " we understand that the family in North Caucasia has been and in many places still is the *raison d'être* of the individual.[30a] Whatever the individual does or whatever is done to him or for him has only one aim, the perpetuation and [581] prosperity of the family. Now, in the mind of the North Caucasian, polygyny is an immense asset and at times absolutely indispensable for the economic, social, and religious life of the all-important and solely-important family.

593 *Economically* considered, the wife is extremely important. In the North 562 Caucasus it is the wife who does most of the work (*infra*, pp. 156—159). In fact, sometimes a rich Avar will marry a son to a poor girl or to a widow of a lower class, with whom he is forbidden all communication, in order to have an additional worker in the house.[31] Moreover, a wife is not only a *worker*; she 842 is the " *worker-producing* " organ of the family. Even though boys are preferred (*infra*, pp. 159 ff), girls prove to be good and valuable workers and bring in, at times, a large brideprice (*infra*, pp. 82—91). Now, the more wives there are in the household, the more " worker-producing " organs there are, and by that very fact, at least in the mind of the natives, the family becomes so much the more economically healthy and secure.

The *religious* structure of the family may have contributed just as much to [769] the rise of polygyny as did the economic form of life. The most sacred duty of the individual and of the individual family is, or at least has been, to perpetuate itself, and thus to perpetuate the cult of the ancestors. It is a fact throughout North Caucasus that only a *son* can perpetuate the family and prevent the greatest calamity imagineable, its extinction. But a wife is precisely the " *boy-producing* " organ. If this organ is lacking or fails to function the family is doomed. Today one of the main motives for taking a second wife is sterility.[32] Or again, a second wife will be acquired if the first gives birth only to girls.

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[30a] According to ancient customary laws.

[31] L'vov, *op. cit.*, p. 19.

[32] Cf. K. Mačavariani, " Nikotoryja čerty iz žizni Abchazcev. Položenie ženščiny v Abchazii," SMOMPK, IV (1884), No. 2, p. 42. E. G. Pčelina, " Rodil'nye obyčai u osetin," SE, 1937, No. 4, p. 88.

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587 (4) We must disagree with Kovalevskij in his interpretation of the levirate as a vestige of former group marriage.[20] Without offering us any evidence, he takes up the theories of Morgan and Frazer and applies them to the Caucasus. Such an institution as "group marriage" exists nowhere in the world, and to imagine that it has ever existed is mere fancy. In an attempt to explain the origin of preferential mating in the Caucasus we should lay aside all guesswork [562] and study the culture before us. For example: the unbearably low position of the North Caucasian woman (*infra*, pp. 152—159) may have made her appear as inheritable chattel. After all, the family purchased her, paid a high price for her, and now she constitutes a part of the family property no less than do the horses, cows, and sheep. Moreover, as we have explained above (pp. 44 f), she is more than *ordinary* family property: she is the best family investment, for she is the "worker-producing" and especially the "boy-producing" organ on which depends the economic, religious, and social life of the family. This realization would only too naturally disincline the family to give her up after her husband's [581] death. As we shall see in the following chapter, mating is not a private affair; it is a strictly family affair, the prime purpose of marriage being the good of the family or sib. She, as it were, belongs more to the *family* that purchased her than to the individual member whose wife she is. Finally, if we consider the pre-Islamic, pre-Christian, and pre-Avestic religion of the mountaineers, we are almost forced to postulate such an institution as widow-inheritance. [725] The life beyond does not differ from the present, and consequently the departed will need his wife in the nether world just as much as in this life. (We shall have occasion to speak of posthumous marriages! Cf. *infra*, p. 85.) We shall even show that suttee was not unknown in North Caucasus (Cf. *infra*, [842] pp. 131 f). The wife therefore must remain in the family. Moreover, the deceased needs offspring, a large progeny, just as much after death as during life, for his happiness and honour in the other world depend upon the cult he receives from his descendents. The widow, therefore, must remain in the family and another member must "raise up seed for his brother" and "build up his brother's house." In other words, the levirate is not a survival of a *primitive* culture but rather an institution very intimately connected with the economic, social and religious life of a relatively highly developed culture such as that of pastoral peoples.

595 As a confirmation of what we have just now said about the origin of [842] Caucasian preferential mating, we wish to describe another institution, still found today in various parts of Caucasus, the so-called *snohačestvo*. A boy-child is married to an adult girl with whom the father may have sexual intercourse as freely as with his own wife. The father is considered as living in lawful concubinage with his son's wife and may do so until the child becomes of age. We wish to stress that this practice is a perfect parallel to widow inheritance. The father "must raise seed" for his son and "build up his house" till he is himself able to do so. The children born of this concubinage belong to the childhusband, sometimes half to him and half to the progenitor. This is

[20] Kovalevskij, *Coutume contemp.*, p. 181.

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so far as to give them the title of the "most beautiful women in the world." 583
Whether they, or perhaps the Mingrelians or others, deserve this title does not [142]
concern us here. What does matter is the conviction of the Turks and Persians that Cherkess women are beautiful. It is said that the eunuchs of Persia used to lay down their lives for them, and today, it is a known fact, that the Turks are still willing to pay immense sums to have these singularly beautiful women in their harems. No wonder then, that bride-markets were not unusual in Circassia in the nineteenth century. And even today they are still operating, using of course the black-market technique. What we wish to emphasize is that the girl sold on the bride-market is not sold *against* her will. She is not sold as a slave, even though slave-traders are the middlemen of the actual purchasers. She is not sold against her will; no, she is proud to be sold, proud to see a man give up all he has just to win her. If it is not pride that makes her so eager to be sold on the bride-market, then it is ambition. These girls have dreams just as our girls do, though of a somewhat different type. In Turkey they will be sold to a *rich* man; they will be given a *comfortable* lodging, an excellent *education*. Dreams these are indeed, great dreams that can be realized only outside of their own homeland and only in a Turkish harem, only on the bride-market![6]

The NORTHEASTERN CAUCASIANS. The Chechen girls according to 584
their own native *adats* have very little to say about their future husbands. They must wait till their father (or if he is dead, their eldest brother) marries them off to whomever *he* thinks is best,[7] and, primarily, of course, best for the family, for marriage is a family affair. Child-engagements[8] are again a proof that not even the male children enjoy the *right* to choose their mates.

decision of the Ingushi, no marriage was to be considered valid unless the bride[1]

§ 118 of the "*Adats* of the Ingush Province in the 1860's" calls for special attention. It reads: "Since the end of 1862, according to an unanimous decision of the Ingushi, no marriage was to be considered valid unless the bride had freely consented.[9] The *adat* collection then goes on to give the motive for the decision (§ 156): "Till very recently (1862) a woman was regarded as a [582] slave: she enjoyed no human rights. Turning a deaf ear to her plea and [583] protests, disregarding her sobs and tears, her family would sell her off like a ram, throw her on a cart, and deliver her to her husband."[10] Such a miserable 585 bride, the collection tells us, would in most cases run away from her purchaser. But where could she flee except to her own family — unfortunately the same persons who sold her into "slavery"? Her family, however, had to return the fugitive to her lawful husband, for the contract had to be observed to prevent bloodshed. She would then run away again, and even a third time, making life

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[6] Cf. Essad-Bey, *op. cit.*, pp. 202—207. Longworth, *A Year among the Circassians*, I, p. 279.

[7] Cf. The general *adats* for the Black Sea Line, Kuban and Terek Territories, Leontovič, II, p. 251, § 148. *Adats* of 1843 for all Chechens, Leontovič, II, p. 112, § 8. *Adats* of 1864 for the Chechen tribes of Salati, Aukh, and Ichkeria, Leontovič, II, p. 144. Adats of the 1860's for the Ingush Province, Leontovič, II, p. 169. A. P. Berže, Čečnja i Čečency, p. 97.

[8] Dubrovin, *Istorija*, I, i, pp. 427.

[9] Leontovič, II, p. 169, § 118.

[10] "*Adats* of the Natives of the Ingush Province in the 1860's," Leontovič, II, p. 174, § 156.

1 [Sic — Analysis]

*saġîra* and the *bâliġa*. The *bâliġa* had the right to declare any marriage 584
arrangements made by the *walî* as null and void, i. e., the right of *hijar* ("retraction"). Still other interpreters were of the opinion that a distinction should rather be made between the rights enjoyed by the girl's father and grandfather and those enjoyed by other guardians — which of course only adds to the confusion.[18] What is of importance is that the Šâfi'itic doctrine prevailed in Daghestan: non-virgins are free to choose their own mates while virgins are not.

But under certain conditions virgins are free as well. In Avaria, for example, if the father of the girl happens to be away on a two-days journey, the girl may go to the mullah (in Avaria called *debîr*) and obtain permission to marry whomever she wishes.[19] But this practic too is not based on customary but on Islamic law.

Mohammed *recommended* (as a *sunna)* that all girls should be asked for their consent before marriage. Among the Avars[20] and the Laks[21] the marriage would be considered invalid if her consent were not asked. In Avaria two persons are sent by the *debîr* as official witnesses to her consent. At first sight all these regulations seem to guarantee freedom of choice, and not a few authors and explorers have made the mistake of not distinguishing between theory and practice.[22] In pre-Soviet times the girl's consent was indeed asked but merely as a formality.[23] As L'vov points out, the girl would infallibly consent, it is true, but not freely. She was afraid of offending her father.[24]

Despite the difference between theory and practice, it cannot be denied 562
that Islamism has brought the Daghestanian woman a number of rights that she had not enjoyed before.[25]

The *adats* of the neighbouring peoples show a striking similarity to those of the Northern Mountaineers. The SOUTH CAUCASIANS (the Khevsurs, Pshavs, and Tushi) had the custom of infant engagement and therefore *de jure* the consent of the engaged persons was not required.[26] Dubrovin tells us that the Tushi and Pshavs generally married off their children with no or very little

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[18] G. Bergsträsser, *Grundzüge des islamischen Rechts*, p. 82.

[19] Kovalevskij, *op. cit.*, II, pp. 175 f.

[20] L'vov, "Domalnjaja i semejnaja žizn etc.," p. 25.

[21] Kovalevskij, *l. c.*

[22] Cf. Alichanov's series of articles "V gorach Dagestana," which are supposed to have appeared in the *Kavkaz*. These articles however are not available on this side of Russia. Baddeley believes that they have never appeared in book form *(The Rugged Flanks of Caucasus*, II, p. 72, *note)*.
C. Hahn, "Putešestvie v Kachetiju i Dagestan," SMOMPK, XXXI (1902), p. 93. This article has been almost verbally translated in Hahn's *Bilder aus dem Kaukasus*.
Byhan, *op. cit.*, p. 191.
Nansen, *Through the Caucasus to the Volga*, p. 104.

[23] Kovalevskij, *Zakon*, II, p. 204.

[24] "Domalnjaja i semejnaja žizn etc.," p. 22.

[25] We do not refer merely to Shamyl's reforms, which were only superficial.

[26] Eristov, "O Tušino-Pšavo-Chevsurskom Okrugě," ZKO, III (1855), p. 109.
Mourier, *Guide au Caucase*, Part I, p. 153.
Hahn, Bilder aus dem Kaukasus, p. 82.
Byhan, *op. cit.*, p. 112.

583 [562] We do not wish to say that bride price in the strict sense of the word does not exist in Daghestan at all. The unfavourable position of the female sex in Botlikh is rightly attributed by Rossikov and Erckert to the fact that she is still considered as purchased property, as chattel.[29] The *iol-puli* of the North Tabassaranians was anything but trivial.[30] In the "Adat Collection of the South Daghestanian Districts" we learn that it varied between Rs. 100 and Rs. 400, a maiden costing more than a widow.[31]

Even in localities where the *kalym* is so insignificant that it is actually only a symbol there are certain, and by no means trivial, expenses which must not be overlooked. First of all, there are not a few betrothal gifts (*infra*, pp. 102 f); then there are the relatively expensive marriage gifts, of which we shall speak below when describing the Lesghian wedding (*infra*, p. 119).

[564] There is, moreover, the so-called *kebin*, a guarantee against divorce. Just because it is the bride who benefits from the *kebin*, it cannot be considered as a bride-price. It is a security for the bride in case of divorce and is usually determined by mutual agreement, depending, of course, on the economic and social position of the contracting families. A widow of the *uzden* class, for example, never received more than a guarantee of Rs. 55.[32] In the province of Kazikumukh (Lak) and Dargwa the *kebin* usually consists of a piece of land having a value of Rs. 50 to Rs. 200.[33] Among the Kapuchians it consisted of money, about Rs. 10 to Rs. 20, while among the Tabassaranians up to Rs. 40. In the Avar Province the *adats* do not fix a definite amount, leaving it entirely to the two families concerned.[34] In North Tabassaran the guarantee was usually between Rs. 15 and Rs. 40 for a maiden and Rs. 5 to Rs. 20 for a widow.[35] The [177] *kebin* (*mahr*, *kebin-khak*, *magar* as we sometimes find it in Russian literature) evidently owes its origin to Mohammedanism.

The SOUTHERN CAUCASIANS. Eristov speaking of the Khevsurian custom of about one hundred years ago informs us that the bride received no dowry but that a price always was insisted upon.[36] Similarly, the Pshav would marry his daughter only if he first received a satisfactory price for her.[37] It is [565] worth noting that the Ingiloi (the Georgians of Sakataly) had to pay a higher kalym for widows than for virgins, Rs. 75 and Rs. 50 respectively.[38] The reason for this regulation seems to be that the widow being older is more liable to be divorced and has less chance of re-marrying than a young girl, and therefore needs a higher *kebin*.

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[29] K. N. Rossikov, "Poězdka v Čečnju i Nagorny Dagestan," ZKO, XIII (1884), p. 248. R. Erckert, *Der Kaukasus*, p. 284.

[30] Kovalevskij, *Zakon*, II, p. 179.

[31] "Adaty Južno-Dagestanskich Obščestv," SSKG, VIII (1875), p. 32.

[32] Svěčin, "Očerk narodonaselenie, nravov i obyčaev Dagestancev," ZKO, II (1853), p. 64. For custom of the Avars see L'vov, "Domašnjaja i semejnaja žizn etc."

[33] Confirmed by Kovalevskij's own field work. See his *Zakon*, II, p. 179.

[34] *ibid.*

[35] "Adaty Južno-Dagestanskich Obščestv," SSKG, VIII (1875), p. 32.

[36] "O Tušino-Pšavo-Chevsurskom Okrugě," ZKO, III (1855), p. 113.

[37] *ibid.*

[38] Hahn, "Putešestvie v Kachetiju i Dagestan," SMOMPK, XXXI (1902), p. 60.

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of raids and robberies. Girls are useless in these tasks, whereas, in this struggle for existence, every additional boy means greater security and prestige. 842 628

In conclusion, we may ask ourselves, just why should the *adats* prohibit the manifestation of one's affection for a child. The reason behind this customary law seems to be founded not so much on a father-child relation as on the male-female relation of the Caucasian society. If a father were to show his affection for his child, were he to fondle and carry it, he would be imitating a *woman*, and that would be a terrible degradation! This degradation will be better understood in the following chapter. This rule to my mind is linked up with the low position of the female sex. Just as a man may never do a task that is established by the *adats* as a task exclusively for women, e. g., milk cows, fetch water, gather wood, so a man may never carry, fondle, or rock his child. Čursin seems to be of the same opinion. He says that the Ossetes would call such a man by a very insulting name, "baba," that is, "old lady," if he would ever dare to milk a cow or look after children.[111] We wish to stress two facts: first of all, it is not a lack of affection for one's child that is prohibited, as we have said, but the *manifestation* of that love; and secondly, the manifestation of love is forbidden simply out of fear of being considered an "old lady," a woman! 562 885 593

[111] G. F. Čursin, *Osetini, etnografičeskij očerk*, p. 39.

# Chapter X

# Husband-Wife Relations

562 "Women have been created for men"—these are indeed the words of the Koran (xxx. 20), but as we shall see in the present chapter, the slavish condition of the women throughout the Caucasus is *pre*-Islamic. In fact, Mohammedanism has contributed very much toward the partial emancipation of the female sex in the Caucasus.

## § 1. THE RELATIVE STATUS OF SEXES

There is nothing in North Caucasus that might even approximate our conception of social equality of man and woman.[1] We have already seen what little right she has in choosing a mate (*supra*, pp. 76—81) and how her wishes are taken less into consideration than those of the young man; how a man may have two or more wives (*supra*, pp. 39—50) and how a woman may be only a "secondary" wife. We have seen how a widow is obliged to marry a relative of her deceased husband, whether she herself be in favour of such a match or not, and if she refuses to marry him how she must remain unmarried for the rest of her life (*supra*, pp. 71—75). We have also seen how unequal are the rights and obligations of the male and female partner arising from an engagement (*supra*, pp. 106—110); how the bride was formerly sold, purchased, and inherited like a chattel (*supra*, pp. 82—91). We have seen how in the marriage ceremony she was humiliated by her husband; how she had to pass the virginity test or else be dismissed and formerly even mutilated mercilessly, and then sold off to slavery or even killed by her own father( *supra*, p. 124, Table 16), while the groom may have led the most liberal life before marriage and went unpunished. The unequal divorce rights, too, clearly show her less favourable position (*supra*, pp. 132—137). Infidelity of the wife is punished with divorce, mutilation, and death; while the same and even worse crimes committed by the husband cannot be punished by the wife (*infra*, pp. 168—182). We have also seen how boys are preferred to girls, and if economic conditions lead to infanticide, it is the baby girl that is killed and the boy spared (*supra*, p. 141). Then there are the unequal inheritance rights[2] and the disproportionate division

[1] Cf. Pažidaev, *Gorcy severnago kavkaza*, p. 105.

[2] Since a treatise on inheritance laws belongs more properly to a study on the joint-family and kinship than on the individual family, the present work does not include any special treatise regarding this question. Suffice it here to say that according to strict North Caucasian *adats*, inheritance is patrilineal and that as a general rule the women possess only their bridal portion.

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of labour[3] which make her appear "a slave and not a wife." In the present section we wish to mention a number of *adats* which clearly show the inferiority of the female sex in Caucasian society. 592

The NORTHWESTERN CAUCASIANS. The inferiority of the female sex is taken for granted by the women themselves. Cherkess etiquette demands that women, regardless of their social status, rise at once when a man enters the room; and, when passing by on the road, the woman must with downcast eyes humbly step aside for His Majesty, the Man.[4] In a word, the rule of etiquette is "Gentlemen first!" In Abkhazia custom demands that a woman speak to a man only if invited to do so.[5] In recent decades the conditions are supposed to have improved considerably in Kabardia, but even today, she is far from being her husband's equal.[6] Considerable improvement (though not complete emancipation) is also noticeable in Shapsug and Abadzekh villages.[7]

The NORTHEASTERN CAUCASIANS. In Chechnia women have been gradually gaining more and more rights, but as in Kabardia, a wife is by no means her husband's equal. An *adat* of the Black Sea Line, Kuban and Terek Territories of about an hundred years ago reads literally: "The wife must consider herself a slave of her husband; she must always obey him; she must be submissive to him as to a master; she must be faithful to him..."[8] Or again, as an *adat* of the Ingush District informs us, "Till very recently (1862), the woman was nothing but a slave: she had no human rights."[9] She may not sit down beside her husband, nor may she take her meals with him. Her duty, we are told, is always that of a servant.[10] Požidaev assures us, however, that she is better off than any woman in other parts of North Caucasus, for when she is obliged to speak to her husband in the presence of strangers, "she may do so in a normal tone and need not whisper."[11] 593

The Lesghians have a saying according to which "there are two gods: Allah and the husband."[12] A husband has the right to punish his wife for any reasonable cause, though, not in public. A Lesghian once visited his neighbour and to his great surprise noticed two whips hanging on the wall. He was, naturally, curious and inquired about this luxury of possessing *two* whips. "Why *two?*" he asked. "I *need* two," answered the neighbour quite nonchallantly, "one to calm my horse and the other to calm the old lady."[13]

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[3] We shall devote an entire section (§ 2) to the division of labour (*infra*, pp. 156—159).

[4] Longworth, *A Year among the Circassians*, I, pp. 282 f. There is no religious equality among the Circassians either: women are excluded from certain religious festivals. Cf. L. Ja. Ljul'e, "Věrovanija, religioznye obrjady i predrazsudki u Čerkes," ZKO, V (1862), p. 131.

[5] Dubrovin, *Istorija*, I, ii, p. 43.

[6] Ladyženskij, FT, p. 192.

[7] Ladyženskij, FT, p. 193.

[8] Leontovič, II, p. 254, § 168.

[9] Leontovič, II, p. 174, § 156. See also Berže, *op. cit.*, p. 99.

[10] Berže, *l. c.*

[11] *Gorcy severnago Kavkaza*, pp. 106 f. This "privilege" is also found in Khevsuria (*Ibid.*).

[12] Kovalevskij, *Zakon*, II, p. 194. See also N. Samurskij, *Dagestan* (Moscow-Leningrad, 1925), p. 46.

[13] Kovalevskij, *l. c.*

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"The Lesghian husband is, at times, very cruel to his wife," says Omarov, a Lak by birth, who describes in his excellent article (written 1870) what his own mother had to suffer, how husbands mercilessly beat up their helpless wives, and brothers their sisters.[14]

L'vov, describing the conditions prevailing about 75 years ago, writes of the Avars: "She is considered a mere slave. She is placed on the same level as a domestic beast, in spite of the fact that Islamic law gives her not a few rights. Even the possessions she brings along on her wedding day are hers only theoretically; practically, it is her husband who owns them. She is unable to dispose of her own property, whereas her husband may do with it whatever he wishes. All this is considered a sin neither in the eyes of God nor of man. If his wife proposes to bring the case up before the authorities, her husband will act at once: he either flatters her and so wins her over by 'love', and she out of gratitude concedes her rights to him, or, if she does not, he threatens to divorce her and to keep the *kebin* and thus to dismiss her without any security for the future."[15]

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Another clear proof of the inferiority of Caucasian women is the insignificant participation allowed her in religious matters and law processes.[16] Many of these customs are, doubtless, of Islamic origin; many, however, are not, and the spirit behind such regulations is certainly pre-Islamic.[17]

Often women cannot be witnesses, unless there is at least one male witness present. In this case one male witness plus two female witnesses makes two legal witnesses. That may be poor arithmetic; but that is the actual practice, for example, in Dargwa.[18] Sometimes they cannot be witnesses at all.[19]

Sometimes women are not allowed to take an oath, for example in the District of Hyuraki,[20] or, at most, they may swear on the Koran as is the case in Sirgua.[21] In Hyuraki, the husband takes the oath instead, or, if the woman is not married, her nearest male relative takes it for her.[22] Never has she the right to take the *khatun-tallkh*, an oath, with an obligatory divorce as sanction (*supra*, pp. 134 f).[23]

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[14] "Kak živut Laki," SSKG, III (1870), pp. 4 f.

[15] "Domašnjaja i semejnaja žizn Dagestanskich gorcev Avarskago plemeni," SSKG, III (1870), pp. 31 f. Alichanov claimed that the women of Avaria were very independent (Cf. Hahn, "Putešestvie v Kachetiju i Dagestan (lětom 1898 goda)," SMOMPK, XXXI [1902], p. 93.) However there is no reason to suppose that their condition is more favourable than that of the women in other parts of Daghestan (Cf. Baddeley, *op. cit.*, II, p. 72).

[16] Kovalevskij, *Zakon*, I, p. 141.

[17] Although some of the customs have been influenced by Roman-Byzantine law (e. g., in Chechnia, Khevsuria, Svanetia, and Ossetia, as Kovalevskij believes, *l. c.*), it cannot be denied that laws regulating the position of women in religious and inter-tribal (or legal) matters are mostly purely-Caucasian adats.

[18] "Adaty Darginskich Obščestv," SSKG, VII (1873), pp. 71, 83 f.

[19] "Adaty Darginskich Obščestv," p. 99.

[20] "Adaty Darginskich Obščestv," p. 83.

[21] "Adaty Darginskich Obščestv," p. 70.

[22] "Adaty Darginskich Obščestv," pp. 83, 70, 99.

[23] The *khatun-tallkh* is in itself another form of inequality. A wife may be divorced simply because her husband has sworn falsely. She, however, may never take such an oath.

Women are generally excluded from being conjurors. One of the most common forms of evidence in the *adat* courts is conjury, an oath taken by an established number of relatives of the defendant or plaintiff. Any hesitation, refusal of one of the conjurors to swear, or failure to find the required number of conjurors are considered undeniable evidence. The oath is taken by each of the conjurors either on the Koran, or sometimes toe *khatun-tallkh* must be sworn. The practice of conjury is found among all Caucasian mountain tribes: Cherkess, Chechens, Lesghians, Georgians, neighbouring Tartars, Kumyks, etc.[24] The number of conjurors required depends on the gravity of the crime, the penalty connected with it, and on the social position of the contending parties and conjurors. The following is an example of a catalogue of conjurors established for theft in Mikakhi District.

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*For stealing sheep:*

| | |
|---|---|
| one sheep | 3 conjurors |
| two sheep | 4 conjurors |
| three sheep | 5 conjurors |
| four sheep | 6 conjurors |
| more than four | 6 conjurors |

*For stealing cows:*

| | |
|---|---|
| one cow | 5 conjurors |
| two cows | 10 conjurors |
| three cows | 12 conjurors |
| more than three | 12 conjurors |

*For stealing young domestic animals:*

| | |
|---|---|
| one colt less than three years old | 6 conjurors |
| one one-year-old calf | 3 conjurors |
| one two-year-old heifer | 5 conjurors |
| one two-year-old ox | 5 conjurors |
| one three-year-old ox | 6 conjurors |

This catalogue has been taken from the "Adat collection for the Districts of Dargwa Province."[25] For murder and crimes considered as serious as murder[26] the number of conjurors may be as high as 40. Generally only relatives may be conjurors. This requirement is evidently a reflection of the strong solidarity of the Caucasian sib: to swear falsely would bring ruin to the swearer, and should a large number of conjurors be required, the entire sib, living and dead, may be doomed. [682]

The proof by conjury is recognized by Islamic law, but its existence in the Caucasus need not be attributed to Mohammedanism. (1) Even in Arabia, it pre-existed Islamism. In fact Mohammed merely borrowed and incorporated the *kazama* into his system.[27] (2) Moreover, it is a widespread institution among

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[24] See the various *adat* collections. See also Kovalevskij, *Coutume contemp.*, especially pp. 443 f; *Code of King Vakhtang VI*, Karst edition, pp. 60, 179.

[25] "Adaty Darginskich Obščestv," SSKG, VII (1873), p. 53.

[26] *Supra*, Chapters XII and XIII.

[27] Goldziher, "Muhammedanisches Recht in Theorie und Wirklichkeit," *Zeitsch. f. vergl. Rechtw.*, VIII (1889), No. 3, p. 412.

562 peoples having a patriarchal organization, regardless of religion. We find it
695 among the ancient Indo-European Slavs, Germans, and Ossetes.[28] (3) We also find it among non-Mohammedans of Caucasus.

After this lengthy degression we can offer a few examples to illustrate the relation of conjury to the unequal status of women. In Mugn District (Dargwa Province) women are not allowed to be conjurors. If less than 12 conjurors are required by any *adat*, not only must all conjurors be *male* relatives, but relatives of the *father*.[29] In Hyuraki District[30] and elsewhere[31] female relatives may participate in the conjury only if they are necessary to complete the required number of 40.[32]

[682] The inferior position of the female sex is further expressed in the *adats* determining the amount of bloodwite. Sometimes, it is true, no distinction is made whether a man or a woman is the victim,[33] but sometimes a definite distinction *is* made. The Kurins, for instance, have an established bloodwite of Rs. 250 for the death of a man and only Rs. 125 for the death of a woman.[34] The Ossetine bloodwite for the murder of a man is twice as high as that for a woman.[35]

## § 2. DIVISION OF LABOUR

462 The NORTHWESTERN CAUCASIANS. It is no longer true that all the work must be done by the female members of the family.[36] The men do the ploughing, woodchopping, hunting, and in general all the heavy work; the women do the usual housework, cook, wash, sew and mend clothes, and work in the garden.[37] Formerly, of course, the situation was quite different. The reports of the 18th and 19th century picture the Cherkess and the Abkhaz

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[28] Kovalevskij, *Coutume contemp.*, p. 460.

[29] "Adaty Darginskich Obščestv," p. 60. For *adats* of the Tsudakhar District, see "Adaty Darginskich Obščestv," pp. 111 f.

[30] "Adaty Darginskich Obščestv," p. 84.

[31] "Adaty Darginskich Obščestv," p. 71.

[32] If there are still not enough conjurors, the oath must be repeated till the required number of oaths is reached. ("Adaty Darginskich Obščestv," p. 84.)

[33] "Adaty Južno-Dagestanskich Obščestv," SSKG, VIII (1875), p. 47. When we use the words "crime" and "murder" we understand them in the sense of the *adats*. To be more exact we should rather say "damage" and "homicide." Customary law is not interested in *guilt*. It aims to repair damages done to the family and sib, whether that damage be intentional or accidental. If a horse accidentally kicks and kills a passer-by, both the rider and the owner of the horse become blood-enemies of the victim's sib (Leontovič, II, pp. 45 ff). Since customary law is not interested in guilt, it is not interested in *punishing*. It aims to *repair* the damages, hence it matters little whether the "criminal" himself or another member of his family or sib is "punished."

[34] "Adaty Južno-Dagestanskich Obščestv," p. 7.

[35] Dubrovin, *Istorija*, I, i, p. 340.

[36] The position of the female sex in Khevsuria is somewhat better than elsewhere in the mountains (Požidaev, 106 f). She may even take her meals with her husband (Požidaev, *Gorcy severnogo Kavkaza*, p. 107). The Kumyks allow their wives more rights than are granted to women by the *adats* of the true Caucasians (Dubrovin, *Istorija*, I, ii, p. 639).

[37] Ladyženskij, FT, pp. 199 f.

[37] Ladyženskij, FT, p. 201.

menfolk as gentlemen of leisure, the women bearing the burden of the family work practically by themselves.[38] 462

The NORTHEASTERN CAUCASIANS. Practically all the work in the house and in the field is done by the women, while the men usually just stand idly by. The tasks done by the men are generally only seasonal, such as hay-cutting, woodchopping, and ploughing. The women, on the other hand, must slave day after day, doing very strenuous work. And even when they have finished their work out in the field and their other chores, they are kept busy sewing and mending clothes, etc. In a word, life in Chechnia and Ingushetia is that of busy bees and lazy drones.[39] Of course, today there is a marked improvement in the position of the female sex. Even if we allow for the frequent exaggeration of pre-Soviet explorers and *adat* collectors, we cannot deny that the Ingush women were obliged to bear a terribly disproportionate share of the family work. In "The Collection of *Adats* for the Ingush Province of the 1860's" we read: "Only very recently the natives of the Ingush Province, according to an ancient custom, considered the woman a work-animal, a 'thing,' not a being possessing human personality."[40] Vertepov in his monograph on the Ingushi attributes the disproportion in the Ingush sex ratio to the disproportionate division of work. His supposition is confirmed by the fact that the Ingushi of the plains have a much more equal division of labour and at the same time the sex ratio is much more normal.

TABLE 17

Ingush Sex Ratio (Vertepov, "Inguši," **Terskij Sbornik**, II [1892], No. 2, p. 99) [162]

| Location | Male | Female | Sex Ratio |
|---|---|---|---|
| Mountains | 53.5% | 46.5% | 115 : 100 |
| Lowlands | 51.2% | 48.8% | 104.9 : 100 |

The mountaineers of Daghestan belong to the same class of "idlers" as the other North Caucasians.[41] The Avar women must carry loads of wood and hay sometimes from great distances, while the men only idle their time away. Women carry as much as 120 pounds (three *puds*) at a time.[42] L'vov has painted the lot 562

[38] Dubrovin, *Istorija*, I, ii, p. 42.

[39] Baddeley, *op. cit.*, I, pp. 60, 93; Dubrovin, *Istorija*, I, i, p. 437; R. Erckert, *Der Kaukasus*, p. 137; Engelhardt und Parrot, *Reise in die Krym und den Kaukasus*, I, p. 242; Klaproth, "Voyage au Mont Caucase," *Nouvelle Bibliotheque*, XI, p. 175.

[40] Leontovič, II, p. 169, § 115: "Ešče ves'ma nedavno tuzemcy, naseljajuščie Inguševskij okrug, po obyčaju dobrago starago vremeni smotreli na ženščin, kak na rabočij skot, sčitali ženščinu veš'ju, ne podozrevaja v nej nikakoj čelovečeskoj ličnosti."

[41] Cf. Omarov, "Kak živut Laki," SSKG, IV (1871), pp. 1—24, where find long detailed account of harvest and work out in field.

[42] Abercromby, *A Trip through the Eastern Caucasus*," p. 101.

562 of the women of Avaria as a very miserable one indeed. A woman, he tells us, is regarded as nothing more than a "work-animal." The men prefer this sort of "domestic beast" because she can stand much more than a horse or an ox; the only difference between her and a domestic animal is that she eats bread while an animal is satisfied with hay.[43] An ideal wife in the eyes of the Avars is one that is robust and, above all, very diligent.[44] L'vov goes on to call the husband a "heartless tyrant." He may get himself a second wife and regard the first as his slave, and woe to this poor miserable slave-wife if she does not bear a child before the newcomer! Endless jeers and ridicule are all that she can expect! [606] By moving into the house of her husband, she becomes a servant of her mother-in-law, who does only the easy jobs, leaving the disagreeable and difficult tasks to her daughter-in-law.[45] The Dido,[46] Botlikh,[47] Kaitago-Tabassaranians[48] and the other Lesghians do not differ from the Avars.[49] In Daghestan, "it is derogatory for a man to carry anything less dignified than a gun."[50] While the husband stands about and gossips at the local mosque or putters with his gun, the 462 wife must slave from morn till night. The husband, of course, does the sowing, makes the hay, threshes, sheers the sheep, builds houses;[51] but these jobs are not sufficient to keep him busy all year round. The wife does most of the harvesting, and, as Svěčin puts it, "brings half of the grain on her shoulders, leaving the other half for the donkey."[52] She has to cut the grass for the animals, care for the horses, cook, weave, milk the cows, mind the children, do the usual housework, set the cakes of cow-dung out to dry, clean the wool, spin, and fetch water.[53] Even the small girls of the family must take part in all these tasks. Frequently one can see nine- to ten-year-old girls carrying unbelievably heavy jugs of water, while boys as old as they, if not older, sit around and amuse themselves.[54]

The SOUTHERN CAUCASIANS. Among the Khevsurs[55] and the Svans[56] it is again the female sex that must bear practically the whole burden of family work.

The traveller will frequently witness the typically Caucasian scene "of women working and men loafing" also in OSSETIA.[57] The men do the plough-

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[43] L'vov, "Domašnjaja i semejnaja žizn Dagestanskich gorcev Avarskago plemeni," SSKG, III (1870), p. 11, *note*.
[44] L'vov, *op. cit.*, p. 15.
[45] L'vov, *op. cit.*, p. 17.
[46] Merzbacher, *Aus den Hochregionen des Kaukasus*, II, p. 455.
[47] Erckert, *op. cit.*, p. 284; K. N. Rosnikov, "Poězdka v Čečnju i Nagornyj Dagestan," ZKO, XIII (1884), pp. 247.
[48] Amirov, *op. cit.*, p. 48.
[49] Amirov, "Sredi gorcev sěvernago Dagestana," SSKG, VII (1873), p. 48, claims that the Lak community of Batsa-Khari is an exception to this general rule.
[50] Abercromby, *op. cit.*, p. 174.
[51] Nansen, *op. cit.*, p. 104.
[52] Svěčin, "Očerk narodonaselenija, nravov i obyčaev Dagestancev," ZKO, II (1853), p. 63.
[53] Svěčin, *op. cit.*, p. 64.
[54] Svěčin, *l. c.*
[55] Eristov, "O Tušino-Pšavo-Chevsurskom Okrugě," ZKO, III (1855), p. 113.
[56] Dubrovin, *Istorija*, I, ii, p. 109.
[57] Baddeley, *op. cit.*, I, p. 69.

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ing transporting and selling the produce, build houses, and do the heavy work; however, this is far from being a full-time employment. The women, on the contrary, are busy all day long: they must milk the cows, fetch water from the well and wood from the forest, and, of course, look after the children. If a man were ever to do any of these jobs, he would become the laughing-stock of the village.[58] 462

## § 3. SPECIAL RIGHTS AND PRIVILEGES OF WOMEN

Despite all that we have said about the disadvantageous and even slavish condition of the woman in North Caucasia and neighbouring territory, the women enjoy certain rights and privileges which must not be overlooked. For example, throughout the Caucasus she alone is the *mistress* of the house.[59] 562 593

The NORTHWESTERN CAUCASIAN (as well as the Chechen), according to an *adat* of the Black Sea Line, Kuban and Terek Territories (§ 174), will permit no one to say anything unfavourable about his wife. The husband will tolerate an insult against his own father or mother, or even against himself, sooner than hear a single abusive word said against his wife.[60] When a daughter is married off into another sib the family does not lose all interest in her; on the contrary, it is this very interest that is her surest protection against ill-treatment. As we shall see in the following chapter, the husband who unjustly takes the life of his wife is infallibly avenged by her relatives. Moreover, the woman enjoys considerable freedom owing to the fact that her husband is frequently absent, either hunting or on a raid.[61] And even in the sixteenth century, as we read in G. B. Ramusio's *Raccolta di viaggi* (1583), the wife had a firm will of her own, which her husband usually respected. In a way, women are considered sacred: blood-vengeance will never take place before a woman,[62] and hence, she is an asylum like the sacred hearth-chain (*supra*, p. 127). The wife, or to be more exact, the mother of the household, is the sole mistress of the house and as such may arrange things within her little kingdom as she pleases and may even give orders to others.[63] In Abkhazia formerly a woman of a privileged class even had the right to preside at certain religious ceremonies, direct civil affairs, and be the leader in a raid.[64]

The NORTHEASTERN CAUCASIAN does not lose interest in his daughter after her marriage, and therefore he too compels her husband to 562 606

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[58] Čursin, *Osetini, etnografičeskij očerk*, p 39; Merzbacher, *op. cit.*, I, p. 204; see Hahn, "Po dolinach Čoroka, Urucha i Ardona," SMOMPK, XXV (1898), p. 32.

[59] Ladyženskij, "Zur Erforschung der Rechtsgewohnheiten der Bergvölker des Kaukasus," *Zeitsch. f. Ethnologie*, LXII (1930), p. 231.

[60] Leontovič, II, p. 254, § 175.

[61] Ladyženskij, FT, p. 201.

[62] Mourier, *Guide au Caucase*, I, p. 136.

[63] Castagné, "Le Droit coutumier familial des montagnards du Caucase," Révue des études islamiques, 1929, No. 2, p. 272.

[64] K. Mačavriani, "Někotoryja čerty iz žizni Abchazcev. Položenie ženščiny v Abchajii," SMOMPK, IV (1884), No. 2, p. 41; P. I. Kovalevskij, *Kavkaz, Narody Kavkaza*, pp. 34 f.

562 [606] respect her rights. Chechen women enjoy considerably more freedom than do the women in Daghestan.[65] But even the Lesghian women are not entirely without rights. We have seen how in matters regarding engagement and marriage the mother plays an important part. This may be a vestige of an ancient mother-right culture.

The SOUTHERN CAUCASIANS. Despite the slavish condition to which the South Caucasian *adats* condemn the female sex, the women are given certain unusual privileges, enjoyed not even by the menfolk. In Khevsuria[66] and Svanetia,[67] just as in W. Circassia[68] and OSSETIA,[69] a woman is able to put an end to a savage duel by a mere word or by her very presence. The Svan need but touch her and he is, at least temporarily, secure even in the presence of his bitterest enemy.[70]

Finally, we should not forget that the women are the official owners of their engagement and wedding gifts, and if divorced, also of the *kebin*.[71]

## § 4. PROBLEMS

562 628 [171] The two main problems of this chapter are: (1) Why must the women do most of the work? (2) Why is the status of women throughout the Caucasus so unfavourable? These questions can be answered only in the light of our entire study and in the light of the entire culture of the North Caucasians. Her unfavourable and still privileged position as mistress of the house and as an asylum for any murderer resembles very closely the condition of the women in a society such as that found among pastoral nomads of Asia. It is indeed difficult to determine just in how far the pastoral nomads of Asia are responsible for the status of women in North Caucasus and in how far the general economic conditions among the mountaineers have contributed to the position of the female sex. Here we wish to point out one important contributing factor, raids and blood-feuds. By no means do we maintain that this is the *most* important or the *only* factor; it is, however, *a very important* one. Any mountaineer may object to the accusation that he is an idler by saying: "We men are constantly exposing our lives for our wives and children, while the women are able to work in peace and security. How can we be soldiers and farmers at the same time?" Amirov heard the same argument used in Kaitago-Tabassaran, where formerly there was hardly a man in all Kaitago that had not killed or cooperated in killing another man. As a consequence of feuds, the men had to be constantly on the lookout, constantly hiding, and frequently

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[65] B. Plaetschke, *Die Tschetschenen*, p. 33.
[66] Estad-Bey, *op. cit.*, p. 267.
[67] Dirr, FT, p. 43.
[68] Mourier, *Guide au Caucase*, I, p. 136.
[69] N. F. Takoeva, "Kosta Chetagurov — narodnyj poet osetin etnograf-kavkazoved," SE, 1949, No. 2, p. 129.
[70] Dirr, *l. c.*
[71] Kovalevskij, *Zakon*, I, p. 143.

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away from home.[72] It is indeed striking that, with the disappearance of blood-feuds, the men have begun to take a more and more active part in the family work.[73]

[72] Amirov, "Srědi gorcev sěvernago Dagestana," SSKG, VII (1873), p. 48.
In regard to the Chechens, see Dubrovin, *Istorija*, I, i, pp. 437 f.

[73] For more material on the position of the female sex in the Caucasian society see the following:
Olearius, *Ueber den Zustand Russlands zur Zeit des Alexei Michailowitsch*; J. de Lucca, *Rélations des Tartares, Percopites et Nogaies, des Circassiens, etc.*; Ramusio, *Raccolta di Viaggi*.
Hahn, "Putešestvie v Kachetiju i Dagestan," SMOMPK, XXXI (1902), No. 2, pp. 49—96.
Alichanov, Series of articles in the *Kavkaz*, "V gorach Dagestana."
Leontovič, "Otnošenie muža k žene," *Adaty Kavkazskich Gorcev*, II, pp. 98 ff.
Mačavarian, "Někotoryja čerty iz žizni abchazcev. Položenie ženščiny v Abchazii," SMOMPK, IV (1884), No. 2, pp. 40—76.
Zacharov, "Domašnij i socialnyj byt ženščiny u Zakavkazskich Tatar," SMOMPK, XX (1894), pp. 91—151.
Steinberg, "Pravovyje položenije ženščiny v Dagestanč," *Novij Vostok*, 1929, No. 26—27.

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trace of this epoch. He goes on to say that the *kalym* was originally a form of 591
bloodwite demanded for bride-stealing, which later evolved into a means of 583
compensating the family of the bride for the loss of a worker. Although Ladyženskij's interpretations are generally good, we connot agree with him in this particular point. It has never been proven that bride-stealing was the original form of marriage anywhere in the world. Moreover, it seems to be much more probable that bride-stealing resulted from the practice of bride purchase rather than vice versa. That *kalym* evolved from bloodwite is very improbable, especially in the Caucasus, because reconciliation by means of bloodwite seems to be a relatively recent substitution for actual blood vengeance.

(2) The various husband-wife avoidances, such as not mentioning the name 593
of one's husband or wife, not using the second person, avoiding all conversation 562
in public, etc. may be an expression of the superior position of the male sex in 602
Caucasian society (cf. *supra*, pp. 152—159).[40]

(3) The parent and parent-in-law avoidance, the obligatory avoidance of 606
older male relatives of the husband, the prohibition of inquiring about the health 602
of the wife's or husband's relatives, and similar practices are difficult to explain.

Parent-in-law avoidances are certainly among the most universal practices [671]
known to man. In fact, this form of avoidance is so universal that Lowie does not hesitate to write, "From the extremely wide range of parent-in-law avoidance, the absolute universality of these rules might be conjectured on the ground that, where unrecorded, the customs have merely eluded notice."[41] In Australia, for example, "it was formerly death for a man to speak to his mother-in-law."[42] In New Britain if a man were speaking accidently with his mother-in-law, the horror of the "crime" would most likely lead to suicide.[43]

The interpretation of parent-in-law taboos has baffled all ethnologists, and a satisfactory answer still has not been given. The parent-in-law avoidance has been connected with exogamy and bride-capture;[44] it has been considered a vestige of matriarchy, an expression of awe for the mistress of the household;[45] it has also been considered as a means to prevent improper intercourse. We may have here a case of convergence, based more on human psychology than on any particular institution; nor is there any reason to attribute the same cause for the practice in all parts of the world. This is but another important ethnological problem that waits to be solved.

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[40] The Caucasians seem to be of the opinion that separation is the best means of fostering conjugal love (cf. Leontovič, II, pp. 254 f, § 176).

[41] *Primitive Society*, p. 88.

[42] Howitt, *The Native Tribes of South East Australia*, p. 267.

[43] H. H. Romilly, "The Islands of the New Britain Group," *Proceedings of the Royal Geographical Society*, n. s. IX, p. 9.

[44] Cf. A. H. Post, "Ueber die Sitte, nach welcher Verlobte und Ehegatten ihre gegenseitigen Verwandten meiden," *Globus*, LXVII (1895), pp. 176 f.

[45] Cf. R. Briffault, *op. cit.*, I, pp. 266 f.

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# IV. CONCLUSION

## Chapter XIV

## Conclusion

### § 1. MARRIAGE AND THE FAMILY OF THE CAUCASIANS IN THE LIGHT OF HISTORY

#### 1. Russian (Soviet and Pre-Soviet) Influence

That the Russian military, political, and cultural influence has greatly affected, changed and unified, the marriage and family customs of the various peoples of the Caucasus cannot be denied. We need but recall some of the many facts we have pointed out in our comparative study. 177.59 583

(1) The Russians, we have seen, severely prosecute *polygyny* (*supra*, p. 39) and not without success. The relative scarcity of polygamous unions throughout North Caucasus and the neighbourhood, regardless of how ethnically different the tribes may be, must be attributed, at least in part, to Russian legislation. 177.59 595

(2) In recent times both mates have begun to enjoy greater *freedom of choice*, (*supra*, p. 76), thanks to the Russian insistance on freedom in mating as a *conditio sine qua non* for a legally valid marriage. [584]

(3) We have also observed how rapidly *bride purchase* was disappearing or assuming an entirely different significance throughout the Caucasus, again, at least in part, owing to Russian legislation, industrialization, and education (*supra*, pp. 83, 87, 90). [583]

(4) *Bride price, bloodwite*, etc. were formerly measured in cows, horses, sheep, and oxen, but now they are measured in money : not in live stock but in Russian rubles ! (*Supra*, pp. 82—89, 95, 168—179).

(5) The Russian opposition to *bride capture* has helped to make the practice become rare (*supra*, pp. 97 f). It was Russian positive law gaining ascendency over the *patria potestas* and its insistance on freedom of choice that encouraged and even defended elopement (*supra*, p. 98).

(6) The general disappearance of slavery and the associated sociological consequences, e. g., *the marriage impediments*, [582] 567

(7) the *less severe penalties for sex crimes* which are gradually being adopted by all tribes of Caucasia (*supra*, pp. 175, 180). 177.68 684

(8) and the improvement in the *status of the female sex*, all must be reckoned among the effects of Russian and Soviet influence. 177.56 562

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essential parallels—characteristic of the Turco-Mongolian family are: the almost complete absence of mother-right and totemistic practices, the emphasis placed on the joint-family and the male members, special rights for the first-born son, importance of the male head of the family and the *patria potestas*, the disadvantageous position of the female sex, blood-feuds, exogamy, the *kalym*, which is usually paid in live-stock, the dread of incest, the severe penalties for sexual offenses, fireplace ceremony at weddings, the high esteem for the bride's virginity, the unusual craving for male children, the importance of the bridal procession, etc. 174 58 59

There is also a religious connection between the North Caucasians, the Indo-Europeans, and the Turco-Mongols, a connection that confirms our claim of the existence of a social connection between the three groups. It is not only the *similarity* of the religions of the three groups that we must keep in mind but also the intimate connection, the *organic* connection, between the nomadic social and religious forms. The solidarity which exists among the members of a sib, the great longing for male children, blood-feuds, the levirate, the *patria potestas*, the wedding custom of walking around the fireplace, and many other practices are fundamentally connected with ancestor worship and cult for the dead. Ancestor worship is one of the essential features of the religion of the Indo-Europeans, the Turco-Mongols, and the North Caucasians. Moreover, among all three groups ancestor worship is linked up with the worship of the fireplace. Another very essential part of the pastoral nomadic religion was the custom of sacrificing horses. W. Koppers has shown the great similarity between the horse-sacrifices of the Indo-European and Altai peoples;[48] R. Bleichsteiner proved beyond question the existence of the practice throughout the highlands of Caucasia.[49] Horse-sacrifices among the Indo-Europeans and the North Caucasians are certainly of Inner Asiatic origin. [177] [769] [762] [171]

Thus we see that even though the North Caucasians are not pastoral nomadic in the economic sense—the economy of the steppes is impossible in the mountains, especially in the unfertile valleys of the Caucasus—they are pastoral nomadic in their social organization. *A connection between the North Caucasian society and that of Inner Asia is beyond question.*

### 3. Vestiges of More Ancient Cultures In the Marriage and Family Customary Laws of the North Caucasians

As is only natural, the deeper we delve into the history of the marriage and family *adats* the more obscure the history becomes. 611 562

First of all there are the so-called mother-right vestiges which we must consider. It is interesting to note that the intensity of these vestiges among the three different groups of Caucasians (Northwestern, Northeastern, and Southern)

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[48] W. Koppers, *op. cit.*, pp. 12 f, 18—22. See also W. Koppers, "Pferdeopfer und Pferdekult der Indogermanen," *Wiener Beiträge zur Kulturgeschichte und Linguistik*, IV (1936), pp. 280—411.

[49] "Rossweihe und Pferderennen im Totenkult der kaukasischen Völker," *Wiener Beiträge zur Kulturgeschichte und Linguistik*, IV (1936), pp. 412—495.

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seems to be inversely proportional to the intensity of pastoral traits in the given group: the Southern Caucasians possess by far more vestiges of a mother-right culture than the Northerners; and again, the Northeasterners possess more of these vestiges than the Northwesterners.

It is of course difficult to determine just what one may call a mother-right trait and what not. Some of the practices we shall now review briefly are therefore only doubtfully vestiges of such a culture; others must be considered as good indications of such a culture; finally, others, I think, can be called genuine vestiges.

(1) *Before delivery a Cherkess woman goes to her own mother's house to give birth to her child;* her husband may not visit her during this time.[50]

(2) Our chapter on marital, parental, and kinship avoidances contains a number of possible vestiges, especially *the temporary return of the bride to her family after the wedding* and the temporary *visit-marriage.*[51]

(3) Then there is the *important part played by the mother in the wedding customs* of the mountaineers,[52] which we termed "suspiciously matriarchal." The Lesghian mother (not father !) welcomes the bride into the house, as if she were the head of the family. It is the mother who holds the bride's hand as she crosses the threshold. It is the maternal uncle who has led the bride's horse in the Ingiloian bridal procession from the bride's home to that of the groom. It is the mother who puts the honey into the mouth of the bride as a sign that she has a sweet life ahead of her under such an amiable mistress. And it was the mother who, by presenting the engagement gifts, concluded the betrothal contract.

(4) If a *murderer kills a pregnant woman he is obliged to pay an additional* fine of Rs. 30 to the victim's (not husband's) sib; the Rs. 30 are perhaps for the loss of the unborn child, who formerly belonged to the mother's sib.[53]

(5) The *mother of the girl recieves a horse as part of the Ossetine*[54] *and Temirgoian*[55] *bride price.*

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[50] Bleichsteiner ("Kaukasische Völker," *Reallexikon der Vorgeschichte*, VI, p. 259 f) accepts this custom as a true vestige; Ladyženskij (FT, p. 188) rejects it. In our opinion the practice may be rightly looked upon as a *possible*, though not absolutely certain, vestige. In his translation of Ladyženskij's article Dirr adds a note, disagreeing with the author: "Ganz so einfach liegt wohl die Sache nicht. Die Mutter konnte ja auch zu ihrer Tochter kommen." In other words, Dirr objects that if the only reason for the return of the expectant mother to her family were merely to receive the necessary assistance at childbirth, as Ladyženskij believes to be the case, then why does not the mother come to her daughter's home instead? Ladyženskij takes up the question again and defends his position in a subsequent article ("Zur Erforschung der Rechtsgewohnheiten der Bergvölker des Kaukasus," *Zeitschrift für Ethnologie*, XLII [1930], pp. 238 f). He argues that it is simply impossible for the mother to go to her daughter's home: in the first place, she must stay at home, being the mistress of the household; in the second place, it is strictly prohibited by custom for her to live at the home of her son-in-law at any time whatsoever. This answer to Dirr's objection is certainly insufficient: if the daughter actually returned to her family merely because she needs help at childbirth, it would seem rather strange that she could not get this necessary assistance at her own home from her mother-in-law or her sisters-in-law.

[51] *Supra*, pp. 165 ff.

[52] *Supra*, pp. 124, 128.

[53] *Supra*, p. 139.

[54] *Supra*, p. 87. The horse is called *madi-bash*.

[55] Vasil'kov, "Očerk byta temirgoevcev," SMOMPK, XXIX (1901), p. 91.

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[For information on the Ukrainians in the Kuban Region, 1900-1933, see: 8: Fedenko, RD1 Ukraine, cat. 116, pp. 60-62. -- Analyst]

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132 vegetation is abundant, and near the sea semi-tropical in its luxuriance.

East of the Suram Mountains the climate is dry, with extremes of heat and cold. The summer is oppressively hot, particularly in the Kura valley. The Caspian basin, as a whole, suffers from drought, and in the Baku district violent sand and dust storms are common.

The climate in the Armenian Highlands shows characteristics similar to those of the two areas above described. At Alexandropol snow lies till the middle of April, spring lasts a fortnight, and the summer parches the country to the condition of a desert. The Aras valley has a somewhat less rigorous climate.

Recent climatic statistics for the three areas are shown in the table given on p. 7.

### (4) Sanitary Conditions

[144] Sanitation in anything like the modern sense of the
164 word is practically unknown in Transcaucasia. Medical facilities, except in the larger towns, are practically non-existent. Constant epidemics of malaria are caused by the marshy conditions prevailing on the Black Sea coast, and in the valleys of the Rion, Aras, and Kura. Goitre and epilepsy are common among the natives of Svanetia. Leprosy occurs among the poorer classes of the Persian population. Elisavetopol is notorious for the so-called Sartian sickness, a kind of skin eruption.

### (5) Race and Language

563 Of the numerous peoples represented in Caucasia,
197 some belong to the white race, others to the Mongolian
101 or yellow race.

I. The inhabitants who are of white race belong to the Indo-European, Semitic, or Caucasian families.

*Indo-European Family.*—Everywhere there are *Russian* officials, merchants, and soldiers, and there are also large numbers of peasants, who are either voluntary colonists or religious exiles from European Russia. They speak both Great and Little Russian.

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*Germans*, who came originally from Württemberg, live chiefly in the Tiflis Government and at Helenendorf near Elisavetopol. 563 197 101

There are some 14,000 *Greeks* in Tiflis, near the Turkish frontier, and in Chernomoria. They speak a corrupt form of Greek.

The *Iranians* include *Persians* at Tiflis, who number several thousands; the *Tates*, *Tats*, or *Tads*, descendants of Persian conquerors, who live chiefly in Baku, and speak either Persian or Tatar; the *Talyshes*, who are also of Persian descent, and live in the Lenkoran district; the *Kurds*, who come from the mountains on the Assyrian border, and have spread over a large part of Asia Minor and the Caucasus; and the *Ossetes* (calling themselves *Iron*), who occupy the central mountainous region from Mount Elbruz to Mount Kazbek in the east, and from Vladikavkaz in Ciscaucasia to the district round Dushet and Gori in the Tiflis Government.

The *Armenians* form the merchant and trading class in most of the towns. Armenian peasants are chiefly confined to the Governments of Erivan and Elisavetopol; they are more virile than the townbred Armenians, and cannot be easily distinguished from the Tatars.

*Semitic Family.*—There are over 45,000 *Jews* in the Tiflis and Kutais Governments and in Daghestan. The Jews of Tiflis and Kutais speak Georgian, those of Daghestan local dialects.

*Caucasian Family.*—This family is divided into three groups: the Kartalian or southern, the western Highland, and the eastern Highland. The language of the Kartalian group, except when otherwise stated, is Georgian; there are many dialects. The language is distinct from those of the Indo-European family, but has few affinities with other main Caucasian groups. To the *Kartalian group* belong the *Georgians* or *Gruzians*, who form the majority of the population of the Government of Tiflis, inhabiting the upper reaches of the Kura from Akhaltsikh to below Tiflis

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563 and the Yora and Alazan plains as far as Zakatali.
197 The *Imeretians* live in the Kutais Government, west
101 of the Suram Mountains as far as the River Tskhenis Tskhali. The *Gurians* are found between the Rion and the Chorokh. The *Adzharians* and *Kabuletians* live in the Adzharis Tskhali valley in the Batum Province. The *Khevsurs*, *Tushes*, and *Pshavs* are wild mountain tribes belonging to the central Caucasus. The *Mingrelians* inhabit the country between the Rion, Ingur, Tskhenis Tskhali, and the Black Sea. There are a few *Lazis* in the south-west corner of Transcaucasia; most of this tribe live in Turkish territory in Lazistan. The *Svanetians* live in the valleys of the upper Ingur and Tskhenis Tskhali on the southern slopes of the main Caucasian chain.

[144] To the *western Highland group* belong the tribes who call themselves *Adighé*, but whom the Russians call *Cherkess* (Circassians). They used to inhabit the Caucasus range from Taman to Pitsunda and the left bank of the Kuban in Ciscaucasia. They speak a harsh dialect of their own. The *Abkhasians*, who speak a similar dialect, occupy the Black Sea coast from Pitsunda to the Ingur.

Of the peoples in the *eastern Highland group*, the *Chechentsy* or *Chechens* live mostly in the Terek Province, but there are still a few on the Daghestan frontier. The *Lesghians*, including the *Avar*, *Darginian*, and *Kurinian* tribes, are the chief occupants of the Daghestan Highlands. They speak a guttural dialect of their own, though in the east the Azarbaijan Tatar patois is in common use.

[144] II. Of the peoples of Mongolian race the chief are the *Tatars*, who mostly come from the Persian province of Azarbaijan and occupy both banks of the middle and lower Kura, intermingled with Armenian and Kurd colonies. Their language is akin to Turkish, and is the *lingua franca* of western and southern Transcaucasia. There are a few *Nogaitsy* Tatars in Daghestan.
101 The Tatars in Kars Province are known as the
563 *Karapapakhs*. The *Kumyks*, who live on the Daghestan

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coast north of Derbent, are closely akin to the Azarbaijan Tatars. The *Turks* or *Osmanli* live chiefly in the Provinces of Kars and Batum. In the Province of Kars there are a few *Turcomans*.

To sum up for Transcaucasia, it may be said that the four important peoples are the Russians, Georgians, Armenians, and Tatars. It is upon these peoples and their mutual relations that the future of the country depends.

The official census of 1897 gave statistics of the various peoples in Transcaucasia. Though with regard to the more remote tribes these figures are only approximate, they are the best available and have served as a basis for all subsequent estimates. The distribution of the various peoples is shown in the following table:

GOVERNMENTS AND PROVINCES[1]

| | *Baku.* | *Daghestan.* | *Elisavetopol.* | *Kars.* | *Kutais.* | *Tiflis.* | *Chernomoria.* | *Erivan.* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Abkhasians | 2 | 28 | — | 7 | 59,469 | 46 | 2 | — |
| Armenians | 52,233 | 1,636 | 292,188 | 73,406 | 24,043 | 196,189 | 6,285 | 441,000 |
| Chechens | 10 | 757 | 13 | 63 | 46 | 2,207 | 5 | 3 |
| Cherkess | 18 | 37 | 10 | 71 | 165 | — | 1,939 | 1 |
| Czechs | 149 | 19 | 25 | 11 | 167 | 245 | 1,290 | 36 |
| Georgians | 1,616 | 375 | 1,239 | 526 | 343,929 | 465,537 | 976 | 566 |
| Germans | 3,430 | 261 | 3,194 | 430 | 1,065 | 8,340 | 748 | 210 |
| Greeks | 278 | 38 | 558 | 32,593 | 14,482 | 27,118 | 5,969 | 1,323 |
| Imeretians | 23 | 20 | 119 | 7 | 270,513 | 1,546 | 158 | 9 |
| Jews | 8,172 | 7,361 | 185 | 1,138 | 7,006 | 5,188 | 990 | 850 |
| Kabards | 23 | 31 | — | 19 | 7 | 14 | — | — |
| Karachais | — | 4 | 29 | 6 | 16 | 67 | — | 3 |
| Kumyks | 26 | 51,209 | 2 | 21 | 24 | 25 | 3 | 5 |
| Kurds | 8 | 22 | 3,042 | 42,968 | 1,824 | 2,538 | 22 | 49,389 |
| Lesghians | 62,972 | 450,912 | 22,601 | 524 | 446 | 43,094 | 72 | 124 |
| Lithuanians | 272 | 520 | 116 | 892 | 450 | 1,263 | 47 | 384 |
| Mingrelians | 39 | 10 | 37 | 10 | 238,655 | 498 | 304 | 13 |
| Moldavians | 48 | 66 | 105 | 46 | 197 | 198 | 923 | 29 |
| Nogai | — | 1,909 | — | 1 | — | 18 | — | 12 |
| Osmanli | 1,255 | 18 | 9 | 63,547 | 46,665 | 24,722 | 650 | 245 |
| Ossetes | 113 | 113 | 96 | 520 | 4,240 | 67,268 | 12 | 112 |
| Persians | 5,973 | 1,720 | 338 | 568 | 1,022 | 1,991 | 210 | 235 |
| Poles | 1,439 | 1,630 | 616 | 3,243 | 1,938 | 6,282 | 731 | 1,385 |
| Russians | 77,681 | 16,044 | 17,875 | 27,856 | 23,443 | 85,772 | 34,546 | 13,937 |
| Tatars | 485,146 | 32,143 | 534,086 | 2,347 | 750 | 107,383 | 291 | 313,176 |
| Tates | 89,519 | 2,998 | 1,753 | 6 | 34 | 16 | 2 | 709 |
| Turcomans | 74 | 9 | 4 | 8,442 | 8 | 12 | — | 1 |

[1] The Province of Batum and the District of Sukhum are included in the Government of Kutais. The District of Zakatali is included in the Government of Tiflis.

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563 It will be seen from the above figures that Russians
162 form a majority in Chernomoria only, while the Armenians form a large majority in the Government of Erivan and the Province of Kars, the Georgians in the Governments of Kutais and Tiflis, the Tatars in the Governments of Baku and Elisavetopol, and the Lesghians in Daghestan.

## (6) Population.

### *Distribution and Density*

161 The Russian official census of 1897 gave the total population of Transcaucasia as about 5,565,000. Since then various estimates have been made, based upon this census and the yearly increase of the population so far as it could be ascertained.

*The Statesman's Year Book* for 1918 gives the following statistics (approximate) for the population on January 1, 1915:

| *Area.* | *Population.* | *Density per Square Mile.* |
|---|---|---|
| Baku | 1,119,600 | 75 |
| Batum | 186,000 | 69 |
| Chernomoria | 201,800 | 63 |
| Daghestan | 732,600 | 64 |
| Elisavetopol | 1,117,200 | 66 |
| Erivan | 1,034,800 | 96 |
| Kars | 403,000 | 56 |
| Kutais | 1,070,300 | 130 |
| Sukhum | 147,600 | 58 |
| Tiflis | 1,394,800 | 88 |
| Zakatali | 101,800 | 66 |
| Total | 7,509,500 | 79 |

From this it will be seen that the population is densest in the Governments of Kutais, Erivan, and Tiflis, where the soil is richest and agriculture is the general occupation. The density of the population in the Government of Baku is largely due to the existence of the oil-fields.

### *Towns*

361 *Tiflis* (population in 1913, 327,800) is the capital of
161 Caucasia and the largest town. Next in size is *Baku*

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from the District Courts' decisions could be taken to the 631
Supreme Court at Tiflis, and from that to Peters- 692
burg. The Courts were accessible and cheap, and there was no discrimination between Russian subjects and foreigners in legal proceedings; but judgements given in Russian Courts had no effect in England, nor decisions obtained in England in Russia.

The Cossack communities are divided into *stanitzas* 631
or villages, each *stanitza* having an elected assembly of 563
30 members; in populous *stanitzas* one man is elected from every ten households. These assemblies have wider powers than the usual *mir* or commune, viz. division of land, assessment of taxes, regulation of schools, grain stores, cultivation, &c., and the election of elders (*ataman*) and judges.

When the Revolution occurred in 1917, the Viceroy was recalled, and the various nationalities in the Caucasus arranged representative National Assemblies; but, as chaos in the Empire increased, relations were broken off with the Central Government. A separate [642]
Transcaucasian Republic was formed, in the Government of which Armenians, Tatars, and Georgians were equally represented; and another new state called the Republic of Daghestan, under the presidency of a Lesghian of the Mohammedan faith, also emerged. The Cossacks, however, remained aloof.

## (3) Educational

Public education was in the hands of the State, or was 871
directly controlled by it. The number of persons able [212]
to read or write in the Caucasus in 1912 was only 17 per cent., and the percentage of schools to the population was very low. Some progress was made in the provision of instruction during 1912 and 1913, but the outbreak of war hindered the completion of the various schemes put forward, in particular by the towns of Anapa, Novorossiisk, Yeisk, Temryuk, Maikop, Grozni, Georgievsk, Pyatigorsk, and Stavropol in

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## III

## THE COMING OF THE RUSSIANS

At the beginning of the sixteenth century, when the Tsars 175
of Moscow had finally thrown off the yoke of the Golden Horde and established a nucleus of the Russian State, they found themselves confronted on the west by an aggressive Poland, dominating many hundreds of miles of Russian land, on the north-west by a Sweden which controlled all the Baltic coast, on the south by a Turkey which choked any development towards the Black Sea. Each of these three Powers in turn aspired to dominate Russian politics; the first two supported their pretenders to the Russian Crown, the third periodically sent the Crim Khans to burn Moscow, Kursk or Orel, and ravage all the broad lands around. In such circumstances did the Muscovite Tsars evolve the vast strategic plan the ultimate object of which was to be the control of their own gates—of the Baltic and the Black Seas. And the history of Russian expansion has been the history of the development of this plan, of the great agricultural lords of Muscovy directing the march of their peasant soldiers towards the river-mouths, that they might sell their grain and hides and minerals without the warranty of Swede or Pole or Turk.

On the vast southern front of the Russian State the expansion assumed the form of a struggle with the Ottoman Porte for the control of the Black Sea, which may be divided into two phases: the wars to acquire the Crimea and the mouths of the Don, Dnieper and Dniester; and the wars to secure the western and eastern flanks and the fortress commanding the entrance to the inland sea—the Balkans, the Caucasus and Constantinople.

The first bands of Cossacks, the forerunners of the Russians, 175
appeared in the steppes to the north of the Caucasus in the 563
beginning of the 16th century. They settled along the northern banks of the Sunja, and along the Lower Terek, founding Tarku and Andreyevo. These received the names of Grebenisi (*greben*, "a ridge") and Terek Cossacks. They mixed much with the adjoining Kabardan and Chechen tribes, and acquired many of their customs and methods of agriculture. "The Cossacks of that day," says Baddeley, "were probably at most the equals in civilisation of the Chechens and Kumiks, and certainly the inferior of the Adighé, to whom belonged

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175 the Kabardian princes and people." It was not until the be-
563 ginning of the eighteenth century that the Grebentsi and Terek Cossacks felt the effective power of the Tsar, but in 1712 Peter the Great's celebrated admiral, Apraxin, received their official submission, and five years later they furnished a contingent for the ill-fated Khivan expedition of Bekovich-Cherkasski.

175 The gradual approach of Russia to the Northern Caucasus was of considerable interest to the Georgian princes. They saw in allegiance to the Tsar an alternative to the humiliating necessity of perennially seeking the patronage or protection of either of the two Mussulman Powers, and the more patriotic looked forward to the possibility of liberating and reuniting their country with the support of the great Orthodox Tsar. As early as 1586 King Alexander of Kakhetia had applied for Russian help against the Shamkhal of Tarku. A Russian expedition under the Boyar Khvorostin was cut to pieces by the Shamkhal (1594), but Tsar Feodor Ivanovich nevertheless assumed, somewhat prematurely, the title of "Lord of the Iberian Land, of the Tsars of Georgia, of Kabarda, of the Cherkess and Mountain Princes." The Shamkhal destroyed another Russian force in 1599, and the brief *rapprochement* between Russia and Georgia was terminated by the death of two of the principals to a dual marriage which had been intended to unite the families of Tsar Boris Godunov and of the Karthalinian Bagratids.

Throughout the seventeenth century intrigues continued without any definite results between the Russians and the Georgian princes. The heroic King Taimuraz of Kakhetia spent a long and arduous life in a struggle against the Persians and in vain journeyings both to Constantinople and to Moscow, to solicit foreign assistance. The Russians sent a mission on one occasion to Kutais (1658), and a few years later (1664) intervened at Isfahan in favour of a Georgian King who had, as a matter of fact, already been assassinated. But throughout the seventeenth century they had not the power, had they the will, to try conclusions with Persia or Turkey in Transcaucasia.

In 1722 Peter the Great, having pursued a chequered career of conquest against the Swedes on the Baltic and the Turks on the Black Sea, directed his attention to Persia and the Caspian. In Persia the last of the Safavid Shahs were confronted with civil war and a desperate Afghan invasion, and Peter took advantage of the anarchy by making an attack on Russian property at Shemakha the excuse for invading the

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the towns of Akhaltsikh, Akhalkalaki and Khertvis; and advanced as far as Erzerum and Baiburt. By the Treaty of Adrianople (1828) Russia remained in possession of Anapa, and all Guria and the Pashalik of Akhaltsikh. 175

Thus, in three-quarters of a century of war the Russian frontiers had been advanced from the Kuban and the Terek to the Chorokh and the Araxes, and she came into the possession of a territory whose economic possibilities had yet to be realised and whose strategic position gave to her the opportunity of dominating the policies both of Persia and of Turkey.

## IV

### THE MOUNTAIN WAR (1816–1864)

DURING the thirty years in which the conquest of Transcaucasia was in process, the Russians were engaged simultaneously in organising the vast territories in the North Caucasus which had come under their rule through the gradual settlement of Cossack bands, the expulsion of the native nomad tribes, and the exclusion of the Turks. Until the middle of the eighteenth century the Cossacks of the Terek had been virtually independent and associated freely with the native tribes, with whom they came into conflict in mutual raids, but with whom their relations were no more hostile than were those of the tribes with each other. But as the power of the central authority increased, the dividing line between the Cossacks and the Caucasian tribes became more distinct. On the one hand the Cossacks were organised into *voiskos* or military divisions, and in 1816 forfeited the right of electing their own *atamans*. On the other hand the native tribes, who had fraternised with the free Cossack communities, regarded with suspicion that Muscovite Government which had treated with such harshness the Lowland Tatars and which seemed determined to check the raiding expeditions which had been their occupation for centuries. 175 563 721

Further, the Turkish wars and the constant propaganda of Mussulman mullahs tended to accentuate their distrust and to arouse their fanaticism. The continued independence and hostility of the mountaineers were intolerable to the Russian Government. On the one hand the raids of the mountaineers caused considerable harm to the prosperity of the colonists; 175 721

5: Allen H-4 (no date) 1923 RH1 Caucasia RH1



466 *Labour Conditions: Recent Socialist Legislation.*—Previous to the Revolution the economic conditions of the working classes in the Caucasus had left much to be desired. During the first decade of the present century the organisation of unions and their subsequent action had caused the employers, particularly foreign, to concede a number of amelioratory measures, such as the construction of model houses, schools, public libraries, baths and hospitals. The conditions of living on the petroleum fields was less satisfactory than those of the mining-regions, and it was at Baku that the labouring classes were most unsettled. In the summer of 1914 some very significant strikes took place. The demands of the men included better housing, improvement of sanitary conditions of dwellings, a month's holiday each year on full pay, the abolition of overtime and piece-work, etc., etc. It was difficult to foresee to what results the strikes would have led had they continued. At the beginning of war, however, the strikes suddenly came to an end by the men resuming work.

466 578 563 On the outbreak of the Russian Revolution Baku proved to be one of the centres of industrial extremism, and when the Bolsheviks seized power in the autumn of 1917 a Soviet administration was established in the oil-fields which endured until the middle of 1918. With the Turkish occupation the conservative oil-magnates were restored to power, and, basing their policy on the principles of Turan and Islam, they were successful in obtaining the support of the Tatar workmen against their Armenian and Russian fellows. The differences between the Mussulman and Christian elements continued to divide the proletariat of the oil-fields, and the hostility of the Armenian and Russian workmen towards the Tatar Government was one of the factors favourable to the re-establishment of a Russian Bolshevist régime.

466 563 In Georgia, where the industrial element was weaker, the tendency towards extremism was less marked. The Social Democrats indeed had to base their policy on the support of the peasants who, secure in the possession of their land, evinced little sympathy for any other principles of social evolution. A series of regulations establishing workmen's committees to participate in the management of concerns, regulating wages in accordance with the cost of living, guaranteeing security of employment and imposing State arbitration in the case of disputes, were the only modifications of the former industrial organisation which the Social Democratic Government introduced. This moderation in industrial legislation, combined

5: Allen H-4 (no date) 1923 RH1 Caucasia RH1



with the repression of national minorities, tended to form among the Russian and Armenian workmen in Tiflis and Batum a Bolshevist minority. 466 563

The only result of the Revolution which appears likely to be permanent are the measures which expropriated the landowners and gave possession of the land to the peasants. 423

This agrarian revolution was effected by a decree of the Transcaucasian Commissariat (December 16, 1917) which alienated from the original landowners all property over a certain fixed average (about 19 acres of land under intensive culture, vines, tobacco, cotton, etc.; about 41 acres of land under cereals; about 109 acres of pasturage) and appointed local commissions to supervise the division of the land confiscated among those holding less than the scheduled acreage, and among the majority who had hitherto been employed on the land only as paid labourers. In Georgia this agrarian revolution was carried out almost without bloodshed, for whilst many of the largest landowners were Russian Grand Dukes and officers absent from the Caucasus or impotent to protest, the native aristocracy wisely gave their approval to the measure.

In the Tatar districts the change was by no means recognised, and in many parts the begs, supported by the influence of the mullahs, succeeded in maintaining their position.

*Conclusion.*—The economic and social future of the Caucasus is necessarily involved in that of Russia, and the Soviet system of government is being introduced into the Caucasus, in conformity with that of Russia. It is consequently impossible to give here any present financial or commercial details of permanent value. Two points are, however, evident. Firstly, if the industries of the Caucasus—petroleum and manganese—are to be revived, and if its natural resources—copper, timber, water-power and agriculture—are to be developed, such modifications must of necessity be introduced into the social and industrial organisation as will afford to foreign capital some confidence of security of tenure and of amicable relations with labour. Lastly, the development of relations between the Soviet bureaucracy and the peasantry—who in the Caucasus, as in Russia, form the overwhelming majority of the population—must be considered. The peasantry certainly would not hesitate to resist any attempt to modify the terms of their tenure of the land, and the Bolsheviks will scarcely be prepared to risk an issue with them. It remains to be seen whether the efficiency of the young Jewish agri-

162 main ranges of the Caucasus, to the north of
101 them, belong to the area of Russian population.

## Trans-Caucasia

In rather sharp contrast to the great multiplicity of the population of the alpine regions of the Caucasus, the wide Trans-Caucasian valley, as well as the Anti-Caucasus, are comparatively simple in their ethnological and linguistic composition. The eastern part of the area is preponderantly peopled by the Turkic Azerbaidjanians, deriving their name from the Caucasian land which they took over during the 11th century A. D. from Caucasian and Iranian peoples who at that time were under Arab overlordship. These Azerbaidjanians penetrated the valleys of the Kura and the Araxes, even beyond Tiflis and Erivan. Therefore, preponderantly non-Azerbaidjanian populations are found only in northern and central Armenia, the Armenians, and in Karabakh, where after the Armenians the Kurds are in the majority. In the region of Kars, the Azerbaidjanians and their closest relatives, the Osman Turks, the conquerors of Anatolia and thus of the Byzantine Empire, are found side by side.

## Armenians

162 The Armenians appear as strong minor-
563 ities all over Trans-Caucasia, along the Aghry-Chai and the southern slopes of the Great

7: Columbia U. S-4, 5 1956 RH1 CaucasiaRH1
Georgia RI1

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Caucasus, in and around the cities of Nukha and Shemakha and along the northeastern slopes of the northeastern border mountains of the Anti-Caucasus. These are in the rural districts, mainly Armenian peasants, while numerous Armenians are found in the diaspora of all bigger Caucasian and Trans-Caucasian cities. Some of these cities were founded by Armenians; for instance, Armavir, the important railroad hub in the Northwestern Caucasian area, which bears the name of one of the oldest known Armenian cities. It is interesting to note that the majority of the Armavir Armenians speak Cherkess as their everyday language. The Armenians who had received Christianity from the south, from Syria, before the rule of Constantine the Great, were exposed at various epochs of history to religious and political oppression and persecution, and are like the Jews, one of the oldest nations of refugees and emigres, whose members can be found all over the world. Their more compact diaspora groups live in Russia, Syria, Constantinople, Podolia (westernmost Ukraine), Vienna, Transylvania, Venice, Munich, Paris, and the United States.

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## The K'art'velians

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The central part of the Trans-Caucasian valley and the entire western part of Trans-

7: Columbia U. S-4, 5 1956 RH1 CaucasiaRH1
Georgia RI1

C. 162 563 G. 105 Caucasia -- Colchis in a larger sense -- have for a long time been the home of one of the oldest nations of the Caucasus, the K'art'velians. This group has played a foremost role in the history of Caucasian culture. Their leading nationality is that of the Georgians, who call themselves K'art'veli. They were the first to be converted to Christianity, in the 4th century A. D., by Tsminda Nino, who came there from the south, from Armenia. With this event, Georgian history and literature begins. It may well be assumed that there was some culture in pre-Christian times which was dependent on that of Persia, as indicated by traces of an earlier K'art'velian fire cult as the expression of Zarathustrism. This was probably brought in by the Persians after their conquest of Trans-Caucasia, during the Akhaemenian dynasty.

C. G. [174]

C 563 G. 105 Like Armenia, Georgia always resisted Islamic domination; although politically not always successful, it never became an Islamic country. This explains the old and intimate cultural, religious, and political ties with Byzantium and later with Russia as the substitute and continuation of the East-Roman theocracy. This guaranteed Georgia's cultural, religious, and political survival.

This region of Trans-Caucasia differs in many, if not all, respects from the vast

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plains of eastern Europe, the solitudes of Anatolia and Iran, or the deserts of Central Asia. Their exterior aspect reminds one of Southern France, Italy, Spain or even the valleys of the Rhine and its tributaries in Western Germany. The landscape and its cultivation -- small scale, individual agriculture, gardens, vineyards; the picturesque villages, townships, and cities along the rivers or embedded in the verdant foothills of the high mountains--with their cathedrals, churches, and fortifications; and the many castles or ruins from the time of feudalism on hilltops and mountain crests; all these seem to have taken forms very similar to the European. The people as well, although their many languages are completely different, remind one of Mediterranean Europeans in their appearance, vivacity, eloquence, pride, charm, and other facets of their behavior. Nevertheless, this is not Europe; even apart from customs and languages, the differences are immediately noticeable, e.g., in the utensils, the dress, the style in art and craftmanship, the tools with which the people work. There is an absence of many things which the capitalist age has produced, or some modern implements are superimposed upon an essentially pre-capitalist stage of development, often in

7:Columbia U. S-4,5 1956 RHI Caucasia RHI
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C. 563 G 105

a most crude way, which sometimes is found so obtrusive and shocking in many Oriental countries of the present epoch. The technical backwardness--actual or imagined--is thus often matched by a technocratic overemphasis which threatens to level out everything these countries have produced and contributed to their own and to common human culture.

## Georgians

C. G. 162 101

The K'art'velians or Georgians proper have been split into two groups, an eastern and western, by the intrusion of Oset'i from the north and the Azerbaidjanians from the southeast. The latter extend as far northwestward as the immediate vicinity of the modern capital of Georgia, Tiflis, (in Georgian: T'bilisi, "Hot Springs" from the stem tp'ili [Georgian] "warm;" common with Indo-European, cf. Slav. [Čech.] place-name Teplice, "Hot Springs," mentioned above; Lat. tepidus, "warm," etc.); and from Tiflis southeastward, the Azerbaidjanians hold the entire valley of the Kura (in Georgian: Mtkvari, Strabon's Kyros). The Georgians hold only the Aragvi valley (Strabon's Aragos), the upper Iora, almost the entire Alazani (Strabon's Alazonios) —this is Kakhet'ia, and the upper Kura valley. The Meskhi-Surami Range and the eastern and southern portion of Colchis, Imeret'ia (practically all the land at the left bank, i.e., south

C. G. [103]

162 periods of minorities only, since none could be considered a majority. In most towns and cities, prior to the Russification period of the late Thirties and early Forties, no one nationality constituted a majority by itself; usually there were two or three. For example: Baku in 1929 had half a million inhabitants, 85% of whom were divided almost equally among Azerbaidjanians, Russians, and Armenians; the Azerbaidjanians were the most numerous, but exceeded the Russians and Armenians by an insignificant percentage only. The distribution of nationalities in Tiflis in 1929 was similar, the three major nationalities being the Georgians, Armenians, and Russians. On the other hand, a single group represented a strong majority in such places as Erivan, with a population of 62,000 in 1929, of whom 56,000 were Armenians, and 6,000 Turks and Azerbaidjanians. Vladikavkaz had a population of 74,000 some time before 1928, which was divided as follows: 57.8 % Russians, 10.5 % Armenians, 6.6 % Germans, 2.3 % Persians, 2 % Greeks, 1.5 % Jews, and 0.7 % Ingush. (cf. also the Tables.)

The following national minorities should be mentioned here: the Greeks, the Aisors, and the Germans.

## Greeks

563 The Greeks have been living on the west coast of the Caucasus since the time

• 53 when the Ionian colonists, starting out from Miletos, began to establish trading-posts all around the Black Sea, and to settle there. This occurred on that part of the Black Sea coast as early as the 8th and 7th centuries B. C. It was the Milesians who established the farthest-flung colonies: they reached not only the Black Sea basin, but also the western part of the Mediterranean, with Massalia (Marseille) as their greatest western emporium. These Milesians founded the cities of Trapezunt ( ), Phasis ( -P'ot'i), Dioskurias ( -Cxumi or Sukhum), and Pityus ( -Biciunta), Rus. Pitsunda, at the estuary of the Bzipi. They likewise established trading posts and ports on the Strait of Kerch, at Pantikapaion on the Crimean side, Phanagoreia on the Caucasian shore, the Taman peninsula, and the post of Tanais at the estuary of the Don, also called Tanais in Greek. The Greeks have maintained their nationality there, although not always exactly on the original spot, with an unbroken mercantile and cultural tradition, right down to the present. From these parts they have also spread out to other cities of the Caucasus.

## Aisors

In contrast to the Greeks, the two other groups are newcomers. The Aisors, who speak a New Syrian dialect and are Oriental

563 Christians of Nestorian and Jacobite rites, came in the 19th century, after Trans-Caucasia was united with Russia. They fled from religious persecution in their homeland, upper Mesopotamia and the region around Lake Urmia. They live for the greater part near Erivan, but may be found in cities all over the Soviet Union. In the early years after the Revolution, they lived in every large city, where they usually conducted the shoe-shine business. Many of them were cobblers or practiced some other craft.

## Germans

The Germans migrated to the Caucasus at the same time, coming from their former Russian homes on the Volga or in the southern Ukraine; they had been living there since the middle of the 18th century, during the rule of Empress Catherine II. There are a number of German villages, some of them of as considerable a size as the stanitsy, scattered over the North-Caucasian plains and Trans-Caucasia. Prior to the collectivization period, they lived in well-to-do communities, engaging mainly in agriculture, horticulture, and viniculture (the latter in Trans-Caucasia). In Trans-Caucasia there were a few economically well developed communities south and southwest of Tiflis, some south of Kirovabad, and a few in Kakhet'ia, on the upper Iora. The products of these large German villages were well-known and esteemed

563 all over the Soviet Union. --These communities, recognizable not only for their German names, were nationally very exclusive (this for economic considerations to a large degree), and had preserved many features of 18th century German peasant life. It is improbable that the German communities exist today.

## Multanis

778 177 On the peninsula of Apsheron, near Surakhany, 20 km. east of Baku, a small old fire temple is found, in the midst of a pentagon which once was a kind of monastery for the fire worshippers. This pentagon, with a little square grey temple, is usually called Ātashgāh ("Place of the Fire"), as the Persians designate the Zoroastrian sanctuaries. All around this Atashgah, the oil derricks rise to the sky, in the midst of surface piping and oil puddles. During the 18th century and the first half of the 19th, the Atashgah was a much-visited goal of pilgrims from western India, which for a long time—at least from the 16th century on—had maintained very close commercial relations with Azerbaidjan. Thus, the Parsis seem to have rediscovered the Sacred Spot where the Holy Fire leaps forth from the earth, as had been known from times immemorial. Hence the name Azerbaidjan, meaning in Pahlavi (in the form of Ādar-baϑgān) "The home of the fire"; hence the erection of the little temple in which the Holy Flame could be venerated. Not long

21: Kolarz J-4 (no date) 1952 R1 Soviet Union R1
Caucasia RH2



[Chechen]

displaying worthy resistance to the enemy, derailing trains, blowing up bridges, destroying ammunition and fuel depots.[3]

Ca. 669 S.U. 687 672

Only a few weeks after Kalinin had made his panegyric statement little was left of the Caucasian 'miracle', and of the idyllic situation which the Soviet President had depicted. When the German armies occupied the Northern Caucasus region many mountaineers manifested their hostility towards the Soviet régime. They attempted to use the retreat of the Red Army to free themselves from what they considered the 'Russian yoke'. Over twenty years of Soviet rule had not altered their ingrained conviction that Russia's foes were their friends. These peoples apparently thought that they owed as little loyalty to Russia as the Indonesians deemed themselves to owe to the Dutch and the Vietnamese to the French when their respective countries were occupied by Japan. In the official Soviet view, of the seven peoples who in 1920 had formed the Mountain Republic four had shown themselves particularly unreliable in the crucial winter of 1942–43. They were the Chechens (407,600 according to the 1939 census), the Ingush (92,074), the Balkars (42,660) and the Karachay (75,737). After the North Caucasus region had been cleared of the invaders, the Soviet Government found itself unable to forgive these nationalities for their disloyalty or even their indifference. It also abandoned all further attempts to transform them into good citizens of the U.S.S.R.[1] and expelled them from the 'happy family of Soviet peoples'. All of them lost the special territorial administrative[2] units which the Stalin Constitution of 1936 had bestowed on them. Early in 1944 they were rounded up and deported to far away places in Siberia. For all practical purposes they ceased to exist. Thus were abolished the Chechen-Ingush Autonomous S.S.R. and the Autonomous Province of the Karachay. The Kabardinian-Balkar A.S.S.R. was transformed into the Kabardinian A.S.S.R. after having been relieved of the 'burden' of the Balkar traitors.

Soviet policy in the Northern Caucasus differed to some extent from Czarist policy since it resulted in the building of schools, theatres, libraries and hospitals, but for the four deported nationalities all this had been of little use. From their point of view there is hardly any difference between the policy of General Yermolov and that of Generalissimo Stalin. Indeed, the Soviet régime deprived at least as many Caucasian mountaineers of their homes as did the Czarist régime.

## CONTINUITY OF RUSSIAN CAUCASUS POLICY: THE CHECHENS

Ca. 563 175

The Chechens, as the most numerous nationality left in the Northern Caucasus after the emigration of the Circassians, offer a particularly good example of the continuity of Russian policy. The Large Soviet Encyclopædia rightly summed up the historical role of the Chechens by

1 [Cf. category 116, pp. 182-184, R1 Sov. Union; 21: Kolarz -- Analyst]
2 [Cf. category 116, p. 183, R1 Sov. Union; 21: Kolarz -- Analyst]

21: Kolarz J-4 (no date) 1952 R1 Soviet Union
Caucasia RH1
[Chechen]



563 175 describing them as the 'most active and strongest opponents of the Czarist Government during the conquest of the Caucasus'. The Russians suffered extensive and costly disasters at the hands of this people, who were unequalled in forest warfare.

Ever since the time of Peter the Great, the Chechens have challenged the Russian Empire, but from 1818 onwards their resistance to Russian rule assumed major proportions. In that year General Yermolov built [103] a fortress to subjugate more easily the land of the Chechens. He called the new fortress 'Grozny', meaning 'menacing' and 'formidable'. The name of Grozny had a deeper meaning than might appear at the first glance: it was the symbol of a political programme that Yermolov defined in the following words: 'I wish that the terror of my name should guard our frontiers more potently than chains of fortresses, that my word should be for the natives a law more inevitable than death'. Grozny became Yermolov's headquarters, and it was from Grozny that countless Russian expeditions set out 'to punish raiders, avenge defeats, establish new posts, relieve beleaguered garrisons, or rescue retreating bands and armies'.[4] The Russian campaign against Chechenia reached its climax in 1840, at the time of the great Chechen rising under the leadership of Imam Shamil. The breakdown of Shamil's fanatical Moslem movement led to the gradual submission of the Chechens in the years 1857-59.

175 167 The Russian authorities knew well that these new subjects of the Czar, after all the trouble they had caused, would not easily reconcile themselves to the loss of their freedom; so an attempt was made to settle the 'Chechen problem' by a double transfer of population. Immediately after the conquest the inhabitants of forty-four auls (mountain villages) were transplanted from the mountains to the plains, where they could more easily be controlled. The more rebellious ones were forced to emigrate to Turkey, where they were given hospitality on the express demand of the Russian Government. In the summer of 1865, 39,000 Chechens, one-fifth of the entire Chechen population at that date, left Russia. Those who stayed behind did not remain quiescent. In 1877 there was another wave of unrest following the outbreak of the Russo-Turkish War, and more trouble in 1886. A Russian monograph on the Chechens, published in 1894, said that they could not yet be considered 'fully pacified'; they still looked across the border to Turkey whither many more dreamed of emigrating.[5] The emigration of the 39,000 had not eliminated the 'Chechen problem', for the birthrate of these Chechens was particularly high, far above the average in the Russian Empire.

## CHECHEN-INGUSH MOSLEM OPPOSITION

669 The immediate consequence of the October Revolution in Chechenia was a revival of violent nationalism and religious fanaticism among the

21; Kolarz J-4 (no date) 1952 R1 Soviet Union R1
Caucasia RH1



of the Baku oilfields would play their part in awakening the Turkic national consciousness of the people of Persian Azerbaidzhan.[49] SU, 563

The 'awakening' of the Azerbaidzhani Turks came earlier than the Soviet sociologists could have foreseen in 1930, and was a direct consequence of the Russian military occupation of Northern Persia of 1941-46. During this occupation the Persian Azerbaidzhani were brought into close contact with the people of the Azerbaidzhani Soviet Republic, and it is small wonder that the idea of a union took shape in the two Azerbaidzhans, which, though widely differing economically and politically, are united by the bond of a common language. With the assistance of the 'brothers from the North' this Turkic language – ignored under Persian rule – was given the first place in education and administration all over Persian Azerbaidzhan. An Azerbaidzhani university and an Azerbaidzhani National Museum were opened, Azerbaidzhani books and newspapers were either printed on the spot or imported from Soviet Azerbaidzhan. While contact between Tabriz, the capital of Persian Azerbaidzhan, and Teheran was practically cut off, the most advanced Turkic nationalists were encouraged to look to Baku for political and cultural inspiration. Left-wing Azerbaidzhani poets praised Baku with oriental hyperbole. One of them, Tavrieli, described Baku as the 'Rose of beauty graved in stone' and another, Muhammed Biriya, poet and also secretary of the trade unions of Persian Azerbaidzhan, said he came to Baku to drink the 'life-giving water' of this city and that he wept 'happy tears' on seeing Baku.[50] 648

In 1946, when the Soviet troops left Northern Persia, the Persian Government only too easily swept away the régime set up by pro-communist Azerbaidzhani autonomists in Tabriz. The nationalism of the Azerbaidzhani Turks of Persia was still too feeble to put up a successful resistance even to a weak Persian State. The end of the Azerbaidzhani separatist government was, however, not the end of the Azerbaidzhan problem. The Soviet régime did its best to keep the issue alive both in Soviet 'Northern Azerbaidzhan' and in Persian 'Southern Azerbaidzhan'. Soviet Azerbaidzhani poets and writers continued to deal in their works with the problem of the unredeemed brothers in the South and thus to foster an irredentist ideology among the people of the Azerbaidzhani S.S.R. On the other hand communist refugees from Southern Azerbaidzhan were given shelter in Baku and were assisted in their efforts to keep in touch with the Turkic-speaking people of Northern Persia.

## *IV. TRANSCAUCASIAN MINORITIES*

Armenians, Georgians and Azerbaidzhani Turks are the three 'state nations' of Transcaucasia, but they do not exhaust the nationality prob- Ca, 563 SU. 563

21: Kolarz J-4 (no date) 1952 R1 Soviet Union R1
[Talysh] Caucasia RH1
TRANSCAUCASIA
[Aissor]

Ca. lems facing the Soviet Government in that part of the Russian Empire.
563 Each of the three Transcaucasian republics also includes a large number
S.U. of ethnical minorities which differ widely in character and can, from
563 the point of view of the Soviet régime, be classed into three categories:
[101] 1. Minorities organically linked with the three Transcaucasian state nations (Ossetins and Abkhazians in Georgia, Talyshi in Azerbaidzhan*). They are a purely internal problem of the Transcaucasian Soviet Republics.

2. Minority groups, mainly made up of immigrants, who proved to be a handicap to the Soviet régime. These minorities included Germans in Georgia and Azerbaidzhan, Greeks who, in 1926, formed 2 per cent of the entire population of Georgia, Anatolian Turks in Armenia and small groups of Persians. The Soviet Government treated all these minorities at one time or another as potential agents of a foreign power. These communities of immigrants were much reduced by deportations and arrests during and after the Second World War.

3. Minority groups who can be used for purposes of Russian power politics. This group comprises Assyrians and Kurds.

## THE ASSYRIANS

Ca. The Assyrians can be compared in many ways with the Armenians. They
563 are a Christian people scattered among Moslem countries, a people
[101] which has been deprived for many centuries of a State of its own. The
S.U. number of Assyrians who have survived oriental persecution is too
563 small to enable them to follow the example of the Armenians and
[101] rebuild a kind of 'National Home'. As a matter of fact, by interfering in the life of this small Christian people Russia probably did more to hasten their doom than to help them towards recovering from the blows which their Moslem neighbours had inflicted on them.

During the First World War in particular the Assyrians had to pay dearly for their pro-Russian sympathies. The Russian army relied in the early part of the war on the Assyrians as allies behind the Turkish lines. The Assyrians assisted the Russians, indeed, wherever they could, but in return they did not obtain national liberation. Their fate was exile or death. In May 1915, inspired by the expectation of Russian help, the Assyrians started an insurrection but were unsuccessful. To save their lives 40,000 Assyrians then embarked on a heroic march across difficult mountain passes and finally reached the Russian side of the front. The Russian authorities cordially welcomed them and the Grand Duke Nikolay decorated the Mar Shimun, the political and religious leader

* The Talyshi are a people of Persian stock of whom 80,000 are living in the area of Lenkoran on the Soviet-Persian border. They were not granted a special administrative unit, presumably because their national consciousness is little developed. Most of them are bilingual and speak Turkic in addition to their native tongue.

21: Kolarz J-4 (no date) 1952 R1 Soviet Union R1
Caucasia RH1
[Aissor]



of the Assyrians, who had led the great migration. These platonic expressions of sympathy were of little help to the Assyrians. Transcaucasia was soon drawn into the turmoil of revolution and civil war and there was no Russian authority in existence which could be interested in the fate of the Assyrian people. S.U. 563 Ca. 563

It is not our task to follow up the further calvary of the Assyrians in Iraq, their recruitment into the famous Assyrian levies and the massacres of 1933 – we are concerned here only with the Russian aspect of the problem. Whilst the centre of gravity of the Assyrian nation was in Iraq, where the Mar Shimun had his residence, Soviet government circles claimed that the largest single group of Assyrians lived in the U.S.S.R. and thus, from the Russian point of view, the Assyrians had become one of the peoples of the Soviet Union.[51]

In 1935 the number of Assyrians in Russia was officially estimated at 50,000-60,000, but the 1939 census recorded not more than 20,000. They occupied eight villages in Transcaucasia and had also small colonies in Krasnodar, Rostov, Kiev, Leningrad and Moscow, where at one time over 2,000 Assyrians were counted. In all these places the Assyrians had their own national schools, and a special Assyrian section was established in the Teachers' Training College in the North Caucasus town of Armavir. Soviet Assyrians were looked after by a special Assyrian organization, 'Khoyadto', which both attended to their cultural needs and directed their mobilization for socialistic reconstruction work. S.U. 563 162

The Soviet Government found it a hard task to reconcile the Assyrian people with Bolshevik ideology, in view of their deep attachment to their ancient Nestorian Church. In April 1933, a statement of the Presidium of the Central Executive Committee complained about 'undermining activities' which class-alien exploiting elements were alleged to have carried out amongst Soviet Assyrians. These 'elements' were said to have penetrated into Assyrian collective farms and co-operatives in an attempt to dominate them. S.U. 563 771 Ca. 563 771

The régime also found fault with the communists and Communist Youth League members who had been recruited amongst the Assyrians in 'considerable numbers', for even Assyrian communists seemed to have kept faith with their nation and its rich traditions. In the middle of the thirties the authorities turned against a number of Assyrian communists who had proved to be 'prisoners of family ties', and who had defended 'class enemies' because of their Assyrian nationality. These 'communists' had denied the necessity of class struggle inside the Assyrian people since they could not see any class divisions within a nation which had concentrated all its energies on its survival.[52] Ca. 563 665 186

Soviet philologists also tried to replace the 'archaic' Syriac alphabet of the Assyrians. At first they gave them a Russian alphabet, then, in 1930, a Latin alphabet. This had to be revised two years later because it was 'unsuitable' and in the end the Russian alphabet was re-introduced. S.U. 563 212

21: Kolarz J-4 (no date) 1952 R1 Soviet Union R1
[AISSOR] Caucasia RHL
TRANSCAUCASIA Kurd MA11

was 'unsuitable' and in the end the Russian alphabet was re-introduced.

Many 'Soviet Assyrians' disliked the anti-religious policy of the Bolsheviks, the continuous experiments which the Soviet authorities made with Assyrian cultural life, as well as the entire communist social system. A large number of Assyrians therefore left Russia for Iraq in the period between the wars to join the Assyrian levies under British command.

During and after the Second World War Soviet Russian power politics made use of the Assyrians of Northern Persia. Although their number was small Soviet occupation authorities mobilized them, together with local Armenians, in support of the pro-Russian autonomous régime established in Tabriz. After the withdrawal of the Red Army troops the Persian Assyrians suffered together with all other groups of the population in whom the Russians had shown particular interest.

## RUSSIA AND THE KURDISH PROBLEM

The small number of Assyrians in Middle Eastern countries (30,000 in Iraq, 9,000 in Syria, 25,000 in Persia) indicates that Russia coulduse them only for very limited purposes. The Kurds may become a more redoubtable instrument in Russian hands. They are one of the most important factors in the Middle East. How many Kurds are there altogether? This purely statistical question is in itself part of the 'Kurdish problem'. In Turkey, for instance, official data referring to 1945 say that their number in that country does not exceed 1,900,000, but sources more favourable to the Kurdish national point of view speak of 4,000,000 Turkish Kurds. It is significant that this latter figure is approvingly quoted in a Russian monograph on Turkey.[53] In addition, there are 800,000 Kurds in Iraq, 700,000 in Persia and 200,000 in Syria.

The four States with a Kurdish population are bound to draw closer to each other for military, geographical, political and economic reasons. The Kurdish question common to all of them to a greater or lesser degree may prove to cement their unity. Russia's interests are the exact opposite of those of the four Middle Eastern countries with Kurdish minorities. Russia is a bitter opponent of any kind of federation on her borders. What she wants is not Kurdish cement but Kurdish dynamite.

For a long time Soviet Russia had had no real Kurdish policy. The strength of Britain in the Middle East prevented both the Soviet Government and the Comintern from playing the Kurdish card. In Russian communist eyes the Kurds were but a 'counter-revolutionary force', a tool of British imperialism intended to embarrass Turkey, the Arab world and even the Soviet Union itself.

But even at the time when leading Soviet quarters still held this negative view on the Kurds, they envisaged the possibility of a change in the

21; Kolarz J-4 (no date) 1952 R1 Soviet Union R1
Kurd MA 11

 Caucasia RA1

evaluation of the Kurdish factor. From the cultural point of view the Kurds were still an unwritten sheet of paper. Soviet Russia, so the communist strategists may have argued, thus stood the chance of exercising a paramount influence on the development and the character of a future Kurdish culture, if she only tried. S.U 563 648

The raw material for such a Soviet experiment was the small Kurdish minority in Transcaucasia. The exact number of the Kurds in Soviet Russia is as difficult to ascertain as their number in any other country. Officially Russia had only 54,700 Kurds in 1926 and 45,800 in 1939, but unofficial pre-war data recorded as many as 80,000, of whom 40,000 were in Azerbaidzhan, 23,000 in Armenia and the rest in Georgia and Turkmenistan. Only in Armenia and Azerbaidzhan were the Kurds a political problem. K [161] Ca. 563 [162]

For a long time neither Azerbaidzhani nor Armenian communists seemed to have grasped the importance of the Kurds within the framework of a far-sighted Soviet policy in the Middle East.[1] They either neglected the Kurdish minorities living in their respective republics or even tried to deprive them of their national character.

The Armenian communists disliked the Kurds in view of the role which the latter had played in the Armenian massacres, and thus showed not the slightest interest in their well-being and their mobilization for the Soviet State. Kurds in Armenia were not entrusted with political and social work, no skilled workers were recruited from among them and Kurdish peasants were not even organized into collective farms.[54] In 1936, the Soviet central Government strongly reprimanded the Armenian communists for letting national animosities interfere with their Kurdish policy.

All the mistakes which local Transcaucasian authorities committed in handling the Kurdish question in the inter-war period proved to be unimportant at a moment when Russia was able to use the Kurdish issue on a big scale. Her success in handling the problem was then indisputable. Colonel W. G. Elphinston, who was in charge of Kurdish affairs as a British Middle East Intelligence Officer, said that the effects of propaganda in the Kurdish language originating in the Kurdish community in the U.S.S.R. made themselves felt as far away as Syria, and communist pamphlets in Kurdish penetrated as far as Cairo.[55] S.U. 563 725

The Kurdish group outside the U.S.S.R. most directly affected by Russian policy and propaganda were the Persian Kurds whose country was occupied by the Red Army between 1941 and 1946. The Soviet occupation authorities did not spread communist ideas among the Kurds; they did not propagate collectivization and nationalization. All they aimed at was to make the Kurds respectful to Soviet Russia, the Russian Army and Stalin. The Kurdish Republic set up with Russian help in 1946 under Quazi Mohammed as Prime Minister was a national S.U. 563 648 K 648 642

1 [Cf. cat. 116, pp. 250-251, R1 Sov. Union -- Analyst]

Osset RH9
Caucasia RH1

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[823 cont.]
relative of the deceased, who supports her if she is not married by her husband's father or brother, as was formerly their duty. Children born of this new marriage or born out of wedlock are regarded as children of the deceased and inherit his name and part of his estate, since the woman belongs to the husband's kin group.

b) Other Iranians, Indians, etc.

C 563 177

Of the European peoples who have migrated in during the last century, only the Russians, as a ruling class, have exerted some influence on the spiritual life and the material possessions of the Caucasians; on the other hand, the Cossacks on the Kuban and Terek, as a result of friendly and hostile contact with the Cherkess, Abkhaz, and Tatars, have taken over much from them. [824] [Fig. 503 appears here.]

Of the Asiatic Indo-Germanic peoples, the Armenians (see Vol. II, 1, pp. 398 ff.) have played an essential role in the intellectual development of the plains Georgians (see p. 675 [untranslated]), and the physical relationship or admixture of the two, or to put it better, mixture of the native basic stock of the Near East with southern and eastern indigenous Caucasians, up to the Chechen in the northeast, appears visibly in many places (see pp. 31 f.).

As far as the Iranians are concerned, the Kurds (see Vol. II, 1, pp. 400 ff.) certainly came into contact with the Georgians relatively late and in any case have neither experienced any influence from them nor exerted any on them, or at most on their Gurian neighbors. The sect of the Yezid, who stand close to the Kurds in many respects, even with regard to their religious teachings, has settled in a few places in southernmost Caucasia (see Vol. II, 1, pp. 403 f.).

It is quite another matter with regard to the Persians (see Vol. II, 1, pp. 405 ff.), who, in part directly through trade or settlement, in part indirectly through Armenia, and later

[824 cont.]

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Fig. 503. Persian fruit-seller in Baku.

•563 [177] through the Tatars, have exerted a strong influence from the earliest times on southern and eastern Caucasia with regard to mental culture, art, warfare, etc. As a landmark of their power, the great stone wall, which extends from the national portal on the Caspian Sea, from the city [825] of Derbend [103] (Persian = gate-lock; Tatar, Demír-kapú = iron door; Arabic, Bāb-el-abwāb = gate of gates), to the west 60 to 70 kilometers into the mountains, still stands today. It was erected by the Sassanid king, Khosrau Anōšarvān (531-579 A.D.), for protection against the invasions of the Khazar and Alan, against whom his father, Kobad (491-531), had already built a wall [512] of mud bricks that was strengthened by many towers and small citadels (kalé). Except for indigenous tribes, Khosrau entrusted the defense of the wall primarily to Iranian settlers whom he had brought over from Persia and the land of Sogd, that is Kharezmia and Samarkand. The inhabitants of the Kaitakh region, the Tabassaran, seem to be descendants of these settlers, and their name may be a contraction of Tabor-i-Khorassan (= host, people from Khorassan); likewise the Tāt between Baku, Kuba, and the Babadagh and near Derbend. The former may have sprung from a mixture of Lezgin with

[825 cont.]

Iranians (cf. p. 674 f. [untranslated]) and accordingly are called by the Tatar āzade khalkh' or khelaiq (= free people), as are all Lezgin, in contrast to the Tāt, who are called raiyat khelaiq (= subject people). Their name is related to that of the central Asian Tajik (see Vol. II, 1, pp. 412 ff.), and their language is close [Fig. 504 appears here] [826] to modern Persian; it is also spoken by the mountain Jews in Dagestan and on the Terek. In their old cemeteries and near their villages there are isolated ruins of buildings that indicate Christianity in former times. Their relatives, the Talysh in humid, hot Lenkoran on the Caspian Sea, surrounded by Azerbaijani and Tatars, speak another variety of modern Persian that is supposed to contain much Old Persian. 563 [172]

As late as the first half of the nineteenth century, a remnant of the Old Persians, adherents of the teachings of Zoroaster or Zerdusht, the Geber, lived on the plain of Surakhane or Ateshga (= fire-land) near Baku, where a temple stood, in which they worshiped the eternal fire fed by a natural gas source. They had moved here from Persia after they had been driven from there and their main temple on the mountain near Yesd destroyed; they gradually

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Fig. 504. Two-wheeled carriage, Baku region.

Caucasia RH1
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Mountain Jews

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[826 cont.]
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died out, and Hindu-speaking coreligionists finally took their place as guardians of the shrine.

The few Gypsies who wander about southern Caucasia and are called Armenian Gypsies (Boša) are also of Indic origin; their language is West Armenian in structure, and the vocabulary is from various sources.

5. Semitic Peoples

The sect of the Nestorians or Chaldeans (see Vol. II, 1, pp. 404 f.) has a few settlements in the Karay steppe on the Kura and in Tiflis; they immigrated from Persia, from which they had been expelled in 1827. The Persians called them Nasran, the Armenians, Aissor; they speak Persian, but Aramaic is used for religious services. The women's dress resembles that of the Yezid (see Vol. II, 1, Fig. 270).

The Arabs, who penetrated into Caucasia in the eighth century and settled there -- Muslimeh ben Abdul Malik, who came to Derbend in 733, is supposed to have settled 24,000 (?) Arab families from Syria and from Mesopotamia in Tabassaran -- have merged completely with the Lezgin and Chechen (see p.31). From time to time, however, one meets people who still boast of their Arabic descent.

[827] Mountain Jews

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The number of mountain Jews (Dagh-Tšufut) is supposed to come to about 30,000 (or 120,000 including those Jews who have immigrated from Russia in the last decades). In southern Caucasia they speak Georgian, in the east and north, Tatar.

In the seventh and sixth centuries B.C., after the revolution caused by the Iranian invasion, or the so-called Babylonian captivity, members of this people, called Hebrews and Israelites in Palestine, which clearly arose from Near Easterners with a Semitic strain in north Syria, settled farther north in Armenia

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[835]

## 6. Turkic Peoples

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Among the Turkic-Tatar peoples in the Caucasus who have not mixed intimately with Caucasians, there are the Azerbaijani Tatars in the Persian cultural sphere (see Vol. II, 1, pp. 396 ff.) and the Tarakamá, the Karapapakh, and the Turks near Batum and Kars in the Ottoman-Kurdish sphere (see Vol. II, 1, pp. 385 ff. and pp. 400 ff.). The Trukhmen and the Mongolian Kalmyk in the northern steppes have preserved the essential peculiarities of their fellow tribesmen beyond the Caspian Sea (see Vol. II, 1, pp. 342 ff.) and in the Altai region (see Vol. II, 1, pp. 364 f.).

### a) The Mountain Tatar

K 101

The Karachai and the mountain Kabardin or Taulu stand in the same relation to the Old Caucasians as do the mountain Jews. The Karachai live west of the Elbrus (Mingi-tau) on the source streams of the Kuban, which surround the Uchkulan (= three belts), up to the Teberda. In the east their neighbors are the Kabardin and Taulu, in the south, the Swan, in the north, Russians and the Abkhaz; to the west and southwest there are uninhabited mountain ranges. They appear to have obtained their name from a stream (karačai = black brook), not from an ancestor, Karacha. The Cherkess call them Karšaga-Kuš'a, the Georgians, Karatšioli, the northern Tatar, Kara-Tšerkes(likewise the Georgians in the Middle Ages: Kara-Džik'i; their country, Kara-Džakhet'i), that is, subjects of the Cherkess.

K 174 177

According to tradition, they immigrated from the Crimea about four centuries ago, but they are probably descendants of the Tatars who were driven out of the Kuban region by the Cherkess and fled into this avowed retreat area; here they mixed with refugees from Svanetia, Mingrelia, and Abkhazia, and with Cherkess. They paid tribute to the Kabardin before they came under the domination of the Russians in the thirties of the last century.

K 648

5: Allen H-4 (no date) 1923 RH1 Caucasia RH1



and Eastern Highlands respectively. This classification does not correspond to any definite linguistic or ethnological division. But the geographical division through the Daryal Pass, and the historical causes which have associated the western tribes with the Black Sea region and the eastern tribes with the Caspian and Kur Valley, may justify a classification in other respects arbitrary. The western tribes, popularly called Cherkesses,[1] or Circassians, occupied the triangle between Taman, the sources of the Kuban and the Terek and the upper reaches of the Kodor. Generically they were divided into the Adigé, occupying the Black Sea Coast from Anapa to Gagri and the hinterland to the Kuban; the Kabardans, settled on the highlands lying along the upper courses of the Kuban and the Baksan Rivers, and along the left bank of the Terek; and the Abkhazes, divided into the Abazekhs and the Abkhaz, who inhabited the coast from Gagri to Sukhum, and the hinterland as far as the sources of the Kodor. The inaccessible nature of the country, with its dangerous coast, its impenetrable forests and marshes, and its impassable mountains, cut by more than sixty streams falling into the Black Sea, made all communications difficult, and tended to isolate small communities from their neighbours. Here existed a number of tribes speaking different and progressively varying dialects, who were mutually hostile or allied in the waging of perpetual feuds, and whose culture developed with little incentive to change, no occasion for innovation, and rare influence from without.

The coastal valleys formed the natural settlements and the mountains the natural frontiers. The chief tribes of the Adigé were the Chegaki (sailors) of the coast between Anapa and Sunjuk, the Natu Khajis (villages of Natu), who occupied the territory north-eastwards to the left bank of the Kuban; and the Chapsughs (breeders of horses), stretching, with some smaller tribes, as far as Gagri. Lesser tribes occupied the northern slopes of the Caucasus as far as the Kuban.

The social organisation of all the Cherkess tribes was on an elaborate feudal basis; a system had developed which rigidly divided the people into five classes: the princes (*pcheh* or *pchi*), who exercised tribal regal power; the nobles (*work*), who formed a few powerful families of almost equal rank with the pcheh; the freedmen, who had bought their liberty, and whose descendants could by merit acquire the rights of nobles; the serfs, who could own cattle and land of their own, who

[1] A suggested derivation of the name is from the Turkish *cher* (road) and *kesmek* (cut), signifying brigands (Chantre iv, 111).

565 had the right to change masters, and who were protected against arbitrary sale; and the slaves, who were for the most part prisoners of war. Very definite laws regulated the rights and duties of the various castes, and intermarriage was forbidden. On the other hand the princes[1] exercised little real [642] authority; leadership in war was not an hereditary right, but leaders were elected from the families of the princes and nobles by a popular assembly of the four highest classes; while judges were nominated by popular vote, with powers only for a single day.

181 The social organisation of the Cherkesses was in many respects anarchical, for not only was every tribe independent, 871 but every noble's household within each tribe. Nevertheless the general conduct of the people was subject to a series of established customs, based on primitive conceptions of chivalry, respect for age, hospitality and blood-vengeance. The sons of nobles were educated in a long and difficult course of knightly training by cadet members of other noble families, who stood in the joint relation to them of tutor and blood-brother. The women had few rights, but the rights of protection by their fathers and husbands were very clearly defined.

101 The eastern tribes occupied the country between the Daryal and the Caspian littoral, and from the right bank of the Terek to the hills overlooking the valleys of the Alazan and the Kur. On the north, inhabiting the highlands of the Terek, the Sunja and the Argun, were the various tribes of Chechens, and the lesser related tribes of the Ingushes, the Kists, the Itskheris and the Galgais. Segregated in unapproachable villages (*auls*) in the depths of primæval beech-forests, the Chechens had a culture which was far less developed than that of the Cherkesses. They had no class system, and lived together in small anarchical communities.

South-east of the Chechens were the powerful Lesghian [633] tribes, scattered over Daghestan ("The Mountain Country"), which formed an elevated table-land through which innumerable rivers had cut channels to a depth frequently of thousands of feet, the whole being backed and ribbed south and west by mountain chains with several peaks over 13,000 feet in height. The principal Lesghian tribes were the Kubachins and Darghis on the north-east, bordering the Chechen country, the Kazi-Kumukhs of the central plateau, the Kurins and Tabasserans of the south-east, overlooking the Tatar lowlands of Shirvan, and the Avars, Andis and Didos on the west, bordering on Kakhetia.

1 [of the Cherkess -- Analyst]

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## V

## NATIONALISM AND SOCIAL REVOLUTION, 1811–1917

175 THE tendencies and results, good and bad, of the Russian system are demonstrated in the history of Russian rule in the Caucasus. The Russians at the beginning of the nineteenth century assumed control of a country whose condition was possibly more anarchical than that of any other part of Asia, whose population was being gradually exterminated by war, plague and famine, whose political organisation and culture had almost collapsed into utter ruin and whose economic possibilities had been completely neglected.

Firstly they gave to the Transcaucasus a military security which it had never before enjoyed. For a hundred years no hostile army approached Tiflis. Consequently it may be claimed that the Russian régime not only gave to the Georgians and Armenians the possibility of developing national prosperity in peace, but preserved those peoples from the virtual extinction which has been the fate of the Armenians and other Christian races whose country lies beyond the Russian borders.

175 Secondly, Russian rule tended to improve the condition of the individual. The aristocracy, who during the period of 565 Persian hegemony had led lives of idle luxury and undignified subservience to their Mussulman lords, found careers, which were at least healthier and wider, in service in the Russian Army and Civil Service. The peasants, whose lot still left much to be desired, gained on the one hand by the abolition of serfdom within the Russian Empire (1864), on the other by the increased prosperity which followed the development of communications, the establishment of schools and the introduction of modern methods of agriculture. And there developed a prosperous middle-class, for the most part Armenian and Russian, whose political rôle in the Caucasus became increasingly important.

Lastly, the peace imposed by Russian arms permitted the development of the economic resources of the country, with its subsequent general increase of prosperity and population.

But the inherent shortcomings of Russian rule were pro- 643 ductive of grave troubles. The administrative policy was one 631 of centralisation. Until 1882 the Caucasus was ruled by a Viceroy nominated by the Tsar and possessing supreme civil

C. A. 608 way, though all the members of a clan claim a common descent from the same ancestor, this descent is largely fictitious.

C. G. 565 642 Clans naturally differed in size and wealth, and this led in many parts of the Caucasus to a differentiation of classes and to a feudal structure of the society (Kabarda; lower regions of Dagestan). In Transcaucasia there was a further development into feudal C. G. 619 monarchies (Georgia, Armenia). The original tribal structure was best preserved among the Georgian highlanders, the Svan, some of the W. Circassian tribes, the Ossetes, the Chechen and Ingush, and the tribes in the higher parts of Dagestan. For instance, the Pshav tribe (dziri, lit. "root") is divided into eleven clans (temi); the members of each clan bear the same name, but in everyday life are known under a second family name (gvari) derived from the proper name of a grandfather or great-grandfather. If a family expanded, C. G. 565 new surnames were adopted. Where a differentiation of classes took place, the general pattern was the following. The upper class consisted of the nobility, in its turn subdivided into various ranks in the regions with more pronounced feudal traits (Georgia, Kabarda). The lower class consisted of the peasants; here too, a further stratification existed, depending on differences in degree of economic C. G. [567] and personal freedom. The lowest classes were the slaves; mostly prisoners of war. In

C. G. 565 Georgia the various grades of the clergy corresponded to the ranks of the nobility, the head of the church (Katholikos) being equal to the king. As to the functions of the different classes, Kabardian society may serve as an example. The function of the highest class, the princes, was to defend their subjects and to provide leadership in wars and predatory incursions into the territory of neighboring tribes (and in the nineteenth century, especially into that of the Russians); such raids were part of the everyday life of most N. Caucasian mountaineers. The representatives of the second class, the nobles, were always at the disposal of their prince, assisted him in his daily activities, accompanied him on his raids, and in general carried out his orders. They could also be called upon to provide the prince with cattle, corn, or other goods, and such a request could not be refused. When a prince died and left several sons, each of the nobles declared himself a subject of the one of his choice. Part of the production of the peasants belonged to the princes and nobles; the latter provided their subjects with draft animals, agricultural implements, and feed-corn. In case of discontentment the nobles and also the free peasants could leave the territory of their lords and settle elsewhere. The slaves had no rights and owned no property, they were employed in the cultivation of the soil or in the domestic service of the princes and nobles and could be sold at will.

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After the incorporation of the various parts of the Caucasus into the Russian empire, slavery and serfdom were gradually abolished (second half of the nineteenth century). Before the revolution, the Russian hold on the Caucasus depended to a large extent on the nobility (whose ranks, in Georgia as well as in the N. Caucasus, were put on a par with the Russian); after the revolution, of course, an appeal was made to the lower classes.

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# EDUCATIONAL PRACTICES

C. G. 867 868

As everywhere, education in the Caucasus aimed at developing those traits in the children which were part of the national cultural ideal. In the whole N. Caucasus and in Georgia, great stress was laid on the development of character (courage, stamina, loyalty, modesty, but also self-assertion and vengefullness) and on good manners (especially in the N. W. Caucasus there was a complex and rigid code of behavior). The education consisted further in instruction in the use of arms and in horsemanship. Among the mountaineers it had definite Spartan characteristics, e. g. the Khevsur put burning wicks or glowing coals on the hands of their children to harden them against pain and to test their stamina. Stress was also laid on the ability to express oneself well and to the point, and to make speeches at various occasions. In Georgia, among the higher classes, there was a native tradition of training in the arts and sciences, the centers of which originally were the monasteries. In the N. Caucasus such a tradition did not exist, though there were Moslem schools (medrese) giving instruction in religion and some arithmetic, and also Russian schools, founded after the subjugation. Before the revolution, the higher classes sent their children to Russian cultural centers to complete their education. Many chose a

C. G. 871 565

C. G. 871 565 military career, as the qualities required there were most in conformity with the ideals handed down by native tradition.

C. G. 565 608 Among the higher classes in the N. W. Caucasus, the usage was to have their children brought up in a family of a lower class; this custom also existed among Western Georgian nobles in imitation of Circassian usage. Even before the birth of the child the aspirants vied with each other for the honor of being its atalyk (foster parent). The atalyk acquired all the rights of blood relationship; the ward upon completion of his education was naturally more attached to his foster parents than to his own, and could be counted on to avenge any harm done to his educators.

595 pressly recognized as lawful as early as the composition of the Mâtigân-i-Hazâr Datistân.[17*]

[101] On the southern slopes of the Caucasus, in high isolated valleys, we find the GEORGIAN mountain tribes, the Khevsurs, Tushi, Pshavs and Svans, who, owing to their isolation, have preserved the ancient Georgian culture better by far than their brothers in the lowlands, and therefore, when speaking of the Georgians, we shall limit ourselves as much as possible to these four tribes.[17**]

Formerly plural marriages were of frequent occurrence in *Khevsuria*. "In former times," writes Nansen, "polygyny was general," or in the words of the original, "war früher an der Tagesordnung."[18] By "formerly" we mean before the conversion of the Khevsurs to the Orthodox Church.[19] But a deeply ingrained customary law cannot be easily "repealed" and such is the case in Khevsuria in regard to the right of having more than one wife; for, even today, although rarely, some Khevsurs still insist on marrying several women.[20] The *Svans* are "monogamists" but, like the Khevsurs, they gave up plural marriages only after their conversion to Christianity. They are mono-
[584] gamists officially and economically, but, like the Khevsurs, they are sexually polygamous: in order to evade the law of the Church, the Khevsurs and the Svans introduced extremely easy divorce, a form of *successive* polygamy. Divorce is so frequent and easy (almost an annual affair) that we hesitate to call it monogamy.[21] G. Radde, in his monograph on the Khevsurs, claimed that many had been divorced and remarried ten times before they were 35 years of age.[22]

And now if we pass on to the non-Caucasian neighbours of the North Caucasian tribes, we find that the Mohammedan as well as the Christian OSSETES countenance polygyny, but as elsewhere it is rare, as rare as wealth.[23]
[565] As a rule, only the two highest classes, the princes and the *aldars* could afford more than one wife. In fact, there are even special *adats* which seem to reserve the privilege for these classes.[24]

The TURCO-TARTARS of the Caucasus have had a great share in the moulding of modern Caucasian culture and consequently demand our consideration.

Vambéry in his *Die primitive Kultur des turko-tatarischen Volkes* (pp. 71 f) assures us that not even the slightest traces of polygyny can be found among the primitive Turco-Tartars. In fact their language lacks such terms as "secondary wife," "bastard," and "prostitution."[25]

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17* *Hasting's Encyclopedia of Religion and Ethics*, V, p. 745.

17** The Svans are "Georgians" only in a broad sense of the word, meaning "South Caucasians."

18 F. Nansen, *Through the Caucasus to the Volga*, p. 58; *Durch den Kaukasus zur Wolga*, p. 39.

19 G. Radde, *Die Chewsuren und ihr Land*, p. 90.

20 C. Hahn, *Bilder aus dem Kaukasus*, p. 82; A. Byhan, *La civilisation caucasienne*, p. 114. R. Eristov, "O Tušino-Pšavo-Chevsurskom Okrugè," ZKO, III (1855), p. 113.

21 F. Bodenstedt, *Die Völker des Kaukasus*, I, p. 282. N. Dubrovin, *Istorija*, Tome I, Bk. II, p. 109.

22 Radde, *op cit.*, p. 113. Cf. R. Briffault, *The Mothers*, II, pp. 269 ff.

23 Dubrovin, *op. cit.*, Tome I, Bk. I, p. 329.

24 Leontovič, *Adaty kavkazskich gorcev*, II, p. 12, § 10; p. 14, § 27; p. 16, a 40.

25 Schmidt-Koppers, *Völker und Kulturen*, p. 204.

4 [Sic -- Analyst]

595 from polygyny is, above all, a shortage of rubles.[43] The same holds for the
593 Avars,[44] and, as we learn from Svěčin,[45] for the other Lesghians as well: the economic factor plays an important part in making polygyny relatively rare. Klaproth found the institution a veritable luxury in Ossetia, being only for the richest of the rich,[46] in full harmony with the Ossetine *adats* which reserve the
[587] right for the two richest classes, the princes and the *aldars*.[47] Grabovskij's report[48] that even the *poor* Ingushi were polygamists we have partially explained by obligatory levirate, which was just as much obligatory for the rich as for
[565] the poor. Moreover social stratification (which generally coincides with wealth and poverty) was practically non-existent during Grabovskij's visit in Ingushetia (*infra*, pp. 60 f); therefore, if polygyny is to be found among the Ingushi at all, it must be found also among the "poor" class.

[586] Easy divorce may do away with plural marriages as it did in Khevsuria and Svanetia, but in North Caucasia easy divorce plays only a very insignificant rôle compared with economic and biological factors.

## § 2. THE RULES OF ENDOGAMY AND EXOGAMY

000 Lowie defines exogamy as "the rule which prescribes that an individual must find a mate outside of his own group, whether that group be the family, the village or some other social unit."[49] The opposite rule "which makes it compulsory for a man to mate within his group is labeled endogamy." Lowie rightly stresses that it is not the *de facto* marriage within one's own group but the *prohibition* of marrying outside it that constitutes endogamy.[50]

### 1. The Impediment of Consanguinity

582 Consanguineous marriages are strictly prohibited throughout NORTH-
[614] WEST Caucasus. In his expedition of 1927 Ladyženskij ascertained that the reports of earlier writers about the abhorrence of incest among the tribes of Northwest Caucasia still exists today. Marriages between members of the same sib, regardless of the degree of remoteness, are considered incestuous.[51]

671 Among the NORTHEASTERN peoples the practice is not uniform. Ing-
582 ushian adats are by far stricter than Islamic law in regard to marriages between

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[43] *ibid.*

[44] L'vov, "Domašnjaja i semejnaja žizn Dagestanskich gorcev avarskago plemeni," SSKG, III (1870), p. 20.

[45] D. Svěčin, "Očerk narodonaselenija nravov, i obyčaev Dagestancev," ZKO, II (1853), p. 64.

[46] J. Klaproth, *Voyage au Mont Caucase et en Géorgie*, II, p. 249.

[47] Leontovič, *Adaty kavkazskich gorcev*, II, p. 12, § 10; p. 14, § 27; p. 16, § 40.

[48] "Ekonomičeskij i domašnij byt žitelej gorskago učastka inguševskago okruga," SSKG, III (1870), p. 21.

[49] R. Lowie, *Primitive Society*, p. 16.

[50] *op. cit.*, pp. 16 f.

[51] J. Reineggs, *Allgemeine historisch-topographische Beschreibung des Kaukasus*, II, p. 9; Ladyženskij, FT, p. 198.

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(4) The *atalyk* is a form of adoption once spread among all mountain tribes of North Caucasus,[92] the Ossetes,[93] the Tartars, e. g., the Kumyks.[94] We still find it today among the Kabardians, but the practice has become rare.[95] Soon after birth,[96] or, as some authors claimed, at the age of seven or twelve, the prince or princess is received into a noble family to be brought up by foster-parents. The prince is taught to ride, to be brave, eloquent and polite, and to steal. When he is old enough to carry arms, he returns to his father.[97] Princesses are usually poorly nourished, for slenderness may not be divorced from the dignity of a princess. She is taught by her foster-mother how to embroider, weave, make straw mats and baskets.[98] She may not be seen by her parents until her marriage, and it is the right of the foster-father to select a mate for her.[99] The *atalyk* is usually restricted to the upper classes,[100] the foster-parents being chosen from the next (lower) class.[101] The relation between the foster-child and the educator is as intimate and as sacred as actual blood-relationship, if indeed not more so. Sometimes a foster-child will take revenge on his own father to repair an injury done to his adopted family.[102] Marriage between the foster-child and a member of the educator's family are, of course, prohibited. We are unable to say to what degree: on the one hand, the older explorers failed to inquire into *adats* regarding this prohibition; while, on the other hand, the institution has practically disappeared, so that now it is impossible to ascertain the degree through new enquiries.[103] The *atalyk* is perhaps a pre-Islamic institution borrowed from the Turco-Mongols.

(5) We find several other forms of adoption in the Caucasus. Islamic law does not recognize any impediment arising from adoption, except, of course,

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[92] Ladyženskij, FT, p. 200.
M. Kovalevskij, *Coutume contemp.*, p. 191.

[93] Leontovič, II, pp. 252 f, §§ 152—160.

[94] M. Kovalevskij, *l. c.*

[95] Ladyženskij, *l. c.*

[96] P. S. Pallas, *Bemerkungen auf einer Reise in die südlichen Statthalterschaften des russischen Reichs 1793—1794*, I, p. 388;
J. Mourier, *Guide au Caucase*, Part I, p. 137;
J. Klaproth, "Voyage au Caucase," *Nouvelle Bibliotheque*, Tome XI, p. 170;
Ladyženskij, *l. c.*

[97] Ellis, *Memoir of a Map etc.*, pp. 22 f; Pallas, *l. c.*

[98] Pallas, *op. cit.*, I, p. 389.

[99] Pallas, *op. cit.*, I, p. 388 f.

[100] Ladyženskij, *l. c.* Digorian *farsagleg* class (*infra*, pp. 63 f) has the custom too; cf. Kovalevskij, *Coutume contemp.*, pp. 212 f.

[101] Leontovič, II, pp. 252 f., §§ 152—160.

[102] Ladyženskij, *l. c.*

[103] The *atalyk* was a means of reconciliation after a murder had been committed. The murderer would kidnap a child of the victim and become its foster-father, thus making revenge impossible. (Baddeley, *op. cit.*, I, p. 262; Ladyženskij, *l. c.*; Leontovič, I, p. 140; Dirr, AGKB, p. 43.) Reineggs however gives an example of such an adopted son who was constantly waiting for an opportunity to carry out his sacred obligation of vengeance, regardless of fosterage (*Allgemeine historisch-topographische Beschreibung des Kaukasus*, I, pp. 221 f.). For more about the *atalyk* see the authors cited and N. Danilewski, *Der Kaukasus*, pp. 120—125.

582 relationship by milk. As is well known, Mohammed had an adopted son, his
597 own emancipated slave named Zaid ibn Ḥâriṯah, who had a beautiful wife, at least beautiful in the eyes of the Prophet. Mohammed persuaded Zaid to divorce her and thus to make it possible for the Prophet to marry her. The faithful, however, were greatly scandalized, for the "sinless" Prophet married the wife of his "son". Mohammed seemed to have no way of extricating himself from this awkward position, but fortunately Allah had pity on him and favoured him with another revelation according to which all fosterage is sinful and non-
[601] existent. If anyone dares to call another person by the name of "father" and if that person did not actually beget him, he will infallibly be cursed by Allah and all His Angels.[104] In the Caucasus children are adopted and, as is the case with the Cherkess today, enjoy the full and equal rights of natural sons and daughters.[105] M. Kovalevskij found adoption in practice among the Ossetes. Here too the adopted son would be regarded as a true "son" who was able to perpetuate the family.[106] Formerly fictitious relationship could arise among the Cherkess by a mere pronouncement of the formula, "I adopt you," or "You are my daughter," or "You are my sister." From that moment the person adopted would have to consider the relatives of the person who pronounced the formula, as his own. A murderer could form a fictitious relationship in
[602] Ossetia by consecrating himself to his victim in a special ceremony at his grave.[107] Among the Ossetes adoption sometimes took place before the mother of the family. The person to be adopted would say to her, "From today on you are my mother; I am your son." The mother would then uncover her breast and answer, "I am your mother; you are my son."[108] As is only to be expected, adoption occurs very rarely, in fact only in extreme necessity to pre-
[603] vent extinction of the family. Adoption cannot be frequent because the mountaineers insist on purity of blood, and to adopt a child unnecessarily would imply giving away family property to a fictitious member.[109] Owing to the lack of data, we can only call the attention of the fieldworker to the following two problems: firstly, exactly *which* tribes consider adoption an impediment to mating; secondly, to which degree of fictitious relationship.

## 4. Disparity of Social Rank

565 We now come to the obligation of marrying exclusively within one's own
[582] social rank. But before we can begin to speak of this form of endogamy we must briefly describe the social stratification in the Caucasus.

The NORTHWESTERNERS. The *Abkhazian* society was formerly divided into four distinct classes: (1) the princes, (2) the *Chinakma*, i. e., the

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[104] Koran, xxxiii, 5. Cf. J. Henninger, *Die Familie bei den heutigen Beduinen Arabiens und seiner Randgebiete*, Leiden, 1943, p. 64. Juynboll, *op. cit.*, p. 187. R. Roberts, *Das Familien-, Sklaven- und Erbrecht im Qorân*, Leipzig, 1908, pp. 39 ff.

[105] Ladyženskij, FT, p. 202.

[106] Kovalevskij, *Coutume contemp.*, p. 203.

[107] Kovalevskij, *op. cit.*, p. 204.

[108] *ibid.*

[109] Kovalevskij, *op. cit.*, p. 203.

body-guards of the princes, (3) the nobility, (4) peasants, slaves, and prisoners of war.[110] 565

The haughtiest nobility of all Caucasia was that of the *Cherkess*.[111] Anyone seeking an example of Medieval feudalism at its height needs but study the reports about the Cherkess of about a hundred years ago. It was only in 1867 [566] that slavery and serfdom were abolished.

But not all Cherkess tribes were equally feudalistic. Thanks especially to the powerful aristocratic merchant class of the coastal tribes (the Shapsugs and Natukhai), feudalism disappeared in extreme western Circassia long before the Russians abolished it elsewhere in the Caucasus.[112] The Kabardians were of course the most feudalistic. "Endless is the list of Kabardian social ranks... They even have a code of laws, the *Adygé-Khabse*, which determines every step of the Kabardian lords, defining very exactly their rights and obligations toward the princes and toward the people." Four princely families ruled over Kabardia at the time of the Russian-Caucasian wars.[113]

This long list of Kabardian ranks may be summed up as follows:[114]

(1) The Princes,[115] also called *Bey*[116]

(2) The Nobility

(a) of the first order: *tlekotlesh*, i. e., "The Strong Generation"[117] or "*Uzden* of the First Class."[118]

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[110] E. Eichwald, *Reise auf dem Caspischen Meere und in den Kaukasus*, Vol. I, Part. II, p. 324.

[111] Pallas, *Bemerkungen auf einer Reise in die süd. Sttb. d. russ. Reichs, etc.*, I, p. 369.
Ladyženskij, FT, p. 188.
Leontovič, I, pp. 116, 223 f.
Dubrovin, *Istorija*, I, pp. 192—216.

[112] Ladyženskij, "Zur Erforschung der Rechtsgewohnheiten der Bergvölker des Kaukasus," *Zeitschrift für Ethnologie*, XLII (1930), p. 242. Ladyženskij, "Entstehung und Entwicklung des Staates bei den kaukasischen Bergvölker," *Zeitschrift für Völkerpsychologie und Soziologie*, VII (1931), pp. 46 f.

[113] Essad-Bey, *Der Kaukasus, seine Berge, Völker und Geschichte*, p. 189, from whom the quotaiton is also taken.

[114] A. Ladyženskij, "Entstehung und Entwicklung des Staates bei den kaukasischen Bergvölkern," *Zeitschrift für Völkerpsychologie und Soziologie*, VII (1931), pp. 38—49.
Maslovskij, "Privillegirovannyja soslovija kabardinskago okruga," SSKG, III (1870), pp. 1—13 (This is the product of a special committe for collecting native laws in the Terek Territory, under the direction of Maslovskij.).
Leontovič, II, pp. 237—245, for the rights of the different classes. See also Leontovič, I, pp. 116, 223 f.
Ladyženskij, FT, p. 181.
Dirr, AGKB, p. 35, *note* 43.
Reineggs, *Allgemeine historisch-topographische Beschreibung des Kaukasus*, I, p. 249.
Klaproth, "Voyage au Mont Caucase," *Nouvelle Bibliotheque*, XI, p. 172.

[115] Maslovskij, *op. cit.*, p. 1.
Ladyženskij, "Entstehung und Entwicklung des Staates bei den kaukasischen Bergvölkern," *Zeitschrift für Völkerpsychologie und Soziologie*, VII (1931), p. 38.

[116] Reineggs, *l. c.*

[117] Ladyženskij, FT, p. 181. J. Castagné, "Le droit coutumier familial des montagnards du Caucase," *Révue des études islamiques*, 1929, No. 2, p. 249.

[118] The word "uzden" is of Tartaric derivation (Klaproth, *l. c.*).

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(b) *Uzden* of the second class i. e. "The Princely *Uzden*,"
1* The *Pshi*[119] or "Princely Guards"
2* The *Uork*

(c) *Uzden* of the third order, i. e., courtiers and messengers.

(3) The Freedmen, called *Azat* or *tfokotl*

(a) The *azats* who were freed by a prince or by a noble who had been raised to the dignity of nobility a long time previously.

(b) The *azats* who were set free by newly created and hence inferior nobles.

(4) The Serfs i, e., *Bshitl*[120]

(a) The *beslen bshitl*, i. e., domestics of the princely family.

(b) The labourers
1* labourers of the first class
2* labourers of the second class.

(5) The Slaves, called *nauts*.

Pallas estimates that there were about 16,000 commoners to about 1,500 *uzden*.[121]

The NORTHEASTERN CAUCASIANS. Of all Caucasians the *Chechens* are supposed to be the most democratic. At least that is their own conviction. "We are all *uzden*," they are fond of repeating, "everyone of us." The Chechens even have a legend according to which social classes are supposed never to have existed among them.[122] When they say they are *uzden* they of course do not understand a distinct class of nobles as do the neighboring Ossetes and the Cherkess. If you ask them what they mean they will answer, "We are all *uzden* because we are all free men; everyone of us is his own master; everyone of us is independent and free, as free as a wolf."

But the question is: Is there really only one class? Of course we are speaking of the conditions prior to 1867, before the Russians abolished slavery.

(1) A princely class has never existed among the Chechens, neither *de jure* nor *de facto*, except for a very short time. In the eighteenth century the Chechens invited a foreign princely family (the Turlovs) to bring order to Chechnia and to defend them against Kumykian and Kabardian raiders. It may very well have been that the Turlovs were actually forced upon the Chechens rather than invited. In any case, this princely family was considered as "intruders" and was driven out of Chechnia as soon as the natives were strong enough to

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[119] Cf. Maslovskij, *op. cit.*, p. 9.

[120] J. Castagné, *l. c.* calls them "pehitli".

[121] Pallas, *Bemerkungen auf einer Reise etc.*, I, p. 386.
Pokrovskij in his *Istoria Rossii v XIX věkě* (after Castagné, *op. cit.*, pp. 249 f) distinguishes the social classes as follows: "Le pschilt ou prince suzerain; le *béhkolt* ourvassal de 1er degré; le *beslen vouork* ou arrière-vassal; le *vouork* ou vassal en général; les ouzdènes ou valets, armés; *loganapouts* ou valets non armés, les *dunaouts* ou paysans et serfs de tous degrés."

[122] A. Rossikov, "Putešestvie po central'noj časti gornoj Čečni," ZKO, XVIII (1896), p. 140.
Leontovič, II, p. 80.
N. Dubrovin, *Istorija*, Tome I, Bk. I, p. 451.

[123] V. P. Polidaev, *Gorcy severnago kavkaza*, p. 14.

defend themselves against the raiders from Kabardia and the Kumykian plains. The Turlov[1] did not affect the social organization of the Chechens very deeply. After the ruling family[1] had been compelled to leave Chechnia, the mountaineers continued to live as classlessly as before ; each Chechen sib was a government in itself with little or no interest in the neighboring sibs.[124] In the *adat* collection of 1849 for the villages of Sunsha we read : " There is no special *adat* regarding the bride-price for princes because the inhabitants do not have any princes."[125] 565 [14] [62]

(2) A perusal of any *adat* collection will convince us that *de jure* the Chechens do not have a nobility either. Thus, for example, in the collection of adats of 1844 of Vladikavkaz Province (the Dzher, Kists, Galgai, Tsori, Ingushi and Karabulaks) we read in § 2 : " No Chechen family has any privilege over any other family." *De facto* however there are influential families. Any family or sib may become more important than the others by manifesting extraordinary bravery or more especially by outnumbering the others.[126] Such families (or to be more exact, sibs) decide what is " wrong " and what is " right," what should be done and what should be left undone.

(3) There are actually two classes : the free and the slaves, the latter being mainly prisoners of war and captives taken in raids. Reineggs describes how in the eighteenth century the Chechens would mercilessly rob strangers and then demand a ransom. If the victim happened to be a fellow-Mohammedan, he naturally could not become a slave[127] if he failed to be ransomed, and consequently was murdered. On the other hand if the captive was a non-Muslim and was of a poor family that was unable to ransom him, he had to remain as a slave.[128] The adats distinguish between two classes of slaves, the *lai* and the *yasir*, the difference between the two being that the *yasir* could be ransomed while the *lai* could not.[129] But in spite of this difference the lot of the *lai* was not as unbearable as might seem at first sight. He was, practically speaking, more or less only a nominal slave, for, as a rule, he was declared free after some time or was *ipso facto* emancipated through marriage.[130] [56]

The situation in Daghestan is much the same as among the Chechen tribes. On the whole the *Lesghians* are very democratic, virtually classless. Class division, wherever it existed, was not of Lesghian origin but was brought from without. It can be roughly sketched as follows.

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[124] Ladyženskij, " Entstehung und Entwicklung des Staates bei den kaukasischen Bergvölkern *Zeitschrift für Völkerpsychologie und Soziologie*, VI (1930), pp. 441 ff.
N. Danilewski, *Der Kaukasus*, p. 141.
Leontovič, II, pp. 86, 114 § 2.
Berže, *Čečnja i Čečency*, p. 90.
Güldenstädt, *Beschreibung der kaukasischen Länder etc.*, pp. 148, 153.

[125] Leontovič, II, pp. 114, § 2, 123, § 1.

[126] A. H. Günther, " Zusammenstöße zwischen Gesetz und Gewohnheitsrecht im nördlichen Kaukasus," *Zeitschrift f. vergl. Rechtsw.*, XLVI (1931), p. 325. Reineggs, *op. cit.*, I, p. 38. Engelhardt und Parrot, *Reisen in die Krym und den Kaukasus*, I, p. 243.

[127] An Islamic prohibition. Cf. G. Bergsträsser, *Grundzüge des islamischen Rechts*, p. 38.

[128] Reineggs, *op. cit.*, I, p. 40.

[129] Leontovič, II, p. 80. Berže, *Čečnja i Čečency*, p. 90. Dubrovin, *Istorija*, Tome I, Bk. I, p. 452.

[130] U. Laudaev, " Primečanja k statě čečenskoe plemja," SSKG, VI (1872), p. 52. Leontovič, *l. c.* Berže, *op. cit.*, p. 91. Byhan, *La Civilisation Caucasienne*, p. 191.

1 [foreign princely family invited to be rulers of the Chechens in the eighteenth century--Analyst]

[24] (1) Most of the Lesghian peoples were ruled by their own freely-elected elders independently of any prince. Of course, the Avars and the Laks had their khans,[131] while the Andi were subject to Kumykian and Avarian rulers.[132] After the Russian conquest of the Caucasus, chief native officials approved by the Military Government were known as *nā'ibs*.[133]

565 [614] (2) Despite the fact that the Lesghian peoples have been subject to a more or less foreign aristocracy—the gradation being khan, bek, uzden, commoner and slave—[134] the people themselves remained essentially classless. Interest centred mainly around one's own sib. What generally determined precedence among the different sibs was, just as among the Chechens, not noble birth but the size of the sib.[135]

(3) Commoners.

[567] (4) Slaves. Lesghian slaves were usually prisoners taken in war or raids.[136] On paying a ransom or after a 10-year service or on marrying a Mohammedan the slave would be emancipated.[137]

The SOUTHERN CAUCASIANS. The complexity of the Georgian social classes surpasses even that of the Cherkess, a fact of which a mere glance through King Vakhtang's Code will convince us.[138] It should be noted that the [793] clergy do not form a distinct class; rather their class is determined by their ecclesiastical rank. In the following outline we shall also indicate the approximate social rank connected with the various ecclesiastical dignities.

(1) The King. The crown is inherited by the first-born male child. The *Catholicos* i. e., Patriarch of Iberia, ranks immediately after the King. (King Vakhtang's Code § 25.)

(2) Princes:

(a) The princes of the first order *(didebuli thavadi)*. Archbishops. (§ 26)
(b) Princes of the second order. Bishops. (§ 27)
(c) Princes of the third order and archimandrites. (§ 28)

(3) Nobles *(Aznauri)*:

(a) *Aznauri* of the first order and priors with the function of an abbot. (§ 29)

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[131] Cf. Gadži-Ali, "Skazanie očevidca o Šamilě," SSKG, VII (1873), pp. 6.

[132] Potocki, *Voyage dans les steps d'Astrakhan et du Caucase*, II, p. 165.

[133] The word is derived from the Arabic *nā'ib*. The territory over which the naib was in charge we shall call "naibate". For an excellent description of a naib family see Halil Beg Mussayassul, *Das Land der letzten Ritter*, München, 1936.

[134] Cf. Svěčin, "Očerk narodonaselenija, nravov i obyčaev Dagestancev," ZKO, II (1853), p. 64.

[135] Cf. Essad-Bey, *Der Kaukasus, seine Berge, Völker und Geschichte*, p. 130.

[136] Klaproth, *Beschreibung der russ. Prov.*, p. 117.

[137] Reineggs, *op. cit.*, I, p. 87.
The social stratification of Daghestan has been treated in: A. Tomai, "Materialy k voprosu o feodalizme v istorii Dagestana," *Revoljucionnyj Vostok*, (Moscow, 1935), No. 5, pp. 116—137.

[138] Cf. Karst's edition, pp. 81—85.

(b) *Aznauri* of the second order. Regular priests and monks. Merchants of the first order (mok'alak'is, i. e., "inhabitants of the city," usually rich Armenian families of merchants living in Tiflis.[139] 565 [441]

(c) *Aznauri* of the third order and landowners. Here we must include also the merchants of the second order and parish priests. (§ 31) [193]

(d) Merchants of the third order and archdeacons. (§ 32)

(e) Merchants of the fourth order, peasants and artisans *(glekhi)*.[140]

East of the Cherkess, separating them from the Northeastern Caucasians, are the probable descendents of the Alans known as OSSETES. Social differentiation was practically unknown in Ossetia. The rank of "nobles" (*aldars* and *badilyats*) was found only among certain Ossete tribes such as those of Kurtatinsk and Tagaursk, and even in these cases the "nobles" did not enjoy any essential privileges. Among the other tribes there existed at the most an initial stage of social stratification.[141] The Alaghir were specially averse to social classes.[142]

Since it is quite probable that the Ossetes are a remnant of the Alans and Sarmatians, we might rightly ask whether social classes disappeared only in their later history or whether it is an ancient tradition. Moses of Chorene (A. D. 370—490) speaks in his *History of the Armenians* of the son of an Ossetine ruler. This prince, we are told, was captured in a battle between the Ossetes and the Armenians. This report, however, is not reliable, being based on mere legend.[143] Ammianus Marcellus (*Rerum gestarum*, xxxi. 2) seems to be closer to the truth when he writes: "All the Alans are equally of noble descent. They have no slaves." Tacitus indeed says that the Alans were "divided into small tribes and groups, each having a chief or prince," but, as Ladyženskij rightly points out, Tacitus is most likely referring here to the *elders* of each sib and not to princes in the strict sense.[144] [101]

Before the abolition of slavery in the Caucasus the following four distinct classes could be found among the Tagaurians:[145]

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[139] Karst, p. 82, *note* 7.

[140] These classes existed in pre-Soviet times. The *eristhavi* or "heads of the people" (a class of nobles who held the position of provincial governors) disappeared much sooner. They used to be appointed by the King; the office however, once bestowed, could be passed down from father to son. Cf. Mourier, *Guide au Caucase*, I, p. 102.
The history of Georgian social classes has been studied by S. Danelia, *Fedaluri revoluthia Sakarthveloli. Narkvevi tarmoiobis istoridan Sakarthveloli* (Feudal Revolution in Georgia. A Historical Sketch of the Origin of Feudalism in Georgia), Tiflis, 1935.

[141] N. F. Takoeva, "Kosta Chetagurov etc.," SE, 1949, No. 2, p. 121. Ladyženskij, "Entstehung und Entwicklung des Staates bei den kaukasischen Bergvölkern," *Zeitschr. f. Völkerpsych. u. Soz.*, VI (1930), pp. 428 f.

[142] A. H. Günther, "Zusammenstöße zwischen Gesetz und Gewohnheitsrecht im nördlichen Kaukasus," *Zeitschr. f. vergl. Rechtsw.*, XLVI (1931), p. 325.

[143] Ladyženskij, "Entstehung und Entwicklung des Staates bei den kaukasischen Bergvölkern," *Zeitschr. f. Völkerpsych. u. Soz.*, VI (1930), p. 443.

[144] *ibid.*

[145] Dirr, AGKB, p. 79, *note* 117. Kovalevskij, *Coutume contemp.*, pp. 17—20. Leontovič, II, p. 9. B. V. Skitskij, *K voprosu o feodalizme v Digorii*, Ordžonikidze, 1953.

1/n [Georgian noble -- Analyst]

565 (1) The upper class, known as *uzdenleg*, the *aldars*,[146] though forming a kind of nobility, cannot be compared with the Kabardian nobles because *any* Tagaurian sib could work itself up to the top of the social ladder through wealth or number.[147] In Digoria the upper class were known as *badulyats*.

(2) The middle class people or *farsagleg* were the free tenants.

[595] (3) The *kavdassarts* were all those born of a secondary wife *(numulus)* or of a concubine. They formed what might be called a bondsmen's class.[148]

[567] (4) The slaves or *gurziag (gurdziag)* is a word derived from "a Georgian," clearly showing that the slaves were mainly prisoners taken in war and raids.

We find similar social ranking among the neighbouring TURCO-MONGOLS. The Kumyks were formerly divided into three classes: (1) the nobles of the first, second, and third order (*uzden*); (2) the bondsmen or *chagars*; (3) the slaves or *kuls*.[149] The Karachai used to be divided into four classes:[150] (1) the princes *(tav big)*; (2) nobles *(kara-uzden)*; (3) serfs *(ilgyly-kul)*; (4) slaves *(ilglysizkul)*. The Turkomans of Stavropol Government, while still nomads, were perhaps the most classless of all peoples inhabiting the Caucasus, even more so than the Alaghirs and the Chechens.[151] The Kalmucks are divided into three main social ranks: the nobles *(saisan)*, the clergy, and the commoners *(aimak)*.[152]

Now that we have learned the social ranks as they existed before the abolition of slavery in 1867, we are in a position to study the affects of social stratification on mating.

565 582 The NORTHWESTERN CAUCASIANS. We cannot help marvelling at the complicated ranking of the *Cherkess* society. When feudalism was at its height in Circassia, not only were inter-class marriages impossible, but even marriages between persons from different subdivisions of the same class and even between persons of different sub-subdivisions of the same subdivision. Thus a nobleman might not marry a girl unless her family had been raised to nobility about the same time as his.[153] A very similar situation prevailed in *Abkhazia*.[154]

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[146] They could own land and slaves.

[147] Ladyženskij, *op. cit.*, pp. 439 f.

[148] *Kavdassart* means literally "one born in a stable," while *numulus* means "a nominal or illegitimate wife."

[149] The bondsmen were originally free land-owners, who later became bondsmen by falling into debts which they were unable to pay off. As a result they became subject to their lords even much more than were the Ossetine *farsaglegs*, for the latter had the right to abandon their masters while the *chagars* enjoyed no such right.
For more about the Kumykian social ranks see Ladyženskij, *op. cit.*, pp. 33—37.

[150] For a full description of feudalism among the Karachai in the nineteenth century see E. N. Studeneckaja, "K voprosu o feodalizme i rabstve v Karačae XIX v.," SE, 1937, No. 2—3, pp. 45.

[151] Ladyženskij, *op. cit.*, p. 443.

[152] Zichy, *Kaukázusjaes középázsiai utazásai*, p. 30. (Part I.)

[153] Reineggs, *op. cit.*, I, p. 252. Longworth, *A Year among the* Circassians, I, pp. 228, 278.

[154] P. I. Kovalevskij, *Kavkaz, Narody Kavkaza*, p. 35.

1 [among the Tagaurians in southern Caucasia.-- Analyst]

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It is true that a change in this ancient and once inviolable law has since taken place.[155] However, it would be wrong to imagine that under the strong Soviet influence of today all traces of a mating inpediment have necessarily disappeared. No doubt, a mating impediment no longer exists *officially*, but it is still observed in practice.[156] 565 582

The NORTHEASTERN CAUCASIANS. The *Chechens* chose mates with practically no concern about social rank. After all they had only two classes, the free and the slaves, and the latter could easily be emancipated by paying a ransom or even by marriage itself. Not the social rank as such but an appropriate bride-price was of importance.[157]

Strictly speaking, disparity of social rank did not constitute a mating impediment among the Lesghians either. In parts of Daghestan where the society was definitely stratified, marriages between members of different classes were indeed strongly discouraged but not to the extent that they were impossible.[158] About a hundred years ago Svečin[159] observed that "an Avar khan may marry a daughter of a *bek*, a bek may marry a daughter of an *uzden*" and a commoner may marry a slave if the latter is willing to accept Mohammedanism. Sometimes a family of an upper class marries one of their sons to a girl of a lower class or a widow in order to acquire an additional worker or to replace a hired servant.[160] It is interesting to note the similarity between the Avarian "servant-wife" and the Ossetine *numulus*. In both cases the marriage is juridically valid, although inferior. In the case of the "servant-wife" the family encourage her husband to avoid and despise her. In both cases children born of the marriage inherit the social rank of the mother. In a word, marriages between individuals of different classes, though discouraged, are not prohibited. Dubrovin assures us that such marriages were only of rare occurrence in Ossetia.[161] The following table shows the rank of a child born of such interclass unions among the Ossetes.

The TURCO-TARTARS of the Caucasus insist on equality of rank.[162] Among the Nogai interclass marriages are extremely rare.[163]

In regard to the stringency of the rule we may, in conclusion, divide the entire Caucasus into three zones: (1) an Abkhaz-Cherkess-Georgian zone, (2) a Chechen zone and (3) a Lesghian zone. The most feudalistic society existed in the first zone and it was there that the impediment of disparity of social rank was insisted upon most of all. The "Chechen Zone" was the most classless

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[155] Baddeley, *op. cit.*, II, p. 225.

[156] As Ladyženskij observed in 1927: "So z. B. sind wohl die Stände abgeschafft, aber einer der Beamten des Aulispolkom wurde entlassen, weil einer seiner Verwandten sich mit einer armen ehemaligen Adeligen verheiratet hatte... Klassenzugehörigkeit wird noch mit Standeszugehörigkeit verwechselt." (Ladyženskij, FT, pp. 191 f.)

[157] *Infra*, pp. 83 ff.

[158] Kovalevskij, *Zakon*, II, pp. 169 f.

[159] "Očerk narodonaselenija, nravov i obyčaev Dagestancev," ZKO, II (1853), pp. 54—65.

[160] N. L'vov, "Domašnjaja si semjnaja žizn etc.," p. 19.

[161] *Istorija*, Tome I, Bk. I, p. 329.

[162] In regard to Kumyks see Dubrovin, *Istorija*, Tome I, Bk. I, p. 637, and Gadži-Magoma-Dehirov, "Dagestanskija predanija i suevěrija," SMOMPK, IV (1884), No. 2, p. 31.

[163] Dubrovin, *Istorija*, Tome I, Bk. I, p. 277.

**TABLE 7 ***

**Social Rank of Ossete Child of an Interclass Marriage**

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582
[858]

| Mother → / Father ↓ · Child ↘ | *uzden* | *farsagleg* | *kavdassart* | *gurziag* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| *uzden* | uzden | kavdassart | kavdassart | gurziag |
| *farsag.* | farsagleg | farsagleg | farsagleg | gurziag |
| *kavdasj.* | kavdassart | kavdassart | kavdassart | gurziag? ** kavdassart? |
| *gurziag* | gurziag | gurziag (in Tagaursk child free) | gurziag | gurziag. |

* This table is based on data found in Kovalevskij's *Coutume contemp.*, pp. 202 f.

** Is it gurziag or kavdassart? There seems to be a contradiction: on page 202 Kovalevskij maintains: "Ne peut naître d'un père kavdassard qu'un kavdassard, quelle que soit sa mère... Les kavdassards peuvent acheter et posseder les gourziaks qu'ils ont achetés; mais les enfants de ces gourziaks seront kavdassards, et appartiendront au propriètaire du kavdassard, c'est-a-dire, à l'ouzdanelag." On page 203 we find: "Les fils et les fille d'une esclave sont toujours esclaves, et, commes tels, dépourvus de tout droit."

(and here we may also include the majority of the Ossete tribes) and least insistent on marriages exclusively within one's own class. In fact we can almost say that the prohibition is non-existent in Chechnia and in the greater part of Ossetia. The "Lesghian Zone" occupies a middle position between these two extremes.

### 5. Other Forms of Endogamy and Exogamy

562 We do not maintain to have exhausted the possibilities of endogamy-exogamy regulations. These possibilities, however, have been more or less overlooked by the explorers. We refer, for examples, to the marriage impediments arising from disparity of occupation, disparity of cult, disparity of nationality. We know, for instance, that the Kabardians freely intermarry with the Russians and Karachai,[164] and that they marry any non-Cherkess, especially if the other party is a Mohammedan or is willing to accept the Islamic religion,[165] but is that the situation everywhere in the Caucasus? Till more fieldwork is done, such questions will have to remain unanswered. Midwives are sometimes [859] considered related to the new-born, but we do not know how widespread the custom actually is. In regard to the impediment of disparity of cult we know that the Koran, ii. 20 f admonishes the Muslim: "Marry not a heathen woman before she be converted: a believing slave is much better even if she doth not please thee... The heathen woman will lead thee to hell, but Allah calleth thee to Paradise..." How strictly do the Islamic Caucasians observe this precept? There are doubtless many more lacunae that only the trained and exact fieldworker can fill.

[164] Ladyženskij, FT, p. 191.

[165] Ladyženskij, FT, p. 198.

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body-guards of the princes, (3) the nobility, (4) peasants, slaves, and prisoners of war.[110] 565

The haughtiest nobility of all Caucasia was that of the *Cherkess*.[111] Anyone seeking an example of Medieval feudalism at its height needs but study the reports about the Cherkess of about a hundred years ago. It was only in 1867 [566] that slavery and serfdom were abolished.

But not all Cherkess tribes were equally feudalistic. Thanks especially to the powerful aristocratic merchant class of the coastal tribes (the Shapsugs and Natukhai), feudalism disappeared in extreme western Circassia long before the Russians abolished it elsewhere in the Caucasus.[112] The Kabardians were of course the most feudalistic. "Endless is the list of Kabardian social ranks... They even have a code of laws, the *Adygé-Khabse*, which determines every step of the Kabardian lords, defining very exactly their rights and obligations toward the princes and toward the people." Four princely families ruled over Kabardia at the time of the Russian-Caucasian wars.[113]

This long list of Kabardian ranks may be summed up as follows:[114]

(1) The Princes,[115] also called *Bey*[116]

(2) The Nobility

(a) of the first order: *tlekotlesh*, i. e., "The Strong Generation"[117] or "*Uzden* of the First Class."[118]

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[110] E. Eichwald, *Reise auf dem Caspischen Meere und in den Kaukasus*, Vol. I, Part. II, p. 324.

[111] Pallas, *Bemerkungen auf einer Reise in die süd. Stth. d. russ. Reichs, etc.*, I, p. 369.
Ladyženskij, FT, p. 188.
Leontovič, I, pp. 116, 223 f.
Dubrovin, *Istorija*, I, pp. 192—216.

[112] Ladyženskij, "Zur Erforschung der Rechtsgewohnheiten der Bergvölker des Kaukasus," *Zeitschrift für Ethnologie*, XLII (1930), p. 242. Ladyženskij, "Entstehung und Entwicklung des Staates bei den kaukasischen Bergvölker," *Zeitschrift für Völkerpsychologie und Soziologie*, VII (1931), pp. 46 f.

[113] Essad-Bey, *Der Kaukasus, seine Berge, Völker und Geschichte*, p. 189, from whom the quotaiton is also taken.

[114] A. Ladyženskij, "Entstehung und Entwicklung des Staates bei den kaukasischen Bergvölkern," *Zeitschrift für Völkerpsychologie und Soziologie*, VII (1931), pp. 38—49.
Maslovskij, "Privillegirovannyja soslovija kabardinskago okruga," SSKG, III (1870), pp. 1—13 (This is the product of a special committe for collecting native laws in the Terek Territory, under the direction of Maslovskij.).
Leontovič, II, pp. 237—245, for the rights of the different classes. See also Leontovič, I, pp. 116, 223 f.
Ladyženskij, FT, p. 181.
Dirr, AGKB, p. 35, *note* 43.
Reineggs, *Allgemeine historisch-topographische Beschreibung des Kaukasus*, I, p. 249.
Klaproth, "Voyage au Mont Caucase," *Nouvelle Bibliotheque*, XI, p. 172.

[115] Maslovskij, *op. cit.*, p. 1.
Ladyženskij, "Entstehung und Entwicklung des Staates bei den kaukasischen Bergvölkern," *Zeitschrift für Völkerpsychologie und Soziologie*, VII (1931), p. 38.

[116] Reineggs, *l. c.*

[117] Ladyženskij, FT, p. 181. J. Castagné, "Le droit coutumier familial des montagnards du Caucase," *Révue des études islamiques*, 1929, No. 2, p. 249.

[118] The word "uzden" is of Tartaric derivation (Klaproth, *l. c.*).

C. A. 608 way, though all the members of a clan claim a common descent from the same ancestor, this descent is largely fictitious.

C. G. 565 642 Clans naturally differed in size and wealth, and this led in many parts of the Caucasus to a differentiation of classes and to a feudal structure of the society (Kabarda; lower regions of Dagestan). In Transcaucasia there was a further development into feudal C. G. 619 monarchies (Georgia, Armenia). The original tribal structure was best preserved among the Georgian highlanders, the Svan, some of the W. Circassian tribes, the Ossetes, the Chechen and Ingush, and the tribes in the higher parts of Dagestan. For instance, the Pshav tribe (dziri, lit. "root") is divided into eleven clans (temi); the members of each clan bear the same name, but in everyday life are known under a second family name (gvari) derived from the proper name of a grandfather or great-grandfather. If a family expanded, C. G. 565 new surnames were adopted. Where a differentiation of classes took place, the general pattern was the following. The upper class consisted of the nobility, in its turn subdivided into various ranks in the regions with more pronounced feudal traits (Georgia, Kabarda). The lower class consisted of the peasants; here too, a further stratification existed, depending on differences in degree of economic C. G. [567] and personal freedom. The lowest classes were the slaves; mostly prisoners of war. In

C.
G.
565 Georgia the various grades of the clergy corresponded to the ranks of the nobility, the head of the church (Katholikos) being equal to the king. As to the functions of the different classes, Kabardian society may serve as an example. The function of the highest class, the princes, was to defend their subjects and to provide leadership in wars and predatory incursions into the territory of neighboring tribes (and in the nineteenth century, especially into that of the Russians); such raids were part of the everyday life of most N. Caucasian mountaineers. The representatives of the second class, the nobles, were always at the disposal of their prince, assisted him in his daily activities, accompanied him on his raids, and in general carried out his orders. They could also be called upon to provide the prince with cattle, corn, or other goods, and such a request could not be refused. When a prince died and left several sons, each of the nobles declared himself a subject of the one of his choice. Part of the production of the peasants belonged to the princes and nobles; the latter provided their subjects with draft animals, agricultural implements, and feed-corn. In case of discontentment the nobles and also the free peasants could leave the territory of their
C.
G. lords and settle elsewhere. The slaves had no
565 rights and owned no property, they were em-
567 ployed in the cultivation of the soil or in the domestic service of the princes and nobles and could be sold at will.

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567

After the incorporation of the various parts of the Caucasus into the Russian empire, slavery and serfdom were gradually abolished (second half of the nineteenth century). Before the revolution, the Russian hold on the Caucasus depended to a large extent on the nobility (whose ranks, in Georgia as well as in the N. Caucasus, were put on a par with the Russian); after the revolution, of course, an appeal was made to the lower classes.

defend themselves against the raiders from Kabardia and the Kumykian plains. The Turlovs[1] did not affect the social organization of the Chechens very deeply. After the ruling family[1] had been compelled to leave Chechnia, the mountaineers continued to live as classlessly as before; each Chechen sib was a government in itself with little or no interest in the neighboring sibs.[124] In the *adat* collection of 1849 for the villages of Sunsha we read: "There is no special *adat* regarding the bride-price for princes because the inhabitants do not have any princes."[125] 565 [614] [621]

(2) A perusal of any *adat* collection will convince us that *de jure* the Chechens do not have a nobility either. Thus, for example, in the collection of adats of 1844 of Vladikavkaz Province (the Dzher, Kists, Galgai, Tsori, Ingushi and Karabulaks) we read in § 2: "No Chechen family has any privilege over any other family." *De facto* however there are influential families. Any family or sib may become more important than the others by manifesting extraordinary bravery or more especially by outnumbering the others.[126] Such families (or to be more exact, sibs) decide what is "wrong" and what is "right," what should be done and what should be left undone.

(3) There are actually two classes: the free and the slaves, the latter being mainly prisoners of war and captives taken in raids. Reineggs describes how in the eighteenth century the Chechens would mercilessly rob strangers and then demand a ransom. If the victim happened to be a fellow-Mohammedan, he naturally could not become a slave[127] if he failed to be ransomed, and consequently was murdered. On the other hand if the captive was a non-Muslim and was of a poor family that was unable to ransom him, he had to remain as a slave.[128] The adats distinguish between two classes of slaves, the *lai* and the *yasir*, the difference between the two being that the *yasir* could be ransomed while the *lai* could not.[129] But in spite of this difference the lot of the *lai* was not as unbearable as might seem at first sight. He was, practically speaking, more or less only a nominal slave, for, as a rule, he was declared free after some time or was *ipso facto* emancipated through marriage.[130] [562]

The situation in Daghestan is much the same as among the Chechen tribes. On the whole the *Lesghians* are very democratic, virtually classless. Class division, wherever it existed, was not of Lesghian origin but was brought from without. It can be roughly sketched as follows.

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[124] Ladyženskij, "Entstehung und Entwicklung des Staates bei den kaukasischen Bergvölkern *Zeitschrift für Völkerpsychologie und Soziologie*, VI (1930), pp. 441 ff.
N. Danilewski, *Der Kaukasus*, p. 141.
Leontovič, II, pp. 86, 114 § 2.
Berže, *Čečnja i Čečency*, p. 90.
Güldenstädt, *Beschreibung der kaukasischen Länder etc.*, pp. 148, 153.

[125] Leontovič, II, pp. 114, § 2, 123, § 1.

[126] A. H. Günther, "Zusammenstöße zwischen Gesetz und Gewohnheitsrecht im nördlichen Kaukasus," *Zeitschrift f. vergl. Rechtsw.*, XLVI (1931), p. 325. Reineggs, *op. cit.*, I, p. 38. Engelhardt und Parrot, *Reisen in die Krym und den Kaukasus*, I, p. 243.

[127] An Islamic prohibition. Cf. G. Bergsträsser, *Grundzüge des islamischen Rechts*, p. 38.

[128] Reineggs, *op. cit.*, I, p. 40.

[129] Leontovič, II, p. 80. Berže, *Čečnja i Čečency*, p. 90. Dubrovin, *Istorija*, Tome I, Bk. I, p. 452.

[130] U. Laudaev, "Primečanja k statě čečenskoe plemja," SSKG, VI (1872), p. 52. Leontovič, *l. c.* Berže, *op. cit.*, p. 91. Byhan, *La Civilisation Caucasienne*, p. 191.

[1] [foreign princely family invited to be rulers of the Chechens in the eighteenth century--Analy]

[24] (1) Most of the Lesghian peoples were ruled by their own freely-elected elders independently of any prince. Of course, the Avars and the Laks had their khans,[121] while the Andi were subject to Kumykian and Avarian rulers.[122] After the Russian conquest of the Caucasus, chief native officials approved by the Military Government were known as *naïbs*.[123]

565 [644] (2) Despite the fact that the Lesghian peoples have been subject to a more or less foreign aristocracy—the gradation being khan, bek, uzden, commoner and slave—[124] the people themselves remained essentially classless. Interest centred mainly around one's own sib. What generally determined precedence among the different sibs was, just as among the Chechens, not noble birth but the size of the sib.[125]

(3) Commoners.

● [56] (4) Slaves. Lesghian slaves were usually prisoners taken in war or raids.[126] On paying a ransom or after a 10-year service or on marrying a Mohammedan the slave would be emancipated.[127]

The SOUTHERN CAUCASIANS. The complexity of the Georgian social classes surpasses even that of the Cherkess, a fact of which a mere glance through King Vakhtang's Code will convince us.[128] It should be noted that the [193] clergy do not form a distinct class; rather their class is determined by their ecclesiastical rank. In the following outline we shall also indicate the approximate social rank connected with the various ecclesiastical dignities.

(1) The King. The crown is inherited by the first-born male child. The *Catholicos* i. e., Patriarch of Iberia, ranks immediately after the King. (King Vakhtang's Code § 25.)

(2) Princes:

(a) The princes of the first order *(didebuli thavadi)*. Archbishops. (§ 26)
(b) Princes of the second order. Bishops. (§ 27)
(c) Princes of the third order and archimandrites. (§ 28)

(3) Nobles *(Aznauri)*:

(a) *Aznauri* of the first order and priors with the function of an abbot. (§ 29)

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[121] Cf. Gadži-Ali, "Skazanie očevidca o Šamilě," SSKG, VII (1873), pp. 6.

[122] Potocki, *Voyage dans les steps d'Astrakhan et du Caucase*, II, p. 165.

[123] The word is derived from the Arabic *nā'ib*. The territory over which the naib was in charge we shall call "naibate". For an excellent description of a naib family see Halil Beg Mussayassul, *Das Land der letzten Ritter*, München, 1936.

[124] Cf. Svěčin, "Očerk narodonaselenija, nravov i obyčaev Dagestancev," ZKO, II (1853), p. 64.

[125] Cf. Emad-Bey, *Der Kaukasus, seine Berge, Völker und Geschichte*, p. 130.

[126] Klaproth, *Beschreibung der russ. Prov.*, p. 117.

[127] Reinegg, *op. cit.*, I, p. 87.
The social stratification of Daghestan has been treated in: A. Tomai, "Materialy k voprosu o feodalizme v istorii Dagestana," *Revoljucionnyj Vostok*, (Moscow, 1935), No. 5, pp. 116—137.

[128] Cf. Karst's edition, pp. 81—85.

565 (1) The upper class, known as *uzdenleg*, the *aldars*,[146] though forming a kind of nobility, cannot be compared with the Kabardian nobles because *any* Tagaurian sib could work itself up to the top of the social ladder through wealth or number.[147] In Digoria the upper class were known as *badulyats*.

(2) The middle class people or *farsagleg* were the free tenants.

[595] (3) The *kavdassarts* were all those born of a secondary wife *(numulus)* or of a concubine. They formed what might be called a bondsmen's class.[148]

[567] (4) The slaves or *gurziag (gurdziag)* is a word derived from "a Georgian," clearly showing that the slaves were mainly prisoners taken in war and raids.

We find similar social ranking among the neighbouring TURCO-MONGOLS. The Kumyks were formerly divided into three classes: (1) the nobles of the first, second, and third order (*uzden*); (2) the bondsmen or *chagars*; (3) the slaves or *kuls*.[149] The Karachai used to be divided into four classes:[150] (1) the princes *(tav big)*; (2) nobles *(kara-uzden)*; (3) serfs *(ilgyly-kul)*; (4) slaves *(ilglysizkul)*. The Turkomans of Stavropol Government, while still nomads, were perhaps the most classless of all peoples inhabiting the Caucasus, even more so than the Alaghirs and the Chechens.[151] The Kalmucks are divided into three main social ranks: the nobles *(taisan)*, the clergy, and the commoners *(aimak)*.[152]

Now that we have learned the social ranks as they existed before the abolition of slavery in 1867, we are in a position to study the affects of social stratification on mating.

565 582 The NORTHWESTERN CAUCASIANS. We cannot help marvelling at the complicated ranking of the *Cherkess* society. When feudalism was at its height in Circassia, not only were inter-class marriages impossible, but even marriages between persons from different subdivisions of the same class and even between persons of different sub-subdivisions of the same subdivision. Thus a nobleman might not marry a girl unless her family had been raised to nobility about the same time as his.[153] A very similar situation prevailed in *Abkhazia*.[154]

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[146] They could own land and slaves.

[147] Ladyženskij, *op. cit.*, pp. 439 f.

[148] *Kavdassart* means literally "one born in a stable," while *numulus* means "a nominal or illegitimate wife."

[149] The bondsmen were originally free land-owners, who later became bondsmen by falling into debts which they were unable to pay off. As a result they became subject to their lords even much more than were the Ossetine *farsaglegs*, for the latter had the right to abandon their masters while the *chagars* enjoyed no such right.
For more about the Kumykian social ranks see Ladyženskij, *op. cit.*, pp. 33—37.

[150] For a full description of feudalism among the Karachai in the nineteenth century see E. N. Studeneckaja, "K voprosu o feodalizme i rabstve v Karačae XIX v.," SE, 1937, No. 2—3, pp. 45.

[151] Ladyženskij, *op. cit.*, p. 443.

[152] Zichy, *Kaukázusjaes középázsiai utazásai*, p. 30. (Part I.)

[153] Reinegg, *op. cit.*, I, p. 252. Longworth, *A Year among the* Circassians, I, pp. 228, 278.

[154] P. I. Kovalevskij, *Kavkaz, Narody Kavkaza*, p. 35.

1 n [among the Tagaurians in southern Caucasia.-- Analyst]

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adulterer and the adulteress escape, they both become blood-enemies of the husband and must pay a bloodwite of Rs. 100.[59] 684

In case of fornication, marriage between the two lovers becomes obligatory. The lover may divorce his wife immediately after marriage, but by so doing he incurs the obligation of paying the customary *kebin-khak*.[60] If the girl is too young to marry, the man must wait till she becomes old enough.[61] In case of incest, the regulations set down in the *šarî'a* are followed rather than the *adats*.[62]

Pederasty and sodomy occur very seldom among the North Caucasians and Ossetes, whereas they are rather frequent among the neighbouring Karachai and Taulu.[63] [838]

The KURDS also have the practice of cutting off the adulteress' ears and nose.[64]

## § 2. PROBLEMS AND GENERAL CONCLUSIONS

### 1. Historical Reconstruction

Despite the many dissimilarities we have noticed in the customary penal laws of the various peoples of North Caucasus, it is quite possible that the differences are merely different *stages* of one and the same *adat*. (1) According to the oldest customary laws, the adulteress had to be punished, and she alone. She was punished if she had been caught in the act, or even if the husband had learned of her infidelity from others. Sometimes mutilation (nose, ears or arms were cut off, hair clipped, cheeks slit, etc.) preceded the execution; sometimes, after thus being mutilated, she was sold into slavery. (2) It seems that later on, at least in some parts of North Caucasus, she might be mutilated, but not killed. If the jealous husband would nevertheless take her life, he would become a blood-enemy of her relatives. (3) Later still, especially, but not exclusively, through Islamic influence, the adulterer too had to be punished. He would have to pay a certain sum to the offended husband, a sum sufficient to reconcile himself with the relatives of his adulterous wife, whom he had slain and thereby become their blood-enemy. The *adats* which insist on the *death* of the adulterer seem to be relatively recent. (4) As a precaution against over-hasty and unjunst action, the husband was obliged to kill both partners or none at all. To slay only the adulteress or only the adulterer was now looked upon as suspicious and even unjust, and therefore the avenger himself became a blood-enemy of the relatives of the partner he happened to kill. The insistence on killing the culprits *in the act* seems also to be a later innovation, a means to check false suspicion and [567]

[59] "Adaty žitelej kumyskoj ploskosti," SSKG, VI (1872), p. 13; Leontovič, II, p. 205, § 13. See also N. Semenov, "Očerki narodnych obyčaev Kumykov Terskoj Oblasti," *Terskij Sbornik* II (1892), No. 2, Part 2, pp. 75 f.

[60] The *kebin-khak* is generally Rs. 100. Cf. Semenov, *op. cit.*, p. 75.

[61] "Adaty žitelej kumyskoj ploskosti," p. 15, § 10.

[62] "Adaty žitelej kumyskoj ploskosti," p. 13.

[63] Kovalevskij, *Costume contemp.*, p. 340.

[64] Jankó, "Néprajzi, etc.," Zichy's *Kaukázusi és középázsiai utazásai*, p. 62.

[Sic.. Analyst]

writings of the Arabs al-Mas'ûdî and Abu-El-Kasim. They claim that the father offers one of his daughters to his guest as a mere point of hospitality. Stählin[72] claimed that illegitimate children were treated the same as legitimate. On the other hand, a large number of authors, such as Struys, Lamberti,[73] Neumann,[74] and others, claim that the Cherkess women are extremely modest. The true solution to these conflicting reports is the one suggested by Ladyženskij.[75] "Den richtigsten Standpunkt nimmt in der Frage Garni ein (Reisen in den Ländern der asiatischen Türkei und des Kaukasus, 1854). Er betont die Keuschheit der freien Frauen und den Hetärismus der Sklavinnen." This is also Dirr's opinion.[76] In other words, the reports are true only to a certain extent: the freewomen are exceptionally modest, while the slaves exceptionally immodest, religious prostitution and sexual hospitality being restricted to slaves. Such conduct in regard to freewomen would be impossible considering the great economic loss the family would suffer from defloration, considering also the virginity test, and, finally, the fear of illegitimate children. On the other hand, defloration, virginity, and illegitimate children in the case of *slaves* would offer no serious difficulty.

We have a similar problem in regard to some of the Lesghians. As we have mentioned above, Herodotus wrote of the Lesghians that "they copulate in public as beasts are wont to do."[77] Przewalski reported that at Tsunta-Akhvakh unmarried couples were allowed to sleep together.[78] Baddeley confirms Przewalski's report: "It is the custom for a host to give his guest one of his daughters or some other girl to sleep with. The couple may ... do what they like provided the maidenhead remains intact; and even that depends on the fair one's goodwill. But should the guest so far forget himself as to force her, he will pay for it with his life. Those people think meanly of a girl who has never slept with an honoured guest."[79] Baddeley's guide, a native of Ossetia, "accepted this as a fact, and added that something of the same sort went on in certain of the older Cossack 'stanitsas' on the Terek, instancing Tchervlennaya."[80] Herodotus' report is useless, for we do not know exactly who is meant, but there is no reason to doubt Przewalski and Baddeley. However, we wish to stress that this is a custom found exclusively in Tsunta-Akhvakh and is, by no means, the picture of entire Daghestan. Tsunta-Akhvakh is only a *village* (in 1901 it had only 415 inhabitants), which constitutes an *exception*

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[72] Jacob v. Stählin, *Nachrichten von Tschirkassien oder von dem Karbardinischen Lande*, 1771, referred to by Ladyženskij, FT, p. 185.

[73] Cf. Ladyženskij, *l. c.*

[74] Neumann, *Rußland und die Tscherkessen*, cf. Ladyženskij, *l. c.*

[75] Ladyženskij, *l. c.* Ladyženskij, "Zur Erforschung der Rechtsgewohnheiten, etc.," pp. 243 f.

[76] Ladyženskij, FT, p. 184. Cf. Castagné, "Le droit coutumier familial des montagnards du Caucase," p. 252: "Supposer que le montagnard adighé pût proposer sa fille ou sa femme a un hôte, serait comprehensible si la femme des montagnards avait été esclave, mais cela n'étant pas, une supposition de ce genre doit être considéré comme sans fondement aucun."

[77] Cited by Potocki, *Voyage dans les steps d'Astrakhan et du Caucase*, I, p. 240; to which Potocki adds, "Celle de quelques vallées du Caucase sont encore très libres."

[78] Kovalevskij, *Zakon*, II, p. 189.

[79] Baddeley, *op. cit.*, II, pp. 13 f.

[80] Baddeley, *op. cit.*, *II*, p. 14.

# Chapter XIII

# Patria Potestas

All North Caucasian peoples recognize one head of the family. In the present 593
chapter we shall study the extent of this authority. Does the father prossess *absolute* power over the members of his family?

## § 1. THE RIGHT TO SELL CHILDREN INTO SLAVERY

Since slavery was abiloshed in 1867, we must have recourse to sources prior 567
to that date.

The NORTHWESTERN CAUCASIANS. According to an *adat* of the 593
Black Sea Line, Kuban and Terek Territories (§ 139), the father does not have a right to sell or give away his sons.[1] However, Longworth, who spent a year among these people, expressly states the contrary. "The right," he says, "is never disputed, though it is considered disreputable for an ouzden, or even a freeman in good circumstances, to sell his children to slave merchants."[2] A certain greedy Cherkess once sold his brother's children whose guardian he was, for which, we are told, "he was universally execrated,"[3] though, evidently, he had the *right* to do so. In other words, it is very essential to distinguish between the *right* to sell children into slavery and the actual *practice*, which is strongly discouraged.

Taitbout de Marigny, who had visited the Cherkess several decades before Longworth, left us an incomplete report of what he had observed. The Cherkess are supposed to have sold their sons and daughters for Turkish goods with absolute indifference.[4] His visit, however, was too brief and superficial. When speaking of "indifference" Taitbout de Marigny should have made a second very important distinction, namely, whether the children thus sold into slavery belonged to the same social class as the father or whether they were born of a secondary or slave wife. Longworth makes this very important observation: "The great proportion ... of women who are exported are of the fourth or servile class ..."[5]

The NORTHEASTERN CAUCASIANS. The Chechens have no *adats* which determine or limit in any way the authority of the father over his children.[6] Potocki describes the sad story of an Ingush who sold his daughter

[1] Leontovič, II, p. 250, § 139.
[2] Longworth, *A Year among the Circassians*, I, pp. 279 f.
[3] Longworth, *op. cit.*, I, p. 180.
[4] *Voyage en Circassie en 1818*, p.6.
[5] Longworth, *op. cit.*, I, p. 279.
[6] Leontovič, II, pp. 96, 112, § 8.

593 for some Persian cloth worth Rs. 240. While the deal was still going on, the
567 girl fled and hanged herself.[7]

We have found no purely Lesghian *adats* prohibiting or sanctioning the selling of children into slavery, in spite of the despotic authority of the father.[8] Although we do not know the attitude of customary law in this regard, we do know that the *šarī'a* strictly forbids not only the selling of a fellow-Mohammedan into slavery, but expressly condemns the selling of one's own children.[9]

The SOUTHERN CAUCASIANS. In times of famine the mountain tribes of Georgia used to sell their children; the Svans, for example, "for 700 to 1,200 francs each" (Mourier, *Guide au Caucase*, I, p. 147).

It was this same poverty that led their neighbours, the Tualti (SOUTHERN OSSETES), to kill their girls and sell their boys.[10]

In short, everywhere in the Caucasus the *right* to sell children is not disputed; the practice, however, is *rare*, except in time of absolute necessity or in regard to children who are not considered fully members of the family.

## § 2. JUS VITAE NECISQUE

593 The NORTHWESTERN CAUCASIANS. The *adats* expressly mention
682 that a father does not have the right over life and death of his children.[11]
[629] However, he may condemn a *perverse* member of the family to death: he must, of course, first chastize him, then disinherit him, and finally, if all these means fail and the son remains incorrigeable, the father, acting as supreme judge of the family, may hand him over to a servant to be killed.[12] In spite of these *adats* it seems that formerly the father actually had the right to kill his child at will.[13]

The NORTHEASTERN CAUCASIANS. The Chechen adat collection of 1843 tells us that "there is no customary law defining or limiting the authority of the father over his children."[14] However, in practice, he enjoys this unlimited
[258] authority only as long as the children are small. Once his sons have grown up, they may take vengeance on their own father for killing one of their brothers.[15] It is quite possible that at one time the father actually possessed the *jus vitae necisque*, a right that had disappeared long before the *adat* collections of the past century were made. By no means does a husband have a right over the

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[7] *Voyage dans les steps d'Astrakhan et du Caucase*, II, p. 123.

[8] Cf. Omarov, "Kak živut Laki," SSKG, IV (1871), p. 18.

[9] G. Bergsträsser, *Grundzüge des islamischen Rechts*, p. 39.

[10] Kovalevskij, *Coutume contemp.*, p. 189.

[11] Leontovič, II, p. 250, § 138.

[12] *ibid.* See also Leontovič, I, p. 152, § 81.

[13] Dubrovin, *Istorija*, I, i, pp. 168 f; P. I. Kovalevskij, *Kavkaz, Narody Kavkaza*, p. 56.

[14] Leontovič, II, p. 112, § 8.

[15] M. O. Kosven, "Avunkulat," SE, 1948, No. 1, p. 18; Leontovič, II, pp. 112 (§ 8), 251 (§ 143), 258 (§ 206); Berže, *Čečnja i Čečency*, p. 96.

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# IV. CONCLUSION

## Chapter XIV

## Conclusion

### § 1. MARRIAGE AND THE FAMILY OF THE CAUCASIANS IN THE LIGHT OF HISTORY

#### 1. Russian (Soviet and Pre-Soviet) Influence

That the Russian military, political, and cultural influence has greatly affected, changed and unified, the marriage and family customs of the various peoples of the Caucasus cannot be denied. We need but recall some of the many facts we have pointed out in our comparative study. 177.59 583

(1) The Russians, we have seen, severely prosecute *polygyny* (*supra*, p. 39) and not without success. The relative scarcity of polygamous unions throughout North Caucasus and the neighbourhood, regardless of how ethnically different the tribes may be, must be attributed, at least in part, to Russian legislation. 177.59 595

(2) In recent times both mates have begun to enjoy greater *freedom of choice*, (*supra*, p. 76), thanks to the Russian insistance on freedom in mating as a *conditio sine qua non* for a legally valid marriage. [584]

(3) We have also observed how rapidly *bride purchase* was disappearing or assuming an entirely different significance throughout the Caucasus, again, at least in part, owing to Russian legislation, industrialization, and education (*supra*, pp. 83, 87, 90). [583]

(4) *Bride price, bloodwite*, etc. were formerly measured in cows, horses, sheep, and oxen, but now they are measured in money : not in live stock but in Russian rubles ! (*Supra*, pp. 82—89, 95, 168—179).

(5) The Russian opposition to *bride capture* has helped to make the practice become rare (*supra*, pp. 97 f). It was Russian positive law gaining ascendency over the *patria potestas* and its insistance on freedom of choice that encouraged and even defended elopement (*supra*, p. 98).

(6) The general disappearance of slavery and the associated sociological consequences, e. g., *the marriage impediments*, [582] 567

(7) the *less severe penalties for sex crimes* which are gradually being adopted by all tribes of Caucasia (*supra*, pp. 175, 180). 177.68 684

(8) and the improvement in the *status of the female sex*, all must be reckoned among the effects of Russian and Soviet influence. 177.56 562

p. 189

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Of these the Kubachins,[1] skilled armourers, the Kurins and the Tabasserans—the two latter tribes probably descendants of Persian colonists—were the most peaceable, industrious and civilised, while the Avars were the most warlike. All the Daghestanli tribes were organised on a patriarchal and extremely democratic basis—the chiefs being elective and controlled by councils of elders. To quote Hanway—"as they live under a kind of republican government, the distinction paid to him (the chief) is not very considerable."[2] 101 [622]

Distinct, racially and politically, from the other mountain tribes were the Ossets, who, divided into four main tribes—Digurins, Tagaurs, Kutatins and Alaghirs—were settled over the southern slopes of the Central Caucasus and in the valley of the Upper Araghva. Their social organisation, with its divisions into classes of nobles and serfs, corresponded in many respects to that of the western tribes.

The mountaineers possessed the accepted characteristics of all semi-civilised peoples: on the one hand reckless courage, extreme generosity, hospitality, loyalty, respect for the aged and love of animals; on the other hand a sensibility to offence and a childish vindictiveness which was expressed in perpetual and blood-thirsty vendettas, extreme personal vanity, a disinclination to submit to discipline or to undertake regular work, cruelty, callousness and violence. 181

All travellers unite in praising the hospitality of the mountaineers. "They fulfil the duties of hospitality with the most scrupulous attention, and both the host and his guest style one another *conacco*,[3] which is synonymous with *hospes* in Latin. On the departure of the latter, his host escorts him to another lodging, protects him, and, if necessary, risks his own life in defence of his guest. Though it has been observed that robbery is so general in this country that it may be considered as a regular profession, they nevertheless manifest the utmost fidelity to their conacci or guests.[4] Of the Ingushes Klaproth says, "At entertainments the host always waits upon his guests, and eats only what the latter throw him."[5] 574

The chief occupation and interest of the tribes lay in perpetual raids against their neighbours, or against the inhabitants 721

[1] Chantre, basing himself on Kubachin legends, suggests that this community was of Greek origin, the descendants of a colony of armourers settled by the Persian Kings at Derbend (Chantre, iv, 228).

[2] Hanway, i. 373.

[3] The Italianised form of "kunakh."

[4] Klaproth, p. 336, Dubois de Montpereux, i, 88, both quoting Interiano.

[5] Klaproth, p. 349.

574 Hospitality is a national institution in the Caucasus. A guest is considered sacred; the host takes pride in receiving him and does his utmost to protect and honor him; if the host is poor, he can count on his neighbors to provide him with all the occasion requires. Most of the mountain peoples had special rooms or huts for guests (Russ. kunatskaia), and the right of hospitality was taken so seriously that in-injury caused to a guest could involve the host in a blood feud. There have been even instances in which communities were ruined by it, as for instance the Abadzekh settlement near Goriachii Kliuch, where the sick and wounded were taken during the Caucasian war; the inhabitants were obliged by custom to receive and support as guests the patients coming to the springs. When, during the famine of 1933, groups of Ukrainians came to the Circassian settlements in the N. W. Caucasus in search of food, considerable tension was caused by the Soviet government's prohibition to give them comfort, which ran counter to the Circassian customs of hospitality.

576 The homage due superior age finds expression in a number of rules of etiquette: one does not sit down unless older persons present are seated, and invite one to sit down also; one dismounts from horseback before addressing an older person; one offers one's horse to an old man going on foot to the same destination, etc.

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(1) The *Kunak*-relationship is a contract between two men of different localities according to which they are obliged to offer mutual hospitality and protection whenever the occasion lends itself. Whenever a Caucasian passes near a fellow-*kunak's* village while travelling, he will infallibly pay him a visit and will lodge with him at least for the night. Restaurants, inns, and hotels are unknown among the mountaineers; the institution of *kunak*-relationship is however, an excellent substitute. Any offense committed against the guest will be avenged as if it were against one of the family. In fact, the bond that unites the *kunaks* is considered as sacred as, if not more sacred than, the family tie. The institution is found throughout North Caucasia.[79] The question whether members of the two families may intermarry or not seems to have been overlooked by the fieldworkers. It may very well be that such marriages are even preferred. We know for certain that such marriages are not barred in Ossetia.[80]

(2) Another form of fictious kinship is the *tlewsh*.[81] According to Longworth it constitutes an impediment. The Cherkess, we are told, take an oath among themselves and become "brothers," and "to strengthen the illusion of their being such, their families are not allowed to intermarry; a regulation so rigidly observed, that even where the society is composed of many thousands, as in the case of the powerful one of Natquo, it still holds good, and a marriage between two individuals of it is looked upon as incestuous".[82]

(3) *Relationship by milk (parenté de lait, Milchverwandtschaft)* is a widespread institution. There are two ways in which the relationship can be formed: either by actual breast-sucking or by mere contact of the lips and breast of a woman.[83] The kinship thus formed is as sacred as that of consanguinity. Karginov describes how an Ossetine lover was once forced to kiss the breast of his beloved, the aim of the act being to put an end to their adulterous friendship, for once his lips would touch her breast he would become her "son." From that moment on intercourse and marriage would be looked upon as incestuous.[84] Gaerber wrote in 1728: "Whenever the Usmei has a son, he is carried round from village to village, and alternately suckled by every woman who has a child at her breast until he is weaned. This custom, by establishing a kind of brotherhood between the prince and his subjects, singularly endears

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[79] An excellent description of the *kunak*-relationship can be found in Dirr's article, "Aus dem Gewohnheitsrecht der kaukasischen Bergvölker," *Zeitschr. f. vergl. Rechtsw.*, XLI (1925). See also Interiano, *Della vita dei Zychi, chiamati Circassi*, Ramusio, II (1559), folio 140 v. M. Kovalevskij, *Coutume contemp.*, p. 190: Ossetes, Tartars, Kumyks have the practice too. N. Jakovlev, *Ingušii*, pp. 15—25.
Grabovskij, "Ekonomičeskij i domašnij byt žitelej gorskago učastka Inguševskago okruga," SSKG, III (1870), pp. 4—7.
A. P. Berže, *Čečnja i Čečency*, pp. 86 f.
The host will even give up his life for his guest; see R. Erckert, *Der Kaukasus*, p. 108.

[80] M. Kovalevskij, *Coutume contemp.*, p. 214.

[81] For possible origin of the practice and ceremonies connected with the institution see V. V. Vasil'kov, "Očerk byta temirgoevcev," SMOMPK, XXIX (1901), No. 2, pp. 80 f.

[82] *A Year among the Circassians*, I, p. 229.

[83] Dubrovin, *Istorija*, Tome I, Ek. I, pp. 439 f.

[84] S. Karginov, "Kovzvaja mest' u osetin," SMOMPK, XLIV (1914), No. 3, p. 183.

as well as departed, a degradation of her womanly dignity, a serious usurpation of the inviolable *patria potestas*.[93] To borrow Baddeley's words again: "Woe betide the gay lover should the fleetness of his horse fail to place between him and his pursuers the barrier of a black night . . . if caught in the first hot pursuit, the hero of the escapade paid for his love and daring with his life, the daggers of the vengers sheathed in his heart . . ."[94] 583 [683]

When a daughter elopes (runs away or is "captured") she too is in constant danger of being killed by her own family, till, of course, reconciliation takes place. Fortunately, everywhere among the mountain tribes the customary law requires all to give shelter and protection to the "bride" and "groom," however in separate *saklias* (houses) or rooms.[95] [574]

Besides seriously endangering his life, the capturer is obliged to pay certain additional fines, as is the case in the NORTHWEST, for example, among the Kabardians,[96] and in the NORTHEAST among the Lesghians[97] and Ingushi.[98] In Ingushetia the *adats* demand the liberation of the abducted woman and a fine of Rs. 50 from the abductor and Rs. 15 from all who cooperated with him.[99] On account of the many details and repetitions involved we present the Leshian *adats* in the form of a table (Table 12). The SOUTHERN CAUCASIANS, the Khevsurs, have an additional penalty known as *banse shekhtoma*, i. e., reconciliation "by jumping on the roof," which consists in a special feast for the relatives and neighbours of the abducted woman, and a fine of a one- or two-year-old ox and a kettle.[100] The *adats* of the TURKIC peoples of the Caucasus likewise impose additional fines for abduction. The Kumykian and Nogaian *adats* demand full bloodwite as a condition for reconciliation.[101] If the bride refuses to remain with the kidnapper, she must be allowed to return, and, besides, he must give her the full *kebin-khak* (the usual guarantee given to the wife in case of divorce).[102]

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[93] Grabovskij, "Ekonomičeskij i domašnij byt etc.," p. 21.

[94] Cf. Dirr, FT, pp. 125 f; Castagné, *op. cit.*, pp. 271 f; Grabovskij, "Očerk suda i uglovnych prestuplenij v Kabardinskom okrugě," p. 36.

[95] Baddeley, *op. cit.*, II, pp. 88 f.

[96] Dirr, FT, p. 126; "Adaty Darginskich Obščestv," SSKG, VII (1873), p. 50.

[97] Grabovskij, "Očerk suda etc." pp. 39, 41 f.

[98] See Table 12.

[99] Leontovič, II, p. 170, § 127.

[100] *ibid.*

[101] Seidlitz, "Gemeinde- und Familienleben der Chewsuren," *Das Ausland* (1891), No. 16, p. 318.

[102] Semenov, "Očerki narodnych obyčaev Kumykov Terskoj Oblasti," *Terskij Sbornik*, II (1892), No. 2, Part 2, p. 77, § 12.

[103] "Adaty žitelej Kumyskoj ploskosti," SSKG, VI (1872), pp. 15 f.

842 very special festivities take place. Shooting, feasting, and dancing mark the birth
[844] of a boy; whereas no special festivities take place if a girl is born. Women, of course, come to congratulate the mother, at the same time not forgetting to console her.[16]

[574] All Lesghian peoples prefer boys too. The first one to announce the good news of the birth of a *boy* receives a reward.[17] The Avars have the courious custom according to which anyone to whom a *son* (not however a daughter) was born in the past year has to give a special feast to his neighbours in spring.[18]

The SOUTHERN CAUCASIANS. The Pshavs frequently pray and offer numerous sacrifices for the blessing of a male child, and if these supernatural means fail, there is only one thing left to do—marry a second wife, who is "capable" of giving birth to boys.[19] At a Pshav wedding the *khevis-beri* ("The Elder of the Valley") prays: "George, Angel of the Oak, grant thou a boy to
[847] the parents of a girl and another boy to the parents of a boy..."[20] Dubrovin reported that among the Georgian mountaineers baby girls were killed immediately after birth because they believed that by doing so the next child would infallibly be a boy. One could come across families who had killed as many as five girls.[21]

The OSSETES have an unusual longing for male children. Thus, for example, the Digorians are greatly disappointed when a girl is born, and this disappointment is expressed sometimes in very irreverent words by the woman-attendant. "May Mairan (Mary) be struck blind for not making you a boy! May she now provide for you a speedy death!" But then, if the following child is a boy, the woman-attendant pleads for forgiveness, "Oh, Mairan, forgive me!
585 They longed for a boy. That is the reason why I scolded thee."[22] We have
842 already mentioned the marriage custom of leading the bride to a Mairem[23] Shrine, at which the children throw stones and say, "So many boys and only one blue-eyed girl grant thou Mairem, to this our dear bride!" The groomsman then must repeat this prayer.[24] At an Ossetine marriage the Ram-god (Firi-dzuar) is invoked: "Look down upon us and grant that this our bride may give birth to boys healthy and fat as sheep!"[25] We have also mentioned the marriage ceremony of placing a little boy on the lap of the bride, so that she may soon give birth to a boy (*supra*, p. 122). Or again, while the groomsman describes a triple

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[16] Grabovskij, "Ekonomičeskij i domašnij byt žitelej gorskago učastka Ingulevskago okruga," SSKG, III (1870), pp. 19 f; Dubrovin, *Istorija*, I, i, p. 439.

[17] Kovalevskij, *Zakon*, II, p. 202.

[18] Baddeley, *op. cit.*, II, p. 63. A similar custom is found in Ossetia (Pčelina, *op. cit.*, pp. 99 f.

[19] Makalatija, "Iz starogo narodnogo byt Pšavov," SE, 1938, No. 1, pp. 110 f.

[20] Makalatija, *op. cit.*, p. 108; Kovalevskij, *Zakon*, I, p. 98.

[21] *Istorija*, I, ii, p. 110.

[22] Baddeley, *op. cit.*, I, p. 158.

[23] Baddeley interprets "Mairam," "Mairem," "Mairan" as "Mary," i. e., the Virgin Mother of Jesus Christ. However, Mairam is a male god, the protector of women, the brother of Uastrdzh. (Cf. Pčelina's report on his expedition of 1934—1936, "Rodil'nye obyčai u Osetin," SE, 1937, No. 4, p. 86, *note* 2.)

[24] Baddeley, *l. c.*

[25] Baddeley, *op. cit.*, I, p. 270.

684 unjust death penalty. (5) Finally, the adulteress was merely divorced; she lost her right to the *kebin*, while the *kalym* had to be returned to the husband. The adulterer was obliged to pay a fine.

Amputation of the adulteress' ears and nose is a punishment found in the *adats* of all Caucasians. It is interesting to note that a Hittite code (about 1350 B. C.) engraved on a stele has been dug up, which expressly legalized such mutilation in case of adultery.[65] This code may be based on a substratum of customary laws which are now preserved in the isolated *auls* of the Caucasus.

## 2. Motives

The main motives for punishing sexual offenses seem to be: (1) in case of defloration, the girl loses her value and consequently the family suffers a great economic loss;[66] (2) there is a serious danger of a stranger being born into the sacred sanctuary of the home and later treated as a legitimate member and even as head of the family (*supra*, p. 126).

## 3. Reports regarding Sexual Laxity of the Caucasians

834 In view of such severe penalties as we have described above, we cannot [832] help being suspicious about some of the reports regarding laxity of morals among the mountain tribes of the Caucasus. The Kuban Cherkess are supposed to have formerly been proud of the fact that their wives attracted other men. Every [836] woman had to have a lover to prove her true value.[67] Longworth's report, to mention but another example, contrasts the scrupulousness after marriage with "their unconstrained demeanor before marriage."[68] "The maidens of Circassia are allowed a latitude in their behaviour which is elsewhere unknown; not only do they talk and dance with the other sex, but when they please, they exercise their blandishments to an extent that to a stranger is no less perplexing than [776] agreeable."[69] Then there are the many reports about public religious hetaerism. Interiano claims that at funerals of prominent personages a very strange sort [764] of sacrifice takes place: a girl of 12 to 14 years of age is placed upon a skin of an ox that has just been slaughtered and in the presence of men and women a robust young man of the community must try to deflower her. After several failures, the young man promises to marry her (or makes some other promises), 837 and then the girl usually consents.[70] There are also the reports about sexual 836 hospitality, for example, in the "Relation du Sieur Ferrand médicin du Khan 574 des Tatares, touchant la Crimée, les Tartares-Nogaies et ce qui se passe au serail du dit Khan,"[71] in *Voyage historiques et géographique dans les pays situé entre la Mer Caspienne par Edouard Barbier du Bocage et de Baert*, as well as in the

[65] H. C. E. Zacharias, *Protohistory*, p. 258.
[66] *Supra*, pp. 126 f.
[67] Dirr, AGKB, pp. 81 f.
[68] Longworth, *A Year among the Circassians*, I, p. 286.
[69] Longworth, *op. cit.*, I, p. 216.
[70] Ladyženskij, FT, p. 183, Dirr's note.
[71] In *Recueil des Voyages au Nord*, Amsterdam, 1718.

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writings of the Arabs al-Mas'ûdî and Abu-El-Kasim. They claim that the father offers one of his daughters to his guest as a mere point of hospitality. Stählin[72] claimed that illegitimate children were treated the same as legitimate. On the other hand, a large number of authors, such as Struys, Lamberti,[73] Neumann,[74] and others, claim that the Cherkess women are extremely modest. The true solution to these conflicting reports is the one suggested by Ladyženskij.[75] "Den richtigsten Standpunkt nimmt in der Frage Garni ein (Reisen in den Ländern der asiatischen Türkei und des Kaukasus, 1854). Er betont die Keuschheit der freien Frauen und den Hetärismus der Sklavinnen." This is also Dirr's opinion.[76] In other words, the reports are true only to a certain extent: the freewomen are exceptionally modest, while the slaves exceptionally immodest, religious prostitution and sexual hospitality being restricted to slaves. Such conduct in regard to freewomen would be impossible considering the great economic loss the family would suffer from defloration, considering also the virginity test, and, finally, the fear of illegitimate children. On the other hand, defloration, virginity, and illegitimate children in the case of *slaves* would offer no serious difficulty.

We have a similar problem in regard to some of the Lesghians. As we have mentioned above, Herodotus wrote of the Lesghians that "they copulate in public as beasts are wont to do."[77] Przewalski reported that at Tsunta-Akhvakh unmarried couples were allowed to sleep together.[78] Baddeley confirms Przewalski's report: "It is the custom for a host to give his guest one of his daughters or some other girl to sleep with. The couple may ... do what they like provided the maidenhead remains intact; and even that depends on the fair one's goodwill. But should the guest so far forget himself as to force her, he will pay for it with his life. Those people think meanly of a girl who has never slept with an honoured guest."[79] Baddeley's guide, a native of Ossetia, "accepted this as a fact, and added that something of the same sort went on in certain of the older Cossack 'stanitsas' on the Terek, instancing Tchervlennaya."[80] Herodotus' report is useless, for we do not know exactly who is meant, but there is no reason to doubt Przewalski and Baddeley. However, we wish to stress that this is a custom found exclusively in Tsunta-Akhvakh and is, by no means, the picture of entire Daghestan. Tsunta-Akhvakh is only a *village* (in 1901 it had only 415 inhabitants), which constitutes an *exception*

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[72] Jacob v. Stählin, *Nachrichten von Tschirkassien oder von dem Karbardinischen Lande*, 1771, referred to by Ladyženskij, FT, p. 185.

[73] Cf. Ladyženskij, *l. c.*

[74] Neumann, *Rußland und die Tscherkessen*, cf. Ladyženskij, *l. c.*

[75] Ladyženskij, *l. c.* Ladyženskij, "Zur Erforschung der Rechtsgewohnheiten, etc.," pp. 243 f.

[76] Ladyženskij, FT, p. 184. Cf. Castagné, "Le droit coutumier familial des montagnards du Caucase," p. 252: "Supposer que le montagnard adighé pût proposer sa fille ou sa femme a un hôte, serait comprehensible si la femme des montagnards avait été esclave, mais cela n'étant pas, une supposition de ce genre doit être considéré comme sans fondement aucun."

[77] Cited by Potocki, *Voyage dans les steps d'Astrakhan et du Caucase*, I, p. 240; to which Potocki adds, "Celle de quelques vallées du Caucase sont encore très libres."

[78] Kovalevskij, *Zakon*, II, p. 189.

[79] Baddeley, *op. cit.*, II, pp. 13 f.

[80] Baddeley, op. *cit.*, *II*, p. 14.

837 to the general rule. This village is inhabited by a degraded Avarian tribe or,
936 as Baddeley suggests, "perhaps the remnant of an older race absorbed by the
574 latter."[81] But even here, among this "degraded" Avarian tribe, the girl "might only be touched from waist upwards; in Shamyl's time a too-ardent lover was stabbed to death, for a breach of this adat, by his own beloved, and the deed was not only not punished but even greatly applauded."[82]

936 There are also similar conflicting reports regarding the neighbouring mountain tribes of Georgia. Klaproth, for instance, speaking of the Tushi, says, "Le commerce illicite entre les deux sexes est très rare chez eux..."[83] Klaproth's claim is in full accord with the severe penalties for fornication as described by Baddeley: "If a girl was unchaste, she was set upon a donkey, face to tail, and carried through the 'aoul', spat upon and jeered at." He goes on to say that "if a girl had a child, she was driven out of the community and the child killed, unless some charitable person took pity on it. A young man could not marry a girl once seduced by another man, but an old man or widower might."[84] Other reports, however, maintain the very contrary and say that the mountain tribes of Georgia are extremely lax. A few distinctions will, I believe, clarify these contradictions. The Khevsurs[85] and the Pshavs[86] have an institution called *tsatsali*, that is, "brother" or "sister" but actually legal lovers. It is only freedom with non-*tsatsalis* and pregnancy that seems to have been discountenanced by these tribes. As long as the girl restricted her relations to her *tsatsali* and avoided pregnancy she was "chaste." One of the main reasons for the
[582] relatively late marriage age among the mountain tribes of Georgia (*supra*, p. 67) is this institution.[87]

### 4. Relation of Penalties for Sexual Offenses to the Economic and Social Organization of the Caucasian Mountaineers

182 All that we have said about the severity of the penal laws of the North
687 Caucasians is in perfect harmony with their general economic and social organization. It is a known fact that lower hunters discountenance sexual liberty more than the higher hunters; the lower agrarians more than the higher; the pastoralists more than the agrarians; the father-right family more than the mother-right.[88] Our North Caucasians have a strongly pastoral and father-right organization.

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[81] Baddeley, *op. cit.*, II, p. 13.

[82] *ibid.* Baddeley's source is Komarov's article "Adaty i sudoproizvodstvo po nim," SSKG, I, p. 57. Dubrovin, *Istorija*, I, i, p. 564 has the incident too, but he fails to mention his source.

[83] Klaproth, *Voyage au Mont Caucase et en Géorgie*, II, p. 72.

[84] Baddeley, *op. cit.*, I, p. 237.

[85] Kovalevskij, "La famille matriarcale au Caucase," *L'Anthropologie*, IV (1893), p. 273.

[86] Makalatija, "Iz starogo narodnogo byta Pšavov," SE, 1938, No. 1, p. 98.

[87] Since the *tsatsali* in Pshavia are always chosen from among relatives and marriage is possible only between non-relatives, marriage would mean that the two would have to separate and love another person, a fact that makes them reluctant to marry. In fact, they sometimes do not marry at all. For a detailed exposition of the institution, see Makalatija, *op. cit.*, pp. 98—102.

[88] H. Günther, *Formen und Urgeschichte der Ehe*, p. 90.

585 the wedding returned home or stayed with strangers or in a special house for a period.
606 There were numerous taboos for the wife with regard to her in-laws, especially the older ones (prohibition to speak to them, or to address them by name, etc.), to a certain extent also for the husband with regard to his parents-in-law, until he was "reconciled"
576 with them. Very strict rules governed the behavior of the married couple in the presence of others; they could not call each other by name, and any show of affection was considered bad form.

574 Hospitality is a national institution in the Caucasus. A guest is considered sacred; the host takes pride in receiving him and does his utmost to protect and honor him; if the host is poor, he can count on his neighbors to provide him with all the occasion requires. Most of the mountain peoples had special rooms or huts for guests (Russ. kunatskaia), and the right of hospitality was taken so seriously that in-injury caused to a guest could involve the host in a blood feud. There have been even instances in which communities were ruined by it, as for instance the Abadzekh settlement near Goriachii Kliuch, where the sick and wounded were taken during the Caucasian war; the inhabitants were obliged by custom to receive and support as guests the patients coming to the springs. When, during the famine of 1933, groups of Ukrainians came to the Circassian settlements in the N. W. Caucasus in search of food, considerable tension was caused by the Soviet government's prohibition to give them comfort, which ran counter to the Circassian customs of hospitality.

576 The homage due superior age finds expression in a number of rules of etiquette: one does not sit down unless older persons present are seated, and invite one to sit down also; one dismounts from horseback before addressing an older person; one offers one's horse to an old man going on foot to the same destination, etc.

681 among the Khevsur, the loss of an arm or leg was valued at twenty-four cows, that of a finger, from five cows for the thumb down to one cow for the little finger. Face wounds were measured with grains of wheat, and the fine calculated accordingly. Theft (usually involving horses or cattle) inside one's own community was punished by the obligation to repay the value of the stolen property several times over, or to pay an indemnity to the ruling prince. Stealing from other groups was regarded as an accomplishment rather than a crime, and a young man who had never managed to steal a horse would not easily find a wife.

695 Justice was administered by community courts in which the oldest sat in judgment, or by specially elected mediators (Georg. shuak'atsi) who had the confidence of both plaintiff and defendant, and whose decision was always accepted as final. Witnesses were called and oaths were taken upon sacred objects (in the N. W. Caucasus, often a blacksmith's anvil, later replaced by the Koran), or in the name of ancestors, sanctuaries, etc. In difficult cases, various types of ordeals were resorted to.

577 As characteristic traits of a more general nature in Caucasian life, hospitality, respect for superior age, and--especially among the mountaineers--susceptibility to offence and vengefulness must be mentioned.

• 577 The mountaineer's touchiness and vengefulness are connected with the stress laid on personal dignity and group-loyalty in Caucasian culture; they go back to the times of blood feuds, intertribal wars and the constant danger of armed attack. Formerly, in the mountaineers' conception of life, wars and predatory raids formed a more honorable way of existence than agriculture and cattle breeding. Only a life of danger and audacity could win a man public esteem, and during the Caucasian war a family that had not lost one or more members in the field was looked down upon with contempt. The inducement to wars and raids was furnished as much by the action itself as by the possible gains. The Circassian who had risked his life in a raid to seize a herd of horses was ready to part with his booty at the first request or even hint of a person who was in need; the "Circassian tradition" required compliance with any request for material help. Material possessions were not placed high in the scale of values; more important was public esteem, and loss
577 of face was feared above all else. The moun-
628 taineer is proud, both of his people and their traditions, and in a personal way. He is easily offended, and in the old days offense easily led to bloodshed (a fistfight was considered a disgrace, so that violence was always committed with arms); and an unrevenged killing was the worst shame that could rest on a house.

577
628 The vendetta flourished until well into the Soviet period, as is witnessed by official pamphlets of the twenties combating it.

868 and to be alert. The boys are encouraged to develop into great warriors and robbers. If the boy's father or one of his brothers was killed by an enemy, the boy is constantly admonished of his sacred duty of blood-vengeance.[90]

[579] [577] Yes, boys are taught to become great robbers and raiders. Robbery and raiding are looked upon by the North Caucasians not only as a licit occupation (as long as the victim is a stranger), but a very honourable one. Robbery is a virtue, a national virtue, and forms one of the most important subjects of the curriculum of the Caucasian school-boy.[91] Robbers of Ossetia even have a patron-saint, St. George himself (*Sau-baredzi Dzuar*, i. e., "The Saint of the Black Horseman"), whose favour must be implored, for success or failure in a raid depends entirely on him. Crime is glorified.[92] Baddeley gives us an example of how a victim once forgave a thief out of mere admiration for the skill with which the theft was committed.[93] To rob without being caught is the greatest glory of the Cherkess.[94] Among the Abadzekhs the best robber is always chosen as leader.[95] It was only in recent times that the People's Court in the district of Adighé began to condemn natives for a crime which till then had been considered a virtue—to steal from another village.[96] The Chechen children are actually drilled in stealing. When a Chechen boy is allowed to bear arms for the first time, his father pronounces the solemn words, "May they serve you on the right and wrong paths, in theft and war."[97] The ambition of the young Georgian mountaineer is none other than to become a famous robber.[98] In short, everywhere in the mountains, the boy must be taught and trained to become great, and greatness consists in raids, robbery, theft, and vengeance.[99] Of course, there is a great difference between the Caucasian robbers of today and those of half a century ago. The Cherkess, for example, are no longer so notorious as they were several decades ago. Today they are generally peaceful agriculturalists and cattle breeders.[100]

Girls are brought up by the mother, from whom they learn to cook, make clothes, embroider, work out in the field, etc.[101]

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[90] Klaproth, *Beschreibung der russischen Provinzen zwischen dem Kaspischen und Schwarzen Meer*, p. 120. What Klaproth says of the Lesghians held good for all mountaineers.

[91] Potocki, *op. cit.*, p. 153: "... dans tout le Caucase le brigandage était en honneur." See also: Ellis, *Memoir of a Map, etc.*, p. 20; Essad-Bey, *op. cit.*, p. 194; Dubrovin, *Istorija, I*, i, p. 442, ii, p. 364.

[92] Baddeley, *op. cit.*, I, p. 24.

[93] Baddeley, *op. cit.*, II, p. 114.

[94] Dubois de Montpéreux, *Voyage autour du Caucase*, I, p. 131.

[95] Pallas, *Bemerkungen auf einer Reise in d. süd. Statth. d russ. Reiches, etc.*, I, p. 369.

[96] Ladyženskij, FT, p. 194.

[97] Essad-Bey, *op. cit.*, p. 183.

[98] Essad-Bey, *op. cit.*, p. 251.

[99] This reminds us of what Caesar had to say of the Germans, *De Bello Gallico*, vi, 23: "They do not regard it as infamous to rob others, provided that the robbery is committed outside their own land, but they actually encourage their youth to such acts, both to give them practice and to keep them busy."

[100] Ladyženskij, FT, p. 200.

[101] Ellis, *op. cit.*, p. 24.

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466 *Labour Conditions: Recent Socialist Legislation.*—Previous to the Revolution the economic conditions of the working classes in the Caucasus had left much to be desired. During the first decade of the present century the organisation of unions and their subsequent action had caused the employers, particularly foreign, to concede a number of amelioratory measures, such as the construction of model houses, schools, public libraries, baths and hospitals. The conditions of living on the petroleum fields was less satisfactory than those of the mining-regions, and it was at Baku that the labouring classes were most unsettled. In the summer of 1914 some very significant strikes took place. The demands of the men included better housing, improvement of sanitary conditions of dwellings, a month's holiday each year on full pay, the abolition of overtime and piece-work, etc., etc. It was difficult to foresee to what results the strikes would have led had they continued. At the beginning of war, however, the strikes suddenly came to an end by the men resuming work.

466 578 563 On the outbreak of the Russian Revolution Baku proved to be one of the centres of industrial extremism, and when the Bolsheviks seized power in the autumn of 1917 a Soviet administration was established in the oil-fields which endured until the middle of 1918. With the Turkish occupation the conservative oil-magnates were restored to power, and, basing their policy on the principles of Turan and Islam, they were successful in obtaining the support of the Tatar workmen against their Armenian and Russian fellows. The differences between the Mussulman and Christian elements continued to divide the proletariat of the oil-fields, and the hostility of the Armenian and Russian workmen towards the Tatar Government was one of the factors favourable to the re-establishment of a Russian Bolshevist régime.

466 563 In Georgia, where the industrial element was weaker, the tendency towards extremism was less marked. The Social Democrats indeed had to base their policy on the support of the peasants who, secure in the possession of their land, evinced little sympathy for any other principles of social evolution. A series of regulations establishing workmen's committees to participate in the management of concerns, regulating wages in accordance with the cost of living, guaranteeing security of employment and imposing State arbitration in the case of disputes, were the only modifications of the former industrial organisation which the Social Democratic Government introduced. This moderation in industrial legislation, combined

868 and to be alert. The boys are encouraged to develop into great warriors and robbers. If the boy's father or one of his brothers was killed by an enemy, the boy is constantly admonished of his sacred duty of blood-vengeance.[90]

[579] [577] Yes, boys are taught to become great robbers and raiders. Robbery and raiding are looked upon by the North Caucasians not only as a licit occupation (as long as the victim is a stranger), but a very honourable one. Robbery is a virtue, a national virtue, and forms one of the most important subjects of the curriculum of the Caucasian school-boy.[91] Robbers of Ossetia even have a patron-saint, St. George himself (*Sau-baredzi Dzuar*, i. e., "The Saint of the Black Horseman"), whose favour must be implored, for success or failure in a raid depends entirely on him. Crime is glorified.[92] Baddeley gives us an example of how a victim once forgave a thief out of mere admiration for the skill with which the theft was committed.[93] To rob without being caught is the greatest glory of the Cherkess.[94] Among the Abadzekhs the best robber is always chosen as leader.[95] It was only in recent times that the People's Court in the district of Adighé began to condemn natives for a crime which till then had been considered a virtue—to steal from another village.[96] The Chechen children are actually drilled in stealing. When a Chechen boy is allowed to bear arms for the first time, his father pronounces the solemn words, "May they serve you on the right and wrong paths, in theft and war."[97] The ambition of the young Georgian mountaineer is none other than to become a famous robber.[98] In short, everywhere in the mountains, the boy must be taught and trained to become great, and greatness consists in raids, robbery, theft, and vengeance.[99] Of course, there is a great difference between the Caucasian robbers of today and those of half a century ago. The Cherkess, for example, are no longer so notorious as they were several decades ago. Today they are generally peaceful agriculturalists and cattle breeders.[100]

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[91] Potocki, *op. cit.*, p. 153: "... dans tout le Caucase le brigandage était en honneur." See also: Ellis, *Memoir of a Map, etc.*, p. 20; Essad-Bey, *op. cit.*, p. 194; Dubrovin, *Istorija, I*, i, p. 442, ii, p. 364.

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[94] Dubois de Montpéreux, *Voyage autour du Caucase*, I, p. 131.

[95] Pallas, *Bemerkungen auf einer Reise in d. süd. Statth. d russ. Reiches, etc.*, I, p. 369.

[96] Ladyženskij, FT, p. 194.

[97] Essad-Bey, *op. cit.*, p. 183.

[98] Essad-Bey, *op. cit.*, p. 251.

[99] This reminds us of what Caesar had to say of the Germans, *De Bello Gallico*, vi, 23: "They do not regard it as infamous to rob others, provided that the robbery is committed outside their own land, but they actually encourage their youth to such acts, both to give them practice and to keep them busy."

[100] Ladyženskij, FT, p. 200.

[101] Ellis, *op. cit.*, p. 24.

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Speaking of Russian influence, we must emphasize that nothing tends to unify the marriage and family observances among the mountaineers as much as formal education, formal Russian, and especially Soviet education (*supra*, p. 147).

Russian influence and the consequent change in customary marriage and family law (and we may include changes in Islamic law) are most strongly felt near and in large Russian cities like Grozny, along the coast of the Black and Caspian Sea, and, in general, wherever industrialization is making great strides. It is more strongly felt in the lowlands, less in the highlands, and only slightly in isolated villages.

## 2. Islamic Influence

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Going somewhat deeper into history, we find a second principle, changing and unifying the customary law of the various mountain peoples of Caucasia, Islamic law, known as the *šarî'a*.

(1) A number of *marriage impediments*, e. g., the "waiting period," the impediment of relationship by milk, etc. have either been introduced by Mohammedan missionaries or, at least, greatly modified by Islamic law (pp. 55, 66, 69).

(2) We have observed in not a few instances a conflict between the native *adats* and the *šarî'a*, e. g., the struggle between *obligatory levirate* and Islamic optional levirate (*supra*, p. 73).

(3) Non-virgins are sometimes given *freedom of choice* in mating (*supra*, pp. 78 f), while virgins are not, a practice in full accord with the teaching of the Šâfi'itic School.

(4) Thanks to Islamic influence, genuine *bride price* has throughout North Caucasus tended to become a form of dowry, called *kebin* (*supra*, p. 90).

(5) Penalties for *abduction* (*supra*, pp. 92—96),

(6) *the strict separation of sexes* (*supra*, pp. 106 f, 166),

(7) some *birth* customs, such as, naming of children, etc. (*supra*, pp. 142 f),

(8) some *engagement observances* (*supra*, pp. 100—110),

(9) some *divorce* laws (*supra*, pp. 133—137),

(10) *husband-wife relations* (*supra*, pp. 152—156),

(11) *parent-child relations* (*supra*, pp. 138—149, 187),

(12) certain *penal laws* for sexual offenses (*supra*, p. 171),

(13) *slavery* (*supra*, p. 65),

(14) and the general improvement in the *relative position of sexes*, e. g., acquisition of inheritance rights in Kabardia and Ossetia,[1] the *kebin*, and others—

all have been greatly modified by Islamic law. The *šarî'a* is doubtless one of the main unifyng principles in the marriage and family laws of the Caucasians.

However, the strength of this influence and the opposition against it have not been the same everywhere. Islamism has had very little influence on the marriage and family of the Southern Caucasians, except, of course, in Sakataly

[1] Ladyženskij, "Zur Erforschung der Rechtsgewohnheiten der Bergvölker des Kaukasus," *Zeitsch. f. Ethnologie*, XLII (1930), p. 241.

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among the Ingiloi (Islamized Georgians). It has effected the greatest changes in Daghestan, where it has existed the longest. It assumes a middle position in Circassia and Chechnia, where, however, there are important tribal differences that must be taken into account. The Abadzekhs, Shapsugs, Natukhazh, Beshilbey, and Barakey follow their own customary laws rather than the *šarî'a* much more so than do the Bzhedukh, Beslenians, and Kabardians who place both customary and Islamic law on the same level. In regard to the Chechen tribes, we must remember, the *šarî'a* was not accepted by the Ichkerians and Chechens properly so-called till Shamyl's time, while the Karabulaks, Kists, Galgai and Galashi have never expressly aknowledged it.[2] 177.58 58

Of the non-Caucasians, the Kumyks and the Nogai have been the most thoroughly Islamized,[3] being among the first to accept the Koran. The Ossetes and the Karachai disregard the *šarî'a* almost completely, following their own *adats* instead.[4]

### 3. Lesser Historical Influences

(1) **Christianity.** Christianity, too, has left its marks on the customary marriage and family law of the Caucasians. For example, one of the strongest counteractions against Avestic *endogamy* in Northwest and South Caucasus was Christianity (*supra*, pp. 53 f). Official *naming* of children (*supra*, p. 143), official *marriage contracts*, some *penal laws* (e. g., *supra*, p. 178), and, in some cases, changes in *divorce laws* and in the practice of *polygyny* (*supra*, p. 42) are certainly of Christian origin. [551]

Christianity, of course, has had the greatest influence among the Georgians of the lowlands, and considerably less among the mountain tribes of Georgia, and still less among the Northwestern Caucasians and Chechens, and least of all among the Lesghians. [595]

(2) **Avesta.** We have found a few traces of Avestic teaching in the marriage and family observances of the Caucasians, such as the rule of *endogamy* among all the Lesghians (and in pre-Christian Georgia). Zoroastrianism is also a possible explanation for the *local endogamy* of the Svans (*supra*, p. 53) and perhaps also for the obligation of purification after childbirth by washing in cow's urine.[5] The sphere of Iranian influence stretched far beyond Georgia and Daghestan. There is no longer any doubt, for example, that the laws of the Vendidats were known also to the Ossetes.[6] Nevertheless, the influence on North Caucasian marriage and family law has been only slight. [844]

(3) **Armenian, Byzantine, and Roman Influences.** There have been other historical causes for the change and unification of the marriage and family *adats* of the Caucasians, such as Armenian, Byzantine, Roman influence etc., but

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[2] Leontovič, II, p. 233, § 8.

[3] Leontovič, II, p. 233, § 4.

[4] Leontovič, II, p. 232, § 7.

[5] Kovalevskij, *Zakon*, I, pp. 97 f. Cf. also Zacharias, *Protohistory*, p. 351.

[6] Ladyženskij, *op. cit.*, p. 243.

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177.58 These have been felt either exclusively among the Southern Caucasians or have not 56 been very great. The Roman-Byzantine influence was passed on to the North Caucasian tribes mainly through the Armenians and Georgians, which, however, did not affect their customary laws to any appreciable extent. Kovalevskij had a tendency to overemphasize these influences : he believed, for example, that the practice of offering an engagement gift to the bride or her family was of Roman-Byzantine origin,[7] and that the status of the Caucasian women had been greatly affected by Byzantine law.[8]

## § 2. MARRIAGE AND THE FAMILY OF THE CAUCASIANS IN THE LIGHT OF ANTHROPOLOGY

### 1. Analysis of Caucasian Adats : Predominant Character of North Caucasian Marriage and Family Customary Laws That of a Pastoral Nomadic Civilization

58 After having removed the above-mentioned historical influences and changes 171 in the marriage and family laws of the Caucasians, we now arrive at a more or less pure *adat*-law. Considering the marriage and family customary laws as a whole, we must conclude that we have before us a typically pastoral nomadic[9] marriage and family, and this although there are no pastoral nomads in the Caucasus in the strict sense of the word. Though some of the elements we shall now enumerate are also found in other cultures (for example, adultery is sometimes punished as severely by food-gatherers as by pastoral nomads), it is not the individual example we wish to stress but rather the entire institution of marriage and family taken as a whole. It should also be noted that the following summary is only an incomplete and general one : for details, therefore, the reader must look up the references given.

[595] (1) We have seen, for example, how widespread *polygyny* was among the North Caucasians.[10] We fully agree with Briffault, who has shown that all pastoral societies and societies which have passed " through a prolonged pastoral stage are all without exception in the highest degree polygamous."[11]

[597] (2) The *atalyk*,[12]

[591] (3) the *levirate*,[13]

(4) *patrilocality*,[14]

[7] Kovalevskij, *Zakon*, I, p. 136.

[8] Kovalevskij, *op. cit.*, I, pp. 139 f. He treats of these influences in detail in *op. cit.*, I, pp. 83—122.

[9] By pastoral nomadic we understand the various customs and laws commonly found among all the pastoral nomadic Turco-Mongols and Indo-Europeans. Many of the components of the Semitic and Hamitic cultures are also pastoral nomadic. Whether the pastoral nomadic culture is a primary (i. e., immediately following upon the food-gathering stage, being the oldest form of animal-breeding) or only secondary or even tertiary (i. e., the result of later specialization, a further development of a pastoral-agrarian culture) does not affect our analysis nor any of our conclusions.

[10] *Supra*, pp. 39—50.

[11] *The Mothers*, II, p. 256.

[12] *Supra*, p. 57.

[13] *Supra*, pp. 71—75.

[14] *Supra*, pp. 124 f.

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(5) and the *patria potestas*[15] in the extreme form as found in North Caucasia are all typically pastoral nomadic.

(6) The father alone has the *right to choose a mate* for his children, and boys are given more consideration in the choice than the girls.[16]

(7) The *bride price*, though found in other cultures also, has a typically pastoral colouring in the Caucasus, since it is measured mainly in cattle and horses.[17] Bride wealth as a *price* in the strict sense of the word is found almost exclusively among pastoral peoples.[18]

(8) *Bride stealing*[19] is a common practice among pastoral nomads. All Turco-Tartars, Indo-Europeans, and the Semites have or at least have had frequent recourse to marriage by capture.

(9) The various *engagement prohibitions*,[20]

(10) the segregation of the bride in a special hut *(amhara)*, the obligation of the young man to cover his entire head and face except for an opening for his eyes,[21] the obligation of the bride and groom to hide during the wedding,[22] the bride's veiling, taciturnity, resistence, the post-nuptial obligation of the couple not to appear together before their parents or older brethren,[23] all these customary laws are in no way a vestige of former group marriage, fraternal polyandry, bride capture and the like, as we have sufficiently refuted above, but they are most likely an expression of the *extreme modesty peculiar to pastoral peoples*, a reaction to the "great change" from single to married life, more strongly felt among pastoral nomads than any other peoples. [834]

(11) It is the *male side who proposes to the female and not vice versa*,[24] likewise a phenomenon found infallibly among pastoral nomads.

(12) The *great longing for children, especially for boys*,[25] although found in other cultures, reaches its highest point among pastoral nomads. Connected with this craving after male children is the custom of marrying a second wife in case the first is sterile or "unable" to bear male offspring. [842]

(13) The *wedding customs*[26] are typically pastoral nomadic in character: dramatization of bride capture, horse-racing, the proof of virginity with subsequent rejoicing if the bride is found "chaste," or mutilation and execution if found "unchaste," the special ceremonies and wishes for fertility, especially for the birth of many male children, the triple encircling of the fireplace, etc. are all typically pastoral nomadic.

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[15] *Supra*, pp. 183—186.
[16] *Supra*, pp. 76—81.
[17] *Supra*, pp. 82—91.
[18] *Supra*, p. 91.
[19] *Supra*, pp. 91—96.
[20] *Supra*, pp. 106—110.
[21] Seidlitz, "Die Abchasen," *Globus*, LXVI (1894), p. 40.
[22] *Supra*, p. 124.
[23] *Supra*, p. 166. For similar customs among the ancient Indo-Europeans see *infra*, p. 198.
[24] *Supra*, pp. 100—106.
[25] *Supra*, pp. 124, 139 ff.
[26] *Supra*, pp. 125—128, especially Table 16

‡ [i.e. a trait found among the Caucasians--Analyst]

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(14) Then there is the fact that *a woman constitutes an asylum* for any murderer,[27] a fact found among the North Caucasians as well as among the Asiatic nomads.

(15) The *adats regarding divorce*,[28]

(16) the *penalties for sexual offenses*,[29]

(17) the *division of labour*,[30] allowing men plenty of time for loafing, sport, and raids,

(18) and many other *adats which place the female sex at a great disadvantage*[31] remind us very much of a pastoral society.

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(19) Then, of course, there are the many other features of the North Caucasian marriage and family *adats* which we have been able only to touch upon rather superficially, for they refer to the joint-family and kinship in general rather than to the biological family. The North Caucasian society, for example, has had till recently a *patriarchal joint-family organization*[32] very similar to that found among pastoral nomads. Just as among the Indo-Europeans and the Turco-Mongols the central interest of the North Caucasian has been, and in places still is, the joint-family. According to the *adats*, the individual family, till it becomes independent, plays a very subordinate part in society. The tribe and state mean but little. Crimes, criminals, and penalties in the strict sense of the word are of very recent origin : any damage done to the sib (not so much to any individual !), whether accidental or intentional, are the only form [581] of "crime" found in the *adats*. The reparation of the damages made by the "offending" sib (not the individual who inflicted the harm) corresponds to our [428] concept of penalty. We have also said very little about the *inheritance rights* of the mountaineers of North Caucasia, for to speak of inheritance without first describing the joint-family and kinship *adats* would be impossible. It seems that originally, just as is the case in pastoral nomadic societies, the rights were restricted to the male children with special privileges reserved for the first-born [628] son. Finally, there is hardly another place in the world where *blood-feuds* are so common as in the Caucasus ; and, we know, pastoral nomadic peoples have always been fond of settling their quarrels in this particular manner, more so than any other people. In a word, we are dealing with a "pastoral nomadic" marriage and family when we deal with North Caucasian marriage and family *adats*.

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We must however, keep in mind that there are different zones of intensity of nomadic traits : in North Caucasia the most pastoral nomadic in character are the marriage and family of the Cherkess ; then perhaps follow those of the Abkhaz, then the Chechens, and finally the Lesghians. The Ossetine *adats* are perhaps even more typically pastoral nomadic than those of the Cherkess. The Kumykian and Nogain *adats*, as well as those of other Turco-Mongols of North Caucasus,

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[27] *Supra*, pp. 159 f.
[28] *Supra*, pp. 132—137.
[29] *Supra*, pp. 168—179, 182.
[30] *Supra*, pp. 156—159.
[31] *Supra*, pp. 152—156.
[32] *Supra*, pp. 44 f.

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174 the first nomads to establish themselves in the Caucasus, after having forced the Cimmerians (c. 1000 B. C.) into the background. The Scythians were predominantly a pastoral people, while the tribes they subjected were agriculturalists. Then we see new waves of Indo-Europeans, the Sarmatians, sweep over the Scythian country (c. 300 B.C.—A.D. 200): we see the Maeotes, Sindae, Sauromatians, etc. submitting to the newcomers.

175 This contact with the nomadic civilization continued up to our own times. To recall some of the history of this region—in the first century B. C. Crimea and the northern coasts of the Black and Azov Sea belonged to the Roman Empire. It was in this region that the Goths appeared. In the fourth century the Huns became the masters of the region north of the Caucasus. In the sixth century the Khazars,[36] Avars,[37] and the Bulgars appeared in North Caucasus; in the ninth century we meet the Magyars there; in the eleventh century the Kumans,[38] and in the thirteenth and fourteenth century the Mongols, driving the inhabitants of the Caucasus higher and higher into the mountains. In the fifteenth century the Turks conquered Crimea, and the Georgian kings were made tributary to the Mongols.

[101] A glance at our ethnographical map of the Caucasus will suffice to convince us that the situation today is essentially the same: today the North Caucasians live in very close contact with peoples who, originally if not any longer, possessed a typically nomadic culture. The Mountain Tartars (Balkarians) are most probably descendents of the Khazars or Volga-Bulgars. The Karakaitaghs seem to be turkized Mongols. The Nogai are descendents of the Golden Horde. And besides these originally Asiatic nomads we find in the Caucasus such peoples as the Kalmucks, Kumyks, etc.

177 58 58 This constant contact with nomadic societies perhaps from the very beginning of pastoral nomadism—certainly since the Scythian period almost 3000 years ago—throws light upon the intricate problem: Why, how and when did the North Caucasian marriage and family customary laws become so pastoral nomadic? This contact, although not sufficient to *solve* the problem, can and actually does shed considerable light upon the *adats* of the North Caucasians.

174 59 But it is not only the contact we must consider but the actual similarity of the family organization. We shall therefore briefly describe the ancient Indo-European family and then the common features of the Altai society. Physical anthropology has shown that the Caucasians have mixed (racially) with nomadic peoples coming from the North;[39] linguistics proclaims the same

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F. Hančar, "Die Ausweitung unseres Geschichtsbildes durch die sowjetische Urgeschichtsforschung," *Blick nach Osten*, 1949, No. 1—2, pp. 51—61; "Hallstatt-Kaukasus, ein Beitrag zur Klärung des Kimmerierproblems," *Mitteilung der Oesterreichischen Gesellschaft für Anthropologie, Ethnologie und Prähistorie*, LXXIII—LXXVII (1947), pp. 152—167.

[36] At least the rulers, if not all Khazars, were Turks.

[37] These Avars have no connection with the Lesghians bearing the same name. The Avars referred to are proto-Mongols, and therefore neither Turks nor true Caucasians.

[38] The Kumans are also known as the Kypchaks, or, as the Russians sometimes call them, the "Polovcy."

[39] *Supra*, pp. 11 f. The Ossetes, for example, especially certain tribes, have a strong Caucasian strain. Many centuries ago some Ossetine groups have been actually Georgianized.

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in regard to their languages;[40] cultural anthropology, as our study clearly shows, must admit a very strong cultural connection between the North Caucasians and the various nomadic peoples with whom they have been in contact. 174 59.

Although there is still much controversy connected with the complicated Indo-European problem, there is almost complete harmony when the marriage and family customary laws are being described.[41] E. Hermann[42] and O. Schrader[43] are no doubt responsible for this harmony. 174 59 58

The first remarkable fact about the Indo-European society is the essential absence of totemistic and mother-right practices.[44] Indo-European social life (and, we might add, religion and economy) centred round (1) the joint-family and (2) especially its male members. Although a distinction was drawn between a biological and an undivided family, the biological family was of little significance except in connection with the undivided family to which it belonged. All property belonged to the joint-family, at the head of which was the patriarch. He enjoyed the *patria potestas* in the strict sense of the word. His wife (or wives, as the case may be) was subject to him in all things. Juridically speaking, her condition and that of all female members of the family hardly differed from that of little children. Women had no part in public affairs, no part in sacrifice. In fact, women were hardly better off than slaves. Inheritance rights were reserved for the male members of the family; the first-born had very special rights. Purity of blood of all members of the joint-family was greatly insisted upon. This seems to have been the main reason why a woman was generally punished with death for a serious offense.[45] This was also most probably the reason for the custom of placing a new-born child on the ground and inviting the father to pick it up as a sign that he recognized it as his own. The girls of the family had no freedom of choice in mating; they were either captured, or, as was generally the case, they were sold off, so to speak, to the highest bidder. The bride price consisted mainly in cattle. The main matrimonial impediments were those of consanguinity and disparity of social rank. The marriage was, of course, patrilocal. The chief marriage ceremonies were those of the triple encircling of the fireplace and the bridal procession (uxorem ducere, γυναῖκα ἄγεσθαι). Virginity of the bride was very highly esteemed. The chief purpose of marriage

[40] We need but recall such important words as *aul, kalym, adat*, etc. The language of the Ossetes contains many Caucasianisms; on the other hand, the Caucasian languages clearly show Indo-European contact.

[41] Compare, for example, the description of the Indo-European family organization as presented in Dr. Wolfgang Philipp's *Weibwertung oder Mutterrecht?* (Ost-Europa Verlag, Königsberg and Berlin, 1942), a Nazi publication, with that of Prof. W. Koppers, "Die Indogermanenfrage im Lichte der historischen Völkerkunde," *Anthropos*, XXX (1935), No. 1—2, pp. 8—11, or of Alphons Nehring, "Studien zur indogermanischen Kultur und Urheimat," *Wiener Beiträge zur Kulturgeschichte und Linguistik*, IV (1936), pp. 167—181.

[42] "Die Eheformen der Urindogermanen," *Nachrichten von der Gesellschaft der Wissenschaft in Göttingen, Berlin*, 1934; also "Die Eheformen der Urindogermanen," *Forschungen und Fortschritte*, X (1934), p. 235.

[43] *Reallexikon der indogermanischen Altertumskunde*, Berlin, 1929, 2 volumes.

[44] W. Koppers, *op. cit.*, p. 8.

[45] Men involved in sex offenses were generally not punished.

174 was the procreation of children, but especially of sons, who would one day
58 become the performers of the sacred rites connected with ancestor worship.
59 The cult for the departed was connected with the cult of the fireplace and was looked upon as the most sacred duty of the individual and of the family. Since the members of the same sib were descendents of the same ancestors, they were bound to one another in life and in death. This solidarity explains the frequency of family feuds, for blood-revenge was considered a very sacred duty. Polygyny was relatively common ; polyandry, however, was taboo. The proof of virginity, the levirate, and the regulations regarding divorce and many other matters are very similar to those still in practice among the Ossetes of the Caucasus. It is indeed worthy of note that the Ossetine *adats* differ but slightly from the customary laws of their ancestors, while, as we have observed throughout the present study, the North Caucasians, especially the Cherkess, the Abkhaz, and the Ingushi differ but little from their neighbours, the Ossetes.[46]

[177] The contact with the Indo-Europeans, especially with the Ossetes and their ancestors, must have been very important. We need but think of the powerful Scythians, and then, later on, of the Alans who made their presence felt as far east as China and as far west as Spain. Many of the customs, especially of the Cherkess, Abkhaz, and Ingushi have certainly been borrowed from the Ossetes : the many legends about ancient heroes, especially the so-called Nart-stories, and many a godlet now worshipped by the North Caucasian are certainly of Indo-European origin.

[178] If we now compare the Turco-Mongolian society with that of the North Caucasians and ancient Indo-Europeans we shall find a striking similarity in the family organizations of the three groups.[47] To point out a few of the more

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[46] Among other practices of the ancient Indo-Europeans might be mentioned child-marriages, the *snohačestvo*, the obligation of the bride to keep silence, the custom of veiling and covering the bride's face, mother-in-law inheritance, etc. See especially E. Hermann, "Die Eheformen der Urindogermanen," *Nachrichten der Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen*, pp. 39—62. We have based our description of the ancient Indo-European family on : Koppers, *op. cit.*, pp. 8—11 ; A. Nehring, *l. c.* ; O. Schrader, *op. cit.*, *passim* ; E. Hermann, *op. cit.*, *passim*, W. Philipp, *op. cit.*, pp. 17—43.

The ancient *Slavs* countenanced polygamy, a custom that continued to the tenth century A. D. Polygyny, however, was a privilege of the rich. The impediment of consanguinity and of disparity of socal rank were strictly insisted upon. Girls would be married off against their wills. We also find the *snohačestvo* among the ancient Slavs. A wife was acquired either by purchase or capture. A distinction between a joint-family *(rodovaja or bolïaja semja)* and the individual *(ocovskaja or malaja semja)* was made, with a patriarch *(starosta or staračina)* at the head. It is also interesting to note that the same concept of a household is found in Russia as in North Caucasia, namely "fireplace." Blood-beuds, bloodwite, the disadvantageous position of the female sex, the *patria potestas* and many other features of the Slavic family life very closely resemble the Caucasian society. Ancestor worship centred round the fireplace and the male head of the joint-family was the family-priest. Vestiges of the cult are still to be found in Ukraine (E. Ellnett, *Historic Origin and Social Development of Family Life in Russia*, pp. 2 ff.) For more about the Slavic family organization see Zdenko Vinski, *Die südslavische Grossfamilie in ihrer Beziehung zum asiatischen Grossraum*. Many of these elements are still found among the Armenians, Persians, Kurds, etc.

[47] See Koppers, *op. cit.*, p. 15 ; A. Nehring, *op. cit.*, pp. 169—173. As W. Schmidt pointed out more than 20 years ago in his *Völker und Kulturen*, elements of the pastoral nomadic civilization are also found among the Hamito-Semitic peoples.

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essential parallels—characteristic of the Turco-Mongolian family are: the almost complete absence of mother-right and totemistic practices, the emphasis placed on the joint-family and the male members, special rights for the first-born son, importance of the male head of the family and the *patria potestas*, the disadvantageous position of the female sex, blood-feuds, exogamy, the *kalym*, which is usually paid in live-stock, the dread of incest, the severe penalties for sexual offenses, fireplace ceremony at weddings, the high esteem for the bride's virginity, the unusual craving for male children, the importance of the bridal procession, etc. 174 58 59

There is also a religious connection between the North Caucasians, the Indo-Europeans, and the Turco-Mongols, a connection that confirms our claim of the existence of a social connection between the three groups. It is not only the *similarity* of the religions of the three groups that we must keep in mind but also the intimate connection, the *organic* connection, between the nomadic social and religious forms. The solidarity which exists among the members of a sib, the great longing for male children, blood-feuds, the levirate, the *patria potestas*, the wedding custom of walking around the fireplace, and many other practices are fundamentally connected with ancestor worship and cult for the dead. Ancestor worship is one of the essential features of the religion of the Indo-Europeans, the Turco-Mongols, and the North Caucasians. Moreover, among all three groups ancestor worship is linked up with the worship of the fireplace. Another very essential part of the pastoral nomadic religion was the custom of sacrificing horses. W. Koppers has shown the great similarity between the horse-sacrifices of the Indo-European and Altai peoples;[48] R. Bleichsteiner proved beyond question the existence of the practice throughout the highlands of Caucasia.[49] Horse-sacrifices among the Indo-Europeans and the North Caucasians are certainly of Inner Asiatic origin. [177] [169] [162] [171]

Thus we see that even though the North Caucasians are not pastoral nomadic in the economic sense—the economy of the steppes is impossible in the mountains, especially in the unfertile valleys of the Caucasus—they are pastoral nomadic in their social organization. *A connection between the North Caucasian society and that of Inner Asia is beyond question.*

### 3. Vestiges of More Ancient Cultures In the Marriage and Family Customary Laws of the North Caucasians

As is only natural, the deeper we delve into the history of the marriage and family *adats* the more obscure the history becomes. 611 562

First of all there are the so-called mother-right vestiges which we must consider. It is interesting to note that the intensity of these vestiges among the three different groups of Caucasians (Northwestern, Northeastern, and Southern)

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[48] W. Koppers, *op. cit.*, pp. 12 f, 18—22. See also W. Koppers, "Pferdeopfer und Pferdekult der Indogermanen," *Wiener Beiträge zur Kulturgeschichte und Linguistik*, IV (1936), pp. 280—411.

[49] "Rossweihe und Pferderennen im Totenkult der kaukasischen Völker," *Wiener Beiträge zur Kulturgeschichte und Linguistik*, IV (1936), pp. 412—495.

# MARRIAGE

C. G. 585 The marriage customs of the Georgians are regulated by Christianity. The wedding rites go back to the ceremony of the Byzantine court: crowns are held over the heads of bride and groom, who are addressed as "queen" and "king." After the ceremony in the church the wedding is celebrated publicly in the house of the bride; the feast may last several days. Then the bride is brought to the house of the groom in a noisy procession on horseback. She is welcomed by her mother-in-law, who puts a lump of sugar or other sweets into her mouth; then she is led around the hearth, and a male child is put on her knees to ensure fecundity. The Georgian mountaineers (especially the Khevsur) have to a certain extent preserved customs similar to those found among the N. Caucasian mountaineers.

C. 583 The marriage customs of the North-Caucasian peoples (including the Ossetes) were only to a minor extent influenced by Islam or Christianity, and preserved older traits. In the whole area from the N. W. to the Andi-Dido region in Dagestan, there are clear traces of a tradition of acquiring brides by capture and abduction. At the same time, in the whole N. Caucasus the custom of paying a bride C. 581 price (R. kalym) prevailed. Originally, the personal preference of the girl was not taken into account at all, the marriage being arranged by her family on the basis of social or

581 economic considerations. In more recent times, under the influence of Islam, Christianity, and also of the Soviet regime, it has become a more important factor.

583 The mixture of various traditions can be exemplified by the Circassian usages. It was customary for the suitor, with the help of his comrades, to abduct his bride from the house of her parents. Often the kalym had been agreed upon beforehand, but the family of the bride nevertheless put up a token of resistance against the abduction. In cases where the family was against the marriage, 582 elopement was not uncommon. A night spent by the girl with her abductor made her his lawful wife according to the Circassian adat; later, a marriage contract drawn up by the mullah gave the marriage its legal sanction; now, marriages are regulated by Soviet law.

In Dagestan, local endogamy is observed more or less strictly; in the rest of the N. Caucasus, and also among the Georgian mountaineers, exogamous rules prevail. [587] Formerly, the levirate and stepmother-inheritance were widespread among the Caucasian mountaineers; there was also a strong insistance upon marrying within one's social rank.

585 Among all the Caucasian mountaineers observing exogamy, there existed a variety of avoidance rules. E. g., the bridegroom would hide during the wedding feast and afterwards only secretly visit his wife, who after

595 (1) Custom permits *all* North Caucasians and their neighbours, whether Christian or Mohammedan, to marry more than one wife. The Tartars near the city of Derbend in the eighteenth century are the only exception, but even in this single case, it ist not certain whether they were monogamists *de jure* or only *de facto*.

[177] (2) Everywhere polygyny is *pre-Islamic*, even if previous to their conversion to Islamism the particular tribe happened to be Christian. We might rightly, therefore, inquire into the possible origin of polygyny in the Caucasus. Polygyny, if borrowed at all, was not borrowed as an *isolated* institution. On the contrary, it seems to be a North Caucasian possession, first of all, as old as the practice [594] of levirate (*infra*, pp. 71—75). Furthermore, it seems to be a North Caucasian cultural possession as old as the economic, social, and religious structure of the [614] North Caucasian family itself. Here we understand " family " in its broad sense, including the joint-family and sib. We cannot now describe this family structure in detail. Briefly, by " the economic, social, and religious structure of the family " we understand that the family in North Caucasia has been and in many places still is the *raison d'être* of the individual.[30*] Whatever the individual does or whatever is done to him or for him has only one aim, the perpetuation and [581] prosperity of the family. Now, in the mind of the North Caucasian, polygyny is an immense asset and at times absolutely indispensable for the economic, social, and religious life of the all-important and solely-important family.

593 *Economically* considered, the wife is extremely important. In the North 562 Caucasus it is the wife who does most of the work (*infra*, pp. 156—159). In fact, sometimes a rich Avar will marry a son to a poor girl or to a widow of a lower class, with whom he is forbidden all communication, in order to have an additional worker in the house.[31] Moreover, a wife is not only a *worker*; she 842 is the " *worker-producing* " organ of the family. Even though boys are preferred (*infra*, pp. 159 ff), girls prove to be good and valuable workers and bring in, at times, a large brideprice (*infra*, pp. 82—91). Now, the more wives there are in the household, the more " worker-producing " organs there are, and by that very fact, at least in the mind of the natives, the family becomes so much the more economically healthy and secure.

The *religious* structure of the family may have contributed just as much to [769] the rise of polygyny as did the economic form of life. The most sacred duty of the individual and of the individual family is, or at least has been, to perpetuate itself, and thus to perpetuate the cult of the ancestors. It is a fact throughout North Caucasus that only a *son* can perpetuate the family and prevent the greatest calamity imagineable, its extinction. But a wife is precisely the " *boy-producing* " organ. If this organ is lacking or fails to function the family is doomed. Today one of the main motives for taking a second wife is sterility.[32] Or again, a second wife will be acquired if the first gives birth only to girls.

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30* According to ancient customary laws.

31 L'vov, *op. cit.*, p. 19.

32 Cf. K. Mačavariani, " Někotoryja čerty iz žizni Abchazcev. Položenie ženščiny v Abchazii," SMOMPK, IV (1884), No. 2, p. 42. E. G. Pčelina, " Rodil'nye obyčai u osetin," SE, 1937, No. 4. p. 88.

We may go a step further and say that if it is the wife who secures the family economically and religiously, the family will be respected by others in proportion to the number of mothers it has. In a word, the *social* status of the family depends on the economic and religious status, and these in turn depend very much on the number of wives. Doubtless, investment in wives is the best investment of any North Caucasian family. 575 554

Polygyny being part and parcel of the family organization of the North Caucasian peoples, we must, therefore, in seeking the origin of the institution, go back beyond Islamic times, beyond Christian and Avestic times, and perhaps beyond historical times. North Caucasian polygyny was born when the North Caucasian family organization was born.

A corollary to the question regarding the origin of polygyny in North Caucasia is the enquiry into the motives for polygynous unions. The sexual factor has relatively little significance. Not lust, not desire to have a young wife, not a surplus of women, but craving for a large family, for many labourers, for economic and religious prepetuation of the family, for the rise in social prestige—these are the motives that generally induce a man to marry a second wife. 581

(3) A glance at Table 5 under the columns "Usually restricted to bigyny" and "Enjoyed by rich alone" will reveal that plural marriages among the North Caucasian peoples and their neighbours are usually cases of *bigamy* and that polygyny is more the exception than the rule. This state of affairs would seem to contradict what we have just said about the importance of polygyny. Why is this all-important institution practiced only by a *few* and generally *limited* to one and at the most two additional wives? Why this difference in theory and practice? This fact is all the more striking because all our North Caucasian peoples are Mohammedans and according to the Koran, iv. 3 and Islamic tradition everyone is entitled to have up to four wives. [795]

The first reason, and no doubt, the most important one is that Nature herself prevents universal polygyny. The relative number of males and females is dictated by a biological law, the sex ratio rarely exceeding 100:110 in favour of either sex.[33] Usually the ratio is 106 males to 100 females, but, we must remember, child mortality is far greater among boys than girls, so that in the long run the ratio of marriageable persons is about 100:100.[34] Nowhere in the world does it approximate a 1:2 ratio, which would be necessary to make bigyny a general practice.[35] 162 595

Theoretically speaking, a surplus of women could result in the Caucasus from blood-feuds, dangerous occupations, infanticide, and other major disturbances affecting the *male* population alone. Such a preponderance of female sex would necessitate many of them remaining unmarried or several women would be obliged to marry one man. But are there such major disturbances affecting the sex ratio in the Caucasus? Since the Soviet government prohibits polygyny and in recent decades polygyny has become extremely rare, it would seem much

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[33] R. H. Lowie, *An Introduction to Cultural Anthropology*, (New York, 1947), p. 243.

[34] Günther, *Formen und Urgeschichte der Ehe*, p. 100.

[35] R. H. Lowie, *Social Organization*, p. 113.

587 deceased."[5] The levirate among the mountaineers of Daghestan was completely optional.[6]

SOUTHERN CAUCASIANS. The only time a widow of Svanetia is free from the obligation of entering upon a levirate union, according to Bodenstedt,[7] Dubrovin[8] and others, is when she actually does not have a brother-in-law. Among the Khevsurs, on the contrary, levirate was optional.[9]

About ninety years ago the Russian Military Government tried to abolish the practice in OSSETIA, but with very little success. Widows continued to be automatically married to their husbands' brother or father.[10] If the widow refused to comply, she was driven out of the house and had to remain unmarried for the rest of her life.[11] In the first half of the nineteenth century not even the brother of the deceased person was free, even if he already had a wife.[12] [581] According to Ossetine customary law the levirate was formerly regarded merely as a continuation of the first marriage, which was indissoluble. The children born of the new union belonged to the deceased; the children were even named after the deceased; they were rightful heirs of the deceased! If the widow did not have a father-in-law or brother-in-law she had to remain unmarried; she might, however, live in lawful concubinage and all children born would be considered legitimate and true sons and daughters of the departed.[13]

In spite of the express prohibition of obligatory levirate by Islamic law and in spite of the measures taken by the Russians, the levirate continued to be the general practice almost to our own times.[14] The difference between recent practice and that of old consists mainly in the binding force of the *adats*. Although the actual practice was perhaps at its height about fifty years ago, its binding force had begun to lose ground long before that time. Around 1890 Kovalevskij observed that the levirate was obligatory only for *near* relatives, otherwise such marriages were optional,[15] and today the binding force has disappeared completely.[16]

Finally, a word about a rare form of preferential mating, rare at least in the Caucasus, the sororate. Practically all reports on cases of sororate refer to the Ossetes. Kovalevskij implies that the practice is also in accord with Lesghian *adats*. Abercromby claims that "an Avar is permitted to marry his

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[5] Leontovič, II, p. 169, § 117.

[6] Kovalevskij, *Zakon* II, p. 175.

[7] F. Bodenstedt, *Die Völker des Kaukasus*, I, p. 282.

[8] Dubrovin, *Istorija*, I, ii, p. 109.

[9] Cf. Eristov, "O Tušino-Pšavo-Chevsurskom okrugě," ZKO, III (1855), p. 113. Essad-Bey, *Der Kaukasus etc.*, p. 263.

[10] The inheritance of a deceased *son's* wife is not unknown even today (Byhan, *La civilisation caucasienne*, p. 226).

[11] Leontovič, II, p. 50, § 14. Sometimes she would be granted permission to remarry.

[12] Dubois de Montpéreux, *Voyage autour du Caucase*, IV, p. 449. Kovalevskij, *Coutume temp.*, p. 180.

[13] Baron A. von Haxthausen, *Transkaukasia* (Leipzig, 1856), pp. 402 ff.

[14] Cf. Juynboll, *Handbuch des islamischen Gesetzes etc.*, p. 184. Baddeley, *op. cit.*, I, p. 271.

[15] *Coutume contemp.*

[16] Byhan, *op. cit.*

587 (4) We must disagree with Kovalevskij in his interpretation of the levirate as a vestige of former group marriage.[20] Without offering us any evidence, he takes up the theories of Morgan and Frazer and applies them to the Caucasus. Such an institution as "group marriage" exists nowhere in the world, and to imagine that it has ever existed is mere fancy. In an attempt to explain the origin of preferential mating in the Caucasus we should lay aside all guesswork [562] and study the culture before us. For example: the unbearably low position of the North Caucasian woman (*infra*, pp. 152—159) may have made her appear as inheritable chattel. After all, the family purchased her, paid a high price for her, and now she constitutes a part of the family property no less than do the horses, cows, and sheep. Moreover, as we have explained above (pp. 44 f), she is more than *ordinary* family property: she is the best family investment, for she is the "worker-producing" and especially the "boy-producing" organ on which depends the economic, religious, and social life of the family. This realization would only too naturally disincline the family to give her up after her husband's [581] death. As we shall see in the following chapter, mating is not a private affair; it is a strictly family affair, the prime purpose of marriage being the good of the family or sib. She, as it were, belongs more to the *family* that purchased her than to the individual member whose wife she is. Finally, if we consider the pre-Islamic, pre-Christian, and pre-Avestic religion of the mountaineers, we are almost forced to postulate such an institution as widow-inheritance. [775] The life beyond does not differ from the present, and consequently the departed will need his wife in the nether world just as much as in this life. (We shall have occasion to speak of posthumous marriages! Cf. *infra*, p. 85.) We shall even show that suttee was not unknown in North Caucasus (Cf. *infra*, [842] pp. 131 f). The wife therefore must remain in the family. Moreover, the deceased needs offspring, a large progeny, just as much after death as during life, for his happiness and honour in the other world depend upon the cult he receives from his descendents. The widow, therefore, must remain in the family and another member must "raise up seed for his brother" and "build up his brother's house." In other words, the levirate is not a survival of a *primitive* culture but rather an institution very intimately connected with the economic, social and religious life of a relatively highly developed culture such as that of pastoral peoples.

595 As a confirmation of what we have just now said about the origin of [842] Caucasian preferential mating, we wish to describe another institution, still found today in various parts of Caucasus, the so-called *snohačestvo*. A boy-child is married to an adult girl with whom the father may have sexual intercourse as freely as with his own wife. The father is considered as living in lawful concubinage with his son's wife and may do so until the child becomes of age. We wish to stress that this practice is a perfect parallel to widow inheritance. The father "must raise seed" for his son and "build up his house" till he is himself able to do so. The children born of this concubinage belong to the childhusband, sometimes half to him and half to the progenitor. This is

[20] Kovalevskij, *Coutume contemp.*, p. 181.

# Chapter IV

# Freedom of Choice

000 After we have shown which individuals are regarded as possible mates, we arrive at the second fundamental question: Who has the decisive word in selecting a definite mate from among the many possible ones? We shall have to answer such questions as: "Has the couple the decisive word?" "Has the young man more to say about his partner than the girl about hers?"

## § 1. THE RIGHT TO CHOOSE A MATE IN THEORY AND PRACTICE

584 The NORTHWEST CAUCASIANS, the Abkhaz and the Cherkess, regard [581] marriage as a family affair. It is not a contract between two *individuals* but between two *families*, joint-families or sibs. The male head of the household has the right to marry off his child to whomsoever he wishes.[1] He has the sole *right*; whether he *uses* that right or not is an entirely different matter.

When speaking about the actual practice we must make the necessary temporal and local distinctions. Before the Revolution the Kabardians, contrary to Hahn's superficial observations,[2] paid little attention to the wishes of their daughters, whereas the Shapsugs, Abadzekhs, and Bzhedukhs generally considered the girl's preferences and even tried to act accordingly. After the Revolution (1920), the Soviet régime refused to recognize any marriage unless it had been entered upon freely. To a large extent this legislation had the desired results, but not entirely, for compulsory marriages still occur today.[3]

Since there is less family interest in the girl than in the boy (the girl is married off into a *strange* family), it is not surprising that more consideration is given the future groom than the bride. But we do not wish to say that the preferences of the male children are always regarded more than those of the [582] female. Infant betrothal[4] has always been possible in Circassia and therefore there is no question of male children having a *right* to choose their mates. *De jure* both sexes are on the same level; *de facto* the wishes of the boys are generally complied with more than those of the girls.[5]

142 One can hardly pick up a book on the Cherkess without coming across a 583 paragraph or two about the unusual beauty of their women. Some authors go

[1] V. V. Vasil'kov, "Očerk byta temirgoevcev," SMOMPK, XXIX (1901), No. 1, p. 99.

[2] C. Hahn, *Kaukasische Reisen und Studien*, p. 39. The questioning of the bride was a mere formality.

[3] Ladyženskij, FT, p. 197. Castagné, *op. cit.*, 1929, No. 2, p. 259.

[4] N. Dubrovin, *Istorija*, I, i, p. 139.

[5] Ladyženskij, *l. c.*

p. 76 1 [sic -- Analyst]

(1) This[1] is but another right from among the many that the male head of the family enjoys in a patriarchal society. The deeper reason for this monopoly is the fact that marriage is recognized by the *adats* as a family affair. 581 [584]

(2) Marriage is essentially an economic transaction and not so much a union between two lovers. Mutual attraction is not of paramount importance but rather the bride-price (*infra*, pp. 82—91), the social rank of the bride (*infra*, p. 90), her physical fitness for hard work (*infra*, pp. 156—159), her fertility and "capacity" to give birth to boys (*supra*, pp. 44 f, *infra*, p. 140), and her virginity (*infra*, p. 90). Not that love affairs do not occur among the mountaineers—even elopement is not rare (*infra*, pp. 96 f). What we wish to stress is that (especially formerly) the determining factor in deciding which individuals from among the many possible mates are to be married is, not love or sexual attraction, but the qualities just enumerated. This conception of an ideal wife fits perfectly into the culture of pastoral peoples.

(3) Since even the bride and groom have the same concept of an ideal match as the father, and since they realize that he can observe these qualities just as easily as they themselves, mating generally does not involve violence to the wishes of the partners.

1 [i.e., to arrange a marriage--Analyst]

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583 to assume the character of a dowry, as it had tended much earlier in Daghestan. A bitter struggle is going on between ancient *adats*, the *šarī'a*, and Russian laws.

(3) *Kalym* (even in recent times) is generally high.

[585] (4) Everywhere except among the Ingiloi and the Chechens of Nazran (*supra*, pp. 84, 86) the *kalym* and *kebin* are much higher for a virgin than a non-virgin. Virginity therefore is one of the most important factors in determining the amount of bride wealth.

[614] (5) Generally the family or a larger social group as the sib or *tleusn* provide the necessary bride wealth. The groom never has to amass the *kalym* [581] himself, another fact clearly showing that mating is not a private affair.

(6) The *kebin* is found in all North Caucasia and Mohammedan neighbourhood.

[554] (7) Everywhere the social status of the partners is an important factor in determining the amount of *kalym* and *kebin*.

The uniform evolution of the North Caucasian bride purchase is indeed striking. Originally all peoples of North Caucasus seem to have had actual bride purchase: the bride was actually sold and considered as a chattel. Then the bride-price began to lose its character of a purchase, a development contemporaneous with the spread of Islamism and Russian influence. Mohammedanism does not recognize bride purchase as such:[53] it recommends a bridal gift and prescribes the *kebin (mahr)* instead. The Russian Military Government in pre-Soviet times regarded bride purchase as a serious "abuse" and according to a decision of 1857 one third of the bride-price was to become the property of the bride as a form of social security.[54] Later the Soviet Government contributed its share in modifying the custom especially through industrialization, as we have seen is the case of the Cherkess living in the larger cities.[55]

583 554 That social rank should play such an imporant part in determing the amount of bride wealth (whether bride price, gifts or *kebin*) is quite natural, universal and in full accord with Islamic law.[56] In fact, according to Mohammedan teaching, the *walī mujbir* loses his right to marry his daughter or granddaughter against her will if the bride wealth does not correspond to the girl's social rank.[57]

Nowhere in the Caucasus has bride purchase been considered as something humiliating or degrading. After all, even the Cherkess princesses were purchased. The bride wealth corresponded to the social status and therefore added dignity to the purchase. Moreover, the higher the price the greater the social respect

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[53] Juynboll, *op. cit.*, p. 190. The *mahr* is also called *ṣakâk* in Islamic law.
[54] A. Dirr, AGKB, p. 124.
[55] *Supra*, p. 83.
[56] Juynboll, *op. cit.*, p. 215.
[57] *ibid.*

[i.e., bride-price and bride's security against divorce—Analyst]

583 of the Soviet Government on perfect freedom in mating, certainly contributed, especially psychologically, to the change from frequent marriage by capture to elopement.

An important problem, which perhaps will remain a problem for some time to come, is that regarding the origin of Caucasian marriage by capture. At least negatively we can unhesitatingly affirm that abduction is not a survival of *the* original form of marriage.[88] It seems rather to be the most logical result of marriage by purchase. The origin of the practice is more easily explained by high *kalym* rather than primitive "savagery." The main occasion for kidnapping a wife, formerly as well as in recent times, has always been the inability of the groom's family to amass the enormous bride wealth demanded.[89] The refusal of the girl's family to give her in marriage to her lover is often occasion for bride capture or elopement; but the ultimate reason for the refusal is almost always an economic one. When a sib or family cannot afford [581] the required *kalym*, the only means of acquiring a wife is to capture her. To remain unmarried is as unthinkable as the extinction of a family. When the *kalym* is too high, the lover, accompanied by his friends, organizes an attack, kidnaps the girl he loves, and generally deflowers her on the very first occasion. Even if afterwards the abducted girl be allowed to return to her family (and sometimes the *adats* insist on her return), she no longer can expect to find another husband. Her choice is therefore between remaining unmarried all her life or to be the wife of her capturer. Once the girl has been abducted, the young man has the girl's family, so to speak, at his mercy. To borrow Baddeley's words, "With the mountaineers the accomplished fact meant much. Once bedded, though not yet wedded, the quarrel, till then deadly, became, as a rule, mere matter for adjustment—mainly financial adjustment."[90] Her family realize that the girl has lost her economic value and that now, after all, the best thing to do is to let her ravisher have his way. To marry her off to another man would disgrace the family. The capturer has the upper hand and can set the *kalym* more or less according to his limited means.[91]

We do not deny the possibility of other motives for bride capture. We can very well imagine how an Ingush "dare-devil" might organize a raid and kidnap a girl just to prove his mettle.[92] We can also very well imagine how a romantic Kabardian might kidnap his beloved just to add a bit of zest and charm to courtship. But such motives are extremely rare and insignificant compared to the inability to pay the *kalym* demanded.

583 Although bride capture and elopement are general, as general as high *kalym*
583 and poverty, nowhere in the Caucasus are they regarded as a legitimate means. The *adats* of all Caucasians classify marriage by capture and elopement as an offense equal to murder. They are an offense against the bride's relatives, living

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[88] Cf. J. F. McLennan, *Studies in Ancient History*, pp. 9 ff.

[89] Cf. Dirr, AGKB, p. 125; Leontovič, II, p. 252, § 150; Jakovlev, *Ingušii*, pp. 52 f.

[90] Baddeley, *The Rugged Flanks of Caucasus*, II, p. 224, *note*.

[91] Cf. Günther, *op. cit.*, pp. 331—340; N. F. Grabovskij, "Očerk suda i ugolovnych prestuplenij v Kabardinskom okrugě," pp. 39, 41 f; Leontovič, II, p. 257, § 198; Leontovič, II, p. 118, § 18.

584 It is worthy of note that most North Caucasian *adats* permit the suitor to dissolve the engagement, whereas the neighbouring Turkish peoples and the Ossetes do not. It would seem that those who permit the *male* partner to withdraw his promise at will stress the unilateral aspect of a betrothal; that is, the only one that incurs expenses is the suitor (or to be more exact, his family). If, then, the expenses are one-sided, the privileges and the obligations ought to be one-sided. Those who do not permit either partner to break the engagement seem to stress the bilateral aspect of a betrothal, namely, as soon as a girl is engaged she gives up all possibilities of marrying another man, perhaps even a better choice than the person to whom she is actually engaged. Moreover, this *mutual* obligation expresses the eagerness of the girl's family to secure a marriage for her before she becomes too old, when she would either have to remain a spinster or be sold at a lower price.

That the suitor actually acquires rights in the strictest sense of the word through betrothal is made very clear in the numerous *adats* which distinguish between an abduction of an engaged and a non-engaged girl, the former being considered a qualified crime. He enjoys the right of vengeance just as much as does the abducted girl's family.[82]

[581] Finally, the fact that the Pshav girl must live with her would-be father-in-law after the death of her suitor confirms our repeated assertion that marriage is a *family* affair: the wife is acquired primarily for the good of the family.

[82] See the various *adat* collections in the section on bride-stealing. Dubrovin, *Istorija*, I, p. 129.

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# Chapter VIII

# Dissolution of Marriage

## § 1. BY DEATH

Marriages of widows and widowers are looked upon by all Caucasians as inferior to nuptials between partners who have never been married before. For example, the bride price for a widow is smaller than that for a maiden,[1] except among the Nazranian Chechens and the Ingiloi of Sakataly ; or again, the very marriage ceremonies are simplified when one of the partners happens to be a widow or widower.[2] The Pshavs[3] and the Khevsurs[4] consider a second marriage shameful if the widow has a child, especially, as is the case with the Khevsurs, a son. Our present problem is : Are there any indications in ancient customary law that at one time not even death could dissolve the marriage bond ? 587

### 1. Suttee

The custom of committing suttee on the funeral pyre was very probably a relatively widespread custom in the Caucasus in ages past. The funeral rites of today still bear traces of widows being burnt together with their husbands' corpses.[5] Al-Mas'ûdî, in his "Golden Meadows and Mines of Precious Stones" (A.D. 943) mentions that the Khazars of Caucasus "burn the dead with their cattle, instruments, and ornaments. If the husband dies, the wife is burnt alive together with the corpse of her husband."[6] An example of what might be a survival of widow cremation is the now meaningless but constantly repeated wail of the Ossetine widow, "I'll kill myself and cast myself into the fire," mentioned by Gatiev in his "Beliefs and Prejudices of the Ossetes."[7] Another possible vestige of former suttee is the custom of burying a plait of the widow's hair together with the corpse of her husband. Herodotus expressly mentions (ch. v.) that the Scythian women were eager to be immolated on the grave of their husbands. The probable existence of widow cremation in the 764 [762] 581

[1] Cf. *supra*, Table, p. 89.

[2] Cf. *supra*, p. 121.

[3] Makalatija, "Iz starogo narodnogo byta pšavov," SE, 1938, No. 1, p. 110.

[4] Eristov, *op. cit.*, p. 113.

[5] R. Bleichsteiner, "Rossweihe und Pferderennen im Totenkult der kaukasischen Völker," *Wiener Beiträge*, IV (1936), p. 414. "Daß in längst verflossenen Zeiten die Frau ihrem dahingegangenen Gatten als Opfer nachgesendet wurde, dafür gibt es im Totenritual der Kaukasusvölker eine Reihe beachtenswerter Anhaltspunkte."

[6] Translation from Abich, Klaproth, Beschreibung der russ. Provinzen, etc., p. 197.

[7] Gatiev, *op. cit.*, p. 3.

p. 131

581 764 Caucasus clearly shows that the peoples of North Caucasia believed that a marriage tie could continue in the next world. However, since we do not have the slightest evidence that suttee was *obligatory*, the most we can say is that *perhaps*, at one time, death could not dissolve marriage.

## 2. Levirate

58 587 Once an Ossetine woman was married, she was considered bound to her husband forever unless divorced, as is evident from the following remarkable facts. (1) The widow was not allowed to marry outside her husband's family; the father or brother or son of the deceased man was obliged to take her to wife, but this second marriage was considered merely a *continuation* of the first. (2) The children of the second marriage were regarded as the sons and daughters of the *deceased*. (3) The children received the name of the deceased. (4) If the [589] widow had no brother-in-law, father-in-law or step-son, she had to remain unmarried, or live in concubinage, the children born becoming the sons and daughters of the deceased, even the legal heirs of the deceased. The marriage and concubinage had only one purpose: to "raise seed" and "build up the house" of the deceased till the wife would once again join him in the other world. These facts seem to be sufficient proof for the indissolubility of marriage even by death! Unfortunately, we do not have such details about the ancient levirate of the other peoples living in the Caucasus. However, when treating of preferential mating we did find obligatory levirate among the Ingushi and came to the conclusion that most probably the levirate was formerly obligatory also among the other mountain tribes.[8] In a word, it is quite *possible* that at one time death did not dissolve a marital bond.

## § 2. BY DIVORCE

586 The *adats* of all mountain peoples of Caucasus permit divorce. When speaking of divorce we must make a very clear distinction between the rights of the *husband* and those of the *wife*, between a *valid* divorce and a *justifiable* divorce.

[849] The NORTHWESTERN CAUCASIANS. According to reports of the eigtheenth century, a wife might be desmissed in Abkhazia if she were "sterile," that is, if she did not give birth to a child before she was 30, or if she remained childless for five successive years.[9] However, a *valid* divorce is possible at will. The Temirgoi, for example, may divorce their wives "if they do not please their husbands."[10] Such is the case throughout Abkhazia and among the Cherkess today.[11] Although formerly the women in Northwest Caucasus were at a very great disadvantage in regard to divorce, today, they too may abandon their husbands without any special legal grounds. However, in such arbitrary

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[8] Cf. *supra*, p. 73.

[9] Reineggs, *op. cit.*, Part II, p. 9.

[10] Vasil'kov, "Očerk byta Temirgoevcev," SMOMPK, XXIX (1901), p. 101.

[11] Cf. Ladyženskij, FT, p. 199.

581 economic considerations. In more recent times, under the influence of Islam, Christianity, and also of the Soviet regime, it has become a more important factor.

583 The mixture of various traditions can be exemplified by the Circassian usages. It was customary for the suitor, with the help of his comrades, to abduct his bride from the house of her parents. Often the kalym had been agreed upon beforehand, but the family of the bride nevertheless put up a token of resistance against the abduction. In cases where the family was against the marriage, elopement was not uncommon. A night spent 582 by the girl with her abductor made her his lawful wife according to the Circassian adat; later, a marriage contract drawn up by the mullah gave the marriage its legal sanction; now, marriages are regulated by Soviet law.

In Dagestan, local endogamy is observed more or less strictly; in the rest of the N. Caucasus, and also among the Georgian mountaineers, exogamous rules prevail.

[587] Formerly, the levirate and stepmother-inheritance were widespread among the Caucasian mountaineers; there was also a strong insistance upon marrying within one's social rank.

585 Among all the Caucasian mountaineers observing exogamy, there existed a variety of avoidance rules. E. g., the bridegroom would hide during the wedding feast and afterwards only secretly visit his wife, who after

595 from polygyny is, above all, a shortage of rubles.[43] The same holds for the
593 Avars,[44] and, as we learn from Svěčin,[45] for the other Lesghians as well: the economic factor plays an important part in making polygyny relatively rare. Klaproth found the institution a veritable luxury in Ossetia, being only for the richest of the rich,[46] in full harmony with the Ossetine *adats* which reserve the right for the two richest classes, the princes and the *aldars*.[47] Grabovskij's
[587] report[48] that even the *poor* Ingushi were polygamists we have partially explained by obligatory levirate, which was just as much obligatory for the rich as for the poor. Moreover social stratification (which generally coincides with wealth
[565] and poverty) was practically non-existent during Grabovskij's visit in Ingushetia (*infra*, pp. 60 f); therefore, if polygyny is to be found among the Ingushi at all, it must be found also among the "poor" class.

[586] Easy divorce may do away with plural marriages as it did in Khevsuria and Svanetia, but in North Caucasia easy divorce plays only a very insignificant rôle compared with economic and biological factors.

## § 2. THE RULES OF ENDOGAMY AND EXOGAMY

000 Lowie defines exogamy as "the rule which prescribes that an individual must find a mate outside of his own group, whether that group be the family, the village or some other social unit."[49] The opposite rule "which makes it compulsory for a man to mate within his group is labeled endogamy." Lowie rightly stresses that it is not the *de facto* marriage within one's own group but the *prohibition* of marrying outside it that constitutes endogamy.[50]

### 1. The Impediment of Consanguinity

582 Consanguineous marriages are strictly prohibited throughout NORTH-
[614] WEST Caucasus. In his expedition of 1927 Ladyženskij ascertained that the reports of earlier writers about the abhorrence of incest among the tribes of Northwest Caucasia still exists today. Marriages between members of the same sib, regardless of the degree of remoteness, are considered incestuous.[51]

671 Among the NORTHEASTERN peoples the practice is not uniform. Ing-
582 ushian adats are by far stricter than Islamic law in regard to marriages between

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[43] *ibid.*

[44] L'vov, "Domašnjaja i semejnaja žizn Dagestanskich gorcev avarskago plemeni," SSKG, III (1870), p. 20.

[45] D. Svěčin, "Očerk narodonaselenija nravov, i obyčaev Dagestancev," ZKO, II (1853), p. 64.

[46] J. Klaproth, *Voyage au Mont Caucase et en Géorgie*, II, p. 249.

[47] *Leontovič, Adaty kavkazskich gorcev*, II, p. 12, § 10; p. 14, § 27; p. 16, § 40.

[48] "Ekonomičeskij i domašnij byt žitelej gorskago učastka inguševskago okruga," SSKG, III (1870), p. 21.

[49] R. Lowie, *Primitive Society*, p. 16.

[50] *op. cit.*, pp. 16 f.

[51] J. Reineggs, *Allgemeine historisch-topographische Beschreibung des Kaukasus*, II, p. 9; Ladyženskij, FT, p. 198.

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blood-relatives, and although the Ingushi are now Mohammedans they still insist on observing their ancient customary laws rather than the *šarī'a*.[52] The other Chechen tribes are likewise strict exogamists.[53]

The Lesghians however, unlike all other North Caucasians, are, or at least have been till recently, strict endogamists. In their insistance on marriages exclusively within the sib, the Lesghians differ not only from the other North Caucasians but also from the mountain tribes of SOUTH CAUCASIA: the Khevsurs,[54] the Pshavs,[55] the Tushi,[56] and the Svans.[57]

In this regard the Lesghians differ also from their non-Caucasian neighbours. Among the OSSETES even the remotest blood-relationship (usually all living in the same village and bearing the same family name)[58] impedes marriage.[59]

The neighbouring TARTAR tribes are also exogamous.[60] The KALMUCKS may indeed marry within their community but only with non-relatives.[61]

To come back to the Lesghians—the reliability of the reports about their still being strictly endogamous in the nineteenth century is unquestionable. Klaproth, despite his many literary thefts, is generally reliable. He assures us that the Dido "disregard all degrees of consanguinity."[62] L'vov[63] and Abercromby[64] observed the same custom among the Avars. The latter author writes, "With regard to degrees of consanguinity, an Avar is permitted to marry his first cousin or two sisters." Our most reliable sources are Kovalevskij and Egiasarov, on whom Kovalevskij largely depends.[65] In Kovalevskij's *Zakon i obyčaj na Kavkazě* we read that Cvětkov, a government official in Daghestan in 1869, maintained that in the Kurin Province absolutely no marriage was possible outside of one's own *tukhum* (sib). Sotnikov claims that such is the case

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[52] N. Jakovlev, *Ingušli*, (Moscow, 1925), p. 49.

[53] M. Kovalevskij, *Coutume contemporaine et loi ancienne*, p. 196.

[54] Essad-Bey, *Der Kaukasus. Seine Berge, Völker und Geschichte*, p. 267.

[55] M. Kovalevskij, *Zakon i Obyčaj na Kavkazě*, II, p. 142.

[56] M. Kovalevskij, *Coutume contemp.*, p. 196.

[57] *ibid.*

[58] When a family breaks from its sib and moves into a strange village, it gradually begins to feel closely related to its new neighbours, sometimes even more closely than to actual blood-relatives who live farther away. Such a family may even change its name and begin to call itself after the sib in whose community it now lives. The tendency of local solidarity to supplant the solidarity of the sib is noticeable throughout the Caucasus. Cf. A. Ladyženskij, "Entstehung und Entwicklung des Staates bei den Bergvölkern des Kaukasus," *Zeitschrift für Völkerpsychologie und Soziologie*, VI (1930), pp. 436, 439, 444. How soon such families would become "blood-relatives" to such a degree that intermarriage would be considered incestuous has still to be investigated by the fieldworkers.

[59] M. Kovalevskij, *Coutume contemp.*, pp. 196, 335.

[60] M. Kovalevskij, l. c.

[61] R. Erckert, *Der Kaukasus*, p. 37.

[62] *Voyage au Mont Caucase et en Géorgie*, II, p. 74.

[63] "Domašnjaja i semejnaja žizn Dagestanskich Gorcev Avarskago Okruga," SSKG, III (1870), p. 18.

[64] *A Trip through the Eastern Caucasus*, p. 97. Unfortunately Abercromby fails to specify whether they were only *permitted* to marry blood-relatives or actually obliged to do so.

[65] M. Kovalevskij, *Zakon*, II, p. 142; *Coutume contemp.*, l. c. Egiasarov's article is not at my disposal, hence I am relying on Kovalevskij's faithful citation of the author.

582 in Kaitag, and of the Tabassaranians he is able to say: "Up to the present
[614] there have been no instances of anyone freely separating himself from his *tukhum*. The people are convinced that such an action would be impossible, unthinkable, certainly the most abominable disgrace imagineable." In the Province of Dargwa (according to Popov) the *tukhum* does not even have the authority to expel an illegitimate member, much less permit a fully-fledged member to separate from the others freely. Of all the provinces in South Daghestan only the adats of Tsakhur admit marriages with outsiders, but only
[611] by way of exception. Thus, according to Akhtinian and Rutulian customary law, a sib may marry one of their girls to a groom belonging to another *tukhum*, but only if the groom's sib is in danger of extinction.[66] But even in this extreme case an important *conditio sine qua non* is added: the children born of this marriage must be named not after the father's, but, strangely enough, after the mother's sib.[67]

[621] In most cases local exogamy will coincide with consanguineous exogamy, because generally the Caucasian *auls* are sib-villages, that is, inhabited by people with the same family name who consider themselves related to one another. The questions of local exogamy and cross-cousin marriages have still to be investigated by the fieldworker.

Endogamy is not a sign of primitiveness. On the contrary, it thrives where social ranks are of paramount importance.[68] But the Lesghians, as we shall soon learn (*infra*, pp. 61 ff), are virtually classless and therefore endogamy seems out of place. We cannot attribute the practice to Islamism; for Mohammedanism may indeed *permit* consanguineous mating but it does not *prescribe* it. We may therefore rightly expect to find the solution to the riddle in pre-Islamic times.

We have said that the Southern Caucasians are strict exogamists. That is true, but there has been a time when the Georgians, the neighbours of the Lesghian peoples, were endogamists.

In the Georgian chronicles of King Vakhtang, which speak of the times of Nabuchodonosor, we read (after Brosset, *Additions*, p. 31), "Les plus abominable coutumes s'introduisirent, dans les mariages, on n'avait aucun égard à la parenté, on mangeait tout ce qui a vie, on n'ensevelissait point les morts et l'on dévorait les cadavres!"[69] And according to the legend about Alexander's march into the Caucasus as found in the Georgian chronicles (after Brosset, *Histoire de la Géorgie*, I, p. 33): "Étant venu dans le Karthli, il trouve chez tous les Géorgiens des coutumes plus abominables que chez aucun peuple. En effet les mariages et la débauche s'y pratiquaient sans égard à la parenté, on mangeait de tout ce qui avait vie, on dévorait les cadavres."[70] Moreover, Tacitus (*Annales*, xii. 46) gives us a good example of a next-of-kin marriage in a Georgian royal family in Iberia. Moses of Chorene (iii, 20) and Faustus of

[66] M. Kovalevskij, *Zakon*, II, pp. 144 f.
[67] M. Kovalevskij, *Zakon*, II, p. 172.
[68] R. Lowie, *Primitive Society*, pp. 16 f.
[69] Cf. O. G. von Wesendonk, "Über georgisches Heidentum," *Caucasica*, I (1924), p. 6.
[70] Cf. Wesendonk, *op. cit.*, 61 f.

Byzantia (iv. 4) establish the existence of endogamy in Armenia, while the present-day local endogamy of Svanetia may very well be a vestige of former in-breeding.[71] 582

There are two facts which we can deduce from the existence of endogamy in Georgia and Armenia. First of all, we are justified in looking for a *common* source of endogamy for Georgia, Armenia, and Daghestan. Secondly, we are justified in looking for this source in *pre-Christian* times, that is, before the Christianization of Georgia in the fourth century.

The origin of endogamy in all three countries must, as it seems, be sought in Iran.[72] Endogamy among the peoples of Daghestan is a survival of the ancient Avestic religion, which the Mohammedan missionaries had to combat when they came to spread the teaching of the Prophet.

In the Mazdaic creed (*Yasna* xii. 9) we find the *xvaêtvadatha* (Pahlavi *xvêtôkdas*) as an obligation. Originally the *xvaêtvadatha* ("next-of-kin marriage") aimed at preserving the purity of blood of the Iranian nobility, which was numerically weak and could be perpetuated only by in-breeding. The priests formed, in much the same way, a distinct class and cooperated with the nobility in fostering endogamous marriages. Once the custom had been firmly established, it was not difficult to attribute it to Ahura Mazda Himself and to His Prophet Zarathustra.[73]

That the *xvaêtvadatha* was an important doctrine cannot be denied and hence this all-important teaching could not have been disregarded when the Avesta was introduced into the Caucasus. It must have been taught to the converts and accepted by them, for the *xvaêtvadatha* is one of the surest marks of genuine piety in the coming days of evil; by it mortal sin is expiated; it is a bulwark against the attacks of the demons; it is the second of the seven good works; it is the ninth of the thirty-three ways of entering heaven; and lastly, Zarathustra is supposed to have prescribed it as the eighth of his ten admonitions to mankind and declared it meritorious. In fact the next-of-kin marriage is supposed to be the source of "complete progress in the world... even unto the time of the renovation of the universe." (*Dâtistân-î Dînîk* lxxvii. 6 f).[74]

If we wish to delve deeper into the history of Caucasian endogamy, we must first face a very difficult problem, a task which in fact we shall have to leave to specialists. The problem regarding the origin of next-of-kin marriages in Avestic Iran itself is controverted. Some believe it is genuinely Persian while others maintain that its ultimate source is a non-Indo-European people (perhaps of Magian origin and therefore neither Indo-European nor Semitic).[75]

That endogamy should survive in Daghestan and disappear in Georgia and Armenia is not to be wondered at. Christianization of the two latter countries was incomparably more thorough than the Islamization of the Lesghian mountain peoples. 582 [192] [195]

[71] Cf. Wesendonk, *op. cit.*, p. 62.
[72] Here we fully agree with M. Kovalevskij, *Zakon*, I, p. 89.
[73] Cf. L. H. Gray, "Marriage (Iranian)," *Hasting Encyclopedia of Religion and Ethics*, p. 458.
[74] Cf. L. H. Gray, *op. cit.*, p. 457.
[75] L. H. Gray, *op. cit.*, p. 458.

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582 ghian mountain peoples. Early ecclesiastical law of Georgia and Armenia attacked next-of-kin marriages with great vehemence, while Islamic law *permitted* the Daghestanians to continue the practice, except, of course, the brother-sister marriages. The Armenian National Council of Ashtishat (A. D. 365) prohibited all marriages in the lateral line up to the third degree of relationship.[76] Later even fourth degree relatives were excluded from mating, while other Church decrees and tradition considered marriages between relatives even up to the seventh degree as incestuous.[77] Islamic law on the contrary, permitted first-cousin marriages.[78] Moreover the local and linguistic isolation of the 190 Lesghian tribes and constant family-feuds favoured endogamy. Today there are about 30 distinct languages in Daghestan and formerly there must have been many more, not to mention the numerous dialects. Some languages are spoken by as few as a thousand people, or as is the case with the Nakhada by only one hundred and thirty-five persons.

Although the Iranian culture area extended beyond North Caucasia, we have no evidence of the existence of the next-of-kin marriages in Northwest and Northcentral Caucasus. What kept the Cherkess and the Abkhaz from falling into line with their Eastern and Southern neighbours, or what has contributed to its early death after endogamy had been introduced, is not easy to say. The greater geographical remoteness from the centres of endogamy (Egypt, Sumeria, Elam, Arabia and Persia are the classical regions for brother-sister marriages), the well-established aristocracy with no danger of extinction, the strong, proud tradition regarding incest, the great respect for their own *adats*, the example of the élite of the Caucasus (the Kabardians), and Christianity seem to have been the main factors involved. We do not know if endogamy has ever existed among the Chechens.

### 2. The Impediment of Affinity

900 By an impediment of affinity we understand that degree of propinquity between a husband and a female relative of his wife or between a wife and a male relative of her husband which by law or custom is a bar to marriage. This particular impediment has not yet been sufficiently investigated by the field-workers; however we shall treat of this impediment indirectly when speaking of the levirate, sororate, and widow inheritance.

### 3. The Impediments of Fictitious Kinships

582 608 By fictitious kinship we understand any relationship based on grounds other than consanguinity or affinity. To what extent do such artificial kinships bar two Caucasians from mating? Fieldworkers have indeed investigated the various forms of fictitious kinship, but, unfortunately, not in relation to mating. There is still much to be done in regard to this important impediment.

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[76] Klidschian, "Das armenische Eherecht," *Zeitschrift f. vergl. Rechtsw.*, XXV (1911), p. 332 ff.

[77] Zdenko Vinski, "*Die südslavische Grossfamilie in ihrer Beziehung zum asiatischen Grossraum*," p. 138 (MS).

[78] G. Bergsträsser, *Grundzüge des islamischen Rechts*, p. 82.

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(1) The *Kunak*-relationship is a contract between two men of different localities according to which they are obliged to offer mutual hospitality and protection whenever the occasion lends itself. Whenever a Caucasian passes near a fellow-*kunak's* village while travelling, he will infallibly pay him a visit and will lodge with him at least for the night. Restaurants, inns, and hotels are unknown among the mountaineers; the institution of *kunak*-relationship is however, an excellent substitute. Any offense committed against the guest will be avenged as if it were against one of the family. In fact, the bond that unites the *kunaks* is considered as sacred as, if not more sacred than, the family tie. The institution is found throughout North Caucasia.[79] The question whether members of the two families may intermarry or not seems to have been overlooked by the fieldworkers. It may very well be that such marriages are even preferred. We know for certain that such marriages are not barred in Ossetia.[80]

(2) Another form of fictious kinship is the *tlenth*.[81] According to Longworth it constitutes an impediment. The Cherkess, we are told, take an oath among themselves and become "brothers," and "to strengthen the illusion of their being such, their families are not allowed to intermarry; a regulation so rigidly observed, that even where the society is composed of many thousands, as in the case of the powerful one of Natquo, it still holds good, and a marriage between two individuals of it is looked upon as incestuous".[82]

(3) *Relationship by milk (parenté de lait, Milchverwandtschaft)* is a widespread institution. There are two ways in which the relationship can be formed: either by actual breast-sucking or by mere contact of the lips and breast of a woman.[83] The kinship thus formed is as sacred as that of consanguinity. Karginov describes how an Ossetine lover was once forced to kiss the breast of his beloved, the aim of the act being to put an end to their adulterous friendship, for once his lips would touch her breast he would become her "son." From that moment on intercourse and marriage would be looked upon as incestuous.[84] Gaerber wrote in 1728: "Whenever the Usmei has a son, he is carried round from village to village, and alternately suckled by every woman who has a child at her breast until he is weaned. This custom, by establishing a kind of brotherhood between the prince and his subjects, singularly endears

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[79] An excellent description of the *kunak*-relationship can be found in Dirr's article, "Aus dem Gewohnheitsrecht der kaukasischen Bergvölker," *Zeitschr. f. vergl. Rechtsw.*, XLI (1925). See also Isteriano, *Della vita dei Zychi, chiamati Circassi*, Ramusio, II (1559), folio 140 v. M. Kovalevskij, *Coutume contemp.*, p. 190: Ossetes, Tartars, Kumyks have the practice too. N. Jakovlev, *Ingušī*, pp. 15—25.
Grabovskij, "Ekonomičeskij i domašnij byt žitelej gorskago učastka Inguševskago okruga," SSKG, III (1870), pp. 4—7.
A. P. Berže, *Čečnja i Čečency*, pp. 86 f.
The host will even give up his life for his guest; see R. Erckert, *Der Kaukasus*, p. 108.

[80] M. Kovalevskij, *Coutume contemp.*, p. 214.

[81] For possible origin of the practice and ceremonies connected with the institution see V. V. Vasil'kov, "Očerk byta temirgoevcev," SMOMPK, XXIX (1901), No. 1, pp. 80 f.

[82] *A Year among the Circassians*, I, p. 229.

[83] Dubrovin, *Istorija*, Tome I, Bk. I, pp. 439 f.

[84] S. Karginov, "Krovavaja mest' u osetin," SMOMPK, XLIV (1914), No. 3, p. 283.

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them to each other."[85] The Utsmi or Usmi were rulers of Kaitag, said to date from the Arab conquest in the eighth century or soon after.[86] The custom of the Usmi did more than merely endear the baby prince to his subjects. The inhabitants actually considered the prince their foster-brother and for him they were ready to die, for milk-relationship implied as strong a tie as that of consanguinity.[87] The anonymous *Tagebuch* (p. 59)[88] gives us another example; an Ingush "murderer of an only son flies to the mother and, dagger in hand, compels her to give him her breast. Other relatives demand blood-revenge, but the woman, whose right it is to decide, says 'now that he has sucked my breast, if you kill him I lose *two* sons,' and the murderer's life is spared."[89]

Both forms of adoption, by actual and by ceremonial breastsucking, are in full accord with the *šarî'a*. According to the Koran, iv. 27, relationship by milk constitutes an impediment as stringent as that of blood propinquity. Excluded from marriage are the woman and her adopted child; the child and all those suckled by the same woman; the child with all his descendents and the woman who suckled him with all her milk and blood relatives and those of her husband. Such kinship is known in Islamic law as *raḍâ* or *raḍâ'h*[90]

It is difficult to determine just in how far the Caucasian practice is dependent on that of Islamism. The explorers and *adat* collectors fail to tell us to what degree marriage between milk-relatives is looked upon as incestuous. In all probability the institution existed in the Caucasus long before the introduction of the Koran. It seems to be pre-Islamic for various reasons. First of all, the custom is not limited to Mohammedan Caucasians but is found among Christian tribes as well, for example in Armenia.[91] Moreover it is very difficult to imagine that a *mere* ceremony, and a *foreign* one at that, could dispense a Caucasian from the most sacred obligation of avenging the blood of a murdered relative. Anyone who has studied Caucasian customary law will admit that perhaps no *adats* are so unchangeable as those regarding blood-feuds. It is unintelligible how an imported ceremony, especially among tribes that have been converted to Islamism rather recently and then only half-heartedly, could change these almost unchangeable *adats*. Finally, relationship by milk is neither an Islamic invention nor restricted to Mohammedan countries (it is found, for example, also among the nomadic peoples of Asia); it could exist in the Caucasus independently of Mohammedanism too.

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[85] G. Ellis, *Memoir of a map of the countries comprehended between the Black Sea and the Caspian nations and vocabularies of their languages*, London, 1788, pp. 40 f.

[86] Baddeley, *The Rugged Flanks of Caucasus*, II, p. 18, note. Ellis, *l. c.*

[87] Baddeley, *l. c.*

[88] *Tagebuch einer Reise, die im Jahr 1781 von der Gränzfestung Mosdok nach dem innern Caucasus unternommen worden*, Leipzig and St. Petersburg, 1797. A certain Steder is the author.

[89] Baddeley, *op. cit.*, I, p. 262.
U. Laudaev, "Primečanija k statě čečenskoe plemja," SMOMPK, VI (1872), p. 50.

[90] Th. W. Juynboll, *Handbuch des islâmischen Gesetzes nach der Lehre der schâfiitischen Schule nebst einer allgemeinen Einleitung*, p. 219.

[91] *Baddeley, op. cit.*, I, p. 263.

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(4) The *atalyk* is a form of adoption once spread among all mountain tribes of North Caucasus,[92] the Ossetes,[93] the Tartars, e. g., the Kumyks.[94] We still find it today among the Kabardians, but the practice has become rare.[95] Soon after birth,[96] or, as some authors claimed, at the age of seven or twelve, the prince or princess is received into a noble family to be brought up by foster-parents. The prince is taught to ride, to be brave, eloquent and polite, and to steal. When he is old enough to carry arms, he returns to his father.[97] Princesses are usually poorly nourished, for slenderness may not be divorced from the dignity of a princess. She is taught by her foster-mother how to embroider, weave, make straw mats and baskets.[98] She may not be seen by her parents until her marriage, and it is the right of the foster-father to select a mate for her.[99] The *atalyk* is usually restricted to the upper classes,[100] the foster-parents being chosen from the next (lower) class.[101] The relation between the foster-child and the educator is as intimate and as sacred as actual blood-relationship, if indeed not more so. Sometimes a foster-child will take revenge on his own father to repair an injury done to his adopted family.[102] Marriage between the foster-child and a member of the educator's family are, of course, prohibited. We are unable to say to what degree: on the one hand, the older explorers failed to inquire into *adats* regarding this prohibition; while, on the other hand, the institution has practically disappeared, so that now it is impossible to ascertain the degree through new enquiries.[103] The *atalyk* is perhaps a pre-Islamic institution borrowed from the Turco-Mongols.

(5) We find several other forms of adoption in the Caucasus. Islamic law does not recognize any impediment arising from adoption, except, of course,

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[92] Ladyženskij, FT, p. 200.
M. Kovalevskij, *Coutume contemp.*, p. 191.

[93] Leontovič, II, pp. 252 f, §§ 152—160.

[94] M. Kovalevskij, *l. c.*

[95] Ladyženskij, *l. c.*

[96] P. S. Pallas, *Bemerkungen auf einer Reise in die südlichen Statthalterschaften des russischen Reichs 1793—1794*, I, p. 388;
J. Mourier, *Guide au Caucase*, Part I, p. 137;
J. Klaproth, "Voyage au Caucase," *Nouvelle Bibliotheque*, Tome XI, p. 170;
Ladyženskij, *l. c.*

[97] Ellis, *Memoir of a Map etc.*, pp. 22 f; Pallas, *l. c.*

[98] Pallas, *op. cit.*, I, p. 389.

[99] Pallas, *op. cit.*, I, p. 388 f.

[100] Ladyženskij, *l. c.* Digorian *farsagleg* class (*infra*, pp. 63 f) has the custom too; cf. Kovalevskij, *Coutume contemp.*, pp. 212 f.

[101] Leontovič, II, pp. 252 f., §§ 152—160.

[102] Ladyženskij, *l. c.*

[103] The *atalyk* was a means of reconciliation after a murder had been committed. The murderer would kidnap a child of the victim and become its foster-father, thus making revenge impossible. (Baddeley, *op. cit.*, I, p. 262; Ladyženskij, *l. c.*; Leontovič, I, p. 140; Dirr, AGKB, p. 43.) Reineggs however gives an example of such an adopted son who was constantly waiting for an opportunity to carry out his sacred obligation of vengeance, regardless of fosterage (*Allgemeine historisch-topographische Beschreibung des Kaukasus*, I, pp. 221 f.). For more about the *atalyk* see the authors cited and N. Danilewski, *Der Kaukasus*, pp. 120—125.

582 relationship by milk. As is well known, Mohammed had an adopted son, his
597 own emancipated slave named Zaid ibn Ḥāriṯah, who had a beautiful wife, at least beautiful in the eyes of the Prophet. Mohammed persuaded Zaid to divorce her and thus to make it possible for the Prophet to marry her. The faithful, however, were greatly scandalized, for the "sinless" Prophet married the wife of his "son". Mohammed seemed to have no way of extricating himself from this awkward position, but fortunately Allah had pity on him and favoured him with another revelation according to which all fosterage is sinful and non-existent. If anyone dares to call another person by the name of "father" and if that person did not actually beget him, he will infallibly be cursed by Allah and all His Angels.[104] In the Caucasus children are adopted and, as is the case with the Cherkess today, enjoy the full and equal rights of natural sons and daughters.[105] M. Kovalevskij found adoption in practice among the Ossetes. Here too the adopted son would be regarded as a true "son" who was able to perpetuate the family.[106] Formerly fictitious relationship could arise among the Cherkess by a mere pronouncement of the formula, "I adopt you," or "You are my daughter," or "You are my sister." From that moment the person adopted would have to consider the relatives of the person who pronounced the formula, as his own. A murderer could form a fictitious relationship in Ossetia by consecrating himself to his victim in a special ceremony at his grave.[107] Among the Ossetes adoption sometimes took place before the mother of the family. The person to be adopted would say to her, "From today on you are my mother; I am your son." The mother would then uncover her breast and answer, "I am your mother; you are my son."[108] As is only to be expected, adoption occurs very rarely, in fact only in extreme necessity to prevent extinction of the family. Adoption cannot be frequent because the mountaineers insist on purity of blood, and to adopt a child unnecessarily would imply giving away family property to a fictitious member.[109] Owing to the lack of data, we can only call the attention of the fieldworker to the following two problems: firstly, exactly *which* tribes consider adoption an impediment to mating; secondly, to which degree of fictitious relationship.

### 4. Disparity of Social Rank

565 We now come to the obligation of marrying exclusively within one's own
[582] social rank. But before we can begin to speak of this form of endogamy we must briefly describe the social stratification in the Caucasus.

The NORTHWESTERNERS. The *Abkhazian* society was formerly divided into four distinct classes: (1) the princes, (2) the *Chinakma*, i. e., the

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[104] Koran, xxxiii, 5. Cf. J. Henninger, *Die Familie bei den heutigen Beduinen Arabiens und seiner Randgebiete*, Leiden, 1943, p. 64. Juynboll, *op. cit.*, p. 187. R. Roberts, *Das Familien-, Sklaven- und Erbrecht im Qorân*, Leipzig, 1908, pp. 39 ff.

[105] Ladyženskij, FT, p. 202.

[106] Kovalevskij, *Coutume contemp.*, p. 203.

[107] Kovalevskij, *op. cit.*, p. 204.

[108] *ibid.*

[109] Kovalevskij, *op. cit.*, p. 203.

565 (1) The upper class, known as *uzdenleg*, the *aldars*,[146] though forming a kind of nobility, cannot be compared with the Kabardian nobles because *any* Tagaurian sib could work itself up to the top of the social ladder through wealth or number.[147] In Digoria the upper class were known as *badulyats*.

(2) The middle class people or *farsagleg* were the free tenants.

[595] (3) The *kavdassarts* were all those born of a secondary wife *(numulus)* or of a concubine. They formed what might be called a bondsmen's class.[148]

[567] (4) The slaves or *gurziag (gurdziag)* is a word derived from "a Georgian," clearly showing that the slaves were mainly prisoners taken in war and raids.

We find similar social ranking among the neighbouring TURCO-MONGOLS. The Kumyks were formerly divided into three classes: (1) the nobles of the first, second, and third order (*uzden*); (2) the bondsmen or *chagars*; (3) the slaves or *kuls*.[149] The Karachai used to be divided into four classes:[150] (1) the princes *(tav big)*; (2) nobles *(kara-uzden)*; (3) serfs *(ilgyly-kul)*; (4) slaves *(ilglysizkul)*. The Turkomans of Stavropol Government, while still nomads, were perhaps the most classless of all peoples inhabiting the Caucasus, even more so than the Alaghirs and the Chechens.[151] The Kalmucks are divided into three main social ranks: the nobles *(saisan)*, the clergy, and the commoners *(aimak)*.[152]

Now that we have learned the social ranks as they existed before the abolition of slavery in 1867, we are in a position to study the affects of social stratification on mating.

565 582 The NORTHWESTERN CAUCASIANS. We cannot help marvelling at the complicated ranking of the *Cherkess* society. When feudalism was at its height in Circassia, not only were inter-class marriages impossible, but even marriages between persons from different subdivisions of the same class and even between persons of different sub-subdivisions of the same subdivision. Thus a nobleman might not marry a girl unless her family had been raised to nobility about the same time as his.[153] A very similar situation prevailed in *Abkhazia*.[154]

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[146] They could own land and slaves.

[147] Ladyženskij, *op. cit.*, pp. 439 f.

[148] *Kavdassart* means literally "one born in a stable," while *numulus* means "a nominal or illegitimate wife."

[149] The bondsmen were originally free land-owners, who later became bondsmen by falling into debts which they were unable to pay off. As a result they became subject to their lords even much more than were the Ossetine *farsaglegs*, for the latter had the right to abandon their masters while the *chagars* enjoyed no such right.
For more about the Kumykian social ranks see Ladyženskij, *op. cit.*, pp. 33—37.

[150] For a full description of feudalism among the Karachai in the nineteenth century see E. N. Scudeneckaja, "K voprosu o feodalizme i rabstve v Karačae XIX v.," SE, 1937, No. 2—3, pp. 45.

[151] Ladyženskij, *op. cit.*, p. 443.

[152] Zichy, *Kaukázusjaes középázsiai utazásai*, p. 30. (Part I.)

[153] Reinegg, *op. cit.*, I, p. 252. Longworth, *A Year among the* Circassians, I, pp. 228, 278.

[154] P. I. Kovalevskij, *Kavkaz, Narody Kavkaza*, p. 35.

1 n [among the Tagaurians in southern Caucasia-- Analyst]

It is true that a change in this ancient and once inviolable law has since taken place.[155] However, it would be wrong to imagine that under the strong Soviet influence of today all traces of a mating inpediment have necessarily disappeared. No doubt, a mating impediment no longer exists *officially*, but it is still observed in practice.[156] 565 582

The NORTHEASTERN CAUCASIANS. The *Chechens* chose mates with practically no concern about social rank. After all they had only two classes, the free and the slaves, and the latter could easily be emancipated by paying a ransom or even by marriage itself. Not the social rank as such but an appropriate bride-price was of importance.[157]

Strictly speaking, disparity of social rank did not constitute a mating impediment among the Lesghians either. In parts of Daghestan where the society was definitely stratified, marriages between members of different classes were indeed strongly discouraged but not to the extent that they were impossible.[158] About a hundred years ago Svěčin[159] observed that "an Avar khan may marry a daughter of a *bek*, a bek may marry a daughter of an *uzden*" and a commoner may marry a slave if the latter is willing to accept Mohammedanism. Sometimes a family of an upper class marries one of their sons to a girl of a lower class or a widow in order to acquire an additional worker or to replace a hired servant.[160] It is interesting to note the similarity between the Avarian "servant-wife" and the Ossetine *numulus*. In both cases the marriage is juridically valid, although inferior. In the case of the "servant-wife" the family encourage her husband to avoid and despise her. In both cases children born of the marriage inherit the social rank of the mother. In a word, marriages between individuals of different classes, though discouraged, are not prohibited. Dubrovin assures us that such marriages were only of rare occurrence in Ossetia.[161] The following table shows the rank of a child born of such interclass unions among the Ossetes.

The TURCO-TARTARS of the Caucasus insist on equality of rank.[162] Among the Nogai interclass marriages are extremely rare.[163]

In regard to the stringency of the rule we may, in conclusion, divide the entire Caucasus into three zones: (1) an Abkhaz-Cherkess-Georgian zone, (2) a Chechen zone and (3) a Lesghian zone. The most feudalistic society existed in the first zone and it was there that the impediment of disparity of social rank was insisted upon most of all. The "Chechen Zone" was the most classless

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[155] Baddeley, *op. cit.*, II, p. 225.

[156] As Ladyženskij observed in 1927: "So z. B. sind wohl die Stände abgeschafft, aber einer der Beamten des Aulispolkom wurde entlassen, weil einer seiner Verwandten sich mit einer armen ehemaligen Adeligen verheiratet hatte... Klassenzugehörigkeit wird noch mit Standeszugehörigkeit verwechselt." (Ladyženskij, FT, pp. 191 f.)

[157] *Infra*, pp. 83 ff.

[158] Kovalevskij, *Zakon*, II, pp. 169 f.

[159] "Očerk narodonaselenija, nravov i obyčaev Dagestancev," ZKO, II (1853), pp. 54—65.

[160] N. L'vov, "Domašnjaja si semjnaja žizn etc.," p. 19.

[161] *Istorija*, Tome I, Bk. I, p. 329.

[162] In regard to Kumyks see Dubrovin, *Istorija*, Tome I, Bk. I, p. 637, and Gadži-Magoma-Debirov, "Dagestanskija predanija i suevěrija," SMOMPK, IV (1884), No. 2, p. 31.

[163] Dubrovin, *Istorija*, Tome I, Bk. I, p. 277.

**TABLE 7 ***

**Social Rank of Ossete Child of an Interclass Marriage**

565
582
[858]

| Mother → / Father ↓ Child ↘ | *uzden* | *farsagleg* | *kavdassart* | *gurziag* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| *uzden* | uzden | kavdassart | kavdassart | gurziag |
| *farsag.* | farsagleg | farsagleg | farsagleg | gurziag |
| *kavdass.* | kavdassart | kavdassart | kavdassart | gurziag? ** kavdassart? |
| *gurziag* | gurziag | gurziag (in Tagaursk child free) | gurziag | gurziag |

* This table is based on data found in Kovalevskij's *Coutume contemp.*, pp. 202 f.

** Is it gurziag or kavdassart? There seems to be a contradiction: on page 202 Kovalevskij maintains: "Ne peut naître d'un père kavdassard qu'un kavdassard, quelle que soit sa mère... Les kavdassards peuvent acheter et posseder les gourziaks qu'ils ont achetés; mais les enfants de ces gourziaks seront kavdassards, et appartiendront au propriétaire du kavdassard, c'est-a-dire, à l'ouzdanelag." On page 203 we find: "Les fils et les fille d'une esclave sont toujours esclaves, et, commes tels, dépourvus de tout droit."

(and here we may also include the majority of the Ossete tribes) and least insistent on marriages exclusively within one's own class. In fact we can almost say that the prohibition is non-existent in Chechnia and in the greater part of Ossetia. The "Lesghian Zone" occupies a middle position between these two extremes.

### 5. Other Forms of Endogamy and Exogamy

562 We do not maintain to have exhausted the possibilities of endogamy-exogamy regulations. These possibilities, however, have been more or less overlooked by the explorers. We refer, for examples, to the marriage impediments arising from disparity of occupation, disparity of cult, disparity of nationality. We know, for instance, that the Kabardians freely intermarry with the Russians and Karachai,[164] and that they marry any non-Cherkess, especially if the other party is a Mohammedan or is willing to accept the Islamic religion,[165] but is that the situation everywhere in the Caucasus? Till more fieldwork is done, such questions will have to remain unanswered. Midwives are sometimes [608] considered related to the new-born, but we do not know how widespread the custom actually is. In regard to the impediment of disparity of cult we know that the Koran, ii. 20 f admonishes the Muslim: "Marry not a heathen woman before she be converted: a believing slave is much better even if she doth not please thee... The heathen woman will lead thee to hell, but Allah calleth thee to Paradise..." How strictly do the Islamic Caucasians observe this precept? There are doubtless many more lacunae that only the trained and exact fieldworker can fill.

[164] Ladyženskij, FT, p. 191.

[165] Ladyženskij, FT, p. 198

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## § 3. OTHER MATING IMPEDIMENTS

### 1. Age

We are aware of no adat in North Caucasia prescribing marriage within one's own age class, nor does any adat establish a minimum marriage age. Islamic law sets no minimum age either. Mohammed himself did not hesitate to marry a six-year-old girl.[166] Marriage is, therefore, possible *(de jure)* at all ages. The following table indicates the *usual* marriage age. 582

**TABLE 8**

**The Usual Marriage Age**

| Peoples | | Approximate age of | | Sources |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | groom | bride | |
| Northwest. | Abkhaz and Cherkess | In mts. 18—25; elsewhere earlier. | In mts. 15—20; elsewhere earlier. | Ladyženskij, FT, 196. Castagné, 258. Vasil'kov, p. 89. |
| Northeast. | Chechens | 20 | | Jakovlev, *Ingušli*, 48. |
| | | 17 | 12—15 | Dubrovin, I, i, 427. |
| | Lesghians (Avars) | 15 | 15 | L'vov, 17. |
| Southerners | Khevsurs | very young! 14? | 20 and above | Hahn, *Bilder aus K.*, p. 82. |
| | Tushi | 14—15 | 20—25 | Byhan, 114. |
| | Pshavs | 20—40 | 20—30 | Makalatija*, 100. |
| | Other Georgians. | Formerly 15; today 16 and over | 13—14 | Byhan, 81. Mtavriev**, 149. |
| OSSETES | | 25 | 19 | Hahn, op. cit., 40. |
| | | minimum infancy | minimum 13—14 | Dubois de Montpéreux, IV, 449. |
| KUMYKS | | | 15 | Semenov, 68. |

* S. I. Makalatija, "Iz starogo narodnogo byta pšavov," SE, 1938, No. 1, pp. 98—117.

** Th. Mtavriev, "Prostonarodnaja svad'ba v Kakhetii," SMOMPK, XXXI (1902), No. 3, pp. 149—160.

[166] Juynboll, *op. cit.*, pp. 22 f.

582 The NORTHWESTERN CAUCASIANS. No one will take it amiss if an old Kabardian marries a young girl. Although the Cherkess tribes along the coast of the Black Sea strongly discourage such pairing, disparity of age is not considered a marriage impediment.[167] While on his expedition in Circassia in 1927, Ladyženskij found no case of a young *man* marrying an old lady.[168]

Taking the Avars as an example of the NORTHEASTERNERS—marriages between rich old men of 50 to 60 and girls of 12 were not uncommon in the last part of the nineteenth century.[169]

Although neither customary nor Islamic law establish an absolute minimum age,[170] the *adats* sometime determine a *relative* marriage age. Thus a young man sometimes may not marry before his older brother, as is the case, for example among the Chechens[171] and the Cherkess.[172] Only if his brother happens to be far from home and gives his explicit permission, may he marry. Anyone acting contrary to this customary law would *ipso facto* lose all rights to the family inheritance. In spite of this heavy sanction, the bride-price *(kalym)* would be paid for the offender and the marriage would be considered valid. The *adats* of the Cherkess are even stricter about girls marrying before their older sisters. To marry without her parents' permission before her older sister would bring upon her the curse of the family; in fact, they would even refuse the "filthy" brideprice. The motive behind these customs is to assure a marriage for the older members of the family before they become too old.[172a]

[428]

### 2. Debt as an Impediment

[426] According to the adat collection of the Dzher, Kist, Galgai, Tsori, Ingushi and Karabulak tribes a father may not give his daughter in marriage to anyone before he receives permission from his creditor.[173]

### 3. The Obligation of Proving One's Bravery before Marriage

171 582 Baddeley informs us of another very peculiar marriage impediment. "In Dzedo-land, formerly, no man would give his daughter or sister in marriage to a suitor who had not at least one Georgian right hand or arm nailed to the wall of his dwelling."[174] This was, no doubt, intended as a proof of the lover's mettle before the father of the girl would give his consent.[175] Such tests as a *conditio sine qua non* for marriage are found throughout the world, sometimes

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[167] Ladyženskij, FT, pp. 196 f. Castagné, *op. cit.*, p. 259.

[168] Ladyženskij, *op. cit.*, p. 196.

[169] L'vov, "Domašnjaja i semejnaja žizn etc.," p. 20 *note*.

[170] This is especially evidenced by the widespread practice of infant betrothal and marriage in the North Caucasus and neighbourhood (*infra*, pp. 76, 78 ff).

[171] Erckert, *Der Kaukasus*, p. 138.

[172] Ladyženskij, *op. cit.*, p. 196.

[172a] *ibid.*

[173] Leontovič, II, p. 115, § 8.

[174] Baddeley, *The Rugged Flanks of Caucasus*, II, p. 81.

[175] This seems to have been a shortlived observance.

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consisting merely in killing a wild animal (*e. g.*, the Yukaghir) or sometimes in killing a man (*e. g.*, the Yoruba of West Africa).[176] Taibout de Marigny[177] describes how a Cherkess maiden would ridicule her would-be lover with the taunt "Why you haven't even stolen a cow yet and you want to marry me." And Herodotus, speaking of the Sauromatians, the probable ancestors of the Ossetes, informs us that the virgins could not marry till they had killed at least one enemy, or according to Hippocrates, three.[178] The Ossetine poet, Kosta Chetagurov, describes a custom of the nineteenth century according to which the suitor would have to live with his future bride's family from two to four weeks, during which time he would have to convince them that he is a true gentleman, clever, and reliable, in a word, possessing all qualities expected of a good husband.[179]

### 4. Impediments of Physical and Mental Deficiency

In Circassia venereal diseases, insanity, and impotency impede marriage.[180] The extent of these and similar impediments have unfortunately not yet been investigated.

### 5. Impediment of Divorce and Widowhood

The incapacity of a divorcée to contract a second marriage is indeed a very rare impediment and is usually only temporary. We find such an impediment in Armenia and in Khevsuria, and of these two cases we shall speak at length when treating the Caucasian divorce laws. A refusal to enter upon a levirate marriage may entail such an impediment (*infra*, pp. 71 f). In parts of Caucasus where Islamic law prevails there is of course the temporary prohibition for widows and divorcées to marry before their "waiting period" (*'iddah*) is over. When a husband dies, the widow is obliged to wait at least four months and ten days before she may remarry (Koran, ii. 234). A divorcée may not remarry before she has had three menstruations (*ḳurû*); in the case of older women, the *'iddah* is set at three months.[181]

Although customary law does not prohibit second marriages, they are looked upon everywhere in the Caucasus as inferior. The bride-price is considerably smaller and the nuptials take place without the customary solemnities.[182]

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[176] Cf. Briffault for other examples, *The Mothers*, II, pp. 184 f.

[177] *Voyage en Circassie 1835*, p. 55.

[178] Baddeley, *op. cit.*, I, p. 13, *note* 1.

[179] N. F. Takoeva, "Kosta Chetagurov—narodnyj poet osetin etnograf-kavkazoved," SE, 1949, No. 2, p. 125.

[180] Ladyženskij, FT, p. 199.

[181] Koran, ii. 228; lxv. 4. Cf. Juynboll, *op. cit.*, p. 222.

[182] *Infra*, pp. 121, 131.
See also O. Karanailov, "Aul Coch," SMOMPK, IV (1884), No. 2, p. 16. Vasil'kov, "Očerk byta temirgoevcev," SMOMPK, XXIX (1901), No. 1, p. 102.

### 6. Impediment Arising from Failure to Carry Out an Obligation of Vengeance

628 Vengeance is a sacred obligation among all the Mountain Tribes of Caucasus.
614 If a member of the sib is murdered or killed accidentally,[183] if a member of the family is raped or abducted, if the sacred hearth-chain is violated, or if the sib is offended seriously in any other way, the injured party incurs the strict and sacred obligation of vengeance. Self-defense calls for vengeance, for in the eyes of the mountaineers there is no competent authority common to the offender and the offended, who might compel the culprit's sib to repair the injury done. The blood of the victim, self-respect, and respect for the ancestors call for vengeance. Usually the nearest male relative of the victim has the obligation to kill the offender or one or more of his sib, depending on the local *adat*. Although the vendetta has become more a thing of the past, it still does occur now and then in our own days. Even today reconciliation (bloodwite) is regarded as a disgraceful exchange for the noble blood of a member of the family and at [582] times is refused.[184] Blood calls for blood alone! Even today, if a young mountaineer fails to carry out his sacred obligation of avenging an enemy (regardless of Soviet laws), he may have to remain single for the rest of his life, for no respectable girl would wish to marry him.[185]

[672] [183] If a passer-by is killed by a stone kicked down a cliff by a sheep or goat, the owner of the animal becomes the blood-enemy *(qanly)* of the victim's sib. For other examples of similar customary laws see Dirr, AGKB, p. 107. Even in our own days accidents may be punished by death. See A. H. Günther, "Zusammenstöße zwischen Gesetz und Gewohnheitsrecht im nördlichen Kaukasus," *Zeitschr. f. vergl. Rechtw.*, XLVI (1931), pp. 332 ff.

[184] Günther, *op. cit.*, p. 329.

[185] Günther, *op. cit.*, p. 327. For blood-feuds in the Caucasus see the works of Dirr and Günther just cited, S. Karginov, "Krovavaja mest' u Osetin," SMOMPK, XLIV (1914), No. 3, and Berže, *Čečnja i Čečency*.

# Chapter III

# Preferential Mating

## § 1. DESCRIPTION

Cross-cousin marriages, levirate and sororate are all preferential marriages. 582
By "preferential," however, we do not mean "optional." "Preferential" means "having a precedence" which may be optional or obligatory.

These three forms of preferential marriages are not the only forms known to man. There is, for example, another form, found in the Caucasus itself, the "step-mother marriages," and still others are possible.

The NORTHWEST CAUCASIANS. The *Cherkess* were still Christians 587
when Interiano wrote of them, "It sometimes happens that a native will kill his brother and then will immediately become the bedmate of the widow."[1] Olearius describes the levirate as practiced during the reign of King Alexander Michailovič (c. 1650).

According to Circassian *adats* levirate was obligatory at least for the widow. In the collection of customary laws of the Black Sea, Kuban and Terek Territories we learn that the widow was indeed obliged to marry the brother of her deceased husband, but only "if his brother so wished." If he insisted on taking her to wife, her only means of escape was to pledge herself for life to the care of her children, and thus to remain unmarried.[2]

The NORTHEASTERN CAUCASIAN. Count Potocki described the custom in his *Voyage dans les pays du Caucase* (1798) and adds the interesting remark that not only must the brother of the deceased man marry the widow but also a step-son must marry all his step-mothers. "After the death of the father," Potocki informs us, "his sons marry all his wives, except their own mother, whom one of the step-brothers marries. The Chechens reproach them for this infamous custom, but the Ingushi answer quite unconcernedly, 'My father was allowed to lie with my mother, why then may I not lie with his wife?'"[3] This "infamous custom" exists likewise among the neighbouring Daghestanians.[4] An *adat* dating from 1860 expressly states that in the Ingush Province "a widow was *bound* to marry her brother-in-law or another relative of the

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[1] Cited by R. Erdkert, *Der Kaukasus*, p. 67.

[2] Leontovič, II, p. 254, § 171. The levirate is no longer obligatory (Dubrovin, *Istorija*, I, i, i, p. 170).

[3] Cited by Ladyženskij, FT, p. 186. See Potocki, *Voyage dans les steps d'Astrakhan et du Caucase*, II, p. 127.

[4] Cf. F. Nansen, *Through the Caucasus to the Volga*, p. 104.

p.71

# Chapter IV

# Freedom of Choice

000 After we have shown which individuals are regarded as possible mates, we arrive at the second fundamental question: Who has the decisive word in selecting a definite mate from among the many possible ones? We shall have to answer such questions as: "Has the couple the decisive word?" "Has the young man more to say about his partner than the girl about hers?"

## § 1. THE RIGHT TO CHOOSE A MATE IN THEORY AND PRACTICE

584 The NORTHWEST CAUCASIANS, the Abkhaz and the Cherkess, regard [581] marriage as a family affair. It is not a contract between two *individuals* but between two *families*, joint-families or sibs. The male head of the household has the right to marry off his child to whomsoever he wishes.[1] He has the sole *right*; whether he *uses* that right or not is an entirely different matter.

When speaking about the actual practice we must make the necessary temporal and local distinctions. Before the Revolution the Kabardians, contrary to Hahn's superficial observations,[2] paid little attention to the wishes of their daughters, whereas the Shapsugs, Abadzekhs, and Bzhedukhs generally considered the girl's preferences and even tried to act accordingly. After the Revolution (1920), the Soviet régime refused to recognize any marriage unless it had been entered upon freely. To a large extent this legislation had the desired results, but not entirely, for compulsory marriages still occur today.[3]

Since there is less family interest in the girl than in the boy (the girl is married off into a *strange* family), it is not surprising that more consideration is given the future groom than the bride. But we do not wish to say that the preferences of the male children are always regarded more than those of the [582] female. Infant betrothal[4] has always been possible in Circassia and therefore there is no question of male children having a *right* to choose their mates. *De jure* both sexes are on the same level; *de facto* the wishes of the boys are generally complied with more than those of the girls.[5]

142 One can hardly pick up a book on the Cherkess without coming across a 583 paragraph or two about the unusual beauty of their women. Some authors go

[1] V. V. Vasil'kov, "Očerk byta temirgoevcev," SMOMPK, XXIX (1901), No. 1, p. 99.

[2] C. Hahn, *Kaukasische Reisen und Studien*, p. 39. The questioning of the bride was a mere formality.

[3] Ladyženskij, FT, p. 197. Castagné, *op. cit.*, 1929, No. 2, p. 259.

[4] N. Dubrovin, *Istorija*, I, i, p. 139.

[5] Ladyženskij, *l. c.*

p. 76 1 [sic -- Analyst]

turn, must have stimulated the entire family to watch most carefully over the conduct of their daughters; and this watchfulness, again, must have been responsible for *adats* threatening the girl as well as any lover with the most severe sanctions not only for an actual perforation of the hymen but also, as the *adats* frequently express it, for any "suspicious approach."[109] 585 896

There have been other explanations offered for the virginity test. Westermarck, for instance, suggested masculine jealousy.[110] But this explanation is not applicable to the peoples of North Caucasia, for, as we have already mentioned, the sexual factor has very little significance in the selection of mates compared to the all-important economic, social, and religious factors. Such a jealousy, where mutual attraction matters so little, is unthinkable.[111] [152]

(6) The custom of the bride thrice walking round the fireplace is an ancient wedding ceremony frequently found among pastoral tribes. As is well known, it was also the custom of the ancient Indo-Europeans. That one of the main wedding ceremonies in the Caucasus should take place at the fireplace is quite in keeping with the deep religious significance of the hearth. Among a large number of Caucasian mountain tribes, especially in North Ossetia, Ingushetia, and Daghestan, we find the custom of never allowing the fire in the hearth to die out, this practice being a form of cult for the dead.[112] The fire and especially the chain above it constitute a connection between the living and the departed. It forms a sacred asylum for any murderer, because as soon as he touches the chain the ancestors of the victim approve of the murderer's adoption into the family. The chain is the symbol of the family: to tear it down is regarded as one of the most abominable crimes imagineable, an insult to the living and dead members of the sib, which must be punished with death. The chain is a symbol of the family and therefore it must be buried with the last member of an extinct sib. To swear by the hearth-chain is an infallible sign that the person is saying the truth, for to do so falsely is unthinkable.[113] Such an oath would be a curse upon the entire sib and their ancestors. In other words, the ancient solidarity of the sib is intimately connected with the ancient religion of the North Caucasians, and the sanctuary of this religion is the hearth. Now, marriage is an act by which a stranger is taken into the family, and one of the most natural means, most in harmony with the ancient Caucasian form of life, is the hearth and hearth-chain. It is indeed striking that in Daghestan the cult of the fireplace still exists today but not the wedding ceremony. This fact confirms rather than disproves our explanation, for in Daghestan the wife was not a stranger: she had to be chosen from within the sib! (Cf. *supra*, pp. 51 f.) 585 614 [778] [769] [372] [605] [189] 582

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[109] *Infra*, Chapter XII, p. 176.

[110] The History of Marriage, I, p. 163.

[111] The jealousy would have to be so great that the disappointed husband would insist that the bride's nose be cut off or that she be otherwise mutilated and even killed, for such are the ancient adats!

[112] Günther, "Zusammenstöße zwischen Gesetz und Gewohnheitsrecht im nördlichen Kaukasus," *Zeitschrift f. vergl. Rechtsw.*, XLVI (1931), p. 324.

[113] *ibid.*

1 [sic--Analyst]

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Summing up the results of our comparitive[1] study we may say : 586

(1) It seems that at one time divorce was an exclusive right of the husband, almost everywhere in North Caucasus.

(2) Throughout the Caucasus, the husband has the right to dismiss his wife *at will*. The most arbitrary divorces are recognized by customary law as valid.

(3) The *adats* always make a distinction between a merely *valid* divorce and a divorce that is both valid and *justifiable*.

(4) Although the divorce rights enjoyed by the women do not equal those enjoyed by the men, the rights of the former have greatly increased, mainly through Islamic and Russian influence.

(5) The inequality lies mainly in the grounds which render a divorce justifiable.

(6) After a divorce the children remain with the father. In a word, the divorce laws are again typical of a patriarchal society.

In conclusion, it may be interesting to note how the fireplace, which played such an important part in the marriage ceremonies of the North Caucasians, is not overlooked when a marriage is dissolved. By walking round the hearth three times, the new bride got in touch with the groom's ancestors and thus officially became a member of the household. Though the fireplace ceremony is very rare in Northeastern Caucasia, it seems to play an important part in the dissolution of marriage. Thus in certain localities of Daghestan, when a woman is declared divorced, she goes to the hearth, takes a handful of ashes and throws them into the wind.[44] It may very well be that the relation of the fireplace and divorce has been overlooked by the explorers. By scattering the ashes she is perhaps trying to undo what she did by walking round the fireplace on her wedding day or shortly after. Even though the two practices may not coincide today (i. e., locally), the possibility that they did coexist formerly is not excluded. [778]

Finally, a word about an institution closely resembling divorce, mentioned by J. G. Georgi in his *Beschreibung aller Nationen des russischen Reichs, ihrer Lebensart, Religion, Gebräuche, Wohnungen, Kleidung und übrigen Merkwürdigkeiten* (1776) which includes among the "Merkwürdigkeiten" the so-called *trial marriages* of the Cherkess. Within a given time the wife had to prove her fertility, otherwise the union would be dissolved. Recently similar temporary or trial marriages have been discovered in Ossetia.[45] 582

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[44] Cf. Kovalevskij, Zakon, II, p. 201.

[45] Ladyženskij, "Zur Erforschung der Rechtsgewohnheiten der Bergvölker des Kaukasus," *Zeitsch. f. Ethnologie*, LXII (1930), p. 232, *note* 1.

[1] [Sic -- Analyst]

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837 to the general rule. This village is inhabited by a degraded Avarian tribe or,
836 as Baddeley suggests, "perhaps the remnant of an older race absorbed by the
574 latter."[81] But even here, among this "degraded" Avarian tribe, the girl "might only be touched from waist upwards; in Shamyl's time a too-ardent lover was stabbed to death, for a breach of this adat, by his own beloved, and the deed was not only not punished but even greatly applauded."[82]

836 There are also similar conflicting reports regarding the neighbouring mountain tribes of Georgia. Klaproth, for instance, speaking of the Tushi, says, "Le commerce illicite entre les deux sexes est très rare chez eux . . ."[83] Klaproth's claim is in full accord with the severe penalties for fornication as described by Baddeley: "If a girl was unchaste, she was set upon a donkey, face to tail, and carried through the 'aoul', spat upon and jeered at." He goes on to say that "if a girl had a child, she was driven out of the community and the child killed, unless some charitable person took pity on it. A young man could not marry a girl once seduced by another man, but an old man or widower might."[84] Other reports, however, maintain the very contrary and say that the mountain tribes of Georgia are extremely lax. A few distinctions will, I believe, clarify these contradictions. The Khevsurs[85] and the Pshavs[86] have an institution called *tsatsali*, that is, "brother" or "sister" but actually legal lovers. It is only freedom with non-*tsatsalis* and pregnancy that seems to have been discountenanced by these tribes. As long as the girl restricted her relations to her *tsatsali* and avoided pregnancy she was "chaste." One of the main reasons for the
[582] relatively late marriage age among the mountain tribes of Georgia (*supra*, p. 67) is this institution.[87]

### 4. Relation of Penalties for Sexual Offenses to the Economic and Social Organization of the Caucasian Mountaineers

182 All that we have said about the severity of the penal laws of the North
687 Caucasians is in perfect harmony with their general economic and social organization. It is a known fact that lower hunters discountenance sexual liberty more than the higher hunters; the lower agrarians more than the higher; the pastoralists more than the agrarians; the father-right family more than the mother-right.[88] Our North Caucasians have a strongly pastoral and father-right organization.

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[81] Baddeley, *op. cit.*, II, p. 13.

[82] *ibid.* Baddeley's source is Komarov's article "Adaty i sudoproizvodstvo po nim," SSKG, I, p. 57. Dubrovin, *Istorija*, I, i, p. 564 has the incident too, but he fails to mention his source.

[83] Klaproth, *Voyage au Mont Caucase et en Géorgie*, II, p. 72.

[84] Baddeley, *op. cit.*, I, p. 237.

[85] Kovalevskij, "La famille matriarcale au Caucase," *L'Anthropologie*, IV (1893), p. 273.

[86] Makalatija, "Iz starogo narodnogo byta Pšavov," SE, 1938, No. 1, p. 98.

[87] Since the *tsatsali* in Pshavia are always chosen from among relatives and marriage is possible only between non-relatives, marriage would mean that the two would have to separate and love another person, a fact that makes them reluctant to marry. In fact, they sometimes do not marry at all. For a detailed exposition of the institution, see Makalatija, *op. cit.*, pp. 98—102.

[88] H. Günther, *Formen und Urgeschichte der Ehe*, p. 90.

8: Lužbetak E-4 (no date) 1951 RH1 Caucasia RH1

# IV. CONCLUSION

## Chapter XIV

## Conclusion

### § 1. MARRIAGE AND THE FAMILY OF THE CAUCASIANS IN THE LIGHT OF HISTORY

#### 1. Russian (Soviet and Pre-Soviet) Influence

That the Russian military, political, and cultural influence has greatly affected, changed and unified, the marriage and family customs of the various peoples of the Caucasus cannot be denied. We need but recall some of the many facts we have pointed out in our comparative study. 177.58 583

(1) The Russians, we have seen, severely prosecute *polygyny* (*supra*, p. 39) and not without success. The relative scarcity of polygamous unions throughout North Caucasus and the neighbourhood, regardless of how ethnically different the tribes may be, must be attributed, at least in part, to Russian legislation. 177.59 595

(2) In recent times both mates have begun to enjoy greater *freedom of choice*, (*supra*, p. 76), thanks to the Russian insistance on freedom in mating as a *conditio sine qua non* for a legally valid marriage. [584]

(3) We have also observed how rapidly *bride purchase* was disappearing or assuming an entirely different significance throughout the Caucasus, again, at least in part, owing to Russian legislation, industrialization, and education (*supra*, pp. 83, 87, 90). [583]

(4) *Bride price*, *bloodwite*, etc. were formerly measured in cows, horses, sheep, and oxen, but now they are measured in money : not in live stock but in Russian rubles ! (*Supra*, pp. 82—89, 95, 168—179).

(5) The Russian opposition to *bride capture* has helped to make the practice become rare (*supra*, pp. 97 f). It was Russian positive law gaining ascendency over the *patria potestas* and its insistance on freedom of choice that encouraged and even defended elopement (*supra*, p. 98).

(6) The general disappearance of slavery and the associated sociological consequences, e. g., *the marriage impediments*, [582] [561]

(7) the *less severe penalties for sex crimes* which are gradually being adopted by all tribes of Caucasia (*supra*, pp. 175, 180). 177.68 684

(8) and the improvement in the *status of the female sex*, all must be reckoned among the effects of Russian and Soviet influence. 177.56 562

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# MARRIAGE

C. G. 585 The marriage customs of the Georgians are regulated by Christianity. The wedding rites go back to the ceremony of the Byzantine court: crowns are held over the heads of bride and groom, who are addressed as "queen" and "king." After the ceremony in the church the wedding is celebrated publicly in the house of the bride; the feast may last several days. Then the bride is brought to the house of the groom in a noisy procession on horseback. She is welcomed by her mother-in-law, who puts a lump of sugar or other sweets into her mouth; then she is led around the hearth, and a male child is put on her knees to ensure fecundity. The Georgian mountaineers (especially the Khevsur) have to a certain extent preserved customs similar to those found among the N. Caucasian mountaineers.

C. 583 The marriage customs of the North-Caucasian peoples (including the Ossetes) were only to a minor extent influenced by Islam or Christianity, and preserved older traits. In the whole area from the N. W. to the Andi-Dido region in Dagestan, there are clear traces of a tradition of acquiring brides by capture and abduction. At the same time, in the whole N. Caucasus the custom of paying a bride price (R. kalym) prevailed. Originally, the C. 581 personal preference of the girl was not taken into account at all, the marriage being arranged by her family on the basis of social or

581 economic considerations. In more recent times, under the influence of Islam, Christianity, and also of the Soviet regime, it has become a more important factor.

583 The mixture of various traditions can be exemplified by the Circassian usages. It was customary for the suitor, with the help of his comrades, to abduct his bride from the house of her parents. Often the kalym had been agreed upon beforehand, but the family of the bride nevertheless put up a token of resistance against the abduction. In cases where the family was against the marriage, elopement was not uncommon. A night spent 582 by the girl with her abductor made her his lawful wife according to the Circassian adat; later, a marriage contract drawn up by the mullah gave the marriage its legal sanction; now, marriages are regulated by Soviet law.

In Dagestan, local endogamy is observed more or less strictly; in the rest of the N. Caucasus, and also among the Georgian mountaineers, exogamous rules prevail. [587] Formerly, the levirate and stepmother-inheritance were widespread among the Caucasian mountaineers; there was also a strong insistance upon marrying within one's social rank.

585 Among all the Caucasian mountaineers observing exogamy, there existed a variety of avoidance rules. E.g., the bridegroom would hide during the wedding feast and afterwards only secretly visit his wife, who after

8: Lužbetak E-4 (no date) 1951 RHl Caucasia RHl



This deficiency of female mates is certainly one of the main reasons for the infrequency of polygyny despite the great value placed on the institution. 162

The statistics given for Chechnia reveal a similar situation. And, according to Vertepov, the disproportion was especially great in Ingushetia, 115 men to every 100 women.[37] This is indeed striking because Grabovskij claimed, as we have seen, that plural marriages were "very frequent" in the last quarter of the nineteenth century.[38] "Many" Ingushi had two wives and sometimes three.[39] Even "poor" Ingushi had additional wives.[40] The frequent cases of polygyny in Ingushetia in spite of the unusual surplus of men can perhaps be explained by the strict obligation of the widow to marry her deceased husband's brother. According to Kovalevskij, the levirate among the Chechens was, practically speaking, an obligation, whereas among the Lesghians it was facultative (*infra*, pp. 71 f). Levirate would also explain why even "poor" Ingushi were polygynists; it would also explain why "many" Ingushi had more than one wife. 595 [587]

The sex ratio of the Lesghians, as presented in our statistics, differs somewhat from that of the rest of the Caucasians. Here, in Daghestan, we do have districts with a preponderance of female sex, but it must be noted, the difference is so small that the surplus women could hardly make polygyny a frequent practice. Thus the Avar, Andi, Gunib, Dargwa, Kazikumuk, Kurin and Samur provinces all have practically a 100:100 ratio. The Kaitago-Tabassaran Province has the highest proportion in favour of women, but the difference 100:105 is insignificant. Hence, the balance between the male and female population is a contributing factor to the infrequency of polygyny.[41]

But besides this biological reason there is the universally valid economic reason. Supposing that there were a surplus of women in the Caucasus, there would still be great financial difficulties that would prevent polygyny from becoming general. The poor Caucasian considers himself quite fortunate if he manages to gather enough jingling rubles or mooing cows to purchase one wife, let alone a second or a third.[42] In fact, even the rich Caucasian would find it difficult to purchase a second wife, because the bride price always corresponds to the economic and social position of the contracting parties. Ladyženskij expressly maintains that what keeps the Kabardian and the Cherkess in general 595 583

[37] G. Vertepov, "Inguši," *Terskij Sbornik*, II (1892), No. 2, p. 99.

[38] Grabovskij, "Ekonomičeskij i domašnij byt žitelej gorskago učastka Inguševskago okruga," SSKG, III (1870), p. 21. Dubrovin is of the same opinion: *Istorija*, Tome I, Bk. I, p. 430.

[39] Grabovskij, *l. c.*

[40] Grabovskij, *l. c.*

[41] In 1926 the sex ratio for Daghestan was practically a perfect balance, 100:103 in favor of the female sex (383,000 males to 405,000 females). F. Nansen, *Through the Caucasus to the Volga*, p. 96.
According to official statistics of 1930 there were more men than women living in the *cities* of Daghestan (1,000 men to 931 women); in the country the proportion was 1,000 men to 1,048 women. R. Kherumian, "Contribution à l'Anthropologie du Caucase," *L'Anthropologie*, LII (1948), No. 1—2, p. 44.
It seems to be quite natural that the city population should show a preponderance of male sex: a considerable portion of the city population are labourers and merchants from various parts of Caucasia, Russia, and Armenia.

[42] A. Ladyženskij, FT, p. 195.

595 from polygyny is, above all, a shortage of rubles.[43] The same holds for the
593 Avars,[44] and, as we learn from Svěčin,[45] for the other Lesghians as well: the economic factor plays an important part in making polygyny relatively rare. Klaproth found the institution a veritable luxury in Ossetia, being only for the richest of the rich,[46] in full harmony with the Ossetine *adats* which reserve the right for the two richest classes, the princes and the *aldars*.[47] Grabovskij's
[587] report[48] that even the *poor* Ingushi were polygamists we have partially explained by obligatory levirate, which was just as much obligatory for the rich as for
[565] the poor. Moreover social stratification (which generally coincides with wealth and poverty) was practically non-existent during Grabovskij's visit in Ingushetia (*infra*, pp. 60 f); therefore, if polygyny is to be found among the Ingushi at all, it must be found also among the "poor" class.

[586] Easy divorce may do away with plural marriages as it did in Khevsuria and Svanetia, but in North Caucasia easy divorce plays only a very insignificant rôle compared with economic and biological factors.

## § 2. THE RULES OF ENDOGAMY AND EXOGAMY

000 Lowie defines exogamy as "the rule which prescribes that an individual must find a mate outside of his own group, whether that group be the family, the village or some other social unit."[49] The opposite rule "which makes it compulsory for a man to mate within his group is labeled endogamy." Lowie rightly stresses that it is not the *de facto* marriage within one's own group but the *prohibition* of marrying outside it that constitutes endogamy.[50]

### 1. The Impediment of Consanguinity

582 Consanguineous marriages are strictly prohibited throughout NORTH-
[614] WEST Caucasus. In his expedition of 1927 Ladyženskij ascertained that the reports of earlier writers about the abhorrence of incest among the tribes of Northwest Caucasia still exists today. Marriages between members of the same sib, regardless of the degree of remoteness, are considered incestuous.[51]

671 Among the NORTHEASTERN peoples the practice is not uniform. Ing-
582 ushian adats are by far stricter than Islamic law in regard to marriages between

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[43] *ibid.*

[44] L'vov, "Domašnjaja i semejnaja žizn Dagestanskich gorcev avarskago plemeni," SSKG, III (1870), p. 20.

[45] D. Svěčin, "Očerk narodonaselenija nravov, i obyčaev Dagestancev," ZKO, II (1853), p. 64.

[46] J. Klaproth, *Voyage au Mont Caucase et en Géorgie*, II, p. 249.

[47] *Leontovič, Adaty kavkazskich gorcev*, II, p. 12, § 10; p. 14, § 27; p. 16, § 40.

[48] "Ekonomičeskij i domašnij byt žitelej gorskago učastka inguševskago okruga," SSKG, III (1870), p. 21.

[49] R. Lowie, *Primitive Society*, p. 16.

[50] *op. cit.*, pp. 16 f.

[51] J. Reineggs, *Allgemeine historisch-topographische Beschreibung des Kaukasus*, II, p. 9; Ladyženskij, FT, p. 198.

# Chapter IV

# Freedom of Choice

000 After we have shown which individuals are regarded as possible mates, we arrive at the second fundamental question: Who has the decisive word in selecting a definite mate from among the many possible ones? We shall have to answer such questions as: "Has the couple the decisive word?" "Has the young man more to say about his partner than the girl about hers?"

## § 1. THE RIGHT TO CHOOSE A MATE IN THEORY AND PRACTICE

584 [581] The NORTHWEST CAUCASIANS, the Abkhaz and the Cherkess, regard marriage as a family affair. It is not a contract between two *individuals* but between two *families*, joint-families or sibs. The male head of the household has the right to marry off his child to whomsoever he wishes.[1] He has the sole *right*; whether he *uses* that right or not is an entirely different matter.

When speaking about the actual practice we must make the necessary temporal and local distinctions. Before the Revolution the Kabardians, contrary to Hahn's superficial observations,[2] paid little attention to the wishes of their daughters, whereas the Shapsugs, Abadzekhs, and Bzhedukhs generally considered the girl's preferences and even tried to act accordingly. After the Revolution (1920), the Soviet régime refused to recognize any marriage unless it had been entered upon freely. To a large extent this legislation had the desired results, but not entirely, for compulsory marriages still occur today.[3]

Since there is less family interest in the girl than in the boy (the girl is married off into a *strange* family), it is not surprising that more consideration is given the future groom than the bride. But we do not wish to say that the preferences of the male children are always regarded more than those of the [582] female. Infant betrothal[4] has always been possible in Circassia and therefore there is no question of male children having a *right* to choose their mates. *De jure* both sexes are on the same level; *de facto* the wishes of the boys are generally complied with more than those of the girls.[5]

142 583 One can hardly pick up a book on the Cherkess without coming across a paragraph or two about the unusual beauty of their women. Some authors go

[1] V. V. Vasil'kov, "Očerk byta temirgoevcev," SMOMPK, XXIX (1901), No. 1, p. 99.

[2] C. Hahn, *Kaukasische Reisen und Studien*, p. 39. The questioning of the bride was a mere formality.

[3] Ladyženskij, FT, p. 197. Castagné, *op. cit.*, 1929, No. 2, p. 259.

[4] N. Dubrovin, *Istorija*, I, i, p. 139.

[5] Ladyženskij, *l. c.*

p. 76 1 [sic--Analyst]

so far as to give them the title of the "most beautiful women in the world." 583
Whether they, or perhaps the Mingrelians or others, deserve this title does not [142]
concern us here. What does matter is the conviction of the Turks and Persians that Cherkess women are beautiful. It is said that the eunuchs of Persia used to lay down their lives for them, and today, it is a known fact, that the Turks are still willing to pay immense sums to have these singularly beautiful women in their harems. No wonder then, that bride-markets were not unusual in Circassia in the nineteenth century. And even today they are still operating, using of course the black-market technique. What we wish to emphasize is that the girl sold on the bride-market is not sold *against* her will. She is not sold as a slave, even though slave-traders are the middlemen of the actual purchasers. She is not sold against her will; no, she is proud to be sold, proud to see a man give up all he has just to win her. If it is not pride that makes her so eager to be sold on the bride-market, then it is ambition. These girls have dreams just as our girls do, though of a somewhat different type. In Turkey they will be sold to a *rich* man; they will be given a *comfortable* lodging, an excellent *education*. Dreams these are indeed, great dreams that can be realized only outside of their own homeland and only in a Turkish harem, only on the bride-market![6]

The NORTHEASTERN CAUCASIANS. The Chechen girls according to 584
their own native *adats* have very little to say about their future husbands. They must wait till their father (or if he is dead, their eldest brother) marries them off to whomever *he* thinks is best,[7] and, primarily, of course, best for the family, for marriage is a family affair. Child-engagements[8] are again a proof that not even the male children enjoy the *right* to choose their mates.
decision of the Ingushi, no marriage was to be considered valid unless the bride

§ 118 of the "*Adats* of the Ingush Province in the 1860's" calls for special attention. It reads: "Since the end of 1862, according to an unanimous decision of the Ingushi, no marriage was to be considered valid unless the bride had freely consented.[9] The *adat* collection then goes on to give the motive for the decision (§ 156): "Till very recently (1862) a woman was regarded as a [582] slave: she enjoyed no human rights. Turning a deaf ear to her plea and [583] protests, disregarding her sobs and tears, her family would sell her off like a ram, throw her on a cart, and deliver her to her husband."[10] Such a miserable 585 bride, the collection tells us, would in most cases run away from her purchaser. But where could she flee except to her own family — unfortunately the same persons who sold her into "slavery"? Her family, however, had to return the fugitive to her lawful husband, for the contract had to be observed to prevent bloodshed. She would then run away again, and even a third time, making life

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[6] Cf. Essad-Bey, *op. cit.*, pp. 202—207. Longworth, *A Year among the Circassians*, I, p. 279.

[7] Cf. The general *adats* for the Black Sea Line, Kuban and Terek Territories, Leontovič, II, p. 251, § 148. *Adats* of 1843 for all Chechens, Leontovič, II, p. 112, § 8. *Adats* of 1864 for the Chechen tribes of Salati, Aukh, and Ichkeria, Leontovič, II, p. 144. Adats of the 1860's for the Ingush Province, Leontovič, II, p. 169. A. P. Berže, Čečnja i Čečency, p. 97.

[8] Dubrovin, *Istorija*, I, i, pp. 427.

[9] Leontovič, II, p. 169, § 118.

[10] "*Adats* of the Natives of the Ingush Province in the 1860's," Leontovič, II, p. 174, § 156.

1/2 [Sic — Analyst]

584 regard for their wishes.[27] Today, of course, the Khevsurs[28] and the Pshavs[29] no longer force their daughters into any particular marriage.

The OSSETINE *adats* give the father the sole right to decide the mates for his sons and daughters. Child-engagements[30] and child-marriages[31] are not rare. The consent of the future bride and groom was generally asked for, but again, here as elsewhere in the Caucasus, it was usually a mere formality. In pre-Soviet Ossetia a well-bred girl was forbidden to manifest her preference for any particular man. She always had to "agree" and in no way show her displeasure. If she wanted to avoid marriage, suicide was sometimes the only means of escape.[32] But fortunately this means was very seldom resorted to; instead, the unhappy bride preferred to be the "slave" of her husband[33] for the good of the family. Mating was determined not so much by the mutual attraction of the bride and groom as by the will of the heads of the two families.[34]

The TURCO-TARTARS. The *Nogai* often betroth their children before they are seven years of age,[35] a custom universally practiced by the Turkic peoples.[36] Among the *Karachai*[37] and the *Kumyks*[38] it is again the head of the family who has the decisive word. In practice, however, the Kumykian girl seems to enjoy considerable freedom. A suitor must first propose to his beloved and only if the answer is in the affirmative ("If my family agrees") may he approach his own father and then the family of the prospective bride.[39] A refusal [583] on the part of the girl's father generally would lead to elopement.[40]

## § 2. INPLICATIONS IN THE LACK OF FREEDOM OF CHOICE

In spite of the fact that the Caucasus is looked upon as an ethnographical museum, we find very little variety in regard to the right and practice of choosing mates. Everywhere, at least formerly, it was the father and he alone who had the right to arrange marriages for his children.

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[27] Dubrovin, *Istorija*, I, ii, p. 309.

[28] Esad-Bey, *op. cit.*, p. 267.

[29] G. Demidov, V učel'jach pervodbytnoj gruzii (Chevsuretija), Moscow, Leningrad, 1930, p. 17.

[30] Leontovič, II, p. 51, § 15.

[31] Dirr, AGKB, p. 121; Dubrovin, *Istorija*, I, i, p. 334; Kovalevskij, *Coutume contemp.*, pp. 177 f, 192 f.

[32] Kovalevskij, op. cit., p. 193. In primitive societies suicide is seldom occasioned by disappointed love. Most of the time it is, as with the Ossetes, a rebellion against marrying a person the girl abhors (cf. Steinmetz, "Suicide among Primitive Peoples," *The American Anthropologist*, VII, p. 55.

[33] Dubois de Montpéreux, *op. cit.*, IV, p. 449.

[34] Dubrovin, *Istorija*, I, i, p. 333.

[35] Dubrovin, *Istorija*, I, i, p. 277.

[36] H. Vámbéry, *Das Türkenvolk*, p. 109.

[37] Klaproth, "Voyage au Caucase," *Nouvelle Bibliotheque*, XI, p. 170.

[38] Semenov, "Očerki narodnych obyčaev Kumykov," *Teriskij Sbornik*, II (1892), No. 2, Part 2, p. 68.

[39] Gadži-Magoma-Debirov, "Dagestanskija predanija i suevěrija," SMOMPK, IV (1884), No. 2, p. 32.

[40] Gadži-Magoma-Debirov, *l. c.*

# Chapter V

# Means of Acquiring a Wife

## § 1. BY PURCHASE

### 1. Description of Customary Laws

583 "Bride purchase," as Lowie points out, is a blanket term for various transactions. It fits some cases indeed, but at other times it is a complete misnomer.[1] Such is certainly the case when speaking of the Caucasians. Some tribes actually have a bride *purchase*, while others do not; some may have *had* the custom too but the nature of the payment has so completely changed in the course of years that it is false to speak of a price any longer. In some cases the "bride-price" is nothing more than a symbol; or again it is a mere exchange of gifts, or finally a security for the wife, resembling the *donatio ante nuptias* of the Romans. We shall use the term "bride-price" only in its strict sense. But since a generic term embracing all financial obligations connected with the acquisition of a wife is indispensable, we shall use the native word (*kalym, irad* etc.) or "bride wealth" whenever such a general expression is needed.

[177] The NORTHWESTERN CAUCASIANS. Since the Cherkess have been subject to a rather unusually rapid acculturation in the past 150 years, it is not surprising that the bride-price of old should in the course of decades have taken on many new features. Instead of presenting a complicated historical description of the Cherkess bride-price from its beginning to its disappearance, it will be much better, I think, if we borrow and sum up Ladyženskij's conclusions.[2] (1) Up to the end of the nineteenth century the bride was actually *sold* (p. 197), and consequently regarded as a chattel. (2) Islamic law improved her position, in so far as a considerable portion of the payment became the property of the bride as a security in case of divorce. A portion of the payment was likewise set aside to cover the expenses of the wedding (p. 198). (3) From the end of the nineteenth century this modified form of bride purchase assumed a different meaning: the bride was no longer *sold* in the strict sense. Rather, the family of the bride deserved to be compensated for the expenses involved in rearing a child till it attained a marriageable age. It deserved to be com-
[178] pensated also for the loss of a valuable worker. With such motives in view the Cherkess considered the *kalym* as a form of *captatio benevolentiae* of the entire sib of the bride, for the *kalym* was shared by all (p. 197). (4) Today the *kalym*

[1] R. Lowie, *Social Organization*, p. 99. See his excellent section on "Bride Wealth," pp. 99—102.

[2] Ladyženskij, FT, pp. 197 f. Castagné, *op. cit.*, p. 261.

p. 12

8: Lužbetak E-4 (no date) 1951 RHl Caucasia RHl



has in places disappeared completely, namely in the modern cities, where both partners earn money before their marriage (p. 197), while in other places it has disappeared officially, continuing only as a secret practice (p. 197). In 1921 the bride wealth fluctuated between Rs. 500 and Rs. 1,000 (p. 198). 583

Generally the *kalym* is so high that the entire joint-family of the prospective groom must share the burden. According to Cherkess customary law, when a joint-family decides to split into several units and consequently the common possessions must be divided, a portion must first be set aside as *kalym* for the unmarried sons.[3] Sometimes the joint-family cannot afford to "purchase" a wife and hence all relatives, near and distant, must contribute,[4] and, if it be necessary, also the entire *tleush* (*supra*, p. 55).[5] The burden is greatly eased by the possibility of paying the *kalym* in instalments.[6] 596

The amount to be paid has always been subject to great variations. Before a daughter is given in marriage, the amount of the bride wealth must be agreed upon by both families. Not only are the particular personal qualities of the prospective wife taken into account, as, for example, her virginity,[7] but especially the social standing of her family.[8] The higher the rank (and, as we have seen above, the ranks of the Cherkess are endless) the higher the bride wealth demanded. Thus at one time a maiden of the *uzden* class cost as much as Rs. 800 to Rs. 1,200. One hundred years ago the price was somewhat lower: Rs. 500 for a maiden of the princely class and Rs. 300 for a widow; Rs. 350 for a maiden of the uzden class of the first order and Rs. 200 for a widow; Rs. 220 for a maiden of a lower *uzden* sub-class and Rs. 150 for a widow; Rs. 150 for a maiden of the free class and Rs. 100 for a widow. Dubrovin tells us that this payment went to the father, brother or paternal uncle of the bride, and if she had neither father, nor brother nor paternal uncle no *kalym* was necessary.[9] Sometimes slaves were used as payment.[10]

We have said nothing about the Abkhaz, for in essentials and even in many particulars they agree perfectly with the Cherkess. In fact, the marriage and family *adats* of the Abkhaz and those of the Cherkess are so much alike that Ladyženskij regards the Abkhaz as a Cherkess tribe.[11] [10]

The NORTHEASTERN CAUCASIANS. As elsewhere in the Caucasus, the *kalym* in Ingushetia and Chechnia may consist of money, cattle, arms and

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[3] Ladyženskij, FT, p. 206.

[4] Dubrovin, *Istorija*, I, i, p. 140.

[5] Longworth, *A Year among the Circassians*, I, p. 234.

[6] Neumann, *Russland und die Tschekessen* (1840), p. 117.

[7] "Adats of the Black See Line, Kuban and Terek Territories," Leontovič, II, p. 253, § 162.

[8] Leontovič, II, p. 253, §§ 163—165. V. V. Vasil'kov, "Očerk byta temirgoevcev," SMOMPK, XXIX (1901), No. 1, p. 90, sets the bride-price of the Termirgoi as follows: for an ordinary peasant girl Rs. 600; for a girl of noble birth Rs. 1, 500; for a princess Rs. 3,000.

[9] Dubrovin, *Istorija*, I, i, p. 140 f.

[10] *ibid.*

[11] We do not of course accept this faulty classification. The Abkhaz, Ubykhs, and Cherkess are *distinct* peoples.

583 other objects.[12] Although the amount is much more stable than in other parts of Caucasia, it does vary according to the presence or absence of virginal integrity and on the social class of the mates.[13]

In the eighteenth century the Nakhchuo paid up to 10 cows;[14] the Ingushi would have to pay as many as 30 cows.[15] In the 1860's the average *kalym* was about 18 cows (or if paid in money, Rs. 10 per cow).[16] In the twentieth century the *kalym* was so high that the Russian Military Government forced all young men to swear that they would never take or give more than Rs. 105 *kalym*, but, as Baddeley, who is averse to all exaggeration, assures us that "none kept the oath, and the amount was now greater than ever."[17] In 1920 the Ingushi of the Upper Uchaluk paid as much as one million Soviet rubles, 105 silver rubles, two horses, one cow and one ram as *kalym*.[18]

585 In the Ingush *adat* collection of the 1860's (§§ 119 f) we read that the relatives of the groom are obliged to offer the bride a gift of 25 silver rubles on the occasion of her betrothal, of which she becomes the full owner and administrator. On her wedding day she must also be given a guarantee amounting to 80 silver rubles in case of divorce or widowhood.[19] This *adat* is an innovation which owes its origin to Islamism and the Russian Military Government. Although at first it was received with very little favour (and even today we still can come across cases which may be classified under strict purchase), this new form of bride wealth gradually prevailed throughout Ingushetia and Chechnia.[20] In a word, the Chechen bride-price has for about a century at least been tending to evolve into a form of dowry, an evolution analgous to that found among the Abkhaz and Cherkess.

[614] It is the obligation of the *taipan* (sib) to provide the necessary *kalym* for all male members, if necessary even by theft.[21]

The following table shows the average bride-price of about an hundred years ago.

TABLE 10

**Average bride-price among the Chechens about A.D. 1850**

583 587

| District | Amount | | Source |
|---|---|---|---|
| | For maiden | For widow | |
| Nazran | 12 cows | 21 cows; sometimes only 12 | Leontovič, II, p. 117, §§ 9 f. |

[12] Cf. "Collection of *Adats* of the Black Sea Line, Kuban and Terek Territories" Leontovič, II, p. 253, § 161.
[13] Leontovič, II, p. 253, §§ 162—165.
[14] Potocki, *Voyage dans les steps d'Astrakhan et du Caucase*, II, p. 127.
[15] *ibid.*
[16] Grabovskij, "Ekonomičeskij i domašnij byt etc.," SSKG, III (1870), p. 20, *note*.
[17] *The Rugged Flanks of Caucasus*, I, pp. 207 f. See also Vertepov, "Inguši," *Terskij Sbornik*, II (1892), No. 2, p. 132.
[18] N. Jakovlev, *Ingušli*, p. 53, *note* 1
[19] Leontovič, II, p. 169, § 119.
[20] Jakovlev, *Ingušli*, p. 53.
[21] Jakovlev, *op. cit.*, pp. 51, 53.

583
587

| District | Amount | | Source |
|---|---|---|---|
| | For maiden | For widow | |
| Kistı | 18 cows | 12 cows | Leontovič, II, p. 118, §§ 18 f. |
| Dzherakh * | 30 cows | 20 cows | Leontovič, II, p. 116, §§ 1 f. |
| Sunsha * | 10 cows | | Leontovič, II, p. 123, § 1. |
| Ingushi ** | 18 cows | | Grabovskij, op. cit., p. 20. |

* The adat collection actually speaks of rubles and not cows; the approximate value in cows is based on Grabovskij's estimate, *op. cit.*, p. 20.
** In 1864.

Before we pass on to the Lesghian group we wish to mention an interesting form of *kalym*, parallels to which can be found in various parts of the world.[22] We refer to the practice of marrying two deceased persons. Toward the end of the 18th century Potocki observed that "if one Ingush lost a son and another an unmarried daughter, the father of the deceased girl would approach the family of the deceased son and say, 'Your son most likely still doesn't have a wife; I'll give him my daughter, who passed away some time ago, provided that you give me so and so many cows as kalym.' In such a case the father of the dead boy will never refuse."[23] The *kalym* is in such cases generally lower than usual.[24] 588 (?)

When speaking of the Lesghians we must keep in mind that we are dealing with a group strongly influenced by Islamic law, much more so than the rest of the Caucasians. We must also remember that there are local and temporal variations to be taken into account. There are four distinct financial transactions connected with Lesghian marriages: (1) genuine bride purchase, (2) symbolic bride purchase, (3) gifts, (4) the *kebin*, a guarantee against divorce. 583 585

Many recent and older authors speak of a "very trivial bride price."[25] Abercromby, for example, reports that the *kalym* of the Avars was no more than two rubles and eighty kopeks.[26] Hahn claims to have found it as low as 25 kopeks.[27] Before Shamyl's time it was supposed to have been possible to "purchase" a wife for a trifle: at Ishal, for instance, for 36 quarts (12 *garncy*) of wheat; in Bahulal it was only one *sab* (about 20 pounds) of grain; in Untsukul it amounted to one ruble.[28] Despite the poverty of the mountaineers, the *kalym* is so insignificant that to classify it under "bride-price" would be incorrect. This is not a case of bride purchase at all, but rather a formality or symbol, which may be at most a *vestige* of actual marriage by purchase.

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[22] For the custom among the Chinese see Vanicelli, *La Familia Cinese*, pp. 393—403; among the Germans of the Volga see E. G. Kagarov, "Venčanie pokojnikov u nemcev Povolž'ja," SE, 1936, No. 1, pp. 106 ff. O. Schrader, *Totenhochzeit*, 1904.

[23] Potocki, *op. cit.*, II, p. 127.

[24] B. Dalgat, "Die alte Religion der Tschetchenen," *Anthropos*, III (1908), p. 737.

[25] For instance, F. Nansen, *op. cit.*, p. 104; Byhan, *op. cit.*, p. 191; Kovalevskij, *Zakon*, II, p. 178.

[26] *op. cit.*, pp. 96, 101. The "bride-price" was therefore only 5 s. 10 d., less than $ 1.00.

[27] Hahn, "Putelestvie v Kachetiju i Dagestan," SMOMPK, XXXI (1902), p. 93.

[28] A. Runovskij, "Kodeks Šamilja," *Voennyj Sbornik*, XXIII (1862), No. 2, p. 347.

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583 [562] We do not wish to say that bride price in the strict sense of the word does not exist in Daghestan at all. The unfavourable position of the female sex in Botlikh is rightly attributed by Rossikov and Erckert to the fact that she is still considered as purchased property, as chattel.[29] The *iol-puli* of the North Tabassaranians was anything but trivial.[30] In the "Adat Collection of the South Daghestanian Districts" we learn that it varied between Rs. 100 and Rs. 400, a maiden costing more than a widow.[31]

Even in localities where the *kalym* is so insignificant that it is actually only a symbol there are certain, and by no means trivial, expenses which must not be overlooked. First of all, there are not a few betrothal gifts (*infra*, pp. 102 f); then there are the relatively expensive marriage gifts, of which we shall speak below when describing the Lesghian wedding (*infra*, p. 119).

[584] There is, moreover, the so-called *kebin*, a guarantee against divorce. Just because it is the bride who benefits from the *kebin*, it cannot be considered as a bride-price. It is a security for the bride in case of divorce and is usually determined by mutual agreement, depending, of course, on the economic and social position of the contracting families. A widow of the *uzden* class, for example, never received more than a guarantee of Rs. 55.[32] In the province of Kazikumukh (Lak) and Dargwa the *kebin* usually consists of a piece of land having a value of Rs. 50 to Rs. 200.[33] Among the Kapuchians it consisted of money, about Rs. 10 to Rs. 20, while among the Tabassaranians up to Rs. 40. In the Avar Province the *adats* do not fix a definite amount, leaving it entirely to the two families concerned.[34] In North Tabassaran the guarantee was usually between Rs. 15 and Rs. 40 for a maiden and Rs. 5 to Rs. 20 for a widow.[35] The [177] *kebin* (*mahr*, *kebin-khak*, *magar* as we sometimes find it in Russian literature) evidently owes its origin to Mohammedanism.

The SOUTHERN CAUCASIANS. Eristov speaking of the Khevsurian custom of about one hundred years ago informs us that the bride received no dowry but that a price always was insisted upon.[36] Similarly, the Pshav would marry his daughter only if he first received a satisfactory price for her.[37] It is [585] worth noting that the Ingiloi (the Georgians of Sakataly) had to pay a higher kalym for widows than for virgins, Rs. 75 and Rs. 50 respectively.[38] The reason for this regulation seems to be that the widow being older is more liable to be divorced and has less chance of re-marrying than a young girl, and therefore needs a higher *kebin*.

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[29] K. N. Rosikov, "Poězdka v Čečnju i Nagorny Dagestan," ZKO, XIII (1884), p. 248. R. Erckert, *Der Kaukasus*, p. 284.

[30] Kovalevskij, *Zakon*, II, p. 179.

[31] "Adaty Južno-Dagestanskich Obščestv," SSKG, VIII (1875), p. 32.

[32] Svěčin, "Očerk narodonaselenie, nravov i obyčaev Dagestancev," ZKO, II (1853), p. 64. For custom of the Avars see L'vov, "Domašnjaja i semejnaja žizn etc."

[33] Confirmed by Kovalevskij's own field work. See his *Zakon*, II, p. 179.

[34] *ibid.*

[35] "Adaty Južno-Dagestanskich Obščestv," SSKG, VIII (1875), p. 32.

[36] "O Tušino-Pšavo-Chevsurskom Okrugě," ZKO, III (1855), p. 113.

[37] *ibid.*

[38] Hahn, "Putešestvie v Kachetiju i Dagestan," SMOMPK, XXXI (1902), p. 60.

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By Purchase



Much has been written about the OSSETINE bride wealth, but no one has described it so well as Kovalevskij in his *Sovremennyj obyčaj i drevnij zakon.* 583

Less than fifty years ago the expenses involved in a marriage were enormous. The families of the highest class in Kurtatinsk and Tagaursk had to pay as much as 100 oxen (worth about Rs. 1,000), one male slave or Rs. 120 and a coat of mail. In Kurtatinsk an equivalent number of cows could be substituted for oxen ; a female slave or 12 oxen could be substituted for a male slave. The *farsaglegi* were valued at 60 cows or 30 oxen, whereas the *kavdassart kalym* was 25 to 38 cows. The Alaghirs never paid more than 38 oxen. An ox could be replaced by one cow and two sheep ; a gun could replace six oxen ; a sword, two or three oxen ; a large chauldron for brewing beer, six oxen ; a hearth chain, three cows.

Besides the *kalym* (or more correctly when speaking of the Ossetes, *irad*) the Mohammedan Ossetes are obliged to give a guarantee against divorce, the equivalent of the Lesghian *kebin*, called by the Ossetes *nakiash.*

Astounding is the number of gifts which the suitor's family was obliged to offer to the relatives of the bride. There was the *fati-bash, i. e.*, a horse called " The Arrow Horse " because the consent of the bride's father and the whole matchmaking procedure moved as swiftly and directly as an arrow ; the *fati-bash* was given to the bride's father while her mother received the *madi-bash*, (" The Mother's Horse "). Then there was the *amtsedzhi-bash* (" The Nurse's Horse ") which actually went to her husband (cf. *supra*, the *atalyk*, p. 57). The *madi-arvadi-bash* or *madi-arvadai-kal* was a horse given to the nearest relative of the bride's mother, most commonly to her brother. The Digorians usually offered oxen instead of horses.[39]

The sib must not be forgotten either. Besides the bride-price the prospective bride-groom had to give about Rs. 9 to the village, or, in other words, to the sib, for the Ossetine villages are generally composed of families related by blood. This payment was called *kauvendag* (" The Village Road ").[40] Kovalevskij's figures differ but slightly from those of earlier ethnographers of the same century. Klaproth in his *Voyage au Mont Caucase et en Géorgie* (1828)[41] informs us that the highest *kalym* among the Ossetine nobles was Rs. 1,000 (hence about 100 cows). Dubois de Montpéreux,[42] whose investigations were published about 10 years after those of Klaproth, places the bride-price at 140 cows and 7 horses as the maximum and 12 cows as the minimum. In 1859 the Russians enacted a law according to which one third of the *irad* was to go to the bride as social security in case her husband should die.[43] This attempt to put an end to what the Russians considered a great abuse served only to raise the *irad* considerably. In fact, it reached an exceptionally high point in 1877, when to marry a single son would often bring complete financial

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[39] Kovalevskij, *Coutume contemp.*, pp. 163 f.

[40] Kovalevskij, *op. cit.*, pp. 175 f.

[41] II, p. 249.

[42] *Voyage autour du Caucase*, IV, p. 449.

[43] Leontovič, II, p. 51, § 17, *note 3.*

583 ruin to the family.[44] Colonel Kondukov saw no way out: the *irad* had to be outlawed. In 1877 the Colonel promulgated a new law and then the following year the General Assembly confirmed it.[45] An attempt to eradicate such a deep-rooted institution by mere enactment of law is indeed always a futile attempt. A few years later the *irad* not only revived but was as high as ever. During his expedition in Ossetia Dirr could observe how the bride-price was sky-rocketing higher and higher and nobody could forecast when its descent would begin. The situation became so alarming that there was only one way left for the Ossete to acquire a wife, and that was to kidnap her at the risk of his life and at the risk of an endless feud between the families.[46] As late as May 15, 1911, the inhabitants of Mizur, Sadon, Dagon, Arkhon and Nuzal had to sign a promise never to offer or accept a higher *irad* than Rs. 200 for a maiden and Rs. 100 for a widow.[47]

Passing over to the TURKIC peoples of the Caucasus, we find the *kalym* (especially the *kebin*) no less stringently insisted upon than among the true Caucasians. In the beginning of the twentieth century the *kalym* among the Nogai was about 30 cows, the equivalent of about Rs. 170,[48] and as usual less for a widow than for a maiden.[49] The Kumykian *kebin* consisted in a written promise that a certain amount of money would automatically pass over to the wife in case of divorce or death of her husband, but only if she had no children to support her.[50] Among the Mountain Tartars and Karachai the amount of the *kalym* depended mainly on the social class to which the prospective mates belonged. The *kalym* of the Karachai varied between Rs. 350 and Rs. 1,000 payable in money or cattle[51] and was usually supplied by the entire sib.[52]

## 2. Conclusions regarding Marriage by Purchase

Before we sum up our conclusions we wish to review some of the more important data contained in the present section.

[44] By "ruining the family" we understand the joint-family, the "hearth" as the Ossetes express it.

[45] Kovalevski, *Coutume contemp.*, pp. 161 f.

[46] A. Dirr, AGKB, p. 122.

[47] *Tifliskyj Listok* of June 17, 1911, cited by Dirr, *op. cit.*, p. 114.

[48] Jankó, "Néprajzi Gyüjtemény Leirása," in Zichy's *op. cit.*, p. 41.

[49] Haxthausen, *Studien über die inneren Zustände Rußlands*, II, p. 372. See N. Semenov, "Očerki narodnych obyčaev Kumykov Terskoj Oblasti," p. 72; "Adaty žitelej kumyskoj ploskosti," SSKG, VI (1872), p. 16; Dubrovin, *Istorija*, I, i, pp. 277, 638.

[50] Dubrovin, *op. cit.*, p. 638, says that the *kebin* could be signed after marriage, usually being Rs. 750 for princely families and Rs. 100 for the nobility.

[51] Baddeley, *op. cit.*, II, p. 211; Klaproth, "Voyage au Mont Caucase," *Nouvelle Bibliotheque*, IX, p. 170; J. Jankó, *op. cit.*, p. 44.

[52] U. Alijev, "The Karachai" (in Russian), cited by Ladyženskij, "Entstehung und Entwicklung des Staates bei den kaukasischen Bergvölkern," *Zeitsch. f. Völkerpsych. u. Soz.*, VI (1930), p. 435.

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TABLE 11

**Marriage by Purchase in the Caucasus**

| PEOPLES | | Existence of bride-price | | Amount of bride-price | | Existence of kebin | Who provides the kalym? | Amount of kalym depends on social rank |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | Formerly | Recently | Virgins High | Widows Less* | | | |
| Caucasians, North-west. | Abkhaz | + | + | + | + | + | Joint-family; Tleush | + |
| | Cherkess | + | + | + | + | + | Joint-family; Tleush | + |
| Caucasians, North-east. | Chechens | + | + | + | + | + | Taipan (sib) | + |
| | Lesghians | + | ± | + | ± | + | Tokhum (sib) | + |
| Caucasians, Southerners | Khevsurs | + | + | + | | | | |
| | Pshavs | + | + | + | | | | |
| | Tushi | | — | | | | | |
| | Ingiloi | | | | — | | | |
| Ossetes | | + | + | + | + | + | Joint-family; sib | |
| Turks | Nogai | + | | + | + | + | | |
| | Kumyks | + | + | + | + | + | | + |
| | Karachai | + | + | + | + | + | Sib | + |

* Under "widows" we understand non-virgins, divorcées and widows.

(1) It seems that formerly all North Caucasian and neighbouring peoples bought and sold wives.

(2) In the last hundred years there has been throughout Northwest and Northcentral Caucasus a tendency for genuine bride purchase to disappear or

583 to assume the character of a dowry, as it had tended much earlier in Daghestan. A bitter struggle is going on between ancient *adats*, the *šarî'a*, and Russian laws.

(3) *Kalym* (even in recent times) is generally high.

[585] (4) Everywhere except among the Ingiloi and the Chechens of Nazran (*supra*, pp. 84, 86) the *kalym* and *kebin* are much higher for a virgin than a non-virgin. Virginity therefore is one of the most important factors in determining the amount of bride wealth.

[614] (5) Generally the family or a larger social group as the sib or *tleush* provide the necessary bride wealth. The groom never has to amass the *kalym* [58] himself, another fact clearly showing that mating is not a private affair.

(6) The *kebin* is found in all North Caucasia and Mohammedan neighbourhood.

[554] (7) Everywhere the social status of the partners is an important factor in determining the amount of *kalym* and *kebin*.

The uniform evolution of the North Caucasian bride purchase is indeed striking. Originally all peoples of North Caucasus seem to have had actual bride purchase: the bride was actually sold and considered as a chattel. Then the bride-price began to lose its character of a purchase, a development contemporaneous with the spread of Islamism and Russian influence. Mohammedanism does not recognize bride purchase as such:[53] it recommends a bridal gift and prescribes the *kebin (mahr)* instead. The Russian Military Government in pre-Soviet times regarded bride purchase as a serious "abuse" and according to a decision of 1857 one third of the bride-price was to become the property of the bride as a form of social security.[54] Later the Soviet Government contributed its share in modifying the custom especially through industrialization, as we have seen is the case of the Cherkess living in the larger cities.[55]

583 554 That social rank should play such an imporant part in determing the amount of bride wealth (whether bride price, gifts or *kebin*) is quite natural, universal and in full accord with Islamic law.[56] In fact, according to Mohammedan teaching, the *walî mujbir* loses his right to marry his daughter or granddaughter against her will if the bride wealth does not correspond to the girl's social rank.[57]

Nowhere in the Caucasus has bride purchase been considered as something humiliating or degrading. After all, even the Cherkess princesses were purchased. The bride wealth corresponded to the social status and therefore added dignity to the purchase. Moreover, the higher the price the greater the social respect

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[53] Juynboll, *op. cit.*, p. 190. The *mahr* is also called *sakâk* in Islamic law.
[54] A. Dirr, AGKB, p. 124.
[55] *Supra*, p. 83.
[56] Juynboll, *op. cit.*, p. 215.
[57] *ibid.*

1 [i.e., bride-price and bride's security against divorce—Analyst]

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for the family accruing from such a purchase. And as anywhere else in the world, only *good* brides were bought. The fact that a girl was purchased was a kind of flattery and even a definite proof of her good standing. The "price-tag" remained attached to her for the rest of her life, and in it she could find sufficient food for her vanity and self-complacency. 553 [554]

*Kebin* occupies a middle position between an actual bride-price and a dowry. Like a dowry it aims at being a security for the bride's future, and like the dowry it is given to the *bride* and not to her family. On the other hand, it resembles the bride-price in as much as it is paid by the *groom's* family, it is accompanied with much bargaining, and, finally, the amount is determined according to the same standards as the bride-price.

We have said above that through the influence of Russian and Islamic law bride purchase has become more and more like a guarantee against divorce or security in case of widowhood. However, we did not wish to say that before the coming of Islamism or of the Russians there was no economic security given to the bride. A less developed and relatively small dowry or *kebin* could have existed in the Caucasus long before Islamic *mahr* "received full approbation from Allah." We know that, independently of Islamism, the position of the female sex was greatly improved by a dowry, e. g., among the Japanese, Chinese, Ancient Germans, Kelts, and Babylonians. The Romans and the Greeks regarded a marriage without a dowry practically as concubinage.[58] If it could exist among these peoples independently of Mohammed, it could have existed in the Caucasus independently of Islamism as well. In fact we find a kind of dowry in North Caucasus in the practical wedding gifts given to the bride by her family.[59] Of course, a large dowry is out of place in such a strongly exogamous society as we find in the greater part of North Caucasia, for the family property must remain within the family. On the other hand, from our description of the wedding customs we shall be able to observe the relatively important rôle these gifts play in the endogamous part of North Caucasus. [170]

In conclusion, it is worth noting that bride purchase in the strict sense of the word fits into the Caucasian economic form of life quite well. Though bride wealth is found equally in mother-right and father-right societies, bride purchase in the strict sense is an institution found almost exclusively in pastoral societies or in societies that have been greatly influenced by pastoral peoples, or that have passed through pastoral stages, such as we find in Africa, Asia, and Europe. We do not find the bride-*price* in Australia, Melanesia, Polynesia or in America.[60] [171]

## § 2. BY CAPTURE

"Bride capture" is just as much a blanket term as "bride purchase." Here too we must distinguish between genuine bride capture and various forms

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[58] Schmidt-Koppers, *Völker und Kulturen*, p. 310.

[59] Amirov, "Sredi gorcev severnago Dagestana," SSKG, VII (1873), p. 30 f.

[60] R. Briffault, *op. cit.*, II, p. 218; Westermarck, *History of Marriage*, II (1925), pp. 278 ff.

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583 of so-called capture. In the Caucasus we find four distinct forms: (1) involuntary (genuine) abduction, (2) planned abduction, which may be "planned" either by the lovers against the will of the fiancée's family (and this we may rightly identify with marriage by elopement), or (3) planned by the families of the bride and groom, (4) sham abduction, which is essentially a marriage ceremony.

In the present section by "capture" we understand involuntary abduction, against the will of the girl and her family. Planned abduction in accord with the will of the "stolen" bride's family needs no special extensive treatment and therefore will be considered briefly in the present section. Sham abduction will be treated among the other marriage ceremonies.

NORTHWESTERN CAUCASIANS.[61] Formerly marriage by capture was very common in Abkhazia.[62] Seidlitz calls it the *ordinary* means of acquiring a wife. To use his own words: "Vor fünfzehn Jahren noch raubte der Bräutigam sich gewöhnlich ein Mädchen zur Frau, indem er ohne Zustimmung der Eltern desselben und des Mädchens selber auf solches mit Hilfe seiner Altersgenossen einen Überfall machte, um es mit Gewalt zu sich zu entführen."[63] Today, of course, such cases are very rare. When they do occur, the lover generally believes that *post factum* the "bride" will be only too glad to remain with her ravisher.[64] Formerly the abductor was not persecuted if he could pay a sufficiently high bride-price.[65] Speaking of the Kabardians, Grabovskij assures us that genuine abduction occured very seldom among them,[66] while Dubrovin speaking of the Cherkess in general maintains that capture was a rather common means of acquiring a wife.[67]

The custom is found among the NORTHEASTERNERS as well[68]—in a word, among all North Caucasians. Numberless are the *adats* regarding the practice,[69] indicative of its importance in the life of the mountaineers.

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[61] Ladyženskij, FT, p. 197; J. Mourier, *op. cit.*, I, pp. 136, 141; Grabovskij, "Očerk suda i ugolovnych prestuplenij v kabardinskom okrugé," SSKG, IV (1870), pp. 36—42; N. S. Deržavin, "Iz oblasti Kavkazskoj etnografii," SMOMPK, XXXVI (1906), No. 2, p. 2; J. Castagné, *op. cit.*, p. 259; Vasil'kov, *op. cit.*, p. 89.

[62] G. F. Čursin, *Očerki po etnologii Kavkaza*, Tiflis, 1913, pp. 146 f, cited by P. G. Akritas, "Svadebnye obyčai abchazskich grekov," SE, 1936, No. 4—5, p. 85.

[63] "Die Abchasen," *Globus*, LXVI (1894), No. 2, p. 40. Deržavin, *l. c.* Vasil'kov, *op. cit.*, pp. 89, 100 f.

[64] Castagné, *op. cit.*, p. 259.

[65] Cf. K. Mačavriani, "Nektoryja čerty iz žizni Abchazcev. Položenie ženščiny v Abchazii," SMOMPK, IV (1884), No. 2, p. 65.

[66] *op. cit.*, p. 36.

[67] *Istorija*, I, i, p. 133.

[68] Chechens: cf. Vertepov, "Inguši," *Terskij Sbornik*, II (1892), No. 2, p. 130, note; Grabovskij, *op. cit.*, p. 21 f; Jakovlev, *Inguši*, pp. 52 f; Beržé, *Čečnja i Čečency*, p. 98. Lesghians: cf. L'vov, *op. cit.*, p. 20 f; Omarov, "Kak živut Laki," SSKG, IV (1871), pp. 20 f; Kovalevskij, *Zakon*, II, pp. 176 f.

[69] Cf. Leontovič, II, p. 118, § 18; II, 170 f, §§ 127—133; II, p. 174, §§ 155—159; II, p. 257, § 198; II, p. 121, § 1. "Adaty Južno-Dagestanskich Obščestv," SSKG, VIII (1875), pp. 9, 24 ff, 44 f, 48. ADO, pp. 20, 37, 64, 76 f, 90 f, 104 f, 117, 126.

The SOUTHERN CAUCASIANS. According to Eristov, about a century ago, bride capture was almost an every day affair in Khevsuria. In 1855 he wrote: "Bride-stealing is very common among these primitive people. You are not regarded as brave unless you steal the girl you are fond of, and she must, of course, come from a good family. Such an action will infallibly cause terrible quarrels, murders and feuds."[70] The Pshavs formerly resorted to bride capture too, but only rarely.[71] Dubrovin believes, however, that abduction occured frequently among the Pshavs and Tushi,[72] while Hahn claims the same in regard to the Ingiloi.[73] 583

For some reason or other, the collections of OSSETINE *adats* claim that abduction has either been always foreign and unknown in Ossetia or that it has disappeared leaving nót a trace behind. Kovalevskij rightly criticizes Leontovič's collection, for even during Kovalevkij's time one could come across occasional instances of genuine bride-stealing.[74] Other explorers of the late 19th and early 20th century (e. g., Karginov, Baddeley, Pfaf, Šanaev) leave no doubt about the existence of actual kidnapping in Ossetia.[75] Finally, if bride-stealing were unknown in Ossetia, why would special legislation against bride-stealing be necessary as late as 1911? The inhabitants of Mizur, Sadon, Dagom, Arkhon and Nuzal had to promise not to kidnap or cooperate in abducting women, under the penalty of Rs. 300, not including the bride-price which the offended family had the right to set as high as they wished.[76] [584]

[70] Eristov, *op. cit.*, p. 113; Seidlitz "Gemeinde- und Familienleben der Chewsuren," *Ausland*, (1891), No. 16, p. 318.

[71] S. I. Makalatija, "Iz starogo narodnogo byta Pšavov," SE, 1938, No. 1, p. 102.

[72] *Istorija*, I, i, p. 310.

[73] "Putešestvie v Kachetiju i Dagestan," SMOMPK, XXXI (1902), No. 2, p. 60.

[74] *Coutume contemp.*, p. 167.

[75] S. Karginov, "Krovavaja mest' u osetin," SMOMPK, XLIV (1913), pp. 209 f. Baddeley, *op. cit.*, I, pp. 75, 265; II, p. 124.

V. Pfaf, "Narodnoe pravo osetin," Sbornik Svědenij o Kavkazě, I (1871).

D. Šanaev, "Svad'ba u sěvernych Osetin," SSKG, IV (1870), pp. 1—30.

[76] *Tifliskij Listok*, July 17, 1911, cited by Dirr, AGKB, p. 115.

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# TABLE 12
## Lesghian Adats Regarding Abduction

| Province (Okrug) | District (Obščestvo) or other division | Penalties for abducting an unmarried woman (girl, divorcée, or widow): Death penalty | Banishment | Bloodwite | Marriage: Obligatory for abductor* | If father of bride consents ‡ | engaged woman: Usual penalties | Additional penalty | married woman: Death penalty | Banishment | Blood wite | "No case on record" § | Penalties for coöperating with abductor: By harbouring abductor | By coöp. in actual capture | Number of Foot note | Sources† |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Avar | | | + | + | | + | + | | + | | | — | | | (1) | L'vov. p. 21 |
| Gunib | | | | + | | + | + | | + | | | — | | | (1) | L'vov, p. 21 |
| Andi | | + | | | | | + | | + | | | — | | | | Baddeley, II, 88 |
| Lak | | + | | | | + | + | | + | | | — | | | | Kovalevskij, Zakon II, 176 f. Omarov, p. 21. |
| Kurin | Mahal Urdzhamul | | | | | | + | + | | | + | — | | | (2) | AJuDO, 48 |
| Kaitago-Tabassaran | Mahal Karakaitag | | | + | | + | + | + | | | | | | | (3) | AJuDO, 44 |
| | North Tabassaran | | | + | | + | | + | | | | | | | (4) | AJuDO, 24 |
| Dargwa | Mikakhi | | | | | | | | | | | + | One ox | Various Penalties | (5) | ADO, 50 |
| | Tsudakhar | + | | | | | + | | + | | | — | One Ox | | (6) | ADO, 116 f. |
| | Akusha | | | + | | + | + | | | | | + | One Ox | | (7) | ADO, 37 |
| | Mugn | — | + | | | | + | | | | | | One ox (Rs. 4) | One ox | (8) | ADO, 63 f. |
| | Sirgua | | | + | | + | | | | | | + | | Rs. 3 | (9) | ADO, 77 |
| | Hyuraki | | + | + | | + | + | | | | | + | One ox (Rs. 8) | One ox | (10) | ADO, 90 f. |
| | Usisha | + | | + | | + | | | | | | + | Rs. 3 | Rs. 3 | | ADO, 104 f. |

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* The open spaces simply mean that the particular *adat* is silent.

‡ "If the father consents" in the last analysis means whether the abductor is able to afford the *kalym*, or, as the case may be, the *kebin*.

§ The *adat* collections expressly use the term, "no such case on record".
In any case, abduction of married women is extremely rare in such districts.
"Fines" as in all cases of cooperation are paid to the *dzhamat*, i. e., the community; "bloodwite" on the other hand goes to the offended sib.

† Abbreviations used: L'vov: N. L'vov, "Domalnjaja i semejnaja žizn Dagestanskich gorcev avarskago plemeni," SSKG, III (1870), pp. 1—32.
Baddeley: *The Rugged Flanks of Caucasus.*
Omarov, "Kak živut Laki," SSKG, III (1870), pp. 1—46; IV (1870), pp. 1—24.
ADJuDO: "Adaty Južno-Dagestanskich Obščestv," SSKG, VIII (1875).
ADO, "Adaty Darginskich Obščestv," SSKG, VII (1873).

(1) If the family refuses to give their daughter to the abductor, he is banished for three months, must pay a fine of 100 sheep to the khan (or Rs. 30), one head of cattle to the community. When he returns from banishment he must treat the girl's sib to a feast (Cf. L'vov, *op. cit.*, pp. 20 f).

If a married woman is abducted, the abductor becomes a blood-enemy just as in murder, but the period during which vengeance may be taken is shorter (L'vov, *op. cit.*, p. 21). Mere touch, chase, or suspicious approach may be punished like actual abduction. (*ibid*).

(2) By "engaged woman" we mean here as elsewhere "engaged to a person other than the abductor." The engaged man, however, does not have any greater rights over his fiancée than he has over an unengaged girl. To abduct the girl with whom he is betrothed is punishable just as any other case of abduction. If someone captures a girl engaged to another man, the Kurin *adat* demands a double payment of all engagement expenses incurred by the offended lover plus Rs. 60, which he must pay to the lover; besides this he must pay Rs. 200 to the girl's father. If the woman happened to be married, Rs. 60 go to the offended husband and Rs. 300 maximum to her father.

(3) Besides paying usual *kalym*, the abductor is obliged to give the father of the girl a sum of Rs. 300 on demand. The father need not consent to a marriage with his abducted daughter. If the abducted woman is engaged to another man, the ravisher is obliged to give the offended lover twice the sum the latter spent by reason of his engagement.

(4) If the abductor wishes to marry her, he must make an agreement regarding the *kebin* and the father of the girl may demand as reparation as much as Rs. 600. If the girl was engaged to another man, the girl's family must return all engagement gifts to the offended lover, who may take blood-vengeance on the abductor.

(5) The *adat* does not mention any special bloodwite: four oxen, however, must be given to the community as a fine, and the family of the abducted has a right to a feast at the expense of the ravisher. Cooperators never become blood-enemies.

(6) The offended family is compensated by payment of such things as wheat. A fine also must be paid to the community.

(7) If the abductor receives the consent of the girl's family to marry her, he must pay a fine of seven oxen to the community, give the girl's family Rs. 100 (only Rs. 50 if a widow or divorcée), and Rs. 100 to the girl (Rs. 50 if widow or divorcée).

(8) No blood-enmity is incurred; a fine of Rs. 12 must be paid to the community; the abductor is banished till reconciled by payment of Rs. 8 to the family and Rs. 12 to the community. For each visit to his village during the period of banishment he is fined one ox worth Rs. 8.

(9) If the abductor receives permission to marry the abducted, he must pay fine of Rs. 3 to community and give an ox and three *sabs* of wheat to her family.

(10) The banishment lasts 40 days. If the girl's parents refuse to give her in marriage to the abductor, he must allow her to return and must pay a fine of two oxen. He must give special compensation to her family if they consent. Cf. ADO, p. 90.

583 The TURKS of Caucasia have recourse to bride-stealing just as often as the other peoples of Caucasia.[77] In fact, formerly the Tartars considered bride-stealing as something praiseworthy. A young man, who would capture his beloved at the risk of his life and perhaps in so doing murder a brother or the father of the girl, would be envied by all his companions.[78]

Hence, kidnapping girls, widows and divorcées with the intention of keeping them as wives is, or at least, has been, a universal custom in the Caucasus. We intentionally enumerate "girls, widows and divorcées" because capture of married women against their will seems always to have been very exceptional. To mention only a few examples—according to the *adat* collections, no such case seems to have ever occured in the District of Usisha[79] or in the District of Hyuraki.[80] Elopement, of course, occurs more frequently.

Before we pass on to the section on marriage by elopement, we wish to say a word about "bride-capture" planned by the families of the bride and groom. This is simply an unorthodox way of marrying off a daughter in order to avoid the long procedure of matchmaking and betrothal[81] or to avoid the enormous expenses of an ordinary engagement.[82]

## § 3. BY ELOPEMENT

### 1. General Statement

That a change from abduction to elopement, as the general practice, has taken place in Abkhazia cannot be denied. That Sejdlitz, being the head of the special statistics committee in the Caucasus, was in a position to be very well-acquainted with such matters as bride capture and "planned capture" cannot be denied either. We do beg to differ, however, in regard to the *suddeness* of this change. According to Seidlitz, in 1880 actual kidnapping of wives is supposed to have been the ordinary form of acquiring a mate; in 1894 this general practice is supposed to have been substituted by "planned capture." It is not the change that we deny but its *suddeness*. Fifteen years[83] would hardly be sufficient to put an end to such a general practice. It may very well be that Seidlitz is judging by official decisions of Russian courts. It is quite true that if a girl is asked whether she was captured against her will or not, she will infallibly claim that she even had begged her lover to "kidnap" her. Her

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[77] Balkarians: N. A. Karaulov, "Bolkari na Kavkaze," SMOMPK, XXXVIII (1908), No. 1, p. 146.
Kumyks and Nogai: "Adaty žitelej kumyskoj ploskosti," SSKG, VI (1872), pp. 15 f; Dubrovin, *Istorija*, I, i, p. 277; Semenov, "Očerki narodnych obyč. Kumykov," p. 77.
Kurds: J. Jankó, *op. cit.*, p. 62.

[78] Dubrovin, *Istorija*, I, ii, p. 364.

[79] "Adaty Darginskich Obščestv," SSKG, VII (1873), p. 105, *note*.

[80] "Adaty Darginskich Obščestv," p. 91, *note*.

[81] Ladyzenskij, FT, p. 197.

[82] Grabovskij, "Ekonomičeskij i domašnij byt žitelej gorskago učastka Inguleskago okruga," SSKG, III (1870), p. 21.

[83] Seidlitz, "Die Abchasen," *Globus*, LXVI (1894), p. 40.

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witnesses will confirm her statement regardless of the truth or falsehood asserted for we have here a typical case of a *casus perplexus* which not only the Abkhaz but all the mountaineers must frequently face: if the girl and her witnesses tell the truth, the Russian (Soviet as well as pre-Soviet) court will declare the marriage null and void; but not to marry the ravisher *post factum* and after the kidnapper has had sexual intercourse with her and has offered sufficient *kalym*, would according to customary law be a disgrace to the entire family and an evident sign of ill-breeding.[84] In other words, practically every case brought before the North Caucasian courts has been declared as elopement, and it is perhaps this fact that Seidlitz overlooked. Today, of course, whenever a case of abduction is reported among the NORTHWESTERNERS we may rightly presume that it is merely another case of elopement.[85]

The adat collections of NORTHEASTERN CAUCASUS make a sharp distinction between actual and planned capture, clearly showing that both forms occurred among them.

In SOUTH CAUCASUS both forms were also known, for example, to the Pshavs; but today, as anywhere else, elopement is frequent while actual abduction is very rare.[86]

## 2. Problems regarding Marriage by Capture and Elopement

If we compare the more reliable, older reports with those of more recent times, a definite change is noticeable throughout the Caucasus from frequent capture by force to "capture" by mutual consent. In explaining the disappearance of the former and the rapid growth of the latter, we must keep in mind especially what we have said about the bride's freedom of choice. Formerly the preference of the Caucasian girl was hardly considered, and she, on her part, took it for granted that it just *had* to be so. Thanks especially to Islamism and Russian legislation, the family, so to speak, became more and more conscious that girls too had preferences which ought to be respected, and the family began to consider her wishes more and more, so much so that the girl herself not only became fully aware of her preferences but also that she had a will of her own, a will that could oppose the sacred *patria potestas* and then be defended by an authority above that of the father. If she noticed that she was in danger of being married off to a man she did not love or if she felt greatly attracted to a certain young man, she would under the guise of the old custom of actual bride capture allow herself to be "kidnapped." She would send a message to her lover—a few words would suffice—"Steal me" and her lover would be only too glad to do so.[87] The formality of mutual consent in marriage required by Islamic law (*supra*, pp. 78 f), even though it was a mere formality, and the insistance of the Russian Military Courts as well as those

[84] Cf. A. H. Günther, "Zusammenstöße zwischen Gesetz und Gewohnheitsrecht im nördlichen Kaukasus," *Zeitschr. f. vergl. Rechtw.*, XLVI (1931), pp. 338 ff.

[85] Ladyženskij, FT, p. 197.

[86] Makalatija, "Iz starogo narodnogo byta plavov," SE, 1938, No. 1, p. 102.

[87] Cf. Günther, *op. cit.*, p. 336.

583 of the Soviet Government on perfect freedom in mating, certainly contributed, especially psychologically, to the change from frequent marriage by capture to elopement.

An important problem, which perhaps will remain a problem for some time to come, is that regarding the origin of Caucasian marriage by capture. At least negatively we can unhesitatingly affirm that abduction is not a survival of *the* original form of marriage.[88] It seems rather to be the most logical result of marriage by purchase. The origin of the practice is more easily explained by high *kalym* rather than primitive "savagery." The main occasion for kidnapping a wife, formerly as well as in recent times, has always been the inability of the groom's family to amass the enormous bride wealth demanded.[89] The refusal of the girl's family to give her in marriage to her lover is often occasion for bride capture or elopement; but the ultimate reason for the refusal is almost always an economic one. When a sib or family cannot afford
[581] the required *kalym*, the only means of acquiring a wife is to capture her. To remain unmarried is as unthinkable as the extinction of a family. When the *kalym* is too high, the lover, accompanied by his friends, organizes an attack, kidnaps the girl he loves, and generally deflowers her on the very first occasion. Even if afterwards the abducted girl be allowed to return to her family (and sometimes the *adats* insist on her return), she no longer can expect to find another husband. Her choice is therefore between remaining unmarried all her life or to be the wife of her capturer. Once the girl has been abducted, the young man has the girl's family, so to speak, at his mercy. To borrow Baddeley's words, "With the mountaineers the accomplished fact meant much. Once bedded, though not yet wedded, the quarrel, till then deadly, became, as a rule, mere matter for adjustment—mainly financial adjustment."[90] Her family realize that the girl has lost her economic value and that now, after all, the best thing to do is to let her ravisher have his way. To marry her off to another man would disgrace the family. The capturer has the upper hand and can set the *kalym* more or less according to his limited means.[91]

We do not deny the possibility of other motives for bride capture. We can very well imagine how an Ingush "dare-devil" might organize a raid and kidnap a girl just to prove his mettle.[92] We can also very well imagine how a romantic Kabardian might kidnap his beloved just to add a bit of zest and charm to courtship. But such motives are extremely rare and insignificant compared to the inability to pay the *kalym* demanded.

583 Although bride capture and elopement are general, as general as high *kalym*
583 and poverty, nowhere in the Caucasus are they regarded as a legitimate means. The *adats* of all Caucasians classify marriage by capture and elopement as an offense equal to murder. They are an offense against the bride's relatives, living

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[88] Cf. J. F. McLennan, *Studies in Ancient History*, pp. 9 ff.

[89] Cf. Dirr, AGKB, p. 125; Leontovič, II, p. 252, § 150; Jakovlev, *Ingušii*, pp. 52 f.

[90] Baddeley, *The Rugged Flanks of Caucasus*, II, p. 224, *note*.

[91] Cf. Günther, *op. cit.*, pp. 331—340; N. F. Grabovskij, "Očerk suda i ugolovnych prestuplenij v Kabardinskom okrugě," pp. 39, 41 f; Leontovič, II, p. 257, § 198; Leontovič, II, p. 118, § 18.

as well as departed, a degradation of her womanly dignity, a serious usurpation of the inviolable *patria potestas*.[93] To borrow Baddeley's words again: "Woe betide the gay lover should the fleetness of his horse fail to place between him and his pursuers the barrier of a black night . . . if caught in the first hot pursuit, the hero of the escapade paid for his love and daring with his life, the daggers of the vengers sheathed in his heart . . ."[94] 583 [683]

When a daughter elopes (runs away or is "captured") she too is in constant danger of being killed by her own family, till, of course, reconciliation takes place. Fortunately, everywhere among the mountain tribes the customary law requires all to give shelter and protection to the "bride" and "groom," however in separate *saklias* (houses) or rooms.[95] [574]

Besides seriously endangering his life, the capturer is obliged to pay certain additional fines, as is the case in the NORTHWEST, for example, among the Kabardians,[96] and in the NORTHEAST among the Lesghians[97] and Ingushi.[98] In Ingushetia the *adats* demand the liberation of the abducted woman and a fine of Rs. 50 from the abductor and Rs. 15 from all who cooperated with him.[99] On account of the many details and repetitions involved we present the Leshian *adats* in the form of a table (Table 12). The SOUTHERN CAUCASIANS, the Khevsurs, have an additional penalty known as *banse shekhtoma*, i. e., reconciliation "by jumping on the roof," which consists in a special feast for the relatives and neighbours of the abducted woman, and a fine of a one- or two-year-old ox and a kettle.[100] The *adats* of the TURKIC peoples of the Caucasus likewise impose additional fines for abduction. The Kumykian and Nogaian *adats* demand full bloodwite as a condition for reconciliation.[101] If the bride refuses to remain with the kidnapper, she must be allowed to return, and, besides, he must give her the full *kebin-khak* (the usual guarantee given to the wife in case of divorce).[102]

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[93] Grabovskij, "Ekonomičeskij i domašnij byt etc.," p. 21.

[94] Cf. Dirr, FT, pp. 125 f; Castagné, *op. cit.*, pp. 271 f; Grabovskij, "Očerk suda i uglovnych prestuplenij v Kabardinskom okrugě," p. 36.

[95] Baddeley, *op. cit.*, II, pp. 88 f.

[96] Dirr, FT, p. 126; "Adaty Darginskich Obščestv," SSKG, VII (1873), p. 50.

[97] Grabovskij, "Očerk suda etc." pp. 39, 41 f.

[98] See Table 12.

[99] Leontovič, II, p. 170, § 127.

[100] *ibid.*

[101] Seidlitz, "Gemeinde- und Familienleben der Chewsuren," *Das Ausland* (1891), No. 16, p. 318.

[102] Semenov, "Očerki narodnych obyčaev Kumykov Terskoj Oblasti," *Terskij Sbornik*, II (1892), No. 2, Part 2, p. 77, § 12.

[103] "Adaty žitelej Kumyskoj ploskosti," SSKG, VI (1872), pp. 15 f.

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As soon as the procession reaches the bridegroom's house, his mother takes a plate of honey and smears some on the bride's lips and extends her an official invitation to enter.[51] The honey symbolizes the readiness of the mother-in-law to offer the bride any and every gift, but especially the greatest gift of all, entrance into the household.[52] A pleasant and sweet life awaits her in such friendly surroundings. 585

Now an ox (or any other head of large cattle)[53] is led before the bride. The ear of the animal is then cut as a sign that from now on it belongs to the bride alone.[54] If the bride stands motionless in the doorway, everyone understands that the bride is still not satisfied and therefore a second animal must be brought before her and its ear must be cut in a similar manner. Sometimes a horse is presented to her instead of two oxen, in which case a clump of hair is cut off the horse's tail, leaving the ear intact.[55] On accepting these gifts, the bride is congratulated, welcomed, honoured with songs and pistol shots, and is then solemnly led across the threshold of the *saklia* by her mother-in-law. Sometimes, as the bride steps over the threshold, the bridegroom, standing behind the door, gives his wife three slight strokes[56] symbolizing his authority over her.[57]

The programme now calls for a tug of war between the villagers and the members of the groom's household. A carpet (the one the bride stepped on when crossing the threshold) is placed between the two groups, everyone taking as good a hold of it as possible and then pulling with all his strength, the villagers pulling away from the house and the others toward it. This is, doubtless, a form of ceremonial bride capture. The winners receive a special delicacy called *airisa*, a mixture of flour, butter and honey, as well as their favourite drink *buza*, while the losers must be satisfied with the drink.[58] 583 585 [524] [262]

There are two other forms of ceremonial bride capture, found among other Lesghians. In Dido-land the friends of the groom "break" into the bride's house, throw a sheep-skin over her head, and drag her into the street, where the villagers throw filth at her till she reaches her new home. The Andi of T'indi are supposed to have had the following custom: the bride riding on a horse, accompanied by men and women armed with torches and long poles, rides toward the groom who is similarly guarded. When the two groups meet, a mock battle is declared. The parties must try to extinguish each other's torches. In

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[51] Kovalevskij, *l. c.* Amirov omits this ceremony.

[52] This is Kovalevskij's interpretation. Unfortunately our sources fail to mention whether the mother-in-law accompanies her action with words as in the case of other North Caucasians or not.

[53] Amirov, *op. cit.*, p. 31, who mentions the possibility of presenting a horse instead of two oxen.

[54] Kovalevskij, *l. c.*; Amirov, *l. c.*

[55] Amirov, *l. c.*

[56] Kovalevskij, *Zakon*, II, p. 186.

[57] Amirov's and Kovalevskij's interpretation.

[58] Amirov, *op. cit.*, pp. 31 f.
[Sic--Analyst]

585 the meantime the bride is handed over to the female relatives of the groom, who
[582] bring her to her new home.[59]

Honey is given to the bride a second time, symbolizing the sweetness of married life that one and all wish her.

[606] The bride then sits down on a special bridal chair, and a kettle is placed at her feet as a sign of her subjection to the mother of the household.[60]

The custom of thrice walking round the hearth, the custom that plays such an important role in the Abkhaz, Cherkess, Ossete, and Ingush marriage,[61] is found also among the Lesghians, but, as it seems, only by way of exception. Kovalevskij found it only in one *aul* near the Georgian border.[62]

Toward midnight, when the banqueting has finished, a brother of the bride is given the honour of unveiling her face, her head remaining veiled till she enters the bridal chamber. For this privilege her brother is obliged to bestow a special gift on her.[63, 64]

She now steps into the bridal chamber, while the young people crowd in after her. Whoever succeeds in being the first to throw himself on the bed receives some pastries as prize. This ceremony is called *vurni varis*, that is, "trampling on the bed."[65]

As soon as the groom enters, all leave the room and while the newly-weds are alone, feasting and merry-making continue till morning.[66]

In some parts of Daghestan, as for example in Samur Province, two relatives stand guard at the door of the bridal chamber. On the following day the *testimonium castitatis*, a cloth or a bed sheet, is given to the guards[67] or, in some places, the young husband fires his gun. However, a pistol shot does not always have the same meaning. In Dargwa Province (in the shamkhalate of Tsrk and in the khanate of Mekhtali) it signifies that the bride's hymen has been found perforated;[68] in Sakataly it has the very opposite signification.[69] If the bride is found unchaste, the husband may dismiss her at once, on her very wedding day, retaining all her gifts and dowry. Formerly her angry father would cut off her nose or arm and even kill her.[70]

The wedding may last for another week.[71]

On the seventh day a feast is prepared for an exclusive group of male relatives, on which occasion the groom's father reveals what gift he intends to bestow on his newly married son. (The women relatives hold their own feast.)

[59] Byhan, *La civilisation caucasienne*, pp. 191 f.
[60] Kovalevskij, *Zakon*, II, p. 187.
[61] Dirr, AGKB, p. 25.
[62] Kovalevskij, *l. c.*
[63] Amirov, *op. cit.*, p. 32.
[64] The Laks call it *lyazbinkuku* (Kovalevskij, *l. c.*).
[65] Kovalevskij, *l. c.* Amirov calls it *burush-vachis*: *burush* meaning "bad" and *vachis* meaning "trample on."
[66] Gabiev, *op. cit.*, p. 110; Kovalevskij, *Zakon*, II, p. 187; Dubrovin, *Istorija*, I, i, p. 571.
[67] "Adaty Jižno-Dagestanskich Obščestv," SSKG, VIII (1875), p. 72.
[68] Kovalevskij, *Zakon*, II, p. 174.
[69] *ibid.* See also Kovalevskij, *op. cit.*, II, pp. 187 f; Gabiev, *op. cit.*, p. 110; Amirov, *op. cit.*, p. 32.
[70] Kovalevskij, *Zakon*, II, p. 201.
[71] Gabiev, *op. cit.*, p. 110.

585 * See also T. Mtavriev, "Prostonarodnaja svad'ba v Kadhetii," SMOMPK, XXXI (1902), No. 3, pp. 154—160.

For Gurian customs: N. Deržavin, Svad'ba u Gurijcev-Musul'man v okrestnostjach Batuma," SMOMPK, XXXI (1902), No. 2, pp. 168—176.

For Pshav customs see: Makalatija, "Iz starogo narodnogo byta pšavov," SE, 1938, No. 1, pp. 105—109.

** The tribes in this column are intended merely to serve as *examples*. We do not wish to imply that the particular custom is not found anywhere else except among the tribes indicated.

The OSSETINE wedding customs are quite interesting and have been fully described by such authors as Kovalevskij,[78] Baddeley,[79] Hahn,[80] Šanaev,[81] and Gatiev.[82] Without going into detail we shall indicate briefly the similarity between the Ossetine wedding and that of the neighbouring North Caucasians.

(1) The *procession* terminates at the home of the groom. The bride is led by her groomsman (*anshuargin*) and a special female attendant (*dzhinarkinmade*).[83]

(2) The formal contract is made in church before their priests in Christian parts of Ossetia,[84] and according to Islamic ritual among the Mohammedans. Both Christian and Mohammedan marriages may take place in the shade of certain holy trees.[85]

[583] (3) Dramatization of bride-stealing.[86]

(4) The bride and groom are not allowed to meet during the marriage festivities: the bride must remain in her room, attended to by a number of girl-friends, while the groom is living with the best-man.[87]

[606] (5) Submission to the mother-in-law. In the evening the bride is led to the hearth, where she must first bow to the *avsin* (mother of the household) and then smear some fat on the *avsin's* shoes as a sign of submission.[88]

585 842 (6) A child is placed on her lap, as a wish of her friends that she may give birth to many children, especially boys.[89] She is taken to a shrine of Mairem.

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[78] Kovalevskij, *Sovremmenyj obyčaj i drevnij zakon.*

[79] Baddeley, *The Rugged Flanks of Caucasus.*

[80] Hahn, *Bilder aus dem Kaukasus*, pp. 41 ff.

[81] Šanaev, "Svad'ba u severnych Osetin," ("A Wedding among the North Ossetes"), SSKG, IV (1870), pp. 1—30.

[82] Gatiev, "Sueverija i predrazudki u Osetin," SSKG, IX (1876), pp. 18—21. See also: Dubrovin, *Istorija*, I, i, pp. 334—337; "Koe-čto o Digorcach," *Kavkaz* (1887), No. 339 f.

[83] Byhan, *op. cit.*, p. 212.

[84] Baddeley, *op. cit.*, I, p. 268.

[85] Nansen, *op. cit.*, p. 65.

[86] Kovalevskij, *Coutume contemp.*, 168 f.

[87] Šanaev, *op. cit.*, p. 27, *note 13*. Cf. also N. Dubrovin, *Istorija*, I, i, p. 336.

[88] Gatiev, *op. cit.*, p. 20; Požidaev, Gorcy severnago Kavkaza, p. 106.

[89] Kovalevskij, *Coutume contemp.*, p. 185.

## TABLE 16

### Marriage Ceremonies of N. Caucasians And Neighbours

| Marriage Ceremonies | Procession: From groom's house to bride | Procession: Return with bride to groom's house | Procession: Groom is absent | Dramatization of capture | Horse-racing | Both sibs (families) present | Groom absent for large part of wedding | Segregation of bride during wedding | Bride's submission to husband | Wedding elaborate, expensive with much feasting & dancing | Mother-in-law †: Invites bride to cross threshold | Mother-in-law †: Offers bride some honey | Mother-in-law †: Bride's submission to | Corset ceremony | Proof of Virginity | Child placed on bride's lap | Special wishes for boys | Fire-place ceremony | Gifts to bride from own sib | "Tramping on bed" ceremony | Sword placed over bride's head | Special attendant for groom | Special attendant for bride | Mother plays important rôle | Maternal uncle important rôle | Formal religious contract | Reconciliation ceremony | Predominant Character of Ceremonies |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Abkhaz | + | + | − | | + | + | | + | | + | + | + | | + | | + | + | + | + | − | + | | + | − | − | + | | Pastoral |
| Cherkess | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | | + | + | + | | + | + | + | + | + | + | − | + | + | + | − | − | + | + | Pastoral |
| Ingushi | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | | + | | + | | | ? | + | + | + | + | − | | + | + | − | − | + | | Pastoral |
| Other Chechens | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | | + | | + | | | | + | + | ? | + | − | | + | + | − | − | + | | Pastoral |
| Avars | + | + | + | + | | + | + | | + | + | + | + | + | | + | | | ? | + | + | | + | + | + | − | + | | Pastoral + Agrarian |
| Dargwa | + | + | + | + | | + | + | | + | + | + | + | + | | + | | | ? | + | + | | + | + | + | − | + | | Pastoral + Agrarian |
| Other Lesghians | + | + | + | + | | + | + | | + | + | + | + | + | | + | | | | + | + | | + | + | + | − | + | | Pastoral + Agrarian |
| Khevsurs | + | + | | + | | + | | | | | | | | | + | | | + | | − | | | | + | − | + | | Pastoral + Agrarian |
| Pshavs * | + | + | − | | | + | | | | + | + | + | | | + | | + | + | + | − | | + | + | + | − | + | | Pastoral + Agrarian |
| Tushi | | | | | | | | | | | | + | | | | | | | | | | | | | + | + | | |
| Ingiloi | + | + | | | | | | | | | | | | | + | | | | | | | | | + | − | | | |
| Ossetes | + | + | | + | | + | + | + | + | + | | + | + | + | | + | + | + | + | − | + | + | + | − | − | + | | Pastoral |
| Karachai | | | | + | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |

* Cf. Makalatija. "Iz starogo narodnogo byta Pšavov," SE, 1938, No. 1, pp. 105.

† It is usually the mother-in-law.

585 [583] [327] [606] [842]

## § 2. PROBLEMS AND CONCLUSIONS

Though the wedding ceremonies just described are not without a few traces 585
of a mother-right culture, the wedding as a whole is doubtless typically patriarchal in character.

(1) The wedding procession clearly shows that the marriage is patrilocal, 591
a fact true of all North Caucasian as well as neighbouring tribes. The bride must move into the house of her father-in-law.

(2) The fact that the bride is humiliated before her mother-in-law (not 606
father-in-law), the fact that she is invited into the household by the mother- 592
in-law (not father-in-law), and that it is the mother-in-law (not father-in-law) who places the honey into the mouth of the bride, though very suspiciously matriarchal, is reconcilable with a strictly patriarchal society. Even in a strictly patriarchal society the mother of the household enjoys certain privileges and is looked upon as the mistress of the house with special authority over the female members of the household. In other words, in these seemingly matriarchal ceremonies the mother-in-law may perhaps be simply excercising a right of the mother of the household of a typical patriarchal family.[103]

(3) The dramatization of bride capture is a very common custom among 583
the pastoral peoples throughout the world.

Ceremonial bride capture must not be considered as a survival of actual marriage by capture. This is especially true of the Caucasians because a wedding always means a great economic loss for the bride's family—one of their workers must leave them and go over to another sib. Ceremonial bride capture expresses rather the opposition to such an heavy loss. The Dido, as we have seen, actually throw mud and filth at the bride after she has been "stolen". If the ceremony were to represent actual abduction, why should the bride be so "mistreated"? The reason why filth is thrown at her is that she has turned "traitor" to her own family.

(4) The ceremony of hiding, veiling of the face, the bride's taciturnity— 834
all these little peculiarities of the Caucasian wedding may be an expression of the bride's natural sense of modesty. Till now she had to avoid, at least in public, the slightest communication with her financé. The strict separation of engaged couples, the prohibition even to pass a glance at one's future mate in public, and the death penalty imposed on the girl for pre-marital intercourse—all this is in full accord with the high esteem of pastoral peoples for the physical integrity of virgins. At the wedding, the bride is being publicly introduced [831]
into a relationship which she has been taught to shun as disgraceful, even punishable by death. Now this once "disgraceful" thing is being done publicly! The bride's resistence, her fleeing, her veiling, her taciturnity, then, are expressions of a reaction against "the great change"[104] from maidenhood to wife, a change more sensibly felt among pastoral peoples than in any other society.

[103] For the relatively important rôle of a mother of a household in a patriarchal society see E. Pčelina, "Obrjad gostepriimstva v Osetii," SE, (1932), No. 5—6, pp. 140—163, especially p. 156, *note*.

[104] "The great change," I think, has been coined by Elsie C. Person. See her "Holding back in Crisis Ceremonialism," *American Anthropologist*, n. s. XVIII (1916), pp. 44 f.

4/n [Sic--Analyst]

We have given a number af examples (*supra*, p. 150) illustrating how 000 Ossetine fathers and mothers are forbidden to take their children in their arms, or by hand, or offer them anything, in the presence of older members of the family. The Ossete would permit his child to die rather than transgress this rule.

A woman may never in her whole life speak to an older male member of 607 her husbands's family, and if, for instance, the wife of a younger brother is 602 busy at the hearth, an elder brother is not allowed to enter the room till she has finished her work.[35]

The neighbouring TURKS observe similar rules of avoidance. Thus the 593 Karachai newly-weds live together for a few months and then the bride must 591 return to her parental home for a period which may last two years. During this 602 time her husband may visit her only secretly.[36] The Nogai will not speak to his wife in the presence of elderly people except in extreme necessity. The wife must always appear veiled before her husband for a year after marriage or till she gives birth to a child.[37] A Kumykian couple may never call each other by name; instead they refer to each other as "him" and "her."[38]

## § 2. PROBLEMS OF POSSIBLE ORIGIN AND INTERPRETATION OF THE RULES OF AVOIDANCE

We may divide the customs just described into several distinct groups. The 541 following table will show that these rules of avoidance are genuinely Caucasian, 583 found among all North Caucasians and neighbouring peoples.

(1) The first custom which calls for special attention is that requiring the bride to return to her family shortly after marriage and permitting the husband to visit her only secretly. We found this custom in Ossetia, Armenia, Kurdistan, Chechnia, Georgia and among the Caucasian Turks. The Cherkess bride, however, does not return to her own parents but goes to a neighbouring family. This temporary visit-marriage, though still not definitely proven, may be connected with matrilocality, and therefore this custom may be a vestige of a mother-right culture.

It is interesting that the Cherkess bride lives with *strangers* during this period and not with her own family. Ladyženskij[39] considers this practice a vestige of the original form of acquiring a wife, namely bride-stealing. When a bride was stolen she, naturally, had to hide, and here, he argues, we have a clear

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had a similar observance. Among the Kurds the bride would return to her family a few days after her marriage. Her stay with her parents, however, was very short, lasting about three days or so. After receiving some gifts from her family she returned to her husband Cf. Kosven, *l. c.*). The custom of the bride returning to her family after the wedding is also an Armenian practice (*ibid.*).

[35] Baddeley, *l. c.*

[36] Jankó, "Néprajzi, etc." Zichy, *Kaukázusi és középázsia utazásai*, p. 44.

[37] Dubrovin, *Istorija*, I, i, p. 279.

[38] Dubrovin, *op. cit.*, I, i, p. 639.

[39] "Zur Erforschung der Rechtsgewohnheiten der Bergvölker des Kaukasus," *Zeitsch. f. Ethnologie*, XLII (1930), p. 242.

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trace of this epoch. He goes on to say that the *kalym* was originally a form of 591
bloodwite demanded for bride-stealing, which later evolved into a means of 583
compensating the family of the bride for the loss of a worker. Although Ladyženskij's interpretations are generally good, we connot agree with him in this particular point. It has never been proven that bride-stealing was the original form of marriage anywhere in the world. Moreover, it seems to be much more probable that bride-stealing resulted from the practice of bride purchase rather than vice versa. That *kalym* evolved from bloodwite is very improbable, especially in the Caucasus, because reconciliation by means of bloodwite seems to be a relatively recent substitution for actual blood vengeance.

(2) The various husband-wife avoidances, such as not mentioning the name 593
of one's husband or wife, not using the second person, avoiding all conversation 562
in public, etc. may be an expression of the superior position of the male sex in 602
Caucasian society (cf. *supra*, pp. 152—159).[40]

(3) The parent and parent-in-law avoidance, the obligatory avoidance of 606
older male relatives of the husband, the prohibition of inquiring about the health 602
of the wife's or husband's relatives, and similar practices are difficult to explain.

Parent-in-law avoidances are certainly among the most universal practices [871]
known to man. In fact, this form of avoidance is so universal that Lowie does not hesitate to write, "From the extremely wide range of parent-in-law avoidance, the absolute universality of these rules might be conjectured on the ground that, where unrecorded, the customs have merely eluded notice."[41] In Australia, for example, "it was formerly death for a man to speak to his mother-in-law."[42] In New Britain if a man were speaking accidently with his mother-in-law, the horror of the "crime" would most likely lead to suicide.[43]

The interpretation of parent-in-law taboos has baffled all ethnologists, and a satisfactory answer still has not been given. The parent-in-law avoidance has been connected with exogamy and bride-capture;[44] it has been considered a vestige of matriarchy, an expression of awe for the mistress of the household;[45] it has also been considered as a means to prevent improper intercourse. We may have here a case of convergence, based more on human psychology than on any particular institution; nor is there any reason to attribute the same cause for the practice in all parts of the world. This is but another important ethnological problem that waits to be solved.

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[40] The Caucasians seem to be of the opinion that separation is the best means of fostering conjugal love (cf. Leontovič, II, pp. 254 f, § 176).

[41] *Primitive Society*, p. 88.

[42] Howitt, *The Native Tribes of South East Australia*, p. 267.

[43] H. H. Romilly, "The Islands of the New Britain Group," *Proceedings of the Royal Geographical Society*, n. s. IX, p. 9.

[44] Cf. A. H. Post, "Ueber die Sitte, nach welcher Verlobte und Ehegatten ihre gegenseitigen Verwandten meiden," *Globus*, LXVII (1895), pp. 176 f.

[45] Cf. R. Briffault, *op. cit.*, I, pp. 266 f.

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# IV. CONCLUSION

## Chapter XIV

## Conclusion

### § 1. MARRIAGE AND THE FAMILY OF THE CAUCASIANS IN THE LIGHT OF HISTORY

#### 1. Russian (Soviet and Pre-Soviet) Influence

That the Russian military, political, and cultural influence has greatly affected, changed and unified, the marriage and family customs of the various peoples of the Caucasus cannot be denied. We need but recall some of the many facts we have pointed out in our comparative study. 177.58 583

(1) The Russians, we have seen, severely prosecute *polygyny* (*supra*, p. 39) and not without success. The relative scarcity of polygamous unions throughout North Caucasus and the neighbourhood, regardless of how ethnically different the tribes may be, must be attributed, at least in part, to Russian legislation. 177.59 595

(2) In recent times both mates have begun to enjoy greater *freedom of choice*, (*supra*, p. 76), thanks to the Russian insistance on freedom in mating as a *conditio sine qua non* for a legally valid marriage. [584]

(3) We have also observed how rapidly *bride purchase* was disappearing or assuming an entirely different significance throughout the Caucasus, again, at least in part, owing to Russian legislation, industrialization, and education (*supra*, pp. 83, 87, 90). [583]

(4) *Bride price, bloodwite*, etc. were formerly measured in cows, horses, sheep, and oxen, but now they are measured in money : not in live stock but in Russian rubles ! (*Supra*, pp. 82—89, 95, 168—179).

(5) The Russian opposition to *bride capture* has helped to make the practice become rare (*supra*, pp. 97 f). It was Russian positive law gaining ascendency over the *patria potestas* and its insistance on freedom of choice that encouraged and even defended elopement (*supra*, p. 98).

(6) The general disappearance of slavery and the associated sociological consequences, e. g., *the marriage impediments*, [582] 567

(7) the *less severe penalties for sex crimes* which are gradually being adopted by all tribes of Caucasia (*supra*, pp. 175, 180). 177.68 684

(8) and the improvement in the *status of the female sex*, all must be reckoned among the effects of Russian and Soviet influence. 177.56 562

p. 189

(6) The *maternal uncle* appears on the scene in marriage and family affairs as an important figure. A special part of the bride price (*madi-arvadai-kal*) of the Ossetes is reserved for the maternal uncle.[36] Among the Ingushi and a number of other tribes in North Caucasia, if someone drinks to the health of his friend's sister and then gives him a present, the friend is obliged to arrange a marriage between his sister and his friend, otherwise a blood-feud will be the result. This custom, as we have said, overrules even the inviolable *patria potestas* and all the *adats* regarding the choice of mates. It is, as it were, an acceptance of the bride price by the brother (" maternal uncle ") without handing the bride over to the purchaser.[37] Moreover, an Ingush lad, after reaching the age when he is allowed to carry arms, has a right to a special present from his maternal uncle. In fact, the youth may go and steal the present with impunity, because he has a *right* to it.[38] This, I think, may very easily be a vestige of a former inheritance rule through the maternal uncle.[39] The Khevsur orphan automatically falls to the guardianship of the maternal uncle.[40] Kovalevskij conjectures that the Georgian institution known as *tsatsali*[41] may be a vestige of the custom to adopt a maternal uncle.[42]

Kovalevskij, Post and other ethnologists of the 19th century " found " an astoundingly large number of " undeniable " vestiges of a former matriarchal culture in the Caucasus. Any custom that would fit into the false principle " mater certa, pater incertus " was " infallibly " a matriarchal vestige. Thus the *atalyk*,[43] the taboos forbidding a father to carry his own child, the prohibition for anyone to ask about the health of another person's wife or child, etc.[44] were all " vestiges " of former matriarchy. The Cherkess *tleush*[45] and the Ingush *taipa*[46] were likewise " vestiges." Kovalevskij's article " La famille matriarcale au Caucase "[47] is a typical example of the matriarchy mania under which the scientists of the past century laboured. Every now and then they would come across a true vestige or a possible indication of matriarchy or mother-right, and these we have incorporated in the present work. The other " vestiges " we have rejected and offered other, more plausible explanations and interpretations.

Russian interest in the problem of mother-right has again been revived. The Russian ethnologist maintains that matriarchy was universal at one time: it was a stage through which all civilizations had to pass, while patriarchy is only

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[36] *Supra*, p. 87.

[37] *Supra*, p. 101. A Berže, Čečnja i čečency, p. 98; Leontovič, II, pp. 251 f, § 149; Kovalevskij, " La famille matriarcale au Caucase," *L'Anthropologie*, IV (1893), pp. 271 f.

[38] Jakovlev, *Ingušii*, p. 47.

[39] This seems to be a genuine vestige.

[40] Kovalevskij, *op. cit.*, p. 273. The maternal uncle also plays an important part in the Khevsurian blood-feuds (Hahn, *Aus dem Kaukasus*, p. 273).

[41] *Supra*, p. 182.

[42] Kovalevskij, *l. c.*

[43] *Supra*, p. 57.

[44] *Supra*, pp. 149 f, 162—167.

[45] *Supra*, p. 55.

[46] *Supra*, p. 84.

[47] *L'Anthropologie*, IV (1893), pp. 259—278. See also Kovalevskij's *Zakon*, I, pp. 3—27.

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(4) The *atalyk* is a form of adoption once spread among all mountain tribes of North Caucasus,[92] the Ossetes,[93] the Tartars, e. g., the Kumyks.[94] We still find it today among the Kabardians, but the practice has become rare.[95] Soon after birth,[96] or, as some authors claimed, at the age of seven or twelve, the prince or princess is received into a noble family to be brought up by foster-parents. The prince is taught to ride, to be brave, eloquent and polite, and to steal. When he is old enough to carry arms, he returns to his father.[97] Princesses are usually poorly nourished, for slenderness may not be divorced from the dignity of a princess. She is taught by her foster-mother how to embroider, weave, make straw mats and baskets.[98] She may not be seen by her parents until her marriage, and it is the right of the foster-father to select a mate for her.[99] The *atalyk* is usually restricted to the upper classes,[100] the foster-parents being chosen from the next (lower) class.[101] The relation between the foster-child and the educator is as intimate and as sacred as actual blood-relationship, if indeed not more so. Sometimes a foster-child will take revenge on his own father to repair an injury done to his adopted family.[102] Marriage between the foster-child and a member of the educator's family are, of course, prohibited. We are unable to say to what degree: on the one hand, the older explorers failed to inquire into *adats* regarding this prohibition; while, on the other hand, the institution has practically disappeared, so that now it is impossible to ascertain the degree through new enquiries.[103] The *atalyk* is perhaps a pre-Islamic institution borrowed from the Turco-Mongols.

(5) We find several other forms of adoption in the Caucasus. Islamic law does not recognize any impediment arising from adoption, except, of course,

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[92] Ladyženskij, FT, p. 200.
M. Kovalevskij, *Coutume contemp.*, p. 191.

[93] Leontovič, II, pp. 252 f, §§ 152—160.

[94] M. Kovalevskij, *l. c.*

[95] Ladyženskij, *l. c.*

[96] P. S. Pallas, *Bemerkungen auf einer Reise in die südlichen Statthalterschaften des russischen Reichs 1793—1794*, I, p. 388;
J. Mourier, *Guide au Caucase*, Part I, p. 137;
J. Klaproth, "Voyage au Caucase," *Nouvelle Bibliotheque*, Tome XI, p. 170;
Ladyženskij, *l. c.*

[97] Ellis, *Memoir of a Map etc.*, pp. 22 f; Pallas, *l. c.*

[98] Pallas, *op. cit.*, I, p. 389.

[99] Pallas, *op. cit.*, I, p. 388 f.

[100] Ladyženskij, *l. c.* Digorian *farsagleg* class (*infra*, pp. 63 f) has the custom too; cf. Kovalevskij, *Coutume contemp.*, pp. 212 f.

[101] Leontovič, II, pp. 252 f., §§ 152—160.

[102] Ladyženskij, *l. c.*

[103] The *atalyk* was a means of reconciliation after a murder had been committed. The murderer would kidnap a child of the victim and become its foster-father, thus making revenge impossible. (Baddeley, *op. cit.*, I, p. 262; Ladyženskij, *l. c.*; Leontovič, I, p. 140; Dirr, AGKB, p. 43.) Reineggs however gives an example of such an adopted son who was constantly waiting for an opportunity to carry out his sacred obligation of vengeance, regardless of fosterage (*Allgemeine historisch-topographische Beschreibung des Kaukasus*, I, pp. 221 f.). For more about the *atalyk* see the authors cited and N. Danilewski, *Der Kaukasus*, pp. 120—125.

# Chapter IV

# Freedom of Choice

000 After we have shown which individuals are regarded as possible mates, we arrive at the second fundamental question: Who has the decisive word in selecting a definite mate from among the many possible ones? We shall have to answer such questions as: "Has the couple the decisive word?" "Has the young man more to say about his partner than the girl about hers?"

## § 1. THE RIGHT TO CHOOSE A MATE IN THEORY AND PRACTICE

584 The NORTHWEST CAUCASIANS, the Abkhaz and the Cherkess, regard [581] marriage as a family affair. It is not a contract between two *individuals* but between two *families*, joint-families or sibs. The male head of the household has the right to marry off his child to whomsoever he wishes.[1] He has the sole *right*; whether he *uses* that right or not is an entirely different matter.

When speaking about the actual practice we must make the necessary temporal and local distinctions. Before the Revolution the Kabardians, contrary to Hahn's superficial observations,[2] paid little attention to the wishes of their daughters, whereas the Shapsugs, Abadzekhs, and Bzhedukhs generally considered the girl's preferences and even tried to act accordingly. After the Revolution (1920), the Soviet régime refused to recognize any marriage unless it had been entered upon freely. To a large extent this legislation had the desired results, but not entirely, for compulsory marriages still occur today.[3]

Since there is less family interest in the girl than in the boy (the girl is married off into a *strange* family), it is not surprising that more consideration is given the future groom than the bride. But we do not wish to say that the preferences of the male children are always regarded more than those of the [582] female. Infant betrothal[4] has always been possible in Circassia and therefore there is no question of male children having a *right* to choose their mates. *De jure* both sexes are on the same level; *de facto* the wishes of the boys are generally complied with more than those of the girls.[5]

142 One can hardly pick up a book on the Cherkess without coming across a 583 paragraph or two about the unusual beauty of their women. Some authors go

[1] V. V. Vasil'kov, "Očerk byta temirgoevcev," SMOMPK, XXIX (1901), No. 1, p. 99.

[2] C. Hahn, *Kaukasische Reisen und Studien*, p. 39. The questioning of the bride was a mere formality.

[3] Ladyženskij, FT, p. 197. Castagné, *op. cit.*, 1929, No. 2, p. 259.

[4] N. Dubrovin, *Istorija*, I, i, p. 139.

[5] Ladyženskij, *l. c.*

p. 76 1 [sic -- Analyst]

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so far as to give them the title of the "most beautiful women in the world." 583
Whether they, or perhaps the Mingrelians or others, deserve this title does not [142]
concern us here. What does matter is the conviction of the Turks and Persians that Cherkess women are beautiful. It is said that the eunuchs of Persia used to lay down their lives for them, and today, it is a known fact, that the Turks are still willing to pay immense sums to have these singularly beautiful women in their harems. No wonder then, that bride-markets were not unusual in Circassia in the nineteenth century. And even today they are still operating, using of course the black-market technique. What we wish to emphasize is that the girl sold on the bride-market is not sold *against* her will. She is not sold as a slave, even though slave-traders are the middlemen of the actual purchasers. She is not sold against her will; no, she is proud to be sold, proud to see a man give up all he has just to win her. If it is not pride that makes her so eager to be sold on the bride-market, then it is ambition. These girls have dreams just as our girls do, though of a somewhat different type. In Turkey they will be sold to a *rich* man; they will be given a *comfortable* lodging, an excellent *education*. Dreams these are indeed, great dreams that can be realized only outside of their own homeland and only in a Turkish harem, only on the bride-market![6]

The NORTHEASTERN CAUCASIANS. The Chechen girls according to 584
their own native *adats* have very little to say about their future husbands. They must wait till their father (or if he is dead, their eldest brother) marries them off to whomever *he* thinks is best,[7] and, primarily, of course, best for the family, for marriage is a family affair. Child-engagements[8] are again a proof that not even the male children enjoy the *right* to choose their mates.
decision of the Ingushi, no marriage was to be considered valid unless the bride 1

§ 118 of the "*Adats* of the Ingush Province in the 1860's" calls for special attention. It reads: "Since the end of 1862, according to an unanimous decision of the Ingushi, no marriage was to be considered valid unless the bride had freely consented.[9] The *adat* collection then goes on to give the motive for the decision (§ 156): "Till very recently (1862) a woman was regarded as a [582]
slave: she enjoyed no human rights. Turning a deaf ear to her plea and [583]
protests, disregarding her sobs and tears, her family would sell her off like a ram, throw her on a cart, and deliver her to her husband."[10] Such a miserable 585
bride, the collection tells us, would in most cases run away from her purchaser. But where could she flee except to her own family — unfortunately the same persons who sold her into "slavery"? Her family, however, had to return the fugitive to her lawful husband, for the contract had to be observed to prevent bloodshed. She would then run away again, and even a third time, making life

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[6] Cf. Emad-Bey, *op. cit.*, pp. 202—207. Longworth, *A Year among the Circassians*, I, p. 279.

[7] Cf. The general *adats* for the Black Sea Line, Kuban and Terek Territories, Leontovič, II, p. 251, § 148. *Adats* of 1843 for all Chechens, Leontovič, II, p. 112, § 8. *Adats* of 1864 for the Chechen tribes of Salati, Aukh, and Ichkeria, Leontovič, II, p. 144. Adats of the 1860's for the Ingush Province, Leontovič, II, p. 169. A. P. Berže, Čečnja i Čečency, p. 97.

[8] Dubrovin, *Istorija*, I, i, pp. 427.

[9] Leontovič, II, p. 169, § 118.

[10] "*Adats* of the Natives of the Ingush Province in the 1860's," Leontovič, II, p. 174, § 156.

1 [Sic — Analyst]

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585 more and more miserable for herself.[11] Sometimes the court succeeded in bringing about a peaceful settlement, even a more or less happy reunion,[12] or the husband would in disgust divorce her.[13] That such cases have occurred cannot be denied, but we have here nevertheless an example of the proneness of pre-Soviet writers to exaggerate the "savagery" of the Caucasians.

584 The actual fact is that the Russian Military Government tried to abolish compulsory mating. The Ingushi "agreed" to allow their daughters to choose their own mates or at least to ask them if they consented to the marriage arranged by the head of the family. Grabovskij assures us that the innovation of 1862 was being observed but only as a formality. The girl was generally asked whether she wanted to marry the particular man chosen for her, but no matter what she answered, the plans of her family were infallibly carried out.[14]

The customary laws of the *Lesghians* in regard to freedom of choice do not differ from what we have learned about the other mountain tribes of North Caucasus. According to their *adats*, the *right* to choose a mate belongs to the head of the family and to him alone. If he so wishes, he may betroth his boy or girl while they are still in the cradle.[15] The Lesghian boys have much more to say about their future wives than the girls about their mates, and even in the last century the boys were never forced to marry anyone against their will.[16] Virgins were given much less freedom in selecting their partners than a girl that had lost her virginity.

But just why should a woman who no longer possesses her virginal integrity be given more freedom than a virgin? This practice seems to have been introduced by Islamism, for it is in full accord with the teaching of the Šâfi'itic School. Mohammed is supposed to have encouraged all Walîs (father or guardian) to ask the girl if she freely consented to the proposed marriage. The Prophet failed to specify just what he meant by "girls." The Šâfi'itic School maintained that "girls" means "non-virgins."[17] Others insisted that Mohammed did not intend to distinguish between "virgins" and "non-virgins" but rather between "girls of age" and "girls not yet of age," the

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[11] *ibid.* (§§ 157 f). The lot of a widow or divorcée was supposed to have been much the same. Cf. Leontovič, II, 169, §§ 117 ff.

[12] Leontovič, II, p. 174, § 158.

[13] *ibid.*

[14] "Ekonomičeskij i domašnij byt žitelej gorskago učastka Inguševskago okruga," SSKG, III (1870), p. 20.

[15] Dubrovin, *Istorija*, I, i, p. 562.
Svěčin, "Očerk narodonaselenija, nravov i obyčaev Dagestancev," ZKO, II (1853), p. 64.
Kovalevskij, *Zakon*, II, pp. 180 f.
For customs relating to infant betrothal see: L'vov, "Domašnjaja i semejnaja žizn Dagestanskich gorcev avarskago plemeni," SSKG, III (1870), p. 17. According to Amirov, "Sredi gorcev sěvernago Dagestana," SSKG, VII (1873), p. 30, mentions that the engagement takes place when the future mates are still under 10. Cf. also Požidaev, *Gorcy severnago Kavkaza*, p. 105.

[16] This was the practice in the last decades of the nineteenth century. Kovalevskij, *Zakon*, II, p. 204.

[17] Juynboll, *Handbuch des islâmischen Gesetzes nach der Lehre der schâfi'itischen Schule*, p. 210.

*saǧîra* and the *bâliǧa*. The *bâliǧa* had the right to declare any marriage arrangements made by the *walî* as null and void, i. e., the right of *hijar* ("retraction"). Still other interpreters were of the opinion that a distinction should rather be made between the rights enjoyed by the girl's father and grandfather and those enjoyed by other guardians — which of course only adds to the confusion.[18] What is of importance is that the Šâfi'itic doctrine prevailed in Daghestan: non-virgins are free to choose their own mates while virgins are not. 584

But under certain conditions virgins are free as well. In Avaria, for example, if the father of the girl happens to be away on a two-days journey, the girl may go to the mullah (in Avaria called *debîr*) and obtain permission to marry whomever she wishes.[19] But this practic too is not based on customary but on Islamic law.

Mohammed *recommended* (as a *sunna)* that all girls should be asked for their consent before marriage. Among the Avars[20] and the Laks[21] the marriage would be considered invalid if her consent were not asked. In Avaria two persons are sent by the *debîr* as official witnesses to her consent. At first sight all these regulations seem to guarantee freedom of choice, and not a few authors and explorers have made the mistake of not distinguishing between theory and practice.[22] In pre-Soviet times the girl's consent was indeed asked but merely as a formality.[23] As L'vov points out, the girl would infallibly consent, it is true, but not freely. She was afraid of offending her father.[24]

Despite the difference between theory and practice, it cannot be denied that Islamism has brought the Daghestanian woman a number of rights that she had not enjoyed before.[25] [56]

The *adats* of the neighbouring peoples show a striking similarity to those of the Northern Mountaineers. The SOUTH CAUCASIANS (the Khevsurs, Pshavs, and Tushi) had the custom of infant engagement and therefore *de jure* the consent of the engaged persons was not required.[26] Dubrovin tells us that the Tushi and Pshavs generally married off their children with no or very little

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[18] G. Bergsträsser, *Grundzüge des islamischen Rechts*, p. 82.

[19] Kovalevskij, *op. cit.*, II, pp. 175 f.

[20] L'vov, "Domaŝnjaja i semejnaja žizn etc.," p. 25.

[21] Kovalevskij, *l. c.*

[22] Cf. Alichanov's series of articles "V gorach Dagestana," which are supposed to have appeared in the *Kavkaz*. These articles however are not available on this side of Russia. Baddeley believes that they have never appeared in book form *(The Rugged Flanks of Caucasus*, II, p. 72, *note)*.
C. Hahn, "Putešestvie v Kachetiju i Dagestan," SMOMPK, XXXI (1902), p. 93. This article has been almost verbally translated in Hahn's *Bilder aus dem Kaukasus*.
Byhan, *op. cit.*, p. 191.
Nansen, *Through the Caucasus to the Volga*, p. 104.

[23] Kovalevskij, *Zakon*, II, p. 204.

[24] "Domaŝnjaja i semejnaja žizn etc.," p. 22.

[25] We do not refer merely to Shamyl's reforms, which were only superficial.

[26] Eristov, "O Tušino-Pšavo-Chevsurskom Okrugě," ZKO, III (1855), p. 109.
Mourier, *Guide au Caucase*, Part I, p. 153.
Hahn, Bilder aus dem Kaukasus, p. 82.
Byhan, *op. cit.*, p. 112.

584 regard for their wishes.[27] Today, of course, the Khevsurs[28] and the Pshavs[29] no longer force their daughters into any particular marriage.

The OSSETINE *adats* give the father the sole right to decide the mates for his sons and daughters. Child-engagements[30] and child-marriages[31] are not rare. The consent of the future bride and groom was generally asked for, but again, here as elsewhere in the Caucasus, it was usually a mere formality. In pre-Soviet Ossetia a well-bred girl was forbidden to manifest her preference for any particular man. She always had to "agree" and in no way show her displeasure. If she wanted to avoid marriage, suicide was sometimes the only means of escape.[32] But fortunately this means was very seldom resorted to; instead, the unhappy bride preferred to be the "slave" of her husband[33] for the good of the family. Mating was determined not so much by the mutual attraction of the bride and groom as by the will of the heads of the two families.[34]

The TURCO-TARTARS. The *Nogai* often betroth their children before they are seven years of age,[35] a custom universally practiced by the Turkic peoples.[36] Among the *Karachai*[37] and the *Kumyks*[38] it is again the head of the family who has the decisive word. In practice, however, the Kumykian girl seems to enjoy considerable freedom. A suitor must first propose to his beloved and only if the answer is in the affirmative ("If my family agrees") may he approach his own father and then the family of the prospective bride.[39] A refusal [583] on the part of the girl's father generally would lead to elopement.[40]

## § 2. INPLICATIONS IN THE LACK OF FREEDOM OF CHOICE

In spite of the fact that the Caucasus is looked upon as an ethnographical museum, we find very little variety in regard to the right and practice of choosing mates. Everywhere, at least formerly, it was the father and he alone who had the right to arrange marriages for his children.

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[27] Dubrovin, *Istorija*, I, ii, p. 309.

[28] Ennad-Bey, *op. cit.*, p. 267.

[29] G. Demidov, V ukel'jach pervodbytnoj gruzii (Chevsuretija), Moscow, Leningrad, 1930, p. 17.

[30] Leontovič, II, p. 51, § 15.

[31] Dirr, AGKB, p. 121; Dubrovin, *Istorija*, I, i, p. 334; Kovalevskij, *Coutume contemp.*, pp. 177 f, 192 f.

[32] Kovalevskij, op. cit., p. 193. In primitive societies suicide is seldom occasioned by disappointed love. Most of the time it is, as with the Ossetes, a rebellion against marrying a person the girl abhors (cf. Steinmetz, "Suicide among Primitive Peoples," *The American Anthropologist*, VII, p. 55.

[33] Dubois de Montpéreux, *op. cit.*, IV, p. 449.

[34] Dubrovin, *Istorija*, I, i, p. 333.

[35] Dubrovin, *Istorija*, I, i, p. 277.

[36] H. Vámbéry, *Das Türkenvolk*, p. 109.

[37] Klaproth, "Voyage au Caucase," *Nouvelle Bibliotheque*, XI, p. 170.

[38] Semenov, "Očerki narodnych obyčaev Kumykov," *Terskij Sbornik*, II (1892), No. 2, Part 2, p. 68.

[39] Gadži-Magoma-Debirov, "Dagestanskija predanija i suevěrija," SMOMPK, IV (1884), No. 2, p. 32.

[40] Gadži-Magoma-Debirov, *l. c.*

(1) This[1] is but another right from among the many that the male head of the family enjoys in a patriarchal society. The deeper reason for this monopoly is the fact that marriage is recognized by the *adats* as a family affair. 581 [584]

(2) Marriage is essentially an economic transaction and not so much a union between two lovers. Mutual attraction is not of paramount importance but rather the bride-price (*infra*, pp. 82—91), the social rank of the bride (*infra*, p. 90), her physical fitness for hard work (*infra*, pp. 156—159), her fertility and "capacity" to give birth to boys (*supra*, pp. 44 f, *infra*, p. 140), and her virginity (*infra*, p. 90). Not that love affairs do not occur among the mountaineers—even elopement is not rare (*infra*, pp. 96 f). What we wish to stress is that (especially formerly) the determining factor in deciding which individuals from among the many possible mates are to be married is, not love or sexual attraction, but the qualities just enumerated. This conception of an ideal wife fits perfectly into the culture of pastoral peoples.

(3) Since even the bride and groom have the same concept of an ideal match as the father, and since they realize that he can observe these qualities just as easily as they themselves, mating generally does not involve violence to the wishes of the partners.

1 [i.e., to arrange a marriage--Analyst]

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By Purchase



Much has been written about the OSSETINE bride wealth, but no one has described it so well as Kovalevskij in his *Sovremennyj obyčaj i drevnij zakon.* 583

Less than fifty years ago the expenses involved in a marriage were enormous. The families of the highest class in Kurtatinsk and Tagaursk had to pay as much as 100 oxen (worth about Rs. 1,000), one male slave or Rs. 120 and a coat of mail. In Kurtatinsk an equivalent number of cows could be substituted for oxen ; a female slave or 12 oxen could be substituted for a male slave. The *farsaglegs* were valued at 60 cows or 30 oxen, whereas the *kavdassart kalym* was 25 to 38 cows. The Alaghirs never paid more than 38 oxen. An ox could be replaced by one cow and two sheep ; a gun could replace six oxen ; a sword, two or three oxen ; a large chauldron for brewing beer, six oxen ; a hearth chain, three cows.

Besides the *kalym* (or more correctly when speaking of the Ossetes, *irad*) the Mohammedan Ossetes are obliged to give a guarantee against divorce, the equivalent of the Lesghian *kebin,* called by the Ossetes *nakiash.*

Astounding is the number of gifts which the suitor's family was obliged to offer to the relatives of the bride. There was the *fati-bash, i. e.,* a horse called "The Arrow Horse" because the consent of the bride's father and the whole matchmaking procedure moved as swiftly and directly as an arrow ; the *fati-bash* was given to the bride's father while her mother received the *madi-bash,* ("The Mother's Horse"). Then there was the *amtsedzhi-bash* ("The Nurse's Horse") which actually went to her husband (cf. *supra,* the *atalyk,* p. 57). The *madi-arvadi-bash* or *madi-arvadai-kal* was a horse given to the nearest relative of the bride's mother, most commonly to her brother. The Digorians usually offered oxen instead of horses.[39] 584

The sib must not be forgotten either. Besides the bride-price the prospective bride-groom had to give about Rs. 9 to the village, or, in other words, to the sib, for the Ossetine villages are generally composed of families related by blood. This payment was called *kauvendag* ("The Village Road").[40] Kovalevskij's figures differ but slightly from those of earlier ethnographers of the same century. Klaproth in his *Voyage au Mont Caucase et en Géorgie* (1828)[41] informs us that the highest *kalym* among the Ossetine nobles was Rs. 1,000 (hence about 100 cows). Dubois de Montpéreux,[42] whose investigations were published about 10 years after those of Klaproth, places the bride-price at 140 cows and 7 horses as the maximum and 12 cows as the minimum. In 1859 the Russians enacted a law according to which one third of the *irad* was to go to the bride as social security in case her husband should die.[43] This attempt to put an end to what the Russians considered a great abuse served only to raise the *irad* considerably. In fact, it reached an exceptionally high point in 1877, when to marry a single son would often bring complete financial 585

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[39] Kovalevskij, *Coutume contemp.*, pp. 163 f.

[40] Kovalevskij, *op. cit.*, pp. 175 f.

[41] II, p. 249.

[42] *Voyage autour du Caucase,* IV, p. 449.

[43] Leontovič, II, p. 51, § 17, *note 3.*

# Chapter VI

# Premarital Arrangements

## § 1. DESCRIPTION OF MATCHMAKING AND BETROTHAL CUSTOMS

### 1. Description

584 NORTHWESTERN CAUCASIANS. Matchmaking among the Cherkess is, as a general rule, quite simple.

The premarital arrangements of *Christian* Cherkess has been described by Dubrovin as follows.[1] "Marriages are arranged by the parents of the prospective bride and groom.[2] If the young man's father is dead, his nearest relative sends as matchmakers two old men to the girl's father and two old women to her mother.[3] If the answer is in the affirmative, a date is set on which the young man's relatives must bring the usual engagement gifts and provide the food for a special engagement feast. The young man's family and other relatives come on the appointed day with some cloth and rings for the bride-to-be, who, however, is not present at her betrothal feast."

The *Mohammedan* betrothal is likewise very simple. The father of the young man (or a relative) visits the family of the prospective bride and enquires about the possibilities of a marriage between the two. If the answer is favourable, a representative of the bride and two witnesses are called. The girl's free consent is always insisted upon, but, as we have mentioned above (*supra*, p. 79), this is only a formality. The mullah is then notified, after which he recites a special betrothal prayer. The only negotiations that still must be made are those regarding the *kalym*, the day on which the special engagement feast is to take place, and, finally, the day of the wedding itself. The *kâdî* must register all engagements in his official books.[4]

And now, if we pass on to the *non-Christian and non-Mohammedan* communities we find the customs slightly different. A friend or relative of the young man offers a horse to the prospective bride's father, brother, or another member of the family. If the father of the girl consents to the marriage, he will accept the horse as a special engagement gift (*euzh*, as it is called).[5] After some time, the future groom must visit his future parents-in-law. Toward evening, the

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[1] This is a free translation of *Istorija*, I, i, p. 139 f.

[2] The Temirgoi marriages are arranged by representatives of both fathers, usually close relatives (Vasil'kov, "Očerk byta temirgoevcev," p. 89).

[3] Women never have a part to play in the arrangement of marriages among the Temirgoi (*ibid.*).

[4] Hahn, *Kaukasische Reise und Studien*, pp. 39 f; Dubrovin, *Istorija*, I, i, pp. 141 f.

[5] Dubrovin, *Istorija*, I, i, p. 140.

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fire in the hearth is extinguished, and the future bride and groom must clasp hands as a concluding betrothal ceremony.[6] Only now do the negotiations regarding the *kalym* begin.[7] 584

The NORTHEASTERN CAUCASIANS. Instead of describing the customs of each Chechen tribe individually, we shall present the engagement customs of the most primitive of Chechen tribes, the Ingushi. The father of the suitor visits the family of the prospective bride personally.[8] Stereotyped procedure is the rule, and he is fully aware of this observance. At the first and second visit the girl's family is obliged by etiquette to make excuses, and by no means may a decision be reached. At the third visit the girl's father will utter his long awaited consent. The matchmakers may never visit the bride's father empty-handed. Usually they bring a ram to treat the family to a little dinner and to create a friendly atmosphere for the discussion regarding the marriage. If for some reason or other the marriage be considered undesireable, etiquette demands that an outright refusal be avoided ; instead, the girl's family must demand an excessive *kalym* or make other impossible stipulations. If the father of the girl has given his consent, a betrothal feast must be prepared,[9] on which occasion the suitor presents his future wife with an engagement gift of Rs. 10 and a silk cloth.[10] The local mullah is then called and a formal engagement contract is drawn before the usual two witnesses.[11] Two or three months later, the date of the marriage is agreed upon. Once the couple is officially engaged, the entire *taipan* becomes extremely interested in them, doing them all sorts of favours.

In Leontovič's *adat* collection we find another form of matchmaking. A brother is obliged to arrange a marriage between his sister and a friend who has "drunk to her health and offered her brother a gift." A failure to carry out this obligation will turn an intimate friend into the bitterest foe, and rightly so, says the *adat*, because such a neglect is a serious crime, a blood-offense, which necessarily calls for revenge no less than does murder.[12] This means of arranging a marriage is very rare and resorted to by the North Caucasians, especially the Ingushi, only after a refusal.[13] This *adat* is especially interesting because it overrules the sacred, inviolable *patria potestas* and so many other *adats* regarding choice of mates and engagement. This may very well be a vestige of a right formerly enjoyed by the maternal uncle.[14] [628] [604]

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[6] *ibid.*

[7] *ibid.* The engagement customs of the Abkhaz have been described quite fully by Seidlitz in his "Die Abchasen," *Globus*, LXVI (1894), p. 40.

[8] In Salati, Aukh, and Ichkeria matchmakers arrange the marriage ("Sbornik adatov žitelej Nagornago Okruga, 1864 goda," Leontovič, II, p. 144, § 92).

[9] Jakovlev, *Ingušli*, pp. 50 f.

[10] Berže, *Čečnja i Čečency*, p. 97.

[11] Grabovskij, "Ekonomičeskij i domašnij byt žitelej gorskago učastka Inguševskago Okruga," SSKG, III (1870), p. 20.

[12] Leontovič, II, pp. 251, §§ 149, 151 ; Berže, *op. cit.*, p. 98 ; Dubrovin, *Istorija*, I, i, p. 427.

[13] Leontovič, II, p. 251, § 151.

[14] Cf. Kovalevskij, "La Famille matriarcale au Caucase," *L'Anthropologie*, IV (1893), pp. 271 f.

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584 The Lesghian peoples can all boast of an elaborate engagement procedure. Were we to describe the ceremonies of each of the Lesghian peoples and tribes individually, we could easily fill a complete volume, but a volume with countless repetitions. We shall, therefore, limit ourselves again to what we may call a *typical* Lesghian engagement. Allowing for accidental differences, it is the kind of matchmaking and betrothal one finds among all Lesghians. These ceremonies have been described especially well by Kovalevskij in his *Zakon i obyčaj na Kavkazě*, L'vov, "Domašnjaja i semejnaja žizn Dagestanskich gorcev avarskago plemeni," Omarov, "Kak živut Laki," Gabiev, "Laki, ich prošloe i byt," and Dubrovin, *Istorija vojny i vladičestva russkich na Kavkazě.*

A Lesghian engagement is a long, drawn-out affair, lasting for months or even years,[15] yes, even for a decade or two.[16]

The suitor usually takes the first step himself: he invites the father of his prospective bride to dinner and secretly tries to discover the father's attitude toward such a match.[17]

Soon after that, the hopeful suitor sends a matchmaker to the girl's father. The matchmaker is usually a woman[18] (sometimes the mother or sister of the groom), but sometimes a man is sent instead;[19] and sometimes two matchmakers are sent instead of one.[20] Matchmakers are soon recognized as such by their unusual eloquence and unexpected eulogies.[21] "There is a certain young man, with an incomparable character. He is brave beyond description. And, of course, he is well-to-do. He is a man of reliability. In a word, he possesses all the qualities any and every Lesghian values." Then follows the practical application: "What a blessing it would be if this young gentleman would (Allah granting) become the husband of such a wonderful girl as is your daughter. Can you think of a better match?" But no matter how eager the parents of the girl may be to give her in marriage to this particular "superman," etiquette demands that this part of the premarital arrangements end in excuses and objections: "Oh, you see, our daughter is still so young! And besides, how could we get along without her. You realize the decision is very difficult. Please, let us think the matter over."

Some time later, the girl's parents consent to the marriage, the usual formula being, "Insha-Allah", i. e., "If it please Allah; if Allah so will!"[22]

Now that the girl's parents, especially her father, have no objections to the marriage, the suitor's task is to become acceptable to the girl and her family, and without gifts such a task would be impossible.

584 431 The next part of courtship is called *suknikari*.[23] The matchmaker brings the girl a ring, some clothes, and money. The *suknikari* is a very important

[15] Gabiev, *op. cit.*, p. 108.
[16] Kovalevskij, *Zakon*, II, p. 181.
[17] "Adaty Južno-Dagestanskich Obščestv," SSKG, VIII (1875), p. 41.
[18] Kovalevskij, *l. c.*
[19] "Adaty Južno-Dagestanskich Obščestv," *l. c.*; L'vov, *op. cit.*, p. 22.
[20] "Adaty Južno-Dagestanskich Obščestv," p. 31.
[21] Dubrovin, *Istorija*, I, i, pp. 562 f.
[22] L'vov, *l. c.*
[23] The first visit of the matchmakers was called *sukni* (in Dargwa).

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event in every Lesghian's life, for if these gifts are accepted, the consent of the parents of the girl is considered final.[24] 584 431

The next step consists mainly in an exchange of gifts.

Some days later, the mother of the young man visits the girl's family, bringing with her four loaves of bread and a ram,[25] a large copper basin, clothing, one silver and one golden ring. On accepting the gifts the girl puts the rings on her fingers. This visit of the mother of the groom constitutes the essential part of the engagement: from this moment the two young people are considered engaged.[26] In return the bride's family give the future groom's mother two loaves of bread, a slaughtered ram, and some small coins.

In the near future the fiancée must pay a visit to her parents-in-law. The groom-to-be, however, must absent himself on this occasion. She again receives various gifts: cloth, rings, ear-rings, and a vessel.[27]

Several days later the young man, in turn, pays a visit to his fiancée's family. Now it is the girl's turn to be absent. A small feast is prepared, and the suitor presents the family with some cloth and a slaughtered ram.[28]

The exchange of gifts must continue, vessels, cloth, rams, money, and pastries being the usual gifts. The suitor generally selects holydays as most appropriate for his visits and bestowals. There is especially the *khinki arkhul* which consists of pastries, cloth, an eviscerated ram, six large loaves of bread, and a large cast-iron vessel not less than 16 pounds in weight. These gifts are brought to the fiancée by two male and two female relatives of the suitor. In return the girl sends her future husband some silk cloth and two belts, and a necklace for his sister.[29]

Some time before the wedding, various materials are brought to the future bride, such as hemp, which she must prepare for use in her future home. Two or three years later, she receives 30 or 40 sheep-skins or 9—10 rams. In return she offers some cloth and belts.

The final bestowal of engagement gifts takes place several months later when two men and two women betake themselves to the bride-to-be, this time with one live and one slaughtered sheep, six large loaves of bread, three pieces of clothing of which one is silk, and, finally, a piece of cloth.

The last act of the engagement drama takes place shortly before the wedding. Three to ten relatives of the future bridegroom go to the family of the young lady, where they prepare the *khalba* and for this purpose they bring six pounds of butter and one measure of flour, while the girl's relatives provide other food. This feast is held on Tuesdays, Wednesdays, or Thursdays and usually lasts a day or two. On this occasion two reliable persons representing [527]

[24] Kovalevskij, *Zakon*, II, pp. 181 f.

[25] In Upper Kaitago (in Gank, Gansh, Myura) the groom's sister may come instead of his mother. AJuDO, p. 41.

[26] Kovalevskij, *Zakon*, II, p. 182: "Rělajoščim aktom v dělě svatovstva javljaetsja vstuplenie materi ženicha v dom roditelej nevěsty s četyr'mja bol'šimi chlebami..."

[27] *ibid.*

[28] In some places the suitor's visit precedes that of the fiancée. Cf. "Adaty Južno-Dagestanskich Obščestv," p. 41.

[29] Kovalevskij, *l. c.*

584 [431] the future groom and two others representing the bride-to-be conclude a formal written contract regarding the *kebin*.[30]

The SOUTHERN CAUCASIANS. Southwest of Daghestan is the province known as Sakataly. A brief description of the Ingiloi betrothal customs will give us a good idea of the entire country bordering Southwestern Daghestan. The matchmaking is carried out by a representative of the suitor and a near relative of the mother of the girl, who, after a preliminary discussion, informs the mother that, " a certain person sent me to you with a little request. He would like to marry your daughter. The young man is truly of a noble character and well-to-do. I advise you to give your consent." Just as among the Chechens and Lesghians, the matchmaker will not receive a favourable answer at once. Only at the third visit is a decision reached, provided that within a definite time the family of the suitor can furnish a piece of silk, a silver ring, a ram, 10 loaves of bread, two liters of nuts, 15 or more eggs, 3 measures of apples, and two pails of wine. On the appointed day the bride-groom's matchmaker and one of his relatives bring these things to the girl's family. When the groom's intermediary arrives, he announces, " All these things were sent by Mr. X to win the favour of your daughter. May God grant them both luck and health, and may He also grant the same to you." Then the ram, which was brought by the matchmaker, is slaughtered ; the cloth, ring, and money are received by the mother of the girl ; the ring is placed on the girl's finger, from which moment she is regarded as definitely engaged. Similar feasts and gifts must follow. It is worthy of note that it is the mother who receives the gifts, the father having pratically nothing to do in the whole engagement ceremony. A final visit, and then the day of the marriage is agreed upon.[31]

To arrange a marriage in Pshavia usually takes about two years. The first discussions between the two families are a mere formality, but a formality that is strictly insisted upon, as it is elsewhere among the mountain peoples of the Caucasus. When the girl's parents finally give their consent, the so-called *agreoba* takes place : that is, bread is broken, distributed among the bride's relatives, and then eaten together with salt as a sign of friendship and betrothal. From this moment the two young people are considered engaged,[32] and the suitor's family is obliged to offer the girl's relatives an engagement gift. About a hundred years ago, according to Eristov,[33] it amounted to one ruble twenty kopeks. Among the Khevsurs it was only 20 kopeks.[34] After some time the future groom is obliged to visit his fiancée's family, and he and his friends are given a feast, but first the visitor must offer the *sakhlis sanakhavi* (" the visitation of the house "), which includes bread, meat, and drinks. The following day a

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[30] Dubrovin, I, i, p. 563.

[31] Cf. Fon-Plotto, " Priroda i ljudi Zakatal'skago Okruga," SSKG, IV (1871), pp. 30 f.

[32] Cf. Makalatija, " Iz starogo narodnogo byta Pšavov," SE, 1938, No. 1, pp. 103 ff.

[33] The Tushi have the same custom (Dubrovin, *Istorija*, I, i, p. 310).

'O Tušino-Pšavo-Chevsurskom Okrugě," ZKO, III (1855), pp. 111 f. According to Makalatija, *l. c.*, Rs. 5 to Rs. 15.

[34] Dubrovin, 310.

sheep is slaughtered and a second feast is given at which the husband- and wife-to-be are present. The elder of the village *(khevis-beri)*[4] presides and then recites the special engagement prayer: "Glory to you, George, Angel of the Oak, Lasharis-Dzhbari, and Queen Tamara! George, Angel of the Oak, bless this young couple! Make them happy, rich and prosperous!"[35] After this the *mkepari*[36] are chosen from among the relatives of both partners, whose task it is to collect gifts for the betrothed. The Pshavs do not give their daughters a special dowry, these gifts and the *satavno* taking its place.[37] From now on the suitor is allowed to pay his future wife frequent visits.[38]

There is very little difference to be noted in the OSSETINE matchmaking and betrothal.[39] At first a good friend (generally a woman) of the young man's family is sent to the parents of the girl to learn, unnoticed if possible, about the possiblity of a marriage. If the "spy" returns with a favourable answer, two official matchmakers are sent, generally elderly friends of the family. All dealings are kept secret until the girl's father consents. The town-crier is then notified, for it is his duty and privilege to publicize all engagements. Then the matchmakers bring to the girl's family gifts and the *kalym*, and, as usual, the engagement is celebrated by a feast.[40]

The engagement customs of the KUMYKS are about the same as those of the Chechens.[41] In Balkaria it is the agreement regarding the *kalym* that constitutes the essence of the betrothal.[42]

## 2. Conclusions regarding Matchmaking and Betrothal

(1) All North Caucasians and immediate neighbours have the custom of formal betrothal of one sort or another. (2) Nowhere is the marriage arrangement a private affair. The two persons concerned are either passive, or if they do act, they are simply cooperating in a family matter. (3) Official go-betweens are usually employed. (4) The initiative is taken among all North Caucasians and neighbouring peoples by the male side. (5) Although the mother plays a surprisingly important part in the engagement customs, the final decision rests with the father.

The premarital arrangements of the Caucasians have a strongly patriarchal character. It is the father who has the final word in matchmaking. Moreover,

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[35] Makalatija, *l. c.* The sacred oak referred to is supposed to be on Mount Lashari in the central part of Pshavia and is tied to heaven with a golden chain (Makalatija, *op. cit.*, p. 103).

[36] Makalatija, *l. c.*

[37] Every girl, while still small, receives a calf as her own property. All the profit she makes by raising the calf becomes her property too.

[38] Makalatija, *l. c.*

[39] Dubrovin, I, i, pp. 329—332.

[40] Hahn, *Bilder aus dem Kaukasus*, pp. 40 f.

[41] For a fine description of Kumykian matchmaking and engagement see Semenov, "Očerki narodnych obyčaev Kumykov Terskoj Oblasti," *Terskij Sbornik*, II (1892), No. 2, Part 2 pp. 68—71; Dubrovin, *Istorija*, I, i, p. 637.

A. Karzulov, "Bolkari na Kavkaze," SMOMPK, XXXVIII (1908). No. 1, p. 146.

4. [in Pshavia, southern Caucasia -- Analyst]

584 the passivity of the couple reflects their submission to the *patria potestas* and
593 perfectly agrees with all we have said about the freedom of choice. The girl is usually more passive than the young man, a fact that corresponds to the greater privilege of the latter to choose his own mate. Although the Caucasian customs of matchmaking and engagement are strongly patriarchal in colouring, we do not wish to say that betrothal as such is a patriarchal trait. On the contrary, elaborate engagement ceremonies are found especially among matriarchal peoples.[43]

## § 2. PRIVILEGES AND OBLIGATIONS ARISING FROM BETROTHAL

There are three distinct obligations that we must consider: (1) mutual avoidance especially in public, (2) mutual fidelity, (3) and the obligation of entering upon marriage with one's engaged partner.

### 1. Mutual Avoidance

The NORTHWESTERN CAUCASIANS. An *adat* for the Black Sea-
584 Cordon Line, Kuban and Terek Territories speaks of the strict obligation of the
834 betrothed to avoid one another in public. Should they accidently meet in the presence of others, they may not speak to one another; in fact, they are forbidden
[836] even to pass a glance at each other.[44] Of course, sexual intercourse is strictly forbidden and severelly punished (*infra*, pp. 168—179).

The NORTHEASTERN CAUCASIANS. In Chechnia, as soon as the father of the girl gives his consent and the suitor's family has presented their future daughter-in-law with the prescribed engagement gift of ten silver rubles and a silk kerchief, the young man has the right to meet his beloved, but only in private. If another person is present, the bride-to-be must turn her back to her lover.[45] Betrothal, however, does not give the pair the right to sexual relations.[46] When speaking of the Lesghians[47] we must distinguish between three distinct classes of *adats* regarding mutual avoidance: (1) sometimes the engaged couple is strictly forbidden to meet, be it in public or private (if they do meet, it is done stealthily), (2) among some Lesghian peoples they are permitted to meet
[836] at the girl's house, (3) among the Tsunta-Akhvakh the *adats* permit engaged couples even to sleep together (*infra*, p. 181 f).

The *adats* of some of the mountain tribes of SOUTH CAUCASUS strictly forbid engaged couples ever to meet in public or in private. It may happen that

[43] Thurnwald, "Verlöbnis," Reallexikon der Vorgeschichte, XIV, p. 133.

[44] Leontovič, II, p. 257, 194. Dubrovin, *Istorija*, I, i, p. 429: "Posle sgovora ženich imĕet pravo vidĕt'sja tajno s' svoej nevĕstoj; no pri postoronnich ljudjach priličie trebuet ne tol'ko ne govorit' mežđu soboju, no i ne smotret' drug na druga."

[45] Berže, *op. cit.*, pp. 97 f.

[46] *Infra*, pp. 169—176.

[47] L'vov, *op. cit.*, p. 22 f; Amirov, "Sredi gorcev severnago Dagestana," SSKG, VII (1873), p. 30; Omarov, "Kak živut Laki," SSKG, IV (1871), pp. 16 ff; Dubrovin, *Istorija*, I, i, p. 564.

8: Lužbetak E-4 (no date) 1951 RH1 Caucasia RH1



the couple does not become acquainted with one another till their wedding day.[48] In Khevsuria the girl used to move into the house of her future father-in-law before her marriage, and there she would take part in the family work for three to fourteen days, but all this time she was not allowed to associate with anyone except the female members of the family. After that she returned to her own household and lived there for two weeks at least (sometimes two or three years), during which time she was not allowed to meet her lover. In fact, he was even forbidden to enter her village.[49] In Pshavia, as we have seen above (p. 105), the engaged couple is allowed to meet frequently.

The obligation of mutual avoidance is also observed by the neighbouring OSSETES.[50]

In this regard the neighbouring TARTARS do not differ either. The Kumyk may visit his future wife only privately and is strictly forbidden to speak to her in the presence of others.[51] The Karachai suitor is forbidden to speak not only with his beloved but also with his future parents-in-law.[52]

## 2. Mutual Fidelity

The *adats* of the North Caucasians do not tell us whether the obligation is bilateral or not. The female partner, of course, is strictly bound to fidelity as will be clear from our exposition of the proof of virginity demanded of the bride on her wedding night (*infra*, p. 124) and from Chapter XII on sexual violations.

## 3. The Obligation of Entering upon Marriage

Islamic law gives both parties the right to dissolve the engagement at will.[53] It will be interesting to find out whether in this particular case the *adats* are observed or the *šarī'a*.

The NORTHWESTERN CAUCASIANS. The "Collection of adats for the Black Sea-Cordon Line, Kuban and Terek Territories" (§ 195) informs us that "the man has a right to break his engagement at will; and, at the request of his fiancée or her relatives, he may permit the girl to withdraw her promises."[54] This adat clearly shows that the obligation is unilateral. "The girl [or her family] may not break the engagement without her fiancé's consent."[54]

The NORTHEASTERN CAUCASIANS. The following table will give us a good idea of the Chechen *adats*.

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[48] Dubrovin, *Istorija*, I, ii, p. 309.

[49] M. O. Kosven, "Peržitki matriarchata u narodov Kavkaza," SE, 1936, No. 4—5, p. 216.

[50] Dubrovin, *Istorija*, I, i, p. 333; Byhan, *op. cit.*, p. 212.

[51] Dubrovin, *Istorija*, I, i, p. 638.

[52] Byhan, *op. cit.*, pp. 245 f.

[53] Juynboll, *op. cit.*, p. 163.

[54] Leontovič, II, p. 257, § 196.

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## TABLE 13

### Obligation of Betrothed to Enter upon Marriage among the Chechens

584

| Tribe | Right to dissolve engagement enjoyed by | | What happens to bride wealth and engagement gifts after betrothal promises are withdrawn? | Sources |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Suitor | Fiancée | | |
| Ingushi | Yes | No | If bride [or her family] break the engagement, the bride wealth must be returned to the suitor. | Leontovič, II, p. 170, § 122 |
| Salati | No* | No | If suitor [or his family] break the engagement, the girl may retain all gifts. | Leontovič, II, p. 145, § 97 |
| Ichkerians | Yes | No | Whether male or female side break the engagement, engagement gifts must be returned to the suitor. | Leontovič, II, p. 145, § 96 |
| Aukh | Yes | No | If suitor [or his family] break the engagement, the gifts must be returned; if the girl breaks the engagement, the *kalym* and gifts received must be returned in double value. | Leontovič, II, p. 144, § 95 |

* The *adat* collection says that the suitor *may* break the engagement, but since he is obliged to forfeit the engagement gifts, we prefer to say he does *not* have the right to dissolve an engagement. The general rule throughout Chechnia and Ingushetia is that the young man may dissolve the engagement at will without any loss, while the girl or her family may not, without the consent of the male side. Cf. Berže, Čečnja i Čečency, p. 98.

There is very little data available regarding the Lesghian practice. In some places the general Islamic norm is followed. Elsewhere, e. g. in the District of Usisha (Province of Dargwa), neither party has the right to call off the marriage. If the man refuses to marry because his fiancée has been unfaithful (or for some other legal grounds), she must return all that she has received from him by reason of their engagements. If, on the other hand, the male partner is at fault, the girl has a right to withdraw her promises and retain all betrothal gifts.[55] In Kaitago-Tabassaran, if the girl or her family prevent the marriage from taking place, they must return twice the value of the bride wealth received; if the man is not willing to marry, he forfeits the bride wealth and gifts.[56]

The customary laws of the SOUTHERN CAUCASIANS recognize two forms of betrothal: (1) the *tsindoba (tsindva*, or *datsindva*), which consists in a promise to marry, made before witnesses; (2) the *nishnoba* or *nishnismitana* (literally, "giving a sign"), i. e., symbolic act or ceremony in which the future

[55] This *adat* would seem to imply that both partners are equally obliged to remain faithful.

[56] "Adats for North Tabassaran," SSKG, VIII (1875), p. 32; Adats for Mahal Karakaitag and for Upper Kaitag: SSKG, VIII (1875), pp. 41, 46.

husband gives his future spouse an engagement gift as a pledge that he will marry her. Seidlitz,[57] Eristov,[58] (writing of the Khevsurs and Pshavs respectively), and King Vakhtang's Code seem to imply that the fiancée alone is bound by the promise to enter upon marriage. In any case, there is no doubt that her obligation is, by far, more binding than that of her lover. In Pshavia the engaged girl whose lover dies before marriage is obliged to move into her deceased fiancé's house and live there for a year before she may marry another man.[59] 584

With the OSSETES, on the contrary, the suitor does not enjoy more right to dissolve the betrothal promises than the girl. He may refuse to marry only if he discovers an essential defect, such as sickness and loss of virginity,[60] which she failed to manifest before the betrothal. [836]

Among the TURCO-TARTARS of the Caucasus, the Nogai and Kumyks, the obligation of marrying is bilateral. If the male partner refuses to marry, the girl and her family may retain the bride wealth received from him so far. Moreover, he is obliged to make restitution for all the *damna emergentia.* If the female partner refuses to marry, everything received from her lover must be restored to him. If she has been deflowered by him, he must marry her. Of course, if he so wish, he may divorce her immediately after the marriage and bear the usual expenses connected with a divorce (*kebin*).[61] [586]

TABLE 14

**Obligations Arising from Engagements**

| People | Mutual Avoidance | Fidelity | | Marriage | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | Suitor | Fiancée | Suitor | Fiancée |
| Abkhaz | + | | + | − | + |
| Cherkess | + | | + | − | + |
| Chechens | + | | + | − | + |
| Lesghians | + − | | + | + − | + − |
| Georgians | + | | + | − | + |
| Ossetes | + − | | + | + | + |
| Nogai | | | + | + | + |
| Kumyks | + | | + | + | + |
| Karachai | + | | + | | |

[57] "Gemeinde- und Familienleben der Chewsuren," *Das Ausland,* XVI (1891), p. 319.

[58] *op. cit.,* p. 111.

[59] Makalatija, "Iz starogo narodnago byta Pšavov," SE, 1938, No. 1, p. 110.

[60] Kovalevskij, Coutume contemp., pp. 193 f.

[61] "Adaty žitelej kumyskoj ploskosti," SSKG, VI (1872), p .16. Cf. Dubrovin, *op. cit.,* I, i, p. 638.

1/A [Sio-- Analyst]

584 It is worthy of note that most North Caucasian *adats* permit the suitor to dissolve the engagement, whereas the neighbouring Turkish peoples and the Ossetes do not. It would seem that those who permit the *male* partner to withdraw his promise at will stress the unilateral aspect of a betrothal; that is, the only one that incurs expenses is the suitor (or to be more exact, his family). If, then, the expenses are one-sided, the privileges and the obligations ought to be one-sided. Those who do not permit either partner to break the engagement seem to stress the bilateral aspect of a betrothal, namely, as soon as a girl is engaged she gives up all possibilities of marrying another man, perhaps even a better choice than the person to whom she is actually engaged. Moreover, this *mutual* obligation expresses the eagerness of the girl's family to secure a marriage for her before she becomes too old, when she would either have to remain a spinster or be sold at a lower price.

That the suitor actually acquires rights in the strictest sense of the word through betrothal is made very clear in the numerous *adats* which distinguish between an abduction of an engaged and a non-engaged girl, the former being considered a qualified crime. He enjoys the right of vengeance just as much as does the abducted girl's family.[62]

[581] Finally, the fact that the Pshav girl must live with her would-be father-in-law after the death of her suitor confirms our repeated assertion that marriage is a *family* affair: the wife is acquired primarily for the good of the family.

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[62] See the various *adat* collections in the section on bride-stealing. Dubrovin, *Istorija*, I, p. 129.

he would be sentenced to death by drowning. In the nineteenth century a heavy fine of 200 oxen and immediate separation were insisted upon instead.[9] 684 628

The penalty for raping a boy before puberty is death. Of course, such cases of perversion are very rare.[10] Likewise extremely rare are cases of homosexuality and bestiality,[11] except among certain Cherkess horse-breeders among whom bestiality is more common and the penalty trivial or none at all.[12] [839]

The *adats* have evidently gone through a distinct evolution, from unusual severity imposed exclusively on the adulteress to a more moderate form of punishment affecting both partners. Dubois de Montpéreux observed how a husband, who would clip his wife's hair for adultery, then cut off her ear, arm, or nose and finally kill her, fully in accord with ancient *adats*,[13] would thereby become a blood-enemy of his wife's relatives. He therefore usually preferred to divorce her instead[14] and have the *kalym* refunded.[15] Vasil'kov reported in the beginning of this century that among the Temirgoi illicit intercourse was extremely rare and that *both* partners would be punished very severely. If caught in the act, they would be buried up to their necks and then stoned to death.[16]

The NORTHEASTERN CAUCASIANS. The Chechen customary law likewise imposes very severe penalties for adultery, as the following table clearly shows (Table No. 19).

The most serious sex offenses are those of rape and incest. If an Ingush woman (married or single) is raped, the attacker may be killed on the spot. If he manages to escape, a bitter blood-feud breaks out between the sibs of the offended and offender. In *adat* courts confession of the culprit or the accusation of the victim are considered undeniable evidence. The accused can prove himself not guilty by taking an oath, which must then be confirmed by the statements of five conjurors,[17] two of whom must be relatives. If the defendant hesitates to take the oath or fails to find sufficient conjurors who are convinced of his innocence (and hence who are not afraid of the supernatural sanction attached to such an oath), he must pay a fine of 24 cows if the victim happened to be a married woman,[18] and a horse worth 30 silver rubles, a ram and four kettles of *arrack* if she happened to be unmarried.[19] The ravisher, as usual, must marry the girl he attacked.[20] If the girl has already been engaged to someone, 684 695 [628] 684 584

[9] McLennan, *Studies in Ancient History*, p. 76.
[10] At least in Kabardia, according to Grabovskij, *op. cit.*, p. 43.
[11] *ibid.*
[12] Grabovskij, *op. cit.*, p. 44.
[13] Amputation of the adulteress' ears and nose is a punishment found throughout the Caucasus; today, of course, it is rare. It is indeed interesting to note that a Hittite code (about 1350 B. C.) engraved on a stele has been dug up, which legalized such mutilation in case of adultery (cf. H. C. E. Zacharias, *Protohistory*, p. 258).
[14] Dubois de Montpéreux, *Voyage autour du Caucase*, I, p. 132.
[15] Dubrovin, *l. c.*
[16] "Očerk byta Termirgoevcev," SMOMPK, XXIX (1901), No. 1, p. 102.
[17] For the institution of *conjury* see above, pp. 155 f.
[18] Leontovič, II, p. 172, §§ 140, 142.
[19] Leontovič, II, p. 172, § 144.
[20] Leontovič, II, p. 120, § 24. Other adat collections claim the very opposite, cf. Leontovič, II, p. 172, § 147.

[834] the *adats* give the engaged partner the right to dissolve the betrothal promises [834] and to reclaim the *kalym* and engagement gifts.[21]

Seduction and attempted seduction are crimes almost as serious as rape and are punished accordingly.[22]

[835] The Chechens harbour an unusual abhorrence of incest. If an illegitimate child is born of an incestuous union, a heap of dirt is brought to the yard of the persons concerned, or sometimes to a public place, as a special protest of the community.[23] Generally speaking, penalties for sex offenses are inflicted on the culprit by the family, but, in the case of incest, the whole *community* protests. It is a crime that goes beyond the interests of the individual and joint-family.

A closer study of Table 19 will bring out three important facts regarding Chechen penalties for sexual offenses: (1) *both* the adulteress and adulterer are punished,[24] (2) they are killed on the spot, but the avenger thereby becomes a blood-enemy of the family of the person he kills, and (3) pardon and reconciliation are more or less the rule today, but not without heavy reparation and divorce.

## TABLE 19

### Penalty for Adultery according to Chechen Adats

| Tribe Chechen | Penalty | | Sources |
|---|---|---|---|
| | Adulteress | Adulterer | |
| Dzherakh and Nazranians | Recently: adulteress is divorced, must refund *kalym*, plus 48 cows to husband. | Husband may kill him in the act. | Leontovič, II, pp. 116 f, § 6; II, p. 118, § 14. Graboyskij, "Inguši," SSKG, IX (1876), pp. 53 f. |
| | Formerly: husband cut adulteress' nose off, divorced her, received 23 head of cattle from her family. | Might be killed in act; if escaped, had to pay 23 head of cattle to offended husband. | |
| Terek Chechens | Husband may not kill adulteress; may bite nose off, divorce her. | Husband may kill adulterer in act; if pardons him, husband has right to 70 head of cattle. | Leontovič, II, p. 122, § 2. Dirr, AGKB, p. 77. Leontovič, II, p. 113, § 9. |
| Kists | May not kill adulterous wife; may cut her nose off and divorce her; he receives 24 cows from her family. | Husband may kill adulterer in act, but obliged to pay bloodwite of 12 cows; if adulterer's sib takes vengeance on husband, must pay bloodwite of 24 cows. If adulterer escapes, he must pay husband 24 cows. | Leontovič, II, p. 120, § 23. Dirr, AGKB, p. 77. Leontovič, II, p. 113, § 9. |
| Salati Aukh Ichkerians | Husband may cut her nose off and divorce her. He may not kill her. | | Leontovič, II, p. 139, § 63; II, p. 113, § 9. Dirr, *l. c.* |

[21] Leontovič, II, p. 172, § 145.

[22] Leontovič, II, p. 173, § 149.

[23] Beržé, Čečnja i Čečency, pp. 86 f.

[24] This seems to be a further evolution of the *adat* permitting the offended husband to punish his wife *with impunity*. The right to kill the adulterers most likely was not limited to the

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# IV. CONCLUSION

## Chapter XIV

## Conclusion

### § 1. MARRIAGE AND THE FAMILY OF THE CAUCASIANS IN THE LIGHT OF HISTORY

#### 1. Russian (Soviet and Pre-Soviet) Influence

That the Russian military, political, and cultural influence has greatly affected, changed and unified, the marriage and family customs of the various peoples of the Caucasus cannot be denied. We need but recall some of the many facts we have pointed out in our comparative study. 177.58 583

(1) The Russians, we have seen, severely prosecute *polygyny* (*supra*, p. 39) and not without success. The relative scarcity of polygamous unions throughout North Caucasus and the neighbourhood, regardless of how ethnically different the tribes may be, must be attributed, at least in part, to Russian legislation. 177.59 595

(2) In recent times both mates have begun to enjoy greater *freedom of choice*, (*supra*, p. 76), thanks to the Russian insistance on freedom in mating as a *conditio sine qua non* for a legally valid marriage. [584]

(3) We have also observed how rapidly *bride purchase* was disappearing or assuming an entirely different significance throughout the Caucasus, again, at least in part, owing to Russian legislation, industrialization, and education (*supra*, pp. 83, 87, 90). [583]

(4) *Bride price, bloodwite*, etc. were formerly measured in cows, horses, sheep, and oxen, but now they are measured in money : not in live stock but in Russian rubles ! (*Supra*, pp. 82—89, 95, 168—179).

(5) The Russian opposition to *bride capture* has helped to make the practice become rare (*supra*, pp. 97 f). It was Russian positive law gaining ascendency over the *patria potestas* and its insistance on freedom of choice that encouraged and even defended elopement (*supra*, p. 98).

(6) The general disappearance of slavery and the associated sociological consequences, e. g., *the marriage impediments*, [582] [567]

(7) the *less severe penalties for sex crimes* which are gradually being adopted by all tribes of Caucasia (*supra*, pp. 175, 180). 177.68 584

(8) and the improvement in the *status of the female sex*, all must be reckoned among the effects of Russian and Soviet influence. 177.56 562

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# MARRIAGE

C. G. 585 The marriage customs of the Georgians are regulated by Christianity. The wedding rites go back to the ceremony of the Byzantine court: crowns are held over the heads of bride and groom, who are addressed as "queen" and "king." After the ceremony in the church the wedding is celebrated publicly in the house of the bride; the feast may last several days. Then the bride is brought to the house of the groom in a noisy procession on horseback. She is welcomed by her mother-in-law, who puts a lump of sugar or other sweets into her mouth; then she is led around the hearth, and a male child is put on her knees to ensure fecundity. The Georgian mountaineers (especially the Khevsur) have to a certain extent preserved customs similar to those found among the N. Caucasian mountaineers.

C. 583 The marriage customs of the North-Caucasian peoples (including the Ossetes) were only to a minor extent influenced by Islam or Christianity, and preserved older traits. In the whole area from the N. W. to the Andi-Dido region in Dagestan, there are clear traces of a tradition of acquiring brides by capture and abduction. At the same time, in the whole N. Caucasus the custom of paying a bride C. 581 price (R. kalym) prevailed. Originally, the personal preference of the girl was not taken into account at all, the marriage being arranged by her family on the basis of social or

581 economic considerations. In more recent times, under the influence of Islam, Christianity, and also of the Soviet regime, it has become a more important factor.

583 The mixture of various traditions can be exemplified by the Circassian usages. It was customary for the suitor, with the help of his comrades, to abduct his bride from the house of her parents. Often the kalym had been agreed upon beforehand, but the family of the bride nevertheless put up a token of resistance against the abduction. In cases where the family was against the marriage, elopement was not uncommon. A night spent 582 by the girl with her abductor made her his lawful wife according to the Circassian adat; later, a marriage contract drawn up by the mullah gave the marriage its legal sanction; now, marriages are regulated by Soviet law.

In Dagestan, local endogamy is observed more or less strictly; in the rest of the N. Caucasus, and also among the Georgian mountaineers, exogamous rules prevail. [587] Formerly, the levirate and stepmother-inheritance were widespread among the Caucasian mountaineers; there was also a strong insistance upon marrying within one's social rank.

585 Among all the Caucasian mountaineers observing exogamy, there existed a variety of avoidance rules. E.g., the bridegroom would hide during the wedding feast and afterwards only secretly visit his wife, who after

585 the wedding returned home or stayed with strangers or in a special house for a period.
606 There were numerous taboos for the wife with regard to her in-laws, especially the older ones (prohibition to speak to them, or to address them by name, etc.), to a certain extent also for the husband with regard to his parents-in-law, until he was "reconciled"
576 with them. Very strict rules governed the behavior of the married couple in the presence of others; they could not call each other by name, and any show of affection was considered bad form.

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so far as to give them the title of the "most beautiful women in the world." 583 Whether they, or perhaps the Mingrelians or others, deserve this title does not concern us here. What does matter is the conviction of the Turks and Persians [142] that Cherkess women are beautiful. It is said that the eunuchs of Persia used to lay down their lives for them, and today, it is a known fact, that the Turks are still willing to pay immense sums to have these singularly beautiful women in their harems. No wonder then, that bride-markets were not unusual in Circassia in the nineteenth century. And even today they are still operating, using of course the black-market technique. What we wish to emphasize is that the girl sold on the bride-market is not sold *against* her will. She is not sold as a slave, even though slave-traders are the middlemen of the actual purchasers. She is not sold against her will; no, she is proud to be sold, proud to see a man give up all he has just to win her. If it is not pride that makes her so eager to be sold on the bride-market, then it is ambition. These girls have dreams just as our girls do, though of a somewhat different type. In Turkey they will be sold to a *rich* man; they will be given a *comfortable* lodging, an excellent *education*. Dreams these are indeed, great dreams that can be realized only outside of their own homeland and only in a Turkish harem, only on the bride-market![6]

The NORTHEASTERN CAUCASIANS. The Chechen girls according to 584 their own native *adats* have very little to say about their future husbands. They must wait till their father (or if he is dead, their eldest brother) marries them off to whomever *he* thinks is best,[7] and, primarily, of course, best for the family, for marriage is a family affair. Child-engagements[8] are again a proof that not even the male-children enjoy the *right* to choose their mates.
decision of the Ingushi, no marriage was to be considered valid unless the bride

§ 118 of the "*Adats* of the Ingush Province in the 1860's" calls for special attention. It reads: "Since the end of 1862, according to an unanimous decision of the Ingushi, no marriage was to be considered valid unless the bride had freely consented.[9] The *adat* collection then goes on to give the motive for the decision (§ 156): "Till very recently (1862) a woman was regarded as a [582] slave: she enjoyed no human rights. Turning a deaf ear to her plea and [583] protests, disregarding her sobs and tears, her family would sell her off like a ram, throw her on a cart, and deliver her to her husband."[10] Such a miserable 585 bride, the collection tells us, would in most cases run away from her purchaser. But where could she flee except to her own family — unfortunately the same persons who sold her into "slavery"? Her family, however, had to return the fugitive to her lawful husband, for the contract had to be observed to prevent bloodshed. She would then run away again, and even a third time, making life

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[6] Cf. Essad-Bey, *op. cit.*, pp. 202—207. Longworth, *A Year among the Circassians*, I, p. 379.

[7] Cf. The general *adats* for the Black Sea Line, Kuban and Terek Territories, Leontovič, II, p. 251, § 148. *Adats* of 1843 for all Chechens, Leontovič, II, p. 112, § 8. *Adats* of 1864 for the Chechen tribes of Salati, Aukh, and Ichkeria, Leontovič, II, p. 144. Adats of the 1860's for the Ingush Province, Leontovič, II, p. 169. A. P. Berže, Čečnja i Čečency, p. 97.

[8] Dubrovin, *Istorija*, I, i, pp. 427.

[9] Leontovič, II, p. 169, § 118.

[10] "*Adats* of the Natives of the Ingush Province in the 1860's," Leontovič, II, p. 174, § 156.

1/9 [Sic -- Analysis]

8: Lužbetak E-4 (no date) 1951 RHI Caucasia RHI



585 more and more miserable for herself.[11] Sometimes the court succeeded in bringing about a peaceful settlement, even a more or less happy reunion,[12] or the husband would in disgust divorce her.[13] That such cases have occurred cannot be denied, but we have here nevertheless an example of the proneness of pre-Soviet writers to exaggerate the "savagery" of the Caucasians.

584 The actual fact is that the Russian Military Government tried to abolish compulsory mating. The Ingushi "agreed" to allow their daughters to choose their own mates or at least to ask them if they consented to the marriage arranged by the head of the family. Grabovskij assures us that the innovation of 1862 was being observed but only as a formality. The girl was generally asked whether she wanted to marry the particular man chosen for her, but no matter what she answered, the plans of her family were infallibly carried out.[14]

The customary laws of the *Lesghians* in regard to freedom of choice do not differ from what we have learned about the other mountain tribes of North Caucasus. According to their *adats*, the *right* to choose a mate belongs to the head of the family and to him alone. If he so wishes, he may betroth his boy or girl while they are still in the cradle.[15] The Lesghian boys have much more to say about their future wives than the girls about their mates, and even in the last century the boys were never forced to marry anyone against their will.[16] Virgins were given much less freedom in selecting their partners than a girl that had lost her virginity.

But just why should a woman who no longer possesses her virginal integrity be given more freedom than a virgin? This practice seems to have been introduced by Islamism, for it is in full accord with the teaching of the Šâfi'itic School. Mohammed is supposed to have encouraged all Walîs (father or guardian) to ask the girl if she freely consented to the proposed marriage. The Prophet failed to specify just what he meant by "girls." The Šâfi'itic School maintained that "girls" means "non-virgins."[17] Others insisted that Mohammed did not intend to distinguish between "virgins" and "non-virgins" but rather between "girls of age" and "girls not yet of age," the

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[11] *ibid.* (§§ 157 f). The lot of a widow or divorcée was supposed to have been much the same. Cf. Leontovič, II, 169, §§ 117 ff.

[12] Leontovič, II, p. 174, § 158.

[13] *ibid.*

[14] "Ekonomičeskij i domašnij byt žitelej gorskago učastka Inguševskago okruga," SSKG, III (1870), p. 20.

[15] Dubrovin, *Istorija*, I, i, p. 362.
Svěčin, "Očerk narodonaselenija, nravov i obyčaev Dagestancev," ZKO, II (1853), p. 64.
Kovalevskij, *Zakon*, II, pp. 180 f.
For customs relating to infant betrothal see: L'vov, "Domašnjaja i semejnaja žizn Dagestanskich gorcev avarskago plemeni," SSKG, III (1870), p. 17. According to Amirov, "Sredi gorcev severnago Dagestana," SSKG, VII (1873), p. 30, mentions that the engagement takes place when the future mates are still under 10. Cf. also Polidaev, *Gorcy severnago Kavkaza*, p. 105.

[16] This was the practice in the last decades of the nineteenth century. Kovalevskij, *Zakon*, II, p. 204.

[17] Juynboll, *Handbuch des islâmischen Gesetzes nach der Lehre der schâfi'itischen Schule*, p. 210.

583 other objects.[12] Although the amount is much more stable than in other parts of Caucasia, it does vary according to the presence or absence of virginal integrity and on the social class of the mates.[13]

In the eighteenth century the Nakhchuo paid up to 10 cows;[14] the Ingushi would have to pay as many as 30 cows.[15] In the 1860's the average *kalym* was about 18 cows (or if paid in money, Rs. 10 per cow).[16] In the twentieth century the *kalym* was so high that the Russian Military Government forced all young men to swear that they would never take or give more than Rs. 105 *kalym*, but, as Baddeley, who is averse to all exaggeration, assures us that "none kept the oath, and the amount was now greater than ever."[17] In 1920 the Ingushi of the Upper Uchaluk paid as much as one million Soviet rubles, 105 silver rubles, two horses, one cow and one ram as *kalym*.[18]

[585] In the Ingush *adat* collection of the 1860's (§§ 119 f) we read that the relatives of the groom are obliged to offer the bride a gift of 25 silver rubles on the occasion of her betrothal, of which she becomes the full owner and administrator. On her wedding day she must also be given a guarantee amounting to 80 silver rubles in case of divorce or widowhood.[19] This *adat* is an innovation which owes its origin to Islamism and the Russian Military Government. Although at first it was received with very little favour (and even today we still can come across cases which may be classified under strict purchase), this new form of bride wealth gradually prevailed throughout Ingushetia and Chechnia.[20] In a word, the Chechen bride-price has for about a century at least been tending to evolve into a form of dowry, an evolution analgous to that found among the Abkhaz and Cherkess.

[614] It is the obligation of the *taipan* (sib) to provide the necessary *kalym* for all male members, if necessary even by theft.[21]

The following table shows the average bride-price of about an hundred years ago.

TABLE 10

**Average bride-price among the Chechens about A.D. 1850**

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| District | Amount | | Source |
|---|---|---|---|
| | For maiden | For widow | |
| Nazran | 12 cows | 21 cows; sometimes only 12 | Leontovič, II, p. 117, §§ 9 f. |

[12] Cf. "Collection of *Adats* of the Black Sea Line, Kuban and Terek Territories" Leontovič, II, p. 253, § 161.
[13] Leontovič, II, p. 253, §§ 162—165.
[14] Potocki, *Voyage dans les steps d'Astrakhan et du Caucase*, II, p. 127.
[15] *ibid.*
[16] Grabovskij, "Ekonomičeskij i domašnij byt etc.," SSKG, III (1870), p. 20, *note*.
[17] *The Rugged Flanks of Caucasus*, I, pp. 207 f. See also Vertepov, "Inguši," *Terskij Sbornik*, II (1892), No. 2, p. 132.
[18] N. Jakovlev, *Inguši*, p. 53, *note* 1
[19] Leontovič, II, p. 169, § 119.
[20] Jakovlev, *Inguši*, p. 53.
[21] Jakovlev, *op. cit.*, pp. 51, 53.

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| District | Amount | | Source |
|---|---|---|---|
| | For maiden | For widow | |
| Kists | 18 cows | 12 cows | Leontovič, II, p. 118, §§ 18 f. |
| Dzherakh * | 30 cows | 20 cows | Leontovič, II, p. 116, §§ 1 f. |
| Sunsha * | 10 cows | | Leontovič, II, p. 123, § 1. |
| Ingushi ** | 18 cows | | Grabovskij, op. cit., p. 20. |

* The adat collection actually speaks of rubles and not cows; the approximate value in cows is based on Grabovskij's estimate, *op. cit.*, p. 20.
** In 1864.

Before we pass on to the Lesghian group we wish to mention an interesting form of *kalym*, parallels to which can be found in various parts of the world.[22] We refer to the practice of marrying two deceased persons. Toward the end of the 18th century Potocki observed that "if one Ingush lost a son and another an unmarried daughter, the father of the deceased girl would approach the family of the deceased son and say, 'Your son most likely still doesn't have a wife; I'll give him my daughter, who passed away some time ago, provided that you give me so and so many cows as kalym.' In such a case the father of the dead boy will never refuse."[23] The *kalym* is in such cases generally lower than usual.[24]

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When speaking of the Lesghians we must keep in mind that we are dealing with a group strongly influenced by Islamic law, much more so than the rest of the Caucasians. We must also remember that there are local and temporal variations to be taken into account. There are four distinct financial transactions connected with Lesghian marriages: (1) genuine bride purchase, (2) symbolic bride purchase, (3) gifts, (4) the *kebin*, a guarantee against divorce.

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Many recent and older authors speak of a "very trivial bride price."[25] Abercromby, for example, reports that the *kalym* of the Avars was no more than two rubles and eighty kopeks.[26] Hahn claims to have found it as low as 25 kopeks.[27] Before Shamyl's time it was supposed to have been possible to "purchase" a wife for a trifle: at Ishal, for instance, for 36 quarts (12 *garncy*) of wheat; in Bahulal it was only one *sab* (about 20 pounds) of grain; in Untsukul it amounted to one ruble.[28] Despite the poverty of the mountaineers, the *kalym* is so insignificant that to classify it under "bride-price" would be incorrect. This is not a case of bride purchase at all, but rather a formality or symbol, which may be at most a *vestige* of actual marriage by purchase.

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[22] For the custom among the Chinese see Vanicelli, *La Familia Cinese*, pp. 393—403; among the Germans of the Volga see E. G. Kagarov, "Venčanie pokojnikov u nemcev Povolž'ja," SE, 1936, No. 1, pp. 106 ff. O. Schrader, *Totenhochzeit*, 1904.
[23] Potocki, *op. cit.*, II, p. 127.
[24] B. Dalgat, "Die alte Religion der Tschetchenen," *Anthropos*, III (1908), p. 737.
[25] For instance, F. Nansen, *op. cit.*, p. 104; Byhan, *op. cit.*, p. 191; Kovalevskij, *Zakon*, II, p. 178.
[26] *op. cit.*, pp. 96, 101. The "bride-price" was therefore only 5 s. 10 d., less than $ 1.00.
[27] Hahn, "Putelestvie v Kachetiju i Dagestan," SMOMPK, XXXI (1902), p. 93.
[28] A. Runovskij, "Kodeks Šamilja," *Voennyj Sbornik*, XXIII (1862), No. 2, p. 347.

583 to assume the character of a dowry, as it had tended much earlier in Daghestan. A bitter struggle is going on between ancient *adats*, the *šarī'a*, and Russian laws.

(3) *Kalym* (even in recent times) is generally high.

[585] (4) Everywhere except among the Ingiloi and the Chechens of Nazran (*supra*, pp. 84, 86) the *kalym* and *kebin* are much higher for a virgin than a non-virgin. Virginity therefore is one of the most important factors in determining the amount of bride wealth.

[614] (5) Generally the family or a larger social group as the sib or *tleusn* provide the necessary bride wealth. The groom never has to amass the *kalym* [581] himself, another fact clearly showing that mating is not a private affair.

(6) The *kebin* is found in all North Caucasia and Mohammedan neighbourhood.

[554] (7) Everywhere the social status of the partners is an important factor in determining the amount of *kalym* and *kebin*.

The uniform evolution of the North Caucasian bride purchase is indeed striking. Originally all peoples of North Caucasus seem to have had actual bride purchase: the bride was actually sold and considered as a chattel. Then the bride-price began to lose its character of a purchase, a development contemporaneous with the spread of Islamism and Russian influence. Mohammedanism does not recognize bride purchase as such:[53] it recommends a bridal gift and prescribes the *kebin (mahr)* instead. The Russian Military Government in pre-Soviet times regarded bride purchase as a serious "abuse" and according to a decision of 1857 one third of the bride-price was to become the property of the bride as a form of social security.[54] Later the Soviet Government contributed its share in modifying the custom especially through industrialization, as we have seen is the case of the Cherkess living in the larger cities.[55]

583 554 That social rank should play such an imporant part in determing the amount of bride wealth (whether bride price, gifts or *kebin*) is quite natural, universal and in full accord with Islamic law.[56] In fact, according to Mohammedan teaching, the *walī mujbir* loses his right to marry his daughter or granddaughter against her will if the bride wealth does not correspond to the girl's social rank.[57]

Nowhere in the Caucasus has bride purchase been considered as something humiliating or degrading. After all, even the Cherkess princesses were purchased. The bride wealth corresponded to the social status and therefore added dignity to the purchase. Moreover, the higher the price the greater the social respect

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[53] Juynboll, *op. cit.*, p. 190. The *mahr* is also called *ṣakāk* in Islamic law.
[54] A. Dirr, AGKB, p. 124.
[55] *Supra*, p. 83.
[56] Juynboll, *op. cit.*, p. 215.
[57] *ibid.*

[i.e., bride-price and bride's security against divorce—Analyst]

# Chapter VII

# The Wedding

## § 1. DESCRIPTION

The NORTHWESTERN CAUCASIANS. The finest descriptions of the Abkhazian wedding, to my mind, are those of Deržavin and Seidlitz.[1] Unless indicated, our data have been taken from the latter author. 585

On the appointed day the bridegroom and his attendants hasten to the home of the bride, and after having extended them a hearty welcome, her father solemnly hands her over to the groom. A procession is formed, which then proceeds towards the bride's new home. The Abkhazian bridal song, "Bedniera" ("Happiness"), and continuous pistol salutes fill the air as the horsemen suddenly break into a wild gallop and begin their famous Caucasian *dzhigirt* (riding stunts). [526]

As soon as the wedding procession nears the groom's house, one of the riders gallops ahead. A pistol salute lets all know that the bride is near.

As soon as she reaches the house, an immense round loaf of millet bread is tossed over her head three times, then broken, and eaten by all present.

A bridal arch is formed at the doorway of the house by two men with crossed swords. On the threshold she is given some sugar and honey with the words "May God grant you a tongue as sweet as sugar and honey."[2]

She then crosses the threshold and receives a dish of *ghomi* (millet) and an egg. What the significance of this ceremony may be we are not told. She is then led thrice round the hearth, scattering grains of millet in all directions.

The bride then sits down and a little boy is brought to her. She takes him on her lap, in order that she too may, before long, have the happiness of becoming the mother of a boy.[3] [B42]

After this ceremony she is taken to the *ambara* (little house or hut).

On the following day visitors arrive to become acquainted with the bride[4] and to offer her various gifts. An attendant is always at her side to introduce the guests as they come. The veil is lifted from her face as she stands before the visitor motionless, with downcast eyes, and not uttering a single word. If

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[1] N. C. Deržavin, "Iz oblasti kavkazskoj etnografii. Svad'ba v Abchazii," SMOMPK, XXXVI (1906), No. 2, pp. 1—10. N. von Seidlitz, "Die Abchasen," *Globus*, LXVI (1894), No. 3, pp. 40 f. See also Dubrovin's description, *Istorija*, I, ii, pp. 49 ff.

[2] It is most likely the mother of the household who invites the bride to cross the threshold, a custom found also among other peoples of North Caucasus.

[3] *Cf. infra*, p. 205.

[4] Deržavin, *op. cit.*, p. 8.

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the guests have any questions, it is her girl-companion that must answer. The bride may at the most nod in affirmation.

She remains in her "hermitage" for some months before she is finally permitted to live with the rest of the household.[5]

The following description is chiefly that of the main Cherkess tribe, the Kabardians.

The *kalym* has been paid and the day of the wedding agreed upon. The relatives of the bridegroom begin the necessary wedding preparations. The odour of steaming beer and of the finest dainties creates a distinctive atmosphere, peculiar to a Kabardian wedding. On the eve of the marriage a group of men gallop through the *aul* inviting relatives to a preparatory feast, on the occasion of which a collection is taken to cover some of the expenses of the coming wedding, e. g., purchase of a veil for the bride, chartering of a bridal wagon.

On the following day young men fully-armed gather at the house of the groom and noisely gallop off to the bride's house. The bridegroom, however, does not go with them but "hides" at his best-man's house.[6] By doing so he becomes temporarily an adopted son *(kan)* of the latter's sib. A young companion called *shatso-kot* must always be at his side to protect him.

When the riders (or to be more exact, the bridal procession) reach the bride's house, her attendant, whom the riders brought along, is taken to the women's quarters, while the rest, after having feasted and danced till late into the night, are given lodging either in the house of the bride or of one of the neighbours.

Immediately after breakfast on the following day, the unusual hustle peculiar to a Cherkess wedding is observed outside the bride's house. The horses are being harnessed, the bride's belongings are being packed carefully but hurriedly into a trunk and put on the specially decorated bridal wagon. The bride herself is inside the house, being attired in her finest clothes. From her hair hangs a long white ribbon reaching to the ground. She is veiled, or rather, wrapped in a large white shawl. Her wedding dress differs but slightly from the ordinary Cherkess dress, except that it is made of more costly material. She is assisted on to the wagon and takes her place next to her ever-faithful girl-attendant. As soon as the bridal procession begins to move, the young men of the *aul*, all on horseback, try to snatch the caps away from the guests and thus begin the usual bridal horseraces. When the more "dignified" part of the procession enters the village of the groom, a wedding song is sung. By this time the racers have rested a bit and are ready to break into another wild chase. They again snatch one another's caps, throwing them on the ground, and as the rider gallops past one of the caps, he tries his skill at shooting a hole through it.

The bride is then taken by two women into the women's quarters, whilst outside the cracks of pistols and guns continue. The bride slowly sits down on a specially prepared bench, covered with a carpet. All eyes are fixed on her as a girl-friend of hers has the honour of removing the shawl.

While the riders outside are enjoying their beer, the youth of the village armed with long poles occupy a place difficult for the horsemen to pass. The

[5] Seidlitz, *op. cit.*, pp. 40 f; Deržavin, *op. cit.*, p. 10.
[6] C. Hahn, *Kaukasische Reisen und Studien*, p. 40.

8: Luzbetak E-4 (no date) 1951 RHI Caucasia RHI



riders charge wildly, slashing their whips in all directions against their attackers whose task it is to prevent the horsemen form entering the house. The battle continues till the riders finally manage to jump over the fence or to break it down and thus force their way into the house. The "defenders of the bride" throw away their poles and begin dancing with the girls of the village. At noon they all enter the house to congratulate the parents of the groom. Dances commence again and last until midnight.

All this time, as we have already mentioned, the groom is absent, temporarily adopted by a neighbouring sib and guarded day and night by his *shatso-kot*. When the groom retires, the *shatso-kot* must spend the night in the yard protecting the bridegroom against any intruder. Never may he abandon his post. During the day it is his strict obligation to entertain the groom and this he usually does by horseback riding, away from the village. In the evening the two are joined by other companions. Toward midnight all leave except of course the *shatso-kot*, who must now accompany the groom to his bride.[7]

The first three nights, as a part of the wedding ceremony, the groom must undo the bride's stays.[8] Her corset is a broad red leather belt, which is sewed tightly about her waist and is never removed till the wedding night. According to Pallas, the corset was donned when she was 10 or 12 years old,[9] while other explorers claim that the corset was sewed on soon after the bride was born.[10] In any case, she may never take the corset off: it must remain untouched till it bursts and then it must immediately be replaced by another. The husband alone has the right to undo it, on the wedding night. The corset renders the waist very small in proportion to the shoulders, the purpose being to prevent the growth of the breasts, an essential requirement for Cherkess beauty.[11] In some places at least, the custom of wearing such stays has been recently discarded.[12]

Pallas and Ellis in their reports dating from the 18th century claim that the corset is "cut with a dagger, a custom sometimes productive of very fatal accidents."[13] Today untieing and not cutting the stays is the orthodox ceremony with the Cherkess[14] and the Ossetes. To cut them would subject the groom to endless ridicule.[15] Since the custom of *cutting* was "productive of very fatal accidents" we can easily understand why the pratice has been given up. Sometimes the bride's girl-friends maliciously tie a large number of very difficult knots, so that the temptation to make use of the dagger is not slight. On the first three nights the bride is not allowed to say a word to her husband.[16]

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[7] Hahn, *op. cit.*, pp. 40—44. For a description of a wedding among the Temirgoi see Vasil'kov, *op. cit.*, pp. 89—101.

[8] Ladyženskij, FT, p. 191.

[9] P. S. Pallas, *Bemerkungen auf einer Reise in die südl. Statth. des russ. Reichs etc.*, I, pp. 380 f.

[10] Ellis, *Memoir of a map etc.*, p. 24.

[11] Pallas, *l. c.*; Ellis, *l. c.*; Dubrovin, *Istorija*, I, i, p. 127. Prof. D. Wölfel has called my attention to a similar practice in Tyrol.

[12] For example, Ladyženskij could not find the practice in Kamenomostki Aul in 1927, FT, p. 191.

[13] Pallas, *op. cit.*, I, p. 381; Ellis, *l. c.*

[14] C. Hahn, *op. cit.*, p. 44.

[15] Baddeley, *op. cit.*, I, p. 270.

[16] Hahn, *op. cit.*, p. 45.

565 The Cherkess formerly had a very important ceremony, which however seems no longer to be observed, the virginity test.[17] Formerly if the bride were found to have lost her virginity before her wedding, she would be returned to her father, who would mercilessly mutilate, sell or even kill her.[18]

[591] A week later the so-called *unaishe* (i. e., "introducing the young wife into the household") takes place. Up to this time she had to live in her own quarters, but from now on she is considered a full-fledged member of the family. In the midst of much shouting and shooting, songs and cheers, the young wife is led into the house by two women. She is wrapped in a shawl and wears tiny [592] stilts attached to the soles of her shoes, which make her look unusually tall. She enters, stands shyly against the wall and then waits for someone to remove her shawl. Thereupon a woman places with her finger a sweet liquid called *urtsetl* into the mouth of the bride in order that her life in the new household may be ever as sweet as *urtsetl*.[19]

Only women were present in the house when the bride entered. They now all take a drink of beer from a large common vessel, then sing and finally break into a dance till wedding songs are heard from outside. This is a sign for the bride to come out, and as soon as she crosses the threshold, a boy standing on the roof, lets down a shower of confetti, nuts and tiny pasteries.

The bride then retires to her room, while the guests feast, drink and dance.

Some days later a ceremony called "Reconciliation" takes place. The bride's girl-friends take part in dances at the home of the groom while the young men join the bridegroom in his hiding place, where drinking is preferred [608] to dancing. The groom then makes a little speech, thanking his "foster-father" for his kindness, and in return for all the courtesies shown him during his "adoption," he offers him an ox or a horse. The groom has been "hiding" all this time, and now he feels that it is about time for him to seek "reconciliation" with his family. In the meantime a sheep has been slaughtered and beer has been prepared for a feast when the "prodigal son" returns. A special cup of beer sweetened with honey and a little "snack" are waiting for him on a small side-table. All eyes are riveted on the son who "ran away" from home. The young ladies are bunched together in a corner of the room; the old men are likewise huddled against one of the walls; the parents of the groom and an honoured guest, an old man, stand in another corner of the room, while the bride with her girl-friends stands in the doorway. Suddenly the loud voice of the honoured guest calls all to attention. "Dear son," he cries, "you think that you have offended us, but you are mistaken. On the contrary, you have caused us indescribable joy! Come take this drink as a reward! Come, son, drink it and let us forget about the past." The groom rises and slowly approaches the old man, accepts the beer and hands it to his attendant. Thereupon he steps outside of the house where he drinks the beer and together with his companions partakes of the "snacks" After a while he retires, while his companions and guests continue their feasting and dancing till morning.

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[17] Cf. Ladyženskij, FT, p. 184.

[18] Byhan, *op. cit.*, p. 155.

[19] *Urtsetl* is made of sheep's fat or butter mixed with honey.

The "Reconciliation" however is not yet over. The following morning an *arba* (Caucasian two-wheeled wagon) drawn by two oxen goes through the village and every family before whose house the *arba* halts is obliged to donate a chicken. In the evening a cartload of chickens arrives, destined for a special "Reconciliation" feast exclusively for women, on which occasion the groom by accepting some beer from his mother is finally "reconciled" also with her. 585 [493]

True, the "Reconciliation" may be over, but the marriage ceremonies are not. Two days later there is more feasting, more drinking, and the so-called *shinak-gagerōs* (i. e., "the twirling of a wooden cup with a long handle") take place. The one toward whom the cuphandle points on stopping after having been twirled must drink its contents. The young people who take part in this drink-feast do not leave the groom's home till there is no more beer left to refill the cup. The old folks have their turn in the celebration in the evening, when the young are obliged to serve the old. One of the main features on the programme is the obligation of all the "old-timers" to take a turn at dancing, ending with a dance of the host and hostess, who, however, have the privilege of exemption from dancing if they drink a cup of beer instead. On this occasion the Kabardian minnesingers called *geguako* are especially welcome. They travel from village to village, playing on their two-stringed instruments, singing and composing beautiful lyrics[20] as the German minnesingers and the French and Italian troubadours once used to do. To each well-wishing of the *geguako* the guests answer with a joyful "Amen !," confirming their "So be it!" with a sip of beer.[21] [524] [273] [533] [534]

The ceremony of thrice walking around the hearth constitutes an important part of the Cherkess wedding just as in Abkhazia.[22]

The official marriage contract is made by representatives of the bride and groom in the presence of the local mullah. Holding both representatives by the hand, he first asks the representative of the bride: "Do you take A as husband for B?" The answer is a simple "Yes!" He then asks the representative of the groom: "Do you take B as wife for A?" "Yes!" This interrogation is repeated a second and a third time. The mullah then recites a prayer and all present, raising their hands heavenward, answer "Amen!"[23]

The expenses entailed in such an elaborate wedding would often bring complete economic ruin to the family, much the same as Caucasian funerals. Ladyženskij implies, however, that such expensive weddings are a thing of the past.[24]

The NORTHEASTERN CAUCASIANS. As our example of a Chechen marriage we have chosen that of the Ingushi, for this group of Chechens has preserved much more of their ancient culture than any other. In so doing, [182]
however, we must make allowance for tribal differences.

[20] Hahn, *op. cit.*, pp. 46—49, from whom we have also taken the description of the "Reconciliation." Hahn gives us a few examples of these lyrics, *op. cit.*, pp. 49 ff.

[21] Hahn, *op. cit.*, p. 51.

[22] Dirr, AGKB, p. 25.

[23] Ladyženskij, FT, p. 199.

[24] Ladyženskij, FT, p. 208. See also Dubrovin, *Istorija* for a fairly good description of a Cherkess wedding, I, i, pp. 142 ff, 147 f.

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585 however, we must make allowance for tribal differences. The Ingush wedding has been described especially well by Jakovlev.[25]

There is excitement in the village,[26] and the whole atmosphere is festive. Before one of the Ingush houses a crowd is gathering, the riders towering above all. There is reason for this excitement and festivity, for a son is being married. Inside the house, too, there is excitement—but perhaps we should call it [273] "activity" instead. A sheep is being slaughtered, *braga* is being brewed, cakes are being baked. But in spite of all this hustle, there seems to be time and reason enough to interrupt all work—just for a moment—the butcher, the brewer, the baker, one and all, go to the door and gaze a moment at the crowd as it begins to form into a semi-orderly wedding procession. At the head we see the proud father of the groom, and behind him his male relatives and some girls. Even billy-goats and rams are there (gifts for the bride's family)—all are there except the groom. He and one of his comrades disappeared several days ago and have not been heard of since. (The bride vanished from her home too, but by now she has most likely returned.) The bridegroom is no doubt "hiding" with a neighbour. The whole village is excited—everybody, we are told, except the groom, for etiquette demands that he act as unconcerned as if marriage were an everyday affair.

Men on horseback, men, women, and noisy children on creaky carts or on foot, wend their way down the dusty village road. When they reach the bride's house her father dashes out in front of the procession and with beaming face [534] welcomes all heartily. The *pandir* (a native three-stringed instrument) begins a joyful wedding tune and all join in the customary marriage songs. Formerly the girls would form into two contending choirs, the friends of the groom against [522] the friends of the bride, alternately singing songs and trying to out-ridicule the other,[27] a veritable battle of tongues and voices.

[526] Singing, dancing, and feasting, continue till evening, when the procession is formed again (but this time not without the bride). The horsemen now gallop off and begin their wild, dangerous wedding races.[28]

As soon as the procession reaches the groom's house, the bride enters the *saklia* and receives some honey and butter, coyly listening to the words "Be thou ever soft as butter and ever sweet as honey."

After this little ceremony she is led behind a curtain where she must remain for the next few days, entertained only by a number of girl-companions.

The formal marriage contract takes place according to the simple Islamic rite. The mullah, as usual, presides, while the parents of the bride and groom make the contract.

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[25] Jakovlev, *Inguši*, pp. 52—56.
See also Dubrovin's description, *Istorija*, I, i, pp. 430—435.

[26] A year or two may elapse after the betrothal, the time of marriage depending mainly on how soon the *kalym* can be paid. Cf. Berže, *Čečnja i Čečency*, p. 98.

[27] For texts of wedding songs see Jakovlev, *l. c.*

[28] Grabovskij, "Ekonomičeskij i domašnij byt, etc.," p. 21. Horseraces play an important part in funerals throughout the Caucasus. See R. Bleichsteiner, "Rossweihe und Pferderennen im Totenkult der kaukasischen Völker," *Wiener Beiträge zur Kulturgeschichte und Linguistik*, Salzburg-Leipzig, 1936, pp. 414—495.

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Feasting, dancing and singing continue for the next two or three days. The guests are especially fond of their version of the *Lesghinka*.[29] 585 535

The newly-weds may not see each other till toward the close of the festivities. Finally the clapping of hoofs, cracks of pistols, and deep manly voices announce the return of the groom from his "hiding" place. He enters the bridal chamber, where his wife is waiting for him. The heart of a sheep, daintily roasted, lies hidden somewhere in the room. The groom or the bride begins to search for it and when found it is eaten by both. This little ceremony is to ensure marital concord.[30]

Jakovlev fails to mention two ceremonies which older authors include as important parts of a Chechen wedding. First of all, there is the custom of placing a child on the bride's lap with the wish that she too may before long give birth to a boy and become the mother of many children. Then there is the custom of walking round the hearth three times, a custom found among the Cherkess, Abkhaz, Ossetes, and the Ingushi,[31] but, as it seems, not among the other Chechens.

After the wedding the father of the bridegroom receives various gifts from the guests, sometimes enough to cover the expenses of the wedding.[32]

When speaking of the Lesghian group we shall not describe the customs of each people separately, but, as we have done in the section on engagements, we shall endeavour to present what may be called a *typical* Lesghian wedding. We shall borrow much from Kovalevskij's *Zakon i obyčaj na Kavkazě* (II, pp. 185—188), a description based on two reliable sources, L'vov and Bašir Dalgat, a native Caucasian. Though L'vov's article[33] is easily available, Dalgat's precious manuscript is not, and hence our recourse to Kovalevskij is mainly to get at Dalgat's valuable material. These two sources describe the Avarian and Dargwa marriage customs, but as Kovalevskij rightly points out, the description, except for a few accidentals, holds for *all* Lesghians. Other good articles on the present subject, which we shall use to complement Kovalevskij's two sources, are those of Gabiev, describing the wedding customs of the Laks,[34] of G. M. Amirov, describing the customs in North Daghestan,[35] of Fon-Plotto describing the Lesghians of Sakataly,[36] of Dubrovin describing the

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[29] The *Lesghinka* is a popular Caucasian dance, which originated, as its name implies, in Daghestan, and then was borrowed by all mountain tribes of the Caucasus, each tribe, of course, adding an original touch to the dance.

[30] Baddeley, *op. cit.*, I, p. 237.

[31] Dirr, AGKB, p. 25; Dubrovin, *Istorija*, I, i, p. 433.

[32] These contributions are perhaps of a relatively recent origin, as a result of Russian legislation against costly weddings.
The explorers are silent about the presence or absence of a proof of virginity. Even though the practice perhaps does not exist today, the possibility of its former existence cannot be denied, especially since the Ingush customs are very similar to those of the Ossetes.

[33] "Domašnjaja i semejnaja žizn Dagestanskich Gorcev," SSKG, III (1870), pp. 1—32.

[34] "Laki, Ich prošloe i byt," SMOMPK, XXXVI (1906), pp. 109 f.

[35] "Sredi gorcev sěvernago Dagestana," SSKG, VII (1873), pp. 31 f.

[36] "Priroda i ljudi Zakatal'skago Okruga," SSKG, IV (1871), pp. 31—44. Though the marriage Fon-Plotto describes is really that of the Georgian Ingiloi, according to the author's own observation, it is identical with that of all non-Georgians in Sakataly.

585 customs of Lesghians in general,[37] and, finally, Halil Beg Mussayassul's description in his *Das Land der letzten Ritter*.[38]

The wedding day has finally arrived and all acquaintances and relatives have been invited. The young people begin to assemble at the groom's house quite early in the morning, while the older people do not make their appearence till the arrival of the bride. After feasting and dancing has begun at the groom's house, two men and two women—usually relatives of the groom—are commissioned to bring the bride to her new home.[39] In the Province of Kazikumukh usually 10 to 15 persons of each sex are sent;[40] in Sakataly, four to twelve.[41] In a similar manner, the bride chooses four persons from among her relatives, two uncles, called *varkhkani* ("fellow-travellers") and two aunts, called *kakurtsanti* ("they who lead the bride by the hand").[42] The procession, or the delegation, as the case may be, proceeds to the house where the bride is staying at the time. (In Avaria, she is at one of her relative's, whereas in Dargwa and Kazikumukh Province, she is always at home.[43]) On arriving, the delegation solemnly extend to the bride a triple invitation to join them.[44]

After the guests have been entertained, the bridal procession begins to move slowly in the direction of the groom's house. Some boys are at the head of the procession carrying lighted torches, for generally the procession does not begin before dusk. Other children, noisier than ever, carry the bride's wedding gifts (usually kitchen utensils).[45] During the whole procession the two aunts are constantly at the bride's side, living up to their name *kakvurtsanti*, "they who lead the bride by the hand."[46]

Though dressed in beautiful silk, the bride must not be too particular about keeping her wedding gown spotless, an impossible task indeed. When the procession passes under a window, a handful of flour is poured on her,[47] a custom which, according to Dalgat's manuscript, signifies "luck as pure as the flour that is poured on the bride."[48]

Almost at every bend of the road, or wherever the road narrows down, there is a crowd of village urchins and young people who obstruct the way and will not permit the procession to continue till they receive some of their favourite [273] *buza*[49] and dainties.[50]

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[37] *Istorija*, I, i, pp. 566—573.
[38] Munich, 1936, pp. 169—175.
[39] Kovalevskij, *Zakon*, II, p. 185.
[40] Gabiev, *op. cit.*, p. 109.
[41] Fon-Plotto, *op. cit.*, pp. 31 f.
[42] Kovalevskij, *l. c.*, Amirov, *op. cit.*, p. 31, calls them *kakvurtsanti*, *kak* meaning "hand" and *vutsis meaning* "to hold."
[43] Kovalevskij, *l. c.*
[44] Kovalevskij, *Zakon*, II, pp. 185 f.
[45] Amirov, *op. cit.*, p. 31; Gabiev, *l. c.*
[46] Amirov, *l. c.* Kovalevskij, *l. c.* In Sakataly, according to Kovalevskij's own observation, the bride rides on a horse led by the bride's maternal uncle (Kovalevskij, *Zakon*, II, p. 186).
[47] Amirov, *l. c.* Kovalevskij, *l. c.*
[48] Kovalevskij, *l. c.*
[49] *Buza* is a kind of beer: millet is brewed and allowed to ferment, after which honey is added.
[50] Amirov, *l. c.*; Kovalevskij, *l. c.*

As soon as the procession reaches the bridegroom's house, his mother takes a plate of honey and smears some on the bride's lips and extends her an official invitation to enter.[51] The honey symbolizes the readiness of the mother-in-law to offer the bride any and every gift, but especially the greatest gift of all, entrance into the household.[52] A pleasant and sweet life awaits her in such friendly surroundings. 585

Now an ox (or any other head of large cattle)[53] is led before the bride. The ear of the animal is then cut as a sign that from now on it belongs to the bride alone.[54] If the bride stands motionless in the doorway, everyone understands that the bride is still not satisfied and therefore a second animal must be brought before her and its ear must be cut in a similar manner. Sometimes a horse is presented to her instead of two oxen, in which case a clump of hair is cut off the horse's tail, leaving the ear intact.[55] On accepting these gifts, the bride is congratulated, welcomed, honoured with songs and pistol shots, and is then solemnly led across the threshold of the *saklia* by her mother-in-law. Sometimes, as the bride steps over the threshold, the bridegroom, standing behind the door, gives his wife three slight strokes[56] symbolizing his authority over her.[57]

The programme now calls for a tug of war between the villagers and the members of the groom's household. A carpet (the one the bride stepped on when crossing the threshold) is placed between the two groups, everyone taking as good a hold of it as possible and then pulling with all his strength, the villagers pulling away from the house and the others toward it. This is, doubtless, a form of ceremonial bride capture. The winners receive a special delicacy called *airisa*, a mixture of flour, butter and honey, as well as their favourite drink *buza*, while the losers must be satisfied with the drink.[58] 583 585 [524] [262]

There are two other forms of ceremonial bride capture, found among other Lesghians. In Dido-land the friends of the groom "break" into the bride's house, throw a sheep-skin over her head, and drag her into the street, where the villagers throw filth at her till she reaches her new home. The Andi of T'indi are supposed to have had the following custom: the bride riding on a horse, accompanied by men and women armed with torches and long poles, rides toward the groom who is similarly guarded. When the two groups meet, a mock battle is declared. The parties must try to extinguish each other's torches. In

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[51] Kovalevskij, *l. c.* Amirov omits this ceremony.

[52] This is Kovalevskij's interpretation. Unfortunately our sources fail to mention whether the mother-in-law accompanies her action with words as in the case of other North Caucasians or not.

[53] Amirov, *op. cit.*, p. 31, who mentions the possibility of presenting a horse instead of two oxen.

[54] Kovalevskij, *l. c.*; Amirov, *l. c.*

[55] Amirov, *l. c.*

[56] Kovalevskij, *Zakon*, II, p. 186.

[57] Amirov's and Kovalevskij's interpretation.

[58] Amirov, *op. cit.*, pp. 31 f.

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585 the meantime the bride is handed over to the female relatives of the groom, who
[583] bring her to her new home.[59]

Honey is given to the bride a second time, symbolizing the sweetness of married life that one and all wish her.

[606] The bride then sits down on a special bridal chair, and a kettle is placed at her feet as a sign of her subjection to the mother of the household.[60]

The custom of thrice walking round the hearth, the custom that plays such an important role in the Abkhaz, Cherkess, Ossete, and Ingush marriage,[61] is found also among the Lesghians, but, as it seems, only by way of exception. Kovalevskij found it only in one *aul* near the Georgian border.[62]

Toward midnight, when the banqueting has finished, a brother of the bride is given the honour of unveiling her face, her head remaining veiled till she enters the bridal chamber. For this privilege her brother is obliged to bestow a special gift on her.[63, 64]

She now steps into the bridal chamber, while the young people crowd in after her. Whoever succeeds in being the first to throw himself on the bed receives some pastries as prize. This ceremony is called *vurui varis*, that is, "trampling on the bed."[65]

As soon as the groom enters, all leave the room and while the newly-weds are alone, feasting and merry-making continue till morning.[66]

In some parts of Daghestan, as for example in Samur Province, two relatives stand guard at the door of the bridal chamber. On the following day the *testimonium castitatis*, a cloth or a bed sheet, is given to the guards[67] or, in some places, the young husband fires his gun. However, a pistol shot does not always have the same meaning. In Dargwa Province (in the shamkhalate of Tsrk and in the khanate of Mekhtali) it signifies that the bride's hymen has been found perforated;[68] in Sakataly it has the very opposite signification.[69] If the bride is found unchaste, the husband may dismiss her at once, on her very wedding day, retaining all her gifts and dowry. Formerly her angry father would cut off her nose or arm and even kill her.[70]

The wedding may last for another week.[71]

On the seventh day a feast is prepared for an exclusive group of male relatives, on which occasion the groom's father reveals what gift he intends to bestow on his newly married son. (The women relatives hold their own feast.)

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[59] Byhan, *La civilisation caucasienne*, pp. 191 f.
[60] Kovalevskij, *Zakon*, II, p. 187.
[61] Dirr, AGKB, p. 25.
[62] Kovalevskij, *l. c.*
[63] Amirov, *op. cit.*, p. 32.
[64] The Laks call it *lyazbinkuku* (Kovalevskij, *l. c.*).
[65] Kovalevskij, *l. c.* Amirov calls it *burush-vachis*: *burush* meaning "bad" and *vachis* meaning "trample on."
[66] Gabiev, *op. cit.*, p. 110; Kovalevskij, *Zakon*, II, p. 187; Dubrovin, *Istorija*, I, i, p. 571.
[67] "Adaty Južno-Dagestanskich Obščestv," SSKG, VIII (1875), p. 72.
[68] Kovalevskij, *Zakon*, II, p. 174.
[69] *ibid.* See also Kovalevskij, *op. cit.*, II, pp. 187 f; Gabiev, *op. cit.*, p. 110; Amirov, *op. cit.*, p. 32.
[70] Kovalevskij, *Zakon*, II, p. 201.
[71] Gabiev, *op. cit.*, p. 110.

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Some time later, usually not over a month, the relatives of the groom are 585
invited by the bride's family to dinner. One of the guests—we may still speak of wedding guests, for the wedding celebration is not yet over—calls out to the bride's father: "What will the father of our bride offer her?" On this occasion he must determine what portion of land he intends for his daughter. In Dargwa the minimum dowry is $^1/_8$ of a desyatnik, but he usually gives her other things as well, a cow, a buffalo and other cattle.[72]

The bride on her part presents the guests with some souvenirs—belts for male relatives and handkerchiefs for her female relatives.[73]

The formal marriage contract takes place according to the Mussulman rite before the mullah and witnesses.[74]

The Lesghian marriage usually does not take place immediately after the engagement but months and sometimes even years later.[75] The marriage season for maidens is autumn, whereas widows may marry at any time.[76]

Marriages of widows and widowers take place without solemnities of [587]
any kind.[77]

## TABLE 15

### Major Wedding Customs of Northern Caucasians Found Also Among the Southerners

| Customs* | Tribe** | Source |
|---|---|---|
| Procession terminates in *groom's* house | Khevsurs | Eristov, *op. cit.*, p. 110. |
| | Pshavs | Dubrovin, I, ii, p. 310. |
| | Ingiloi | Fon-Plotto, op. cit., pp. 31—34. |
| Ceremonial bride capture | Khevsurs | Mourier, *Guide au Caucase*, I, p. 153; Nansen, *op. cit.*, pp. 57 f; Baddeley, *op. cit.*, I, p. 237. |
| Mother-in-law gives honey to bride (and groom) | Pshavs | S. I. Makalatija, "Iz starogo narodnogo byta pšavov," SE, 1938, No. 1, p. 105. |
| Walking thrice around hearth; best-man strikes chain with dagger | Khevsurs | Dubrovin, I, ii, p. 311. |
| | Pshavs | *ibid*; Eristov, *op. cit.*, p. 112; Makalatija, *op. cit.*, p. 106. |
| Proof of virginity | Ingiloi | Kovalevskij, *Zakon*, II, p. 174. |
| Formal (religious) contract | Khevsurs | Eristov, *op. cit.*, p. 110; Hahn, *Bilder aus dem Kaukasus*, p. 82. |
| | Tushi | Dubrovin, I, ii, p. 311. |
| | Pshavs | Byhan, *op. cit.*, p. 113. |

[72] Kovalevskij, *Zakon*, II, p. 188. [73] *ibid.*
[74] Svečin, "Očerk narodonaselenija, nravov i obyčaev Dagestana," ZKO, II (1853), p. 64.
[75] L'vov, *op. cit.*, p. 22. [76] Amirov, *op. cit.*, p. 30.
[77] *ibid.*

585 * See also T. Mtavriev, "Prostonarodnaja svad'ba v Kacheti," SMOMPK, XXXI (1902), No. 3, pp. 154—160.

For Gurian customs: N. Deržavin, Svad'ba u Gurijcev-Musul'man v okrestnostjach Batuma," SMOMPK, XXXI (1902), No. 2, pp. 168—176.

For Pšhav customs see: Makalatija, "Iz starogo narodnogo byta pšavov," SE, 1938, No. 1, pp. 105—109.

** The tribes in this column are intended merely to serve as *examples*. We do not wish to imply that the particular custom is not found anywhere else except among the tribes indicated.

The OSSETINE wedding customs are quite interesting and have been fully described by such authors as Kovalevskij,[78] Baddeley,[79] Hahn,[80] Šanaev,[81] and Gatiev.[82] Without going into detail we shall indicate briefly the similarity between the Ossetine wedding and that of the neighbouring North Caucasians.

(1) The *procession* terminates at the home of the groom. The bride is led by her groomsman (*anshuargin*) and a special female attendant (*dzhinarkinmade*).[83]

(2) The formal contract is made in church before their priests in Christian parts of Ossetia,[84] and according to Islamic ritual among the Mohammedans. Both Christian and Mohammedan marriages may take place in the shade of certain holy trees.[85]

[583] (3) Dramatization of bride-stealing.[86]

(4) The bride and groom are not allowed to meet during the marriage festivities: the bride must remain in her room, attended to by a number of girl-friends, while the groom is living with the best-man.[87]

[606] (5) Submission to the mother-in-law. In the evening the bride is led to the hearth, where she must first bow to the *avsin* (mother of the household) and then smear some fat on the *avsin's* shoes as a sign of submission.[88]

585 (6) A child is placed on her lap, as a wish of her friends that she may give
842 birth to many children, especially boys.[89] She is taken to a shrine of Mairem.

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[78] Kovalevskij, *Sovremmenyj obyčaj i drevnij zakon.*

[79] Baddeley, *The Rugged Flanks of Caucasus.*

[80] Hahn, *Bilder aus dem Kaukasus*, pp. 41 ff.

[81] Šanaev, "Svad'ba u severnych Osetin," ("A Wedding among the North Ossetes"), SSKG, IV (1870), pp. 1—30.

[82] Gatiev, "Sueverija i predrazudki u Osetin," SSKG, IX (1876), pp. 18—21. See also: Dubrovin, *Istorija*, I, i, pp. 334—337; "Koe-čto o Digorcach," *Kavkaz* (1887), No. 339 f.

[83] Byhan, *op. cit.*, p. 212.

[84] Baddeley, *op. cit.*, I, p. 268.

[85] Nansen, *op. cit.*, p. 65.

[86] Kovalevskij, *Costume contemp.*, 168 f.

[87] Šanaev, *op. cit.*, p. 27, *note 13*. Cf. also N. Dubrovin, *Istorija*, I, i, p. 336.

[88] Gatiev, *op. cit.*, p. 20; Polidaev, Gorcy severnago Kavkaza, p. 106.

[89] Kovalevskij, *Costume contemp.*, p. 185.

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The village children accompany her and then throw stones at the shrine, crying, "So many boys (as these missiles) and one blue-eyed girl grant thou, Mairem, to this our dear bride!" The groomsman must then repeat this prayer.[90]

(7) The Ossetes also have the corset-ceremony (*supra*, p. 113). The groom must *untie* the knots and not cut them.[91]

(8) The best-man takes the bride by the hand and walks round the fireplace three times, each time striking the chain with his sword.[92]

(9) The mother-in-law gives the bride some honey.[93]

(10) Feasting lasts two full days and longer. The wedding is elaborate and expensive.[94]

(11) The proof of virginity is rigorously insisted upon.[95]

(12) The bride receives gifts from her own father and guests.[96]

(13) The groomsman drives evil spirits away by holding a club over the bride's head.[97]

And now, a word about the neighbouring TURKS. The Kumykian marriage hardly differs from that of the Lesghians.[98] The dramatization of bride capture is found, for example, among the Karachai[99] and Nogai;[100] the fireplace ceremony is found as far south as the Kurds;[101] some Tartars have the custom of placing a boy on the bride's lap.[102]

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[90] Baddeley, *op. cit.*, I, p. 158. See *infra*, p. 205.
E. G. Pčelina, "Rodil'nye obyčai u Osetin," SE, 1937, No. 4, p. 86.

[91] Baddeley, *op. cit.*, I, p. 270. Older writers speak of *cutting* the knots, e. g., Klaproth, *Voyage au Mont Caucase et en Géorgie*, II, p. 250.

[92] Kovalevskij, *Coutume contemp.*, pp. 49, 170 f; Gatiev, *op. cit.*, pp. 18 f; Dubrovin, *Istorija*, I, i, p. 325.

[93] Baddeley, *op. cit.*, I, p. 268.

[94] Leontovič, II, pp. 51, § 18, *note 4*. The military government tried to limit the number of guests from 120 to 15. Cf. Dirr, AGKB, p. 113.

[95] Klaproth, *op. cit.*, II, p. 249.

[96] Kovalevskij, *Coutume contemp.*, pp. 198 f.

[97] Kovalevskij, *op. cit.*, p. 171.

[98] Dubrovin, *Istorija*, I, i, p. 638.

[99] Jankó, *Népraizi* etc. Zichy's *Kaukázusi és középázsiai utazásai*, p. 44.

[100] Dubrovin, *Istorija*, I, i, pp. 278 f. In Balkaria the best-man enters the bride's home to fetch the bride, but as soon as he enters the house the women present defend the bride by trying to cut the best-man's cherkesska (Caucasian outer garment), see N. A. Karaulov, "Bolkari na Kavkazě," SMOMPK, XXXVIII (1908), No. 1, p. 146.

[101] Jankó, *op. cit.*, p. 62.

[102] Mir-Galim-bek-Vezirov, Něskolko svěděnij o Tatarskich pover'jach," SMOMPK, IX (1890), No. 2, p. 11.
For a full description of a Kumykian wedding see: N. Semenov, "Očerki narodnych obyčaev, Kumykov Terskoj Oblasti," *Terskij Sbornik*, II (1892), No. 2, Part 2, pp. 71 ff.
For Nogai wedding see: Dubrovin, *Istorija*, I, i, pp. 277 ff.
For wedding of the Turkomans see: A. A. Volodin, "Truchmenskaja svep i truchmeny," SMOMPK, XXXVIII (1908), No. 1, pp. 45—49.

## TABLE 16

### Marriage Ceremonies of N. Caucasians And Neighbours

| Marriage Ceremonies | Procession: From groom's house to bride | Procession: Return with bride to groom's house | Procession: Groom is absent | Dramatization of capture | Horse-racing | Both sibs (families) present | Groom absent for large part of wedding | Segregation of bride during wedding | Bride's submission to husband | Wedding elaborate, expensive with much feasting & dancing | Mother-in-law †: Invites bride to cross threshold | Mother-in-law †: Offers bride some honey | Mother-in-law †: Bride's submission to | Corset ceremony | Proof of Virginity | Child placed on bride's lap | Special wishes for boys | Fire-place ceremony | Gifts to bride from own sib | "Tramping on bed" ceremony | Sword placed over bride's head | Special attendant for groom | Special attendant for bride | Mother plays important rôle | Maternal uncle important rôle | Formal religious contract | Reconciliation ceremony | Predominant Character of Ceremonies |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Abkhaz | + | + | − | | + | + | | + | | + | + | + | | + | | + | + | + | + | − | + | | + | − | − | + | | Pastoral |
| Cherkess | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | | + | + | + | | + | + | + | + | + | + | − | + | + | + | − | − | + | + | Pastoral |
| Ingushi | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | | + | | + | | | ? | + | + | + | + | − | | + | + | − | − | + | | Pastoral |
| Other Chechens | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | | + | | + | | | | + | + | ? | + | − | | + | + | − | − | + | | Pastoral |
| Avars | + | + | + | + | | + | + | | + | + | + | + | + | | + | | | ? | + | + | | + | + | + | − | + | | Pastoral + Agrarian |
| Dargwa | + | + | + | + | | + | + | | + | + | + | + | + | | + | | | ? | + | + | | + | + | + | − | + | | Pastoral + Agrarian |
| Other Lesghians | + | + | + | + | | + | + | | + | + | + | + | + | | + | | | | + | + | | + | + | + | − | + | | Pastoral + Agrarian |
| Khevsurs | + | + | | + | | + | | | | | | | | | + | | | + | | − | | | | + | − | + | | Pastoral + Agrarian |
| Pshavs * | + | + | − | | | + | | | | + | + | + | | | + | | + | + | + | − | | + | + | + | − | + | | Pastoral + Agrarian |
| Tushi | | | | | | | | | | | | + | | | | | | | | | | | | | + | + | | |
| Ingiloi | + | + | | | | | | | | | | | | | + | | | | | | | | | + | − | | | |
| Ossetes | + | + | | + | | + | + | + | + | + | | + | + | + | | + | + | + | + | − | + | + | + | − | − | + | | Pastoral |
| Karachai | | | | + | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |

* Cf. Makalatija. "Iz starogo narodnogo byta Pšavov," SE, 1938, No. 1, pp. 105.

† It is usually the mother-in-law.

585 [583] [326] [606] [842]

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## § 2. PROBLEMS AND CONCLUSIONS

Though the wedding ceremonies just described are not without a few traces 585
of a mother-right culture, the wedding as a whole is doubtless typically patriarchal in character.

(1) The wedding procession clearly shows that the marriage is patrilocal, 591
a fact true of all North Caucasian as well as neighbouring tribes. The bride must move into the house of her father-in-law.

(2) The fact that the bride is humiliated before her mother-in-law (not 606
father-in-law), the fact that she is invited into the household by the mother- 592
in-law (not father-in-law), and that it is the mother-in-law (not father-in-law) who places the honey into the mouth of the bride, though very suspiciously matriarchal, is reconcilable with a strictly patriarchal society. Even in a strictly patriarchal society the mother of the household enjoys certain privileges and is looked upon as the mistress of the house with special authority over the female members of the household. In other words, in these seemingly matriarchal ceremonies the mother-in-law may perhaps be simply excercising a right of the mother of the household of a typical patriarchal family.[103]

(3) The dramatization of bride capture is a very common custom among 583
the pastoral peoples throughout the world.

Ceremonial bride capture must not be considered as a survival of actual marriage by capture. This is especially true of the Caucasians because a wedding always means a great economic loss for the bride's family—one of their workers must leave them and go over to another sib. Ceremonial bride capture expresses rather the opposition to such an heavy loss. The Dido, as we have seen, actually throw mud and filth at the bride after she has been "stolen". If the ceremony were to represent actual abduction, why should the bride be so "mistreated"? The reason why filth is thrown at her is that she has turned "traitor" to her own family.

(4) The ceremony of hiding, veiling of the face, the bride's taciturnity— 834
all these little peculiarities of the Caucasian wedding may be an expression of the bride's natural sense of modesty. Till now she had to avoid, at least in public, the slightest communication with her financé. The strict separation of engaged couples, the prohibition even to pass a glance at one's future mate in public, and the death penalty imposed on the girl for pre-marital intercourse—all this is in full accord with the high esteem of pastoral peoples for the physical integrity of virgins. At the wedding, the bride is being publicly introduced [831]
into a relationship which she has been taught to shun as disgraceful, even punishable by death. Now this once "disgraceful" thing is being done publicly! The bride's resistence, her fleeing, her veiling, her taciturnity, then, are expressions of a reaction against "the great change"[104] from maidenhood to wife, a change more sensibly felt among pastoral peoples than in any other society.

[103] For the relatively important rôle of a mother of a household in a patriarchal society see E. Pčelina, "Obrjad gostepriimstva v Osetii," SE, (1932), No. 5—6, pp. 140—163, especially p. 156, note.

[104] "The great change," I think, has been coined by Elsie C. Person. See her "Holding back in Crisis Ceremonialism," *American Anthropologist*, n. s. XVIII (1916), pp. 44 f.

4/n [Sic -- Analyst]

000 to wife, a change more sensibly felt among pastoral peoples than in any other society.

585 [17] (5) The virginity test, too, though not restricted to pastoral peoples,[105] is very characteristic of their culture. The North Caucasians, all with only the Chechens as possible exception,[106] still have, or at least have had, the virginity test as an essential part of the wedding. The marriage remained uncertain till the bride passed or failed this examination.

It would certainly be of great interest to discover the meaning of and motive behind this practice. There is, of course, no universal explanation for the custom. What motivated the Nigerian tribes to introduce the practice need not be identical with the motives of the Chinese of Kwangtong or of the tribes of Samoa, of the Sakalavas of Madagascar or of the Slavs.

585 836 To understand the Caucasian virginity test we must put aside our Western notions regarding the value of the physical integrity of a bride and try to get behind the mind of the North Caucasian, behind the economic, social, and religious standards of the *Caucasians*.

Negatively stated, the virginity test of the Caucasians is in itself no proof of a high esteem for the *virtue* of chastity, for even if it can be proven that the loss of corporal integrity was caused by an accident, the value of the bride seems not to differ from the girl who lost it through actual illicit intercourse. Among the Akhvakh (Daghestanians) a guest or lover might do to a maiden what he wished provided that the hymen remained intact.[107]

[611] Since the perpetuation of the family property and especially of the family cult depends on legitimate male children, there will always be uncertainty about the fatherhood of the first male child if the hymen is found perforated before the consummation of marriage. The groom's family would be constantly haunted by the thought that a stranger (the first-born male child) may become the head of the family. In a word, the economic and religious importance of the first-born male child may have been responsible for the high esteem for virginity and for the necessity of a proof of virginity on the wedding night.[108]

This attitude toward the inviolateness of the maidenhead has been, no doubt, responsible for many other Caucasian observances. The *kalym*, for example, is much higher for a maiden than a widow or divorcée. This fact, in

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[105] For a large number of examples and bibliography see Briffault, *The Mothers*, III, pp. 333—345. See also Schmidt-Koppers, *Völker und Kulturen*, pp. 209 f.

[106] But even here we do not have a positive proof for the non-existence of the virginity test. Mere silence of older authors is *indicative* of the absence of the practice, but it certainly is no proof. The neighbouring Ossetes, Tartars and Mountain Georgians have the custom too.

[107] An accidental rupture of the hymen is much more frequent in the Caucasus than one might be inclined to believe. From early childhood the girl is obliged to do difficult work, to carry heavy loads, to climb and slide down steep, rocky slopes, covered with briers, etc., which might at any unexpected moment rob the girl of her most valued possession. Dubrovin, after referring to these possibilities, points out that frequent ritual washing, which begins quite early in life, can explain many a case too (*Istorija*, I, i, p. 572). For the practice of the Akhvakh, see *infra*, pp. 181 f.

[108] A similar explanation has been suggested by Briffault for the custom in various parts of the world. In any case, it does explain the practice among the Caucasians.

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turn, must have stimulated the entire family to watch most carefully over the conduct of their daughters; and this watchfulness, again, must have been responsible for *adats* threatening the girl as well as any lover with the most severe sanctions not only for an actual perforation of the hymen but also, as the *adats* frequently express it, for any "suspicious approach."[109]

There have been other explanations offered for the virginity test. Westermarck, for instance, suggested masculine jealousy.[110] But this explanation is not applicable to the peoples of North Caucasia, for, as we have already mentioned, the sexual factor has very little significance in the selection of mates compared to the all-important economic, social, and religious factors. Such a jealousy, where mutual attraction matters so little, is unthinkable.[111]

(6) The custom of the bride thrice walking round the fireplace is an ancient wedding ceremony frequently found among pastoral tribes. As is well known, it was also the custom of the ancient Indo-Europeans. That one of the main wedding ceremonies in the Caucasus should take place at the fireplace is quite in keeping with the deep religious significance of the hearth. Among a large number of Caucasian mountain tribes, especially in North Ossetia, Ingushetia, and Daghestan, we find the custom of never allowing the fire in the hearth to die out, this practice being a form of cult for the dead.[112] The fire and especially the chain above it constitute a connection between the living and the departed. It forms a sacred asylum for any murderer, because as soon as he touches the chain the ancestors of the victim approve of the murderer's adoption into the family. The chain is the symbol of the family: to tear it down is regarded as one of the most abominable crimes imagineable, an insult to the living and dead members of the sib, which must be punished with death. The chain is a symbol of the family and therefore it must be buried with the last member of an extinct sib. To swear by the hearth-chain is an infallible sign that the person is saying the truth, for to do so falsely is unthinkable.[113] Such an oath would be a curse upon the entire sib and their ancestors. In other words, the ancient solidarity of the sib is intimately connected with the ancient religion of the North Caucasians, and the sanctuary of this religion is the hearth. Now, marriage is an act by which a stranger is taken into the family, and one of the most natural means, most in harmony with the ancient Caucasian form of life, is the hearth and hearth-chain. It is indeed striking that in Daghestan the cult of the fireplace still exists today but not the wedding ceremony. This fact confirms rather than disproves our explanation, for in Daghestan the wife was not a stranger: she had to be chosen from within the sib! (Cf. *supra*, pp. 51 f.)

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[109] *Infra*, Chapter XII, p. 176.

[110] The History of Marriage, I, p. 163.

[111] The jealousy would have to be so great that the disappointed husband would insist that the bride's nose be cut off or that she be otherwise mutilated and even killed, for such are the ancient adats!

[112] Günther, "Zusammenstöße zwischen Gesetz und Gewohnheitsrecht im nördlichen Kaukasus," *Zeitschrift f. vergl. Rechtsw.*, XLVI (1931), p. 324.

[113] *ibid.*

585 [776] (7) In a number of instances we have noticed that the dagger or sword was used in connection with the marriage ceremony. The best-man took the bride around the hearth and each time he struck the chain with his dagger. The bride had to enter her new home under an arch of swords or with a dagger or club held above her head. This wedding custom, too, has a religious basis. The household gods of the bride's family have become exceedingly jealous of the bride, because by marrying she has united herself to another family and will now worship other ancestors, abandoning her own. These jealous godlets realize that the best time to enter her new home and to cause countless harm is simultaneously with the bride. Fortunately, these household gods are afraid of dagger[844]s.[114] Among the Georgian mountaineers, a mother after having given birth to a child will keep a sword under the pillow as a protection against aerial spirits.[115] Spirits are afraid of the sword for several reasons—at least such is our conjecture. The God of Iron, of the Sword, and of the Hearth-Chain is one and the same god, called Safa. This sword ceremony may perhaps insure [823] Safa's protection against jealous godlets. It may also insure the protection of [769] the departed because *iron* is a means of contacting ancestors. In Ossetia on the [787] "feast of the dedication of clothing" clothes are consecrated and sent to the netherworld by means of an iron knife.[116] The Ingushi get in contact with their departed by means of iron tongs.[117]

(8) The other marriage ceremonies are likewise mainly pastoral in character: horse-racing, submission to the husband, wishes for a rich progeny but always with a disproportion of "nine boys to every blue-eyed girl." Finally, the long elaborate and expensive wedding itself is typical of pastoral peoples.

[606] There are, however, a few traces of a so-called mother-right culture. The rôle played by the mother-in-law in the ceremonies, as we have stressed (*supra*, p. 125), is indeed not inconsistent with the position of the mother of the household in a patriarchal family, but, we must admit that their astounding importance gives them a suspiciously matriarchal colouring: in the ceremonies described, it is the Lesghian mother who welcomes the bride into the house as if she were the head of the family. It is the mother who holds her by the hand as she crosses the threshold. It is the mother's brother who led the bride's horse in the Ingiloi procession from her home to that of her groom. It is the mother who puts the honey into the mouth of the bride as a sign that the bride has a sweet life ahead of her under such an amiable mistress as her mother-in-law. And we should not forget that in the Lesghian engagement it was the mother who presented the engagement gifts which concluded the betrothal contract.[118]

595 585 114 We cannot conclude this chapter without briefly refuting some of Kovalevskij's assumptions. Like so many anthropologists of his day, he was inclined to find traces of an epoch older than that of patriarchy, and older than that of

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[114] For the custom among the Ossetes see Kovalevskij, *Coutume contemp.*, pp. 170 f.

[115] Cf. Reinegg, *op. cit.*, II, p. 112 f.

[116] Kokiev, *Slepovye soeruzheinija*, (Vladikavkaz, 1928), p. 38.

[117] Baddeley, *op. cit.*, II, p. 120.

[118] *Supra*, p. 103.

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matriarchy, even where there were no such traces to be found. The fact that the bride is segregated during the wedding and no older relative of the bridegroom (especially no *male* relative) may see and speak freely with the bride is supposed to be a clear vestige of fraternal polyandry. In other words, there is supposed to have been a time when all male members of the family had access to the bride, for she was the wife of all. Then came a time when, from experience, the Caucasians came to the conclusion that individual marriage was by far better than group marriage or fraternal polyandry. It was, of course, as we are told, not easy to abolish such a deeply ingrained custom, so that the bride had to be kept away from the others. Today the segregation of the bride is supposed to be nothing but a vestige of the means taken against group marriage or fraternal polyandry.[119]

But if that were the case, why is the *groom* hiding, and in fact, even longer and farther away than the bride? Is that a vestige of a kind of sororal polygyny? Moreover, why is the groom hiding *elsewhere?* The best defense against anyone approaching the bride would be if the husband himself were at her side.

Another vestige of group marriage, according to Kovalevskij's fancy, is the ceremony of "tramping on the bed." After the unveiling of the bride, as she is being led into the marriage chamber, all the young people rush in and the first to throw himself on the bed receives a prize. So as not to be accused of mere destructive criticism, we wish here to propose another conjecture (nothing more than a conjecture!), but a conjecture far more plausible than that of Kovalevskij. It is much more probable that we have here a vestige of the *jus primae noctis.* First of all, the ceremony of "tramping on the bed" takes place immediately *before* the groom enters the bridal chamber. If it were a vestige of group marriage or fraternal polyandry, why doesn't the main person take part in the ceremony? Moreover, the *jus primae noctis,* though very often reserved for the chief or father-in-law, is sometimes a privilege reserved for the strongest wedding-guest. In our case, the struggle among the young people to enter the bridal chamber first may be a vestige of a contest to prove who among them is the strongest. The remarkable fact is that in *neighbouring* Southern Russia, until rather recently, it was precisely the strongest wedding-guest who was given the task of deflowering the bride.[120] The Caucasians could have had a similar custom (perhaps even from the same source), which, however, evolved into a ceremony the significance of which has been forgotten.

From among all the juridical aspects of the ceremonies described, the most important is: Which ceremony constitutes the essence of marriage? In other words, at which point of the complicated wedding are the mates actually married? Naturally, where Christian or Mohammedan formal contracts are made, there is usually no doubt about the answer. But we are interested in customary law. Negatively, the marriage is certainly considered complete after the marital act has taken place. To say anything more positive in regard to

[119] Cf. Kovalevskij, *Coutume contemp.*, p. 177.

[120] O. Asboth, "Ein Hochzeitsbrauch in Südrußland," *Archiv für Anthropologie*, XIII, pp. 318 f.

8: Lužbetak E-4 (no date) 1951 RHl Caucasia RHl



586 this important question is impossible. The proof of virginity may eventually be the essential element, or perhaps, the fireplace ceremony, whereby the bride pays her respects to the groom's ancestors and is formally taken into the new household. Only after very detailed and exact field work has been done among the different tribes can we ever hope to answer this important question.

842 very special festivities take place. Shooting, feasting, and dancing mark the birth
[844] of a boy; whereas no special festivities take place if a girl is born. Women, of course, come to congratulate the mother, at the same time not forgetting to console her.[16]

[574] All Lesghian peoples prefer boys too. The first one to announce the good news of the birth of a *boy* receives a reward.[17] The Avars have the courious custom according to which anyone to whom a *son* (not however a daughter) was born in the past year has to give a special feast to his neighbours in spring.[18]

The SOUTHERN CAUCASIANS. The Pshavs frequently pray and offer numerous sacrifices for the blessing of a male child, and if these supernatural means fail, there is only one thing left to do—marry a second wife, who is "capable" of giving birth to boys.[19] At a Pshav wedding the *khevis-beri* ("The Elder of the Valley") prays: "George, Angel of the Oak, grant thou a boy to
[847] the parents of a girl and another boy to the parents of a boy..."[20] Dubrovin reported that among the Georgian mountaineers baby girls were killed immediately after birth because they believed that by doing so the next child would infallibly be a boy. One could come across families who had killed as many as five girls.[21]

The OSSETES have an unusual longing for male children. Thus, for example, the Digorians are greatly disappointed when a girl is born, and this disappointment is expressed sometimes in very irreverent words by the woman-attendant. "May Mairan (Mary) be struck blind for not making you a boy! May she now provide for you a speedy death!" But then, if the following child is a boy, the woman-attendant pleads for forgiveness, "Oh, Mairan, forgive me!
585 They longed for a boy. That is the reason why I scolded thee."[22] We have
842 already mentioned the marriage custom of leading the bride to a Mairem[23] Shrine, at which the children throw stones and say, "So many boys and only one blue-eyed girl grant thou Mairem, to this our dear bride!" The groomsman then must repeat this prayer.[24] At an Ossetine marriage the Ram-god (Firi-dzuar) is invoked: "Look down upon us and grant that this our bride may give birth to boys healthy and fat as sheep!"[25] We have also mentioned the marriage ceremony of placing a little boy on the lap of the bride, so that she may soon give birth to a boy (*supra*, p. 122). Or again, while the groomsman describes a triple

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[16] Grabovskij, "Ekonomičeskij i domašnij byt žitelej gorskago učastka Ingulevskago okruga," SSKG, III (1870), pp. 19 f; Dubrovin, *Istorija*, I, i, p. 439.

[17] Kovalevskij, *Zakon*, II, p. 202.

[18] Baddeley, *op. cit.*, II, p. 63. A similar custom is found in Ossetia (Pčelina, *op. cit.*, pp. 99 f.

[19] Makalatija, "Iz starogo narodnogo byt Pšavov," SE, 1938, No. 1, pp. 110 f.

[20] Makalatija, *op. cit.*, p. 108; Kovalevskij, *Zakon*, I, p. 98.

[21] *Istorija*, I, ii, p. 110.

[22] Baddeley, *op. cit.*, I, p. 158.

[23] Baddeley interprets "Mairam," "Mairem," "Mairan" as "Mary," i. e., the Virgin Mother of Jesus Christ. However, Mairam is a male god, the protector of women, the brother of Uastrdzh. (Cf. Pčelina's report on his expedition of 1934—1936, "Rodil'nye obyčai u Osetin," SE, 1937, No. 4, p. 86, *note* 2.)

[24] Baddeley, *l. c.*

[25] Baddeley, *op. cit.*, I, p. 270.

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circle in the air with his special wedding club he cries out three times, "Prosperity! Prosperity! Prosperity!" Then he explains just what is meant by "prosperity": "nine boys to every blue-eyed girl."[26] On New Year's Day the Ossetine boys go round to everyone wishing, that throughout the New Year "men might kill many stags and women might bear sons only."[27] Čursin tells us how a certain Ossete, Bergisov by name, received a vision from above. Now, in such a case, any two wishes will be granted, provided the person thus favoured make also a third wish, which, however, must be an evil one. Bergisov's good wishes were that he and his sons might live happily, while his third wish was that his daughters might die.[28] The birth of a first-born male child is celebrated with unusually great festivity and joy.[29] The happy mother returns to her father's house, where a special feast is given in honour of the baby boy.[30] After the birth of a girl, the mother goes with the baby to a Shrine of Mairem with the hope that the next child will be a boy.[31] 585 842

Some of the Caucasian TARTARS express their preference for boys in the following manner: the bride wears a garment in which nine knots are tied, a sign that she must give birth to seven boys and only two girls. They also have the custom of placing a little boy on the bride's lap.[32]

## § 4. INFANTICIDE AND BIRTH CONTROL

Since Caucasians, as a general rule, crave for children, it is only to be expected that infanticide and birth prevention should be rare. We do not find the practice of infanticide in North Caucasia, especially not in Daghestan, where Islamic influence is strong.[33] Islamism regards female infanticide as a very serious crime. Some of the mountaineers of Georgia indeed practice female infanticide, but the practice is thoroughly un-Georgian. The Svans as late as the last half of the nineteenth century would kill their baby girls immediately after birth by stuffing ashes into the mouth and then throttling the child till it suffocated,[34] or, sometimes, the infant was simply allowed to starve.[35] The Khevsurs prevented birth mainly by abortion, a practice still common today. A young couple in Khevsuria may not have a child till after the fourth year of 847

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[26] Kovalevskij, *Costume contemp.*, p. 17

[27] Baddeley, *op. cit.*, I, p. 194.

[28] *Ossetini*, p. 82. Cf. Baddeley, *op. cit.*, I, p. 180.

[29] Dubrovin, *Istorija*, I, i, pp. 340 f.

[30] Pčelina, *op. cit.*, p. 101.

[31] Pčelina, *op. cit.*, p. 102. If a girl is born, only a very simple ceremony takes place: the *avsin* (mother of the household) brings the infant to the hearth without saying a word. (See Pčelina, *op. cit.*, p. 99.)

[32] Mir-Galim-bek Vezirov, "Neskolko svědenij o Tatarskich pover'jach," SMOMPK, IX (1890), No. 2, pp. 111 f.

[33] Kovalevskij, *Zakon*, II, p. 202.

[34] Byhan, *La civilisation caucasienne*, p. 111; Dubrovin, *Istorija*, I, ii, p. 110.

[35] Dubrovin, *l. c.*

in his arms; to make up for the transgression of the *adat* forbidding public manifestation of affection for one's children, he took out his dagger, crying, "I love my son, but you shall see also that I don't mind killing him," and if the men had not succeeded in calming him, he would have actually killed the child.[21]

It is indeed striking that we do not find the parent-in-law avoidances among the Lesghians; at least we have not found any reports in this regard. Parent-in-law avoidances would be quite impossible among the Lesghians, owing to the rule of endogamy.[22]

The SOUTHERN CAUCASIANS. Among the mountain tribes of Georgia the bride and groom, after having spent three days together,[23] are obliged to separate, the groom remaining with his parents and the bride returning to her family. The period of separation, according to Eristov, was a fortnight, according to Seidlitz, depending on agreement,[24] and according to Kosven, "for some weeks or years."[25] In ancient Imeretia the newly-weds would live at the bride's house for a week, after which the young man returned to his father's house, while his wife remained with her family for a year.[26] During the period of separation the husband might visit his wife only secretly. On her return to her husband she did not share a common room with him.[27] A Pshav couple may not call each other by name; instead they use the words "Man!" and "Woman!"[28] Similarly, the wife may not call any of her husband's male relatives by name.[29] In Svanetia one may not inquire about the health of the wife of another person unless related to her.[30] A Svan will never permit his wife to sit down beside him; and, in general, he is very reluctant to converse with her.[31] In Khevsuria a father may not carry his child in his arms or say a single friendly word to it in the presence of others.[32]

The OSSETES. In Ossetia the husband must live at the groomsman's house for a whole month after the wedding. He is forbidden to oppear before his father, older members of the household, or any older relatives and may visit his wife only secretly.[33] As soon as the young wife becomes pregnant she returns to her family and stays there till the child is born.[34]

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[21] *Supra*, pp. 149 f.

[22] *Supra*, pp. 51 f.

[23] Nansen, *op. cit.*, p. 58.

[24] Eristov, *op. cit.*, p. 110. Seidlitz, "Gemeinde- und Familienleben der Chewsuren," *Das Ausland*, 1891, No. 16, p. 320.

[25] M. O. Kosven, "Perežitki matriarchata u narodov Kavkaza," SE, 1936, No. 4—5, p. 217.

[26] *ibid.*

[27] Eristov, *op. cit.*, p. 111. See also Eichwald, *Reise auf dem Kaspischen Meer und in den Kaukasus*, Vol. I, Part II, p. 204.

[28] Makalatija, "Iz starogo narodnogo byta Pšavov," SE, 1938, No. 1, p. 109.

[29] Hahn, *Bilder aus dem Kaukasus*, p. 82.

[30] Dubrovin, *Istorija*, I, ii, p. 109.

[31] *ibid.*

[32] *Supra*, p. 150.

[33] Baddeley, *op. cit.*, I, p. 269.

[34] Hahn, "Die Täler der 'Grossen Ljachwa' und Ksanka (ksan) und das südliche Ossetien," *Globus*, LXXXVIII (1905), p. 24. It is worthy of note that the Kurds and the Armenians

## TABLE 18

### Rules of Marital, Parental, and Kinship Avoidance

| RULES | Abkhaz | Cherkess | Chechens | Lesghians | Mountaineers of Georgia | Ossetes | Karachai |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1. Bride and groom must live separately after wedding | For a year or till first child | For a year or till first child | For two or three weeks | No | Three to fourteen days | For a month after the wedding | Live together one month, then separate |
| 2. Bride returns to her own family after the wedding | Bride lives with strangers | Bride lives with strangers | No, but husband must live elsewhere 2 to 3 weeks | No | Yes | Yes, goes to own family some months after wedding | Two months to two years with own family |
| 3. Husband may visit wife during this period only secretly | Yes | Yes | Yes | No | Yes | Yes | Yes |
| 4. Married couples may not appear together in public or before strangers | Yes | Yes | Yes | No | | | |
| 5. When living in same house after period of separation the couple may not share common quarters | Yes | Yes | Yes | | Yes | Yes | |
| 6. May not mention name of husband | | May not do so before others | Husband avoids speaking directly to wife even in private | No | Wife may not call husband by name and vice versa | | |
| 7. Prohibition to manifest love for one's own child before others | Yes | Yes. Also may not speak of child of person present | Yes. Father may not carry or fondle it | Yes | Yes. May not carry or say friendly word to child | Yes. Rule is very strict | |
| 8. Husband must avoid parents-in-law | For several years | For a year after marriage | Husband may never speak to mother-in-law | No | | Yes | |
| 9. Wife must avoid older male relatives of husband (or husband must avoid relatives of wife) | | | Wife may not mention name of husband's first-cousin | No | May not call them by name | Yes | |
| 10. The couple may not be seen together by parents or parents-in-law | For a year after marriage | For a year after marriage | Yes | | | Yes, during period of separation | Yes, during period of separation |

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# Chapter XII

# Sexual Offenses

## § 1. CRIMES AND PENALTIES

684 628 The ancient customary law of the NORTHWESTERN CAUCASIANS imposes a death penalty on the adulteress, allowing the adulterer to go unpunished. According to Cherkess *adats* she might be killed in the act or anytime afterwards,[1] while the male partner had always to be spared. It is true, Leontovič's excellent collection of customary laws maintains the very contrary, expressly stating that the adulterer had to be punished too,[2] but the penalty imposed on him is doubtless an Islamic innovation.[3]

[585] According to ancient customary law, the lot of the unfortunate bride found unchaste on her wedding night did not differ from that of the adulteress caught in the act. If the bride did not pass the virginity test, the angry groom would at once dismiss her, hand her over to her disgraced and furious father to be mutilated and finally killed.[4]

[836] In case of pregnancy before marriage, the penalty imposed on the lover was somewhat less than the equivalent of bloodwite,[5] about twenty-five head of cattle, as Longworth found it in the beginning of the last century.[6]

Customary law hardly distinguishes between rape and abduction, although the collections do, for rape generally has the same purpose as bride capture. Rape is severely punished, as severely as murder. If the ravisher's life has been spared, he is obliged to pay as much as Rs. 150 in reparation for the insult suffered by the victim's sib, and besides this fine, he is forced to pay the usual *kalym*. He is also forced to marry the girl, for, generally, once raped, she has no hope of finding another mate. If the victim happens to be of a higher social class than the attacker, there is no reconciliation possible. Vengeance alone can atone for such a hideous crime.[7]

Incest is considered a qualified crime and is sanctioned by the severest penalties. Formerly if a Cherkess dared to marry a girl of his fraternity (*tleush*)[8]

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[1] Dubrovin, *Istorija*, I, i, p. 171.

[2] Leontovič, I, p. 254, § 109: "Imějuščij ženu i uličennyj v preljubodělјanii, po zakonu liłaetsja žizni, no tot že potupok, soveršennyj cholopom, podvergaet ego nakazaniju sta udarami; ěto nazyvaetsja chod-tazir."

[3] Dirr, AGKB, p. 82.

[4] Byhan, *La civilisation caucasienne*, p. 155.

[5] Post, *Grundriß der ethnol. Jurispr.*, II, p. 378.

[6] *A Year among the Circassians*, I, p. 217.

[7] Grabovskij, "Očerk suda i ugolovnych prestuplenij v Kabardinskom okrugě," SSKG, IV (1870), pp. 42 f.

[8] *Supra*, p. 55.

p. 168

595 pressly recognized as lawful as early as the composition of the Mâtigân-i-Hazâr Datistân.[17*]

[101] On the southern slopes of the Caucasus, in high isolated valleys, we find the GEORGIAN mountain tribes, the Khevsurs, Tushi, Pshavs and Svans, who, owing to their isolation, have preserved the ancient Georgian culture better by far than their brothers in the lowlands, and therefore, when speaking of the Georgians, we shall limit ourselves as much as possible to these four tribes.[17**]

Formerly plural marriages were of frequent occurrence in *Khevsuria*. "In former times," writes Nansen, "polygyny was general," or in the words of the original, "war früher an der Tagesordnung."[18] By "formerly" we mean before the conversion of the Khevsurs to the Orthodox Church.[19] But a deeply ingrained customary law cannot be easily "repealed" and such is the case in Khevsuria in regard to the right of having more than one wife; for, even today, although rarely, some Khevsurs still insist on marrying several women.[20] The *Svans* are "monogamists" but, like the Khevsurs, they gave up plural marriages only after their conversion to Christianity. They are mono-
[584] gamists officially and economically, but, like the Khevsurs, they are sexually polygamous: in order to evade the law of the Church, the Khevsurs and the Svans introduced extremely easy divorce, a form of *successive* polygamy. Divorce is so frequent and easy (almost an annual affair) that we hesitate to call it monogamy.[21] G. Radde, in his monograph on the Khevsurs, claimed that many had been divorced and remarried ten times before they were 35 years of age.[22]

And now if we pass on to the non-Caucasian neighbours of the North Caucasian tribes, we find that the Mohammedan as well as the Christian OSSETES countenance polygyny, but as elsewhere it is rare, as rare as wealth.[23]
[585] As a rule, only the two highest classes, the princes and the *aldars* could afford more than one wife. In fact, there are even special *adats* which seem to reserve the privilege for these classes.[24]

The TURCO-TARTARS of the Caucasus have had a great share in the moulding of modern Caucasian culture and consequently demand our consideration.

Vambéry in his *Die primitive Kultur des turko-tatarischen Volkes* (pp. 71 f) assures us that not even the slightest traces of polygyny can be found among the primitive Turco-Tartars. In fact their language lacks such terms as "secondary wife," "bastard," and "prostitution."[25]

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[17*] *Hasting's Encyclopedia of Religion and Ethics*, V, p. 745.

[17**] The Svans are "Georgians" only in a broad sense of the word, meaning "South Caucasians."

[18] F. Nansen, *Through the Caucasus to the Volga*, p. 58; *Durch den Kaukasus zur Wolga*, p. 39.

[19] G. Radde, *Die Chewsuren und ihr Land*, p. 90.

[20] C. Hahn, *Bilder aus dem Kaukasus*, p. 82; A. Byhan, *La civilisation caucasienne*, p. 114. R. Eristov, "O Tušino-Pšavo-Chevsurskom Okrugè," ZKO, III (1855), p. 113.

[21] F. Bodenstedt, *Die Völker des Kaukasus*, I, p. 282. N. Dubrovin, *Istorija*, Tome I, Bk. II, p. 109.

[22] Radde, *op cit.*, p. 113. Cf. R. Briffault, *The Mothers*, II, pp. 269 ff.

[23] Dubrovin, *op. cit.*, Tome I, Bk. I, p. 329.

[24] Leontovič, *Adaty kavkazskich gorcev*, II, p. 12, § 10; p. 14, § 27; p. 16, a 40.

[25] Schmidt-Koppers, *Völker und Kulturen*, p. 204.

[Sic.. Analyst]

595 from polygyny is, above all, a shortage of rubles.[43] The same holds for the
593 Avars,[44] and, as we learn from Svěčin,[45] for the other Lesghians as well: the economic factor plays an important part in making polygyny relatively rare. Klaproth found the institution a veritable luxury in Ossetia, being only for the richest of the rich,[46] in full harmony with the Ossetine *adats* which reserve the right for the two richest classes, the princes and the *aldars*.[47] Grabovskij's
[587] report[48] that even the *poor* Ingushi were polygamists we have partially explained by obligatory levirate, which was just as much obligatory for the rich as for the poor. Moreover social stratification (which generally coincides with wealth
[605] and poverty) was practically non-existent during Grabovskij's visit in Ingushetia (*infra*, pp. 60 f); therefore, if polygyny is to be found among the Ingushi at all, it must be found also among the "poor" class.

[586] Easy divorce may do away with plural marriages as it did in Khevsuria and Svanetia, but in North Caucasia easy divorce plays only a very insignificant rôle compared with economic and biological factors.

## § 2. THE RULES OF ENDOGAMY AND EXOGAMY

000 Lowie defines exogamy as "the rule which prescribes that an individual must find a mate outside of his own group, whether that group be the family, the village or some other social unit."[49] The opposite rule "which makes it compulsory for a man to mate within his group is labeled endogamy." Lowie rightly stresses that it is not the *de facto* marriage within one's own group but the *prohibition* of marrying outside it that constitutes endogamy.[50]

### 1. The Impediment of Consanguinity

582 Consanguineous marriages are strictly prohibited throughout NORTH-
[614] WEST Caucasus. In his expedition of 1927 Ladyženskij ascertained that the reports of earlier writers about the abhorrence of incest among the tribes of Northwest Caucasia still exists today. Marriages between members of the same sib, regardless of the degree of remoteness, are considered incestuous.[51]

671 Among the NORTHEASTERN peoples the practice is not uniform. Ing-
582 ushian adats are by far stricter than Islamic law in regard to marriages between

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[43] *ibid.*

[44] L'vov, "Domašnjaja i semejnaja žizn Dagestanskich gorcev avarskago plemeni," SSKG, III (1870), p. 20.

[45] D. Svěčin, "Očerk narodonaselenija nravov, i obyčaev Dagestancev," ZKO, II (1853), p. 64.

[46] J. Klaproth, *Voyage au Mont Caucase et en Géorgie*, II, p. 249.

[47] *Leontovič, Adaty kavkazskich gorcev*, II, p. 12, § 10; p. 14, § 27; p. 16, § 40.

[48] "Ekonomičeskij i domašnij byt žitelej gorskago učastka inguševskago okruga," SSKG, III (1870), p. 21.

[49] R. Lowie, *Primitive Society*, p. 16.

[50] *op. cit.*, pp. 16 f.

[51] J. Reineggs, *Allgemeine historisch-topographische Beschreibung des Kaukasus*, II, p. 9; Ladyženskij, FT, p. 198.

583 We do not wish to say that bride price in the strict sense of the word does
[562] not exist in Daghestan at all. The unfavourable position of the female sex in Botlikh is rightly attributed by Rossikov and Erckert to the fact that she is still considered as purchased property, as chattel.[29] The *iol-puli* of the North Tabassaranians was anything but trivial.[30] In the "Adat Collection of the South Daghestanian Districts" we learn that it varied between Rs. 100 and Rs. 400, a maiden costing more than a widow.[31]

Even in localities where the *kalym* is so insignificant that it is actually only a symbol there are certain, and by no means trivial, expenses which must not be overlooked. First of all, there are not a few betrothal gifts (*infra*, pp. 102 f); then there are the relatively expensive marriage gifts, of which we shall speak below when describing the Lesghian wedding (*infra*, p. 119).

[584] There is, moreover, the so-called *kebin*, a guarantee against divorce. Just because it is the bride who benefits from the *kebin*, it cannot be considered as a bride-price. It is a security for the bride in case of divorce and is usually determined by mutual agreement, depending, of course, on the economic and social position of the contracting families. A widow of the *uzden* class, for example, never received more than a guarantee of Rs. 55.[32] In the province of Kazikumukh (Lak) and Dargwa the *kebin* usually consists of a piece of land having a value of Rs. 50 to Rs. 200.[33] Among the Kapuchians it consisted of money, about Rs. 10 to Rs. 20, while among the Tabassaranians up to Rs. 40. In the Avar Province the *adats* do not fix a definite amount, leaving it entirely to the two families concerned.[34] In North Tabassaran the guarantee was usually between Rs. 15 and Rs. 40 for a maiden and Rs. 5 to Rs. 20 for a widow.[35] The
[177] *kebin* (*mahr*, *kebin-khak*, *magar* as we sometimes find it in Russian literature) evidently owes its origin to Mohammedanism.

The SOUTHERN CAUCASIANS. Eristov speaking of the Khevsurian custom of about one hundred years ago informs us that the bride received no dowry but that a price always was insisted upon.[36] Similarly, the Pshav would marry his daughter only if he first received a satisfactory price for her.[37] It is
[586] worth noting that the Ingiloi (the Georgians of Sakataly) had to pay a higher kalym for widows than for virgins, Rs. 75 and Rs. 50 respectively.[38] The reason for this regulation seems to be that the widow being older is more liable to be divorced and has less chance of re-marrying than a young girl, and therefore needs a higher *kebin*.

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[29] K. N. Rossikov, "Poězdka v Čečnju i Nagorny Dagestan," ZKO, XIII (1884), p. 248. R. Erckert, *Der Kaukasus*, p. 284.

[30] Kovalevskij, *Zakon*, II, p. 179.

[31] "Adaty Južno-Dagestanskich Obščestv," SSKG, VIII (1875), p. 32.

[32] Svěčin, "Očerk narodonaselenie, nravov i obyčaev Dagestancev," ZKO, II (1853), p. 64. For custom of the Avars see L'vov, "Domašnjaja i semejnaja žizn etc."

[33] Confirmed by Kovalevskij's own field work. See his *Zakon*, II, p. 179.

[34] *ibid.*

[35] "Adaty Južno-Dagestanskich Obščestv," SSKG, VIII (1875), p. 32.

[36] "O Tušino-Pšavo-Chevsurskom Okrugě," ZKO, III (1855), p. 113.

[37] *ibid.*

[38] Hahn, "Putešestvie v Kachetiju i Dagestan," SMOMPK, XXXI (1902), p. 60.

8: Lužbetak E-4 (no date) 1951 RH1 Caucasia RH1



husband gives his future spouse an engagement gift as a pledge that he will marry her. Seidlitz,[57] Eristov,[58] (writing of the Khevsurs and Pshavs respectively), and King Vakhtang's Code seem to imply that the fiancée alone is bound by the promise to enter upon marriage. In any case, there is no doubt that her obligation is, by far, more binding than that of her lover. In Pshavia the engaged girl whose lover dies before marriage is obliged to move into her deceased fiancé's house and live there for a year before she may marry another man.[59] 584

With the OSSETES, on the contrary, the suitor does not enjoy more right to dissolve the betrothal promises than the girl. He may refuse to marry only if he discovers an essential defect, such as sickness and loss of virginity,[60] which she failed to manifest before the betrothal. [836]

Among the TURCO-TARTARS of the Caucasus, the Nogai and Kumyks, the obligation of marrying is bilateral. If the male partner refuses to marry, the girl and her family may retain the bride wealth received from him so far. Moreover, he is obliged to make restitution for all the *damna emergentia*. If the female partner refuses to marry, everything received from her lover must be restored to him. If she has been deflowered by him, he must marry her. Of course, if he so wish, he may divorce her immediately after the marriage and bear the usual expenses connected with a divorce (*kebin*).[61] [586]

TABLE 14

**Obligations Arising from Engagements**

| People | Mutual Avoidance | Fidelity | | Marriage | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | Suitor | Fiancée | Suitor | Fiancée |
| Abkhaz | + | | + | − | + |
| Cherkess | + | | + | − | + |
| Chechens | + | | + | − | + |
| Lesghians | + − | | + | + − | + − |
| Georgians | + | | + | − | + |
| Ossetes | + − | | + | + | + |
| Nogai | | | + | + | + |
| Kumyks | + | | + | + | + |
| Karachai | + | | + | | |

[57] "Gemeinde- und Familienleben der Chewsuren," *Das Ausland*, XVI (1891), p. 319.

[58] *op. cit.*, p. 111.

[59] Makalatija, "Iz starogo narodnago byta Pšavov," SE, 1938, No. 1, p. 110.

[60] Kovalevskij, Coutume contemp., pp. 193 f.

[61] "Adaty žitelej kumyskoj ploskosti," SSKG, VI (1872), p .16. Cf. Dubrovin, *op. cit.*, I, i, p. 638.

1 [Sio-- Analyst]

581 764 Caucasus clearly shows that the peoples of North Caucasia believed that a marriage tie could continue in the next world. However, since we do not have the slightest evidence that suttee was *obligatory*, the most we can say is that *perhaps*, at one time, death could not dissolve marriage.

## 2. Levirate

581 587 Once an Ossetine woman was married, she was considered bound to her husband forever unless divorced, as is evident from the following remarkable facts. (1) The widow was not allowed to marry outside her husband's family; the father or brother or son of the deceased man was obliged to take her to wife, but this second marriage was considered merely a *continuation* of the first. (2) The children of the second marriage were regarded as the sons and daughters of the *deceased*. (3) The children received the name of the deceased. (4) If the [589] widow had no brother-in-law, father-in-law or step-son, she had to remain unmarried, or live in concubinage, the children born becoming the sons and daughters of the deceased, even the legal heirs of the deceased. The marriage and concubinage had only one purpose: to "raise seed" and "build up the house" of the deceased till the wife would once again join him in the other world. These facts seem to be sufficient proof for the indissolubility of marriage even by death! Unfortunately, we do not have such details about the ancient levirate of the other peoples living in the Caucasus. However, when treating of preferential mating we did find obligatory levirate among the Ingushi and came to the conclusion that most probably the levirate was formerly obligatory also among the other mountain tribes.[8] In a word, it is quite *possible* that at one time death did not dissolve a marital bond.

## § 2. BY DIVORCE

586 The *adats* of all mountain peoples of Caucasus permit divorce. When speaking of divorce we must make a very clear distinction between the rights of the *husband* and those of the *wife*, between a *valid* divorce and a *justifiable* divorce.

[842] The NORTHWESTERN CAUCASIANS. According to reports of the eigtheenth century, a wife might be desmissed in Abkhazia if she were "sterile," that is, if she did not give birth to a child before she was 30, or if she remained childless for five successive years.[9] However, a *valid* divorce is possible at will. The Temirgoi, for example, may divorce their wives "if they do not please their husbands."[10] Such is the case throughout Abkhazia and among the Cherkess today.[11] Although formerly the women in Northwest Caucasus were at a very great disadvantage in regard to divorce, today, they too may abandon their husbands without any special legal grounds. However, in such arbitrary

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[8] Cf. *supra*, p. 73.

[9] Reineggs, *op. cit.*, Part II, p. 9.

[10] Vasil'kov, "Očerk byta Temirgoevcev," SMOMPK, XXIX (1901), p. 101.

[11] Cf. Ladvženskij, FT, p. 199.

dissolutions of the marriage bond, the husband forfeits the *kalym*, while the wife, on her part, must return it to the man she unjustifiably abandons.[12] On the other hand, if the husband has sufficient grounds for a divorce, the *kalym* must be refunded; or if she justly abandons her husband, she need not return it. Legal grounds for a woman are impotency of the man for over a year and cruelty,[13] whereas a man (at least among the Temirgoi) may divorce his wife for disrespectfulness toward her parents- oder brothers-in-law or laziness.[14] 586

The wife never has a right to any special alimony. In case of divorce, she may take her personal property along, that is, personal gifts, and if the divorce was not justifiable, her *kalym*. She never receives additional support, except if she has a child less than a year old, in which case she is given, in addition, 10 *puds* of flour, 10 *puds* of millet, and not more than two sheep.[15]

The children always remain with the father. If one of the children is less than a year old, the mother may keep the child and nurse it till its second year, when it must, without delay, be returned to its father's family.[16] Since divorce is relatively frequent, in some Cherkess families we find children of two, three, or even more, different mothers.[17]

A Cherkess and Abkhazian divorcée is free to re-marry, provided the regulation regarding the *kalym* has been carried out.[18] [587]

If the partners wish to reunite after a divorce, they can do so only if a marriage with another person and a subsequent divorce intervened. The intermediate marriage and divorce may have taken place only an hour before the re-union, it matters little. They are nevertheless indispensable. Of course, the "re-union" is more than a mere re-union; it is actually a second marriage between the same partners.[19] This practice evidently is of Islamic origin.

The NORTHEASTERN CAUCASIANS. The divorce regulations of the Chechens are much the same as those of the Abkhaz and Cherkess, but, owing to their greater isolation and slower acculturation, the divorce rights of the female partner have not reached the advantageous level of the Northwesterners. [177]

In pre-Soviet times, a husband had far greater rights to dismiss his wife than a wife had to abandon her husband., A husband might validly divorce his wife at will, but his wife was not allowed to abandon her husband without first having received his consent.[20] Or again, as another *adat* has it: the infidelity of a wife is considered sufficient grounds for dismissal, but the infidelity 586 837

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[12] *ibid.*

[13] *ibid.*

[14] Vasil'kov, *l. c.*

[15] Ladyženskij, FT, p. 203.

[16] *ibid.*

[17] Vasil'kov, *op. cit.*, p. 102.

[18] Byhan, *La civilisation caucasienne*, p. 155.

[19] Ladyženskij, *op. cit.*, p. 199. This is a typically Islamic custom, cf. Koran, ii, 230. Cf. Juynboll, *op. cit.*, pp. 229—232; also, A. Gren, "Kratkoe izloženie Šariata," *Tersikij Sbornik*, III (1892), No. 2, Part 2, p. 16.

[20] Leontovič, II, p. 170, § 123; p. 175, § 160. "§ 123 ... žena na razvod prava ne imšet, bez soglasija muža. Mužu že dozvoljaetsja razvod vo vsjakoe vremja, ne sprasivaja soglasija ženy." [Sic -- Analyst]

586 of a husband never justifies a wife to divorce him.[21] In fact, the inequality was
837 even far greater: although a husband's wilful act of adultery was not sufficient grounds for a divorce, rape suffered by an innocent wife was.[22] Other legal
[842] grounds for a divorce were sterility of the wife or the fact that she was "capable" of giving birth only to girls,[23] which is but another form of "sterility."

586 A divorcée has no right to a special alimony. Instead, she has her own personal property and especially her *kebin*.[24]

If a wife abandons her husband for any reason other than the few legal grounds granted her, she not only must return all engagement and wedding gifts received from her husband, but her family must also return the entire *kalym*. In fact, she may not re-marry till the *kalym* is refunded. Sometimes the husband out of mere malice refuses the *kalym*, so that the divorcée must remain unmarried for the rest of her life.[25]

[429] The children remain in the father's household, even if he should soon die after the divorce,[26] the guardianship always remaining in the male line.

According to Lesghian customary divorce laws, which, on the whole, are in harmony with the *šarī'a*,[27] the female mate is again at a disadvantage. An *adat* for North Tabassaran says that "the husband has the right to divorce his wife at any time... But a wife may abandon her husband only if he is impotent, or if he has a contagious disease, or, finally, if he is unable to support her."[28] The disadvantage lies in the restricted legal grounds justifying the women to abandon their husbands and the almost unlimited possibilities of a justified divorce of the men. However, the expression "at any time" in this *adat* is an exaggeration. If a husband divorces his wife unjustifiably, he must pay the sum promised (*kebin*) and forfeits the *kalym*. If the wife abandons her husband for any other reason than the three grounds enumerated, she loses her right to the *kebin* and her family is obliged to refund the *kalym*.[29] Of course, if the husband is willing to pay the *kebin* and lose his right to a refund of the *kalym*, he may divorce her, literally, at any time.

586, Another occasion for divorce is the so-called *khatun-tallkh*. It is a com-
695 mon form of oath in Daghestan, which only a married man can take. The husband declares himself ready to dismiss his wife if he swear falsely. If he has several wives, he must specify which wife he will dismiss in case of perjury.

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[21] Leontovič, II, p. 173, §§ 150, 152.

[22] Leontovič, II, p. 172, § 143.

[23] Grabovskij, "Ekonomičeskij i domašnij byt, etc.," p. 21.

[24] Leontovič, II, p. 169 f, § 119; p. 176, § 172. The special decision of 1862 in this regard seems to be an imitation of the Islamic *kebin*.

[25] Leontovič, II, p. 175, § 166: "čtoby razvedennaja žena ne byla 'ni emu, ni drugomu.'" See also Grabovskij, *op. cit.*, pp. 51 f.

[26] Grabovskij, *op. cit.*, p. 53.

[27] Kovalevskij, *Zakon*, II, pp. 199 f.

[28] "Adaty Južno-Dagestanskich Obščesv," SSKG, VIII (1875), pp. 32. Kovalevskij, *Zakon*, II, p. 199.

[29] "Adaty Južno-Dagestanskich Obščesv," *l. c.*

a [among the Northeaste: Caucasians-- Analyst]

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The *khatun-tallkh* is a much stronger oath than any other in Daghestan, even stronger than an oath on the Koran. The wife, therefore, may be the innocent victim of her husband's falsehood. 586 695

The *khatun-tallkh*, according to Robertson-Smith (*Kinship in Early Arabia*, p. 77) and Kohler ("Ueber das vorislamitische Recht der Araber," *Zeitschr. f. vergl. Rechtsw.*, VIII [1888], pp. 246, 251) is a pre-Islamic oath incorporated into Islamic law. Kovalevskij, who cites both authors, maintains that Islamic missionaries are responsible for the practice in Daghestan.[30] We cannot deny the possibility of Islamic origin, but mere similarity is no sufficient proof. If such argumentation were methodologically indisputable, we should be justified in concluding that the levirate, polygyny, divorce, and other institutions have been imported from Arabia. All that we wish to say is that it is not at all so certain that the Caucasian *khatun-tallkh* is of Islamic origin, as Kovalevskij would have us believe. An oath, by its very nature, seeks the strongest sanction possible. Now, we have shown, when treating of the attitude of the Caucasians toward plurality of wives, how highly a wife is esteemed. She is, we said, the best family investment. To be forced to surrender her would therefore be a very efficient sanction against perjury. It may very well be the high esteem for the value of a wife and the need of a strong sanction that gave rise to the *khatun-tallkh* long before Islamism appeared on Caucasian soil, and perhaps belongs to a common substratum of ancient Arabian culture and Caucasian customary law. [177]

Although the question regarding the guardianship of children after divorce has not been studied, we may conjecture that Lesghian *adats* restrict the right to the father alone. Guardianship, as a general rule, in primitive societies, follows the norms of inheritance: in patrilineal families the children remain with the father, in matrilineal, with their divorced mother. Since inheritance is fundamentally patrilineal according to ancient customary law of the Lesghians, we feel justified in making this hypothetical assumption.[31] 586 [428]

The women of the neighbouring peoples enjoy about the same rights of divorce as do the North Caucasian women. Everywhere they are at a disadvantage.

SOUTHERN CAUCASIANS. Eristov tells us that during his time the Georgian mountain tribes would divorce their wives for the least provocation. It happened now and then that a week after marriage the bride would not turn out to be as pleasing as the groom had imagined, or as good a housekeeper as the groom's family hoped for; such a disappointment was sufficient to occasion a divorce.[32] She could also be dismissed for superficiality, theft, or laziness.[33]

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[30] Kovalevskij, *Zakon*, II, p. 127.

[31] Cf. Abercromby, *op. cit.*, p. 97, who believes that the Avars do not have a fixed rule in this regard.

[32] Eristov, *op. cit.*, pp. 112 f.

[33] Seidlitz, "Gemeinde- und Familienleben der Chewsuren," Das Ausland, 1891, No. 17, p. 336. If the woman had a son, it was much more difficult to divorce her (a custom of the Pshavs), cf. Makalscija, "Iz starogo narodnago byta Pšavov," p. 109.

586 It is very difficult to determine just what rights women enjoyed according to Georgian customary law. King Vakhtang's Code tells us that women had no right to abandon their husbands, except in case of cruelty,[34] and, we may [587] add, sterility.[35] If she nevertheless runs away from her husband, the Code tells us, she may not marry another man unless she pay the full bloodwite corresponding to her husband's social rank,[36] a sum which she generally cannot afford.[37]

After a divorce the children remain with their father. The mother may take her suckling with her if her husband agrees and if she promises to return the child after it has been weaned.[38]

Formerly the OSSETINE women had no possibility of divorce at all, except, of course, in the Mohammedan parts of Ossetia.[39] Today her condition has somewhat improved.

But we do not wish to say that the wife had no protection against an unjust dismissal. An arbitrary divorce was indeed valid, but it involved a great economic loss for the husband. In such cases he would have to forfeit the *irad*, a third of which went to the divorcée. If he did have legal grounds for divorce, a third of the *kalym* would be refunded to him, or earlier still, a half of the *kalym* would be refunded in all cases of just divorce except in case of adultery, when the wife's family would have to return it entirely.[40]

In Ossetia the divorcée must return to her father's house or else re-marry, but remarriage is always difficult because such women are considered as "bad wives."[41] The children, as a general rule, remain with the father.[42] The main legal grounds for divorce are: infidelity, sterility, impotence, and certain physical defects and sicknesses of the wife.[43]

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[34] Karst ed., p. 109.

[35] Dareste, *Etude d'histoire du droit*, p. 133, cited by *A. H. Post, Grundriss der ethnol. Jurispr.*, II, p. 116.

[36] Karst ed., *l. c.* Cf. also Eristov, *op. cit.*, p. 113, *note*, who says that the average bloodwite was about Rs. 80 about an hundred years ago.

[37] Nansen, *op. cit.*, p. 58.

[38] Seidlitz, *op. cit.*, p. 336.

[39] Kovalevskij, *Coutume contemp.*, p. 174.

[40] Kovalevskij, *op. cit.*, p. 173. Klaproth, however, maintains that even in the case of unfaithfulness the husband received only half of the *kalym* because the husband was considered partly at fault for his wife's adultery, in so far as he did not watch over her conduct as closely as he should have. He had received her as a virgin, that is, the family of his wife had taken great pains in watching over her virtue till her wedding day. At marriage this obligation passed over to her husband (Klaproth, *Voyage au Mont Caucase et en Géorgie*, II, p. 250). However, this entire explanation seems to be somewhat artificial. We should not, I think, stress the culpability of the husband, as Klaproth does, but rather the effort of the family in preserving their daughter a virgin up to the time of her marriage, which deserves compensation. Moreover, the husband has derived not an insignificant economic profit from his wife up to the time of the divorce, whereas the family was deprived of it. This too deserves a compensation. This latter explanation is not far-fetched. The neighbouring Georgian mountain tribes have their *namasbovali*, that is, the husband must pay the divorcée one cow for every year she has lived with him.

[41] Kovalevskij, *l. c.*

[42] Kovalevskij, *op. cit.*, p. 174.

[43] Kovalevskij, *op. cit.*, p. 173. See also Pčelina, "Rodil'nje obyčai u osetin," SE, 1937, No. 4, p. 88.

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Summing up the results of our comparitive[1] study we may say : 586

(1) It seems that at one time divorce was an exclusive right of the husband, almost everywhere in North Caucasus.

(2) Throughout the Caucasus, the husband has the right to dismiss his wife *at will*. The most arbitrary divorces are recognized by customary law as valid.

(3) The *adats* always make a distinction between a merely *valid* divorce and a divorce that is both valid and *justifiable*.

(4) Although the divorce rights enjoyed by the women do not equal those enjoyed by the men, the rights of the former have greatly increased, mainly through Islamic and Russian influence.

(5) The inequality lies mainly in the grounds which render a divorce justifiable.

(6) After a divorce the children remain with the father. In a word, the divorce laws are again typical of a patriarchal society.

In conclusion, it may be interesting to note how the fireplace, which played such an important part in the marriage ceremonies of the North Caucasians, is not overlooked when a marriage is dissolved. By walking round the hearth three times, the new bride got in touch with the groom's ancestors and thus officially became a member of the household. Though the fireplace ceremony is very rare in Northeastern Caucasia, it seems to play an important part in the dissolution of marriage. Thus in certain localities of Daghestan, when a woman is declared divorced, she goes to the hearth, takes a handful of ashes and throws them into the wind.[44] It may very well be that the relation of the fireplace and divorce has been overlooked by the explorers. By scattering the ashes she is perhaps trying to undo what she did by walking round the fireplace on her wedding day or shortly after. Even though the two practices may not coincide today (i. e., locally), the possibility that they did coexist formerly is not excluded. [778]

Finally, a word about an institution closely resembling divorce, mentioned by J. G. Georgi in his *Beschreibung aller Nationen des russischen Reichs, ihrer Lebensart, Religion, Gebräuche, Wohnungen, Kleidung und übrigen Merkwürdigkeiten* (1776) which includes among the "Merkwürdigkeiten" the so-called *trial marriages* of the Cherkess. Within a given time the wife had to prove her fertility, otherwise the union would be dissolved. Recently similar temporary or trial marriages have been discovered in Ossetia.[45] 582

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[44] Cf. Kovalevskij, *Zakon*, II, p. 201.

[45] Ladyženskij, "Zur Erforschung der Rechtsgewohnheiten der Bergvölker des Kaukasus," *Zeitsch. f. Ethnologie*, LXII (1930), p. 232, *note* 1.

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the person raped is a minor or an adult: blood-enmity or bloodwite of Rs. 250 (AJuDO, p. 9). 684

(14) If the adulteress escapes, she becomes the blood-enemy of her husband as well as of her own family. The same holds for her lover. The offended husband is allowed to kill his wife and spare the adulterer, but not vice versa, without becoming a *qanly*. In case of fornication, if both partners are not killed, they have the strict obligation of marrying or else become outcasts and are banished (AJuDO, pp. 43 f).

(15) If a man is accused of adultery and fails to justify himself by an oath taken together with 40 conjurors, the adulteress may be killed by her husband. If a husband decides to kill his adulterous wife, her lover automatically becomes a blood-enemy. The adulterer can choose to pay a bloodwite of Rs. 60 and a fine of six head of cattle instead. The fine is paid to the district (AJuDO, p. 26). If the father of a girl insists, the man who had intercourse with her must marry her, otherwise he must pay a fine of six oxen and becomes a blood-enemy of the girl's family (AJuDO, p. 26). The penalty for raping a widow is three head of cattle. If the woman attacked is married, the offender becomes a blood-enemy if he fails to justify himself by an oath taken together with 40 conjurors (Cf. AJuDO, p. 26).

(16) The adulteress may be divorced (ADOiZO, p. 548, § 19; Dirr, AGKB, p. 75). If the offended husband makes use of this right, the adulterer must pay a bloodwite and is banished for 20—30 days (*ibid.*).

(17) The fornicators are obliged to marry, otherwise they may be killed by the girl's family. Anyone who rapes a girl, widow, divorcée, or a married woman is obliged to marry her, otherwise he too may be killed (AJuDO, p. 48).

In pre-Russian times it was sufficient if the husband had learned by mere hearsay that his wife had been unfaithful: he could at once inflict the death-blow without further investigation.[27] Although during the Russian occupation the right to kill one's adulterous wife still existed (namely, if the wife had been caught in the act or if she had fled with her lover on being detected, or if she had been found guilty by the people's court), the husband seldom made use of his right. A wife was generally divorced, and as compensation, the offended husband kept all her property.[28] We say that she was "generally" divorced, for, if we go through the various criminalogical reports of the Russian (pre-Soviet) times, we find not a few cases where the right to kill has been actually made use of. To mention but a few of these official reports: "December 28, 1869, a citizen of the aul Orot, of the Province of Avaria, by the name of Gamzat Labazan-ogdy, stabbed his brother to death because Ali (his brother) had committed adultery with Gamzat's wife, whose name is Patimat Mutalilov-kizy."[29] Or again, "December 12, 1869, a native of the aul Arsug . . . having caught his wife, Kifi Rodzheb-kizy, in an adulterous union with his co-villager, Ramazan Adzhab-Palay-ogdy, killed her with the help of her own kinsman, Dzhabrank Tseyd-ogdy."[30] 584

The Lesghians love to repeat the ballad of Nika Bulat. It is a tragic tale indeed, but a tale that clearly conveys the deep conviction of these mountaineers of the heinousness of adultery. Nika Bulat, we must remember, was a righteous 684 538 837

[27] Kovalevskij, *Zakon*, II, pp. 195 f.

[28] Similar changes are noticeable throughout the Caucasus.

[29] "Iz gorskoj kriminalistiki," SSKG, III (1870), p. 19.

[30] *ibid.*

581 economic considerations. In more recent times, under the influence of Islam, Christianity, and also of the Soviet regime, it has become a more important factor.

583 The mixture of various traditions can be exemplified by the Circassian usages. It was customary for the suitor, with the help of his comrades, to abduct his bride from the house of her parents. Often the kalym had been agreed upon beforehand, but the family of the bride nevertheless put up a token of resistance against the abduction. In cases where the family was against the marriage, elopement was not uncommon. A night spent 582 by the girl with her abductor made her his lawful wife according to the Circassian adat; later, a marriage contract drawn up by the mullah gave the marriage its legal sanction; now, marriages are regulated by Soviet law.

In Dagestan, local endogamy is observed more or less strictly; in the rest of the N. Caucasus, and also among the Georgian mountaineers, exogamous rules prevail. [587] Formerly, the levirate and stepmother-inheritance were widespread among the Caucasian mountaineers; there was also a strong insistance upon marrying within one's social rank.

585 Among all the Caucasian mountaineers observing exogamy, there existed a variety of avoidance rules. E. g., the bridegroom would hide during the wedding feast and afterwards only secretly visit his wife, who after

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This deficiency of female mates is certainly one of the main reasons for the infrequency of polygyny despite the great value placed on the institution. 162

The statistics given for Chechnia reveal a similar situation. And, according to Vertepov, the disproportion was especially great in Ingushetia, 115 men to every 100 women.[37] This is indeed striking because Grabovskij claimed, as we have seen, that plural marriages were "very frequent" in the last quarter of the nineteenth century.[38] "Many" Ingushi had two wives and sometimes three.[39] Even "poor" Ingushi had additional wives.[40] The frequent cases of polygyny in Ingushetia in spite of the unusual surplus of men can perhaps be explained by the strict obligation of the widow to marry her deceased husband's brother. According to Kovalevskij, the levirate among the Chechens was, practically speaking, an obligation, whereas among the Lesghians it was facultative *(infra*, pp. 71 f). Levirate would also explain why even "poor" Ingushi were polygynists; it would also explain why "many" Ingushi had more than one wife.

The sex ratio of the Lesghians, as presented in our statistics, differs somewhat from that of the rest of the Caucasians. Here, in Daghestan, we do have districts with a preponderance of female sex, but it must be noted, the difference is so small that the surplus women could hardly make polygyny a frequent practice. Thus the Avar, Andi, Gunib, Dargwa, Kazikumuk, Kurin and Samur provinces all have practically a 100:100 ratio. The Kaitago-Tabassaran Province has the highest proportion in favour of women, but the difference 100:105 is insignificant. Hence, the balance between the male and female population is a contributing factor to the infrequency of polygyny.[41]

But besides this biological reason there is the universally valid economic reason. Supposing that there were a surplus of women in the Caucasus, there would still be great financial difficulties that would prevent polygyny from becoming general. The poor Caucasian considers himself quite fortunate if he manages to gather enough jingling rubles or mooing cows to purchase one wife, let alone a second or a third.[42] In fact, even the rich Caucasian would find it difficult to purchase a second wife, because the bride price always corresponds to the economic and social position of the contracting parties. Ladyženskij expressly maintains that what keeps the Kabardian and the Cherkess in general

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[37] G. Vertepov, "Inguši," *Terskij Sbornik*, II (1892), No. 2, p. 99.

[38] Grabovskij, "Ekonomičeskij i domašnij byt žitelej gorskago učastka Ingulevskago okruga," SSKG, III (1870), p. 21. Dubrovin is of the same opinion: *Istorija*, Tome I, Bk. I, p. 430.

[39] Grabovskij, *l. c.*

[40] Grabovskij, *l. c.*

[41] In 1926 the sex ratio for Daghestan was practically a perfect balance, 100:103 in favor of the female sex (383,000 males to 405,000 females). F. Nansen, *Through the Caucasus to the Volga*, p. 96.
According to official statistics of 1930 there were more men than women living in the *cities* of Daghestan (1,000 men to 931 women); in the country the proportion was 1,000 men to 1,048 women. R. Kherumian, "Contribution à l'Anthropologie du Caucase," *L'Anthropologie*, LII (1948), No. 1—2, p. 44.
It seems to be quite natural that the city population should show a preponderance of male sex: a considerable portion of the city population are labourers and merchants from various parts of Caucasia, Russia, and Armenia.

[42] A. Ladyženskij, FT, p. 195.

from polygyny is, above all, a shortage of rubles.[43] The same holds for the Avars,[44] and, as we learn from Svěčin,[45] for the other Lesghians as well: the economic factor plays an important part in making polygyny relatively rare. Klaproth found the institution a veritable luxury in Ossetia, being only for the richest of the rich,[46] in full harmony with the Ossetine *adats* which reserve the right for the two richest classes, the princes and the *aldars*.[47] Grabovskij's report[48] that even the *poor* Ingushi were polygamists we have partially explained by obligatory levirate, which was just as much obligatory for the rich as for the poor. Moreover social stratification (which generally coincides with wealth and poverty) was practically non-existent during Grabovskij's visit in Ingushetia (*infra*, pp. 60 f); therefore, if polygyny is to be found among the Ingushi at all, it must be found also among the "poor" class.

Easy divorce may do away with plural marriages as it did in Khevsuria and Svanetia, but in North Caucasia easy divorce plays only a very insignificant rôle compared with economic and biological factors.

## § 2. THE RULES OF ENDOGAMY AND EXOGAMY

Lowie defines exogamy as "the rule which prescribes that an individual must find a mate outside of his own group, whether that group be the family, the village or some other social unit."[49] The opposite rule "which makes it compulsory for a man to mate within his group is labeled endogamy." Lowie rightly stresses that it is not the *de facto* marriage within one's own group but the *prohibition* of marrying outside it that constitutes endogamy.[50]

### 1. The Impediment of Consanguinity

Consanguineous marriages are strictly prohibited throughout NORTHWEST Caucasus. In his expedition of 1927 Ladyženskij ascertained that the reports of earlier writers about the abhorrence of incest among the tribes of Northwest Caucasia still exists today. Marriages between members of the same sib, regardless of the degree of remoteness, are considered incestuous.[51]

Among the NORTHEASTERN peoples the practice is not uniform. Ingushian adats are by far stricter than Islamic law in regard to marriages between

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[43] *Ibid.*

[44] L'vov, "Domašnjaja i semejnaja žizn Dagestanskich gorcev avarskago plemeni," SSKG, III (1870), p. 20.

[45] D. Svěčin, "Očerk narodonaselenija nravov, i obyčaev Dagestancev," ZKO, II (1853), p. 64.

[46] J. Klaproth, *Voyage au Mont Caucase et en Géorgie*, II, p. 249.

[47] *Leontovič, Adaty kavkazskich gorcev*, II, p. 12, § 10; p. 14, § 27; p. 16, § 40.

[48] "Ekonomičeskij i domašnij byt žitelej gorskago učastka inguševskago okruga," SSKG, III (1870), p. 21.

[49] R. Lowie, *Primitive Society*, p. 16.

[50] *op. cit.*, pp. 16 f.

[51] J. Reineggs, *Allgemeine historisch-topographische Beschreibung des Kaukasus*, II, p. 9; Ladyženskij, FT, p. 198.

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consisting merely in killing a wild animal (*e. g.*, the Yukaghir) or sometimes in killing a man (*e. g.*, the Yoruba of West Africa).[176] Taibout de Marigny[177] describes how a Cherkess maiden would ridicule her would-be lover with the taunt "Why you haven't even stolen a cow yet and you want to marry me." And Herodotus, speaking of the Sauromatians, the probable ancestors of the Ossetes, informs us that the virgins could not marry till they had killed at least one enemy, or according to Hippocrates, three.[178] The Ossetine poet, Kosta Chetagurov, describes a custom of the nineteenth century according to which the suitor would have to live with his future bride's family from two to four weeks, during which time he would have to convince them that he is a true gentleman, clever, and reliable, in a word, possessing all qualities expected of a good husband.[179]

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### 4. Impediments of Physical and Mental Deficiency

In Circassia venereal diseases, insanity, and impotency impede marriage.[180] The extent of these and similar impediments have unfortunately not yet been investigated.

### 5. Impediment of Divorce and Widowhood

The incapacity of a divorcée to contract a second marriage is indeed a very rare impediment and is usually only temporary. We find such an impediment in Armenia and in Khevsuria, and of these two cases we shall speak at length when treating the Caucasian divorce laws. A refusal to enter upon a levirate marriage may entail such an impediment (*infra*, pp. 71 f). In parts of Caucasus where Islamic law prevails there is of course the temporary prohibition for widows and divorcées to marry before their "waiting period" (*'iddah*) is over. When a husband dies, the widow is obliged to wait at least four months and ten days before she may remarry (Koran, ii. 234). A divorcée may not remarry before she has had three menstruations (*ḳurû*); in the case of older women, the *'iddah* is set at three months.[181]

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Although customary law does not prohibit second marriages, they are looked upon everywhere in the Caucasus as inferior. The bride-price is considerably smaller and the nuptials take place without the customary solemnities.[182]

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[176] Cf. Briffault for other examples, *The Mothers*, II, pp. 184 f.

[177] *Voyage en Circassie 1835*, p. 55.

[178] Baddeley, *op. cit.*, I, p. 13, *note* 1.

[179] N. F. Takoeva, "Kosta Chetagurov—narodnyj poet osetin etnograf-kavkazoved," SE, 1949, No. 2, p. 125.

[180] Ladyženskij, FT, p. 199.

[181] Koran, ii. 228; lxv. 4. Cf. Juynboll, *op. cit.*, p. 222.

[182] *Infra*, pp. 121, 131.
See also O. Karanailov, "Aul Coch," SMOMPK, IV (1884), No. 2, p. 16. Vasil'kov, "Očerk byta temirgoevcev," SMOMPK, XXIX (1901), No. 1, p. 102.

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# Chapter III

# Preferential Mating

## § 1. DESCRIPTION

Cross-cousin marriages, levirate and sororate are all preferential marriages. 582
By "preferential," however, we do not mean "optional." "Preferential" means "having a precedence" which may be optional or obligatory.

These three forms of preferential marriages are not the only forms known to man. There is, for example, another form, found in the Caucasus itself, the "step-mother marriages," and still others are possible.

The NORTHWEST CAUCASIANS. The *Cherkess* were still Christians 587
when Interiano wrote of them, "It sometimes happens that a native will kill his brother and then will immediately become the bedmate of the widow."[1] Olearius describes the levirate as practiced during the reign of King Alexander Michailovič (c. 1650).

According to Circassian *adats* levirate was obligatory at least for the widow. In the collection of customary laws of the Black Sea, Kuban and Terek Territories we learn that the widow was indeed obliged to marry the brother of her deceased husband, but only "if his brother so wished." If he insisted on taking her to wife, her only means of escape was to pledge herself for life to the care of her children, and thus to remain unmarried.[2]

The NORTHEASTERN CAUCASIAN. Count Potocki described the custom in his *Voyage dans les pays du Caucase* (1798) and adds the interesting remark that not only must the brother of the deceased man marry the widow but also a step-son must marry all his step-mothers. "After the death of the father," Potocki informs us, "his sons marry all his wives, except their own mother, whom one of the step-brothers marries. The Chechens reproach them for this infamous custom, but the Ingushi answer quite unconcernedly, 'My father was allowed to lie with my mother, why then may I not lie with his wife?'"[3] This "infamous custom" exists likewise among the neighbouring Daghestanians.[4] An *adat* dating from 1860 expressly states that in the Ingush Province "a widow was *bound* to marry her brother-in-law or another relative of the

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[1] Cited by R. Erckert, *Der Kaukasus*, p. 67.

[2] Leontovič, II, p. 254, § 171. The levirate is no longer obligatory (Dubrovin, *Istorija*, I, i, i, p. 170).

[3] Cited by Ladyženskij, FT, p. 186. See Potocki, *Voyage dans les steps d'Astrakhan et du Caucase*, II, p. 127.

[4] Cf. F. Nansen, *Through the Caucasus to the Volga*, p. 104.

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587 deceased."[5] The levirate among the mountaineers of Daghestan was completely optional.[6]

SOUTHERN CAUCASIANS. The only time a widow of Svanetia is free from the obligation of entering upon a levirate union, according to Bodenstedt,[7] Dubrovin[8] and others, is when she actually does not have a brother-in-law. Among the Khevsurs, on the contrary, levirate was optional.[9]

About ninety years ago the Russian Military Government tried to abolish the practice in OSSETIA, but with very little success. Widows continued to be automatically married to their husbands' brother or father.[10] If the widow refused to comply, she was driven out of the house and had to remain unmarried for the rest of her life.[11] In the first half of the nineteenth century not even the brother of the deceased person was free, even if he already had a wife.[12] [581] According to Ossetine customary law the levirate was formerly regarded merely as a continuation of the first marriage, which was indissoluble. The children born of the new union belonged to the deceased; the children were even named after the deceased; they were rightful heirs of the deceased! If the widow did not have a father-in-law or brother-in-law she had to remain unmarried; she might, however, live in lawful concubinage and all children born would be considered legitimate and true sons and daughters of the departed.[13]

In spite of the express prohibition of obligatory levirate by Islamic law and in spite of the measures taken by the Russians, the levirate continued to be the general practice almost to our own times.[14] The difference between recent practice and that of old consists mainly in the binding force of the *adats*. Although the actual practice was perhaps at its height about fifty years ago, its binding force had begun to lose ground long before that time. Around 1890 Kovalevskij observed that the levirate was obligatory only for *near* relatives, otherwise such marriages were optional,[15] and today the binding force has disappeared completely.[16]

Finally, a word about a rare form of preferential mating, rare at least in the Caucasus, the sororate. Practically all reports on cases of sororate refer to the Ossetes. Kovalevskij implies that the practice is also in accord with Lesghian *adats*. Abercromby claims that "an Avar is permitted to marry his

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[5] Leontovič, II, p. 169, § 117.

[6] Kovalevskij, *Zakon* II, p. 175.

[7] F. Bodenstedt, *Die Völker des Kaukasus*, I, p. 282.

[8] Dubrovin, *Istorija*, I, ii, p. 109.

[9] Cf. Eristov, "O Tušino-Pšavo-Chevsurskom okrugě," ZKO, III (1855), p. 113. Essad-Bey, *Der Kaukasus etc.*, p. 263.

[10] The inheritance of a deceased *son's* wife is not unknown even today (Byhan, *La civilisation caucasienne*, p. 226).

[11] Leontovič, II, p. 50, § 14. Sometimes she would be granted permission to remarry.

[12] Dubois de Montpéreux, *Voyage autour du Caucase*, IV, p. 449. Kovalevskij, *Coutume temp.*, p. 180.

[13] Baron A. von Haxthausen, *Transkaukasia* (Leipzig, 1856), pp. 402 ff.

[14] Cf. Juynboll, *Handbuch des islamischen Gesetzes etc.*, p. 184. Baddeley, *op. cit.*, I, p. 271.

[15] *Coutume contemp.*,

[16] Byhan, *op. cit.*,

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first cousin or two sisters."[17] The reports are usually not specific, leaving us in the dark as to whether the sororate in actual practice is simultaneous or successive. In Ossetia the greatest opponents of the custom were the "clergy."[18] 587

## § 2. PROBLEMS REGARDING PREFERENTIAL MATING

Before we draw any conclusions from our data, a review of what we have said may be of advantage.

TABLE 9

**Preferential Mating in Caucasia**

| | PEOPLES | Adats permit levirate | Levirate Obligatory for | | Sororate | Step-mother inheritance | Daughter-in-law inheritance |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | | Widow | Brother-in-law | | | |
| North-Western | Abkhaz | + | + | − | | + | |
| | Cherkess | + | − | − | | + | |
| North-Eastern | Ingushi | + | + | − | | + | |
| | Lesghians | + | − | − | + | + | |
| Southern-ers | Svans | + | + | − | | | |
| | Khevsurs | + | − | − | | | |
| Ossetes | | + | + | + | + | + | + |

(1) The levirate is genuinely Caucasian, found among all mountaineers regardless of the religion to which the tribe may belong.

(2) *Obligatory* levirate is no longer found in the Caucasus. Formerly according to Cherkess and Chechen custom the *widow* was obliged to marry her brother-in-law if he desired it; in Ossetia the levirate was obligatory for both sides. This comparison clearly shows that wherever the *šarî'a* has struck deep root the levirate is optional; wherever the *adats* have maintained their original importance the custom remains obligatory at least in regard to the widow. This is but another example of the struggle that is continually going on between Islamic and customary law.[19]

(3) Step-mother inheritance is common to all Northerners. The sororate seems to be very rare, while the scarcity of reports relating to daughter-in-law marriages would incline us to believe that such marriages are the least common of all.

[17] Abercromby, *op. cit.*, p. 97.

[18] Kovalevskij, *Coutume contemp.*, p. 211 f., basing his assertion on Perevalenko, "In the Defiles of Kullarsk," (Russian), *Kavkaz*, 1847, p. 46, and on Dubrovin.

[19] Cf. Kovalevskij, *Zakon*, II, p. 175.

587 (4) We must disagree with Kovalevskij in his interpretation of the levirate as a vestige of former group marriage.[20] Without offering us any evidence, he takes up the theories of Morgan and Frazer and applies them to the Caucasus. Such an institution as "group marriage" exists nowhere in the world, and to imagine that it has ever existed is mere fancy. In an attempt to explain the origin of preferential mating in the Caucasus we should lay aside all guesswork
[562] and study the culture before us. For example: the unbearably low position of the North Caucasian woman (*infra*, pp. 152—159) may have made her appear as inheritable chattel. After all, the family purchased her, paid a high price for her, and now she constitutes a part of the family property no less than do the horses, cows, and sheep. Moreover, as we have explained above (pp. 44 f), she is more than *ordinary* family property: she is the best family investment, for she is the "worker-producing" and especially the "boy-producing" organ on which depends the economic, religious, and social life of the family. This realization would only too naturally disincline the family to give her up after her husband's
[581] death. As we shall see in the following chapter, mating is not a private affair; it is a strictly family affair, the prime purpose of marriage being the good of the family or sib. She, as it were, belongs more to the *family* that purchased her than to the individual member whose wife she is. Finally, if we consider the pre-Islamic, pre-Christian, and pre-Avestic religion of the mountaineers, we are almost forced to postulate such an institution as widow-inheritance.
[775] The life beyond does not differ from the present, and consequently the departed will need his wife in the nether world just as much as in this life. (We shall have occasion to speak of posthumous marriages! Cf. *infra*, p. 85.) We shall even show that suttee was not unknown in North Caucasus (Cf. *infra*,
[842] pp. 131 f). The wife therefore must remain in the family. Moreover, the deceased needs offspring, a large progeny, just as much after death as during life, for his happiness and honour in the other world depend upon the cult he receives from his descendents. The widow, therefore, must remain in the family and another member must "raise up seed for his brother" and "build up his brother's house." In other words, the levirate is not a survival of a *primitive* culture but rather an institution very intimately connected with the economic, social and religious life of a relatively highly developed culture such as that of pastoral peoples.

595 As a confirmation of what we have just now said about the origin of
[842] Caucasian preferential mating, we wish to describe another institution, still found today in various parts of Caucasus, the so-called *snobečestvo*. A boy-child is married to an adult girl with whom the father may have sexual intercourse as freely as with his own wife. The father is considered as living in lawful concubinage with his son's wife and may do so until the child becomes of age. We wish to stress that this practice is a perfect parallel to widow inheritance. The father "must raise seed" for his son and "build up his house" till he is himself able to do so. The children born of this concubinage belong to the childhusband, sometimes half to him and half to the progenitor. This is

[20] Kovalevskij, *Coutume contemp.*, p. 181.

583 other objects.[12] Although the amount is much more stable than in other parts of Caucasia, it does vary according to the presence or absence of virginal integrity and on the social class of the mates.[13]

In the eighteenth century the Nakhchuo paid up to 10 cows;[14] the Ingushi would have to pay as many as 30 cows.[15] In the 1860's the average *kalym* was about 18 cows (or if paid in money, Rs. 10 per cow).[16] In the twentieth century the *kalym* was so high that the Russian Military Government forced all young men to swear that they would never take or give more than Rs. 105 *kalym*, but, as Baddeley, who is averse to all exaggeration, assures us that "none kept the oath, and the amount was now greater than ever."[17] In 1920 the Ingushi of the Upper Uchaluk paid as much as one million Soviet rubles, 105 silver rubles, two horses, one cow and one ram as *kalym*.[18]

585 In the Ingush *adat* collection of the 1860's (§§ 119 f) we read that the relatives of the groom are obliged to offer the bride a gift of 25 silver rubles on the occasion of her betrothal, of which she becomes the full owner and administrator. On her wedding day she must also be given a guarantee amounting to 80 silver rubles in case of divorce or widowhood.[19] This *adat* is an innovation which owes its origin to Islamism and the Russian Military Government. Although at first it was received with very little favour (and even today we still can come across cases which may be classified under strict purchase), this new form of bride wealth gradually prevailed throughout Ingushetia and Chechnia.[20] In a word, the Chechen bride-price has for about a century at least been tending to evolve into a form of dowry, an evolution analgous to that found among the Abkhaz and Cherkess.

614 It is the obligation of the *taipan* (sib) to provide the necessary *kalym* for all male members, if necessary even by theft.[21]

The following table shows the average bride-price of about an hundred years ago.

TABLE 10

**Average bride-price among the Chechens about A.D. 1850**

583
587

| District | Amount | | Source |
|---|---|---|---|
| | For maiden | For widow | |
| Nazran | 12 cows | 21 cows; sometimes only 12 | Leontovič, II, p. 117, §§ 9 f. |

[12] Cf. "Collection of *Adats* of the Black Sea Line, Kuban and Terek Territories" Leontovič, II, p. 253, § 161.
[13] Leontovič, II, p. 253, §§ 162—165.
[14] Potocki, *Voyage dans les steps d'Astrakhan et du Caucase*, II, p. 127.
[15] *ibid.*
[16] Grabovskij, "Ekonomičeskij i domašnij byt etc.," SSKG, III (1870), p. 20, *note*.
[17] *The Rugged Flanks of Caucasus*, I, pp. 207 f. See also Vertepov, "Inguši," *Terskij Sbornik*, II (1892), No. 2, p. 132.
[18] N. Jakovlev, *Inguši*, p. 53, *note* 1
[19] Leontovič, II, p. 169, § 119.
[20] Jakovlev, *Inguši*, p. 53.
[21] Jakovlev, *op. cit.*, pp. 51, 53.

8: Lužbetak E-4 (no date) 1951 RH1 Caucasia RH1



| District | Amount | | Source |
|---|---|---|---|
| | For maiden | For widow | |
| Kists | 18 cows | 12 cows | Leontovič, II, p. 118, §§ 18 f. |
| Dzherakh * | 30 cows | 20 cows | Leontovič, II, p. 116, §§ 1 f. |
| Sunsha * | 10 cows | | Leontovič, II, p. 123, § 1. |
| Ingushi ** | 18 cows | | Grabovskij, op. cit., p. 20. |

* The adat collection actually speaks of rubles and not cows; the approximate value in cows is based on Grabovskij's estimate, *op. cit.*, p. 20.
** In 1864.

Before we pass on to the Lesghian group we wish to mention an interesting form of *kalym*, parallels to which can be found in various parts of the world.[22] We refer to the practice of marrying two deceased persons. Toward the end of the 18th century Potocki observed that "if one Ingush lost a son and another an unmarried daughter, the father of the deceased girl would approach the family of the deceased son and say, 'Your son most likely still doesn't have a wife; I'll give him my daughter, who passed away some time ago, provided that you give me so and so many cows as kalym.' In such a case the father of the dead boy will never refuse."[23] The *kalym* is in such cases generally lower than usual.[24]

When speaking of the Lesghians we must keep in mind that we are dealing with a group strongly influenced by Islamic law, much more so than the rest of the Caucasians. We must also remember that there are local and temporal variations to be taken into account. There are four distinct financial transactions connected with Lesghian marriages: (1) genuine bride purchase, (2) symbolic bride purchase, (3) gifts, (4) the *kebin*, a guarantee against divorce.

Many recent and older authors speak of a "very trivial bride price."[25] Abercromby, for example, reports that the *kalym* of the Avars was no more than two rubles and eighty kopeks.[26] Hahn claims to have found it as low as 25 kopeks.[27] Before Shamyl's time it was supposed to have been possible to "purchase" a wife for a trifle: at Ishal, for instance, for 36 quarts (12 *garncy*) of wheat; in Bahulal it was only one *sab* (about 20 pounds) of grain; in Untsukul it amounted to one ruble.[28] Despite the poverty of the mountaineers, the *kalym* is so insignificant that to classify it under "bride-price" would be incorrect. This is not a case of bride purchase at all, but rather a formality or symbol, which may be at most a *vestige* of actual marriage by purchase.

[22] For the custom among the Chinese see Vanicelli, *La Familia Cinese*, pp. 393—403; among the Germans of the Volga see E. G. Kagarov, "Venčanie pokojnikov u nemcev Povolž'ja," SE, 1936, No. 1, pp. 106 ff. O. Schrader, *Totenhochzeit*, 1904.
[23] Potocki, *op. cit.*, II, p. 127.
[24] B. Dalgat, "Die alte Religion der Tschetchenen," *Anthropos*, III (1908), p. 737.
[25] For instance, F. Nansen, *op. cit.*, p. 104; Byhan, *op. cit.*, p. 191; Kovalevskij, *Zakon*, II, p. 178.
[26] *op. cit.*, pp. 96, 101. The "bride-price" was therefore only 5 s. 10 d., less than $ 1.00.
[27] Hahn, "Putelestvie v Kachetiju i Dagestan," SMOMPK, XXXI (1902), p. 93.
[28] A. Runovskij, "Kodeks Šamilja," *Voennyj Sbornik*, XXIII (1862), No. 2, p. 347.

583 [562] We do not wish to say that bride price in the strict sense of the word does not exist in Daghestan at all. The unfavourable position of the female sex in Botlikh is rightly attributed by Rossikov and Erckert to the fact that she is still considered as purchased property, as chattel.[29] The *iol-puli* of the North Tabassaranians was anything but trivial.[30] In the "Adat Collection of the South Daghestanian Districts" we learn that it varied between Rs. 100 and Rs. 400, a maiden costing more than a widow.[31]

Even in localities where the *kalym* is so insignificant that it is actually only a symbol there are certain, and by no means trivial, expenses which must not be overlooked. First of all, there are not a few betrothal gifts (*infra*, pp. 102 f); then there are the relatively expensive marriage gifts, of which we shall speak below when describing the Lesghian wedding (*infra*, p. 119).

[586] There is, moreover, the so-called *kebin*, a guarantee against divorce. Just because it is the bride who benefits from the *kebin*, it cannot be considered as a bride-price. It is a security for the bride in case of divorce and is usually determined by mutual agreement, depending, of course, on the economic and social position of the contracting families. A widow of the *uzden* class, for example, never received more than a guarantee of Rs. 55.[32] In the province of Kazikumukh (Lak) and Dargwa the *kebin* usually consists of a piece of land having a value of Rs. 50 to Rs. 200.[33] Among the Kapuchians it consisted of money, about Rs. 10 to Rs. 20, while among the Tabassaranians up to Rs. 40. In the Avar Province the *adats* do not fix a definite amount, leaving it entirely to the two families concerned.[34] In North Tabassaran the guarantee was usually between Rs. 15 and Rs. 40 for a maiden and Rs. 5 to Rs. 20 for a widow.[35] The [177] *kebin* (*mahr*, *kebin-khak*, *magar* as we sometimes find it in Russian literature) evidently owes its origin to Mohammedanism.

The SOUTHERN CAUCASIANS. Eristov speaking of the Khevsurian custom of about one hundred years ago informs us that the bride received no dowry but that a price always was insisted upon.[36] Similarly, the Pshav would marry his daughter only if he first received a satisfactory price for her.[37] It is [587] worth noting that the Ingiloi (the Georgians of Sakataly) had to pay a higher kalym for widows than for virgins, Rs. 75 and Rs. 50 respectively.[38] The reason for this regulation seems to be that the widow being older is more liable to be divorced and has less chance of re-marrying than a young girl, and therefore needs a higher *kebin*.

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[29] K. N. Rossikov, "Poězdka v Čečnju i Nagorny Dagestan," ZKO, XIII (1884), p. 248. R. Erckert, *Der Kaukasus*, p. 284.

[30] Kovalevskij, *Zakon*, II, p. 179.

[31] "Adaty Južno-Dagestanskich Obščestv," SSKG, VIII (1875), p. 32.

[32] Svěčin, "Očerk narodonaselenie, nravov i obyčaev Dagestancev," ZKO, II (1853), p. 64. For custom of the Avars see L'vov, "Domašnjaja i semejnaja žizn etc."

[33] Confirmed by Kovalevskij's own field work. See his *Zakon*, II, p. 179.

[34] *ibid.*

[35] "Adaty Južno-Dagestanskich Obščestv," SSKG, VIII (1875), p. 32.

[36] "O Tušino-Pšavo-Chevsurskom Okrugě," ZKO, III (1855), p. 113.

[37] *ibid.*

[38] Hahn, "Putešestvie v Kachetiju i Dagestan," SMOMPK, XXXI (1902), p. 60.

8: Lučbetak E-4 (no date) 1951 RHl Caucasia RHl



Some time later, usually not over a month, the relatives of the groom are 585
invited by the bride's family to dinner. One of the guests—we may still speak of wedding guests, for the wedding celebration is not yet over—calls out to the bride's father: "What will the father of our bride offer her?" On this occasion he must determine what portion of land he intends for his daughter. In Dargwa the minimum dowry is $^1/_6$ of a desyatnik, but he usually gives her other things as well, a cow, a buffalo and other cattle.[72]

The bride on her part presents the guests with some souvenirs—belts for male relatives and handkerchiefs for her female relatives.[73]

The formal marriage contract takes place according to the Mussulman rite before the mullah and witnesses.[74]

The Lesghian marriage usually does not take place immediately after the engagement but months and sometimes even years later.[75] The marriage season for maidens is autumn, whereas widows may marry at any time.[76]

Marriages of widows and widowers take place without solemnities of [587]
any kind.[77]

## TABLE 15

### Major Wedding Customs of Northern Caucasians Found Also Among the Southerners

| Customs* | Tribe** | Source |
|---|---|---|
| Procession terminates in *groom's* house | Khevsurs | Eristov, *op. cit.*, p. 110. |
| | Pshavs | Dubrovin, I, ii, p. 310. |
| | Ingiloi | Fon-Plotto, op. cit., pp. 31—34. |
| Ceremonial bride capture | Khevsurs | Mourier, *Guide au Caucase*, I, p. 153; Nansen, *op. cit.*, pp. 57 f; Baddeley, *op. cit.*, I, p. 237. |
| Mother-in-law gives honey to bride (and groom) | Pshavs | S. I. Makalatija, "Iz starogo narodnogo byta pšavov," SE, 1938, No. 1, p. 105. |
| Walking thrice around hearth; best-man strikes chain with dagger | Khevsurs | Dubrovin, I, ii, p. 311. |
| | Pshavs | *ibid*; Eristov, *op. cit.*, p. 112; Makalatija, *op. cit.*, p. 106. |
| Proof of virginity | Ingiloi | Kovalevskij, *Zakon*, II, p. 174. |
| Formal (religious) contract | Khevsurs | Eristov, *op. cit.*, p. 110; Hahn, *Bilder aus dem Kaukasus*, p. 82. |
| | Tushi | Dubrovin, I, ii, p. 311. |
| | Pshavs | Byhan, *op. cit.*, p. 113. |

[72] Kovalevskij, *Zakon*, II, p. 188. [73] *ibid.*
[74] Svečin, "Očerk narodonaselenija, nravov i obyčaev Dagestana," ZKO, II (1853), p. 64.
[75] L'vov, *op. cit.*, p. 22. [76] Amirov, *op. cit.*, p. 30.
[77] *ibid.*

# Chapter VIII

# Dissolution of Marriage

## § 1. BY DEATH

Marriages of widows and widowers are looked upon by all Caucasians as inferior to nuptials between partners who have never been married before. For example, the bride price for a widow is smaller than that for a maiden,[1] except among the Nazranian Chechens and the Ingiloi of Sakataly; or again, the very marriage ceremonies are simplified when one of the partners happens to be a widow or widower.[2] The Pshavs[3] and the Khevsurs[4] consider a second marriage shameful if the widow has a child, especially, as is the case with the Khevsurs, a son. Our present problem is: Are there any indications in ancient customary law that at one time not even death could dissolve the marriage bond? 587

### 1. Suttee

The custom of committing suttee on the funeral pyre was very probably a relatively widespread custom in the Caucasus in ages past. The funeral rites of today still bear traces of widows being burnt together with their husbands' corpses.[5] Al-Mas'ûdî, in his "Golden Meadows and Mines of Precious Stones" (A.D. 943) mentions that the Khazars of Caucasus "burn the dead with their cattle, instruments, and ornaments. If the husband dies, the wife is burnt alive together with the corpse of her husband."[6] An example of what might be a survival of widow cremation is the now meaningless but constantly repeated wail of the Ossetine widow, "I'll kill myself and cast myself into the fire," mentioned by Gatiev in his "Beliefs and Prejudices of the Ossetes."[7] Another possible vestige of former suttee is the custom of burying a plait of the widow's hair together with the corpse of her husband. Herodotus expressly mentions (ch. v.) that the Scythian women were eager to be immolated on the grave of their husbands. The probable existence of widow cremation in the 764 [762] 581

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[1] Cf. *supra*, Table, p. 89.

[2] Cf. *supra*, p. 121.

[3] Makalatija, "Iz starogo narodnogo byta pšavov," SE, 1938, No. 1, p. 110.

[4] Erisov, *op. cit.*, p. 113.

[5] R. Bleichsteiner, "Rossweihe und Pferderennen im Totenkult der kaukasischen Völker," *Wiener Beiträge*, IV (1936), p. 414. "Daß in längst verflossenen Zeiten die Frau ihrem dahingegangenen Gatten als Opfer nachgesendet wurde, dafür gibt es im Totenritual der Kaukasusvölker eine Reihe beachtenswerter Anhaltspunkte."

[6] Translation from Abich, Klaproth, Beschreibung der russ. Provinzen, etc., p. 197.

[7] Gatiev, *op. cit.*, p. 3.

p. 131

581 764 Caucasus clearly shows that the peoples of North Caucasia believed that a marriage tie could continue in the next world. However, since we do not have the slightest evidence that suttee was *obligatory*, the most we can say is that *perhaps*, at one time, death could not dissolve marriage.

## 2. Levirate

58 587 Once an Ossetine woman was married, she was considered bound to her husband forever unless divorced, as is evident from the following remarkable facts. (1) The widow was not allowed to marry outside her husband's family; the father or brother or son of the deceased man was obliged to take her to wife, but this second marriage was considered merely a *continuation* of the first. (2) The children of the second marriage were regarded as the sons and daughters of the *deceased*. (3) The children received the name of the deceased. (4) If the [589] widow had no brother-in-law, father-in-law or step-son, she had to remain unmarried, or live in concubinage, the children born becoming the sons and daughters of the deceased, even the legal heirs of the deceased. The marriage and concubinage had only one purpose: to "raise seed" and "build up the house" of the deceased till the wife would once again join him in the other world. These facts seem to be sufficient proof for the indissolubility of marriage even by death! Unfortunately, we do not have such details about the ancient levirate of the other peoples living in the Caucasus. However, when treating of preferential mating we did find obligatory levirate among the Ingushi and came to the conclusion that most probably the levirate was formerly obligatory also among the other mountain tribes.[8] In a word, it is quite *possible* that at one time death did not dissolve a marital bond.

## § 2. BY DIVORCE

586 The *adats* of all mountain peoples of Caucasus permit divorce. When speaking of divorce we must make a very clear distinction between the rights of the *husband* and those of the *wife*, between a *valid* divorce and a *justifiable* divorce.

[842] The NORTHWESTERN CAUCASIANS. According to reports of the eigtheenth century, a wife might be desmissed in Abkhazia if she were "sterile," that is, if she did not give birth to a child before she was 30, or if she remained childless for five successive years.[9] However, a *valid* divorce is possible at will. The Temirgoi, for example, may divorce their wives "if they do not please their husbands."[10] Such is the case throughout Abkhazia and among the Cherkess today.[11] Although formerly the women in Northwest Caucasus were at a very great disadvantage in regard to divorce, today, they too may abandon their husbands without any special legal grounds. However, in such arbitrary

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[8] Cf. *supra*, p. 73.
[9] Reineggs, *op. cit.*, Part II, p. 9.
[10] Vasil'kov, "Očerk byta Temirgoevcev," SMOMPK, XXIX (1901), p. 101.
[11] Cf. Ladvženskij, FT, p. 199.

dissolutions of the marriage bond, the husband forfeits the *kalym*, while the wife, on her part, must return it to the man she unjustifiably abandons.[12] On the other hand, if the husband has sufficient grounds for a divorce, the *kalym* must be refunded; or if she justly abandons her husband, she need not return it. Legal grounds for a woman are impotency of the man for over a year and cruelty,[13] whereas a man (at least among the Temirgoi) may divorce his wife for disrespectfulness toward her parents- oder[1] brothers-in-law or laziness.[14] 586

The wife never has a right to any special alimony. In case of divorce, she may take her personal property along, that is, personal gifts, and if the divorce was not justifiable, her *kalym*. She never receives additional support, except if she has a child less than a year old, in which case she is given, in addition, 10 *puds* of flour, 10 *puds* of millet, and not more than two sheep.[15]

The children always remain with the father. If one of the children is less than a year old, the mother may keep the child and nurse it till its second year, when it must, without delay, be returned to its father's family.[16] Since divorce is relatively frequent, in some Cherkess families we find children of two, three, or even more, different mothers.[17]

A Cherkess and Abkhazian divorcée is free to re-marry, provided the regulation regarding the *kalym* has been carried out.[18] [587]

If the partners wish to reunite after a divorce, they can do so only if a marriage with another person and a subsequent divorce intervened. The intermediate marriage and divorce may have taken place only an hour before the re-union, it matters little. They are nevertheless indispensable. Of course, the "re-union" is more than a mere re-union; it is actually a second marriage between the same partners.[19] This practice evidently is of Islamic origin.

The NORTHEASTERN CAUCASIANS. The divorce regulations of the Chechens are much the same as those of the Abkhaz and Cherkess, but, owing to their greater isolation and slower acculturation, the divorce rights of the female partner have not reached the advantageous level of the Northwesterners. [177]

In pre-Soviet times, a husband had far greater rights to dismiss his wife than a wife had to abandon her husband., A husband might validly divorce his wife at will, but his wife was not allowed to abandon her husband without first having received his consent.[20] Or again, as another *adat* has it: the infidelity of a wife is considered sufficient grounds for dismissal, but the infidelity 586 837

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[12] *ibid.*

[13] *ibid.*

[14] Vasil'kov, *l. c.*

[15] Ladyženskij, FT, p. 203.

[16] *ibid.*

[17] Vasil'kov, *op. cit.*, p. 102.

[18] Byhan, *La civilisation caucasienne*, p. 155.

[19] Ladyženskij, *op. cit.*, p. 199. This is a typically Islamic custom, cf. Koran, ii, 230. Cf. Juynboll, *op. cit.*, pp. 229—232; also, A. Gren, "Kratkoe izloženie Šariata," *Terskij Sbornik*, III (1892), No. 2, Part 2, p. 16.

[20] Leontovič, II, p. 170, § 123; p. 175, § 160. "§ 123 ... žena na razvod prava ne imšet, bez soglasija muža. Mužu že dozvoljaetsja razvod vo vsjakoe vremja, ne sprasivaja soglasija ženy."

1 [Sic -- Analyst]

586 It is very difficult to determine just what rights women enjoyed according to Georgian customary law. King Vakhtang's Code tells us that women had no right to abandon their husbands, except in case of cruelty,[34] and, we may [587] add, sterility.[35] If she nevertheless runs away from her husband, the Code tells us, she may not marry another man unless she pay the full bloodwite corresponding to her husband's social rank,[36] a sum which she generally cannot afford.[37]

After a divorce the children remain with their father. The mother may take her suckling with her if her husband agrees and if she promises to return the child after it has been weaned.[38]

Formerly the OSSETINE women had no possibility of divorce at all, except, of course, in the Mohammedan parts of Ossetia.[39] Today her condition has somewhat improved.

But we do not wish to say that the wife had no protection against an unjust dismissal. An arbitrary divorce was indeed valid, but it involved a great economic loss for the husband. In such cases he would have to forfeit the *irad*, a third of which went to the divorcée. If he did have legal grounds for divorce, a third of the *kalym* would be refunded to him, or earlier still, a half of the *kalym* would be refunded in all cases of just divorce except in case of adultery, when the wife's family would have to return it entirely.[40]

In Ossetia the divorcée must return to her father's house or else re-marry, but remarriage is always difficult because such women are considered as "bad wives."[41] The children, as a general rule, remain with the father.[42] The main legal grounds for divorce are: infidelity, sterility, impotence, and certain physical defects and sicknesses of the wife.[43]

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[34] Karst ed., p. 109.

[35] Dareste, *Etude d'histoire du droit*, p. 133, cited by *A. H. Post, Grundriss der ethnol. Jurispr.*, II, p. 116.

[36] Karst ed., *l. c.* Cf. also Eristov, *op. cit.*, p. 113, *note*, who says that the average bloodwite was about Rs. 80 about an hundred years ago.

[37] Nansen, *op. cit.*, p. 58.

[38] Seidlitz, *op. cit.*, p. 336..

[39] Kovalevskij, *Coutume contemp.*, p. 174.

[40] Kovalevskij, *op. cit.*, p. 173. Klaproth, however, maintains that even in the case of unfaithfulness the husband received only half of the *kalym* because the husband was considered partly at fault for his wife's adultery, in so far as he did not watch over her conduct as closely as he should have. He had received her as a virgin, that is, the family of his wife had taken great pains in watching over her virtue till her wedding day. At marriage this obligation passed over to her husband (Klaproth, *Voyage au Mont Caucase et en Géorgie*, II, p. 250). However, this entire explanation seems to be somewhat artificial. We should not, I think, stress the culpability of the husband, as Klaproth does, but rather the effort of the family in preserving their daughter a virgin up to the time of her marriage, which deserves compensation. Moreover, the husband has derived not an insignificant economic profit from his wife up to the time of the divorce, whereas the family was deprived of it. This too deserves a compensation. This latter explanation is not far-fetched. The neighbouring Georgian mountain tribes have their *namasbovali*, that is, the husband must pay the divorcée one cow for every year she has lived with him.

[41] Kovalevskij, *l. c.*

[42] Kovalevskij, *op. cit.*, p. 174.

[43] Kovalevskij, *op. cit.*, p. 173. See also Pčelina, "Rodil'nje obyčai u osetin," SE, 1937, No. 4, p. 88.

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| District | Amount | | Source |
|---|---|---|---|
| | For maiden | For widow | |
| Kists | 18 cows | 12 cows | Leontovič, II, p. 118, §§ 18 f. |
| Dzherakh * | 30 cows | 20 cows | Leontovič, II, p. 116, §§ 1 f. |
| Sunsha * | 10 cows | | Leontovič, II, p. 123, § 1. |
| Ingushi ** | 18 cows | | Grabovskij, op. cit., p. 20. |

* The adat collection actually speaks of rubles and not cows; the approximate value in cows is based on Grabovskij's estimate, *op. cit.*, p. 20.
** In 1864.

Before we pass on to the Lesghian group we wish to mention an interesting form of *kalym*, parallels to which can be found in various parts of the world.[22] We refer to the practice of marrying two deceased persons. Toward the end of the 18th century Potocki observed that "if one Ingush lost a son and another an unmarried daughter, the father of the deceased girl would approach the family of the deceased son and say, 'Your son most likely still doesn't have a wife; I'll give him my daughter, who passed away some time ago, provided that you give me so and so many cows as kalym.' In such a case the father of the dead boy will never refuse."[23] The *kalym* is in such cases generally lower than usual.[24] 588 [171]

When speaking of the Lesghians we must keep in mind that we are dealing with a group strongly influenced by Islamic law, much more so than the rest of the Caucasians. We must also remember that there are local and temporal variations to be taken into account. There are four distinct financial transactions connected with Lesghian marriages: (1) genuine bride purchase, (2) symbolic bride purchase, (3) gifts, (4) the *kebin*, a guarantee against divorce. 583 [185]

Many recent and older authors speak of a "very trivial bride price."[25] Abercromby, for example, reports that the *kalym* of the Avars was no more than two rubles and eighty kopeks.[26] Hahn claims to have found it as low as 25 kopeks.[27] Before Shamyl's time it was supposed to have been possible to "purchase" a wife for a trifle: at Ishal, for instance, for 36 quarts (12 *garncy*) of wheat; in Bahulal it was only one *sab* (about 20 pounds) of grain; in Untsukul it amounted to one ruble.[28] Despite the poverty of the mountaineers, the *kalym* is so insignificant that to classify it under "bride-price" would be incorrect. This is not a case of bride purchase at all, but rather a formality or symbol, which may be at most a *vestige* of actual marriage by purchase.

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[22] For the custom among the Chinese see Vanicelli, *La Familia Cinese*, pp. 393—403; among the Germans of the Volga see E. G. Kagarov, "Venčanie pokojnikov u nemcev Povolž'ja," SE, 1936, No. 1, pp. 106 ff. O. Schrader, *Totenhochzeit*, 1904.
[23] Potocki, *op. cit.*, II, p. 127.
[24] B. Dalgat, "Die alte Religion der Tschetchenen," *Anthropos*, III (1908), p. 737.
[25] For instance, F. Nansen, *op. cit.*, p. 104; Byhan, *op. cit.*, p. 191; Kovalevskij, *Zakon*, II, p. 178.
[26] *op. cit.*, pp. 96, 101. The "bride-price" was therefore only 5 s. 10 d., less than $ 1.00.
[27] Hahn, "Putešestvie v Kachetiju i Dagestan," SMOMPK, XXXI (1902), p. 93.
[28] A. Runovskij, "Kodeks Šamilja," *Voennyj Sbornik*, XXIII (1862), No. 2, p. 347.

581 764 Caucasus clearly shows that the peoples of North Caucasia believed that a marriage tie could continue in the next world. However, since we do not have the slightest evidence that suttee was *obligatory*, the most we can say is that *perhaps*, at one time, death could not dissolve marriage.

### 2. Levirate

58 587 Once an Ossetine woman was married, she was considered bound to her husband forever unless divorced, as is evident from the following remarkable facts. (1) The widow was not allowed to marry outside her husband's family; the father or brother or son of the deceased man was obliged to take her to wife, but this second marriage was considered merely a *continuation* of the first. (2) The children of the second marriage were regarded as the sons and daughters of the *deceased*. (3) The children received the name of the deceased. (4) If the [589] widow had no brother-in-law, father-in-law or step-son, she had to remain unmarried, or live in concubinage, the children born becoming the sons and daughters of the deceased, even the legal heirs of the deceased. The marriage and concubinage had only one purpose: to "raise seed" and "build up the house" of the deceased till the wife would once again join him in the other world. These facts seem to be sufficient proof for the indissolubility of marriage even by death! Unfortunately, we do not have such details about the ancient levirate of the other peoples living in the Caucasus. However, when treating of preferential mating we did find obligatory levirate among the Ingushi and came to the conclusion that most probably the levirate was formerly obligatory also among the other mountain tribes.[8] In a word, it is quite *possible* that at one time death did not dissolve a marital bond.

## § 2. BY DIVORCE

586 The *adats* of all mountain peoples of Caucasus permit divorce. When speaking of divorce we must make a very clear distinction between the rights of the *husband* and those of the *wife*, between a *valid* divorce and a *justifiable* divorce.

[842] The NORTHWESTERN CAUCASIANS. According to reports of the eigtheenth century, a wife might be desmissed in Abkhazia if she were "sterile," that is, if she did not give birth to a child before she was 30, or if she remained childless for five successive years.[9] However, a *valid* divorce is possible at will. The Temirgoi, for example, may divorce their wives "if they do not please their husbands."[10] Such is the case throughout Abkhazia and among the Cherkess today.[11] Although formerly the women in Northwest Caucasus were at a very great disadvantage in regard to divorce, today, they too may abandon their husbands without any special legal grounds. However, in such arbitrary

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[8] Cf. *supra*, p. 73.
[9] Reineggs, *op. cit.*, Part II, p. 9.
[10] Vasil'kov, "Očerk byta Temirgoevcev," SMOMPK, XXIX (1901), p. 101.
[11] Cf. Ladvženskij, FT, p. 199.

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174 the first nomads to establish themselves in the Caucasus, after having forced the Cimmerians (c. 1000 B. C.) into the background. The Scythians were predominantly a pastoral people, while the tribes they subjected were agriculturalists. Then we see new waves of Indo-Europeans, the Sarmatians, sweep over the Scythian country (c. 300 B.C.—A.D. 200): we see the Maeotes, Sindae, Sauromatians, etc. submitting to the newcomers.

175 This contact with the nomadic civilization continued up to our own times. To recall some of the history of this region—in the first century B. C. Crimea and the northern coasts of the Black and Azov Sea belonged to the Roman Empire. It was in this region that the Goths appeared. In the fourth century the Huns became the masters of the region north of the Caucasus. In the sixth century the Khazars,[36] Avars,[37] and the Bulgars appeared in North Caucasus; in the ninth century we meet the Magyars there; in the eleventh century the Kumans,[38] and in the thirteenth and fourteenth century the Mongols, driving the inhabitants of the Caucasus higher and higher into the mountains. In the fifteenth century the Turks conquered Crimea, and the Georgian kings were made tributary to the Mongols.

[101] A glance at our ethnographical map of the Caucasus will suffice to convince us that the situation today is essentially the same: today the North Caucasians live in very close contact with peoples who, originally if not any longer, possessed a [illegible]cally nomadic culture. The Mountain Tartars (Balkarians) are most probably descendents of the Khazars or Volga-Bulgars. The Karakaitaghs seem to be turkized Mongols. The Nogai are descendents of the Golden Horde. And besides these originally Asiatic nomads we find in the Caucasus such peoples as the Kalmucks, Kumyks, etc.

17758 58 This constant contact with nomadic societies perhaps from the very beginning of pastoral nomadism—certainly since the Scythian period almost 3000 years ago—throws light upon the intricate problem: Why, how and when did the North Caucasian marriage and family customary laws become so pastoral nomadic? This contact, although not sufficient to *solve* the problem, can and actually does shed considerable light upon the *adats* of the North Caucasians.

174 59 But it is not only the contact we must consider but the actual similarity of the family organization. We shall therefore briefly describe the ancient Indo-European family and then the common features of the Altai society. Physical anthropology has shown that the Caucasians have mixed (racially) with nomadic peoples coming from the North;[39] linguistics proclaims the same

F. Hančar, "Die Ausweitung unseres Geschichtsbildes durch die sowjetische Urgeschichtsforschung," *Blick nach Osten*, 1949, No. 1—2, pp. 51—61; "Hallstatt-Kaukasus, ein Beitrag zur Klärung des Kimmerierproblems," *Mitteilung der Oesterreichischen Gesellschaft für Anthropologie, Ethnologie und Prähistorie*, LXXIII—LXXVII (1947), pp. 152—167.

[36] At least the rulers, if not all Khazars, were Turks.

[37] These Avars have no connection with the Lesghians bearing the same name. The Avars referred to are proto-Mongols, and therefore neither Turks nor true Caucasians.

[38] The Kumans are also known as the Kypchaks, or, as the Russians sometimes call them, the "Polovcy."

[39] *Supra*, pp. 11 f. The Ossetes, for example, especially certain tribes, have a strong Caucasian strain. Many centuries ago some Ossetine groups have been actually Georgianized.

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in regard to their languages;[40] cultural anthropology, as our study clearly shows, must admit a very strong cultural connection between the North Caucasians and the various nomadic peoples with whom they have been in contact. 174 59.

Although there is still much controversy connected with the complicated Indo-European problem, there is almost complete harmony when the marriage and family customary laws are being described.[41] E. Hermann[42] and O. Schrader[43] are no doubt responsible for this harmony. 174 59 58

The first remarkable fact about the Indo-European society is the essential absence of totemistic and mother-right practices.[44] Indo-European social life (and, we might add, religion and economy) centred round (1) the joint-family and (2) especially its male members. Although a distinction was drawn between a biological and an undivided family, the biological family was of little significance except in connection with the undivided family to which it belonged. All property belonged to the joint-family, at the head of which was the patriarch. He enjoyed the *patria potestas* in the strict sense of the word. His wife (or wives, as the case may be) was subject to him in all things. Juridically speaking, her condition and that of all female members of the family hardly differed from that of little children. Women had no part in public affairs, no part in sacrifice. In fact, women were hardly better off than slaves. Inheritance rights were reserved for the male members of the family; the first-born had very special rights. Purity of blood of all members of the joint-family was greatly insisted upon. This seems to have been the main reason why a woman was generally punished with death for a serious offense.[45] This was also most probably the reason for the custom of placing a new-born child on the ground and inviting the father to pick it up as a sign that he recognized it as his own. The girls of the family had no freedom of choice in mating; they were either captured, or, as was generally the case, they were sold off, so to speak, to the highest bidder. The bride price consisted mainly in cattle. The main matrimonial impediments were those of consanguinity and disparity of social rank. The marriage was, of course, patrilocal. The chief marriage ceremonies were those of the triple encircling of the fireplace and the bridal procession (uxorem ducere, γυναῖκα ἄγεσθαι). Virginity of the bride was very highly esteemed. The chief purpose of marriage

[40] We need but recall such important words as *aul*, *kalym*, *adat*, etc. The language of the Ossetes contains many Caucasianisms; on the other hand, the Caucasian languages clearly show Indo-European contact.

[41] Compare, for example, the description of the Indo-European family organization as presented in Dr. Wolfgang Philipp's *Weibwertung oder Mutterrecht* (Ost-Europa Verlag, Königsberg and Berlin, 1942), a Nazi publication, with that of Prof. W. Koppers, "Die Indogermanenfrage im Lichte der historischen Völkerkunde," *Anthropos*, XXX (1935), No. 1—2, pp. 8—11, or of Alphons Nehring, "Studien zur indogermanischen Kultur und Urheimat," *Wiener Beiträge zur Kulturgeschichte und Linguistik*, IV (1936), pp. 167—181.

[42] "Die Eheformen der Urindogermanen," *Nachrichten von der Gesellschaft der Wissenschaft in Göttingen, Berlin*, 1934; also "Die Eheformen der Urindogermanen," *Forschungen und Fortschritte*, X (1934), p. 235.

[43] *Reallexikon der indogermanischen Altertumskunde*, Berlin, 1929, 2 volumes.

[44] W. Koppers, *op. cit.*, p. 8.

[45] Men involved in sex offenses were generally not punished.

174 was the procreation of children, but especially of sons, who would one day
58 become the performers of the sacred rites connected with ancestor worship.
59 The cult for the departed was connected with the cult of the fireplace and was looked upon as the most sacred duty of the individual and of the family. Since the members of the same sib were descendents of the same ancestors, they were bound to one another in life and in death. This solidarity explains the frequency of family feuds, for blood-revenge was considered a very sacred duty. Polygyny was relatively common ; polyandry, however, was taboo. The proof of virginity, the levirate, and the regulations regarding divorce and many other matters are very similar to those still in practice among the Ossetes of the Caucasus. It is indeed worthy of note that the Ossetine *adats* differ but slightly from the customary laws of their ancestors, while, as we have observed throughout the present study, the North Caucasians, especially the Cherkess, the Abkhaz, and the Ingushi differ but little from their neighbours, the Ossetes.[46]

[177] The contact with the Indo-Europeans, especially with the Ossetes and their ancestors, must have been very important. We need but think of the powerful Scythians, and then, later on, of the Alans who made their presence felt as far east as China and as far west as Spain. Many of the customs, especially of the Cherkess, Abkhaz, and Ingushi have certainly been borrowed from the Ossetes : the many legends about ancient heroes, especially the so-called Nart-stories, and many a godlet now worshipped by the North Caucasian are certainly of Indo-European origin.

[178] If we now compare the Turco-Mongolian society with that of the North Caucasians and ancient Indo-Europeans we shall find a striking similarity in the family organizations of the three groups.[47] To point out a few of the more

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[46] Among other practices of the ancient Indo-Europeans might be mentioned child-marriages, the *snohačestvo*, the obligation of the bride to keep silence, the custom of veiling and covering the bride's face, mother-in-law inheritance, etc. See especially E. Hermann, "Die Eheformen der Urindogermanen," *Nachrichten der Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen*, pp. 39—62. We have based our description of the ancient Indo-European family on : Koppers, *op. cit.*, pp. 8—11 ; A. Nehring, *l. c.* ; O. Schrader, *op. cit.*, *passim* ; E. Hermann, *op. cit.*, *passim*, W. Philipp, *op. cit.*, pp. 17—43.

The ancient *Slavs* countenanced polygamy, a custom that continued to the tenth century A. D. Polygyny, however, was a privilege of the rich. The impediment of consanguinity and of disparity of socal rank were strictly insisted upon. Girls would be married off against their wills. We also find the *snohačestvo* among the ancient Slavs. A wife was acquired either by purchase or capture. A distinction between a joint-family *(rodovaja or bolïaja semja)* and the individual *(ocovskaja or malaja semja)* was made, with a patriarch *(starosta* or *staračina)* at the head. It is also interesting to note that the same concept of a household is found in Russia as in North Caucasia, namely "fireplace." Blood-beuds, bloodwite, the disadvantageous position of the female sex, the *patria potestas* and many other features of the Slavic family life very closely resemble the Caucasian society. Ancestor worship centred round the fireplace and the male head of the joint-family was the family-priest. Vestiges of the cult are still to be found in Ukraine (E. Ellnett, *Historic Origin and Social Development of Family Life in Russia*, pp. 2 ff.) For more about the Slavic family organization see Zdenko Vinski, *Die südslavische Grossfamilie in ihrer Beziehung zum asiatischen Grossraum*. Many of these elements are still found among the Armenians, Persians, Kurds, etc.

[47] See Koppers, *op. cit.*, p. 15 ; A. Nehring, *op. cit.*, pp. 169—173. As W. Schmidt pointed out more than 20 years ago in his *Völker und Kulturen*, elements of the pastoral nomadic civilization are also found among the Hamito-Semitic peoples.

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essential parallels—characteristic of the Turco-Mongolian family are: the almost complete absence of mother-right and totemistic practices, the emphasis placed on the joint-family and the male members, special rights for the first-born son, importance of the male head of the family and the *patria potestas*, the disadvantageous position of the female sex, blood-feuds, exogamy, the *kalym*, which is usually paid in live-stock, the dread of incest, the severe penalties for sexual offenses, fireplace ceremony at weddings, the high esteem for the bride's virginity, the unusual craving for male children, the importance of the bridal procession, etc. 174 58 59

There is also a religious connection between the North Caucasians, the Indo-Europeans, and the Turco-Mongols, a connection that confirms our claim of the existence of a social connection between the three groups. It is not only the *similarity* of the religions of the three groups that we must keep in mind but also the intimate connection, the *organic* connection, between the nomadic social and religious forms. The solidarity which exists among the members of a sib, the great longing for male children, blood-feuds, the levirate, the *patria potestas*, the wedding custom of walking around the fireplace, and many other practices are fundamentally connected with ancestor worship and cult for the dead. Ancestor worship is one of the essential features of the religion of the Indo-Europeans, the Turco-Mongols, and the North Caucasians. Moreover, among all three groups ancestor worship is linked up with the worship of the fireplace. Another very essential part of the pastoral nomadic religion was the custom of sacrificing horses. W. Koppers has shown the great similarity between the horse-sacrifices of the Indo-European and Altai peoples;[48] R. Bleichsteiner proved beyond question the existence of the practice throughout the highlands of Caucasia.[49] Horse-sacrifices among the Indo-Europeans and the North Caucasians are certainly of Inner Asiatic origin. [177] [769] [762] [171]

Thus we see that even though the North Caucasians are not pastoral nomadic in the economic sense—the economy of the steppes is impossible in the mountains, especially in the unfertile valleys of the Caucasus—they are pastoral nomadic in their social organization. *A connection between the North Caucasian society and that of Inner Asia is beyond question.*

### 3. Vestiges of More Ancient Cultures In the Marriage and Family Customary Laws of the North Caucasians

As is only natural, the deeper we delve into the history of the marriage and family *adats* the more obscure the history becomes. 611 562

First of all there are the so-called mother-right vestiges which we must consider. It is interesting to note that the intensity of these vestiges among the three different groups of Caucasians (Northwestern, Northeastern, and Southern)

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[48] W. Koppers, *op. cit.*, pp. 12 f, 18—22. See also W. Koppers, "Pferdeopfer und Pferdekult der Indogermanen," *Wiener Beiträge zur Kulturgeschichte und Linguistik*, IV (1936), pp. 280—411.

[49] "Rossweihe und Pferderennen im Totenkult der kaukasischen Völker," *Wiener Beiträge zur Kulturgeschichte und Linguistik*, IV (1936), pp. 412—495.

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the couple does not become acquainted with one another till their wedding day.[48] In Khevsuria the girl used to move into the house of her future father-in-law before her marriage, and there she would take part in the family work for three to fourteen days, but all this time she was not allowed to associate with anyone except the female members of the family. After that she returned to her own household and lived there for two weeks at least (sometimes two or three years), during which time she was not allowed to meet her lover. In fact, he was even forbidden to enter her village.[49] In Pshavia, as we have seen above (p. 105), the engaged couple is allowed to meet frequently.

The obligation of mutual avoidance is also observed by the neighbouring OSSETES.[50]

In this regard the neighbouring TARTARS do not differ either. The Kumyk may visit his future wife only privately and is strictly forbidden to speak to her in the presence of others.[51] The Karachai suitor is forbidden to speak not only with his beloved but also with his future parents-in-law.[52]

## 2. Mutual Fidelity

The *adats* of the North Caucasians do not tell us whether the obligation is bilateral or not. The female partner, of course, is strictly bound to fidelity as will be clear from our exposition of the proof of virginity demanded of the bride on her wedding night (*infra*, p. 124) and from Chapter XII on sexual violations.

## 3. The Obligation of Entering upon Marriage

Islamic law gives both parties the right to dissolve the engagement at will.[53] It will be interesting to find out whether in this particular case the *adats* are observed or the *šarî'a*.

The NORTHWESTERN CAUCASIANS. The "Collection of adats for the Black Sea-Cordon Line, Kuban and Terek Territories" (§ 195) informs us that "the man has a right to break his engagement at will; and, at the request of his fiancée or her relatives, he may permit the girl to withdraw her promises."[54] This adat clearly shows that the obligation is unilateral. "The girl [or her family] may not break the engagement without her fiancé's consent."[54]

The NORTHEASTERN CAUCASIANS. The following table will give us a good idea of the Chechen *adats*.

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[48] Dubrovin, *Istorija*, I, ii, p. 309.

[49] M. O. Kosven, "Peržitki matriarchata u narodov Kavkaza," SE, 1936, No. 4—5, p. 216.

[50] Dubrovin, *Istorija*, I, i, p. 333; Byhan, *op. cit.*, p. 212.

[51] Dubrovin, *Istorija*, I, i, p. 638.

[52] Byhan, *op. cit.*, pp. 245 f.

[53] Juynboll, *op. cit.*, p. 163.

[54] Leontovič, II, p. 257, § 196.

585 The Cherkess formerly had a very important ceremony, which however seems no longer to be observed, the virginity test.[17] Formerly if the bride were found to have lost her virginity before her wedding, she would be returned to her father, who would mercilessly mutilate, sell or even kill her.[18]

[591] A week later the so-called *unaishe* (i. e., "introducing the young wife into the household") takes place. Up to this time she had to live in her own quarters, but from now on she is considered a full-fledged member of the family. In the midst of much shouting and shooting, songs and cheers, the young wife is led into the house by two women. She is wrapped in a shawl and wears tiny [592] stilts attached to the soles of her shoes, which make her look unusually tall. She enters, stands shyly against the wall and then waits for someone to remove her shawl. Thereupon a woman places with her finger a sweet liquid called *urtsetl* into the mouth of the bride in order that her life in the new household may be ever as sweet as *urtsetl*.[19]

Only women were present in the house when the bride entered. They now all take a drink of beer from a large common vessel, then sing and finally break into a dance till wedding songs are heard from outside. This is a sign for the bride to come out, and as soon as she crosses the threshold, a boy standing on the roof, lets down a shower of confetti, nuts and tiny pasteries.

The bride then retires to her room, while the guests feast, drink and dance.

Some days later a ceremony called "Reconciliation" takes place. The bride's girl-friends take part in dances at the home of the groom while the young men join the bridegroom in his hiding place, where drinking is preferred [608] to dancing. The groom then makes a little speech, thanking his "foster-father" for his kindness, and in return for all the courtesies shown him during his "adoption," he offers him an ox or a horse. The groom has been "hiding" all this time, and now he feels that it is about time for him to seek "reconciliation" with his family. In the meantime a sheep has been slaughtered and beer has been prepared for a feast when the "prodigal son" returns. A special cup of beer sweetened with honey and a little "snack" are waiting for him on a small side-table. All eyes are riveted on the son who "ran away" from home. The young ladies are bunched together in a corner of the room; the old men are likewise huddled against one of the walls; the parents of the groom and an honoured guest, an old man, stand in another corner of the room, while the bride with her girl-friends stands in the doorway. Suddenly the loud voice of the honoured guest calls all to attention. "Dear son," he cries, "you think that you have offended us, but you are mistaken. On the contrary, you have caused us indescribable joy! Come take this drink as a reward! Come, son, drink it and let us forget about the past." The groom rises and slowly approaches the old man, accepts the beer and hands it to his attendant. Thereupon he steps outside of the house where he drinks the beer and together with his companions partakes of the "snack." After a while he retires, while his companions and guests continue their feasting and dancing till morning.

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[17] Cf. Ladyženskij, FT, p. 184.

[18] Byhan, *op. cit.*, p. 155.

[19] *Urtsetl* is made of sheep's fat or butter mixed with honey.

## § 2. PROBLEMS AND CONCLUSIONS

Though the wedding ceremonies just described are not without a few traces 585
of a mother-right culture, the wedding as a whole is doubtless typically patriarchal in character.

(1) The wedding procession clearly shows that the marriage is patrilocal, 591
a fact true of all North Caucasian as well as neighbouring tribes. The bride must move into the house of her father-in-law.

(2) The fact that the bride is humiliated before her mother-in-law (not 606
father-in-law), the fact that she is invited into the household by the mother- 592
in-law (not father-in-law), and that it is the mother-in-law (not father-in-law) who places the honey into the mouth of the bride, though very suspiciously matriarchal, is reconcilable with a strictly patriarchal society. Even in a strictly patriarchal society the mother of the household enjoys certain privileges and is looked upon as the mistress of the house with special authority over the female members of the household. In other words, in these seemingly matriarchal ceremonies the mother-in-law may perhaps be simply excercising a right of the mother of the household of a typical patriarchal family.[103]

(3) The dramatization of bride capture is a very common custom among 583
the pastoral peoples throughout the world.

Ceremonial bride capture must not be considered as a survival of actual marriage by capture. This is especially true of the Caucasians because a wedding always means a great economic loss for the bride's family—one of their workers must leave them and go over to another sib. Ceremonial bride capture expresses rather the opposition to such an heavy loss. The Dido, as we have seen, actually throw mud and filth at the bride after she has been "stolen". If the ceremony were to represent actual abduction, why should the bride be so "mistreated"? The reason why filth is thrown at her is that she has turned "traitor" to her own family.

(4) The ceremony of hiding, veiling of the face, the bride's taciturnity— 834
all these little peculiarities of the Caucasian wedding may be an expression of the bride's natural sense of modesty. Till now she had to avoid, at least in public, the slightest communication with her fiancé. The strict separation of engaged couples, the prohibition even to pass a glance at one's future mate in public, and the death penalty imposed on the girl for pre-marital intercourse—all this is in full accord with the high esteem of pastoral peoples for the physical integrity of virgins. At the wedding, the bride is being publicly introduced [831]
into a relationship which she has been taught to shun as disgraceful, even punishable by death. Now this once "disgraceful" thing is being done publicly! The bride's resistence, her fleeing, her veiling, her taciturnity, then, are expressions of a reaction against "the great change"[104] from maidenhood to wife, a change more sensibly felt among pastoral peoples than in any other society.

[103] For the relatively important rôle of a mother of a household in a patriarchal society see E. Pčelina, "Obrjad gostepriimstva v Osetii," SE, (1932), No. 5—6, pp. 140—163, especially p. 156, *note*.

[104] "The great change," I think, has been coined by Elsie C. Person. See her "Holding back in Crisis Ceremonialism," *American Anthropologist*, n. s. XVIII (1916), pp. 44 f.

4/n [Sic--Analyst]

# Chapter XI

# Marital, Parental, and Kinship Avoidances

593 602 In our description of the engagement and marriage customs we have already mentioned some obligations of mutual avoidance. After marriage a certain mutual avoidance continues not only between the couple but also between parent and child, and between the couple and their kinship by marriage.

## § 1. DESCRIPTION OF THE CUSTOMS

The NORTHWESTERN CAUCASIANS. Among the oldest reports we have are those of Pallas. He informs us that in the eighteenth century the Cherkess husband and wife were not allowed to appear together before strangers.[1] In fact, for a year after marriage or till the birth of the first child the husband was not allowed to visit his wife except secretly.[2] And even afterwards when the couple lived under the same roof, they were not allowed to share the same room. In the beginning of the nineteenth century Longworth and Dubois de Montpéreux noticed the same custom, practiced in all its rigour, which both authors compare to the spirit of the ancient Spartans.[3] The *adat* collections of about an hundred years ago likewise speak of this strict separation of husband and wife in public and private life.[4] In the beginning of this century, Vasil'kov wrote that the Temirgoi customary law does not permit a wife as much as to mention the name of her husband in the presence of others. She must always use the pronoun "he" instead.[5]

[591] Though the Northwesterners of today have given up many of their ancient practices, they have not abandoned these rules of marital avoidance. Ladyženskij found them still in our own times. For a year after marriage the wife must live with strangers, during which time her husband may visit her only secretly. To be seen with her in public even years after marriage, he informs us, is tabooed.[6]

This avoidance includes even the children of the family, as we have seen in our section on "Parental Affection for Offspring" (pp. 149 f). Throughout

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[1] *Bemerkungen auf einer Reise in die süd. Statth., etc.*, I, p. 388.
[2] *ibid.*
[3] Longworth, *op. cit.*, I, p. 285; Dubois de Montpéreux, *op. cit.*, I, p. 115.
[4] Leontovič, II, pp. 254 f, § 176.
[5] "Očerk byta temirgoevcev," SMOMPK, XXIX (1901), No. 1, p. 99.
[6] Ladyženskij, FT. p. 184 *note*; Ladyženskij, "Zur Erforschung der Rechtsgewohnheiten der Bergvölker des Kaukasus," Zeitsch. f. Ethnologie, LXII (1930), pp. 242.

p. 162

the Caucasus a father is forbidden to manifest his affection for his child. The Cherkess is forbidden even to speak of a child of a person present.[7] 593

Similar *adats* forbid a couple to appear together before their parents or parents-in-law for a year after marriage,[8] and among the Abkhaz, even longer.[9] 602

The NORTHEASTERN CAUCASIANS. These rules of avoidance are found also among the Chechens, with only accidental differences. After marriage the groom must leave his wife and family and live with some neighbours or relatives for two to three weeks.[10] But even afterwards, when he returns, a certain law of separation must be observed. Reineggs reporting on the customs in the eighteenth century mentions that the husband did not share a common room with his wife; the men, he tells us, lived apart from the children and the female members of the family.[11] Another *adat* forbids a husband to eat with his wife in the presence of strangers.[12] And even in strictest privacy he will never speak directly to her in the second person: he usually will turn aside somewhat and instead of saying "Give me," he will say, "I am in need of."[13] [591] [647]

An Ingush father is not only forbidden to carry or fondle his child in public, but is not even allowed to call it by its name,[14] when others are present.

Jakovlev assures us that one can meet Ingushi today who have not seen their mothers-in-law for fifteen years after the wedding,[15] for to do so would be a serious violation of an Ingush custom. A wife is forbidden to mention the name of a first cousin of her husband in the presence of her parents- or brothers-in-law.[16] A husband may never inquire about his wife's relatives.[17] He will not speak with his wife in the presence of his parents or older brothers.[18] According to Dubrovin, a wife is strictly forbidden to speak with her father-in-law or any near male relative of her husband for a certain time after the wedding. She may speak with her mother-in-law only after a number of months have elapsed.[19] 606 602

There is also a certain avoidance observed by the husband and wife among the mountain tribes of Daghestan. A Lesghian, for example, will never put his arm around his wife while dancing. Such signs of intimacy in the presence of others would be unthinkable.[20] 593

We have already mentioned the example of how a certain Boulat-khan brought on himself the contempt of a group of men of Andi for carrying his son 000

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[7] Pallas, *l. c.*
[8] Ladyženskij, FT, p. 186.
[9] Byhan, *op. cit.*, p. 152.
[10] Cf. Jakovlev, *Inguši*, p. 56.
[11] Reineggs, *op. cit.*, I, p. 41.
[12] Leontovič, II, p. 254, § 170.
[13] Dubrovin, *Istorija*, I, i, p. 438.
[14] Grabovskij, "Inguši, ich žizn i obyčai," SSKG, IX (1876), p. 49.
[15] Jakovlev, *op. cit.*, pp. 52, 57.
[16] Jakovlev, *op. cit.*, p. 57.
[17] *ibid.*
[18] *ibid.*
[19] *Istorija*, I, i, p. 434.
[20] Nansen, *op. cit.*, p. 199.

000 in his arms; to make up for the transgression of the *adat* forbidding public manifestation of affection for one's children, he took out his dagger, crying, "I love my son, but you shall see also that I don't mind killing him," and if the men had not succeeded in calming him, he would have actually killed the child.[21]

It is indeed striking that we do not find the parent-in-law avoidances 606 among the Lesghians; at least we have not found any reports in this regard. 602 Parent-in-law avoidances would be quite impossible among the Lesghians, owing to the rule of endogamy.[22]

585 The SOUTHERN CAUCASIANS. Among the mountain tribes of Georgia 591 the bride and groom, after having spent three days together,[23] are obliged to 593 separate, the groom remaining with his parents and the bride returning to her 602 family. The period of separation, according to Eristov, was a fortnight, according to Seidlitz, depending on agreement,[24] and according to Kosven, "for some weeks or years."[25] In ancient Imeretia the newly-weds would live at the bride's house for a week, after which the young man returned to his father's house, while his wife remained with her family for a year.[26] During the period of separation the husband might visit his wife only secretly. On her return to her husband she did not share a common room with him.[27] A Pshav couple may not call each other by name; instead they use the words "Man!" and "Woman!"[28] Similarly, the wife may not call any of her husband's male relatives by name.[29] In Svanetia one may not inquire about the health of the wife of another person unless related to her.[30] A Svan will never permit his wife to sit down beside him; and, in general, he is very reluctant to converse with her.[31] In Khevsuria a father may not carry his child in his arms or say a single friendly word to it in the presence of others.[32]

The OSSETES. In Ossetia the husband must live at the groomsman's house for a whole month after the wedding. He is forbidden to oppear before his father, older members of the household, or any older relatives and may [343] visit his wife only secretly.[33] As soon as the young wife becomes pregnant she returns to her family and stays there till the child is born.[34]

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[21] *Supra*, pp. 149 f.

[22] *Supra*, pp. 51 f.

[23] Nansen, *op. cit.*, p. 58.

[24] Eristov, *op. cit.*, p. 110. Seidlitz, "Gemeinde- und Familienleben der Chewsuren," *Das Ausland*, 1891, No. 16, p. 320.

[25] M. O. Kosven, "Perežitki matriarchata u narodov Kavkaza," SE, 1936, No. 4—5, p. 217.

[26] *ibid.*

[27] Eristov, *op. cit.*, p. 111. See also Eichwald, *Reise auf dem Kaspischen Meer und in den Kaukasus*, Vol. I, Part II, p. 204.

[28] Makalatija, "Iz starogo narodnogo byta Pšavov," SE, 1938, No. 1, p. 109.

[29] Hahn, *Bilder aus dem Kaukasus*, p. 82.

[30] Dubrovin, *Istorija*, I, ii, p. 109.

[31] *ibid.*

[32] *Supra*, p. 150.

[33] Baddeley, *op. cit.*, I, p. 269.

[34] Hahn, "Die Täler der 'Grossen Ljachwa' und Ksanka (ksan) und das südliche Ossetien," *Globus*, LXXXVIII (1905), p. 24. It is worthy of note that the Kurds and the Armenians

We have given a number af examples (*supra*, p. 150) illustrating how 000
Ossetine fathers and mothers are forbidden to take their children in their arms, or by hand, or offer them anything, in the presence of older members of the family. The Ossete would permit his child to die rather than transgress this rule.

A woman may never in her whole life speak to an older male member of 607
her husbands's family, and if, for instance, the wife of a younger brother is 602
busy at the hearth, an elder brother is not allowed to enter the room till she has finished her work.[35]

The neighbouring TURKS observe similar rules of avoidance. Thus the 593
Karachai newly-weds live together for a few months and then the bride must 591
return to her parental home for a period which may last two years. During this 602
time her husband may visit her only secretly.[36] The Nogai will not speak to his wife in the presence of elderly people except in extreme necessity. The wife must always appear veiled before her husband for a year after marriage or till she gives birth to a child.[37] A Kumykian couple may never call each other by name ; instead they refer to each other as "him" and "her."[38]

## § 2. PROBLEMS OF POSSIBLE ORIGIN AND INTERPRETATION OF THE RULES OF AVOIDANCE

We may divide the customs just described into several distinct groups. The 541
following table will show that these rules of avoidance are genuinely Caucasian, 583
found among all North Caucasians and neighbouring peoples.

(1) The first custom which calls for special attention is that requiring the bride to return to her family shortly after marriage and permitting the husband to visit her only secretly. We found this custom in Ossetia, Armenia, Kurdistan, Chechnia, Georgia and among the Caucasian Turks. The Cherkess bride, however, does not return to her own parents but goes to a neighbouring family. This temporary visit-marriage, though still not definitely proven, may be connected with matrilocality, and therefore this custom may be a vestige of a mother-right culture.

It is interesting that the Cherkess bride lives with *strangers* during this period and not with her own family. Ladyženskij[39] considers this practice a vestige of the original form of acquiring a wife, namely bride-stealing. When a bride was stolen she, naturally, had to hide, and here, he argues, we have a clear

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had a similar observance. Among the Kurds the bride would return to her family a few days after her marriage. Her stay with her parents, however, was very short, lasting about three days or so. After receiving some gifts from her family she returned to her husband Cf. Kosven, *l. c.*). The custom of the bride returning to her family after the wedding is also an Armenian practice (*ibid.*).

[35] Baddeley, *l. c.*

[36] Jankó, "Néprajzi, etc." Zichy, *Kaukázusi és középázsia utazásai*, p. 44.

[37] Dubrovin, *Istorija*, I, i, p. 279.

[38] Dubrovin, *op. cit.*, I, i, p. 639.

[39] "Zur Erforschung der Rechtsgewohnheiten der Bergvölker des Kaukasus," *Zeitsch. f. Ethnologie*, XLII (1930), p. 242.

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## TABLE 18

### Rules of Marital, Parental, and Kinship Avoidance

| RULES | Abkhaz | Cherkess | Chechens | Lesghians | Mountaineers of Georgia | Ossetes | Karachai |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1. Bride and groom must live separately after wedding | For a year or till first child | For a year or till first child | For two or three weeks | No | Three to fourteen days | For a month after the wedding | Live together one month, then separate |
| 2. Bride returns to her own family after the wedding | Bride lives with strangers | Bride lives with strangers | No, but husband must live elsewhere 2 to 3 weeks | No | Yes | Yes, goes to own family some months after wedding | Two months to two years with own family |
| 3. Husband may visit wife during this period only secretly | Yes | Yes | Yes | No | Yes | Yes | Yes |
| 4. Married couples may not appear together in public or before strangers | Yes | Yes | Yes | No | | | |
| 5. When living in same house after period of separation the couple may not share common quarters | Yes | Yes | Yes | | Yes | Yes | |
| 6. May not mention name of husband | | May not do so before others | Husband avoids speaking directly to wife even in private | No | Wife may not call husband by name and vice versa | | |
| 7. Prohibition to manifest love for one's own child before others | Yes | Yes. Also may not speak of child of person present | Yes. Father may not carry or fondle it | Yes | Yes. May not carry or say friendly word to child | Yes. Rule is very strict | |
| 8. Husband must avoid parents-in-law | For several years | For a year after marriage | Husband may never speak to mother-in-law | No | | Yes | |
| 9. Wife must avoid older male relatives of husband (or husband must avoid relatives of wife) | | | Wife may not mention name of husband's first-cousin | No | May not call them by name | Yes | |
| 10. The couple may not be seen together by parents or parents-in-law | For a year after marriage | For a year after marriage | Yes | | | Yes, during period of separation | Yes, during period of separation |

8: Lužbetak E-4 (no date) 1951 RH1 Caucasia RH1



trace of this epoch. He goes on to say that the *kalym* was originally a form of 591
bloodwite demanded for bride-stealing, which later evolved into a means of 583
compensating the family of the bride for the loss of a worker. Although Ladyženskij's interpretations are generally good, we connot agree with him in this particular point. It has never been proven that bride-stealing was the original form of marriage anywhere in the world. Moreover, it seems to be much more probable that bride-stealing resulted from the practice of bride purchase rather than vice versa. That *kalym* evolved from bloodwite is very improbable, especially in the Caucasus, because reconciliation by means of bloodwite seems to be a relatively recent substitution for actual blood vengeance.

(2) The various husband-wife avoidances, such as not mentioning the name 593
of one's husband or wife, not using the second person, avoiding all conversation 562
in public, etc. may be an expression of the superior position of the male sex in 602
Caucasian society (cf. *supra*, pp. 152—159).[40]

(3) The parent and parent-in-law avoidance, the obligatory avoidance of 606
older male relatives of the husband, the prohibition of inquiring about the health 602
of the wife's or husband's relatives, and similar practices are difficult to explain.

Parent-in-law avoidances are certainly among the most universal practices [671]
known to man. In fact, this form of avoidance is so universal that Lowie does not hesitate to write, "From the extremely wide range of parent-in-law avoidance, the absolute universality of these rules might be conjectured on the ground that, where unrecorded, the customs have merely eluded notice."[41] In Australia, for example, "it was formerly death for a man to speak to his mother-in-law."[42] In New Britain if a man were speaking accidently with his mother-in-law, the horror of the "crime" would most likely lead to suicide.[43]

The interpretation of parent-in-law taboos has baffled all ethnologists, and a satisfactory answer still has not been given. The parent-in-law avoidance has been connected with exogamy and bride-capture;[44] it has been considered a vestige of matriarchy, an expression of awe for the mistress of the household;[45] it has also been considered as a means to prevent improper intercourse. We may have here a case of convergence, based more on human psychology than on any particular institution; nor is there any reason to attribute the same cause for the practice in all parts of the world. This is but another important ethnological problem that waits to be solved.

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[40] The Caucasians seem to be of the opinion that separation is the best means of fostering conjugal love (cf. Leontovič, II, pp. 254 f, § 176).

[41] *Primitive Society*, p. 88.

[42] Howitt, *The Native Tribes of South East Australia*, p. 267.

[43] H. H. Romilly, "The Islands of the New Britain Group," *Proceedings of the Royal Geographical Society*, n. s. IX, p. 9.

[44] Cf. A. H. Post, "Ueber die Sitte, nach welcher Verlobte und Ehegatten ihre gegenseitigen Verwandten meiden," *Globus*, LXVII (1895), pp. 176 f.

[45] Cf. R. Briffault, *op. cit.*, I, pp. 266 f.

177.58 These have been felt either exclusively among the Southern Caucasians or have not 56 been very great. The Roman-Byzantine influence was passed on to the North Caucasian tribes mainly through the Armenians and Georgians, which, however, did not affect their customary laws to any appreciable extent. Kovalevskij had a tendency to overemphasize these influences : he believed, for example, that the practice of offering an engagement gift to the bride or her family was of Roman-Byzantine origin,[7] and that the status of the Caucasian women had been greatly affected by Byzantine law.[8]

## § 2. MARRIAGE AND THE FAMILY OF THE CAUCASIANS IN THE LIGHT OF ANTHROPOLOGY

### 1. Analysis of Caucasian Adats : Predominant Character of North Caucasian Marriage and Family Customary Laws That of a Pastoral Nomadic Civilization

58 After having removed the above-mentioned historical influences and changes 171 in the marriage and family laws of the Caucasians, we now arrive at a more or less pure *adat*-law. Considering the marriage and family customary laws as a whole, we must conclude that we have before us a typically pastoral nomadic[9] marriage and family, and this although there are no pastoral nomads in the Caucasus in the strict sense of the word. Though some of the elements we shall now enumerate are also found in other cultures (for example, adultery is sometimes punished as severely by food-gatherers as by pastoral nomads), it is not the individual example we wish to stress but rather the entire institution of marriage and family taken as a whole. It should also be noted that the following summary is only an incomplete and general one : for details, therefore, the reader must look up the references given.

[595] (1) We have seen, for example, how widespread *polygyny* was among the North Caucasians.[10] We fully agree with Briffault, who has shown that all pastoral societies and societies which have passed " through a prolonged pastoral stage are all without exception in the highest degree polygamous."[11]

[597] (2) The *atalyk*,[12]

[591] (3) the *levirate*,[13]

(4) *patrilocality*,[14]

[7] Kovalevskij, *Zakon*, I, p. 136.

[8] Kovalevskij, *op. cit.*, I, pp. 139 f. He treats of these influences in detail in *op. cit.*, I, pp. 83—122.

[9] By pastoral nomadic we understand the various customs and laws commonly found among all the pastoral nomadic Turco-Mongols and Indo-Europeans. Many of the components of the Semitic and Hamitic cultures are also pastoral nomadic. Whether the pastoral nomadic culture is a primary (i. e., immediately following upon the food-gathering stage, being the oldest form of animal-breeding) or only secondary or even tertiary (i. e., the result of later specialization, a further development of a pastoral-agrarian culture) does not affect our analysis nor any of our conclusions.

[10] *Supra*, pp. 39—50.

[11] *The Mothers*, II, p. 256.

[12] *Supra*, p. 57.

[13] *Supra*, pp. 71—75.

[14] *Supra*, pp. 124 f.

8: Lužbetak E-4 (no date) 1951 RHl Caucasia RHl



## § 2. PROBLEMS AND CONCLUSIONS

Though the wedding ceremonies just described are not without a few traces 585
of a mother-right culture, the wedding as a whole is doubtless typically patriarchal in character.

(1) The wedding procession clearly shows that the marriage is patrilocal, 591
a fact true of all North Caucasian as well as neighbouring tribes. The bride must move into the house of her father-in-law.

(2) The fact that the bride is humiliated before her mother-in-law (not 606
father-in-law), the fact that she is invited into the household by the mother- 592
in-law (not father-in-law), and that it is the mother-in-law (not father-in-law) who places the honey into the mouth of the bride, though very suspiciously matriarchal, is reconcilable with a strictly patriarchal society. Even in a strictly patriarchal society the mother of the household enjoys certain privileges and is looked upon as the mistress of the house with special authority over the female members of the household. In other words, in these seemingly matriarchal ceremonies the mother-in-law may perhaps be simply excercising a right of the mother of the household of a typical patriarchal family.[103]

(3) The dramatization of bride capture is a very common custom among 583
the pastoral peoples throughout the world.

Ceremonial bride capture must not be considered as a survival of actual marriage by capture. This is especially true of the Caucasians because a wedding always means a great economic loss for the bride's family—one of their workers must leave them and go over to another sib. Ceremonial bride capture expresses rather the opposition to such an heavy loss. The Dido, as we have seen, actually throw mud and filth at the bride after she has been "stolen". If the ceremony were to represent actual abduction, why should the bride be so "mistreated"? The reason why filth is thrown at her is that she has turned "traitor" to her own family.

(4) The ceremony of hiding, veiling of the face, the bride's taciturnity— 834
all these little peculiarities of the Caucasian wedding may be an expression of the bride's natural sense of modesty. Till now she had to avoid, at least in public, the slightest communication with her financé. The strict separation of engaged couples, the prohibition even to pass a glance at one's future mate in public, and the death penalty imposed on the girl for pre-marital intercourse—all this is in full accord with the high esteem of pastoral peoples for the physical integrity of virgins. At the wedding, the bride is being publicly introduced [831]
into a relationship which she has been taught to shun as disgraceful, even punishable by death. Now this once "disgraceful" thing is being done publicly! The bride's resistence, her fleeing, her veiling, her taciturnity, then, are expressions of a reaction against "the great change"[104] from maidenhood to wife, a change more sensibly felt among pastoral peoples than in any other society.

[103] For the relatively important rôle of a mother of a household in a patriarchal society see E. Pčelina, "Obrjad gostepriimstva v Osetii," SE, (1932), No. 5—6, pp. 140—163, especially p. 156, *note*.

[104] "The great change," I think, has been coined by Elsie C. Person. See her "Holding back in Crisis Ceremonialism," *American Anthropologist*, n. s. XVIII (1916), pp. 44 f.

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595 (1) Custom permits *all* North Caucasians and their neighbours, whether Christian or Mohammedan, to marry more than one wife. The Tartars near the city of Derbend in the eighteenth century are the only exception, but even in this single case, it isn't not certain whether they were monogamists *de jure* or only *de facto*.

[177] (2) Everywhere polygyny is *pre-Islamic*, even if previous to their conversion to Islamism the particular tribe happened to be Christian. We might rightly, therefore, inquire into the possible origin of polygyny in the Caucasus. Polygyny, if borrowed at all, was not borrowed as an *isolated* institution. On the contrary, it seems to be a North Caucasian possession, first of all, as old as the practice [594] of levirate (*infra*, pp. 71—75). Furthermore, it seems to be a North Caucasian cultural possession as old as the economic, social, and religious structure of the [614] North Caucasian family itself. Here we understand "family" in its broad sense, including the joint-family and sib. We cannot now describe this family structure in detail. Briefly, by "the economic, social, and religious structure of the family" we understand that the family in North Caucasia has been and in many places still is the *raison d'être* of the individual.[30a] Whatever the individual does or whatever is done to him or for him has only one aim, the perpetuation and [581] prosperity of the family. Now, in the mind of the North Caucasian, polygyny is an immense asset and at times absolutely indispensable for the economic, social, and religious life of the all-important and solely-important family.

593 *Economically* considered, the wife is extremely important. In the North 562 Caucasus it is the wife who does most of the work (*infra*, pp. 156—159). In fact, sometimes a rich Avar will marry a son to a poor girl or to a widow of a lower class, with whom he is forbidden all communication, in order to have an additional worker in the house.[31] Moreover, a wife is not only a *worker*; she 842 is the "*worker-producing*" organ of the family. Even though boys are preferred (*infra*, pp. 159 ff), girls prove to be good and valuable workers and bring in, at times, a large brideprice (*infra*, pp. 82—91). Now, the more wives there are in the household, the more "worker-producing" organs there are, and by that very fact, at least in the mind of the natives, the family becomes so much the more economically healthy and secure.

The *religious* structure of the family may have contributed just as much to [769] the rise of polygyny as did the economic form of life. The most sacred duty of the individual and of the individual family is, or at least has been, to perpetuate itself, and thus to perpetuate the cult of the ancestors. It is a fact throughout North Caucasus that only a *son* can perpetuate the family and prevent the greatest calamity imagineable, its extinction. But a wife is precisely the "*boy-producing*" organ. If this organ is lacking or fails to function the family is doomed. Today one of the main motives for taking a second wife is sterility.[32] Or again, a second wife will be acquired if the first gives birth only to girls.

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[30a] According to ancient customary laws.

[31] L'vov, *op. cit.*, p. 19.

[32] Cf. K. Mačavariani, "Nĕkotoryja čerty iz žizni Abchazcev. Položenie ženščiny v Abchazii," SMOMPK, IV (1884), No. 2, p. 42. E. G. Pčelina, "Rodil'nye obyčai u osetin," SE, 1937, No. 4, p. 88.

sheep is slaughtered and a second feast is given at which the husband- and wife-to-be are present. The elder of the village (*khevis-beri*)[4], presides and then recites the special engagement prayer: "Glory to you, George, Angel of the Oak, Lasharis-Dzhbari, and Queen Tamara! George, Angel of the Oak, bless this young couple! Make them happy, rich and prosperous!"[35] After this the *mkepari*[36] are chosen from among the relatives of both partners, whose task it is to collect gifts for the betrothed. The Pshavs do not give their daughters a special dowry, these gifts and the *satavno* taking its place.[37] From now on the suitor is allowed to pay his future wife frequent visits.[38] 584 [976] [431]

There is very little difference to be noted in the OSSETINE matchmaking and betrothal.[39] At first a good friend (generally a woman) of the young man's family is sent to the parents of the girl to learn, unnoticed if possible, about the possiblity of a marriage. If the "spy" returns with a favourable answer, two official matchmakers are sent, generally elderly friends of the family. All dealings are kept secret until the girl's father consents. The town-crier is then notified, for it is his duty and privilege to publicize all engagements. Then the matchmakers bring to the girl's family gifts and the *kalym*, and, as usual, the engagement is celebrated by a feast.[40] [624]

The engagement customs of the KUMYKS are about the same as those of the Chechens.[41] In Balkaria it is the agreement regarding the *kalym* that constitutes the essence of the betrothal.[42]

## 2. Conclusions regarding Matchmaking and Betrothal

(1) All North Caucasians and immediate neighbours have the custom of formal betrothal of one sort or another. (2) Nowhere is the marriage arrangement a private affair. The two persons concerned are either passive, or if they do act, they are simply cooperating in a family matter. (3) Official go-betweens are usually employed. (4) The initiative is taken among all North Caucasians and neighbouring peoples by the male side. (5) Although the mother plays a surprisingly important part in the engagement customs, the final decision rests with the father. 513 584

The premarital arrangements of the Caucasians have a strongly patriarchal character. It is the father who has the final word in matchmaking. Moreover,

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[35] Makalatija, *l. c.* The sacred oak referred to is supposed to be on Mount Lashari in the central part of Pshavia and is tied to heaven with a golden chain (Makalatija, *op. cit.*, p. 103).

[36] Makalatija, *l. c.*

[37] Every girl, while still small, receives a calf as her own property. All the profit she makes by raising the calf becomes her property too.

[38] Makalatija, *l. c.*

[39] Dubrovin, I, i, pp. 329—332.

[40] Hahn, *Bilder aus dem Kaukasus*, pp. 40 f.

[41] For a fine description of Kumykian matchmaking and engagement see Semenov, "Očerki narodnych obyčaev Kumykov Terskoj Oblasti," *Terskij Sbornik*, II (1892), No. 2, Part 2 pp. 68—71; Dubrovin, *Istorija*, I, i, p. 637.

A. Karzulov, "Bolkari na Kavkaze," SMOMPK, XXXVIII (1908), No. 1, p. 146.

4. [in Pshavia, southern Caucasia -- Analyst]

584 the passivity of the couple reflects their submission to the *patria potestas* and
593 perfectly agrees with all we have said about the freedom of choice. The girl is usually more passive than the young man, a fact that corresponds to the greater privilege of the latter to choose his own mate. Although the Caucasian customs of matchmaking and engagement are strongly patriarchal in colouring, we do not wish to say that betrothal as such is a patriarchal trait. On the contrary, elaborate engagement ceremonies are found especially among matriarchal peoples.[43]

## § 2. PRIVILEGES AND OBLIGATIONS ARISING FROM BETROTHAL

There are three distinct obligations that we must consider: (1) mutual avoidance especially in public, (2) mutual fidelity, (3) and the obligation of entering upon marriage with one's engaged partner.

### 1. Mutual Avoidance

The NORTHWESTERN CAUCASIANS. An *adat* for the Black Sea-
584 Cordon Line, Kuban and Terek Territories speaks of the strict obligation of the
834 betrothed to avoid one another in public. Should they accidently meet in the presence of others, they may not speak to one another; in fact, they are forbidden
[836] even to pass a glance at each other.[44] Of course, sexual intercourse is strictly forbidden and severelly punished (*infra*, pp. 168—179).

The NORTHEASTERN CAUCASIANS. In Chechnia, as soon as the father of the girl gives his consent and the suitor's family has presented their future daughter-in-law with the prescribed engagement gift of ten silver rubles and a silk kerchief, the young man has the right to meet his beloved, but only in private. If another person is present, the bride-to-be must turn her back to her lover.[45] Betrothal, however, does not give the pair the right to sexual relations.[46] When speaking of the Lesghians[47] we must distinguish between three distinct classes of *adats* regarding mutual avoidance: (1) sometimes the engaged couple is strictly forbidden to meet, be it in public or private (if they do meet, it is done stealthily), (2) among some Lesghian peoples they are permitted to meet
[836] at the girl's house, (3) among the Tsunta-Akhvakh the *adats* permit engaged couples even to sleep together (*infra*, p. 181 f).

The *adats* of some of the mountain tribes of SOUTH CAUCASUS strictly forbid engaged couples ever to meet in public or in private. It may happen that

[43] Thurnwald, "Verlöbnis," Reallexikon der Vorgeschichte, XIV, p. 133.

[44] Leontovič, II, p. 257, 194. Dubrovin, *Istorija*, I, i, p. 429: "Posle sgovora ženich imčet pravo vidat'sja tajno s' svoej nevěstoj; no pri postoronnich ljudjach priličie trebuet ne tol'ko ne govorit' meždu soboju, no i ne smotret' drug na druga."

[45] Berže, *op. cit.*, pp. 97 f.

[46] *Infra*, pp. 169—176.

[47] L'vov, *op. cit.*, p. 22 f; Amirov, "Sredi gorcev severnago Dagestana," SSKG, VII (1873), p. 30; Omarov, "Kak živut Laki," SSKG, IV (1871), pp. 16 ff; Dubrovin, *Istorija*, I, i, p. 564.

has (or at least has had) the same significance among all North Caucasian mountain tribes, the explorers pass over the relation between birth and the fireplace without a single word. This may be a serious oversight. 851

## § 6. RESPECT OF CHILDREN FOR THEIR ELDERS

The NORTHWESTERNERS. The *adats* inform us that the children have a strict obligation of acknowledging the authority of their father. They must respect him and carry out all his commands. To disobey him or even to oppose his wishes would be, "according to customary law, the greatest abomination, and according to Islamic law, the greatest of sins."[68] This respect must continue even when old-age renders their parents helpless. When a joint-family is divided the sons must set aside a definite amount of property for the support of their parents and for their funeral.[69] The sons have the strict obligation of erecting a tombstone for their parents. The *adats* also demand that Rs. 300 should be set aside for an elaborate funeral feast. Formerly such feasts would often bring complete financial ruin to the family.[70] This great respect for parents is extended to elders in general, and especially to elder brothers.[71] 593 [888] [737] [765]

The NORTHEASTERN CAUCASIANS. The Lesghians show an unusually great respect for their parents.[72] If the children fail to care for their aged parents, they may be summoned before the *kâḍî*, who will force them to do so.[73] Some excellent examples of this deep respect can be found in the official criminological reports of Kaitago-Tabassaran. "On August 3, 1869, a native of the village of Myura, Kaitago-Tabassaran, Mahomet Omar, after having been scolded by his mother for laziness shot himself."[74] Or again, "On October 2, 1869, a native of the *aul* of Kulidzha, Kaitago-Tabassaran, Ali-bek Salig, quarreled with his son, Murtuzali. After some time his son returned to his father and begged forgiveness. His father, however, refused to listen to his son's repentent words, coldly showing him the door and telling him never to return again. On hearing these words, Murtuzali took out his pistol and shot himself. His father, on seeing that he was the cause of his son's grief and death, took his own life by falling on his *kinjal*."[75] 593 762 888

The reports concerning the Avars being contradictory demand special attention. Some claim that the Avars have just as much respect for their elders as do the other Lesghians. If a son is unable to fulfill the wishes of his father,

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[68] Leontovič, II, p. 250, § 134.

[69] Ladyzenskij, FT, p. 206.

[70] Ladyzenskij, FT, p. 208.

[71] Dubrovin, *Istorija*, I, i, p. 169.

[72] Dubrovin, *Istorija*, I, i, p. 441 is certainly exaggerating when he says that the Chechens "deny their mothers even the respect Nature has implanted in the hearts of all men." This very sentence has been copied and re-copied from the *adat* collections by a number of pre-Soviet authors without inquiring into the reliability of the report. Svečin, *op. cit.*, pp. 61 f, regarding Lesghians.

[73] Kovalevskij, *Zakon*, II, p. 203. For details regarding the kind of support demanded by the *lavf'a* in Dargwa, see Kovalevskij, *op. cit.*, pp. 203 f.

[74] "Iz gorskoj kriminalistiki," SSKG, III (1870), p. 7.

[75] "Iz gorskoj kriminalistiki," p. 8.

888 he may become so disheartened that he may even commit suicide as a result.[76]
593 L'vov, on the contrary, says that once the parents become old, they are no longer
[162] respected. In fact, their sons and daughters become very disrespectful, even refusing to sit at the same table with them. The aged mother must suffer from this ingratitude most of all.[77] The correct explanation for the attitude of the Avars toward their aged parents is that as long as the children are still economically and administratively subject to the father of the household, whether the sons have their own families or not, they have unusually great respect for them; but as soon as the joint-family breaks up, this respect diminishes to an astounding degree.

The neighbouring mountain tribes of GEORGIA show great deference toward their elders too.[78]

The OSSETES have an adage which clearly conveys their attitude toward elders. As Kovalevskij's translation has it, "*Que le taureau boive de l'eau, disent-ils, et que le veau lèche la glace.*" In other words, the Ossete is convinced that "the best morsels are always for the elders."[79]

The great reverence shown toward the father of the family (individual or joint-family) throughout the North Caucasus is to be expected, for the mountaineers are (or have been) strictly patriarchal. Moreover, being family-worshippers, they revere not only their departed (ancestors) but also their living parents, for to both the family owes its existence. Mohammedanism too has encouraged love and respect for one's mother, and not without success. There is a beautiful story told of the Caucasian prophet, Shamyl. The Chechens had been fighting desperately against the "infidels." To continue the battle was futile. They therefore sent a messenger to Shamyl, asking permission to capitulate, but Shamyl answered, "It is not lawful for the children of Allah to compromise with the infidels." The Chechens realized that to continue would mean complete annihilation. Nevertheless, the Chechens continued to fight, bleed, and die. They again appealed to Shamyl, but in vain, for "Allah's words are unchangeable." Realizing that Shamyl never had refused his mother any request, they turned to her. When she approached her son, Shamyl at first listened, then grew pale and speechless. Allah demands that a son should never refuse his mother anything, but on the other hand, He says, "Compromise not with the infidels. Whoever dares to suggest such a perfidious thing shall receive 40 strokes." Shamyl loved his mother and he loved Allah's precepts. Should he now condemn his mother to 40 strokes? He was greatly perplexed. For three days and three nights he prayed and fasted in the hope that Allah would come to his assistance and enlighten him. When he finally came out of the mosque, pale and feeble, he said slowly, "Allah has spoken. His words are unchangeable. The Chechens must continue to fight to the last man; I must

[76] Hahn, "Putešestvie v Kachetiju i Dagestan (letom 1898 goda), SMOMPK, XXXI (1902), No. 2, p. 94.

[77] "Domašnjaja i semejnaja žizn Dagestanskich gorcev Avarskago plemeni," SSKG, III (1870), pp. 17 f.

[78] For example, the Khevsurs (Cf. Hahn, *Bilder aus dem Kaukasus*, p. 81).

[79] Kovalevskij, *Coutume contemp.*, p. 192, *note* 2.

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indeed love my mother; but I must also punish the person who suggested surrender. Take my mother therefore, and punish her, punish her with one stroke and give me the remaining 39." This is a story every North Caucasian Mohammedan has heard again and again. 888 593

## § 7. EDUCATION

With the coming of Mohammedanism the method of education in the Caucasus was revolutionized. In many places throughout North Caucasus and especially in Daghestan, a new educator was introduced, the mullah. Till then, the *home* was the only "school" and the parents (or foster-parents) the only educators.[80] The subject matter of these Mohammedan schools[81] was, as usual, limited to the study of Arabic and the Koran and Islamic tradition, at times taught by very poorly educated mullahs.[82] 871 [875]

The second important innovation came with the Russians,[83] but especially with the Soviets. Only the Georgians, Armenians, and Azerbaijani had an alphabet in pre-Soviet times.[84] The Soviets immediately realized the necessity of an alphabet for each language, without which the spread of Marxism would be impossible. In 1928 about 40 per cent of the Chechens received formal schooling, while only a very few isolated mountain villages had no school at all.[85] In the mountain of Daghestan the illiteracy is still very great. According to statistics of 1926 only about 10 per cent of the men and 1 per cent of the women can read. Nevertheless, it cannot be denied that progress has been made among these mountain peoples too.[86] Today there are enough Lesghians who are able to read to make Russian, Kumykian, Lak, and Avarian newspapers possible.[87] The Lesghian children receive instructions in their mother-tongue only in the first two years at school; after that they must learn either Kumykian or Russian. In secondary schools both languages are obligatory.[88] 212 191

As for home education, a few general remarks will suffice. The education of little children and of all unmarried girls is the task of the mother; the education of the boys is the task of the father.[89] The little children are told to behave 868

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[80] Cf. K. N. Rossikov, "Poězdka v Čečnju i Nagornyj Dagestan," ZKO, XIII (1884), p. 249.

[81] A. Zacharov, "Narodnoe obučenie u Zakavkazskich Tatar," SMOMPK, IX (1890), No. 2, pp. 7—51; Mir-Galim-bek Vezirov, "O Tatarskich Školach," SMOMPK, IX (1890), No. 2, pp. 1—6; A. Omarov, "Vospominanija mutaallima," SSKG, I, pp. 13—20; II, pp. 46—70.

[82] Cf. Halil Beg Mussayassul for a description of his schooling in *Das Land der letzten Ritter*, pp. 52—56.

[83] "O rasprostranenii gramotnosti meždu gorcami," SSKG, III (1870), pp. 1—30. The main object of pre-Soviet education was to teach a sufficient number of natives the Russian language.

[84] Of course some attempts had been made before the Revolution. Fifteen years after the Revolution all North Caucasians had a written language. The Latin script was used as foundation for the Cherkess, Abaz, Chechen, Karachai, Balkarian, Avar, Dargwa, Kurin, Lak, Tabassaran, Kumykian, Nogai, and Tat languages. Cf. G. P. Serdjučenko, "Jazyki Severnogo Kavkaza i Dagestana," *Sbornik lingvističeskich issledovanij*, Moscow-Leningrad, 1935, p. 7.

[85] Plätschke, *Die Tschetschenen*, p. vii.

[86] R. Kherumian, "Contribution à l'Anthropologie du Caucase," *L'Anthropologie*, LII (1948), No. 1—2, p. 44.

[87] Nansen, *op. cit.*, p. 98.

[88] *ibid.*

[89] Ladyženskij, FT, p. 200.

In our exposition of the various marriage impediments we have also described the institution called *atalyk* (*supra*, p. 57). The upper classes especially used to give their children over to foster-parents whose task it was to teach them all these things. 868

## § 8. PARENTAL OBLIGATION OF SUPPORTING THEIR CHILDREN

In patrilineal societies in which the perpetuation of the family is the greatest obligation of the individual and of the family as a whole, there is no danger that the boy will suffer any bodily need, food, clothing, shelter, unless absolutely unavoidable. But even girls are well taken care of. Even before Islamic law gave the Caucasian woman a right to a small part of the inheritance, which the *adats* excluded, female members of the family were always well provided for. After the death of the father, his obligation passed on to the oldest brother till all the sisters were married.[102] If the girl happens not to have any brothers, the obligation of support passes on to the nephews,[103] or to other relatives. 855

## § 9. PARENTAL AFFECTION FOR OFFSPRING

Much has been written about the lack of affection of North Caucasian parents for their children. In most cases, however, the authors fail to grasp the real psychology behind what seems extreme coldness and lack of parental affection. Reineggs, for example, who has given us one of the first reliable accounts of Caucasian customs, is not free from this very misunderstanding. He writes: "Er pflanzt sich tierisch fort, ohne Liebe zu kennen; er betrachtet sein Weib und seine Kinder als einen Teil seines Vermögens; er zählt sie zu seinen Herden, und bleibt, da er nur für körperliches Gefühl reizbar ist, gegen sittliche, empfundene Erfahrungen, gefällige Gunstbezeugungen ungerührt und in gleichgültiger Zufriedenheit."[104] In other words, Reineggs failed to distinguish between loving someone and manifesting this love *externally and publicly*. 855 593

The NORTHWESTERN CAUCASIANS. Longworth, speaking about the Cherkess of about a century ago, made this very distinction. He says that the father "is forbidden the slightest manifestation of tenderness" not only for his wife but also his children.[105] He does not deny the existence of tenderness but only its exteriorization and manifestation.

The NORTHEASTERN CAUCASIANS. Grabovskij mentions that an Ingush not only considers it a disgrace to carry his child in his arms or to fondle it but that he is forbidden even to mention its name before others.[106] Baddeley gives us a very fine example of how really degrading the Lesghians consider it to take their own children in their arms. "A fellow villager, Boulat-khan, had brought on himself the contempt of the men of Andee by publicly carrying his little son in his arms, a manifestation of affection so indecorous in native eyes as to imply

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[102] Leontovič, II, p. 246, § 107; II, p. 97. Berže, Čečnja i Čečency, p. 97.
[103] Leontovič, II, p. 177, § 178 (in regard to the Ingushi).
[104] Reineggs, *Allgemeine hist.-topograph. Beschreibung des Kaukasus*, Vorrede, p. viii.
[105] *A Year among the Circassians*, I, p. 285.
[106] "Inguli, ich žizn i obyčaj," SSKG, IX (1876), p. 49.

855 a total want of manliness. On one occasion, stung by the jeers of the men in
593 his native regiment, he drew his 'kinjal' and crying: 'I love my son, but you shall see also that I don't mind killing him', was about to do so when they seized his arm and succeeded in calming him."[107] A better example to illustrate the necessary distinction between love and public manifestation of that love we can hardly offer. "I love my son, but you shall see also that I don't mind killing him!" A paradox which a Western mind finds very difficult to grasp![108]

The neighbouring SOUTHERN CAUCASIANS, the Khevsurs, have the same taboo. A father may never carry his child before others or even say a friendly word to it. The most that the father may do is hold the child by hand when it is old enough to walk.[108a]

The neighbouring OSSETES observe the same rule. Here too it is not a lack of affection but a convention, which under no condition may be violated. "Neither husband nor wife might take their children in their arms, or by hand, or give them anything, in the presence of older members of his family. 'So far is this carried,' said Ourousbi [the Author's guide, an Ossete] 'that once one of my children fell into the water and might have been drowned, but as older men of the family were present I did not dare to call attention to the fact, much less take the child out of the water myself. Luckily one of them saw what was happening and saved it.'"[109] "So, too, Kosta Khetagouroff, the Ossetine poet, saved a child from falling off a high house-roof by stamping on its garments, but called a woman to pick it up as it would have been against custom for him to do so; and one of the Abayeffs, having in identical circumstances saved a child, called to its mother—his own wife—'Here, come and pick up your puppy!' (Čursin, *Osetini*, p. 40)." Baddeley claims that in this respect a change has taken place, and as proof, points out that in several of his own photographs Ourousbi is seen carrying a friend's baby. But here Baddeley forgets that the prohibition is not to carry a *friend's* baby but to carry *one's own* child.

## § 10. CONCLUSIONS

842 We have already mentioned the main reason why boys are preferred to
628 girls, namely the patriarchal, patrilocal, and patrilineal structure of the North Caucasian and neighbouring societies. But there is still another reason, based on intertribal relations and on the poverty of the mountain tribes, which leads them to a life of raids and robbery. The Caucasus is a typical land of blood-feuds. In the Terek Province, for example, with a population of about 930,000, there were in one year 365 cases of homicide or attempted homicide, an average of one a day. Feuds accounted for most of them.[110] The rest were the result

[107] Baddeley, *op. cit.*, II, pp. 87 f.

[108] Cf. Dubrovin, I, i, p. 440.

[108a] Hahn, *Bilder aus dem Kaukasus*, p. 81. For the practice in the Government of Elizabethpol, see E. Melik-Šachnazarov, "Selenie Arcevanik, Zangezurskago uězda, Elisavetpol'skoj Gubernii," SMOMPK, XXV (1898), No. 2, p. 43.

[109] Baddeley, *op. cit.*, I, p. 269, from whom we borrow also the following citation of Čursin.

[110] Baddeley, *op. cit.*, I, p. 81.

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of raids and robberies. Girls are useless in these tasks, whereas, in this struggle for existence, every additional boy means greater security and prestige. 842 628

In conclusion, we may ask ourselves, just why should the *adats* prohibit the manifestation of one's affection for a child. The reason behind this customary law seems to be founded not so much on a father-child relation as on the male-female relation of the Caucasian society. If a father were to show his affection for his child, were he to fondle and carry it, he would be imitating a *woman*, and that would be a terrible degradation! This degradation will be better understood in the following chapter. This rule to my mind is linked up with the low position of the female sex. Just as a man may never do a task that is established by the *adats* as a task exclusively for women, e. g., milk cows, fetch water, gather wood, so a man may never carry, fondle, or rock his child. Čursin seems to be of the same opinion. He says that the Ossetes would call such a man by a very insulting name, "baba," that is, "old lady," if he would ever dare to milk a cow or look after children.[111] We wish to stress two facts: first of all, it is not a lack of affection for one's child that is prohibited, as we have said, but the *manifestation* of that love; and secondly, the manifestation of love is forbidden simply out of fear of being considered an "old lady," a woman! 562 885 593

[111] G. F. Čursin, *Osetini, etnografičeskij očerk*, p. 39.

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of labour[3] which make her appear "a slave and not a wife." In the present section we wish to mention a number of *adats* which clearly show the inferiority of the female sex in Caucasian society. 592

The NORTHWESTERN CAUCASIANS. The inferiority of the female sex is taken for granted by the women themselves. Cherkess etiquette demands that women, regardless of their social status, rise at once when a man enters the room; and, when passing by on the road, the woman must with downcast eyes humbly step aside for His Majesty, the Man.[4] In a word, the rule of etiquette is "Gentlemen first!" In Abkhazia custom demands that a woman speak to a man only if invited to do so.[5] In recent decades the conditions are supposed to have improved considerably in Kabardia, but even today, she is far from being her husband's equal.[6] Considerable improvement (though not complete emancipation) is also noticeable in Shapsug and Abadzekh villages.[7]

The NORTHEASTERN CAUCASIANS. In Chechnia women have been gradually gaining more and more rights, but as in Kabardia, a wife is by no means her husband's equal. An *adat* of the Black Sea Line, Kuban and Terek Territories of about an hundred years ago reads literally: "The wife must consider herself a slave of her husband; she must always obey him; she must be submissive to him as to a master; she must be faithful to him..."[8] Or again, as an *adat* of the Ingush District informs us, "Till very recently (1862), the woman was nothing but a slave: she had no human rights."[9] She may not sit down beside her husband, nor may she take her meals with him. Her duty, we are told, is always that of a servant.[10] Požidaev assures us, however, that she is better off than any woman in other parts of North Caucasus, for when she is obliged to speak to her husband in the presence of strangers, "she may do so in a normal tone and need not whisper."[11] 593

The Lesghians have a saying according to which "there are two gods: Allah and the husband."[12] A husband has the right to punish his wife for any reasonable cause, though, not in public. A Lesghian once visited his neighbour and to his great surprise noticed two whips hanging on the wall. He was, naturally, curious and inquired about this luxury of possessing *two* whips. "Why *two?*" he asked. "I *need* two," answered the neighbour quite nonchallantly, "one to calm my horse and the other to calm the old lady."[13]

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[3] We shall devote an entire section (§ 2) to the division of labour (*infra*, pp. 156—159).

[4] Longworth, *A Year among the Circassians*, I, pp. 282 f. There is no religious equality among the Circassians either: women are excluded from certain religious festivals. Cf. L. Ja. Ljul'e, "Věrovanija, religiozaye obrjady i predrazsudki u Čerkes," ZKO, V (1862), p. 131.

[5] Dubrovin, *Istorija*, I, ii, p. 43.

[6] Ladyženskij, FT, p. 192.

[7] Ladyženskij, FT, p. 193.

[8] Leontovič, II, p. 254, § 168.

[9] Leontovič, II, p. 174, § 156. See also Beržé, *op. cit.*, p. 99.

[10] Beržé, *l. c.*

[11] *Gorcy severnago Kavkaza*, pp. 106 f. This "privilege" is also found in Khevsuria (*ibid.*).

[12] Kovalevskij, *Zakon*, II, p. 194. See also N. Samurskij, *Dagestan* (Moscow-Leningrad, 1925), p. 46.

[13] Kovalevskij, *l. c.*

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593 562a "The Lesghian husband is, at times, very cruel to his wife," says Omarov, a Lak by birth, who describes in his excellent article (written 1870) what his own mother had to suffer, how husbands mercilessly beat up their helpless wives, and brothers their sisters.[14]

L'vov, describing the conditions prevailing about 75 years ago, writes of the Avars: "She is considered a mere slave. She is placed on the same level as a domestic beast, in spite of the fact that Islamic law gives her not a few rights. Even the possessions she brings along on her wedding day are hers only theoretically; practically, it is her husband who owns them. She is unable to dispose of her own property, whereas her husband may do with it whatever he wishes. All this is considered a sin neither in the eyes of God nor of man. If his wife proposes to bring the case up before the authorities, her husband will act at once: he either flatters her and so wins her over by 'love', and she out of gratitude concedes her rights to him, or, if she does not, he threatens to divorce her and to keep the *kebin* and thus to dismiss her without any security for the future."[15]

562 695 Another clear proof of the inferiority of Caucasian women is the insignificant participation allowed her in religious matters and law processes.[16] Many of these customs are, doubtless, of Islamic origin; many, however, are not, and the spirit behind such regulations is certainly pre-Islamic.[17]

Often women cannot be witnesses, unless there is at least one male witness present. In this case one male witness plus two female witnesses makes two legal witnesses. That may be poor arithmetic; but that is the actual practice, for example, in Dargwa.[18] Sometimes they cannot be witnesses at all.[19]

Sometimes women are not allowed to take an oath, for example in the District of Hyuraki,[20] or, at most, they may swear on the Koran as is the case in Sirgua.[21] In Hyuraki, the husband takes the oath instead, or, if the woman is not married, her nearest male relative takes it for her.[22] Never has she the right to take the *khatun-tallkh*, an oath, with an obligatory divorce as sanction (*supra*, pp. 134 f).[23]

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[14] "Kak živut Laki," SSKG, III (1870), pp. 4 f.

[15] "Domašnjaja i semejnaja žizn Dagestanskich gorcev Avarskago plemeni," SSKG, III (1870), pp. 31 f. Alichanov claimed that the women of Avaria were very independent (Cf. Hahn, "Puteštvie v Kachetiju i Dagestan (lětom 1898 goda)," SMOMPK, XXXI [1902], p. 93.) However there is no reason to suppose that their condition is more favourable than that of the women in other parts of Daghestan (Cf. Baddeley, *op. cit.*, II, p. 72).

[16] Kovalevskij, *Zakon*, I, p. 141.

[17] Although some of the customs have been influenced by Roman-Byzantine law (e. g., in Chechnia, Khevsuria, Svanetia, and Ossetia, as Kovalevskij believes, *l. c.*), it cannot be denied that laws regulating the position of women in religious and inter-tribal (or legal) matters are mostly purely-Caucasian adats.

[18] "Adaty Darginskich Obščestv," SSKG, VII (1873), pp. 71, 83 f.

[19] "Adaty Darginskich Obščestv," p. 99.

[20] "Adaty Darginskich Obščestv," p. 83.

[21] "Adaty Darginskich Obščestv," p. 70.

[22] "Adaty Darginskich Obščestv," pp. 83, 70, 99.

[23] The *khatun-tallkh* is in itself another form of inequality. A wife may be divorced simply because her husband has sworn falsely. She, however, may never take such an oath.

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ing transporting and selling the produce, build houses, and do the heavy work; however, this is far from being a full-time employment. The women, on the contrary, are busy all day long: they must milk the cows, fetch water from the well and wood from the forest, and, of course, look after the children. If a man were ever to do any of these jobs, he would become the laughing-stock of the village.[58] 462

## § 3. SPECIAL RIGHTS AND PRIVILEGES OF WOMEN

Despite all that we have said about the disadvantageous and even slavish condition of the woman in North Caucasia and neighbouring territory, the women enjoy certain rights and privileges which must not be overlooked. For example, throughout the Caucasus she alone is the *mistress* of the house.[59] 562 593

The NORTHWESTERN CAUCASIAN (as well as the Chechen), according to an *adat* of the Black Sea Line, Kuban and Terek Territories (§ 174), will permit no one to say anything unfavourable about his wife. The husband will tolerate an insult against his own father or mother, or even against himself, sooner than hear a single abusive word said against his wife.[60] When a daughter is married off into another sib the family does not lose all interest in her; on the contrary, it is this very interest that is her surest protection against ill-treatment. As we shall see in the following chapter, the husband who unjustly takes the life of his wife is infallibly avenged by her relatives. Moreover, the woman enjoys considerable freedom owing to the fact that her husband is frequently absent, either hunting or on a raid.[61] And even in the sixteenth century, as we read in G. B. Ramusio's *Raccolta di viaggi* (1583), the wife had a firm will of her own, which her husband usually respected. In a way, women are considered sacred: blood-vengeance will never take place before a woman,[62] and hence, she is an asylum like the sacred hearth-chain (*supra*, p. 127). The wife, or to be more exact, the mother of the household, is the sole mistress of the house and as such may arrange things within her little kingdom as she pleases and may even give orders to others.[63] In Abkhazia formerly a woman of a privileged class even had the right to preside at certain religious ceremonies, direct civil affairs, and be the leader in a raid.[64]

The NORTHEASTERN CAUCASIAN does not lose interest in his daughter after her marriage, and therefore he too compels her husband to 562 606

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[58] Čursin, *Osetini, etnografičeskij očerk*, p 39; Merzbacher, *op. cit.*, I, p. 204; see Hahn, "Po dolinach Čovka, Urucha i Ardona," SMOMPK, XXV (1898), p. 32.

[59] Ladyženskij, "Zur Erforschung der Rechtsgewohnheiten der Bergvölker des Kaukasus," *Zeitsch. f. Ethnologie*, LXII (1930), p. 231.

[60] Leontovič, II, p. 254, § 175.

[61] Ladyženskij, FT, p. 201.

[62] Mourier, *Guide au Caucase*, I, p. 136.

[63] Castagné, "Le Droit coutumier familial des montagnards du Caucase," Révue des études islamiques, 1929, No. 2, p. 272.

[64] K. Mačavriani, "Někotoryja čerty iz žizni Abchazcev. Položenie ženščiny v Abchajii," SMOMPK, IV (1884), No. 2, p. 41; P. I. Kovalevskij, *Kavkaz, Narody Kavkaza*, pp. 34 f.

# Chapter XI

# Marital, Parental, and Kinship Avoidances

573 602 In our description of the engagement and marriage customs we have already mentioned some obligations of mutual avoidance. After marriage a certain mutual avoidance continues not only between the couple but also between parent and child, and between the couple and their kinship by marriage.

## § 1. DESCRIPTION OF THE CUSTOMS

The NORTHWESTERN CAUCASIANS. Among the oldest reports we have are those of Pallas. He informs us that in the eighteenth century the Cherkess husband and wife were not allowed to appear together before strangers.[1] In fact, for a year after marriage or till the birth of the first child the husband was not allowed to visit his wife except secretly.[2] And even afterwards when the couple lived under the same roof, they were not allowed to share the same room. In the beginning of the nineteenth century Longworth and Dubois de Montpéreux noticed the same custom, practiced in all its rigour, which both authors compare to the spirit of the ancient Spartans.[3] The *adat* collections of about an hundred years ago likewise speak of this strict separation of husband and wife in public and private life.[4] In the beginning of this century, Vasil'kov wrote that the Temirgoi customary law does not permit a wife as much as to mention the name of her husband in the presence of others. She must always use the pronoun "he" instead.[5]

[591] Though the Northwesterners of today have given up many of their ancient practices, they have not abandoned these rules of marital avoidance. Ladyženskij found them still in our own times. For a year after marriage the wife must live with strangers, during which time her husband may visit her only secretly. To be seen with her in public even years after marriage, he informs us, is tabooed.[6]

This avoidance includes even the children of the family, as we have seen in our section on "Parental Affection for Offspring" (pp. 149 f). Throughout

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[1] *Bemerkungen auf einer Reise in die süd. Statth., etc.*, I, p. 388.
[2] *ibid.*
[3] Longworth, *op. cit.*, I, p. 285; Dubois de Montpéreux, *op. cit.*, I, p. 115.
[4] Leontovič, II, pp. 254 f, § 176.
[5] "Očerk byta temirgoevcev," SMOMPK, XXIX (1901), No. 1, p. 99.
[6] Ladyženskij, FT. p. 184 *note*; Ladyženskij, "Zur Erforschung der Rechtsgewohnheiten der Bergvölker des Kaukasus," Zeitsch. f. Ethnologie, LXII (1930), pp. 242.

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the Caucasus a father is forbidden to manifest his affection for his child. The Cherkess is forbidden even to speak of a child of a person present.[7] 593 602

Similar *adats* forbid a couple to appear together before their parents or parents-in-law for a year after marriage,[8] and among the Abkhaz, even longer.[9]

The NORTHEASTERN CAUCASIANS. These rules of avoidance are found also among the Chechens, with only accidental differences. After marriage the groom must leave his wife and family and live with some neighbours or relatives for two to three weeks.[10] But even afterwards, when he returns, a certain law of separation must be observed. Reineggs reporting on the customs in the eighteenth century mentions that the husband did not share a common room with his wife; the men, he tells us, lived apart from the children and the female members of the family.[11] Another *adat* forbids a husband to eat with his wife in the presence of strangers.[12] And even in strictest privacy he will never speak directly to her in the second person: he usually will turn aside somewhat and instead of saying "Give me," he will say, "I am in need of."[13] [591] [604]

An Ingush father is not only forbidden to carry or fondle his child in public, but is not even allowed to call it by its name,[14] when others are present.

Jakovlev assures us that one can meet Ingushi today who have not seen their mothers-in-law for fifteen years after the wedding,[15] for to do so would be a serious violation of an Ingush custom. A wife is forbidden to mention the name of a first cousin of her husband in the presence of her parents- or brothers-in-law.[16] A husband may never inquire about his wife's relatives.[17] He will not speak with his wife in the presence of his parents or older brothers.[18] According to Dubrovin, a wife is strictly forbidden to speak with her father-in-law or any near male relative of her husband for a certain time after the wedding. She may speak with her mother-in-law only after a number of months have elapsed.[19] 606 602

There is also a certain avoidance observed by the husband and wife among the mountain tribes of Daghestan. A Lesghian, for example, will never put his arm around his wife while dancing. Such signs of intimacy in the presence of others would be unthinkable.[20] 593

We have already mentioned the example of how a certain Boulat-khan brought on himself the contempt of a group of men of Andi for carrying his son 000

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[7] Pallas, *l. c.*
[8] Ladyženskij, FT, p. 186.
[9] Byhan, *op. cit.*, p. 152.
[10] Cf. Jakovlev, *Inguši*, p. 56.
[11] Reineggs, *op. cit.*, I, p. 41.
[12] Leontovič, II, p. 254, § 170.
[13] Dubrovin, *Istorija*, I, i, p. 438.
[14] Grabovskij, "Inguši, ich žizn i obyčai," SSKG, IX (1876), p. 49.
[15] Jakovlev, *op. cit.*, pp. 52, 57.
[16] Jakovlev, *op. cit.*, p. 57.
[17] *ibid.*
[18] *ibid.*
[19] *Istorija*, I, i, p. 434.
[20] Nansen, *op. cit.*, p. 199.

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000 in his arms; to make up for the transgression of the *adat* forbidding public manifestation of affection for one's children, he took out his dagger, crying, "I love my son, but you shall see also that I don't mind killing him," and if the men had not succeeded in calming him, he would have actually killed the child.[21]

It is indeed striking that we do not find the parent-in-law avoidances 606 among the Lesghians; at least we have not found any reports in this regard. 602 Parent-in-law avoidances would be quite impossible among the Lesghians, owing to the rule of endogamy.[22]

585 The SOUTHERN CAUCASIANS. Among the mountain tribes of Georgia 591 the bride and groom, after having spent three days together,[23] are obliged to ●593 separate, the groom remaining with his parents and the bride returning to her 602 family. The period of separation, according to Eristov, was a fortnight, according to Seidlitz, depending on agreement,[24] and according to Kosven, "for some weeks or years."[25] In ancient Imeretia the newly-weds would live at the bride's house for a week, after which the young man returned to his father's house, while his wife remained with her family for a year.[26] During the period of separation the husband might visit his wife only secretly. On her return to her husband she did not share a common room with him.[27] A Pshav couple may not call each other by name; instead they use the words "Man!" and "Woman!"[28] Similarly, the wife may not call any of her husband's male relatives by name.[29] In Svanetia one may not inquire about the health of the wife of another person unless related to her.[30] A Svan will never permit his wife to sit down beside him; and, in general, he is very reluctant to converse with her.[31] In Khevsuria a father may not carry his child in his arms or say a single friendly word to it in the presence of others.[32]

The OSSETES. In Ossetia the husband must live at the groomsman's house for a whole month after the wedding. He is forbidden to oppear before his father, older members of the household, or any older relatives and may [343] visit his wife only secretly.[33] As soon as the young wife becomes pregnant she returns to her family and stays there till the child is born.[34]

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[21] *Supra*, pp. 149 f.

[22] *Supra*, pp. 51 f.

[23] Nansen, *op. cit.*, p. 58.

[24] Eristov, *op. cit.*, p. 110. Seidlitz, "Gemeinde- und Familienleben der Chewsuren," *Das Ausland*, 1891, No. 16, p. 320.

[25] M. O. Kosven, "Perežitki matriarchata u narodov Kavkaza," SE, 1936, No. 4—5, p. 217.

[26] *ibid.*

[27] Eristov, *op. cit.*, p. 111. See also Eichwald, *Reise auf dem Kaspischen Meer und in den Kaukasus*, Vol. I, Part II, p. 204.

[28] Makalatija, "Iz starogo narodnogo byta Pšavov," SE, 1938, No. 1, p. 109.

[29] Hahn, *Bilder aus dem Kaukasus*, p. 82.

[30] Dubrovin, *Istorija*, I, ii, p. 109.

[31] *ibid.*

[32] *Supra*, p. 150.

[33] Baddeley, *op. cit.*, I, p. 269.

[34] Hahn, "Die Täler der 'Grossen Ljachwa' und Ksanka (ksan) und das südliche Ossetien," *Globus*, LXXXVIII (1905), p. 24. It is worthy of note that the Kurds and the Armenians

We have given a number af examples (*supra*, p. 150) illustrating how 000
Ossetine fathers and mothers are forbidden to take their children in their arms, or by hand, or offer them anything, in the presence of older members of the family. The Ossete would permit his child to die rather than transgress this rule.

A woman may never in her whole life speak to an older male member of 607
her husbands's family, and if, for instance, the wife of a younger brother is 602
busy at the hearth, an elder brother is not allowed to enter the room till she has finished her work.[35]

The neighbouring TURKS observe similar rules of avoidance. Thus the 593
Karachai newly-weds live together for a few months and then the bride must 591
return to her parental home for a period which may last two years. During this 602
time her husband may visit her only secretly.[36] The Nogai will not speak to his wife in the presence of elderly people except in extreme necessity. The wife must always appear veiled before her husband for a year after marriage or till she gives birth to a child.[37] A Kumykian couple may never call each other by name; instead they refer to each other as "him" and "her."[38]

## § 2. PROBLEMS OF POSSIBLE ORIGIN AND INTERPRETATION OF THE RULES OF AVOIDANCE

We may divide the customs just described into several distinct groups. The 591
following table will show that these rules of avoidance are genuinely Caucasian, 583
found among all North Caucasians and neighbouring peoples.

(1) The first custom which calls for special attention is that requiring the bride to return to her family shortly after marriage and permitting the husband to visit her only secretly. We found this custom in Ossetia, Armenia, Kurdistan, Chechnia, Georgia and among the Caucasian Turks. The Cherkess bride, however, does not return to her own parents but goes to a neighbouring family. This temporary visit-marriage, though still not definitely proven, may be connected with matrilocality, and therefore this custom may be a vestige of a mother-right culture.

It is interesting that the Cherkess bride lives with *strangers* during this period and not with her own family. Ladyženskij[39] considers this practice a vestige of the original form of acquiring a wife, namely bride-stealing. When a bride was stolen she, naturally, had to hide, and here, he argues, we have a clear

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had a similar observance. Among the Kurds the bride would return to her family a few days after her marriage. Her stay with her parents, however, was very short, lasting about three days or so. After receiving some gifts from her family she returned to her husband Cf. Kosven, *l. c.*). The custom of the bride returning to her family after the wedding is also an Armenian practice (*ibid.*).

[35] Baddeley, *l. c.*

[36] Jankó, "Néprajzi, etc." Zichy, *Kaukázusi és középázsia utazásai*, p. 44.

[37] Dubrovin, *Istorija*, I, i, p. 279.

[38] Dubrovin, *op. cit.*, I, i, p. 639.

[39] "Zur Erforschung der Rechtsgewohnheiten der Bergvölker des Kaukasus," *Zeitsch. f. Ethnologie*, XLII (1930), p. 242.

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trace of this epoch. He goes on to say that the *kalym* was originally a form of 591
bloodwite demanded for bride-stealing, which later evolved into a means of 583
compensating the family of the bride for the loss of a worker. Although Ladyženskij's interpretations are generally good, we cannot agree with him in this particular point. It has never been proven that bride-stealing was the original form of marriage anywhere in the world. Moreover, it seems to be much more probable that bride-stealing resulted from the practice of bride purchase rather than vice versa. That *kalym* evolved from bloodwite is very improbable, especially in the Caucasus, because reconciliation by means of bloodwite seems to be a relatively recent substitution for actual blood vengeance.

(2) The various husband-wife avoidances, such as not mentioning the name 593
of one's husband or wife, not using the second person, avoiding all conversation 562
in public, etc. may be an expression of the superior position of the male sex in 602
Caucasian society (cf. *supra*, pp. 152—159).[40]

(3) The parent and parent-in-law avoidance, the obligatory avoidance of 606
older male relatives of the husband, the prohibition of inquiring about the health 602
of the wife's or husband's relatives, and similar practices are difficult to explain.

Parent-in-law avoidances are certainly among the most universal practices [671]
known to man. In fact, this form of avoidance is so universal that Lowie does not hesitate to write, "From the extremely wide range of parent-in-law avoidance, the absolute universality of these rules might be conjectured on the ground that, where unrecorded, the customs have merely eluded notice."[41] In Australia, for example, "it was formerly death for a man to speak to his mother-in-law."[42] In New Britain if a man were speaking accidently with his mother-in-law, the horror of the "crime" would most likely lead to suicide.[43]

The interpretation of parent-in-law taboos has baffled all ethnologists, and a satisfactory answer still has not been given. The parent-in-law avoidance has been connected with exogamy and bride-capture;[44] it has been considered a vestige of matriarchy, an expression of awe for the mistress of the household;[45] it has also been considered as a means to prevent improper intercourse. We may have here a case of convergence, based more on human psychology than on any particular institution; nor is there any reason to attribute the same cause for the practice in all parts of the world. This is but another important ethnological problem that waits to be solved.

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[40] The Caucasians seem to be of the opinion that separation is the best means of fostering conjugal love (cf. Leontovič, II, pp. 254 f, § 176).

[41] *Primitive Society*, p. 88.

[42] Howitt, *The Native Tribes of South East Australia*, p. 267.

[43] H. H. Romilly, "The Islands of the New Britain Group," *Proceedings of the Royal Geographical Society*, n. s. IX, p. 9.

[44] Cf. A. H. Post, "Ueber die Sitte, nach welcher Verlobte und Ehegatten ihre gegenseitigen Verwandten meiden," *Globus*, LXVII (1895), pp. 176 f.

[45] Cf. R. Briffault, *op. cit.*, I, pp. 266 f.

# Chapter XIII

# Patria Potestas

All North Caucasian peoples recognize one head of the family. In the present chapter we shall study the extent of this authority. Does the father prossess *absolute* power over the members of his family? 593

## § 1. THE RIGHT TO SELL CHILDREN INTO SLAVERY

Since slavery was abiloshed in 1867, we must have recourse to sources prior to that date. 567

The NORTHWESTERN CAUCASIANS. According to an *adat* of the Black Sea Line, Kuban and Terek Territories (§ 139), the father does not have a right to sell or give away his sons.[1] However, Longworth, who spent a year among these people, expressly states the contrary. "The right," he says, "is never disputed, though it is considered disreputable for an ouzden, or even a freeman in good circumstances, to sell his children to slave merchants."[2] A certain greedy Cherkess once sold his brother's children whose guardian he was, for which, we are told, "he was universally execrated,"[3] though, evidently, he had the *right* to do so. In other words, it is very essential to distinguish between the *right* to sell children into slavery and the actual *practice*, which is strongly discouraged. 593

Taitbout de Marigny, who had visited the Cherkess several decades before Longworth, left us an incomplete report of what he had observed. The Cherkess are supposed to have sold their sons and daughters for Turkish goods with absolute indifference.[4] His visit, however, was too brief and superficial. When speaking of "indifference" Taitbout de Marigny should have made a second very important distinction, namely, whether the children thus sold into slavery belonged to the same social class as the father or whether they were born of a secondary or slave wife. Longworth makes this very important observation: "The great proportion ... of women who are exported are of the fourth or servile class ..."[5]

The NORTHEASTERN CAUCASIANS. The Chechens have no *adats* which determine or limit in any way the authority of the father over his children.[6] Potocki describes the sad story of an Ingush who sold his daughter

[1] Leontovič, II, p. 250, § 139.
[2] Longworth, *A Year among the Circassians*, I, pp. 279 f.
[3] Longworth, *op. cit.*, I, p. 180.
[4] *Voyage en Circassie en 1818*, p.6.
[5] Longworth, *op. cit.*, I, p. 279.
[6] Leontovič, II, pp. 96, 112, § 8.

593 for some Persian cloth worth Rs. 240. While the deal was still going on, the
567 girl fled and hanged herself.[7]

We have found no purely Lesghian *adats* prohibiting or sanctioning the selling of children into slavery, in spite of the despotic authority of the father.[8] Although we do not know the attitude of customary law in this regard, we do know that the *šarī'a* strictly forbids not only the selling of a fellow-Mohammedan into slavery, but expressly condemns the selling of one's own children.[9]

The SOUTHERN CAUCASIANS. In times of famine the mountain tribes of Georgia used to sell their children; the Svans, for example, "for 700 to 1,200 francs each" (Mourier, *Guide au Caucase*, I, p. 147).

It was this same poverty that led their neighbours, the Tualti (SOUTHERN OSSETES), to kill their girls and sell their boys.[10]

In short, everywhere in the Caucasus the *right* to sell children is not disputed; the practice, however, is *rare*, except in time of absolute necessity or in regard to children who are not considered fully members of the family.

## § 2. JUS VITAE NECISQUE

593 The NORTHWESTERN CAUCASIANS. The *adats* expressly mention
682 that a father does not have the right over life and death of his children.[11]
[627] However, he may condemn a *perverse* member of the family to death: he must, of course, first chastize him, then disinherit him, and finally, if all these means fail and the son remains incorrigeable, the father, acting as supreme judge of the family, may hand him over to a servant to be killed.[12] In spite of these *adats* it seems that formerly the father actually had the right to kill his child at will.[13]

The NORTHEASTERN CAUCASIANS. The Chechen adat collection of 1843 tells us that "there is no customary law defining or limiting the authority of the father over his children."[14] However, in practice, he enjoys this unlimited
[858] authority only as long as the children are small. Once his sons have grown up, they may take vengeance on their own father for killing one of their brothers.[15] It is quite possible that at one time the father actually possessed the *jus vitae necisque*, a right that had disappeared long before the *adat* collections of the past century were made. By no means does a husband have a right over the

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[7] *Voyage dans les steps d'Astrakhan et du Caucase*, II, p. 123.

[8] Cf. Omarov, "Kak živut Laki," SSKG, IV (1871), p. 18.

[9] G. Bergsträsser, *Grundzüge des islamischen Rechts*, p. 39.

[10] Kovalevskij, *Coutume contemp.*, p. 189.

[11] Leontovič, II, p. 250, § 138.

[12] *ibid.* See also Leontovič, I, p. 152, § 81.

[13] Dubrovin, *Istorija*, I, i, pp. 168 f; P. I. Kovalevskij, *Kavkaz, Narody Kavkaza*, p. 56.

[14] Leontovič, II, p. 112, § 8.

[15] M. O. Kosven, "Avunkulat," SE, 1948, No. 1, p. 18; Leontovič, II, pp. 112 (§ 8), 251 (§ 143), 258 (§ 206); Berže, *Čečnja i Čečency*, p. 96.

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life of his wife.[16] According to a customary law of 1844 for Vladikavkaz District (Dzher, Kist, Galgai, Tsori, Ingushi, and Karabulak tribes), if a husband kills his wife, he must pay a bloodwite of 12 cows to her relatives if she has a child, and 85 cows if she has no children. Besides this payment he becomes a social outcast.[17]

The *adats* of the Lesghian mountaineers regarding the penalty for filicide and uxoricide fall into four distinct classes: (1) no penalty, (2) a very small fine, (3) conditional or optional death penalty, (4) obligatory death penalty.

If the father kills a son or daughter he goes unpunished in Gamri and in Mahallen Terekeme (Kaitago-Tabassaran Province),[18] in Tilitl-Hidatl (Gunib Province),[19] in the Naibate of Kuyada (Gunib Province), [20] and in other parts of Daghestan.

He is obliged to pay a relatively small fine, for example, in Sirgua District (Dargwa Province),[21] in Upper Kaitago,[22] Andalal (Gunib Province),[23] Bashli (Kaitago-Tabassaran Province),[24] Ratlu Akhvakh,[25] etc.

A few examples of a conditional death penalty would be: for instance, in Kurin Province a father who has killed one of his sons is obliged to pay a bloodwite only if the victim happened to have his own economically independent family, the bloodwite going to his children (if he has killed a daugther, he becomes a blood-enemy only if she happened to be married, the bloodwite in this latter case going to her husband);[26] or again, in Hyuraki District of the Province of Dargwa, a father becomes a blood-enemy only if the son he murdered is himself married and has children.[27]

By "optional death penalty" we understand all those *adats* which leave it to the children or heirs of the victim as to whether the murderer should be considered a *qanly* ("blood-enemy") or not. Such adats are found in the naibates of Tleiserukh,[28] Tilitl-Hidatl,[29] and Mikah (Dargwa Province).[30]

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[16] Berže, *op. cit.*, p. 99. Even in case of adultery the husband generally may only divorce and at most mutilate her (cf. Table 19).

[17] Leontovič, II, p. 115, § 6. It is an interesting fact that sometimes, as in this case, the wife becomes more detached from her own sib and more attached to that of her husband by giving birth to a child. In the latter case the bloodwite is only a third as high as the former.

[18] "Adaty Južno-Dagestanskich Obščestv," SSKG, VIII (1875), p. 49. Adaty Dagestanskoj Oblasti i Zakatal'skago Okruga, pp. 588, § 10; Cf. Dirr, AGKB, p. 58. We shall abreviate this collection of *adats* by ADOiZO.

[19] ADOiZO, p. 337, 12; cf. Dirr, AGKB, p. 58. Some villages of Tilitl-Hidatl impose capital punishment on a murderer of a son or daughter.

[20] ADOiZO, p. 313, § 12; cf. Dirr, AGKB, p. 58.

[21] "Adaty Darginskich Obščestv," SSKG, VII (1873), p. 73.

[22] "Adaty Južno-Dagestanskich Obščestv," p. 34: the murderer is obliged to pay a fine of one three-year-old ox to the district.

[23] The fine is only Rs. 6.

[24] ADOiZO, p. 597, § 10; cf. Dirr, AGKB, p. 58.

[25] ADOiZO, p. 178, § 38; cf. Dirr, AGKB, p. 58.

[26] ADOiZO, p. 510, § 13; cf. Dirr, AGKB, p. 61.

[27] "Adaty Darginskich Obščestv," p. 86.

[28] ADOiZO, p. 388 f, § 12; cf. Dirr, AGKB, p. 64 f.

[29] ADOiZO, pp. 337 f, §§ 31 f.

[30] ADOiZO, p. 136, § 42; cf. Dirr, AGKB, p. 67.

593 The last class of *adats* demand blood for blood. Such customary laws are
602 found, for example, in the Dargwa Province : in Usisha District,[31] Tsudakhar,[32]
[628] Akusha District,[33] and in some towns of the naibate of Tilitl-Hidatl,[34] and in the Samur District.[35] The same holds if a husband kills his wife : he becomes a blood-enemy of the wife's relatives and sometimes of his own children. In Bashli (Kaitago-Tabassaran Province),[36] Mahallen Terekeme (Kaitago-Tabassaran Province),[37] Mahal Gamri (Kaitago-Tabassaran Province),[38] and in the Province of Samur,[39] a husband who has murdered his wife becomes a blood-enemy of her relatives. In Mahal Gamri he becomes a blood-enemy of his children as well.[40]

Ancient GEORGIAN *adats* permit the murderer to go unpunished, the crime being "left to the judgement of God."[41] A Khevsur who murders his wife is obliged to pay a bloodwite of five cows to her relatives.[42] The Svan custom of tying a large stone about the neck of a person who murdered one of his own kin (as a sign of excommunication) is most likely of Christian origin. It reminds us very much of a similar penalty for parricide in the Old Testament. It may, less probably though, have come to Svanetia through Islamism, for Mohammedanism has borrowed this form of excommunication from the Old Testament.[43]

[614] The neighbouring KUMYKS do not punish a man for murdering his child either.[44] Uxoricide, however, never goes unpunished ; the murderer becomes *a qanly* of the victim's sib.[45]

The ancient Indo-Europeans used to place the newborn child on the ground and then invite the father to pick it up, as an official recognition of the child as his own and at the same time expressing his wish not to use his right to kill it.[46] According to OSSETINE customary law, a father may kill his child with

[31] ADOiZO, p. 225, § 47 ; cf. Dirr, AGKB, p. 61 ; "Adaty Darginskich Običestv," p. 102.
[32] ADOiZO, p. 244, § 40 ; cf. Dirr, AGKB, pp. 61 f ; "Adaty Dauginskich Običestv," pp. 113 f.
[33] "Adaty Darginskich Običestv," p. 35. Also in Balhar, Tsumkan, according to ADOiZO, p. 115, § 43 ; cf. Dirr, p. 61.
[34] ADOiZO, p. 337, § 12 ; cf. Dirr, AGKB, p. 66.
[35] ADOiZO, p. 530, § 16 ; cf. Dirr, AGKB, p. 61.
[36] ADOiZO, pp. 597 f, §§ 14 f ; cf. Dirr, AGKB, p. 65.
[37] ADOiZO, p. 583, § 9 ; cf. Dirr, AGKB, p. 65.
[38] ADOiZO, pp. 588 f, § 14 ; cf. Dirr, AGKB, pp. 65 f.
[39] ADOiZO, p. 530, § 14 ; cf. Dirr, AGKB, p. 66.
[40] ADOiZO, pp. 599 f, § 14 ; cf. Dirr, AGKB, pp. 65 f.
[41] Haxthausen, *Transcaucasia*, II, p. 205 ; Post, *Grundriß der ethnol. Jurisprudenz*, II, p. 340 ; cf. Dirr, AGKB, p. 59. These three authors base their assertion on King Vakhtang's Code. In § 78 we read : "... the case must be judged according to the *sdzhuli-kanoni*". Perhaps in the last analysis "sdzhuli-kanoni" can be identified with God ; but actually these two words refer to the ecclesiastical laws codified by Patriarch John the Scholastic under Emperor Justinian (cf. Code of King Vakhtang VI, ed. Karst, p. 119, *note* 1).
[42] Hahn, *Bilder aus dem Kaukasus*, p. 184.
[43] Kovalevskij, *Zakon*, I, p. 40.
[44] Leontovič, II, p. 212, § 35 (an *adat* of 1865).
[45] "Adaty žitelej kumykskoj ploskosti," SSKG, VI (1872), p. 5.
[46] Schmidt-Koppers, *Völker und Kulturen*, p. 309.

½ [i.e. blood-enemy --Analyst]

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impunity, just as their ancestors could.[47] A husband may not sell or give his wife away.[48] Sometimes he may not kill his wife[49] even as a well deserved punishment. At the most he may in such a case chastize and mutilate her.[50] 593 [682]

## § 3. MATERNAL AUTHORITY

What authority does the mother enjoy in a North Caucasian family? We have already touched upon this question, when speaking about the education of children (*supra*, pp. 147 f) and the rights and privileges of women (*supra*, pp. 159 f). As a general rule throughout the Caucasus[51] the mother has by far more authority over her daughters than over her sons, more over her small boys than those of age.[52]

That is doubtless the case with the NORTHWESTERN CAUCASIANS. The *adats* expressly say that the mother enjoys much more authority over her daughters than over her sons.[53] That she has less authority or none at all with her grown-up boys is clear from the "Adat Collection of the Black Sea Line, Kuban and Terek Territories" (§ 135). In spite of the exaggeration contained in this particular *adat* it is worth quoting: as soon as the sons become of age, the mother "hardly enjoys the respect which nature herself implanted in man's heart, the respect for her to whom the sons owe their very existence."[54]

In NORTHEAST CAUCASIA, a Chechen mother, though exerting much influence on her children, enjoys absolutely no *right* over their person.[55] The relation between mother and child among the Lesghians is regulated by Islamic law,[56] which however differs very little from that of the other North Caucasians. According to Islamic law, the mother has more rights over her girls than over her boys; the girls are subject to her till they become of age; the boys, only till they are seven or nine years old.[57] Her authority can be compared to that of a tutor, and generally the father will not interfere. The right over the person of the child is everywhere in the Caucasus a right exclusively enjoyed by the father.

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[47] Leontovič, II, p. 26, § 98.

[48] Leontovič, II, p. 27, § 103.

[49] Kovalevskij, *Coutume contemp.*, p. 348.

[50] Leontovič, II, p. 26, § 101.

[51] Leontovič, II, p. 251, § 145: "Čto kasaetsja prav roditelej nad dočer'mi, to takovyja kak u čečencev, tak i u vsech drugich gorskich plemen, soveršenno odinakovy."

[52] Leontovič, II, pp. 250 (§ 134), 251 (§ 147).

[53] Leontovič, II, p. 251, § 147.

[54] Leontovič, II, p. 250 (§ 135), II, p. 112 (8).

[55] Leontovič, II, p. 212, § 8.

[56] Kovalevskij, *Zakon*, II, p. 201.

[57] Bergstrasser, *Grundzüge des islamischen Rechts*, p. 87.

58 171

(5) and the *patria potestas*[15] in the extreme form as found in North Caucasia are all typically pastoral nomadic.

(6) The father alone has the *right to choose a mate* for his children, and [593] boys are given more consideration in the choice than the girls.[16]

(7) The *bride price*, though found in other cultures also, has a typically pastoral colouring in the Caucasus, since it is measured mainly in cattle and horses.[17] Bride wealth as a *price* in the strict sense of the word is found almost exclusively among pastoral peoples.[18]

(8) *Bride stealing*[19] is a common practice among pastoral nomads. All Turco-Tartars, Indo-Europeans, and the Semites have or at least have had frequent recourse to marriage by capture.

(9) The various *engagement prohibitions*,[20]

(10) the segregation of the bride in a special hut *(ambara)*, the obligation of the young man to cover his entire head and face except for an opening for his eyes,[21] the obligation of the bride and groom to hide during the wedding,[22] the bride's veiling, taciturnity, resistence, the post-nuptial obligation of the [834] couple not to appear together before their parents or older brethren,[23] all these customary laws are in no way a vestige of former group marriage, fraternal polyandry, bride capture and the like, as we have sufficiently refuted above, but they are most likely an expression of the *extreme modesty peculiar to pastoral peoples*, a reaction to the "great change" from single to married life, more strongly felt among pastoral nomads than any other peoples.

(11) It is the *male side who proposes to the female and not vice versa*,[24] likewise a phenomenon found infallibly among pastoral nomads.

(12) The *great longing for children, especially for boys*,[25] although found [842] in other cultures, reaches its highest point among pastoral nomads. Connected with this craving after male children is the custom of marrying a second wife in case the first is sterile or "unable" to bear male offspring.

(13) The *wedding customs*[26] are typically pastoral nomadic in character: dramatization of bride capture, horse-racing, the proof of virginity with subsequent rejoicing if the bride is found "chaste," or mutilation and execution if found "unchaste," the special ceremonies and wishes for fertility, especially for the birth of many male children, the triple encircling of the fireplace, etc. are all typically pastoral nomadic.

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[15] *Supra*, pp. 183—186.
[16] *Supra*, pp. 76—81.
[17] *Supra*, pp. 82—91.
[18] *Supra*, p. 91.
[19] *Supra*, pp. 91—96.
[20] *Supra*, pp. 106—110.
[21] Seidlitz, "Die Abchasen," *Globus*, LXVI (1894), p. 40.
[22] *Supra*, p. 124.
[23] *Supra*, p. 166. For similar customs among the ancient Indo-Europeans see *infra*, p. 198.
[24] *Supra*, pp. 100—106.
[25] *Supra*, pp. 124, 139 ff.
[26] *Supra*, pp. 125—128, especially Table 16

[i.e. a trait found among the Caucasians--Analyst]

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# II. MARRIAGE

## Chapter II

## Prohibited Mating

We shall begin our study of the North Caucasian marriage with a negative, but a very important, question: Which persons may *not* be mates? The next chapter will tell us which persons are not only not excluded from mating, but are regarded as *preferred*, or even *obligatory*, mates.

### § 1. THE RULE OF MONOGAMY

#### 1. Extent and Frequency of Polygamy in the Caucasus

As a general rule the NORTHWESTERN CAUCASIANS content themselves with one wife,[1] although both the *Abkhaz* and the *Cherkess* consider polygyny just as lawful as monogyny. After the Soviet government had prohibited plural marriages, polygyny indeed became extremely rare (today it is found only by way of exception here and there among old "incorrigible" Kabardians), but the people still maintain that as long as a man can afford two wives and can feed and clothe them properly, he is just as much in the right as the monogamist,[2] the Soviet penal law notwithstanding.

According to a report of John de Lucca, a Dominican missionary, *(Relations des Tartares, Percopites et Nogaies, des Circassiens, Mingréliens et Géorgiens)* the seventeenth century Circassians recognized polygyny as a lawful institution; however, they seldom made use of the right.[3] In a report from 1502 *(Della Vita dei Zychi, altrimenti chiamati Circassi)*, Interiano mentions that the natives heartily approved of plurality of wives.[4] Our sources, therefore, tell us that polygyny has been in practice in Northwest Caucasia for more than 450 years, always, indeed, more as an exception than as a rule.

The practice certainly does not owe its existence to Mohammedan missionaries. The Cherkess conversion was very superficial till the Murid wars, when a common hatred against the Russians united them under the Moslem

[1] N. Dubrovin, *Istorija vojny i vladyčestva russkich na Kavkaze*, Tome I, Bk. I, p. 138. A. Byhan, *La civilisation caucasienne*, (Paris, 1936), p. 154.

[2] A. Ladyženskij, "Das Familiengewohnheitsrecht der Tscherkessen," *Zeitschrift für vergleichende Rechtswissenschaft*, XLV (1930), pp. 191, 195.

[3] Ladyženskij, *op. cit., p. 184.*

[4] R. Erckert, "*Der Kaukasus und seine Völker*," p. 67.

595 797 banner of Ghâzi-Mullah and Shamyl.[5] Before that time they were only "indifferent disciples of Mohammed," as a report from the first half of the nineteenth century has it,[6] or "without any religion," as Güldenstädt pictured the situation in the 18th century.[7] In other words, the conversion of the Cherkess to Islamism was relatively recent, while polygyny is an old institution. It is beyond the least shadow of doubt that the Cherkess were not Mohammedans when Interiano visited them in 1502. Polygyny of the Cherkess certainly antedates the introduction of the ʾarʿia (Islamic law) into Northwest Caucasia.

Passing over to the NORTHEASTERN CAUCASIANS, we find polygyny a recognized institution among them also. There can be no doubt about the practice existing among the *Chechens*;[8] in fact one of the Chechen tribes (Ingushi) seemed to make use of the right rather frequently. Grabovskij claimed that plurality of wives was of "very frequent" occurrence and that "many" Ingushi had two wives and occasionally three. Moreover, he goes so far as to say that this practice was not limited to the privileged families (as was the case with the Northwestern Caucasians), but that it was rather common to see a "pauper" with two wives.[9] Count Potocki had claimed, about a hundred years earlier, that some Ingushi had as many as five wives.[10]

Although the Chechens are Mohammedans, polygyny antedates their conversion to Islamism. According to Bašir Dalgat, a Chechen by birth, Islamism dates from the time when Chechen migrated to Ichkeria (16th century A. D.) and to the highlands (17th and 18th century). It was then that they lost contact with the Christian Georgians and fell into completely Islamic surroundings (the Daghestanians, Kumyks and Kabardians). Gradually the Chechens went over to Mohammedanism. One of the Chechen tribes, the Ingushi, living near the Georgian Military Road, the only agreeable road from Christian Georgia to Christian Russia, remained unsympathetic toward the new religion. As a counteraction against Islamic proselytism, Russian missionaries in the first half of the eighteenth century began a Christian revival among the Ingushi, resulting in a bitter struggle between Mohammedanism and Christianity. Finally in 1862 the Christian Cross had to give way to the ever-expanding Crescent.[11]

Almost a hundred years before the final submission of the Ingushi to Islamic law, Güldenstädt observed that they "marry several women, just as the Mohammedans do, but unlike the latter, they eat pork." Hence, though not yet fully Islamized, the Ingushi practiced polygamy.[12]

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[5] G. Zawadowski, "Les Musilmans du Caucase," *En Terre d'Islam*, XVIII (1943), No. 23, p. 162 f.

[6] J. A. Longworth, *A Year among the Cherkess*, I, p. 239.

[7] *Beschreibung der kaukasischen Länder*, p. 135. "Das Volk lebt ohne Religion" is not to be understood literally.

[8] G. Vertepov, "Inguli," *Terskij Sbornik*, II (1892), No. 2, p. 87.

[9] N. Grabovskij, "Ekonomičeskij i domašnij byt žitelej gorskago učastka Inguševskago okruga," SSKG, III (1870), p. 21.

[10] Count J. Potocki, *Voyage dans les steps d'Astrakhan et du Caucase*, II, p. 127.

[11] B. Dalgat, "Die alte Religion der Tschetschenen," *Anthropos*, III (1908), pp. 730 f. For the Islamization of the Chechens, see Vertepov, "Inguli," *Terskij Sbornik*, II (1892), No. 2, p. 87. Polidaev, *Gorcy severnago kavkaza*, p. 18.

[12] Güldenstädt, *Beschreibung der kaukasischen Länder*, p. 151.

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The *Lesghians*, who are geographically and linguistically related to the Chechens, likewise countenance polygamous marriages, but, here polygyny is a privilege that has always been reserved for a few. It is to be noted that these privileged personages seldom espouse more than two women.[13] 595 [10]

The largest and the most important people of the Lesghian group are the Avars. Speaking of these people, L'vov tells us expressly that only relatively few men can boast of two or at most three wives.[14]

The Lesghians were the first to be Islamized and their conversion was the most thorough. The Laks, for example, accepted the Koran as early as the 116th year of the hegira A. D. 777. By the end of the ninth century Mohammedanism was firmly rooted among the Daghestanian mountaineers.[15] 797

Hence, to discover the pre-Islamic condition of the Lesghians, we must go to the early Persian and Arabian writers. They inform us that when Islamism was introduced into Daghestan, the people were all followers of Zoroastrianism. These reports are confirmed by the fact that today there are still not a few traces of Avestic teaching in the Caucasus and in Daghestan in particular.[16] Attempts to Christianize the Daghestanians had been made at first by Armenian, Georgian, and Byzantine missionaries, then, in the thirteenth century by the Roman Catholic Church.[17] But in spite of all Christian missionary activity, pre-Islamic Daghestan must be classified as Avestic.

Polygyny is in full accord with Zoroastrianism, no less than with Mohammedanism, and therefore there is no reason why we should place plural marriages in the Mohammedan period and exclude them from Avestic times. Ahura Mazda Himself is supposed to have had a number of wives, and Zoroaster, his Prophet, according to tradition, had three. In fact, Avesta (Vend. iii. 3) actually encourages polygyny by teaching that in the household of the just, "both women and children abound" (Geiger, *Ostiranische*, pp. 244, 247). Polygyny was ex- 595

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[13] M. Kovalevskij, *Zakon*, II, p. 166.

[14] N. L'vov, "Domalnaja i semejnaja žizn dagestanskich gorcev avarskago plemeni," SSKG, III (1870), p. 20.

[15] For the Islamization of Daghestan see R. Erckert, *Der Kaukasus*, pp. 152—156; for the conversion of the Laks see Said Gabiev, "Laki, ich prolloe i byt," SMOMPK, XXXVI (1906), p. 14.

[16] Abû Ḥamîd el-Andalûsî writes about the Lesghians: "They have no religion, and pay no taxes. If a man dies they hand him over to men in houses under the earth, who cut up the members of the deceased, remove the flesh entirely from the bones, collect it together on one side, and give it to ravens to devour; they stand near with bows to keep off other birds from eating any of the flesh. If a woman dies they hand her over to other men (*var.* women) under the earth, who remove her bones, and give her flesh to vultures, while they stand by with knives to hinder other birds from approaching the flesh." Abû Ḥamîd el-Andalûsî is here referring to the Kubachi, a Dargwa-speaking people. J. Abercromby, *A Trip through the Eastern Caucasus*, p. 290. Of the Colchi Aelian writes in his *Historical Miscellanies*, iv. 1 (c. A. D. 200), "The Colkhi place their dead into skins and sew them up and then hang them up in trees." Both of these practices are traces of Zoroastrianism. "To bury a body," according to Sir Denison Ross, "would defile the pure earth, which is one of the gifts of Ahuramazda, and to burn it would defile his symbol, the Sacred Fire. Bodies are therefore exposed on towers (*dkhma*) specially constructed for the purpose, to be devoured by birds of prey." (Cited by Henry Field, *Contributions to the Anthropology of Iran*, Anthropological Series Field Museum of Natural History, Chicago, December 15, 1939.) [764]

[17] J. F. Baddeley, *op. cit.*, II, p. 39.

595 pressly recognized as lawful as early as the composition of the Mâtigân-i-Hazâr Datistân.[17*]

[101] On the southern slopes of the Caucasus, in high isolated valleys, we find the GEORGIAN mountain tribes, the Khevsurs, Tushi, Pshavs and Svans, who, owing to their isolation, have preserved the ancient Georgian culture better by far than their brothers in the lowlands, and therefore, when speaking of the Georgians, we shall limit ourselves as much as possible to these four tribes.[17**]

Formerly plural marriages were of frequent occurrence in *Khevsuria*. "In former times," writes Nansen, "polygyny was general," or in the words of the original, "war früher an der Tagesordnung."[18] By "formerly" we mean before the conversion of the Khevsurs to the Orthodox Church.[19] But a deeply ingrained customary law cannot be easily "repealed" and such is the case in Khevsuria in regard to the right of having more than one wife; for, even today, although rarely, some Khevsurs still insist on marrying several women.[20] The *Svans* are "monogamists" but, like the Khevsurs, they gave up plural marriages only after their conversion to Christianity. They are mono-
[586] gamists officially and economically, but, like the Khevsurs, they are sexually polygamous: in order to evade the law of the Church, the Khevsurs and the Svans introduced extremely easy divorce, a form of *successive* polygamy. Divorce is so frequent and easy (almost an annual affair) that we hesitate to call it monogamy.[21] G. Radde, in his monograph on the Khevsurs, claimed that many had been divorced and remarried ten times before they were 35 years of age.[22]

And now if we pass on to the non-Caucasian neighbours of the North Caucasian tribes, we find that the Mohammedan as well as the Christian OSSETES countenance polygyny, but as elsewhere it is rare, as rare as wealth.[23]
[585] As a rule, only the two highest classes, the princes and the *aldars* could afford more than one wife. In fact, there are even special *adats* which seem to reserve the privilege for these classes.[24]

The TURCO-TARTARS of the Caucasus have had a great share in the moulding of modern Caucasian culture and consequently demand our consideration.

Vambéry in his *Die primitive Kultur des turko-tatarischen Volkes* (pp. 71 f) assures us that not even the slightest traces of polygyny can be found among the primitive Turco-Tartars. In fact their language lacks such terms as "secondary wife," "bastard," and "prostitution."[25]

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17* *Hasting's Encyclopedia of Religion and Ethics*, V, p. 745.

17** The Svans are "Georgians" only in a broad sense of the word, meaning "South Caucasians."

18 F. Nansen, *Through the Caucasus to the Volga*, p. 58; *Durch den Kaukasus zur Wolga*, p. 39.

19 G. Radde, *Die Chewsuren und ihr Land*, p. 90.

20 C. Hahn, *Bilder aus dem Kaukasus*, p. 82; A. Byhan, *La civilisation caucasienne*, p. 114. R. Eristov, "O Tulino-Plavo-Chevsurskom Okrugè," ZKO, III (1855), p. 113.

21 F. Bodenstedt, *Die Völker des Kaukasus*, I, p. 282. N. Dubrovin, *Istorija*, Tome I, Bk. II, p. 109.

22 Radde, *op cit.*, p. 113. Cf. R. Briffault, *The Mothers*, II, pp. 269 ff.

23 Dubrovin, *op. cit.*, Tome I, Bk. I, p. 329.

24 Leontovič, *Adaty kavkazskich gorcev*, II, p. 12, § 10; p. 14, § 27; p. 16, a 40.

25 Schmidt-Koppers, *Völker und Kulturen*, p. 204.

1 [Sic -- Analyst]

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According to a missionary's report dating from the year 1750, the League Tartars round the city of Derbend "drink wine without reserve and marry only one woman," and, in spite of being Mohammedans, lead such unorthodox lives, that the Persians can hardly recognize anything Mohammedan about them.[26] But such was not the case with all the Tartars in the Caucasus.[27] The Karachai,[28] Kumyks[29] and Nogai[30] are polygynists, though they seldom avail themselves of their legal privilege. 595

## 2. Problems regarding Polygamy

Before we go over to the problems and possible solutions regarding polygamous marriages in North Caucasia, a glance at the following table will help us recall the various customary laws of the North Caucasian peoples and how they differ from those of their neighbours. We have said nothing about polyandry because nowhere in the Caucasus is it a recognized institution.

**TABLE 5**

**Polygamy in Caucasia**

| | PEOPLES | Adats Permit | | Polygyny in Pre-Islamic | Enjoyed by Rich Alone | Usually Restricted to Bigyny |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | Polyandry | Polygyny | | | |
| North-Western | Abkhaz | — | + | + | + | + |
| | Cherkess | — | + | + | + | + |
| North-Eastern | Chechens | — | + | + | — | + |
| | Lesghians | — | + | + | + | + |
| Southerners | Khevsurs | — | + | | — | + |
| | Pshavs | — | + | | | + |
| | Tushi | — | + | | | + |
| | Svans | — | + | | | + |
| | OSSETES | — | + | + | + | + |
| Turco-Tartars | Derbend | — | ? | | | |
| | Kumyks | — | + | | + | + |
| | Nogai | — | + | | + | + |
| | Karachai | — | + | | + | + |

[26] J. Hanway, *An historical account of the British trade over the Caspian Sea: with a journal of travels through Russia*, London, 1753, I, p. 374.

[27] *ibid.*

[28] Gróf Zichy Jenő, *Kaukázusi és középázsiai utazásai*, Part I: Dr. Jankó János, *Néprajzi gyűtemény leírása*, Budapest, 1897, p. 44.

[29] Gadži-Magoma-Debirov, "Dagestanskija predanija i suevěrija," SMOMPK, IV (1884), No. 2, p. 31.

[30] Jankó, *l. c.*

595 (1) Custom permits *all* North Caucasians and their neighbours, whether Christian or Mohammedan, to marry more than one wife. The Tartars near the city of Derbend in the eighteenth century are the only exception, but even in this single case, it ist not certain whether they were monogamists *de jure* or only *de facto*.

[177] (2) Everywhere polygyny is *pre-Islamic*, even if previous to their conversion to Islamism the particular tribe happened to be Christian. We might rightly, therefore, inquire into the possible origin of polygyny in the Caucasus. Polygyny, if borrowed at all, was not borrowed as an *isolated* institution. On the contrary, it seems to be a North Caucasian possession, first of all, as old as the practice of levirate (*infra*, pp. 71—75). Furthermore, it seems to be a North Caucasian cultural possession as old as the economic, social, and religious structure of the North Caucasian family itself. Here we understand " family " in its broad sense, including the joint-family and sib. We cannot now describe this family structure in detail. Briefly, by " the economic, social, and religious structure of the family " we understand that the family in North Caucasia has been and in many places still is the *raison d'être* of the individual.[30a] Whatever the individual does or whatever is done to him or for him has only one aim, the perpetuation and prosperity of the family. Now, in the mind of the North Caucasian, polygyny is an immense asset and at times absolutely indispensable for the economic, social, and religious life of the all-important and solely-important family.

593 *Economically* considered, the wife is extremely important. In the North Caucasus it is the wife who does most of the work (*infra*, pp. 156—159). In fact, sometimes a rich Avar will marry a son to a poor girl or to a widow of a lower class, with whom he is forbidden all communication, in order to have an additional worker in the house.[31] Moreover, a wife is not only a *worker*; she is the " *worker-producing* " organ of the family. Even though boys are preferred (*infra*, pp. 159 ff), girls prove to be good and valuable workers and bring in, at times, a large brideprice (*infra*, pp. 82—91). Now, the more wives there are in the household, the more " worker-producing " organs there are, and by that very fact, at least in the mind of the natives, the family becomes so much the more economically healthy and secure.

The *religious* structure of the family may have contributed just as much to the rise of polygyny as did the economic form of life. The most sacred duty of the individual and of the individual family is, or at least has been, to perpetuate itself, and thus to perpetuate the cult of the ancestors. It is a fact throughout North Caucasus that only a *son* can perpetuate the family and prevent the greatest calamity imagineable, its extinction. But a wife is precisely the " *boy-producing* " organ. If this organ is lacking or fails to function the family is doomed. Today one of the main motives for taking a second wife is sterility.[32] Or again, a second wife will be acquired if the first gives birth only to girls.

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[30a] According to ancient customary laws.

[31] L'vov, *op. cit.*, p. 19.

[32] Cf. K. Maćavariani, " Nĕkotoryja čerty iz žizni Abchazcev. Polożenie ženščiny v Abchazii," SMOMPK, IV (1884), No. 2, p. 42. E. G. Pčelina, " Rodil'nye obyčai u osetin," SE, 1937, No. 4, p. 88.

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We may go a step further and say that if it is the wife who secures the family economically and religiously, the family will be respected by others in proportion to the number of mothers it has. In a word, the *social* status of the family depends on the economic and religious status, and these in turn depend very much on the number of wives. Doubtless, investment in wives is the best investment of any North Caucasian family. 595 554

Polygyny being part and parcel of the family organization of the North Caucasian peoples, we must, therefore, in seeking the origin of the institution, go back beyond Islamic times, beyond Christian and Avestic times, and perhaps beyond historical times. North Caucasian polygyny was born when the North Caucasian family organization was born.

A corollary to the question regarding the origin of polygyny in North Caucasia is the enquiry into the motives for polygynous unions. The sexual factor has relatively little significance. Not lust, not desire to have a young wife, not a surplus of women, but craving for a large family, for many labourers, for economic and religious prepetuation of the family, for the rise in social prestige—these are the motives that generally induce a man to marry a second wife. 581

(3) A glance at Table 5 under the columns "Usually restricted to bigyny" and "Enjoyed by rich alone" will reveal that plural marriages among the North Caucasian peoples and their neighbours are usually cases of *bigamy* and that polygyny is more the exception than the rule. This state of affairs would seem to contradict what we have just said about the importance of polygyny. Why is this all-important institution practiced only by a *few* and generally *limited* to one and at the most two additional wives? Why this difference in theory and practice? This fact is all the more striking because all our North Caucasian peoples are Mohammedans and according to the Koran, iv. 3 and Islamic tradition everyone is entitled to have up to four wives. [795]

The first reason, and no doubt, the most important one is that Nature herself prevents universal polygyny. The relative number of males and females is dictated by a biological law, the sex ratio rarely exceeding 100:110 in favour of either sex.[33] Usually the ratio is 106 males to 100 females, but, we must remember, child mortality is far greater among boys than girls, so that in the long run the ratio of marriageable persons is about 100:100.[34] Nowhere in the world does it approximate a 1:2 ratio, which would be necessary to make bigyny a general practice.[35] 162 595

Theoretically speaking, a surplus of women could result in the Caucasus from blood-feuds, dangerous occupations, infanticide, and other major disturbances affecting the *male* population alone. Such a preponderance of female sex would necessitate many of them remaining unmarried or several women would be obliged to marry one man. But are there such major disturbances affecting the sex ratio in the Caucasus? Since the Soviet government prohibits polygyny and in recent decades polygyny has become extremely rare, it would seem much

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[33] R. H. Lowie, *An Introduction to Cultural Anthropology*, (New York, 1947), p. 243.

[34] Günther, *Formen und Urgeschichte der Ehe*, p. 100.

[35] R. H. Lowie, *Social Organization*, p. 113.

162 more methodologically correct to study the relation of sex ratio to polygyny in
● 595 *pre-Soviet* times. The Russian Imperial Geographic Society published the following statistics for the year 1897 in the *Isvěstija Kavkazskago Otděla* (XII [1898], pp. 27 f). These statistics are sufficiently reliable, and even if they disagree with other statistics of this period, the discrepencies do not affect our essential argument: the sex ratio is a serious hindrance to the practice of polygyny.[86]

**TABLE 6**

**Population of Caucasia in 1897**

A. North Caucasus

| GOVERNMENT | PROVINCE (County) | MALES | FEMALES | TOTAL |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Kuban | | 976,900 | 945,873 | 1,922,773 |
| | Ekaterinodar | 124,789 | 119,138 | 243,927 |
| | Batalpashinsk | 110,824 | 107,401 | 218,225 |
| | Yeysk | 139,923 | 136,713 | 276,636 |
| | Maikop | 145,138 | 139,030 | 284,168 |
| | Kavkaz | 126,565 | 122,736 | 249,301 |
| | Labinsk | 155,615 | 152,222 | 307,837 |
| | Teminsk | 174,046 | 168,633 | 342,679 |
| Terek | | 487,489 | 445,996 | 933,485 |
| | Vladikavkaz | 73,461 | 64,372 | 137,833 |
| | Grozny | 119,615 | 108,033 | 227,648 |
| | Kizlyar | 51,715 | 48,035 | 99,750 |
| | Nalchik | 53,202 | 49,721 | 102,223 |
| | Pyatigorsk | 93,403 | 96,801 | 180,204 |
| | Tsundzhensk | 59,122 | 56,775 | 115,897 |
| | Khasan-Yurt | 36,971 | 32,259 | 69,230 |
| Stavropol | | 446,963 | 429,335 | 876,298 |
| | Stavropol | 84,473 | 81,732 | 166,205 |
| | Alexandropol | 91,758 | 89,146 | 180,904 |
| | Medveyzhensk | 117,761 | 115,999 | 233,760 |
| | Novogrigoryevsk | 126,583 | 121,861 | 248,444 |
| | Others | 26,388 | 20,597 | 46,985 |

[86] Besides the statistics of the Russian Imperial Geographic Society of 1897 which we quote below, there are also the following collections of statistics for this period: *Pamjatnaja knižka* (1895), pp. 165—405, which contains very detail statistics of Daghestan indicating the number of households, male and female population of each village; SSKG, V (1870), pp. 51—58, VI (1872), appendix pp. 1—65, VIII (1875), pp. 1—17 (Sostav naselenija Dagestanskoj Oblasti), IX (1876), pp. 20—29 for Andi Province, pp. 4—19 for Western Daghestan, pp. 52 ff for Sakataly; *Sbornik svědenij o Kavkazě*, nine large quarto volumes edited by a special statistical committee under the capable leadership of Seidlitz, especially useful are volumes V (1879) and VIII (1885); *Zapiski Kavkazskago Otděla Imperatorskago Russkago Geografičeskago Obščestva*, V (1862), pp. 135—151 for general statistics, VIII (1873), pp. 1—49 for Daghestan, XVIII (1896); *Terskij Sbornik*, II (1892), pp. 98—102.

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| GOVERNMENT | PROVINCE (County) | MALES | FEMALES | TOTAL |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Daghestan | | 300,155 | 286,481 | 586,636 |
| | Temir-Khan-Shura | 51,127 | 42,716 | 93,846 |
| | Avar Province | 18,732 | 18,498 | 37,230 |
| | Andi | 23,546 | 23,447 | 46,993 |
| | Gunib | 28,641 | 29,953 | 58,594 |
| | Dargwa | 40,514 | 41,949 | 82,463 |
| | Lak (Kazikumukh) | 26,368 | 27,297 | 53,665 |
| | Kaitago-Tabassaran | 47,547 | 42,159 | 89,706 |
| | Kurin | 39,308 | 37,241 | 76,549 |
| | Samur | 24,372 | 23,221 | 47,593 |

## B. South Caucasus

| GOVERNMENT | PROVINCE (County) | MALES | FEMALES | TOTAL |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Tiflis | | 526,349 | 432,826 | 958,775 |
| | Tiflis | 133,459 | 94,321 | 227,780 |
| | Akhalkalak | 38,754 | 34,608 | 73,362 |
| | Akhaltsikh | 37,479 | 31,665 | 69,144 |
| | Borchalinsk | 104,183 | 87,473 | 191,656 |
| | Dushet | 37,667 | 32,258 | 69,925 |
| | Telav | 34,633 | 30,516 | 65,149 |
| | Tioneti | 18,894 | 17,944 | 36,438 |
| | Signakh | 53,950 | 46,147 | 100,097 |
| Kutais | | 567,353 | 508,468 | 1,075,861 |
| | Kutais | 115,395 | 107,932 | 223,327 |
| | Artvinsk | 29,575 | 26,881 | 56,456 |
| | Batum | 50,832 | 34,744 | 85,576 |
| | Zugdidi | 60,577 | 57,046 | 117,623 |
| | Lekhgumsk | 25,987 | 24,530 | 50,517 |
| | Ozurgeti | 47,018 | 45,194 | 92,212 |
| | Rachinsk | 37,728 | 35,014 | 72,742 |
| | Tsenaksk | 61,558 | 57,626 | 119,184 |
| | Sharopansk | 83,558 | 74,168 | 157,726 |
| | Sukhum | 55,165 | 45,333 | 100,498 |
| Baku | | 437,779 | 351,880 | 789,659 |
| | Baku | 104,420 | 73,186 | 177,606 |
| | Gerkchayak | 50,507 | 50,156 | 109,663 |
| | Dzhevatsk | 48,789 | 36,267 | 85,065 |
| | Kuba | 61,732 | 50,469 | 112,200 |
| | Shemakha | 66,547 | 57,063 | 123,610 |

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| GOVERNMENT | PROVINCE (County) | MALES | FEMALES | TOTAL |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Elizabethpol | | 479.433 | 392,124 | 871,557 |
| | Elizabethpol | 90,053 | 72,125 | 162,178 |
| | Aresh | 33,938 | 28,979 | 62,917 |
| | Dzhevanshirsk | 37,602 | 29,403 | 67,005 |
| | Dzhebraysk | 37,001 | 30,122 | 67,123 |
| | Tsangezursk | 77,074 | 64,990 | 142,064 |
| | Kazakh | 64,117 | 48,351 | 112,468 |
| | Nukhinsk | 63,129 | 53,933 | 117,062 |
| | Shusha | 76,519 | 64,221 | 140,740 |
| Erivan | | 429,689 | 375,068 | 804,757 |
| | Erivan | 69,588 | 57,484 | 127,072 |
| | Alexandropol | 88,443 | 74,992 | 163,435 |
| | Nakhichevan | 53,466 | 47,476 | 100,942 |
| | Novobayazetsk | 64,225 | 59,614 | 123,839 |
| | Surmaly | 47,391 | 41,453 | 88,844 |
| | Sharup-Daralagezsk | 40,968 | 35,014 | 75,982 |
| | Echmiadzin | 65,608 | 59,035 | 124,643 |
| Chernomorsk | | 31,760 | 22,468 | 54,228 |
| | Novopossiysk | 19,810 | 13,945 | 33,955 |
| | Tuapsinsk | 4,346 | 3,674 | 8,020 |
| | Sochinsk | 7,604 | 5,549 | 13,253 |
| Kars | | 162,723 | 129,775 | 292,498 |
| | Kars | 76,845 | 58,539 | 135,384 |
| | Ardagan | 34,933 | 30,734 | 65,667 |
| | Kagyzmansk | 33,838 | 25,888 | 59,726 |
| | Olti | 17,107 | 14,614 | 31,721 |

## C. Total

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Total in NORTH CAUCASUS | 2,211,507 | 2,107,685 | 4,319,192 |
| Total in SOUTH CAUCASUS | 2,674,547 | 2,249,956 | 4,929,503 |
| ENTIRE CAUCASUS | 4,891,054 | 4,357,641 | 9,248,695 |

A closer examination of these statistics will show that in Northwest Caucasus the female population is *smaller* than the male. However the disproportion is not considerable, varying between 100:102 to 100:104.7. In other words, towards the close of the last century there was, according to our statistics, not only no surplus of women but not enough for every man to have *one* wife.

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This deficiency of female mates is certainly one of the main reasons for the infrequency of polygyny despite the great value placed on the institution. 162

The statistics given for Chechnia reveal a similar situation. And, according to Vertepov, the disproportion was especially great in Ingushetia, 115 men to every 100 women.[37] This is indeed striking because Grabovskij claimed, as we have seen, that plural marriages were "very frequent" in the last quarter of the nineteenth century.[38] "Many" Ingushi had two wives and sometimes three.[39] Even "poor" Ingushi had additional wives.[40] The frequent cases of polygyny in Ingushetia in spite of the unusual surplus of men can perhaps be explained by the strict obligation of the widow to marry her deceased husband's brother. According to Kovalevskij, the levirate among the Chechens was, practically speaking, an obligation, whereas among the Lesghians it was facultative *(infra*, pp. 71 f). Levirate would also explain why even "poor" Ingushi were polygynists; it would also explain why "many" Ingushi had more than one wife.

The sex ratio of the Lesghians, as presented in our statistics, differs somewhat from that of the rest of the Caucasians. Here, in Daghestan, we do have districts with a preponderance of female sex, but it must be noted, the difference is so small that the surplus women could hardly make polygyny a frequent practice. Thus the Avar, Andi, Gunib, Dargwa, Kazikumuk, Kurin and Samur provinces all have practically a 100:100 ratio. The Kaitago-Tabassaran Province has the highest proportion in favour of women, but the difference 100:105 is insignificant. Hence, the balance between the male and female population is a contributing factor to the infrequency of polygyny.[41]

But besides this biological reason there is the universally valid economic reason. Supposing that there were a surplus of women in the Caucasus, there would still be great financial difficulties that would prevent polygyny from becoming general. The poor Caucasian considers himself quite fortunate if he manages to gather enough jingling rubles or mooing cows to purchase one wife, let alone a second or a third.[42] In fact, even the rich Caucasian would find it difficult to purchase a second wife, because the bride price always corresponds to the economic and social position of the contracting parties. Ladyženskij expressly maintains that what keeps the Kabardian and the Cherkess in general

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[37] G. Vertepov, "Inguši," *Terskij Sbornik*, II (1892), No. 2, p. 99.

[38] Grabovskij, "Ekonomičeskij i domašnij byt žitelej gorskago učastka Inguševskago okruga," SSKG, III (1870), p. 21. Dubrovin is of the same opinion: *Istorija*, Tome I, Bk. I, p. 430.

[39] Grabovskij, *l. c.*

[40] Grabovskij, *l. c.*

[41] In 1926 the sex ratio for Daghestan was practically a perfect balance, 100:103 in favor of the female sex (383,000 males to 405,000 females). F. Nansen, *Through the Caucasus to the Volga*, p. 96.
According to official statistics of 1930 there were more men than women living in the *cities* of Daghestan (1,000 men to 931 women); in the country the proportion was 1,000 men to 1,048 women. R. Kherumian, "Contribution à l'Anthropologie du Caucase," *L'Anthropologie*, LII (1948), No. 1—2, p. 44.
It seems to be quite natural that the city population should show a preponderance of male sex: a considerable portion of the city population are labourers and merchants from various parts of Caucasia, Russia, and Armenia.

[42] A. Ladyženskij, FT, p. 195.

from polygyny is, above all, a shortage of rubles.[43] The same holds for the Avars,[44] and, as we learn from Svěčin,[45] for the other Lesghians as well: the economic factor plays an important part in making polygyny relatively rare. Klaproth found the institution a veritable luxury in Ossetia, being only for the richest of the rich,[46] in full harmony with the Ossetine *adats* which reserve the right for the two richest classes, the princes and the *aldars*.[47] Grabovskij's report[48] that even the *poor* Ingushi were polygamists we have partially explained by obligatory levirate, which was just as much obligatory for the rich as for the poor. Moreover social stratification (which generally coincides with wealth and poverty) was practically non-existent during Grabovskij's visit in Ingushetia (*infra*, pp. 60 f); therefore, if polygyny is to be found among the Ingushi at all, it must be found also among the "poor" class.

Easy divorce may do away with plural marriages as it did in Khevsuria and Svanetia, but in North Caucasia easy divorce plays only a very insignificant rôle compared with economic and biological factors.

## § 2. THE RULES OF ENDOGAMY AND EXOGAMY

Lowie defines exogamy as "the rule which prescribes that an individual must find a mate outside of his own group, whether that group be the family, the village or some other social unit."[49] The opposite rule "which makes it compulsory for a man to mate within his group is labeled endogamy." Lowie rightly stresses that it is not the *de facto* marriage within one's own group but the *prohibition* of marrying outside it that constitutes endogamy.[50]

### 1. The Impediment of Consanguinity

Consanguineous marriages are strictly prohibited throughout NORTHWEST Caucasus. In his expedition of 1927 Ladyženskij ascertained that the reports of earlier writers about the abhorrence of incest among the tribes of Northwest Caucasia still exists today. Marriages between members of the same sib, regardless of the degree of remoteness, are considered incestuous.[51]

Among the NORTHEASTERN peoples the practice is not uniform. Ingushian adats are by far stricter than Islamic law in regard to marriages between

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[43] *ibid.*

[44] L'vov, "Domašnjaja i semejnaja žizn Dagestanskich gorcev avarskago plemeni," SSKG, III (1870), p. 20.

[45] D. Svěčin, "Očerk narodonaselenija nravov, i obyčaev Dagestancev," ZKO, II (1853), p. 64.

[46] J. Klaproth, *Voyage au Mont Caucase et en Géorgie*, II, p. 249.

[47] *Leontovič, Adaty kavkazskich gorcev*, II, p. 12, § 10; p. 14, § 27; p. 16, § 40.

[48] "Ekonomičeskij i domašnij byt žitelej gorskago učastka inguševskago okruga," SSKG, III (1870), p. 21.

[49] R. Lowie, *Primitive Society*, p. 16.

[50] *op. cit.*, pp. 16 f.

[51] J. Reineggs, *Allgemeine historisch-topographische Beschreibung des Kaukasus*, II, p. 9; Ladyženskij, FT, p. 198.

565 (1) The upper class, known as *uzdenleg*, the *aldars*,[146] though forming a kind of nobility, cannot be compared with the Kabardian nobles because *any* Tagaurian sib could work itself up to the top of the social ladder through wealth or number.[147] In Digoria the upper class were known as *badulyats*.

(2) The middle class people or *farsagleg* were the free tenants.

[595] (3) The *kavdassarts* were all those born of a secondary wife *(nxmulus)* or of a concubine. They formed what might be called a bondsmen's class.[148]

[567] (4) The slaves or *gurziag (gurdziag)* is a word derived from "a Georgian," clearly showing that the slaves were mainly prisoners taken in war and raids.

We find similar social ranking among the neighbouring TURCO-MONGOLS. The Kumyks were formerly divided into three classes : (1) the nobles of the first, second, and third order (*uzden*) ; (2) the bondsmen or *chagars* ; (3) the slaves or *kuls*.[149] The Karachai used to be divided into four classes :[150] (1) the princes *(tav big)* ; (2) nobles *(kara-uzden)* ; (3) serfs *(ilgyly-kul)* ; (4) slaves *(ilglysizkul)*. The Turkomans of Stavropol Government, while still nomads, were perhaps the most classless of all peoples inhabiting the Caucasus, even more so than the Alaghirs and the Chechens.[151] The Kalmucks are divided into three main social ranks : the nobles *(saisan)*, the clergy, and the commoners *(aimak)*.[152]

Now that we have learned the social ranks as they existed before the abolition of slavery in 1867, we are in a position to study the affects of social stratification on mating.

565 582 The NORTHWESTERN CAUCASIANS. We cannot help marvelling at the complicated ranking of the *Cherkess* society. When feudalism was at its height in Circassia, not only were inter-class marriages impossible, but even marriages between persons from different subdivisions of the same class and even between persons of different sub-subdivisions of the same subdivision. Thus a nobleman might not marry a girl unless her family had been raised to nobility about the same time as his.[153] A very similar situation prevailed in *Abkhazia*.[154]

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[146] They could own land and slaves.

[147] Ladyženskij, *op. cit.*, pp. 439 f.

[148] *Kavdassart* means literally "one born in a stable," while *nxmulus* means "a nominal or illegitimate wife."

[149] The bondsmen were originally free land-owners, who later became bondsmen by falling into debts which they were unable to pay off. As a result they became subject to their lords even much more than were the Ossetine *farsaglegs*, for the latter had the right to abandon their masters while the *chagars* enjoyed no such right.
For more about the Kumykian social ranks see Ladyženskij, *op. cit.*, pp. 33—37.

[150] For a full description of feudalism among the Karachai in the nineteenth century see E. N. Studeneckaja, "K voprosu o feodalizme i rabstve v Karačae XIX v.," SE, 1937, No. 2—3, pp. 45.

[151] Ladyženskij, *op. cit.*, p. 443.

[152] Zichy, *Kaukázusjaes középázsiai utazásai*, p. 30. (Part I.)

[153] Reineggs, *op. cit.*, I, p. 252. Longworth, *A Year among the* Circassians, I, pp. 228, 278.

[154] P. I. Kovalevskij, *Kavkaz, Narody Kavkaza*, p. 35.

1 n [among the Tagaurians in southern Caucasia.. Analyst]

587 (4) We must disagree with Kovalevskij in his interpretation of the levirate as a vestige of former group marriage.[20] Without offering us any evidence, he takes up the theories of Morgan and Frazer and applies them to the Caucasus. Such an institution as "group marriage" exists nowhere in the world, and to imagine that it has ever existed is mere fancy. In an attempt to explain the origin of preferential mating in the Caucasus we should lay aside all guesswork [562] and study the culture before us. For example: the unbearably low position of the North Caucasian woman (*infra*, pp. 152—159) may have made her appear as inheritable chattel. After all, the family purchased her, paid a high price for her, and now she constitutes a part of the family property no less than do the horses, cows, and sheep. Moreover, as we have explained above (pp. 44 f), she is more than *ordinary* family property: she is the best family investment, for she is the "worker-producing" and especially the "boy-producing" organ on which depends the economic, religious, and social life of the family. This realization would only too naturally disincline the family to give her up after her husband's [581] death. As we shall see in the following chapter, mating is not a private affair; it is a strictly family affair, the prime purpose of marriage being the good of the family or sib. She, as it were, belongs more to the *family* that purchased her than to the individual member whose wife she is. Finally, if we consider the pre-Islamic, pre-Christian, and pre-Avestic religion of the mountaineers, we are almost forced to postulate such an institution as widow-inheritance. [775] The life beyond does not differ from the present, and consequently the departed will need his wife in the nether world just as much as in this life. (We shall have occasion to speak of posthumous marriages! Cf. *infra*, p. 85.) We shall even show that suttee was not unknown in North Caucasus (Cf. *infra*, [842] pp. 131 f). The wife therefore must remain in the family. Moreover, the deceased needs offspring, a large progeny, just as much after death as during life, for his happiness and honour in the other world depend upon the cult he receives from his descendents. The widow, therefore, must remain in the family and another member must "raise up seed for his brother" and "build up his brother's house." In other words, the levirate is not a survival of a *primitive* culture but rather an institution very intimately connected with the economic, social and religious life of a relatively highly developed culture such as that of pastoral peoples.

595 As a confirmation of what we have just now said about the origin of [842] Caucasian preferential mating, we wish to describe another institution, still found today in various parts of Caucasus, the so-called *snohačestvo*. A boy-child is married to an adult girl with whom the father may have sexual intercourse as freely as with his own wife. The father is considered as living in lawful concubinage with his son's wife and may do so until the child becomes of age. We wish to stress that this practice is a perfect parallel to widow inheritance. The father "must raise seed" for his son and "build up his house" till he is himself able to do so. The children born of this concubinage belong to the childhusband, sometimes half to him and half to the progenitor. This is

[20] Kovalevskij, *Coutume contemp.*, p. 181.

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a widespread institution, for example, among the Dido[21] and the North Tabassaranians of Daghestan,[22] among the Tushi,[23] among the Ossetes,[24] in Southern Russia and Asia. *Snohačestvo* aims to accomplish before puberty what levirate accomplishes after death. 595

[21] Klaproth, *Voyage au Mont Caucase et en Géorgie*, II, p. 74.
[22] "Adaty Južno-Dagestanskich Obščestv," SSKG, III (1875).
[23] Reineggs, *op. cit.*, I, p. 183.
[24] Kovalevskij, *Coutume contemp.*, pp. 177 f. Haxthausen, *op. cit.*, II, p. 101.

585 [776] (7) In a number of instances we have noticed that the dagger or sword was used in connection with the marriage ceremony. The best-man took the bride around the hearth and each time he struck the chain with his dagger. The bride had to enter her new home under an arch of swords or with a dagger or club held above her head. This wedding custom, too, has a religious basis. The household gods of the bride's family have become exceedingly jealous of the bride, because by marrying she has united herself to another family and will now worship other ancestors, abandoning her own. These jealous godlets realize that the best time to enter her new home and to cause countless harm is simultaneously with the bride. Fortunately, these household gods are afraid of daggers.[114] [847] Among the Georgian mountaineers, a mother after having given birth to a child will keep a sword under the pillow as a protection against aerial spirits.[115] Spirits are afraid of the sword for several reasons—at least such is our conjecture. The God of Iron, of the Sword, and of the Hearth-Chain is one and the same god, called Safa. This sword ceremony may perhaps insure [823] Safa's protection against jealous godlets. It may also insure the protection of [769] the departed because *iron* is a means of contacting ancestors. In Ossetia on the [787] "feast of the dedication of clothing" clothes are consecrated and sent to the netherworld by means of an iron knife.[116] The Ingushi get in contact with their departed by means of iron tongs.[117]

(8) The other marriage ceremonies are likewise mainly pastoral in character: horse-racing, submission to the husband, wishes for a rich progeny but always with a disproportion of "nine boys to every blue-eyed girl." Finally, the long elaborate and expensive wedding itself is typical of pastoral peoples.

[606] There are, however, a few traces of a so-called mother-right culture. The rôle played by the mother-in-law in the ceremonies, as we have stressed *(supra*, p. 125), is indeed not inconsistent with the position of the mother of the household in a patriarchal family, but, we must admit that their astounding importance gives them a suspiciously matriarchal colouring: in the ceremonies described, it is the Lesghian mother who welcomes the bride into the house as if she were the head of the family. It is the mother who holds her by the hand as she crosses the threshold. It is the mother's brother who led the bride's horse in the Ingiloi procession from her home to that of her groom. It is the mother who puts the honey into the mouth of the bride as a sign that the bride has a sweet life ahead of her under such an amiable mistress as her mother-in-law. And we should not forget that in the Lesghian engagement it was the mother who presented the engagement gifts which concluded the betrothal contract.[118]

595 585 114 We cannot conclude this chapter without briefly refuting some of Kovalevskij's assumptions. Like so many anthropologists of his day, he was inclined to find traces of an epoch older than that of patriarchy, and older than that of

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[114] For the custom among the Ossetes see Kovalevskij, *Coutume contemp.*, pp. 170 f.

[115] Cf. Reinegg, *op. cit.*, II, p. 112 f.

[116] Kokiev, *Slepovye soružeinija*, (Vladikavkaz, 1928), p. 38.

[117] Baddeley, *op. cit.*, II, p. 120.

[118] *Supra*, p. 103.

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matriarchy, even where there were no such traces to be found. The fact that the bride is segregated during the wedding and no older relative of the bridegroom (especially no *male* relative) may see and speak freely with the bride is supposed to be a clear vestige of fraternal polyandry. In other words, there is supposed to have been a time when all male members of the family had access to the bride, for she was the wife of all. Then came a time when, from experience, the Caucasians came to the conclusion that individual marriage was by far better than group marriage or fraternal polyandry. It was, of course, as we are told, not easy to abolish such a deeply ingrained custom, so that the bride had to be kept away from the others. Today the segregation of the bride is supposed to be nothing but a vestige of the means taken against group marriage or fraternal polyandry.[119]

But if that were the case, why is the *groom* hiding, and in fact, even longer and farther away than the bride? Is that a vestige of a kind of sororal polygyny? Moreover, why is the groom hiding *elsewhere?* The best defense against anyone approaching the bride would be if the husband himself were at her side.

Another vestige of group marriage, according to Kovalevskij's fancy, is the ceremony of "tramping on the bed." After the unveiling of the bride, as she is being led into the marriage chamber, all the young people rush in and the first to throw himself on the bed receives a prize. So as not to be accused of mere destructive criticism, we wish here to propose another conjecture (nothing more than a conjecture!), but a conjecture far more plausible than that of Kovalevskij. It is much more probable that we have here a vestige of the *jus primae noctis*. First of all, the ceremony of "tramping on the bed" takes place immediately *before* the groom enters the bridal chamber. If it were a vestige of group marriage or fraternal polyandry, why doesn't the main person take part in the ceremony? Moreover, the *jus primae noctis*, though very often reserved for the chief or father-in-law, is sometimes a privilege reserved for the strongest wedding-guest. In our case, the struggle among the young people to enter the bridal chamber first may be a vestige of a contest to prove who among them is the strongest. The remarkable fact is that in *neighbouring* Southern Russia, until rather recently, it was precisely the strongest wedding-guest who was given the task of deflowering the bride.[120] The Caucasians could have had a similar custom (perhaps even from the same source), which, however, evolved into a ceremony the significance of which has been forgotten.

From among all the juridical aspects of the ceremonies described, the most important is: Which ceremony constitutes the essence of marriage? In other words, at which point of the complicated wedding are the mates actually married? Naturally, where Christian or Mohammedan formal contracts are made, there is usually no doubt about the answer. But we are interested in customary law. Negatively, the marriage is certainly considered complete after the marital act has taken place. To say anything more positive in regard to

[119] Cf. Kovalevskij, *Coutume contemp.*, p. 177.

[120] O. Asboth, "Ein Hochzeitsbrauch in Südrußland," *Archiv für Anthropologie*, XIII, pp. 318 f.

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# IV. CONCLUSION

## Chapter XIV

## Conclusion

### § 1. MARRIAGE AND THE FAMILY OF THE CAUCASIANS IN THE LIGHT OF HISTORY

#### 1. Russian (Soviet and Pre-Soviet) Influence

That the Russian military, political, and cultural influence has greatly affected, changed and unified, the marriage and family customs of the various peoples of the Caucasus cannot be denied. We need but recall some of the many facts we have pointed out in our comparative study. 177.58 583

(1) The Russians, we have seen, severely prosecute *polygyny* (*supra*, p. 39) and not without success. The relative scarcity of polygamous unions throughout North Caucasus and the neighbourhood, regardless of how ethnically different the tribes may be, must be attributed, at least in part, to Russian legislation. 177.59 595

(2) In recent times both mates have begun to enjoy greater *freedom of choice*, (*supra*, p. 76), thanks to the Russian insistance on freedom in mating as a *conditio sine qua non* for a legally valid marriage. [584]

(3) We have also observed how rapidly *bride purchase* was disappearing or assuming an entirely different significance throughout the Caucasus, again, at least in part, owing to Russian legislation, industrialization, and education (*supra*, pp. 83, 87, 90). [583]

(4) *Bride price, bloodwite*, etc. were formerly measured in cows, horses, sheep, and oxen, but now they are measured in money : not in live stock but in Russian rubles ! (*Supra*, pp. 82—89, 95, 168—179).

(5) The Russian opposition to *bride capture* has helped to make the practice become rare (*supra*, pp. 97 f). It was Russian positive law gaining ascendency over the *patria potestas* and its insistance on freedom of choice that encouraged and even defended elopement (*supra*, p. 98).

(6) The general disappearance of slavery and the associated sociological consequences, e. g., *the marriage impediments*, [582] 567

(7) the *less severe penalties for sex crimes* which are gradually being adopted by all tribes of Caucasia (*supra*, pp. 175, 180). 177.68 664

(8) and the improvement in the *status of the female sex*, all must be reckoned among the effects of Russian and Soviet influence. 177.56 562

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among the Ingiloi (Islamized Georgians). It has effected the greatest changes in Daghestan, where it has existed the longest. It assumes a middle position in Circassia and Chechnia, where, however, there are important tribal differences that must be taken into account. The Abadzekhs, Shapsugs, Natukhazh, Beshilbey, and Barakey follow their own customary laws rather than the *šarî'a* much more so than do the Bzhedukh, Beslenians, and Kabardians who place both customary and Islamic law on the same level. In regard to the Chechen tribes, we must remember, the *šarî'a* was not accepted by the Ichkerians and Chechens properly so-called till Shamyl's time, while the Karabulaks, Kists, Galgai and Galashi have never expressly aknowledged it.[2] 177.58 58

Of the non-Caucasians, the Kumyks and the Nogai have been the most thoroughly Islamized,[3] being among the first to accept the Koran. The Ossetes and the Karachai disregard the *šarî'a* almost completely, following their own *adats* instead.[4]

### 3. Lesser Historical Influences

(1) **Christianity.** Christianity, too, has left its marks on the customary marriage and family law of the Caucasians. For example, one of the strongest counteractions against Avestic *endogamy* in Northwest and South Caucasus was Christianity (*supra*, pp. 53 f). Official *naming* of children (*supra*, p. 143), official *marriage contracts*, some *penal laws* (e. g., *supra*, p. 178), and, in some cases, changes in *divorce laws* and in the practice of *polygyny* (*supra*, p. 42) are certainly of Christian origin. [551]

Christianity, of course, has had the greatest influence among the Georgians of the lowlands, and considerably less among the mountain tribes of Georgia, and still less among the Northwestern Caucasians and Chechens, and least of all among the Lesghians. [595]

(2) **Avesta.** We have found a few traces of Avestic teaching in the marriage and family observances of the Caucasians, such as the rule of *endogamy* among all the Lesghians (and in pre-Christian Georgia). Zoroastrianism is also a possible explanation for the *local endogamy* of the Svans (*supra*, p. 53) and perhaps also for the obligation of purification after childbirth by washing in cow's urine.[5] The sphere of Iranian influence stretched far beyond Georgia and Daghestan. There is no longer any doubt, for example, that the laws of the Vendidats were known also to the Ossetes.[6] Nevertheless, the influence on North Caucasian marriage and family law has been only slight. [844]

(3) **Armenian, Byzantine, and Roman Influences.** There have been other historical causes for the change and unification of the marriage and family *adats* of the Caucasians, such as Armenian, Byzantine, Roman influence etc., but

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[2] Leontovič, II, p. 233, § 8.

[3] Leontovič, II, p. 233, § 4.

[4] Leontovič, II, p. 232, § 7.

[5] Kovalevskij, *Zakon*, I, pp. 97 f. Cf. also Zacharias, *Protohistory*, p. 351.

[6] Ladyženskij, *op. cit.*, p. 243.

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These have been felt either exclusively among the Southern Caucasians or have not been very great. The Roman-Byzantine influence was passed on to the North Caucasian tribes mainly through the Armenians and Georgians, which, however, did not affect their customary laws to any appreciable extent. Kovalevskij had a tendency to overemphasize these influences : he believed, for example, that the practice of offering an engagement gift to the bride or her family was of Roman-Byzantine origin,[7] and that the status of the Caucasian women had been greatly affected by Byzantine law.[8]

## § 2. MARRIAGE AND THE FAMILY OF THE CAUCASIANS IN THE LIGHT OF ANTHROPOLOGY

### 1. Analysis of Caucasian Adats : Predominant Character of North Caucasian Marriage and Family Customary Laws That of a Pastoral Nomadic Civilization

After having removed the above-mentioned historical influences and changes in the marriage and family laws of the Caucasians, we now arrive at a more or less pure *adat*-law. Considering the marriage and family customary laws as a whole, we must conclude that we have before us a typically pastoral nomadic[9] marriage and family, and this although there are no pastoral nomads in the Caucasus in the strict sense of the word. Though some of the elements we shall now enumerate are also found in other cultures (for example, adultery is sometimes punished as severely by food-gatherers as by pastoral nomads), it is not the individual example we wish to stress but rather the entire institution of marriage and family taken as a whole. It should also be noted that the following summary is only an incomplete and general one : for details, therefore, the reader must look up the references given.

(1) We have seen, for example, how widespread *polygyny* was among the North Caucasians.[10] We fully agree with Briffault, who has shown that all pastoral societies and societies which have passed " through a prolonged pastoral stage are all without exception in the highest degree polygamous."[11]

(2) The *atalyk*,[12]

(3) the *levirate*,[13]

(4) *patrilocality*,[14]

[7] Kovalevskij, *Zakon*, I, p. 136.

[8] Kovalevskij, *op. cit.*, I, pp. 139 f. He treats of these influences in detail in *op. cit.*, I, pp. 83—122.

[9] By pastoral nomadic we understand the various customs and laws commonly found among all the pastoral nomadic Turco-Mongols and Indo-Europeans. Many of the components of the Semitic and Hamitic cultures are also pastoral nomadic. Whether the pastoral nomadic culture is a primary (i. e., immediately following upon the food-gathering stage, being the oldest form of animal-breeding) or only secondary or even tertiary (i. e., the result of later specialization, a further development of a pastoral-agrarian culture) does not affect our analysis nor any of our conclusions.

[10] *Supra*, pp. 39—50.

[11] *The Mothers*, II, p. 256.

[12] *Supra*, p. 57.

[13] *Supra*, pp. 71—75.

[14] *Supra*, pp. 124 f.

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## SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

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In older times, the smallest social unit in the Caucasus was the extended family (Georg. didi odzhakhi), consisting of several generations related in the male line who lived together in one house or in several houses located close together. Such families could reach the size of forty or fifty, sometimes even a hundred, persons.

The family was headed by a headman (Georg. uprosi k'atsi; the Circassian term thamada is also widespread) and a headwoman (Georg. deda sakhlisi), usually the oldest members, sometimes elected for a period or for life. The headman represented the family to the outside, directed the economic affairs, supervised the male labor, settled disputes between male members of the family and led the religious rites which were closely connected with the sib organization. The headwoman had the direction of domestic affairs and wielded the same authority over the female family-members as the headman over the male ones. Property was owned by the family as a whole; personal property existed only in the matter of clothing and arms for the men--and of some cattle, household utensils, etc., constituting the dowry (Georg. satavno), as far as the women were concerned. Originally, the extended family split up only with the death of the patriarch, each son setting up an independent household with his sons and grand-

C. G. 596 children; later, married sons with adult off-
spring would separate from the family even if
the father was still alive. The final stage was
that each married couple set up a household
of its own. The original joint family survived
until recently in some remote corners, partic-
C. G. 476 ularly among the Svan and the Pshav. There
is a tradition of mutual aid between families
with regard to tasks exceeding the forces of a
single unit (agricultural tasks, vintage, house-
building, tapestry-weaving, etc.). These re-
C. G. 621 lations obtain even between unrelated families,
but often whole villages or sections of villages
consisted of groups of related families (clans).
Such family-settlements exist at the present
time; a kolkhoz or a brigade in a kolkhoz may
consist entirely of persons bearing the same
family name.

C. A. 608 In the whole N. Caucasus and also in
Armenia the institution of milk-relationship
existed. A child suckled by a woman belong-
ing to a certain family became related to that
family, as did all its relatives, and these ties
were considered as sacred as those of blood
relationship. In the N. Caucasus such a re-
lationship could also be established ritually in
the case of older persons, namely by mere
contact with a woman's breast; this was car-
ried so far that even a forcible performing of
this ritual could end a blood feud, as the act
made the injured family and that from which
"blood was sought" related "by milk." In this

595 (1) Custom permits *all* North Caucasians and their neighbours, whether Christian or Mohammedan, to marry more than one wife. The Tartars near the city of Derbend in the eighteenth century are the only exception, but even in this single case, it ist not certain whether they were monogamists *de jure* or only *de facto*.

[177] (2) Everywhere polygyny is *pre-Islamic*, even if previous to their conversion to Islamism the particular tribe happened to be Christian. We might rightly, therefore, inquire into the possible origin of polygyny in the Caucasus. Polygyny, if borrowed at all, was not borrowed as an *isolated* institution. On the contrary, it seems to be a North Caucasian possession, first of all, as old as the practice [576] of levirate (*infra*, pp. 71—75). Furthermore, it seems to be a North Caucasian [614] cultural possession as old as the economic, social, and religious structure of the North Caucasian family itself. Here we understand "family" in its broad sense, including the joint-family and sib. We cannot now describe this family structure in detail. Briefly, by "the economic, social, and religious structure of the family" we understand that the family in North Caucasia has been and in many places still is the *raison d'être* of the individual.[30a] Whatever the individual does or whatever is done to him or for him has only one aim, the perpetuation and [581] prosperity of the family. Now, in the mind of the North Caucasian, polygyny is an immense asset and at times absolutely indispensable for the economic, social, and religious life of the all-important and solely-important family.

593 *Economically* considered, the wife is extremely important. In the North 562 Caucasus it is the wife who does most of the work (*infra*, pp. 156—159). In fact, sometimes a rich Avar will marry a son to a poor girl or to a widow of a lower class, with whom he is forbidden all communication, in order to have an additional worker in the house.[31] Moreover, a wife is not only a *worker*; she 842 is the "*worker-producing*" organ of the family. Even though boys are preferred (*infra*, pp. 159 ff), girls prove to be good and valuable workers and bring in, at times, a large brideprice (*infra*, pp. 82—91). Now, the more wives there are in the household, the more "worker-producing" organs there are, and by that very fact, at least in the mind of the natives, the family becomes so much the more economically healthy and secure.

The *religious* structure of the family may have contributed just as much to [769] the rise of polygyny as did the economic form of life. The most sacred duty of the individual and of the individual family is, or at least has been, to perpetuate itself, and thus to perpetuate the cult of the ancestors. It is a fact throughout North Caucasus that only a *son* can perpetuate the family and prevent the greatest calamity imagineable, its extinction. But a wife is precisely the "*boy-producing*" organ. If this organ is lacking or fails to function the family is doomed. Today one of the main motives for taking a second wife is sterility.[32] Or again, a second wife will be acquired if the first gives birth only to girls.

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[30a] According to ancient customary laws.

[31] L'vov, *op. cit.*, p. 19.

[32] Cf. K. Mačavariani, "Někotoryja čerty iz žizni Abchazcev. Položenie ženščiny v Abchazii," SMOMPK, IV (1884), No. 2, p. 42. E. G. Pčelina, "Rodil'nye obyčai u osetin," SE, 1937, No. 4, p. 88.

8: Lužbetak E-4 (no date) 1951 RHl Caucasia RHl



has in places disappeared completely, namely in the modern cities, where both partners earn money before their marriage (p. 197), while in other places it has disappeared officially, continuing only as a secret practice (p. 197). In 1921 the bride wealth fluctuated between Rs. 500 and Rs. 1,000 (p. 198). 583

Generally the *kalym* is so high that the entire joint-family of the prospective groom must share the burden. According to Cherkess customary law, when a joint-family decides to split into several units and consequently the common possessions must be divided, a portion must first be set aside as *kalym* for the unmarried sons.[3] Sometimes the joint-family cannot afford to "purchase" a wife and hence all relatives, near and distant, must contribute,[4] and, if it be necessary, also the entire *tleush* (*supra*, p. 55).[5] The burden is greatly eased by the possibility of paying the *kalym* in instalments.[6] 596

The amount to be paid has always been subject to great variations. Before a daughter is given in marriage, the amount of the bride wealth must be agreed upon by both families. Not only are the particular personal qualities of the prospective wife taken into account, as, for example, her virginity,[7] but especially the social standing of her family.[8] The higher the rank (and, as we have seen above, the ranks of the Cherkess are endless) the higher the bride wealth demanded. Thus at one time a maiden of the *uzden* class cost as much as Rs. 800 to Rs. 1,200. One hundred years ago the price was somewhat lower: Rs. 500 for a maiden of the princely class and Rs. 300 for a widow; Rs. 350 for a maiden of the uzden class of the first order and Rs. 200 for a widow; Rs. 220 for a maiden of a lower *uzden* sub-class and Rs. 150 for a widow; Rs. 150 for a maiden of the free class and Rs. 100 for a widow. Dubrovin tells us that this payment went to the father, brother or paternal uncle of the bride, and if she had neither father, nor brother nor paternal uncle no *kalym* was necessary.[9] Sometimes slaves were used as payment.[10]

We have said nothing about the Abkhaz, for in essentials and even in many particulars they agree perfectly with the Cherkess. In fact, the marriage and family *adats* of the Abkhaz and those of the Cherkess are so much alike that Ladyženskij regards the Abkhaz as a Cherkess tribe.[11] [10]

The NORTHEASTERN CAUCASIANS. As elsewhere in the Caucasus, the *kalym* in Ingushetia and Chechnia may consist of money, cattle, arms and

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[3] Ladyženskij, FT, p. 206.

[4] Dubrovin, *Istorija*, I, i, p. 140.

[5] Longworth, *A Year among the Circassians*, I, p. 234.

[6] Neumann, *Russland und die Tschekessen* (1840), p. 117.

[7] "Adats of the Black See Line, Kuban and Terek Territories," Leontovič, II, p. 253, § 162.

[8] Leontovič, II, p. 253, §§ 163—165. V. V. Vasil'kov, "Očerk byta temirgoevcev," SMOMPK, XXIX (1901), No. 1, p. 90, sets the bride-price of the Termirgoi as follows: for an ordinary peasant girl Rs. 600; for a girl of noble birth Rs. 1, 500; for a princess Rs. 3,000.

[9] Dubrovin, *Istorija*, I, i, p. 140 f.

[10] *ibid.*

[11] We do not of course accept this faulty classification. The Abkhaz, Ubykhs, and Cherkess are *distinct* peoples.

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(14) Then there is the fact that *a woman constitutes an asylum* for any murderer,[27] a fact found among the North Caucasians as well as among the Asiatic nomads.

(15) The *adats regarding divorce*,[28]

(16) the *penalties for sexual offenses*,[29]

(17) the *division of labour*,[30] allowing men plenty of time for loafing, sport, and raids,

(18) and many other *adats which place the female sex at a great disadvantage*[31] remind us very much of a pastoral society.

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(19) Then, of course, there are the many other features of the North Caucasian marriage and family *adats* which we have been able only to touch upon rather superficially, for they refer to the joint-family and kinship in general rather than to the biological family. The North Caucasian society, for example, has had till recently a *patriarchal joint-family organization*[32] very similar to that found among pastoral nomads. Just as among the Indo-Europeans and the Turco-Mongols the central interest of the North Caucasian has been, and in places still is, the joint-family. According to the *adats*, the individual family, till it becomes independent, plays a very subordinate part in society. The tribe and state mean but little. Crimes, criminals, and penalties in the strict sense of the word are of very recent origin : any damage done to the sib (not so much to any individual !), whether accidental or intentional, are the only form [68] of "crime" found in the *adats*. The reparation of the damages made by the "offending" sib (not the individual who inflicted the harm) corresponds to our [428] concept of penalty. We have also said very little about the *inheritance rights* of the mountaineers of North Caucasia, for to speak of inheritance without first describing the joint-family and kinship *adats* would be impossible. It seems that originally, just as is the case in pastoral nomadic societies, the rights were restricted to the male children with special privileges reserved for the first-born [628] son. Finally, there is hardly another place in the world where *blood-feuds* are so common as in the Caucasus ; and, we know, pastoral nomadic peoples have always been fond of settling their quarrels in this particular manner, more so than any other people. In a word, we are dealing with a "pastoral nomadic" marriage and family when we deal with North Caucasian marriage and family *adats*.

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We must however, keep in mind that there are different zones of intensity of nomadic traits : in North Caucasia the most pastoral nomadic in character are the marriage and family of the Cherkess ; then perhaps follow those of the Abkhaz, then the Chechens, and finally the Lesghians. The Ossetine *adats* are perhaps even more typically pastoral nomadic than those of the Cherkess. The Kumykian and Nogain *adats*, as well as those of other Turco-Mongols of North Caucasus,

[27] *Supra*, pp. 159 f.
[28] *Supra*, pp. 132—137.
[29] *Supra*, pp. 168—179, 182.
[30] *Supra*, pp. 156—159.
[31] *Supra*, pp. 152—156.
[32] *Supra*, pp. 44 f.

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(4) The *atalyk* is a form of adoption once spread among all mountain tribes of North Caucasus,[92] the Ossetes,[93] the Tartars, e. g., the Kumyks.[94] We still find it today among the Kabardians, but the practice has become rare.[95] Soon after birth,[96] or, as some authors claimed, at the age of seven or twelve, the prince or princess is received into a noble family to be brought up by foster-parents. The prince is taught to ride, to be brave, eloquent and polite, and to steal. When he is old enough to carry arms, he returns to his father.[97] Princesses are usually poorly nourished, for slenderness may not be divorced from the dignity of a princess. She is taught by her foster-mother how to embroider, weave, make straw mats and baskets.[98] She may not be seen by her parents until her marriage, and it is the right of the foster-father to select a mate for her.[99] The *atalyk* is usually restricted to the upper classes,[100] the foster-parents being chosen from the next (lower) class.[101] The relation between the foster-child and the educator is as intimate and as sacred as actual blood-relationship, if indeed not more so. Sometimes a foster-child will take revenge on his own father to repair an injury done to his adopted family.[102] Marriage between the foster-child and a member of the educator's family are, of course, prohibited. We are unable to say to what degree: on the one hand, the older explorers failed to inquire into *adats* regarding this prohibition; while, on the other hand, the institution has practically disappeared, so that now it is impossible to ascertain the degree through new enquiries.[103] The *atalyk* is perhaps a pre-Islamic institution borrowed from the Turco-Mongols.

(5) We find several other forms of adoption in the Caucasus. Islamic law does not recognize any impediment arising from adoption, except, of course,

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[92] Ladyženskij, FT, p. 200.
M. Kovalevskij, *Coutume contemp.*, p. 191.

[93] Leontovič, II, pp. 252 f, §§ 152—160.

[94] M. Kovalevskij, *l. c.*

[95] Ladyženskij, *l. c.*

[96] P. S. Pallas, *Bemerkungen auf einer Reise in die südlichen Statthalterschaften des russischen Reichs 1793—1794*, I, p. 388;
J. Mourier, *Guide au Caucase*, Part I, p. 137;
J. Klaproth, "Voyage au Caucase," *Nouvelle Bibliotheque*, Tome XI, p. 170;
Ladyženskij, *l. c.*

[97] Ellis, *Memoir of a Map etc.*, pp. 22 f; Pallas, *l. c.*

[98] Pallas, *op. cit.*, I, p. 389.

[99] Pallas, *op. cit.*, I, p. 388 f.

[100] Ladyženskij, *l. c.* Digorian *farsagleg* class (*infra*, pp. 63 f) has the custom too; cf. Kovalevskij, *Coutume contemp.*, pp. 212 f.

[101] Leontovič, II, pp. 252 f., §§ 152—160.

[102] Ladyženskij, *l. c.*

[103] The *atalyk* was a means of reconciliation after a murder had been committed. The murderer would kidnap a child of the victim and become its foster-father, thus making revenge impossible. (Baddeley, *op. cit.*, I, p. 262; Ladyženskij, *l. c.*; Leontovič, I, p. 140; Dirr, AGKB, p. 43.) Reineggs however gives an example of such an adopted son who was constantly waiting for an opportunity to carry out his sacred obligation of vengeance, regardless of fosterage (*Allgemeine historisch-topographische Beschreibung des Kaukasus*, I, pp. 221 f.). For more about the *atalyk* see the authors cited and N. Danilewski, *Der Kaukasus*, pp. 120—125.

582 relationship by milk. As is well known, Mohammed had an adopted son, his
597 own emancipated slave named Zaid ibn Ḥâriṯah, who had a beautiful wife, at least beautiful in the eyes of the Prophet. Mohammed persuaded Zaid to divorce her and thus to make it possible for the Prophet to marry her. The faithful, however, were greatly scandalized, for the "sinless" Prophet married the wife of his "son". Mohammed seemed to have no way of extricating himself from this awkward position, but fortunately Allah had pity on him and favoured him with another revelation according to which all fosterage is sinful and non-
[602] existent. If anyone dares to call another person by the name of "father" and if that person did not actually beget him, he will infallibly be cursed by Allah and all His Angels.[104] In the Caucasus children are adopted and, as is the case with the Cherkess today, enjoy the full and equal rights of natural sons and daughters.[105] M. Kovalevskij found adoption in practice among the Ossetes. Here too the adopted son would be regarded as a true "son" who was able to perpetuate the family.[106] Formerly fictitious relationship could arise among the Cherkess by a mere pronouncement of the formula, "I adopt you," or "You are my daughter," or "You are my sister." From that moment the person adopted would have to consider the relatives of the person who pronounced the formula, as his own. A murderer could form a fictitious relationship in
[602] Ossetia by consecrating himself to his victim in a special ceremony at his grave.[107] Among the Ossetes adoption sometimes took place before the mother of the family. The person to be adopted would say to her, "From today on you are my mother; I am your son." The mother would then uncover her breast and answer, "I am your mother; you are my son."[108] As is only to be expected, adoption occurs very rarely, in fact only in extreme necessity to pre-
[602] vent extinction of the family. Adoption cannot be frequent because the moun-taineers insist on purity of blood, and to adopt a child unnecessarily would imply giving away family property to a fictitious member.[109] Owing to the lack of data, we can only call the attention of the fieldworker to the following two problems: firstly, exactly *which* tribes consider adoption an impediment to mating; secondly, to which degree of fictitious relationship.

### 4. Disparity of Social Rank

565 We now come to the obligation of marrying exclusively within one's own
[582] social rank. But before we can begin to speak of this form of endogamy we must briefly describe the social stratification in the Caucasus.

The NORTHWESTERNERS. The *Abkhazian* society was formerly divided into four distinct classes: (1) the princes, (2) the *Chinakma*, i. e., the

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[104] Koran, xxxiii, 5. Cf. J. Henninger, *Die Familie bei den heutigen Beduinen Arabiens und seiner Randgebiete*, Leiden, 1943, p. 64. Juynboll, *op. cit.*, p. 187. R. Roberts, *Das Familien-, Sklaven- und Erbrecht im Qorân*, Leipzig, 1908, pp. 39 ff.

[105] Ladyženskij, FT, p. 202.

[106] Kovalevskij, *Coutume contemp.*, p. 203.

[107] Kovalevskij, *op. cit.*, p. 204.

[108] *ibid.*

[109] Kovalevskij, *op. cit.*, p. 203.

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177.58 These have been felt either exclusively among the Southern Caucasians or have not 56 been very great. The Roman-Byzantine influence was passed on to the North Caucasian tribes mainly through the Armenians and Georgians, which, however, did not affect their customary laws to any appreciable extent. Kovalevskij had a tendency to overemphasize these influences : he believed, for example, that the practice of offering an engagement gift to the bride or her family was of Roman-Byzantine origin,[7] and that the status of the Caucasian women had been greatly affected by Byzantine law.[8]

## § 2. MARRIAGE AND THE FAMILY OF THE CAUCASIANS IN THE LIGHT OF ANTHROPOLOGY

### 1. Analysis of Caucasian Adats : Predominant Character of North Caucasian Marriage and Family Customary Laws That of a Pastoral Nomadic Civilization

58 171 After having removed the above-mentioned historical influences and changes in the marriage and family laws of the Caucasians, we now arrive at a more or less pure *adat*-law. Considering the marriage and family customary laws as a whole, we must conclude that we have before us a typically pastoral nomadic[9] marriage and family, and this although there are no pastoral nomads in the Caucasus in the strict sense of the word. Though some of the elements we shall now enumerate are also found in other cultures (for example, adultery is sometimes punished as severely by food-gatherers as by pastoral nomads), it is not the individual example we wish to stress but rather the entire institution of marriage and family taken as a whole. It should also be noted that the following summary is only an incomplete and general one : for details, therefore, the reader must look up the references given.

[595] (1) We have seen, for example, how widespread *polygyny* was among the North Caucasians.[10] We fully agree with Briffault, who has shown that all pastoral societies and societies which have passed " through a prolonged pastoral stage are all without exception in the highest degree polygamous."[11]

[597] (2) The *atalyk*,[12]

[391] (3) the *levirate*,[13]

(4) *patrilocality*,[14]

[7] Kovalevskij, *Zakon*, I, p. 136.

[8] Kovalevskij, *op. cit.*, I, pp. 139 f. He treats of these influences in detail in *op. cit.*, I, pp. 83—122.

[9] By pastoral nomadic we understand the various customs and laws commonly found among all the pastoral nomadic Turco-Mongols and Indo-Europeans. Many of the components of the Semitic and Hamitic cultures are also pastoral nomadic. Whether the pastoral nomadic culture is a primary (i. e., immediately following upon the food-gathering stage, being the oldest form of animal-breeding) or only secondary or even tertiary (i. e., the result of later specialization, a further development of a pastoral-agrarian culture) does not affect our analysis nor any of our conclusions.

[10] *Supra*, pp. 39—50.

[11] *The Mothers*, II, p. 256.

[12] *Supra*, p. 57.

[13] *Supra*, pp. 71—75.

[14] *Supra*, pp. 124 f.

# Chapter XI

# Marital, Parental, and Kinship Avoidances

593 602 In our description of the engagement and marriage customs we have already mentioned some obligations of mutual avoidance. After marriage a certain mutual avoidance continues not only between the couple but also between parent and child, and between the couple and their kinship by marriage.

## § 1. DESCRIPTION OF THE CUSTOMS

The NORTHWESTERN CAUCASIANS. Among the oldest reports we have are those of Pallas. He informs us that in the eighteenth century the Cherkess husband and wife were not allowed to appear together before strangers.[1] In fact, for a year after marriage or till the birth of the first child the husband was not allowed to visit his wife except secretly.[2] And even afterwards when the couple lived under the same roof, they were not allowed to share the same room. In the beginning of the nineteenth century Longworth and Dubois de Montpéreux noticed the same custom, practiced in all its rigour, which both authors compare to the spirit of the ancient Spartans.[3] The *adat* collections of about an hundred years ago likewise speak of this strict separation of husband and wife in public and private life.[4] In the beginning of this century, Vasil'kov wrote that the Temirgoi customary law does not permit a wife as much as to mention the name of her husband in the presence of others. She must always use the pronoun "he" instead.[5]

[591] Though the Northwesterners of today have given up many of their ancient practices, they have not abandoned these rules of marital avoidance. Ladyženskij found them still in our own times. For a year after marriage the wife must live with strangers, during which time her husband may visit her only secretly. To be seen with her in public even years after marriage, he informs us, is tabooed.[6]

This avoidance includes even the children of the family, as we have seen in our section on "Parental Affection for Offspring" (pp. 149 f). Throughout

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[1] *Bemerkungen auf einer Reise in die süd. Statth., etc.*, I, p. 388.

[2] *ibid.*

[3] Longworth, *op. cit.*, I, p. 285; Dubois de Montpéreux, *op. cit.*, I, p. 115.

[4] Leontovič, II, pp. 254 f, § 176.

[5] "Očerk byta temirgoevcev," SMOMPK, XXIX (1901), No. 1, p. 99.

[6] Ladyženskij, FT. p. 184 *note*; Ladyženskij, "Zur Erforschung der Rechtsgewohnheiten der Bergvölker des Kaukasus," Zeitsch. f. Ethnologie, LXII (1930), pp. 242.

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the Caucasus a father is forbidden to manifest his affection for his child. The Cherkess is forbidden even to speak of a child of a person present.[7] 593 602

Similar *adats* forbid a couple to appear together before their parents or parents-in-law for a year after marriage,[8] and among the Abkhaz, even longer.[9]

The NORTHEASTERN CAUCASIANS. These rules of avoidance are found also among the Chechens, with only accidental differences. After marriage the groom must leave his wife and family and live with some neighbours or relatives for two to three weeks.[10] But even afterwards, when he returns, a certain law of separation must be observed. Reineggs reporting on the customs in the eighteenth century mentions that the husband did not share a common room with his wife; the men, he tells us, lived apart from the children and the female members of the family.[11] Another *adat* forbids a husband to eat with his wife in the presence of strangers.[12] And even in strictest privacy he will never speak directly to her in the second person: he usually will turn aside somewhat and instead of saying "Give me," he will say, "I am in need of."[13] [591] [644]

An Ingush father is not only forbidden to carry or fondle his child in public, but is not even allowed to call it by its name,[14] when others are present.

Jakovlev assures us that one can meet Ingushi today who have not seen their mothers-in-law for fifteen years after the wedding,[15] for to do so would be a serious violation of an Ingush custom. A wife is forbidden to mention the name of a first cousin of her husband in the presence of her parents- or brothers-in-law.[16] A husband may never inquire about his wife's relatives.[17] He will not speak with his wife in the presence of his parents or older brothers.[18] According to Dubrovin, a wife is strictly forbidden to speak with her father-in-law or any near male relative of her husband for a certain time after the wedding. She may speak with her mother-in-law only after a number of months have elapsed.[19] 606 602

There is also a certain avoidance observed by the husband and wife among the mountain tribes of Daghestan. A Lesghian, for example, will never put his arm around his wife while dancing. Such signs of intimacy in the presence of others would be unthinkable.[20] 593

We have already mentioned the example of how a certain Boulat-khan brought on himself the contempt of a group of men of Andi for carrying his son 600

[7] Pallas, *l. c.*
[8] Ladyženskij, FT, p. 186.
[9] Byhan, *op. cit.*, p. 152.
[10] Cf. Jakovlev, *Ingušii*, p. 56.
[11] Reineggs, *op. cit.*, I, p. 41.
[12] Leontovič, II, p. 254, § 170.
[13] Dubrovin, *Istorija*, I, i, p. 438.
[14] Grabovskij, "Inguši, ich žizn i obyčai," SSKG, IX (1876), p. 49.
[15] Jakovlev, *op. cit.*, pp. 52, 57.
[16] Jakovlev, *op. cit.*, p. 57.
[17] *ibid.*
[18] *ibid.*
[19] *Istorija*, I, i, p. 434.
[20] Nansen, *op. cit.*, p. 199.

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000 in his arms; to make up for the transgression of the *adat* forbidding public manifestation of affection for one's children, he took out his dagger, crying, "I love my son, but you shall see also that I don't mind killing him," and if the men had not succeeded in calming him, he would have actually killed the child.[21]

It is indeed striking that we do not find the parent-in-law avoidances among the Lesghians; at least we have not found any reports in this regard. Parent-in-law avoidances would be quite impossible among the Lesghians, owing to the rule of endogamy.[22]

The SOUTHERN CAUCASIANS. Among the mountain tribes of Georgia the bride and groom, after having spent three days together,[23] are obliged to separate, the groom remaining with his parents and the bride returning to her family. The period of separation, according to Eristov, was a fortnight, according to Seidlitz, depending on agreement,[24] and according to Kosven, "for some weeks or years."[25] In ancient Imeretia the newly-weds would live at the bride's house for a week, after which the young man returned to his father's house, while his wife remained with her family for a year.[26] During the period of separation the husband might visit his wife only secretly. On her return to her husband she did not share a common room with him.[27] A Pshav couple may not call each other by name; instead they use the words "Man!" and "Woman!"[28] Similarly, the wife may not call any of her husband's male relatives by name.[29] In Svanetia one may not inquire about the health of the wife of another person unless related to her.[30] A Svan will never permit his wife to sit down beside him; and, in general, he is very reluctant to converse with her.[31] In Khevsuria a father may not carry his child in his arms or say a single friendly word to it in the presence of others.[32]

The OSSETES. In Ossetia the husband must live at the groomsman's house for a whole month after the wedding. He is forbidden to appear before his father, older members of the household, or any older relatives and may visit his wife only secretly.[33] As soon as the young wife becomes pregnant she returns to her family and stays there till the child is born.[34]

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[21] *Supra*, pp. 149 f.

[22] *Supra*, pp. 51 f.

[23] Nansen, *op. cit.*, p. 58.

[24] Eristov, *op. cit.*, p. 110. Seidlitz, "Gemeinde- und Familienleben der Chewsuren," *Das Ausland*, 1891, No. 16, p. 320.

[25] M. O. Kosven, "Perežitki matriarchata u narodov Kavkaza," SE, 1936, No. 4—5, p. 217.

[26] *ibid.*

[27] Eristov, *op. cit.*, p. 111. See also Eichwald, *Reise auf dem Kaspischen Meer und in den Kaukasus*, Vol. I, Part II, p. 204.

[28] Makalatija, "Iz starogo narodnogo byta Pšavov," SE, 1938, No. 1, p. 109.

[29] Hahn, *Bilder aus dem Kaukasus*, p. 82.

[30] Dubrovin, *Istorija*, I, ii, p. 109.

[31] *ibid.*

[32] *Supra*, p. 150.

[33] Baddeley, *op. cit.*, I, p. 269.

[34] Hahn, "Die Täler der 'Grossen Ljachwa' und Ksanka (ksan) und das südliche Ossetien," *Globus*, LXXXVIII (1905), p. 24. It is worthy of note that the Kurds and the Armenians

We have given a number af examples (*supra*, p. 150) illustrating how 000
Ossetine fathers and mothers are forbidden to take their children in their arms, or by hand, or offer them anything, in the presence of older members of the family. The Ossete would permit his child to die rather than transgress this rule.

A woman may never in her whole life speak to an older male member of 607
her husbands's family, and if, for instance, the wife of a younger brother is 602
busy at the hearth, an elder brother is not allowed to enter the room till she has finished her work.[35]

The neighbouring TURKS observe similar rules of avoidance. Thus the 593
Karachai newly-weds live together for a few months and then the bride must 591
return to her parental home for a period which may last two years. During this 602
time her husband may visit her only secretly.[36] The Nogai will not speak to his wife in the presence of elderly people except in extreme necessity. The wife must always appear veiled before her husband for a year after marriage or till she gives birth to a child.[37] A Kumykian couple may never call each other by name; instead they refer to each other as "him" and "her."[38]

## § 2. PROBLEMS OF POSSIBLE ORIGIN AND INTERPRETATION OF THE RULES OF AVOIDANCE

We may divide the customs just described into several distinct groups. The 541
following table will show that these rules of avoidance are genuinely Caucasian, 583
found among all North Caucasians and neighbouring peoples.

(1) The first custom which calls for special attention is that requiring the bride to return to her family shortly after marriage and permitting the husband to visit her only secretly. We found this custom in Ossetia, Armenia, Kurdistan, Chechnia, Georgia and among the Caucasian Turks. The Cherkess bride, however, does not return to her own parents but goes to a neighbouring family. This temporary visit-marriage, though still not definitely proven, may be connected with matrilocality, and therefore this custom may be a vestige of a mother-right culture.

It is interesting that the Cherkess bride lives with *strangers* during this period and not with her own family. Ladyženskij[39] considers this practice a vestige of the original form of acquiring a wife, namely bride-stealing. When a bride was stolen she, naturally, had to hide, and here, he argues, we have a clear

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had a similar observance. Among the Kurds the bride would return to her family a few days after her marriage. Her stay with her parents, however, was very short, lasting about three days or so. After receiving some gifts from her family she returned to her husband Cf. Kosven, *l. c.*). The custom of the bride returning to her family after the wedding is also an Armenian practice (*ibid.*).

[35] Baddeley, *l. c.*

[36] Jankó, "Néprajzi, etc." Zichy, *Kaukázusi és középázsia utazásai*, p. 44.

[37] Dubrovin, *Istorija*, I, i, p. 279.

[38] Dubrovin, *op. cit.*, I, i, p. 639.

[39] "Zur Erforschung der Rechtsgewohnheiten der Bergvölker des Kaukasus," *Zeitsch. f. Ethnologie*. XLII (1930), p. 242.

# TABLE 18

## Rules of Marital, Parental, and Kinship Avoidance

| RULES | Abkhaz | Cherkess | Chechens | Lesghians | Mountaineers of Georgia | Ossetes | Karachai |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1. Bride and groom must live separately after wedding | For a year or till first child | For a year or till first child | For two or three weeks | No | Three to fourteen days | For a month after the wedding | Live together one month, then separate |
| 2. Bride returns to her own family after the wedding | Bride lives with strangers | Bride lives with strangers | No, but husband must live elsewhere 2 to 3 weeks | No | Yes | Yes, goes to own family some months after wedding | Two months to two years with own family |
| 3. Husband may visit wife during this period only secretly | Yes 2 | Yes | Yes | No | Yes | Yes | Yes |
| 4. Married couples may not appear together in public or before strangers | Yes | Yes | Yes | No | | | |
| 5. When living in same house after period of separation the couple may not share common quarters | Yes | Yes | Yes | | Yes | Yes | |
| 6. May not mention name of husband | | May not do so before others | Husband avoids speaking directly to wife even in private | No | Wife may not call husband by name and vice versa | | |
| 7. Prohibition to manifest love for one's own child before others | Yes | Yes. Also may not speak of child of person present | Yes. Father may not carry or fondle it | Yes | Yes. May not carry or say friendly word to child | Yes. Rule is very strict | |
| 8. Husband must avoid parents-in-law | For several years | For a year after marriage | Husband may never speak to mother-in-law | No | | Yes | |
| 9. Wife must avoid older male relatives of husband (or husband must avoid relatives of wife) | | | Wife may not mention name of husband's first-cousin | No | May not call them by name | Yes | |
| 10. The couple may not be seen together by parents or parents-in-law | For a year after marriage | For a year after marriage | Yes | | | Yes, during period of separation | Yes, during period of separation |

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trace of this epoch. He goes on to say that the *kalym* was originally a form of 591
bloodwite demanded for bride-stealing, which later evolved into a means of 583
compensating the family of the bride for the loss of a worker. Although Ladyženskij's interpretations are generally good, we connot agree with him in this particular point. It has never been proven that bride-stealing was the original form of marriage anywhere in the world. Moreover, it seems to be much more probable that bride-stealing resulted from the practice of bride purchase rather than vice versa. That *kalym* evolved from bloodwite is very improbable, especially in the Caucasus, because reconciliation by means of bloodwite seems to be a relatively recent substitution for actual blood vengeance.

(2) The various husband-wife avoidances, such as not mentioning the name 593
of one's husband or wife, not using the second person, avoiding all conversation 562
in public, etc. may be an expression of the superior position of the male sex in 602
Caucasian society (cf. *supra*, pp. 152—159).[40]

(3) The parent and parent-in-law avoidance, the obligatory avoidance of 606
older male relatives of the husband, the prohibition of inquiring about the health 602
of the wife's or husband's relatives, and similar practices are difficult to explain.

Parent-in-law avoidances are certainly among the most universal practices [671]
known to man. In fact, this form of avoidance is so universal that Lowie does not hesitate to write, "From the extremely wide range of parent-in-law avoidance, the absolute universality of these rules might be conjectured on the ground that, where unrecorded, the customs have merely eluded notice."[41] In Australia, for example, "it was formerly death for a man to speak to his mother-in-law."[42] In New Britain if a man were speaking accidently with his mother-in-law, the horror of the "crime" would most likely lead to suicide.[43]

The interpretation of parent-in-law taboos has baffled all ethnologists, and a satisfactory answer still has not been given. The parent-in-law avoidance has been connected with exogamy and bride-capture;[44] it has been considered a vestige of matriarchy, an expression of awe for the mistress of the household;[45] it has also been considered as a means to prevent improper intercourse. We may have here a case of convergence, based more on human psychology than on any particular institution; nor is there any reason to attribute the same cause for the practice in all parts of the world. This is but another important ethnological problem that waits to be solved.

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[40] The Caucasians seem to be of the opinion that separation is the best means of fostering conjugal love (cf. Leontovič, II, pp. 254 f, § 176).

[41] *Primitive Society*, p. 88.

[42] Howitt, *The Native Tribes of South East Australia*, p. 267.

[43] H. H. Romilly, "The Islands of the New Britain Group," *Proceedings of the Royal Geographical Society*, n. s. IX, p. 9.

[44] Cf. A. H. Post, "Ueber die Sitte, nach welcher Verlobte und Ehegatten ihre gegenseitigen Verwandten meiden," *Globus*, LXVII (1895), pp. 176 f.

[45] Cf. R. Briffault, *op. cit.*, I, pp. 266 f.

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fire in the hearth is extinguished, and the future bride and groom must clasp hands as a concluding betrothal ceremony.[6] Only now do the negotiations regarding the *kalym* begin.[7] 584

The NORTHEASTERN CAUCASIANS. Instead of describing the customs of each Chechen tribe individually, we shall present the engagement customs of the most primitive of Chechen tribes, the Ingushi. The father of the suitor visits the family of the prospective bride personally.[8] Stereotyped procedure is the rule, and he is fully aware of this observance. At the first and second visit the girl's family is obliged by etiquette to make excuses, and by no means may a decision be reached. At the third visit the girl's father will utter his long awaited consent. The matchmakers may never visit the bride's father empty-handed. Usually they bring a ram to treat the family to a little dinner and to create a friendly atmosphere for the discussion regarding the marriage. If for some reason or other the marriage be considered undesireable, etiquette demands that an outright refusal be avoided; instead, the girl's family must demand an excessive *kalym* or make other impossible stipulations. If the father of the girl has given his consent, a betrothal feast must be prepared,[9] on which occasion the suitor presents his future wife with an engagement gift of Rs. 10 and a silk cloth.[10] The local mullah is then called and a formal engagement contract is drawn before the usual two witnesses.[11] Two or three months later, the date of the marriage is agreed upon. Once the couple is officially engaged, the entire *taipan* becomes extremely interested in them, doing them all sorts of favours.

In Leontovič's *adat* collection we find another form of matchmaking. A brother is obliged to arrange a marriage between his sister and a friend who has "drunk to her health and offered her brother a gift." A failure to carry out this obligation will turn an intimate friend into the bitterest foe, and rightly so, says the *adat*, because such a neglect is a serious crime, a blood-offense, which necessarily calls for revenge no less than does murder.[12] This means of arranging a marriage is very rare and resorted to by the North Caucasians, especially the Ingushi, only after a refusal.[13] This *adat* is especially interesting because it overrules the sacred, inviolable *patria potestas* and so many other *adats* regarding choice of mates and engagement. This may very well be a vestige of a right formerly enjoyed by the maternal uncle.[14] [628] [604]

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[6] *ibid.*

[7] *ibid.* The engagement customs of the Abkhaz have been described quite fully by Seidlitz in his "Die Abchasen," *Globus*, LXVI (1894), p. 40.

[8] In Salati, Aukh, and Ichkeria matchmakers arrange the marriage ("Sbornik adatov žitelej Nagornago Okruga, 1864 goda," Leontovič, II, p. 144, § 92).

[9] Jakovlev, *Ingušī*, pp. 50 f.

[10] Berže, *Čečnja i Čečency*, p. 97.

[11] Grabovskij, "Ekonomičeskij i domašnij byt žitelej gorskago učastka Inguševskago Okruga," SSKG, III (1870), p. 20.

[12] Leontovič, II, pp. 251, §§ 149, 151; Berže, *op. cit.*, p. 98; Dubrovin, *Istorija*, I, i, p. 427.

[13] Leontovič, II, p. 251, § 151.

[14] Cf. Kovalevskij, "La Famille matriarcale au Caucase," *L'Anthropologie*, IV (1893), pp. 271 f.

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(6) The *maternal uncle* appears on the scene in marriage and family affairs as an important figure. A special part of the bride price (*madi-arvadai-kal*) of the Ossetes is reserved for the maternal uncle.[36] Among the Ingushi and a number of other tribes in North Caucasia, if someone drinks to the health of his friend's sister and then gives him a present, the friend is obliged to arrange a marriage between his sister and his friend, otherwise a blood-feud will be the result. This custom, as we have said, overrules even the inviolable *patria potestas* and all the *adats* regarding the choice of mates. It is, as it were, an acceptance of the bride price by the brother ("maternal uncle") without handing the bride over to the purchaser.[37] Moreover, an Ingush lad, after reaching the age when he is allowed to carry arms, has a right to a special present from his maternal uncle. In fact, the youth may go and steal the present with impunity, because he has a *right* to it.[38] This, I think, may very easily be a vestige of a former inheritance rule through the maternal uncle.[39] The Khevsur orphan automatically falls to the guardianship of the maternal uncle.[40] Kovalevskij conjectures that the Georgian institution known as *tsatsali*[41] may be a vestige of the custom to adopt a maternal uncle.[42]

Kovalevskij, Post and other ethnologists of the 19th century "found" an astoundingly large number of "undeniable" vestiges of a former matriarchal culture in the Caucasus. Any custom that would fit into the false principle "mater certa, pater incertus" was "infallibly" a matriarchal vestige. Thus the *atalyk*,[43] the taboos forbidding a father to carry his own child, the prohibition for anyone to ask about the health of another person's wife or child, etc.[44] were all "vestiges" of former matriarchy. The Cherkess *tleush*[45] and the Ingush *taipa*[46] were likewise "vestiges." Kovalevskij's article "La famille matriarcale au Caucase"[47] is a typical example of the matriarchy mania under which the scientists of the past century laboured. Every now and then they would come across a true vestige or a possible indication of matriarchy or mother-right, and these we have incorporated in the present work. The other "vestiges" we have rejected and offered other, more plausible explanations and interpretations.

Russian interest in the problem of mother-right has again been revived. The Russian ethnologist maintains that matriarchy was universal at one time: it was a stage through which all civilizations had to pass, while patriarchy is only

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[36] *Supra*, p. 87.

[37] *Supra*, p. 101. A Berže, Čečnja i čečency, p. 98; Leontovič, II, pp. 251 f, § 149; Kovalevskij, "La famille matriarcale au Caucase," *L'Anthropologie*, IV (1893), pp. 271 f.

[38] Jakovlev, *Ingušii*, p. 47.

[39] This seems to be a genuine vestige.

[40] Kovalevskij, *op. cit.*, p. 273. The maternal uncle also plays an important part in the Khevsurian blood-feuds (Hahn, *Aus dem Kaukasus*, p. 273).

[41] *Supra*, p. 182.

[42] Kovalevskij, *l. c.*

[43] *Supra*, p. 57.

[44] *Supra*, pp. 149 f, 162—167.

[45] *Supra*, p. 55.

[46] *Supra*, p. 84.

[47] *L'Anthropologie*, IV (1893), pp. 259—278. See also Kovalevskij's *Zakon*, I, pp. 3—27.

585 the wedding returned home or stayed with strangers or in a special house for a period.
606 There were numerous taboos for the wife with regard to her in-laws, especially the older ones (prohibition to speak to them, or to address them by name, etc.), to a certain extent also for the husband with regard to his parents-in-law, until he was "reconciled"
576 with them. Very strict rules governed the behavior of the married couple in the presence of others; they could not call each other by name, and any show of affection was considered bad form.

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585 the meantime the bride is handed over to the female relatives of the groom, who
[585] bring her to her new home.[59]

Honey is given to the bride a second time, symbolizing the sweetness of married life that one and all wish her.

[606] The bride then sits down on a special bridal chair, and a kettle is placed at her feet as a sign of her subjection to the mother of the household.[60]

The custom of thrice walking round the hearth, the custom that plays such an important role in the Abkhaz, Cherkess, Ossete, and Ingush marriage,[61] is found also among the Lesghians, but, as it seems, only by way of exception. Kovalevskij found it only in one *aul* near the Georgian border.[62]

Toward midnight, when the banqueting has finished, a brother of the bride is given the honour of unveiling her face, her head remaining veiled till she enters the bridal chamber. For this privilege her brother is obliged to bestow a special gift on her.[63, 64]

She now steps into the bridal chamber, while the young people crowd in after her. Whoever succeeds in being the first to throw himself on the bed receives some pastries as prize. This ceremony is called *vurui varis*, that is, "trampling on the bed."[65]

As soon as the groom enters, all leave the room and while the newly-weds are alone, feasting and merry-making continue till morning.[66]

In some parts of Daghestan, as for example in Samur Province, two relatives stand guard at the door of the bridal chamber. On the following day the *testimonium castitatis*, a cloth or a bed sheet, is given to the guards[67] or, in some places, the young husband fires his gun. However, a pistol shot does not always have the same meaning. In Dargwa Province (in the shamkhalate of Tsrk and in the khanate of Mekhtali) it signifies that the bride's hymen has been found perforated;[68] in Sakataly it has the very opposite signification.[69] If the bride is found unchaste, the husband may dismiss her at once, on her very wedding day, retaining all her gifts and dowry. Formerly her angry father would cut off her nose or arm and even kill her.[70]

The wedding may last for another week.[71]

On the seventh day a feast is prepared for an exclusive group of male relatives, on which occasion the groom's father reveals what gift he intends to bestow on his newly married son. (The women relatives hold their own feast.)

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[59] Byhan, *La civilisation caucasienne*, pp. 191 f.
[60] Kovalevskij, *Zakon*, II, p. 187.
[61] Dirr, AGKB, p. 25.
[62] Kovalevskij, *l. c.*
[63] Amirov, *op. cit.*, p. 32.
[64] The Laks call it *lyazbinkuku* (Kovalevskij, *l. c.*).
[65] Kovalevskij, *l. c.* Amirov calls it *burush-vachis*: *burush* meaning "bad" and *vachis* meaning "trample on."
[66] Gabiev, *op. cit.*, p. 110; Kovalevskij, *Zakon*, II, p. 187; Dubrovin, *Istorija*, I, i, p. 571.
[67] "Adaty Južno-Dagestanskich Obščestv," SSKG, VIII (1875), p. 72.
[68] Kovalevskij, *Zakon*, II, p. 174.
[69] *ibid.* See also Kovalevskij, *op. cit.*, II, pp. 187 f; Gabiev, *op. cit.*, p. 110; Amirov, *op. cit.*, p. 32.
[70] Kovalevskij, *Zakon*, II, p. 201.
[71] Gabiev, *op. cit.*, p. 110.

585 * See also T. Mtavriev, "Prostonarodnaja svad'ba v Kachetii," SMOMPK, XXXI (1902), No. 3, pp. 154—160.

For Gurian customs: N. Deržavin, Svad'ba u Gurijcev-Musul'man v okrestnostjach Batuma," SMOMPK, XXXI (1902), No. 2, pp. 168—176.

For Pshav customs see: Makalatija, "Iz starogo narodnogo byta pšavov," SE, 1938, No. 1, pp. 105—109.

** The tribes in this column are intended merely to serve as *examples*. We do not wish to imply that the particular custom is not found anywhere else except among the tribes indicated.

The OSSETINE wedding customs are quite interesting and have been fully described by such authors as Kovalevskij,[78] Baddeley,[79] Hahn,[80] Šanaev,[81] and Gatiev.[82] Without going into detail we shall indicate briefly the similarity between the Ossetine wedding and that of the neighbouring North Caucasians.

(1) The *procession* terminates at the home of the groom. The bride is led by her groomsman (*anshuargin*) and a special female attendant (*dzhinarkinmade*).[83]

(2) The formal contract is made in church before their priests in Christian parts of Ossetia,[84] and according to Islamic ritual among the Mohammedans. Both Christian and Mohammedan marriages may take place in the shade of certain holy trees.[85]

[583] (3) Dramatization of bride-stealing.[86]

(4) The bride and groom are not allowed to meet during the marriage festivities: the bride must remain in her room, attended to by a number of girl-friends, while the groom is living with the best-man.[87]

[606] (5) Submission to the mother-in-law. In the evening the bride is led to the hearth, where she must first bow to the *avsin* (mother of the household) and then smear some fat on the *avsin's* shoes as a sign of submission.[88]

585 842 (6) A child is placed on her lap, as a wish of her friends that she may give birth to many children, especially boys.[89] She is taken to a shrine of Mairem.

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[78] Kovalevskij, *Sovremmenyj obyčaj i drevnij zakon.*

[79] Baddeley, *The Rugged Flanks of Caucasus.*

[80] Hahn, *Bilder aus dem Kaukasus*, pp. 41 ff.

[81] Šanaev, "Svad'ba u severnych Osetin," ("A Wedding among the North Ossetes"), SSKG, IV (1870), pp. 1—30.

[82] Gatiev, "Sueverija i predrazudki u Osetin," SSKG, IX (1876), pp. 18—21. See also: Dubrovin, *Istorija*, I, i, pp. 334—337; "Koe-čto o Digorcach," *Kavkaz* (1887), No. 339 f.

[83] Byhan, *op. cit.*, p. 212.

[84] Baddeley, *op. cit.*, I, p. 268.

[85] Nansen, *op. cit.*, p. 65.

[86] Kovalevskij, *Coutume contemp.*, 168 f.

[87] Šanaev, *op. cit.*, p. 27, *note 13*. Cf. also N. Dubrovin, *Istorija*, I, i, p. 336.

[88] Gatiev, *op. cit.*, p. 20; Polidaev, Gorcy severnago Kavkaza, p. 106.

[89] Kovalevskij, *Coutume contemp.*, p. 185.

## TABLE 16

### Marriage Ceremonies of N. Caucasians And Neighbours

| Marriage Ceremonies | Procession: From groom's house to bride | Procession: Return with bride to groom's house | Procession: Groom is absent | Dramatization of capture | Horse-racing | Both sibs (families) present | Groom absent for large part of wedding | Segregation of bride during wedding | Bride's submission to husband | Wedding elaborate, expensive with much feasting & dancing | Mother-in-law †: Invites bride to cross threshold | Mother-in-law †: Offers bride some honey | Mother-in-law †: Bride's submission to | Corset ceremony | Proof of Virginity | Child placed on bride's lap | Special wishes for boys | Fire-place ceremony | Gifts to bride from own sib | "Tramping on bed" ceremony | Sword placed over bride's head | Special attendant for groom | Special attendant for bride | Mother plays important rôle | Maternal uncle important rôle | Formal religious contract | Reconciliation ceremony | Predominant Character of Ceremonies |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Abkhaz | + | + | – | | + | + | | + | | + | + | + | | + | | + | + | + | + | – | + | | + | – | – | + | | Pastoral |
| Cherkess | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | | + | + | + | | + | + | + | + | + | + | – | + | + | + | – | – | + | + | Pastoral |
| Ingushi | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | | + | | + | | | ? | + | + | + | + | – | | + | + | – | – | + | | Pastoral |
| Other Chechens | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | | + | | + | | | | + | + | ? | + | – | | + | + | – | – | + | | Pastoral |
| Avars | + | + | + | + | | + | + | | + | + | + | + | + | | + | | | ? | + | + | | + | + | + | – | + | | Pastoral + Agrarian |
| Dargwa | + | + | + | + | | + | + | | + | + | + | + | + | | + | | | ? | + | + | | + | + | + | – | + | | Pastoral + Agrarian |
| Other Lesghians | + | + | + | + | | + | + | | + | + | + | + | + | | + | | | | + | + | | + | + | + | – | + | | Pastoral + Agrarian |
| Khevsurs | + | + | | + | | + | | | | | | | | | + | | | + | | – | | | | + | – | + | | Pastoral + Agrarian |
| Pshavs * | + | + | – | | | + | | | | + | + | + | | | + | | + | + | + | – | | + | + | + | – | + | | Pastoral + Agrarian |
| Tushi | | | | | | | | | | | | + | | | | | | | | | | | | | + | + | | |
| Ingiloi | + | + | | | | | | | | | | | | | + | | | | | | | | | + | – | | | |
| Ossetes | + | + | | + | | + | + | + | + | + | | + | + | + | | + | + | + | + | – | + | + | + | – | – | + | | Pastoral |
| Karachai | | | | + | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |

* Cf. Makalatija. "Iz starogo narodnogo byta Pšavov," SE, 1938, No. 1, pp. 105.

† It is usually the mother-in-law.

585 [583] [327] [306] [842]

## § 2. PROBLEMS AND CONCLUSIONS

Though the wedding ceremonies just described are not without a few traces 585
of a mother-right culture, the wedding as a whole is doubtless typically patriarchal in character.

(1) The wedding procession clearly shows that the marriage is patrilocal, 591
a fact true of all North Caucasian as well as neighbouring tribes. The bride must move into the house of her father-in-law.

(2) The fact that the bride is humiliated before her mother-in-law (not 606
father-in-law), the fact that she is invited into the household by the mother- 592
in-law (not father-in-law), and that it is the mother-in-law (not father-in-law) who places the honey into the mouth of the bride, though very suspiciously matriarchal, is reconcilable with a strictly patriarchal society. Even in a strictly patriarchal society the mother of the household enjoys certain privileges and is looked upon as the mistress of the house with special authority over the female members of the household. In other words, in these seemingly matriarchal ceremonies the mother-in-law may perhaps be simply excercising a right of the mother of the household of a typical patriarchal family.[103]

(3) The dramatization of bride capture is a very common custom among 583
the pastoral peoples throughout the world.

Ceremonial bride capture must not be considered as a survival of actual marriage by capture. This is especially true of the Caucasians because a wedding always means a great economic loss for the bride's family—one of their workers must leave them and go over to another sib. Ceremonial bride capture expresses rather the opposition to such an heavy loss. The Dido, as we have seen, actually throw mud and filth at the bride after she has been "stolen". If the ceremony were to represent actual abduction, why should the bride be so "mistreated"? The reason why filth is thrown at her is that she has turned "traitor" to her own family.

(4) The ceremony of hiding, veiling of the face, the bride's taciturnity— 834
all these little peculiarities of the Caucasian wedding may be an expression of the bride's natural sense of modesty. Till now she had to avoid, at least in public, the slightest communication with her fiancé. The strict separation of engaged couples, the prohibition even to pass a glance at one's future mate in public, and the death penalty imposed on the girl for pre-marital intercourse—all this is in full accord with the high esteem of pastoral peoples for the physical integrity of virgins. At the wedding, the bride is being publicly introduced [831]
into a relationship which she has been taught to shun as disgraceful, even punishable by death. Now this once "disgraceful" thing is being done publicly! The bride's resistence, her fleeing, her veiling, her taciturnity, then, are expressions of a reaction against "the great change"[104] from maidenhood to wife, a change more sensibly felt among pastoral peoples than in any other society.

[103] For the relatively important rôle of a mother of a household in a patriarchal society see E. Pčelina, "Obrjad gostepriimstva v Osetii," SE, (1932), No. 5—6, pp. 140—163, especially p. 156, *note*.

[104] "The great change," I think, has been coined by Elsie C. Person. See her "Holding back in Crisis Ceremonialism," *American Anthropologist*, n. s. XVIII (1916), pp. 44 f.

4/n [Sic--Analyst]

585 [776] (7) In a number of instances we have noticed that the dagger or sword was used in connection with the marriage ceremony. The best-man took the bride around the hearth and each time he struck the chain with his dagger. The bride had to enter her new home under an arch of swords or with a dagger or club held above her head. This wedding custom, too, has a religious basis. The household gods of the bride's family have become exceedingly jealous of the bride, because by marrying she has united herself to another family and will now worship other ancestors, abandoning her own. These jealous godlets realize that the best time to enter her new home and to cause countless harm is simultaneously with the bride. Fortunately, these household gods are afraid of dagger[s].[114] [844] Among the Georgian mountaineers, a mother after having given birth to a child will keep a sword under the pillow as a protection against aerial spirits.[115] Spirits are afraid of the sword for several reasons—at least such is our conjecture. The God of Iron, of the Sword, and of the Hearth-Chain is one and the same god, called Safa. This sword ceremony may perhaps insure [823] Safa's protection against jealous godlets. It may also insure the protection of [769] the departed because *iron* is a means of contacting ancestors. In Ossetia on the [787] "feast of the dedication of clothing" clothes are consecrated and sent to the netherworld by means of an iron knife.[116] The Ingushi get in contact with their departed by means of iron tongs.[117]

(8) The other marriage ceremonies are likewise mainly pastoral in character: horse-racing, submission to the husband, wishes for a rich progeny but always with a disproportion of "nine boys to every blue-eyed girl." Finally, the long elaborate and expensive wedding itself is typical of pastoral peoples.

[606] There are, however, a few traces of a so-called mother-right culture. The rôle played by the mother-in-law in the ceremonies, as we have stressed (*supra*, p. 125), is indeed not inconsistent with the position of the mother of the household in a patriarchal family, but, we must admit that their astounding importance gives them a suspiciously matriarchal colouring: in the ceremonies described, it is the Lesghian mother who welcomes the bride into the house as if she were the head of the family. It is the mother who holds her by the hand as she crosses the threshold. It is the mother's brother who led the bride's horse in the Ingiloi procession from her home to that of her groom. It is the mother who puts the honey into the mouth of the bride as a sign that the bride has a sweet life ahead of her under such an amiable mistress as her mother-in-law. And we should not forget that in the Lesghian engagement it was the mother who presented the engagement gifts which concluded the betrothal contract.[118]

595 585 114 We cannot conclude this chapter without briefly refuting some of Kovalevskij's assumptions. Like so many anthropologists of his day, he was inclined to find traces of an epoch older than that of patriarchy, and older than that of

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[114] For the custom among the Ossetes see Kovalevskij, *Coutume contemp.*, pp. 170 f.

[115] Cf. Reineggs, *op. cit.*, II, p. 112 f.

[116] Kokiev, *Slepovye soeružeinija*, (Vladikavkaz, 1928), p. 38.

[117] Baddeley, *op. cit.*, II, p. 120.

[118] *Supra*, p. 103.

562 of the women of Avaria as a very miserable one indeed. A woman, he tells us, is regarded as nothing more than a "work-animal." The men prefer this sort of "domestic beast" because she can stand much more than a horse or an ox; the only difference between her and a domestic animal is that she eats bread while an animal is satisfied with hay.[43] An ideal wife in the eyes of the Avars is one that is robust and, above all, very diligent.[44] L'vov goes on to call the husband a "heartless tyrant." He may get himself a second wife and regard the first as his slave, and woe to this poor miserable slave-wife if she does not bear a child before the newcomer! Endless jeers and ridicule are all that she can expect! By moving into the house of her husband, she becomes a servant of her [606] mother-in-law, who does only the easy jobs, leaving the disagreeable and difficult tasks to her daughter-in-law.[45] The Dido,[46] Botlikh,[47] Kaitago-Tabassaranians[48] and the other Lesghians do not differ from the Avars.[49] In Daghestan, "it is derogatory for a man to carry anything less dignified than a gun."[50] While the husband stands about and gossips at the local mosque or putters with his gun, the 462 wife must slave from morn till night. The husband, of course, does the sowing, makes the hay, threshes, sheers the sheep, builds houses;[51] but these jobs are not sufficient to keep him busy all year round. The wife does most of the harvesting, and, as Svěčin puts it, "brings half of the grain on her shoulders, leaving the other half for the donkey."[52] She has to cut the grass for the animals, care for the horses, cook, weave, milk the cows, mind the children, do the usual housework, set the cakes of cow-dung out to dry, clean the wool, spin, and fetch water.[53] Even the small girls of the family must take part in all these tasks. Frequently one can see nine- to ten-year-old girls carrying unbelievably heavy jugs of water, while boys as old as they, if not older, sit around and amuse themselves.[54]

The SOUTHERN CAUCASIANS. Among the Khevsurs[55] and the Svans[56] it is again the female sex that must bear practically the whole burden of family work.

The traveller will frequently witness the typically Caucasian scene "of women working and men loafing" also in OSSETIA.[57] The men do the plough-

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[43] L'vov, "Domašnjaja i semejnaja žizn Dagestanskich gorcev Avarskago plemeni," SSKG, III (1870), p. 11, *note*.
[44] L'vov, *op. cit.*, p. 15.
[45] L'vov, *op. cit.*, p. 17.
[46] Merzbacher, *Aus den Hochregionen des Kaukasus*, II, p. 455.
[47] Erckert, *op. cit.*, p. 284; K. N. Rossikov, "Poězdka v Čečnju i Nagornyj Dagestan," ZKO, XIII (1884), pp. 247.
[48] Amirov, *op. cit.*, p. 48.
[49] Amirov, "Sredi gorcev sěvernago Dagestana," SSKG, VII (1873), p. 48, claims that the Lak community of Batsa-Khari is an exception to this general rule.
[50] Abercromby, *op. cit.*, p. 174.
[51] Nansen, *op. cit.*, p. 104.
[52] Svěčin, "Očerk narodonaselenija, nravov i obyčaev Dagestancev," ZKO, II (1853), p. 63.
[53] Svěčin, *op. cit.*, p. 64.
[54] Svěčin, *l. c.*
[55] Eristov, "O Tušino-Pšavo-Chevsurskom Okrugě," ZKO, III (1855), p. 113.
[56] Dubrovin, *Istorija*, I, ii, p. 109.
[57] Baddeley, *op. cit.*, I, p. 69.

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ing transporting and selling the produce, build houses, and do the heavy work; however, this is far from being a full-time employment. The women, on the contrary, are busy all day long: they must milk the cows, fetch water from the well and wood from the forest, and, of course, look after the children. If a man were ever to do any of these jobs, he would become the laughing-stock of the village.[58] 462

## § 3. SPECIAL RIGHTS AND PRIVILEGES OF WOMEN

Despite all that we have said about the disadvantageous and even slavish condition of the woman in North Caucasia and neighbouring territory, the women enjoy certain rights and privileges which must not be overlooked. For example, throughout the Caucasus she alone is the *mistress* of the house.[59] 562 593

The NORTHWESTERN CAUCASIAN (as well as the Chechen), according to an *adat* of the Black Sea Line, Kuban and Terek Territories (§ 174), will permit no one to say anything unfavourable about his wife. The husband will tolerate an insult against his own father or mother, or even against himself, sooner than hear a single abusive word said against his wife.[60] When a daughter is married off into another sib the family does not lose all interest in her; on the contrary, it is this very interest that is her surest protection against ill-treatment. As we shall see in the following chapter, the husband who unjustly takes the life of his wife is infallibly avenged by her relatives. Moreover, the woman enjoys considerable freedom owing to the fact that her husband is frequently absent, either hunting or on a raid.[61] And even in the sixteenth century, as we read in G. B. Ramusio's *Raccolta di viaggi* (1583), the wife had a firm will of her own, which her husband usually respected. In a way, women are considered sacred: blood-vengeance will never take place before a woman,[62] and hence, she is an asylum like the sacred hearth-chain (*supra*, p. 127). The wife, or to be more exact, the mother of the household, is the sole mistress of the house and as such may arrange things within her little kingdom as she pleases and may even give orders to others.[63] In Abkhazia formerly a woman of a privileged class even had the right to preside at certain religious ceremonies, direct civil affairs, and be the leader in a raid.[64]

The NORTHEASTERN CAUCASIAN does not lose interest in his daughter after her marriage, and therefore he too compels her husband to 562 606

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[58] Čurtin, *Osetini, etnografičeskij očerk*, p 39; Merzbacher, *op. cit.*, I, p. 204; see Hahn, "Po dolinach Čoroka, Urucha i Ardona," SMOMPK, XXV (1898), p. 32.

[59] Ladyženskij, "Zur Erforschung der Rechtsgewohnheiten der Bergvölker des Kaukasus," *Zeitsch. f. Ethnologie*, LXII (1930), p. 231.

[60] Leontovič, II, p. 254, § 175.

[61] Ladyženskij, FT, p. 201.

[62] Mourier, *Guide au Caucase*, I, p. 136.

[63] Castagné, "Le Droit coutumier familial des montagnards du Caucase," Révue des études islamiques, 1929, No. 2, p. 272.

[64] K. Mačavriani, "Někotoryja čerty iz žizni Abchazcev. Položenie ženščiny v Abchajii," SMOMPK, IV (1884), No. 2, p. 41; P. I. Kovalevskij, *Kavkaz, Narody Kavkaza*, pp. 34 f.

562 [606] respect her rights. Chechen women enjoy considerably more freedom than do the women in Daghestan.[65] But even the Lesghian women are not entirely without rights. We have seen how in matters regarding engagement and marriage the mother plays an important part. This may be a vestige of an ancient mother-right culture.

The SOUTHERN CAUCASIANS. Despite the slavish condition to which the South Caucasian *adats* condemn the female sex, the women are given certain unusual privileges, enjoyed not even by the menfolk. In Khevsuria[66] and Svanetia,[67] just as in W. Circassia[68] and OSSETIA,[69] a woman is able to put an end to a savage duel by a mere word or by her very presence. The Svan need but touch her and he is, at least temporarily, secure even in the presence of his bitterest enemy.[70]

Finally, we should not forget that the women are the official owners of their engagement and wedding gifts, and if divorced, also of the *kebin*.[71]

## § 4. PROBLEMS

562 628 [171] The two main problems of this chapter are: (1) Why must the women do most of the work? (2) Why is the status of women throughout the Caucasus so unfavourable? These questions can be answered only in the light of our entire study and in the light of the entire culture of the North Caucasians. Her unfavourable and still privileged position as mistress of the house and as an asylum for any murderer resembles very closely the condition of the women in a society such as that found among pastoral nomads of Asia. It is indeed difficult to determine just in how far the pastoral nomads of Asia are responsible for the status of women in North Caucasus and in how far the general economic conditions among the mountaineers have contributed to the position of the female sex. Here we wish to point out one important contributing factor, raids and blood-feuds. By no means do we maintain that this is the *most* important or the *only* factor; it is, however, *a very important* one. Any mountaineer may object to the accusation that he is an idler by saying: "We men are constantly exposing our lives for our wives and children, while the women are able to work in peace and security. How can we be soldiers and farmers at the same time?" Amirov heard the same argument used in Kaitago-Tabassaran, where formerly there was hardly a man in all Kaitago that had not killed or cooperated in killing another man. As a consequence of feuds, the men had to be constantly on the lookout, constantly hiding, and frequently

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[65] B. Plaetschke, *Die Tschetschenen*, p. 33.
[66] Essad-Bey, *op. cit.*, p. 267.
[67] Dirr, FT, p. 43.
[68] Mourier, *Guide au Caucase*, I, p. 136.
[69] N. F. Takoeva, "Kosta Chetagurov — narodnyj poet osetin etnograf-kavkazoved," SE, 1949, No. 2, p. 129.
[70] Dirr, *l. c.*
[71] Kovalevskij, *Zakon*, I, p. 143.

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the Caucasus a father is forbidden to manifest his affection for his child. The Cherkess is forbidden even to speak of a child of a person present.[7] 593 602

Similar *adats* forbid a couple to appear together before their parents or parents-in-law for a year after marriage,[8] and among the Abkhaz, even longer.[9]

The NORTHEASTERN CAUCASIANS. These rules of avoidance are found also among the Chechens, with only accidental differences. After marriage the groom must leave his wife and family and live with some neighbours or relatives for two to three weeks.[10] But even afterwards, when he returns, a certain law of separation must be observed. Reineggs reporting on the customs in the eighteenth century mentions that the husband did not share a common room with his wife; the men, he tells us, lived apart from the children and the female members of the family.[11] Another *adat* forbids a husband to eat with his wife in the presence of strangers.[12] And even in strictest privacy he will never speak directly to her in the second person: he usually will turn aside somewhat and instead of saying "Give me," he will say, "I am in need of."[13] [591] [564]

An Ingush father is not only forbidden to carry or fondle his child in public, but is not even allowed to call it by its name,[14] when others are present.

Jakovlev assures us that one can meet Ingushi today who have not seen their mothers-in-law for fifteen years after the wedding,[15] for to do so would be a serious violation of an Ingush custom. A wife is forbidden to mention the name of a first cousin of her husband in the presence of her parents- or brothers-in-law.[16] A husband may never inquire about his wife's relatives.[17] He will not speak with his wife in the presence of his parents or older brothers.[18] According to Dubrovin, a wife is strictly forbidden to speak with her father-in-law or any near male relative of her husband for a certain time after the wedding. She may speak with her mother-in-law only after a number of months have elapsed.[19] 606 602

There is also a certain avoidance observed by the husband and wife among the mountain tribes of Daghestan. A Lesghian, for example, will never put his arm around his wife while dancing. Such signs of intimacy in the presence of others would be unthinkable.[20] 593

We have already mentioned the example of how a certain Boulat-khan brought on himself the contempt of a group of men of Andi for carrying his son 600

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[7] Pallas, *l. c.*
[8] Ladyženskij, FT, p. 186.
[9] Byhan, *op. cit.*, p. 152.
[10] Cf. Jakovlev, *Inguši*, p. 56.
[11] Reineggs, *op. cit.*, I, p. 41.
[12] Leontovič, II, p. 254, § 170.
[13] Dubrovin, *Istorija*, I, i, p. 438.
[14] Grabovskij, "Inguši, ich žizn i obyčai," SSKG, IX (1876), p. 49.
[15] Jakovlev, *op. cit.*, pp. 52, 57.
[16] Jakovlev, *op. cit.*, p. 57.
[17] *ibid.*
[18] *ibid.*
[19] *Istorija*, I, i, p. 434.
[20] Nansen, *op. cit.*, p. 199.

000 in his arms; to make up for the transgression of the *adat* forbidding public manifestation of affection for one's children, he took out his dagger, crying, "I love my son, but you shall see also that I don't mind killing him," and if the men had not succeeded in calming him, he would have actually killed the child.[21]

606 It is indeed striking that we do not find the parent-in-law avoidances among the Lesghians; at least we have not found any reports in this regard. 602 Parent-in-law avoidances would be quite impossible among the Lesghians, owing to the rule of endogamy.[22]

585 The SOUTHERN CAUCASIANS. Among the mountain tribes of Georgia 591 the bride and groom, after having spent three days together,[23] are obliged to 593 separate, the groom remaining with his parents and the bride returning to her 602 family. The period of separation, according to Eristov, was a fortnight, according to Seidlitz, depending on agreement,[24] and according to Kosven, "for some weeks or years."[25] In ancient Imeretia the newly-weds would live at the bride's house for a week, after which the young man returned to his father's house, while his wife remained with her family for a year.[26] During the period of separation the husband might visit his wife only secretly. On her return to her husband she did not share a common room with him.[27] A Pshav couple may not call each other by name; instead they use the words "Man!" and "Woman!"[28] Similarly, the wife may not call any of her husband's male relatives by name.[29] In Svanetia one may not inquire about the health of the wife of another person unless related to her.[30] A Svan will never permit his wife to sit down beside him; and, in general, he is very reluctant to converse with her.[31] In Khevsuria a father may not carry his child in his arms or say a single friendly word to it in the presence of others.[32]

The OSSETES. In Ossetia the husband must live at the groomsman's house for a whole month after the wedding. He is forbidden to oppear before his father, older members of the household, or any older relatives and may [843] visit his wife only secretly.[33] As soon as the young wife becomes pregnant she returns to her family and stays there till the child is born.[34]

[21] *Supra*, pp. 149 f.

[22] *Supra*, pp. 51 f.

[23] Nansen, *op. cit.*, p. 58.

[24] Eristov, *op. cit.*, p. 110. Seidlitz, "Gemeinde- und Familienleben der Chewsuren," *Das Ausland*, 1891, No. 16, p. 320.

[25] M. O. Kosven, "Perežitki matriarchata u narodov Kavkaza," SE, 1936, No. 4—5, p. 117.

[26] *ibid.*

[27] Eristov, *op. cit.*, p. 111. See also Eichwald, *Reise auf dem Kaspischen Meer und in den Kaukasus*, Vol. I, Part II, p. 204.

[28] Makalatija, "Iz starogo narodnogo byta Pšavov," SE, 1938, No. 1, p. 109.

[29] Hahn, *Bilder aus dem Kaukasus*, p. 82.

[30] Dubrovin, *Istorija*, I, ii, p. 109.

[31] *ibid.*

[32] *Supra*, p. 150.

[33] Baddeley, *op. cit.*, I, p. 269.

[34] Hahn, "Die Täler der 'Grossen Ljachwa' und Ksanka (ksan) und das südliche Ossetien," *Globus*, LXXXVIII (1905), p. 24. It is worthy of note that the Kurds and the Armenians

## TABLE 18

### Rules of Marital, Parental, and Kinship Avoidance

| RULES | Abkhaz | Cherkess | Chechens | Lesghians | Mountaineers of Georgia | Ossetes | Karachai |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1. Bride and groom must live separately after wedding | For a year or till first child | For a year or till first child | For two or three weeks | No | Three to fourteen days | For a month after the wedding | Live together one month, then separate |
| 2. Bride returns to her own family after the wedding | Bride lives with strangers | Bride lives with strangers | No, but husband must live elsewhere 2 to 3 weeks | No | Yes | Yes, goes to own family some months after wedding | Two months to two years with own family |
| 3. Husband may visit wife during this period only secretly | Yes 3 | Yes | Yes | No | Yes | Yes | Yes |
| 4. Married couples may not appear together in public or before strangers | Yes | Yes | Yes | No | | | |
| 5. When living in same house after period of separation the couple may not share common quarters | Yes | Yes | Yes | | Yes | Yes | |
| 6. May not mention name of husband | | May not do so before others | Husband avoids speaking directly to wife even in private | No | Wife may not call husband by name and vice versa | | |
| 7. Prohibition to manifest love for one's own child before others | Yes | Yes. Also may not speak of child of person present | Yes. Father may not carry or fondle it | Yes | Yes. May not carry or say friendly word to child | Yes. Rule is very strict | |
| 8. Husband must avoid parents-in-law | For several years | For a year after marriage | Husband may never speak to mother-in-law | No | | Yes | |
| 9. Wife must avoid older male relatives of husband (or husband must avoid relatives of wife) | | | Wife may not mention name of husband's first-cousin | No | May not call them by name | Yes | |
| 10. The couple may not be seen together by parents or parents-in-law | For a year after marriage | For a year after marriage | Yes | | | Yes, during period of separation | Yes, during period of separation |

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trace of this epoch. He goes on to say that the *kalym* was originally a form of bloodwite demanded for bride-stealing, which later evolved into a means of compensating the family of the bride for the loss of a worker. Although Ladyženskij's interpretations are generally good, we connot agree with him in this particular point. It has never been proven that bride-stealing was the original form of marriage anywhere in the world. Moreover, it seems to be much more probable that bride-stealing resulted from the practice of bride purchase rather than vice versa. That *kalym* evolved from bloodwite is very improbable, especially in the Caucasus, because reconciliation by means of bloodwite seems to be a relatively recent substitution for actual blood vengeance. 591 583

(2) The various husband-wife avoidances, such as not mentioning the name of one's husband or wife, not using the second person, avoiding all conversation in public, etc. may be an expression of the superior position of the male sex in Caucasian society (cf. *supra*, pp. 152—159).[40] 593 562 602

(3) The parent and parent-in-law avoidance, the obligatory avoidance of older male relatives of the husband, the prohibition of inquiring about the health of the wife's or husband's relatives, and similar practices are difficult to explain. 606 602

Parent-in-law avoidances are certainly among the most universal practices known to man. In fact, this form of avoidance is so universal that Lowie does not hesitate to write, "From the extremely wide range of parent-in-law avoidance, the absolute universality of these rules might be conjectured on the ground that, where unrecorded, the customs have merely eluded notice."[41] In Australia, for example, "it was formerly death for a man to speak to his mother-in-law."[42] In New Britain if a man were speaking accidently with his mother-in-law, the horror of the "crime" would most likely lead to suicide.[43] [671]

The interpretation of parent-in-law taboos has baffled all ethnologists, and a satisfactory answer still has not been given. The parent-in-law avoidance has been connected with exogamy and bride-capture;[44] it has been considered a vestige of matriarchy, an expression of awe for the mistress of the household;[45] it has also been considered as a means to prevent improper intercourse. We may have here a case of convergence, based more on human psychology than on any particular institution; nor is there any reason to attribute the same cause for the practice in all parts of the world. This is but another important ethnological problem that waits to be solved.

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[40] The Caucasians seem to be of the opinion that separation is the best means of fostering conjugal love (cf. Leontovič, II, pp. 254 f, § 176).

[41] *Primitive Society*, p. 88.

[42] Howitt, *The Native Tribes of South East Australia*, p. 267.

[43] H. H. Romilly, "The Islands of the New Britain Group," *Proceedings of the Royal Geographical Society*, n. s. IX, p. 9.

[44] Cf. A. H. Post, "Ueber die Sitte, nach welcher Verlobte und Ehegatten ihre gegenseitigen Verwandten meiden," *Globus*, LXVII (1895), pp. 176 f.

[45] Cf. R. Briffault, *op. cit.*, I, pp. 266 f.

We have given a number af examples (*supra*, p. 150) illustrating how 000
Ossetine fathers and mothers are forbidden to take their children in their arms, or by hand, or offer them anything, in the presence of older members of the family. The Ossete would permit his child to die rather than transgress this rule.

A woman may never in her whole life speak to an older male member of 607
her husbands's family, and if, for instance, the wife of a younger brother is 602
busy at the hearth, an elder brother is not allowed to enter the room till she has finished her work.[35]

The neighbouring TURKS observe similar rules of avoidance. Thus the 593
Karachai newly-weds live together for a few months and then the bride must 591
return to her parental home for a period which may last two years. During this 602
time her husband may visit her only secretly.[36] The Nogai will not speak to his wife in the presence of elderly people except in extreme necessity. The wife must always appear veiled before her husband for a year after marriage or till she gives birth to a child.[37] A Kumykian couple may never call each other by name; instead they refer to each other as "him" and "her."[38]

## § 2. PROBLEMS OF POSSIBLE ORIGIN AND INTERPRETATION OF THE RULES OF AVOIDANCE

We may divide the customs just described into several distinct groups. The 591
following table will show that these rules of avoidance are genuinely Caucasian, 583
found among all North Caucasians and neighbouring peoples.

(1) The first custom which calls for special attention is that requiring the bride to return to her family shortly after marriage and permitting the husband to visit her only secretly. We found this custom in Ossetia, Armenia, Kurdistan, Chechnia, Georgia and among the Caucasian Turks. The Cherkess bride, however, does not return to her own parents but goes to a neighbouring family. This temporary visit-marriage, though still not definitely proven, may be connected with matrilocality, and therefore this custom may be a vestige of a mother-right culture.

It is interesting that the Cherkess bride lives with *strangers* during this period and not with her own family. Ladyženskij[39] considers this practice a vestige of the original form of acquiring a wife, namely bride-stealing. When a bride was stolen she, naturally, had to hide, and here, he argues, we have a clear

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had a similar observance. Among the Kurds the bride would return to her family a few days after her marriage. Her stay with her parents, however, was very short, lasting about three days or so. After receiving some gifts from her family she returned to her husband Cf. Kosven, *l. c.*). The custom of the bride returning to her family after the wedding is also an Armenian practice (*ibid.*).

[35] Baddeley, *l. c.*

[36] Jankó, "Néprajzi, etc." Zichy, *Kaukázusi és középázsia utazásai*, p. 44.

[37] Dubrovin, *Istorija*, I, i, p. 279.

[38] Dubrovin, *op. cit.*, I, i, p. 639.

[39] "Zur Erforschung der Rechtsgewohnheiten der Bergvölker des Kaukasus," *Zeitsch. f. Ethnologie*, XLII (1930), p. 242.

C. G. 596 children; later, married sons with adult offspring would separate from the family even if the father was still alive. The final stage was that each married couple set up a household of its own. The original joint family survived until recently in some remote corners, particularly among the Svan and the Pshav. There C. G. 476 is a tradition of mutual aid between families with regard to tasks exceeding the forces of a single unit (agricultural tasks, vintage, house-building, tapestry-weaving, etc.). These relations obtain even between unrelated families, C. G. 621 but often whole villages or sections of villages consisted of groups of related families (clans). Such family-settlements exist at the present time; a kolkhoz or a brigade in a kolkhoz may consist entirely of persons bearing the same family name.

C. A. 608 In the whole N. Caucasus and also in Armenia the institution of milk-relationship existed. A child suckled by a woman belonging to a certain family became related to that family, as did all its relatives, and these ties were considered as sacred as those of blood relationship. In the N. Caucasus such a relationship could also be established ritually in the case of older persons, namely by mere contact with a woman's breast; this was carried so far that even a forcible performing of this ritual could end a blood feud, as the act made the injured family and that from which "blood was sought" related "by milk." In this

C. A. 608 way, though all the members of a clan claim a common descent from the same ancestor, this descent is largely fictitious.

C. G. 565 642 Clans naturally differed in size and wealth, and this led in many parts of the Caucasus to a differentiation of classes and to a feudal structure of the society (Kabarda; lower regions of Dagestan). In Transcaucasia there was a further development into feudal C. G. 619 monarchies (Georgia, Armenia). The original tribal structure was best preserved among the Georgian highlanders, the Svan, some of the W. Circassian tribes, the Ossetes, the Chechen and Ingush, and the tribes in the higher parts of Dagestan. For instance, the Pshav tribe (dziri, lit. "root") is divided into eleven clans (temi); the members of each clan bear the same name, but in everyday life are known under a second family name (gvari) derived from the proper name of a grandfather or great-grandfather. If a family expanded, C. G. 565 new surnames were adopted. Where a differentiation of classes took place, the general pattern was the following. The upper class consisted of the nobility, in its turn subdivided into various ranks in the regions with more pronounced feudal traits (Georgia, Kabarda). The lower class consisted of the peasants; here too, a further stratification existed, depending on differences in degree of economic C. G. [567] and personal freedom. The lowest classes were the slaves; mostly prisoners of war. In

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military career, as the qualities required there were most in conformity with the ideals handed down by native tradition.

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Among the higher classes in the N. W. Caucasus, the usage was to have their children brought up in a family of a lower class; this custom also existed among Western Georgian nobles in imitation of Circassian usage. Even before the birth of the child the aspirants vied with each other for the honor of being its atalyk (foster parent). The atalyk acquired all the rights of blood relationship; the ward upon completion of his education was naturally more attached to his foster parents than to his own, and could be counted on to avenge any harm done to his educators.

## LAW AND CUSTOM

671 Among the moutaineers the rights and duties of each individual and penalties for offences were regulated in detail by an unwritten body of rules (adat), which remained largely unchanged among the Christian Kartvelians, and which never quite yielded to
628 Muslim law (shariate). Among the North Caucasians, a killing - whether deliberate or accidental -- resulted in a blood feud, which could last for generations. The revenge had to be carried out by a close male relative, usually a brother or son. Friends of the blood-guilty could try to arrange a peace, and the injured family could then accept a "blood-price," which varied according to the social rank of the victim.
[608] Also, the milk-relationship? was considered so sacred that its establishment could end a feud. Thus among the Circassians a person guilty of blood could kidnap a young child from the injured family and bring it up; he thus became the child's atalyk and a milk-relationship was established between him and the family.

Besides manslaughter, blood feuds also resulted from abduction of married women, adultery, and from certain grave insults, e. g. throwing out of the house the kettle that was suspended over the hearth; among the Tush, who were seminomadic pastoralists, also from cattle-stealing.

681 For less serious injuries the adat prescribed in detail compensations in kind. E. g.

? [Cf. cat. 116, pp. 527-528 -- Analyst]

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582 ghian mountain peoples. Early ecclesiastical law of Georgia and Armenia attacked next-of-kin marriages with great vehemence, while Islamic law *permitted* the Daghestanians to continue the practice, except, of course, the brother-sister marriages. The Armenian National Council of Ashtishat (A. D. 365) prohibited all marriages in the lateral line up to the third degree of relationship.[76] Later even fourth degree relatives were excluded from mating, while other Church decrees and tradition considered marriages between relatives even up to the seventh degree as incestuous.[77] Islamic law on the contrary, permitted first-cousin marriages.[78] Moreover the local and linguistic isolation of the [191] Lesghian tribes and constant family-feuds favoured endogamy. Today there are about 30 distinct languages in Daghestan and formerly there must have been many more, not to mention the numerous dialects. Some languages are spoken by as few as a thousand people, or as is the case with the Nakhada by only one hundred and thirty-five persons.

Although the Iranian culture area extended beyond North Caucasia, we have no evidence of the existence of the next-of-kin marriages in Northwest and Northcentral Caucasus. What kept the Cherkess and the Abkhaz from falling into line with their Eastern and Southern neighbours, or what has contributed to its early death after endogamy had been introduced, is not easy to say. The greater geographical remoteness from the centres of endogamy (Egypt, Sumeria, Elam, Arabia and Persia are the classical regions for brother-sister marriages), the well-established aristocracy with no danger of extinction, the strong, proud tradition regarding incest, the great respect for their own *adats*, the example of the élite of the Caucasus (the Kabardians), and Christianity seem to have been the main factors involved. We do not know if endogamy has ever existed among the Chechens.

### 2. The Impediment of Affinity

000 By an impediment of affinity we understand that degree of propinquity between a husband and a female relative of his wife or between a wife and a male relative of her husband which by law or custom is a bar to marriage. This particular impediment has not yet been sufficiently investigated by the field-workers; however we shall treat of this impediment indirectly when speaking of the levirate, sororate, and widow inheritance.

### 3. The Impediments of Fictitious Kinships

582 By fictitious kinship we understand any relationship based on grounds other than consanguinity or affinity. To what extent do such artificial kinships 608 bar two Caucasians from mating? Fieldworkers have indeed investigated the various forms of fictitious kinship, but, unfortunately, not in relation to mating. There is still much to be done in regard to this important impediment.

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[76] Klidschian, "Das armenische Eherecht," *Zeitschrift f. vergl. Rechtsw.*, XXV (1911), p. 332 ff.

[77] Zdenko Vinski, "*Die südslavische Grossfamilie in ihrer Beziehung zum asiatischen Grossraum*," p. 138 (MS).

[78] G. Bergsträsser, *Grundzüge des islamischen Rechts*, p. 82.

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(1) The *Kunak*-relationship is a contract between two men of different localities according to which they are obliged to offer mutual hospitality and protection whenever the occasion lends itself. Whenever a Caucasian passes near a fellow-*kunak's* village while travelling, he will infallibly pay him a visit and will lodge with him at least for the night. Restaurants, inns, and hotels are unknown among the mountaineers; the institution of *kunak*-relationship is however, an excellent substitute. Any offense committed against the guest will be avenged as if it were against one of the family. In fact, the bond that unites the *kunaks* is considered as sacred as, if not more sacred than, the family tie. The institution is found throughout North Caucasia.[79] The question whether members of the two families may intermarry or not seems to have been overlooked by the fieldworkers. It may very well be that such marriages are even preferred. We know for certain that such marriages are not barred in Ossetia.[80] 582 608 871

(2) Another form of fictious kinship is the *tlewsh*.[81] According to Longworth it constitutes an impediment. The Cherkess, we are told, take an oath among themselves and become "brothers," and "to strengthen the illusion of their being such, their families are not allowed to intermarry; a regulation so rigidly observed, that even where the society is composed of many thousands, as in the case of the powerful one of Natquo, it still holds good, and a marriage between two individuals of it is looked upon as incestuous".[82]

(3) *Relationship by milk (parenté de lait, Milchverwandtschaft)* is a widespread institution. There are two ways in which the relationship can be formed: either by actual breast-sucking or by mere contact of the lips and breast of a woman.[83] The kinship thus formed is as sacred as that of consanguinity. Karginov describes how an Ossetine lover was once forced to kiss the breast of his beloved, the aim of the act being to put an end to their adulterous friendship, for once his lips would touch her breast he would become her "son." From that moment on intercourse and marriage would be looked upon as incestuous.[84] Gaerber wrote in 1728: "Whenever the Usmei has a son, he is carried round from village to village, and alternately suckled by every woman who has a child at her breast until he is weaned. This custom, by establishing a kind of brotherhood between the prince and his subjects, singularly endears 582 608 863

[79] An excellent description of the *kunak*-relationship can be found in Dirr's article, "Aus dem Gewohnheitsrecht der kaukasischen Bergvölker," *Zeitschr. f. vergl. Rechtsw.*, XLI (1925). See also Interiano, *Della vita dei Zychi, chiamati Circassi*, Ramusio, II (1559), folio 140 v. M. Kovalevskij, *Costume contemp.*, p. 190: Ossetes, Tartars, Kumyks have the practice too. N. Jakovlev, *Ingušī*, pp. 15—25.
Grabovskij, "Ekonomičeskij i domašnij byt žitelej gorskago učastka Ingulevskago okruga," SSKG, III (1870), pp. 4—7.
A. P. Berže, *Čečnja i Čečency*, pp. 86 f.
The host will even give up his life for his guest; see R. Erckert, *Der Kaukasus*, p. 108.

[80] M. Kovalevskij, *Costume contemp.*, p. 214.

[81] For possible origin of the practice and ceremonies connected with the institution see V. V. Vasil'kov, "Očerk byta temirgoevcev," SMOMPK, XXIX (1901), No. 2, pp. 80 f.

[82] *A Year among the Circassians*, I, p. 229.

[83] Debuvin, *Istorija*, Tome I, Fk. I, pp. 439 f.

[84] S. Karginov, "Krovavaja mest' u osetin," SMOMPK, XLIV (1914), No. 3, p. 283.

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582 them to each other."[85] The Utsmi or Usmi were rulers of Kaitag, said to date
608 from the Arab conquest in the eighth century or soon after.[86] The custom of
853 the Usmi did more than merely endear the baby prince to his subjects. The inhabitants actually considered the prince their foster-brother and for him they were ready to die, for milk-relationship implied as strong a tie as that of consanguinity.[87] The anonymous *Tagebuch* (p. 59)[88] gives us another example: an Ingush "murderer of an only son flies to the mother and, dagger in hand, compels her to give him her breast. Other relatives demand blood-revenge, but the woman, whose right it is to decide, says 'now that he has sucked my breast, if you kill him I lose *two* sons,' and the murderer's life is spared."[89]

Both forms of adoption, by actual and by ceremonial breastsucking, are in full accord with the *šarî'a*. According to the Koran, iv. 27, relationship by milk constitutes an impediment as stringent as that of blood propinquity. Excluded from marriage are the woman and her adopted child; the child and all those suckled by the same woman; the child with all his descendents and the woman who suckled him with all her milk and blood relatives and those of her husband. Such kinship is known in Islamic law as *raḍâ* or *raḍâ'h*[90]

It is difficult to determine just in how far the Caucasian practice is dependent on that of Islamism. The explorers and *adat* collectors fail to tell us to what degree marriage between milk-relatives is looked upon as incestuous. In all probability the institution existed in the Caucasus long before the introduction of the Koran. It seems to be pre-Islamic for various reasons. First of all, the custom is not limited to Mohammedan Caucasians but is found among Christian tribes as well, for example in Armenia.[91] Moreover it is very difficult to imagine that a *mere* ceremony, and a *foreign* one at that, could dispense a Caucasian from the most sacred obligation of avenging the blood of a murdered relative. Anyone who has studied Caucasian customary law will admit that perhaps no *adats* are so unchangeable as those regarding blood-feuds. It is unintelligible how an imported ceremony, especially among tribes that have been converted to Islamism rather recently and then only half-heartedly, could change these almost unchangeable *adats*. Finally, relationship by milk is neither an Islamic invention nor restricted to Mohammedan countries (it is found, for example, also among the nomadic peoples of Asia); it could exist in the Caucasus independently of Mohammedanism too.

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[85] G. Ellis, *Memoir of a map of the countries comprehended between the Black Sea and the Caspian nations and vocabularies of their languages*, London, 1788, pp. 40 f.

[86] Baddeley, *The Rugged Flanks of Caucasus*, II, p. 18, note. Ellis, *l. c.*

[87] Baddeley, *l. c.*

[88] *Tagebuch einer Reise, die im Jahr 1781 von der Gränzfestung Mosdok nach dem innern Caucasus unternommen worden*, Leipzig and St. Petersburg, 1797. A certain Steder is the author.

[89] Baddeley, *op. cit.*, I, p. 262.
U. Laudaev, "Primĕčanija k statĕ čečenskoe plemja," SMOMPK, VI (1872), p. 50.

[90] Th. W. Juynboll, *Handbuch des islâmischen Gesetzes nach der Lehre der schâfiitischen Schule nebst einer allgemeinen Einleitung*, p. 219.

[91] Baddeley, *op. cit.*, I, p. 263.

582 relationship by milk. As is well known, Mohammed had an adopted son, his
597 own emancipated slave named Zaid ibn Ḥâriṯah, who had a beautiful wife, at least beautiful in the eyes of the Prophet. Mohammed persuaded Zaid to divorce her and thus to make it possible for the Prophet to marry her. The faithful, however, were greatly scandalized, for the "sinless" Prophet married the wife of his "son". Mohammed seemed to have no way of extricating himself from this awkward position, but fortunately Allah had pity on him and favoured him with another revelation according to which all fosterage is sinful and non-
[608] existent. If anyone dares to call another person by the name of "father" and if that person did not actually beget him, he will infallibly be cursed by Allah and all His Angels.[104] In the Caucasus children are adopted and, as is the case with the Cherkess today, enjoy the full and equal rights of natural sons and daughters.[105] M. Kovalevskij found adoption in practice among the Ossetes. Here too the adopted son would be regarded as a true "son" who was able to perpetuate the family.[106] Formerly fictitious relationship could arise among the Cherkess by a mere pronouncement of the formula, "I adopt you," or "You are my daughter," or "You are my sister." From that moment the person adopted would have to consider the relatives of the person who pronounced the formula, as his own. A murderer could form a fictitious relationship in
[608] Ossetia by consecrating himself to his victim in a special ceremony at his grave.[107] Among the Ossetes adoption sometimes took place before the mother of the family. The person to be adopted would say to her, "From today on you are my mother; I am your son." The mother would then uncover her breast and answer, "I am your mother; you are my son."[108] As is only to be expected, adoption occurs very rarely, in fact only in extreme necessity to pre-
[608] vent extinction of the family. Adoption cannot be frequent because the mountaineers insist on purity of blood, and to adopt a child unnecessarily would imply giving away family property to a fictitious member.[109] Owing to the lack of data, we can only call the attention of the fieldworker to the following two problems: firstly, exactly *which* tribes consider adoption an impediment to mating; secondly, to which degree of fictitious relationship.

### 4. Disparity of Social Rank

565 We now come to the obligation of marrying exclusively within one's own
[582] social rank. But before we can begin to speak of this form of endogamy we must briefly describe the social stratification in the Caucasus.

The NORTHWESTERNERS. The *Abkhazian* society was formerly divided into four distinct classes: (1) the princes, (2) the *Chinakma*, i. e., the

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[104] Koran, xxxiii, 5. Cf. J. Henninger, *Die Familie bei den heutigen Beduinen Arabiens und seiner Randgebiete*, Leiden, 1943, p. 64. Juynboll, *op. cit.*, p. 187. R. Roberts, *Das Familien-, Sklaven- und Erbrecht im Qorân*, Leipzig, 1908, pp. 39 ff.

[105] Ladyženskij, FT, p. 202.

[106] Kovalevskij, *Coutume contemp.*, p. 203.

[107] Kovalevskij, *op. cit.*, p. 204.

[108] *ibid.*

[109] Kovalevskij, *op. cit.*, p. 203.

**TABLE 7 ***

**Social Rank of Ossete Child of an Interclass Marriage**

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| Mother → / Father · Child ↓ | *uzden* | *farsagleg* | *kavdassart* | *gurziag* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| *uzden* | uzden | kavdassart | kavdassart | gurziag |
| *farsag.* | farsagleg | farsagleg | farsagleg | gurziag |
| *kavdasij.* | kavdassart | kavdassart | kavdassart | gurziag? ** kavdassart? |
| *gurziag* | gurziag | gurziag (in Tagaursk child free) | gurziag | gurziag. |

* This table is based on data found in Kovalevskij's *Coutume contemp.*, pp. 202 f.

** Is it gurziag or kavdassart? There seems to be a contradiction: on page 202 Kovalevskij maintains: "Ne peut naître d'un père kavdassard qu'un kavdassard, quelle que soit sa mère... Les kavdassards peuvent acheter et posseder les gourziaks qu'ils ont achetés; mais les enfants de ces gourziaks seront kavdassards, et appartiendront au propriètaire du kavdassard, c'est-a-dire, à l'ouzdanelag." On page 203 we find: "Les fils et les fille d'une esclave sont toujours esclaves, et, commes tels, dépourvus de tout droit."

(and here we may also include the majority of the Ossete tribes) and least insistent on marriages exclusively within one's own class. In fact we can almost say that the prohibition is non-existent in Chechnia and in the greater part of Ossetia. The "Lesghian Zone" occupies a middle position between these two extremes.

### 5. Other Forms of Endogamy and Exogamy

562 We do not maintain to have exhausted the possibilities of endogamy-exogamy regulations. These possibilities, however, have been more or less overlooked by the explorers. We refer, for examples, to the marriage impediments arising from disparity of occupation, disparity of cult, disparity of nationality. We know, for instance, that the Kabardians freely intermarry with the Russians and Karachai,[164] and that they marry any non-Cherkess, especially if the other party is a Mohammedan or is willing to accept the Islamic religion,[165] but is that the situation everywhere in the Caucasus? Till more fieldwork is done, such questions will have to remain unanswered. Midwives are sometimes [859] considered related to the new-born, but we do not know how widespread the custom actually is. In regard to the impediment of disparity of cult we know that the Koran, ii. 20 f admonishes the Muslim: "Marry not a heathen woman before she be converted: a believing slave is much better even if she doth not please thee... The heathen woman will lead thee to hell, but Allah calleth thee to Paradise..." How strictly do the Islamic Caucasians observe this precept? There are doubtless many more lacunae that only the trained and exact fieldworker can fill.

[164] Ladyženskij, FT, p. 191.

[165] Ladyženskij, FT, p. 198.

585 the guests have any questions, it is her girl-companion that must answer. The bride may at the most nod in affirmation.

She remains in her "hermitage" for some months before she is finally permitted to live with the rest of the household.[5]

The following description is chiefly that of the main Cherkess tribe, the Kabardians.

The *kalym* has been paid and the day of the wedding agreed upon. The relatives of the bridegroom begin the necessary wedding preparations. The odour [207] of steaming beer and of the finest dainties creates a distinctive atmosphere, peculiar to a Kabardian wedding. On the eve of the marriage a group of men gallop through the *aul* inviting relatives to a preparatory feast, on the occasion of which a collection is taken to cover some of the expenses of the coming wedding, e. g., purchase of a veil for the bride, chartering of a bridal wagon.

On the following day young men fully-armed gather at the house of the groom and noisely gallop off to the bride's house. The bridegroom, however, [208] does not go with them but "hides" at his best-man's house.[6] By doing so he becomes temporarily an adopted son *(kan)* of the latter's sib. A young companion called *shatso-kot* must always be at his side to protect him.

When the riders (or to be more exact, the bridal procession) reach the bride's house, her attendant, whom the riders brought along, is taken to the women's quarters, while the rest, after having feasted and danced till late into the night, are given lodging either in the house of the bride or of one of the neighbours.

Immediately after breakfast on the following day, the unusual hustle peculiar to a Cherkess wedding is observed outside the bride's house. The horses [209] are being harnessed, the bride's belongings are being packed carefully but hurriedly into a trunk and put on the specially decorated bridal wagon. The bride [210] herself is inside the house, being attired in her finest clothes. From her hair hangs a long white ribbon reaching to the ground. She is veiled, or rather, wrapped in a large white shawl. Her wedding dress differs but slightly from the ordinary Cherkess dress, except that it is made of more costly material. She is assisted on to the wagon and takes her place next to her ever-faithful girl-
585 attendant. As soon as the bridal procession begins to move, the young men of
526 the *aul*, all on horseback, try to snatch the caps away from the guests and thus begin the usual bridal horseraces. When the more "dignified" part of the procession enters the village of the groom, a wedding song is sung. By this time the racers have rested a bit and are ready to break into another wild chase. They again snatch one another's caps, throwing them on the ground, and as the rider gallops past one of the caps, he tries his skill at shooting a hole through it.

The bride is then taken by two women into the women's quarters, whilst outside the cracks of pistols and guns continue. The bride slowly sits down on a specially prepared bench, covered with a carpet. All eyes are fixed on her as a girl-friend of hers has the honour of removing the shawl.

While the riders outside are enjoying their beer, the youth of the village armed with long poles occupy a place difficult for the horsemen to pass. The

[5] Seidlitz, *op. cit.*, pp. 40 f; Deržavin, *op. cit.*, p. 10.
[6] C. Hahn, *Kaukasische Reisen und Studien*, p. 40.

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riders charge wildly, slashing their whips in all directions against their attackers whose task it is to prevent the horsemen form entering the house. The battle continues till the riders finally manage to jump over the fence or to break it down and thus force their way into the house. The "defenders of the bride" throw away their poles and begin dancing with the girls of the village. At noon they all enter the house to congratulate the parents of the groom. Dances commence again and last until midnight. 585 [526]

All this time, as we have already mentioned, the groom is absent, temporarily adopted by a neighbouring sib and guarded day and night by his *shatso-kot*. When the groom retires, the *shatso-kot* must spend the night in the yard protecting the bridegroom against any intruder. Never may he abandon his post. During the day it is his strict obligation to entertain the groom and this he usually does by horseback riding, away from the village. In the evening the two are joined by other companions. Toward midnight all leave except of course the *shatso-kot*, who must now accompany the groom to his bride.[7] [608]

The first three nights, as a part of the wedding ceremony, the groom must undo the bride's stays.[8] Her corset is a broad red leather belt, which is sewed tightly about her waist and is never removed till the wedding night. According to Pallas, the corset was donned when she was 10 or 12 years old,[9] while other explorers claim that the corset was sewed on soon after the bride was born.[10] In any case, she may never take the corset off: it must remain untouched till it bursts and then it must immediately be replaced by another. The husband alone has the right to undo it, on the wedding night. The corset renders the waist very small in proportion to the shoulders, the purpose being to prevent the growth of the breasts, an essential requirement for Cherkess beauty.[11] In some places at least, the custom of wearing such stays has been recently discarded.[12] [292] [836]

Pallas and Ellis in their reports dating from the 18th century claim that the corset is "cut with a dagger, a custom sometimes productive of very fatal accidents."[13] Today untieing and not cutting the stays is the orthodox ceremony with the Cherkess[14] and the Ossetes. To cut them would subject the groom to endless ridicule.[15] Since the custom of *cutting* was "productive of very fatal accidents" we can easily understand why the pratice has been given up. Sometimes the bride's girl-friends maliciously tie a large number of very difficult knots, so that the temptation to make use of the dagger is not slight. On the first three nights the bride is not allowed to say a word to her husband.[16]

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[7] Hahn, *op. cit.*, pp. 40—44. For a description of a wedding among the Temirgoi see Vasil'kov, *op. cit.*, pp. 89—101.

[8] Ladyženskij, FT, p. 191.

[9] P. S. Pallas, *Bemerkungen auf einer Reise in die südl. Statth. des russ. Reichs etc.*, I, pp. 380 f.

[10] Ellis, *Memoir of a map etc.*, p. 24.

[11] Pallas, *l. c.*; Ellis, *l. c.*; Dubrovin, *Istorija*, I, i, p. 127. Prof. D. Wölfel has called my attention to a similar practice in Tyrol.

[12] For example, Ladyženskij could not find the practice in Kamenomostki Aul in 1927, FT, p. 191.

[13] Pallas, *op. cit.*, I, p. 381; Ellis, *l. c.*

[14] C. Hahn, *op. cit.*, p. 44.

[15] Baddeley, *op. cit.*, I, p. 270.

[16] Hahn, *op. cit.*, p. 45.

585 The Cherkess formerly had a very important ceremony, which however seems no longer to be observed, the virginity test.[17] Formerly if the bride were found to have lost her virginity before her wedding, she would be returned to her father, who would mercilessly mutilate, sell or even kill her.[18]

[591] A week later the so-called *unaishe* (i. e., "introducing the young wife into the household") takes place. Up to this time she had to live in her own quarters, but from now on she is considered a full-fledged member of the family. In the midst of much shouting and shooting, songs and cheers, the young wife is led into the house by two women. She is wrapped in a shawl and wears tiny [592] stilts attached to the soles of her shoes, which make her look unusually tall. She enters, stands shyly against the wall and then waits for someone to remove her shawl. Thereupon a woman places with her finger a sweet liquid called *urtsetl* into the mouth of the bride in order that her life in the new household may be ever as sweet as *urtsetl*.[19]

Only women were present in the house when the bride entered. They now all take a drink of beer from a large common vessel, then sing and finally break into a dance till wedding songs are heard from outside. This is a sign for the bride to come out, and as soon as she crosses the threshold, a boy standing on the roof, lets down a shower of confetti, nuts and tiny pasteries.

The bride then retires to her room, while the guests feast, drink and dance.

Some days later a ceremony called "Reconciliation" takes place. The bride's girl-friends take part in dances at the home of the groom while the young men join the bridegroom in his hiding place, where drinking is preferred to dancing. The groom then makes a little speech, thanking his "foster-father" [608] for his kindness, and in return for all the courtesies shown him during his "adoption," he offers him an ox or a horse. The groom has been "hiding" all this time, and now he feels that it is about time for him to seek "reconciliation" with his family. In the meantime a sheep has been slaughtered and beer has been prepared for a feast when the "prodigal son" returns. A special cup of beer sweetened with honey and a little "snack" are waiting for him on a small side-table. All eyes are riveted on the son who "ran away" from home. The young ladies are bunched together in a corner of the room; the old men are likewise huddled against one of the walls; the parents of the groom and an honoured guest, an old man, stand in another corner of the room, while the bride with her girl-friends stands in the doorway. Suddenly the loud voice of the honoured guest calls all to attention. "Dear son," he cries, "you think that you have offended us, but you are mistaken. On the contrary, you have caused us indescribable joy! Come take this drink as a reward! Come, son, drink it and let us forget about the past." The groom rises and slowly approaches the old man, accepts the beer and hands it to his attendant. Thereupon he steps outside of the house where he drinks the beer and together with his companions partakes of the "snack." After a while he retires, while his companions and guests continue their feasting and dancing till morning.

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[17] Cf. Ladyženskij, FT, p. 184.

[18] Byhan, *op. cit.*, p. 155.

[19] *Urtsetl* is made of sheep's fat or butter mixed with honey.

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turn, must have stimulated the entire family to watch most carefully over the conduct of their daughters; and this watchfulness, again, must have been responsible for *adats* threatening the girl as well as any lover with the most severe sanctions not only for an actual perforation of the hymen but also, as the *adats* frequently express it, for any "suspicious approach."[109]

There have been other explanations offered for the virginity test. Westermarck, for instance, suggested masculine jealousy.[110] But this explanation is not applicable to the peoples of North Caucasia, for, as we have already mentioned, the sexual factor has very little significance in the selection of mates compared to the all-important economic, social, and religious factors. Such a jealousy, where mutual attraction matters so little, is unthinkable.[111]

(6) The custom of the bride thrice walking round the fireplace is an ancient wedding ceremony frequently found among pastoral tribes. As is well known, it was also the custom of the ancient Indo-Europeans. That one of the main wedding ceremonies in the Caucasus should take place at the fireplace is quite in keeping with the deep religious significance of the hearth. Among a large number of Caucasian mountain tribes, especially in North Ossetia, Ingushetia, and Daghestan, we find the custom of never allowing the fire in the hearth to die out, this practice being a form of cult for the dead.[112] The fire and especially the chain above it constitute a connection between the living and the departed. It forms a sacred asylum for any murderer, because as soon as he touches the chain the ancestors of the victim approve of the murderer's adoption into the family. The chain is the symbol of the family: to tear it down is regarded as one of the most abominable crimes imagineable, an insult to the living and dead members of the sib, which must be punished with death. The chain is a symbol of the family and therefore it must be buried with the last member of an extinct sib. To swear by the hearth-chain is an infallible sign that the person is saying the truth, for to do so falsely is unthinkable.[113] Such an oath would be a curse upon the entire sib and their ancestors. In other words, the ancient solidarity of the sib is intimately connected with the ancient religion of the North Caucasians, and the sanctuary of this religion is the hearth. Now, marriage is an act by which a stranger is taken into the family, and one of the most natural means, most in harmony with the ancient Caucasian form of life, is the hearth and hearth-chain. It is indeed striking that in Daghestan the cult of the fireplace still exists today but not the wedding ceremony. This fact confirms rather than disproves our explanation, for in Daghestan the wife was not a stranger: she had to be chosen from within the sib! (Cf. *supra*, pp. 51 f.)

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[109] *Infra*, Chapter XII, p. 176.

[110] The History of Marriage, I, p. 163.

[111] The jealousy would have to be so great that the disappointed husband would insist that the bride's nose be cut off or that she be otherwise mutilated and even killed, for such are the ancient adats!

[112] Günther, "Zusammenstöße zwischen Gesetz und Gewohnheitsrecht im nördlichen Kaukasus," *Zeitschrift f. vergl. Rechtsw.*, XLVI (1931), p. 324.

[113] *ibid.*

that three districts were to be added to the Northern Ossetin A.S.S.R. in their entirety as well as parts of three other districts. The major portion of this new Ossetin territory was sliced off the Stavropol Territory, but a section of it came from Ingushetia,* which had occupied the western border area of the Chechen-Ingush A.S.S.R. In this way the Northern Ossetin A.S.S.R. grew from 2,390 square miles before the war to 3,250 square miles. This territorial change altered the ethnographic character of the Republic, for together with its new territories Ossetia received a fairly large number of Russians who mostly lived in the two new 'Ossetin' towns, Mozdok and Malgobek. Russian communists thus obtained a greater say in the running of the Northern Ossetin A.S.S.R. at the expense of their Ossetin comrades. In the small Northern Ossetin Republic of the inter-war period (an Autonomous Province until 1936) the Ossetins had formed 84 per cent of the entire population against 13·4 per cent Russians and Ukrainians. In 'Greater Ossetia' however, the percentage of the Ossetins may have dropped to about 60 per cent while the Slav share may have increased accordingly. Ca. 631 162 S.U. 563 634 Ca. [131]

In addition to the territorial expansion of Ossetia the Soviet Government made still another 'concession' to the Ossetins. The capital of the republic, Vladikavkaz, was allowed to assume the Ossetin name of Dzaudzhikau – a worthless gesture since Russian predominance in the town was not affected by the change of its name. Dzaudzhikau remained that which was implied in its former name of Vladikavkaz, meaning 'Ruler of the Caucasus'. It continues to be one of the centres from which Russian administration exercises its control over the mountaineers. Ca. 103 633

## RE-EDUCATION OF THE KABARDINIANS

The Chechens and the Ossetins represent the two extremes in the attitude of the local Caucasus peoples towards the Russians – the most irreconcilable resistance in the case of the Chechens, and the most far-reaching appeasement in the case of the Ossetins. The Kabardinians, forming part of the once powerful Circassian group which had been broken up by Russian colonization and conquest, stand between these extremes. In the Second World War their attitude was not beyond reproach. The Kabardinians had their deserters and traitors, but the Soviet Government did not consider they were bad enough to justify the abolition of their Autonomous Republic. Ca. 604 687

During the important administrative reorganization which took place in the Caucasus towards the end of the Second World War, the Kabardinian A.S.S.R. was diminished by only 300 square miles, which were incorporated into Georgia. This, however, was not meant to be a punishment for the Kabardinians, but was directed against the Balkars who had inhabited the area in question. The small administrative reform Ca. [631] [131] S.U. 563 634 687

* [Cf. category 116, pp. 185 ff., R1 Sov. Union — Analyst]

582 in Kaitag, and of the Tabassaranians he is able to say: "Up to the present
614 there have been no instances of anyone freely separating himself from his *tukhum*. The people are convinced that such an action would be impossible, unthinkable, certainly the most abominable disgrace imagineable." In the Province of Dargwa (according to Popov) the *tukhum* does not even have the authority to expel an illegitimate member, much less permit a fully-fledged member to separate from the others freely. Of all the provinces in South Daghestan only the adats of Tsakhur admit marriages with outsiders, but only
611 by way of exception. Thus, according to Akhtinian and Rutulian customary law, a sib may marry one of their girls to a groom belonging to another *tukhum*, but only if the groom's sib is in danger of extinction.[66] But even in this extreme case an important *conditio sine qua non* is added: the children born of this marriage must be named not after the father's, but, strangely enough, after the mother's sib.[67]

621 In most cases local exogamy will coincide with consanguineous exogamy, because generally the Caucasian *auls* are sib-villages, that is, inhabited by people with the same family name who consider themselves related to one another. The questions of local exogamy and cross-cousin marriages have still to be investigated by the fieldworker.

Endogamy is not a sign of primitiveness. On the contrary, it thrives where social ranks are of paramount importance.[68] But the Lesghians, as we shall soon learn (*infra*, pp. 61 ff), are virtually classless and therefore endogamy seems out of place. We cannot attribute the practice to Islamism; for Mohammedanism may indeed *permit* consanguineous mating but it does not *prescribe* it. We may therefore rightly expect to find the solution to the riddle in pre-Islamic times.

We have said that the Southern Caucasians are strict exogamists. That is true, but there has been a time when the Georgians, the neighbours of the Lesghian peoples, were endogamists.

In the Georgian chronicles of King Vakhtang, which speak of the times of Nabuchodonosor, we read (after Brosset, *Additions*, p. 31), "Les plus abominable coutumes s'introduisirent, dans les mariages, on n'avait aucun égard à la parenté, on mangeait tout ce qui a vie, on n'ensevelissait point les morts et l'on dévorait les cadavres!"[69] And according to the legend about Alexander's march into the Caucasus as found in the Georgian chronicles (after Brosset, *Histoire de la Géorgie*, I, p. 33): "Étant venu dans le Karthli, il trouve chez tous les Géorgiens des coutumes plus abominables que chez aucun peuple. En effet les mariages et la débauche s'y pratiquaient sans égard à la parenté, on mangeait de tout ce qui avait vie, on dévorait les cadavres."[70] Moreover, Tacitus (*Annales*, xii. 46) gives us a good example of a next-of-kin marriage in a Georgian royal family in Iberia. Moses of Chorene (iii, 20) and Faustus of

[66] M. Kovalevskij, *Zakon*, II, pp. 144 f.
[67] M. Kovalevskij, *Zakon*, II, p. 172.
[68] R. Lowie, *Primitive Society*, pp. 16 f.
[69] Cf. O. G. von Wesendonk, "Über georgisches Heidentum," *Caucasica*, I (1924), p. 6.
[70] Cf. Wesendonk, *op. cit.*, 61 f.

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000 to wife, a change more sensibly felt among pastoral peoples than in any other society.

585 [17] (5) The virginity test, too, though not restricted to pastoral peoples,[105] is very characteristic of their culture. The North Caucasians, all with only the Chechens as possible exception,[106] still have, or at least have had, the virginity test as an essential part of the wedding. The marriage remained uncertain till the bride passed or failed this examination.

It would certainly be of great interest to discover the meaning of and motive behind this practice. There is, of course, no universal explanation for the custom. What motivated the Nigerian tribes to introduce the practice need not be identical with the motives of the Chinese of Kwangtong or of the tribes of Samoa, of the Sakalavas of Madagascar or of the Slavs.

585 836 To understand the Caucasian virginity test we must put aside our Western notions regarding the value of the physical integrity of a bride and try to get behind the mind of the North Caucasian, behind the economic, social, and religious standards of the *Caucasians*.

Negatively stated, the virginity test of the Caucasians is in itself no proof of a high esteem for the *virtue* of chastity, for even if it can be proven that the loss of corporal integrity was caused by an accident, the value of the bride seems not to differ from the girl who lost it through actual illicit intercourse. Among the Akhvakh (Daghestanians) a guest or lover might do to a maiden what he wished provided that the hymen remained intact.[107]

[611] Since the perpetuation of the family property and especially of the family cult depends on legitimate male children, there will always be uncertainty about the fatherhood of the first male child if the hymen is found perforated before the consummation of marriage. The groom's family would be constantly haunted by the thought that a stranger (the first-born male child) may become the head of the family. In a word, the economic and religious importance of the first-born male child may have been responsible for the high esteem for virginity and for the necessity of a proof of virginity on the wedding night.[108]

This attitude toward the inviolateness of the maidenhead has been, no doubt, responsible for many other Caucasian observances. The *kalym*, for example, is much higher for a maiden than a widow or divorcée. This fact, in

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[105] For a large number of examples and bibliography see Briffault, *The Mothers*, III, pp. 333—345. See also Schmidt-Koppers, *Völker und Kulturen*, pp. 209 f.

[106] But even here we do not have a positive proof for the non-existence of the virginity test. Mere silence of older authors is *indicative* of the absence of the practice, but it certainly is no proof. The neighbouring Ossetes, Tartars and Mountain Georgians have the custom too.

[107] An accidental rupture of the hymen is much more frequent in the Caucasus than one might be inclined to believe. From early childhood the girl is obliged to do difficult work, to carry heavy loads, to climb and slide down steep, rocky slopes, covered with briers, etc., which might at any unexpected moment rob the girl of her most valued possession. Dubrovin, after referring to these possibilities, points out that frequent ritual washing, which begins quite early in life, can explain many a case too (*Istorija*, I, i, p. 572). For the practice of the Akhvakh, see *infra*, pp. 181 f.

[108] A similar explanation has been suggested by Briffault for the custom in various parts of the world. In any case, it does explain the practice among the Caucasians.

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essential parallels—characteristic of the Turco-Mongolian family are: the almost complete absence of mother-right and totemistic practices, the emphasis placed on the joint-family and the male members, special rights for the first-born son, importance of the male head of the family and the *patria potestas*, the disadvantageous position of the female sex, blood-feuds, exogamy, the *kalym*, which is usually paid in live-stock, the dread of incest, the severe penalties for sexual offenses, fireplace ceremony at weddings, the high esteem for the bride's virginity, the unusual craving for male children, the importance of the bridal procession, etc.

There is also a religious connection between the North Caucasians, the Indo-Europeans, and the Turco-Mongols, a connection that confirms our claim of the existence of a social connection between the three groups. It is not only the *similarity* of the religions of the three groups that we must keep in mind but also the intimate connection, the *organic* connection, between the nomadic social and religious forms. The solidarity which exists among the members of a sib, the great longing for male children, blood-feuds, the levirate, the *patria potestas*, the wedding custom of walking around the fireplace, and many other practices are fundamentally connected with ancestor worship and cult for the dead. Ancestor worship is one of the essential features of the religion of the Indo-Europeans, the Turco-Mongols, and the North Caucasians. Moreover, among all three groups ancestor worship is linked up with the worship of the fireplace. Another very essential part of the pastoral nomadic religion was the custom of sacrificing horses. W. Koppers has shown the great similarity between the horse-sacrifices of the Indo-European and Altai peoples;[48] R. Bleichsteiner proved beyond question the existence of the practice throughout the highlands of Caucasia.[49] Horse-sacrifices among the Indo-Europeans and the North Caucasians are certainly of Inner Asiatic origin.

Thus we see that even though the North Caucasians are not pastoral nomadic in the economic sense—the economy of the steppes is impossible in the mountains, especially in the unfertile valleys of the Caucasus—they are pastoral nomadic in their social organization. *A connection between the North Caucasian society and that of Inner Asia is beyond question.*

### 3. Vestiges of More Ancient Cultures In the Marriage and Family Customary Laws of the North Caucasians

As is only natural, the deeper we delve into the history of the marriage and family *adats* the more obscure the history becomes.

First of all there are the so-called mother-right vestiges which we must consider. It is interesting to note that the intensity of these vestiges among the three different groups of Caucasians (Northwestern, Northeastern, and Southern)

[48] W. Koppers, *op. cit.*, pp. 12 f, 18—22. See also W. Koppers, "Pferdeopfer und Pferdekult der Indogermanen," *Wiener Beiträge zur Kulturgeschichte und Linguistik*, IV (1936), pp. 280—411.

[49] "Rossweihe und Pferderennen im Totenkult der kaukasischen Völker," *Wiener Beiträge zur Kulturgeschichte und Linguistik*, IV (1936), pp. 412—495.

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562 611 seems to be inversely proportional to the intensity of pastoral traits in the given group: the Southern Caucasians possess by far more vestiges of a mother-right culture than the Northerners; and again, the Northeasterners possess more of these vestiges than the Northwesterners.

It is of course difficult to determine just what one may call a mother-right trait and what not. Some of the practices we shall now review briefly are therefore only doubtfully vestiges of such a culture; others must be considered as good indications of such a culture; finally, others, I think, can be called genuine vestiges.

(1) *Before delivery a Cherkess woman goes to her own mother's house to give birth to her child;* her husband may not visit her during this time.[50]

(2) Our chapter on marital, parental, and kinship avoidances contains a number of possible vestiges, especially *the temporary return of the bride to her family after the wedding* and the temporary *visit-marriage.*[51]

(3) Then there is the *important part played by the mother in the wedding customs* of the mountaineers,[52] which we termed "suspiciously matriarchal." The Lesghian mother (not father!) welcomes the bride into the house, as if she were the head of the family. It is the mother who holds the bride's hand as she crosses the threshold. It is the maternal uncle who has led the bride's horse in the Ingiloian bridal procession from the bride's home to that of the groom. It is the mother who puts the honey into the mouth of the bride as a sign that she has a sweet life ahead of her under such an amiable mistress. And it was the mother who, by presenting the engagement gifts, concluded the betrothal contract.

(4) If a *murderer kills a pregnant woman he is obliged to pay an additional* fine of Rs. 30 to the victim's (not husband's) sib; the Rs. 30 are perhaps for the loss of the unborn child, who formerly belonged to the mother's sib.[53]

(5) The *mother of the girl recieves a horse as part of the Ossetine*[54] *and Temirgoian*[55] *bride price.*

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[50] Bleichsteiner ("Kaukasische Völker," *Reallexikon der Vorgeschichte*, VI, p. 259 f) accepts this custom as a true vestige; Ladyženskij (FT, p. 188) rejects it. In our opinion the practice may be rightly looked upon as a *possible*, though not absolutely certain, vestige. In his translation of Ladyženskij's article Dirr adds a note, disagreeing with the author: "Ganz so einfach liegt wohl die Sache nicht. Die Mutter konnte ja auch zu ihrer Tochter kommen." In other words, Dirr objects that if the only reason for the return of the expectant mother to her family were merely to receive the necessary assistance at childbirth, as Ladyženskij believes to be the case, then why does not the mother come to her daughter's home instead? Ladyženskij takes up the question again and defends his position in a subsequent article ("Zur Erforschung der Rechtsgewohnheiten der Bergvölker des Kaukasus," *Zeitschrift für Ethnologie*, XLII [1930], pp. 238 f). He argues that it is simply impossible for the mother to go to her daughter's home: in the first place, she must stay at home, being the mistress of the household; in the second place, it is strictly prohibited by custom for her to live at the home of her son-in-law at any time whatsoever. This answer to Dirr's objection is certainly insufficient: if the daughter actually returned to her family merely because she needs help at childbirth, it would seem rather strange that she could not get this necessary assistance at her own home from her mother-in-law or her sisters-in-law.

[51] *Supra*, pp. 165 ff.

[52] *Supra*, pp. 124, 128.

[53] *Supra*, p. 139.

[54] *Supra*, p. 87. The horse is called *madi-bash*.

[55] Vasil'kov, "Očerk byta temirgoevcev," SMOMPK, XXIX (1901), p. 91.

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(6) The *maternal uncle* appears on the scene in marriage and family affairs as an important figure. A special part of the bride price (*madi-arvadai-kal*) of the Ossetes is reserved for the maternal uncle.[56] Among the Ingushi and a number of other tribes in North Caucasia, if someone drinks to the health of his friend's sister and then gives him a present, the friend is obliged to arrange a marriage between his sister and his friend, otherwise a blood-feud will be the result. This custom, as we have said, overrules even the invjolable *patria potestas* and all the *adats* regarding the choice of mates. It is, as it were, an acceptance of the bride price by the brother (" maternal uncle ") without handing the bride over to the purchaser.[57] Moreover, an Ingush lad, after reaching the age when he is allowed to carry arms, has a right to a special present from his maternal uncle. In fact, the youth may go and steal the present with impunity, because he has a *right* to it.[58] This, I think, may very easily be a vestige of a former inheritance rule through the maternal uncle.[59] The Khevsur orphan automatically falls to the guardianship of the maternal uncle.[60] Kovalevskij conjectures that the Georgian institution known as *tsatsali*[61] may be a vestige of the custom to adopt a maternal uncle.[62]

Kovalevskij, Post and other ethnologists of the 19th century " found " an astoundingly large number of " undeniable " vestiges of a former matriarchal culture in the Caucasus. Any custom that would fit into the false principle " mater certa, pater incertus " was " infallibly " a matriarchal vestige. Thus the *atalyk*,[63] the taboos forbidding a father to carry his own child, the prohibition for anyone to ask about the health of another person's wife or child, etc.[64] were all " vestiges " of former matriarchy. The Cherkess *tleush*[65] and the Ingush *taipa*[66] were likewise " vestiges." Kovalevskij's article " La famille matriarcale au Caucase "[67] is a typical example of the matriarchy mania under which the scientists of the past century laboured. Every now and then they would come across a true vestige or a possible indication of matriarchy or mother-right, and these we have incorporated in the present work. The other " vestiges " we have rejected and offered other, more plausible explanations and interpretations.

Russian interest in the problem of mother-right has again been revived. The Russian ethnologist maintains that matriarchy was universal at one time: it was a stage through which all civilizations had to pass, while patriarchy is only

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[56] *Supra*, p. 87.

[57] *Supra*, p. 101. A Berže, Čečnja i čečency, p. 98; Leontovič, II, pp. 251 f, § 149; Kovalevskij, " La famille matriarcale au Caucase," *L'Anthropologie*, IV (1893), pp. 271 f.

[58] Jakovlev, *Ingušii*, p. 47.

[59] This seems to be a genuine vestige.

[60] Kovalevskij, *op. cit.*, p. 273. The maternal uncle also plays an important part in the Khevsurian blood-feuds (Hahn, *Aus dem Kaukasus*, p. 273).

[61] *Supra*, p. 182.

[62] Kovalevskij, *l. c.*

[63] *Supra*, p. 57.

[64] *Supra*, pp. 149 f, 162—167.

[65] *Supra*, p. 55.

[66] *Supra*, p. 84.

[67] *L'Anthropologie*, IV (1893), pp. 259—278. See also Kovalevskij's *Zakon*, I, pp. 3—27.

611 a further development of this stage with the avunculate as a link between
114 matriarchy and patriarchy.[68] Although the modern Soviet ethnologist is very cautious about what he terms "matriarchal," it is the universality of matriarchy that must be rejected as unfounded.

174 Linguists, especially of the Marr School, have pointed out other vestiges of
611 mother-right in the Caucasus, thus confirming our ethnological argument.[1]

Prehistory too might be able to offer some valuable data, but unfortunately the prehistorian has no way of establishing a connection between his discoveries and the culture of any North Caucasian people. Nevertheless, we can use the prehistorical data at least as a negative argument: the prehistorical discoveries do not exclude the existence of an older, more or less strong mother-right influence. On the contrary, the finds confirm such an opinion. The Copper Age discoveries of the Nalchik, Kuban, and the Kuban-Terek stages point to a society with a matriarchal sib organization.[69]

In other words, we cannot deny the existence of so-called mother-right vestiges, but compared to the numerous typically pastoral nomadic traits in the marriage and family customary laws of the North Caucasians they are quite rare. Nevertheless, the mother-right vestiges are sufficient in number to be a good indication that the family organization was much more matriarchal prior to the influences from Inner Asia than afterwards.[70]

We may ask ourselves the following two important questions: Why are the northwestern marriage and family *adats* the most "pastoral nomadic," the southern the least so, while the northeastern occupy a middle position? Why should the number of so-called mother-right traits be found in the three groups precisely in the reverse order? Caucasology is still too young to allow anyone to venture upon a final and complete solution. Here too we are able to offer only a partial solution.

174 The NORTHWESTERN CAUCASIANS. The true origin of the Cherkess is uncertain. It seems that at one time they were a powerful pastoral people, occupying a vast area, the entire North Caucasian foreland and a large sector of southeastern Europe. The Cherkess legends frequently refer to the steppes, to customs and usages of a distinctly steppe culture.[71] Later on their relations with the various nomadic peoples in this region, especially with the Scythians, Sarmatians, Alans—not to mention the more recent relations with the Ossetes and Turco-Mongols—were by far closer than were those of the other Caucasians. This hypothetical origin and economic life of the Cherkess

[68] Cf. M. O. Kosven, "Avunkulat," SE, 1948, No. 1, pp. 1—46. Also the following by the same author: "Perežitki matriarchata u narodov Kavkaza," SE, 1936, No. 4—5, pp. 211 ff; *Matriarchat, Istorija Problemy*, Izkatel'stvo akademii nauk SSSR, Moskva-Leningrad, 1948, 329 pages; "Ob archivnych materialach po etnografii SSSR," SE, 1936, No. 1, pp. 132—135. See also H. P. Dyrenkova, "Perežitki materinskago roda u altajskich tjurkov," SE, 1937, No. 4, pp. 18—45.

[69] *See* Table 4.

[70] It is interesting to note that the last two stages of the Caucasian Copper Age (the Kuban and the Kuban-Terek stage) begin to show a distinct rise of male importance through leadership in trade, religion, metallurgy, and cattle-breeding.

[71] R. Bleichsteiner, "Kaukasische Völker," *Reallexikon der Vorgeschichte*, VI, p. 253.

[1] [Cf. cat. 116, pp. 199 f. -- Analyst]

595 (1) Custom permits *all* North Caucasians and their neighbours, whether Christian or Mohammedan, to marry more than one wife. The Tartars near the city of Derbend in the eighteenth century are the only exception, but even in this single case, it isn't not certain whether they were monogamists *de jure* or only *de facto*.

[177] (2) Everywhere polygyny is *pre-Islamic*, even if previous to their conversion to Islamism the particular tribe happened to be Christian. We might rightly, therefore, inquire into the possible origin of polygyny in the Caucasus. Polygyny, if borrowed at all, was not borrowed as an *isolated* institution. On the contrary, it seems to be a North Caucasian possession, first of all, as old as the practice [574] of levirate (*infra*, pp. 71—75). Furthermore, it seems to be a North Caucasian [614] cultural possession as old as the economic, social, and religious structure of the North Caucasian family itself. Here we understand " family " in its broad sense, including the joint-family and sib. We cannot now describe this family structure in detail. Briefly, by " the economic, social, and religious structure of the family " we understand that the family in North Caucasia has been and in many places still is the *raison d'être* of the individual.[30a] Whatever the individual does or whatever is done to him or for him has only one aim, the perpetuation and [581] prosperity of the family. Now, in the mind of the North Caucasian, polygyny is an immense asset and at times absolutely indispensable for the economic, social, and religious life of the all-important and solely-important family.

593 *Economically* considered, the wife is extremely important. In the North 562 Caucasus it is the wife who does most of the work (*infra*, pp. 156—159). In fact, sometimes a rich Avar will marry a son to a poor girl or to a widow of a lower class, with whom he is forbidden all communication, in order to have an additional worker in the house.[31] Moreover, a wife is not only a *worker*; she 842 is the " *worker-producing* " organ of the family. Even though boys are preferred (*infra*, pp. 159 ff), girls prove to be good and valuable workers and bring in, at times, a large brideprice (*infra*, pp. 82—91). Now, the more wives there are in the household, the more " worker-producing " organs there are, and by that very fact, at least in the mind of the natives, the family becomes so much the more economically healthy and secure.

The *religious* structure of the family may have contributed just as much to [769] the rise of polygyny as did the economic form of life. The most sacred duty of the individual and of the individual family is, or at least has been, to perpetuate itself, and thus to perpetuate the cult of the ancestors. It is a fact throughout North Caucasus that only a *son* can perpetuate the family and prevent the greatest calamity imagineable, its extinction. But a wife is precisely the " *boy-producing* " organ. If this organ is lacking or fails to function the family is doomed. Today one of the main motives for taking a second wife is sterility.[32] Or again, a second wife will be acquired if the first gives birth only to girls.

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[30a] According to ancient customary laws.

[31] L'vov, *op. cit.*, p. 19.

[32] Cf. K. Mačavariani, " Nekotoryja čerty iz žizni Abchazcev. Položenie ženščiny v Abchazii," SMOMPK, IV (1884), No. 2, p. 42. E. G. Pčelina, " Rodil'nye obyčai u osetin," SE, 1937, No. 4, p. 88.

595 from polygyny is, above all, a shortage of rubles.[43] The same holds for the
593 Avars,[44] and, as we learn from Svěčin,[45] for the other Lesghians as well: the economic factor plays an important part in making polygyny relatively rare. Klaproth found the institution a veritable luxury in Ossetia, being only for the richest of the rich,[46] in full harmony with the Ossetine *adats* which reserve the
[587] right for the two richest classes, the princes and the *aldars*.[47] Grabovskij's report[48] that even the *poor* Ingushi were polygamists we have partially explained by obligatory levirate, which was just as much obligatory for the rich as for
[605] the poor. Moreover social stratification (which generally coincides with wealth and poverty) was practically non-existent during Grabovskij's visit in Ingushetia (*infra*, pp. 60 f); therefore, if polygyny is to be found among the Ingushi at all, it must be found also among the "poor" class.

[586] Easy divorce may do away with plural marriages as it did in Khevsuria and Svanetia, but in North Caucasia easy divorce plays only a very insignificant rôle compared with economic and biological factors.

## § 2. THE RULES OF ENDOGAMY AND EXOGAMY

000 Lowie defines exogamy as "the rule which prescribes that an individual must find a mate outside of his own group, whether that group be the family, the village or some other social unit."[49] The opposite rule "which makes it compulsory for a man to mate within his group is labeled endogamy." Lowie rightly stresses that it is not the *de facto* marriage within one's own group but the *prohibition* of marrying outside it that constitutes endogamy.[50]

### 1. The Impediment of Consanguinity

582 Consanguineous marriages are strictly prohibited throughout NORTH-
[614] WEST Caucasus. In his expedition of 1927 Ladyženskij ascertained that the reports of earlier writers about the abhorrence of incest among the tribes of Northwest Caucasia still exists today. Marriages between members of the same sib, regardless of the degree of remoteness, are considered incestuous.[51]

671 Among the NORTHEASTERN peoples the practice is not uniform. Ing-
582 ushian adats are by far stricter than Islamic law in regard to marriages between

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[43] *ibid.*

[44] L'vov, "Domašnjaja i semejnaja žizn Dagestanskich gorcev avarskago plemeni," SSKG, III (1870), p. 20.

[45] D. Svěčin, "Očerk narodonaselenija nravov, i obyčaev Dagestancev," ZKO, II (1853), p. 64.

[46] J. Klaproth, *Voyage au Mont Caucase et en Géorgie*, II, p. 249.

[47] *Leontovič, Adaty kavkazskich gorcev*, II, p. 12, § 10; p. 14, § 27; p. 16, § 40.

[48] "Ekonomičeskij i domašnij byt žitelej gorskago učastka inguševskago okruga," SSKG, III (1870), p. 21.

[49] R. Lowie, *Primitive Society*, p. 16.

[50] *op. cit.*, pp. 16 f.

[51] J. Reinegg, *Allgemeine historisch-topographische Beschreibung des Kaukasus*, II, p. 9; Ladyženskij, FT, p. 198.

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blood-relatives, and although the Ingushi are now Mohammedans they still insist on observing their ancient customary laws rather than the *šarī'a*.[52] The other Chechen tribes are likewise strict exogamists.[53]

The Lesghians however, unlike all other North Caucasians, are, or at least have been till recently, strict endogamists. In their insistance on marriages exclusively within the sib, the Lesghians differ not only from the other North Caucasians but also from the mountain tribes of SOUTH CAUCASIA: the Khevsurs,[54] the Pshavs,[55] the Tushi,[56] and the Svans.[57]

In this regard the Lesghians differ also from their non-Caucasian neighbours. Among the OSSETES even the remotest blood-relationship (usually all living in the same village and bearing the same family name)[58] impedes marriage.[59]

The neighbouring TARTAR tribes are also exogamous.[60] The KALMUCKS may indeed marry within their community but only with non-relatives.[61]

To come back to the Lesghians—the reliability of the reports about their still being strictly endogamous in the nineteenth century is unquestionable. Klaproth, despite his many literary thefts, is generally reliable. He assures us that the Dido "disregard all degrees of consanguinity."[62] L'vov[63] and Abercromby[64] observed the same custom among the Avars. The latter author writes, "With regard to degrees of consanguinity, an Avar is permitted to marry his first cousin or two sisters." Our most reliable sources are Kovalevskij and Egiasarov, on whom Kovalevskij largely depends.[65] In Kovalevskij's *Zakon i obyčaj na Kavkazě* we read that Cvětkov, a government official in Daghestan in 1869, maintained that in the Kurin Province absolutely no marriage was possible outside of one's own *tukhum* (sib). Sotnikov claims that such is the case

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[52] N. Jakovlev, *Ingušli*, (Moscow, 1925), p. 49.

[53] M. Kovalevskij, *Coutume contemporaine et loi ancienne*, p. 196.

[54] Essad-Bey, *Der Kaukasus. Seine Berge, Völker und Geschichte*, p. 267.

[55] M. Kovalevskij, *Zakon i Obyčaj na Kavkazě*, II, p. 142.

[56] M. Kovalevskij, *Coutume contemp.*, p. 196.

[57] *ibid.*

[58] When a family breaks from its sib and moves into a strange village, it gradually begins to feel closely related to its new neighbours, sometimes even more closely than to actual blood-relatives who live farther away. Such a family may even change its name and begin to call itself after the sib in whose community it now lives. The tendency of local solidarity to supplant the solidarity of the sib is noticeable throughout the Caucasus. Cf. A. Ladyženskij, "Entstehung und Entwicklung des Staates bei den Bergvölkern des Kaukasus," *Zeitschrift für Völkerpsychologie und Soziologie*, VI (1930), pp. 436, 439, 444. How soon such families would become "blood-relatives" to such a degree that intermarriage would be considered incestuous has still to be investigated by the fieldworkers.

[59] M. Kovalevskij, *Coutume contemp.*, pp. 196, 335.

[60] M. Kovalevskij, l. c.

[61] R. Erckert, *Der Kaukasus*, p. 37.

[62] *Voyage au Mont Caucase et en Géorgie*, II, p. 74.

[63] "Domašnjaja i semejnaja žizn Dagestanskich Gorcev Avarskago Okruga," SSKG, III (1870), p. 18.

[64] *A Trip through the Eastern Caucasus*, p. 97. Unfortunately Abercromby fails to specify whether they were only *permitted* to marry blood-relatives or actually obliged to do so.

[65] M. Kovalevskij, *Zakon*, II, p. 142; *Coutume contemp.*, l. c. Egiasarov's article is not at my disposal, hence I am relying on Kovalevskij's faithful citation of the author.

582 in Kaitag, and of the Tabassaranians he is able to say: "Up to the present
614 there have been no instances of anyone freely separating himself from his *tukhum*. The people are convinced that such an action would be impossible, unthinkable, certainly the most abominable disgrace imagineable." In the Province of Dargwa (according to Popov) the *tukhum* does not even have the authority to expel an illegitimate member, much less permit a fully-fledged member to separate from the others freely. Of all the provinces in South Daghestan only the adats of Tsakhur admit marriages with outsiders, but only
611 by way of exception. Thus, according to Akhtinian and Rutulian customary law, a sib may marry one of their girls to a groom belonging to another *tukhum*, but only if the groom's sib is in danger of extinction.[66] But even in this extreme case an important *conditio sine qua non* is added: the children born of this marriage must be named not after the father's, but, strangely enough, after the mother's sib.[67]

627 In most cases local exogamy will coincide with consanguineous exogamy, because generally the Caucasian *auls* are sib-villages, that is, inhabited by people with the same family name who consider themselves related to one another. The questions of local exogamy and cross-cousin marriages have still to be investigated by the fieldworker.

Endogamy is not a sign of primitiveness. On the contrary, it thrives where social ranks are of paramount importance.[68] But the Lesghians, as we shall soon learn (*infra*, pp. 61 ff), are virtually classless and therefore endogamy seems out of place. We cannot attribute the practice to Islamism; for Mohammedanism may indeed *permit* consanguineous mating but it does not *prescribe* it. We may therefore rightly expect to find the solution to the riddle in pre-Islamic times.

We have said that the Southern Caucasians are strict exogamists. That is true, but there has been a time when the Georgians, the neighbours of the Lesghian peoples, were endogamists.

In the Georgian chronicles of King Vakhtang, which speak of the times of Nabuchodonosor, we read (after Brosset, *Additions*, p. 31), "Les plus abominable coutumes s'introduisirent, dans les mariages, on n'avait aucun égard à la parenté, on mangeait tout ce qui a vie, on n'ensevelissait point les morts et l'on dévorait les cadavres!"[69] And according to the legend about Alexander's march into the Caucasus as found in the Georgian chronicles (after Brosset, *Histoire de la Géorgie*, I, p. 33): "Étant venu dans le Karthli, il trouve chez tous les Géorgiens des coutumes plus abominables que chez aucun peuple. En effet les mariages et la débauche s'y pratiquaient sans égard à la parenté, on mangeait de tout ce qui avait vie, on dévorait les cadavres."[70] Moreover, Tacitus (*Annales*, xii. 46) gives us a good example of a next-of-kin marriage in a Georgian royal family in Iberia. Moses of Chorene (iii, 20) and Faustus of

[66] M. Kovalevskij, *Zakon*, II, pp. 144 f.
[67] M. Kovalevskij, *Zakon*, II, p. 172.
[68] R. Lowie, *Primitive Society*, pp. 16 f.
[69] Cf. O. G. von Wesendonk, "Über georgisches Heidentum," *Caucasica*, I (1924), p. 6.
[70] Cf. Wesendonk, *op. cit.*, 61 f.

defend themselves against the raiders from Kabardia and the Kumykian plains. The Turlov[1] did not affect the social organization of the Chechens very deeply. After the ruling family[1] had been compelled to leave Chechnia, the mountaineers continued to live as classlessly as before; each Chechen sib was a government in itself with little or no interest in the neighboring sibs.[124] In the *adat* collection of 1849 for the villages of Sunsha we read: "There is no special *adat* regarding the bride-price for princes because the inhabitants do not have any princes."[125] 565 [14] [62]

(2) A perusal of any *adat* collection will convince us that *de jure* the Chechens do not have a nobility either. Thus, for example, in the collection of adats of 1844 of Vladikavkaz Province (the Dzher, Kists, Galgai, Tsori, Ingushi and Karabulaks) we read in § 2: "No Chechen family has any privilege over any other family." *De facto* however there are influential families. Any family or sib may become more important than the others by manifesting extraordinary bravery or more especially by outnumbering the others.[126] Such families (or to be more exact, sibs) decide what is "wrong" and what is "right," what should be done and what should be left undone.

(3) There are actually two classes: the free and the slaves, the latter being mainly prisoners of war and captives taken in raids. Reineggs describes how in the eighteenth century the Chechens would mercilessly rob strangers and then demand a ransom. If the victim happened to be a fellow-Mohammedan, he naturally could not become a slave[127] if he failed to be ransomed, and consequently was murdered. On the other hand if the captive was a non-Muslim and was of a poor family that was unable to ransom him, he had to remain as a slave.[128] The adats distinguish between two classes of slaves, the *lai* and the *yasir*, the difference between the two being that the *yasir* could be ransomed while the *lai* could not.[129] But in spite of this difference the lot of the *lai* was not as unbearable as might seem at first sight. He was, practically speaking, more or less only a nominal slave, for, as a rule, he was declared free after some time or was *ipso facto* emancipated through marriage.[130] [56]

The situation in Daghestan is much the same as among the Chechen tribes. On the whole the *Lesghians* are very democratic, virtually classless. Class division, wherever it existed, was not of Lesghian origin but was brought from without. It can be roughly sketched as follows.

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[124] Ladyženskij, "Entstehung und Entwicklung des Staates bei den kaukasischen Bergvölkern *Zeitschrift für Völkerpsychologie und Soziologie*, VI (1930), pp. 441 ff.
N. Danilewski, *Der Kaukasus*, p. 141.
Leontovič, II, pp. 86, 114 § 2.
Berže, *Čečnja i Čečency*, p. 90.
Güldenstädt, *Beschreibung der kaukasischen Länder etc.*, pp. 148, 153.

[125] Leontovič, II, pp. 114, § 2, 123, § 1.

[126] A. H. Günther, "Zusammenstöße zwischen Gesetz und Gewohnheitsrecht im nördlichen Kaukasus," *Zeitschrift f. vergl. Rechtsw.*, XLVI (1931), p. 325. Reineggs, *op. cit.*, I, p. 38. Engelhardt und Parrot, *Reisen in die Krym und den Kaukasus*, I, p. 243.

[127] An Islamic prohibition. Cf. G. Bergsträsser, *Grundzüge des islamischen Rechts*, p. 38.

[128] Reineggs, *op. cit.*, I, p. 40.

[129] Leontovič, II, p. 80. Berže, *Čečnja i Čečency*, p. 90. Dubrovin, *Istorija*, Tome I, Bk. I, p. 452.

[130] U. Laudaev, "Primečanja k statě čečenskoe plemja," SSKG, VI (1872), p. 52. Leontovič, *l. c.* Berže, *op. cit.*, p. 91. Byhan, *La Civilisation Caucasienne*, p. 181.

1 [foreign princely family invited to be rulers of the Chechens in the eighteenth century--Analyst]

[624] (1) Most of the Lesghian peoples were ruled by their own freely-elected elders independently of any prince. Of course, the Avars and the Laks had their khans,[121] while the Andi were subject to Kumykian and Avarian rulers.[122] After the Russian conquest of the Caucasus, chief native officials approved by the Military Government were known as nā'ibs.[123]

565 [614] (2) Despite the fact that the Lesghian peoples have been subject to a more or less foreign aristocracy—the gradation being khan, bek, uzden, commoner and slave—[124] the people themselves remained essentially classless. Interest centred mainly around one's own sib. What generally determined precedence among the different sibs was, just as among the Chechens, not noble birth but the size of the sib.[125]

(3) Commoners.

[567] (4) Slaves. Lesghian slaves were usually prisoners taken in war or raids.[126] On paying a ransom or after a 10-year service or on marrying a Mohammedan the slave would be emancipated.[127]

The SOUTHERN CAUCASIANS. The complexity of the Georgian social classes surpasses even that of the Cherkess, a fact of which a mere glance through King Vakhtang's Code will convince us.[128] It should be noted that the [793] clergy do not form a distinct class; rather their class is determined by their ecclesiastical rank. In the following outline we shall also indicate the approximate social rank connected with the various ecclesiastical dignities.

(1) The King. The crown is inherited by the first-born male child. The *Catholicos* i. e., Patriarch of Iberia, ranks immediately after the King. (King Vakhtang's Code § 25.)

(2) Princes:

(a) The princes of the first order *(didebuli thavadi)*. Archbishops. (§ 26)
(b) Princes of the second order. Bishops. (§ 27)
(c) Princes of the third order and archimandrites. (§ 28)

(3) Nobles *(Aznauri)*:

(a) *Aznauri* of the first order and priors with the function of an abbot. (§ 29)

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[121] Cf. Gadži-Ali, "Skazanie očevidca o Šamilě," SSKG, VII (1873), pp. 6.

[122] Potocki, *Voyage dans les steps d'Astrakhan et du Caucase*, II, p. 165.

[123] The word is derived from the Arabic *nā'ib*. The territory over which the naib was in charge we shall call "naibate". For an excellent description of a naib family see Halil Beg Mussayassul, *Das Land der letzten Ritter*, München, 1936.

[124] Cf. Svěčin, "Očerk narodonaselenija, nravov i obyčaev Dagestancev," ZKO, II (1853), p. 64.

[125] Cf. Essad-Bey, *Der Kaukasus, seine Berge, Völker und Geschichte*, p. 130.

[126] Klaproth, *Beschreibung der russ. Prov.*, p. 117.

[127] Reineggs, *op. cit.*, I, p. 87.
The social stratification of Daghestan has been treated in: A. Tomai, "Materialy k voprosu o feodalizme v istorii Dagestana," *Revoljucionnyj Vostok*, (Moscow, 1935), No. 5, pp. 116—137.

[128] Cf. Karst's edition, pp. 81—85.

### 6. Impediment Arising from Failure to Carry Out an Obligation of Vengeance

628 Vengeance is a sacred obligation among all the Mountain Tribes of Caucasus.
614 If a member of the sib is murdered or killed accidentally,[183] if a member of the family is raped or abducted, if the sacred hearth-chain is violated, or if the sib is offended seriously in any other way, the injured party incurs the strict and sacred obligation of vengeance. Self-defense calls for vengeance, for in the eyes of the mountaineers there is no competent authority common to the offender and the offended, who might compel the culprit's sib to repair the injury done. The blood of the victim, self-respect, and respect for the ancestors call for vengeance. Usually the nearest male relative of the victim has the obligation to kill the offender or one or more of his sib, depending on the local *adat*. Although the vendetta has become more a thing of the past, it still does occur now and then in our own days. Even today reconciliation (bloodwite) is regarded as a disgraceful exchange for the noble blood of a member of the family and at
[582] times is refused.[184] Blood calls for blood alone! Even today, if a young mountaineer fails to carry out his sacred obligation of avenging an enemy (regardless of Soviet laws), he may have to remain single for the rest of his life, for no respectable girl would wish to marry him.[185]

[672] [183] If a passer-by is killed by a stone kicked down a cliff by a sheep or goat, the owner of the animal becomes the blood-enemy *(qanly)* of the victim's sib. For other examples of similar customary laws see Dirr, AGKB, p. 107. Even in our own days accidents may be punished by death. See A. H. Günther, "Zusammenstöße zwischen Gesetz und Gewohnheitsrecht im nördlichen Kaukasus," *Zeitschr. f. vergl. Rechtw.*, XLVI (1931), pp. 332 ff.

[184] Günther, *op. cit.*, p. 329.

[185] Günther, *op. cit.*, p. 327. For blood-feuds in the Caucasus see the works of Dirr and Günther just cited, S. Karginov, "Krovavaja mest' u Osetin," SMOMPK, XLIV (1914), No. 3, and Berže, *Čečnja i Čečency*.

# Chapter V

# Means of Acquiring a Wife

## § 1. BY PURCHASE

### 1. Description of Customary Laws

583 "Bride purchase," as Lowie points out, is a blanket term for various transactions. It fits some cases indeed, but at other times it is a complete misnomer.[1] Such is certainly the case when speaking of the Caucasians. Some tribes actually have a bride *purchase*, while others do not; some may have *had* the custom too but the nature of the payment has so completely changed in the course of years that it is false to speak of a price any longer. In some cases the "bride-price" is nothing more than a symbol; or again it is a mere exchange of gifts, or finally a security for the wife, resembling the *donatio ante nuptias* of the Romans. We shall use the term "bride-price" only in its strict sense. But since a generic term embracing all financial obligations connected with the acquisition of a wife is indispensable, we shall use the native word (*kalym, irad* etc.) or "bride wealth" whenever such a general expression is needed.

[177] The NORTHWESTERN CAUCASIANS. Since the Cherkess have been subject to a rather unusually rapid acculturation in the past 150 years, it is not surprising that the bride-price of old should in the course of decades have taken on many new features. Instead of presenting a complicated historical description of the Cherkess bride-price from its beginning to its disappearance, it will be much better, I think, if we borrow and sum up Ladyženskij's conclusions.[2] (1) Up to the end of the nineteenth century the bride was actually *sold* (p. 197), and consequently regarded as a chattel. (2) Islamic law improved her position, in so far as a considerable portion of the payment became the property of the bride as a security in case of divorce. A portion of the payment was likewise set aside to cover the expenses of the wedding (p. 198). (3) From the end of the nineteenth century this modified form of bride purchase assumed a different meaning: the bride was no longer *sold* in the strict sense. Rather, the family of the bride deserved to be compensated for the expenses involved in rearing a child till it attained a marriageable age. It deserved to be com-
[178] pensated also for the loss of a valuable worker. With such motives in view the Cherkess considered the *kalym* as a form of *captatio benevolentiae* of the entire sib of the bride, for the *kalym* was shared by all (p. 197). (4) Today the *kalym*

[1] R. Lowie, *Social Organization*, p. 99. See his excellent section on "Bride Wealth," pp. 99—102.

[2] Ladyženskij, FT, pp. 197 f. Castagné, *op. cit.*, p. 261.

583 other objects.[12] Although the amount is much more stable than in other parts of Caucasia, it does vary according to the presence or absence of virginal integrity and on the social class of the mates.[13]

In the eighteenth century the Nakhchuo paid up to 10 cows;[14] the Ingushi would have to pay as many as 30 cows.[15] In the 1860's the average *kalym* was about 18 cows (or if paid in money, Rs. 10 per cow).[16] In the twentieth century the *kalym* was so high that the Russian Military Government forced all young men to swear that they would never take or give more than Rs. 105 *kalym*, but, as Baddeley, who is averse to all exaggeration, assures us that "none kept the oath, and the amount was now greater than ever."[17] In 1920 the Ingushi of the Upper Uchaluk paid as much as one million Soviet rubles, 105 silver rubles, two horses, one cow and one ram as *kalym*.[18]

585 In the Ingush *adat* collection of the 1860's (§§ 119 f) we read that the relatives of the groom are obliged to offer the bride a gift of 25 silver rubles on the occasion of her betrothal, of which she becomes the full owner and administrator. On her wedding day she must also be given a guarantee amounting to 80 silver rubles in case of divorce or widowhood.[19] This *adat* is an innovation which owes its origin to Islamism and the Russian Military Government. Although at first it was received with very little favour (and even today we still can come across cases which may be classified under strict purchase), this new form of bride wealth gradually prevailed throughout Ingushetia and Chechnia.[20] In a word, the Chechen bride-price has for about a century at least been tending to evolve into a form of dowry, an evolution analgous to that found among the Abkhaz and Cherkess.

[614] It is the obligation of the *taipan* (sib) to provide the necessary *kalym* for all male members, if necessary even by theft.[21]

The following table shows the average bride-price of about an hundred years ago.

TABLE 10

583 587 **Average bride-price among the Chechens about A.D. 1850**

| District | Amount | | Source |
|---|---|---|---|
| | For maiden | For widow | |
| Nazran | 12 cows | 21 cows; sometimes only 12 | Leontovič, II, p. 117, §§ 9 f. |

[12] Cf. "Collection of *Adats* of the Black Sea Line, Kuban and Terek Territories" Leontovič, II, p. 253, § 161.
[13] Leontovič, II, p. 253, §§ 162—165.
[14] Potocki, *Voyage dans les steps d'Astrakhan et du Caucase*, II, p. 127.
[15] *ibid.*
[16] Grabovskij, "Ekonomičeskij i domašnij byt etc.," SSKG, III (1870), p. 20, *note*.
[17] *The Rugged Flanks of Caucasus*, I, pp. 207 f. See also Vertepov, "Inguši," *Terskij Sbornik*, II (1892), No. 2, p. 132.
[18] N. Jakovlev, *Inguši*, p. 53, *note* 1
[19] Leontovič, II, p. 169, § 119.
[20] Jakovlev, *Inguši*, p. 53.
[21] Jakovlev, *op. cit.*, pp. 51, 53.

8: Lužbetak E-4 (no date) 1951 RH1 Caucasia RH1

By Purchase



Much has been written about the OSSETINE bride wealth, but no one has described it so well as Kovalevskij in his *Sovremennyj obyčaj i drevnij zakon.* 583

Less than fifty years ago the expenses involved in a marriage were enormous. The families of the highest class in Kurtatinsk and Tagaursk had to pay as much as 100 oxen (worth about Rs. 1,000), one male slave or Rs. 120 and a coat of mail. In Kurtatinsk an equivalent number of cows could be substituted for oxen; a female slave or 12 oxen could be substituted for a male slave. The *farsaglegs* were valued at 60 cows or 30 oxen, whereas the *kavdassart kalym* was 25 to 38 cows. The Alaghirs never paid more than 38 oxen. An ox could be replaced by one cow and two sheep; a gun could replace six oxen; a sword, two or three oxen; a large chauldron for brewing beer, six oxen; a hearth chain, three cows.

Besides the *kalym* (or more correctly when speaking of the Ossetes, *irad*) the Mohammedan Ossetes are obliged to give a guarantee against divorce, the equivalent of the Lesghian *kebin*, called by the Ossetes *nakiash*.

Astounding is the number of gifts which the suitor's family was obliged to offer to the relatives of the bride. There was the *fati-bash*, *i. e.*, a horse called "The Arrow Horse" because the consent of the bride's father and the whole matchmaking procedure moved as swiftly and directly as an arrow; the *fati-bash* was given to the bride's father while her mother received the *madi-bash*, ("The Mother's Horse"). Then there was the *amtsedzhi-bash* ("The Nurse's Horse") which actually went to her husband (cf. *supra*, the *atalyk*, p. 57). The *madi-arvadi-bash* or *madi-arvadai-kal* was a horse given to the nearest relative of the bride's mother, most commonly to her brother. The Digorians usually offered oxen instead of horses.[39] 584

The sib must not be forgotten either. Besides the bride-price the prospective bride-groom had to give about Rs. 9 to the village, or, in other words, to the sib, for the Ossetine villages are generally composed of families related by blood. This payment was called *kauvendag* ("The Village Road").[40] Kovalevskij's figures differ but slightly from those of earlier ethnographers of the same century. Klaproth in his *Voyage au Mont Caucase et en Géorgie* (1828)[41] informs us that the highest *kalym* among the Ossetine nobles was Rs. 1,000 (hence about 100 cows). Dubois de Montpéreux,[42] whose investigations were published about 10 years after those of Klaproth, places the bride-price at 140 cows and 7 horses as the maximum and 12 cows as the minimum. In 1859 the Russians enacted a law according to which one third of the *irad* was to go to the bride as social security in case her husband should die.[43] This attempt to put an end to what the Russians considered a great abuse served only to raise the *irad* considerably. In fact, it reached an exceptionally high point in 1877, when to marry a single son would often bring complete financial

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[39] Kovalevskij, *Coutume contemp.*, pp. 163 f.

[40] Kovalevskij, *op. cit.*, pp. 175 f.

[41] II, p. 249.

[42] *Voyage autour du Caucase*, IV, p. 449.

[43] Leontovič, II, p. 51, § 17, *note 3*.

583 to assume the character of a dowry, as it had tended much earlier in Daghestan. A bitter struggle is going on between ancient *adats*, the *šarī'a*, and Russian laws.

(3) *Kalym* (even in recent times) is generally high.

[585] (4) Everywhere except among the Ingiloi and the Chechens of Nazran (*supra*, pp. 84, 86) the *kalym* and *kebin* are much higher for a virgin than a non-virgin. Virginity therefore is one of the most important factors in determining the amount of bride wealth.

[614] (5) Generally the family or a larger social group as the sib or *tleusn* provide the necessary bride wealth. The groom never has to amass the *kalym* [581] himself, another fact clearly showing that mating is not a private affair.

(6) The *kebin* is found in all North Caucasia and Mohammedan neighbourhood.

[554] (7) Everywhere the social status of the partners is an important factor in determining the amount of *kalym* and *kebin*.

The uniform evolution of the North Caucasian bride purchase is indeed striking. Originally all peoples of North Caucasus seem to have had actual bride purchase: the bride was actually sold and considered as a chattel. Then the bride-price began to lose its character of a purchase, a development contemporaneous with the spread of Islamism and Russian influence. Mohammedanism does not recognize bride purchase as such:[53] it recommends a bridal gift and prescribes the *kebin (mahr)* instead. The Russian Military Government in pre-Soviet times regarded bride purchase as a serious "abuse" and according to a decision of 1857 one third of the bride-price was to become the property of the bride as a form of social security.[54] Later the Soviet Government contributed its share in modifying the custom especially through industrialization, as we have seen is the case of the Cherkess living in the larger cities.[55]

583 554 That social rank should play such an imporant part in determing the amount of bride wealth (whether bride price, gifts or *kebin*) is quite natural, universal and in full accord with Islamic law.[56] In fact, according to Mohammedan teaching, the *walī mujbir* loses his right to marry his daughter or granddaughter against her will if the bride wealth does not correspond to the girl's social rank.[57]

Nowhere in the Caucasus has bride purchase been considered as something humiliating or degrading. After all, even the Cherkess princesses were purchased. The bride wealth corresponded to the social status and therefore added dignity to the purchase. Moreover, the higher the price the greater the social respect

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[53] Juynboll, *op. cit.*, p. 190. The *mahr* is also called *ṣakāk* in Islamic law.
[54] A. Dirr, AGKB, p. 124.
[55] *Supra*, p. 83.
[56] Juynboll, *op. cit.*, p. 215.
[57] *ibid.*

[i.e., bride-price and bride's security against divorce—Analyst]

8: Lužbetak E-4 (no date) 1951 RH1 Caucasia RH1



turn, must have stimulated the entire family to watch most carefully over the conduct of their daughters; and this watchfulness, again, must have been responsible for *adats* threatening the girl as well as any lover with the most severe sanctions not only for an actual perforation of the hymen but also, as the *adats* frequently express it, for any "suspicious approach."[109] 585 896

There have been other explanations offered for the virginity test. Westermarck, for instance, suggested masculine jealousy.[110] But this explanation is not applicable to the peoples of North Caucasia, for, as we have already mentioned, the sexual factor has very little significance in the selection of mates compared to the all-important economic, social, and religious factors. Such a jealousy, where mutual attraction matters so little, is unthinkable.[111] [152]

(6) The custom of the bride thrice walking round the fireplace is an ancient wedding ceremony frequently found among pastoral tribes. As is well known, it was also the custom of the ancient Indo-Europeans. That one of the main wedding ceremonies in the Caucasus should take place at the fireplace is quite in keeping with the deep religious significance of the hearth. Among a large number of Caucasian mountain tribes, especially in North Ossetia, Ingushetia, and Daghestan, we find the custom of never allowing the fire in the hearth to die out, this practice being a form of cult for the dead.[112] The fire and especially the chain above it constitute a connection between the living and the departed. It forms a sacred asylum for any murderer, because as soon as he touches the chain the ancestors of the victim approve of the murderer's adoption into the family. The chain is the symbol of the family: to tear it down is regarded as one of the most abominable crimes imagineable, an insult to the living and dead members of the sib, which must be punished with death. The chain is a symbol of the family and therefore it must be buried with the last member of an extinct sib. To swear by the hearth-chain is an infallible sign that the person is saying the truth, for to do so falsely is unthinkable.[113] Such an oath would be a curse upon the entire sib and their ancestors. In other words, the ancient solidarity of the sib is intimately connected with the ancient religion of the North Caucasians, and the sanctuary of this religion is the hearth. Now, marriage is an act by which a stranger is taken into the family, and one of the most natural means, most in harmony with the ancient Caucasian form of life, is the hearth and hearth-chain. It is indeed striking that in Daghestan the cult of the fireplace still exists today but not the wedding ceremony. This fact confirms rather than disproves our explanation, for in Daghestan the wife was not a stranger: she had to be chosen from within the sib! (Cf. *supra*, pp. 51 f.) 585 614 [778] [769] [372] [605] [189] 582

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[109] *Infra*, Chapter XII, p. 176.

[110] The History of Marriage, I, p. 163.

[111] The jealousy would have to be so great that the disappointed husband would insist that the bride's nose be cut off or that she be otherwise mutilated and even killed, for such are the ancient adats!

[112] Günther, "Zusammenstöße zwischen Gesetz und Gewohnheitsrecht im nördlichen Kaukasus," *Zeitschrift f. vergl. Rechtsw.*, XLVI (1931), p. 324.

[113] *ibid.*

1/n [sic.. Analyst]

593 The last class of *adats* demand blood for blood. Such customary laws are 682 found, for example, in the Dargwa Province : in Usisha District,[31] Tsudakhar,[32] 628 Akusha District,[33] and in some towns of the naibate of Tilitl-Hidatl,[34] and in the Samur District.[35] The same holds if a husband kills his wife : he becomes a blood-enemy of the wife's relatives and sometimes of his own children. In Bashli (Kaitago-Tabassaran Province),[36] Mahallen Terekeme (Kaitago-Tabassaran Province),[37] Mahal Gamri (Kaitago-Tabassaran Province),[38] and in the Province of Samur,[39] a husband who has murdered his wife becomes a blood-enemy of her relatives. In Mahal Gamri he becomes a blood-enemy of his children as well.[40]

Ancient GEORGIAN *adats* permit the murderer to go unpunished, the crime being "left to the judgement of God."[41] A Khevsur who murders his wife is obliged to pay a bloodwite of five cows to her relatives.[42] The Svan custom of tying a large stone about the neck of a person who murdered one of his own kin (as a sign of excommunication) is most likely of Christian origin. It reminds us very much of a similar penalty for parricide in the Old Testament. It may, less probably though, have come to Svanetia through Islamism, for Mohammedanism has borrowed this form of excommunication from the Old Testament.[43]

614 The neighbouring KUMYKS do not punish a man for murdering his child either.[44] Uxoricide, however, never goes unpunished ; the murderer becomes *a qanly* of the victim's sib.[45]

The ancient Indo-Europeans used to place the newborn child on the ground and then invite the father to pick it up, as an official recognition of the child as his own and at the same time expressing his wish not to use his right to kill it.[46] According to OSSETINE customary law, a father may kill his child with

[31] ADOiZO, p. 225, § 47 ; cf. Dirr, AGKB, p. 61 ; "Adaty Darginskich Obščestv," p. 102.
[32] ADOiZO, p. 244, § 40 ; cf. Dirr, AGKB, pp. 61 f ; "Adaty Dauginskich Obščestv," pp. 113 f.
[33] "Adaty Darginskich Obščestv," p. 35. Also in Balhar, Tsumkan, according to ADOiZO, p. 115, § 43 ; cf. Dirr, p. 61.
[34] ADOiZO, p. 337, § 12 ; cf. Dirr, AGKB, p. 60.
[35] ADOiZO, p. 530, § 16 ; cf. Dirr, AGKB, p. 61.
[36] ADOiZO, pp. 597 f, §§ 14 f ; cf. Dirr, AGKB, p. 65.
[37] ADOiZO, p. 583, § 9 ; cf. Dirr, AGKB, p. 65.
[38] ADOiZO, pp. 588 f, § 14 ; cf. Dirr, AGKB, pp. 65 f.
[39] ADOiZO, p. 530, § 14 ; cf. Dirr, AGKB, p. 66.
[40] ADOiZO, pp. 599 f, § 14 ; cf. Dirr, AGKB, pp. 65 f.
[41] Haxthausen, *Transcaucasia*, II, p. 205 ; Post, *Grundriß der ethnol. Jurisprudenz*, II, p. 340 ; cf. Dirr, AGKB, p. 59. These three authors base their assertion on King Vakhtang's Code. In § 78 we read : "... the case must be judged according to the *sdzhuli-kanoni*". Perhaps in the last analysis "sdzhuli-kanoni" can be identified with God ; but actually these two words refer to the ecclesiastical laws codified by Patriarch John the Scholastic under Emperor Justinian (cf. Code of King Vakhtang VI, ed. Karst, p. 119, *note* 1).
[42] Hahn, *Bilder aus dem Kaukasus*, p. 184.
[43] Kovalevskij, *Zakon*, I, p. 40.
[44] Leontovič, II, p. 212, § 35 (an *adat* of 1865).
[45] "Adaty žitelej kumykskoj ploskosti," SSKG, VI (1872), p. 5.
[46] Schmidt-Koppers, *Völker und Kulturen*, p. 309.

[i.e. blood-enemy -- Analyst]

58 171 (14) Then there is the fact that *a woman constitutes an asylum* for any murderer,[27] a fact found among the North Caucasians as well as among the Asiatic nomads.

(15) The *adats regarding divorce*,[28]

(16) the *penalties for sexual offenses*,[29]

(17) the *division of labour*,[30] allowing men plenty of time for loafing, sport, and raids,

(18) and many other *adats which place the female sex at a great disadvantage*[31] remind us very much of a pastoral society. 171

596 614 (19) Then, of course, there are the many other features of the North Caucasian marriage and family *adats* which we have been able only to touch upon rather superficially, for they refer to the joint-family and kinship in general rather than to the biological family. The North Caucasian society, for example, has had till recently a *patriarchal joint-family organization*[32] very similar to that found among pastoral nomads. Just as among the Indo-Europeans and the Turco-Mongols the central interest of the North Caucasian has been, and in places still is, the joint-family. According to the *adats*, the individual family, till it becomes independent, plays a very subordinate part in society. The tribe and state mean but little. Crimes, criminals, and penalties in the strict sense of the word are of very recent origin : any damage done to the sib (not so much to any individual !), whether accidental or intentional, are the only form [608] of "crime" found in the *adats*. The reparation of the damages made by the "offending" sib (not the individual who inflicted the harm) corresponds to our [628] concept of penalty. We have also said very little about the *inheritance rights* of the mountaineers of North Caucasia, for to speak of inheritance without first describing the joint-family and kinship *adats* would be impossible. It seems that originally, just as is the case in pastoral nomadic societies, the rights were restricted to the male children with special privileges reserved for the first-born [628] son. Finally, there is hardly another place in the world where *blood-feuds* are so common as in the Caucasus ; and, we know, pastoral nomadic peoples have always been fond of settling their quarrels in this particular manner, more so than any other people. In a word, we are dealing with a "pastoral nomadic" marriage and family when we deal with North Caucasian marriage and family *adats*.

171 We must however, keep in mind that there are different zones of intensity of nomadic traits : in North Caucasia the most pastoral nomadic in character are the marriage and family of the Cherkess ; then perhaps follow those of the Abkhaz, then the Chechens, and finally the Lesghians. The Ossetine *adats* are perhaps even more typically pastoral nomadic than those of the Cherkess. The Kumykian and Nogain *adats*, as well as those of other Turco-Mongols of North Caucasus,

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[27] *Supra*, pp. 159 f.

[28] *Supra*, pp. 132—137.

[29] *Supra*, pp. 168—179, 182.

[30] *Supra*, pp. 156—159.

[31] *Supra*, pp. 152—156.

[32] *Supra*, pp. 44 f.

162
101 Teberda, Zelenchuk, Laba and Podkumok, the latter along those of the Baksan, Chegem and Cherek rivers. Culturally, they were largely identical with the Circassians and other North Caucasian mountaineers, and thus occupied a special place in the Turkic world. The name of the Balkar may be connected with that of the Turkic Bulgarians who formed a state in the Azov region in the sixth and seventh centuries.

(g.) Until 1943 the nearly 134,000 Kalmyk lived in the lower Volga area, where they migrated from Central Asia in the first half of the seventeenth century. In 1771 a large part of them migrated back to Chinese Turkes-
[619] tan. They are divided into a number of tribes, the most important of which are the Torghut (Torgout). The Kalmyk are Buddhists; their literary tradition goes back to the sixteenth century. They were used by the Russians as a Cossack force against the Crimean Turks who represented Ottoman interests. In 1943 the Kalmyk ASSR was abrogated and the Kalmyk deported. Their present fate is unknown.

C. G. 162 adjoining districts of N Azerbaidzhan (Kakh rayon) and NE Turkey (districts of Artvin, Ardahan, Ardanuch, Olti). Isolated from the main body, speakers of Georgian (the Fereidan) constitute the population of 14 villages in the province of Isfahan, Iran.

C. G. 619 101 Tribal breakdown (with indication of Georgian names of tribes):

1. East Georgians: Kakhetians (K'akheli): easternmost part of Georgia, E of the Kura and Aragvi rivers. A special sub-dialect is spoken in the district of Kiziqi (Russ. Signakh) between the Yori and Alazani rivers; Kartlians (Kartleli): their area is that of Georgia minus those of the other tribes, it is subdivided into regions: Somkhiti, Dzhavakheti, Tao, Klardzheti, etc. ; Ingilo (Ingilo): between the Alazani and the main Caucasian chain; Tush (Tushi, Tushuri): on the upper course of the Andiiskoe Koisu; Khevsur (Khevsuri): on the upper course of the E Aragvi and Argun; Pshav (Pshaveli): S of the Khevsur on the Aragvi and upper Iora: Mokhev and Mtiul (Mokhevi, Mtiuli): on the upper Terek, W Aragvi and Ksani.

2. West Georgians: Imeretians (Imereli): between the main Caucasian chain, the Suram range, the Adzharo-Akhaltsikh range and the Tskhenis-Tskali river; Racha (Rach'a): on the upper Rioni; Lechkhum: W of Racha; Gurians (Guruli): S of the lower Rioni, attaining the Black Sea between Poti and Kobuleti; Adzhar (Ach'areli): S of the Gurians, E of Batumi. Speak the same dialect as the Gurians, but are Muslim.

7: Columbia U. S-4, 5 1956 RHI Caucasia RHI
Kalmyk

162 Ala-shan area, Ch'ing Hai province, China).

197 LANGUAGE: Kalmyk (Oirot) constitutes the W group of the Mongolian family of Altaic. It has a literary tradition going back to the 16th century.

SUBDIVISIONS: Dialects: Dörwöt, Torghūt (Torgout), and Buzāwa. Tribes: Torghūt, Khoshūt, Dörwöt (Dürböt, Dürbät, divided by the Russian Administration into the Great and Little Dörwöt), Khöit (Khōt), Tsoros, Dzūn-ghar ("left-wing army", "eastern") The Torghūt have always been considered the leading tribe.

[619]

233 231 226 TRADITIONAL ECONOMY: Nomadic pastoralism; sedentary stock-raising; (on the Volga:) fishing.

795 RELIGION: Lamaist Buddhism; (Sart-Kalmyk:) Islam (Sunni).

C. A. 608 way, though all the members of a clan claim a common descent from the same ancestor, this descent is largely fictitious.

C. G. 565 642 Clans naturally differed in size and wealth, and this led in many parts of the Caucasus to a differentiation of classes and to a feudal structure of the society (Kabarda; lower regions of Dagestan). In Transcaucasia there was a further development into feudal C. G. 619 monarchies (Georgia, Armenia). The original tribal structure was best preserved among the Georgian highlanders, the Svan, some of the W. Circassian tribes, the Ossetes, the Chechen and Ingush, and the tribes in the higher parts of Dagestan. For instance, the Pshav tribe (dziri, lit. "root") is divided into eleven clans (temi); the members of each clan bear the same name, but in everyday life are known under a second family name (gvari) derived from the proper name of a grandfather or great-grandfather. If a family expanded, C. G. 565 new surnames were adopted. Where a differentiation of classes took place, the general pattern was the following. The upper class consisted of the nobility, in its turn subdivided into various ranks in the regions with more pronounced feudal traits (Georgia, Kabarda). The lower class consisted of the peasants; here too, a further stratification existed, depending on differences in degree of economic C. G. [567] and personal freedom. The lowest classes were the slaves; mostly prisoners of war. In

C. G. 596 children; later, married sons with adult off-
spring would separate from the family even if
the father was still alive. The final stage was
that each married couple set up a household
of its own. The original joint family survived
until recently in some remote corners, partic-
C. G. 476 ularly among the Svan and the Pshav. There
is a tradition of mutual aid between families
with regard to tasks exceeding the forces of a
single unit (agricultural tasks, vintage, house-
building, tapestry-weaving, etc.). These re-
C. G. 621 lations obtain even between unrelated families,
but often whole villages or sections of villages
consisted of groups of related families (clans).
Such family-settlements exist at the present
time; a kolkhoz or a brigade in a kolkhoz may
consist entirely of persons bearing the same
family name.

C. A. 608 In the whole N. Caucasus and also in
Armenia the institution of milk-relationship
existed. A child suckled by a woman belong-
ing to a certain family became related to that
family, as did all its relatives, and these ties
were considered as sacred as those of blood
relationship. In the N. Caucasus such a re-
lationship could also be established ritually in
the case of older persons, namely by mere
contact with a woman's breast; this was car-
ried so far that even a forcible performing of
this ritual could end a blood feud, as the act
made the injured family and that from which
"blood was sought" related "by milk." In this

8: Lužbetak E-4 (no date) 1951 RH1 Caucasia RH1



blood-relatives, and although the Ingushi are now Mohammedans they still insist on observing their ancient customary laws rather than the *šarī'a*.[52] The other Chechen tribes are likewise strict exogamists.[53] 582 [611]

The Lesghians however, unlike all other North Caucasians, are, or at least have been till recently, strict endogamists. In their insistance on marriages exclusively within the sib, the Lesghians differ not only from the other North Caucasians but also from the mountain tribes of SOUTH CAUCASIA: the Khevsurs,[54] the Pshavs,[55] the Tushi,[56] and the Svans.[57] [614]

In this regard the Lesghians differ also from their non-Caucasian neighbours. Among the OSSETES even the remotest blood-relationship (usually all living in the same village and bearing the same family name)[58] impedes marriage.[59] [621]

The neighbouring TARTAR tribes are also exogamous.[60] The KALMUCKS may indeed marry within their community but only with non-relatives.[61]

To come back to the Lesghians—the reliability of the reports about their still being strictly endogamous in the nineteenth century is unquestionable. Klaproth, despite his many literary thefts, is generally reliable. He assures us that the Dido "disregard all degrees of consanguinity."[62] L'vov[63] and Abercromby[64] observed the same custom among the Avars. The latter author writes, "With regard to degrees of consanguinity, an Avar is permitted to marry his first cousin or two sisters." Our most reliable sources are Kovalevskij and Egiasarov, on whom Kovalevskij largely depends.[65] In Kovalevskij's *Zakon i obyčaj na Kavkazě* we read that Cvětkov, a government official in Daghestan in 1869, maintained that in the Kurin Province absolutely no marriage was possible outside of one's own *tukhum* (sib). Sotnikov claims that such is the case 582 614

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[52] N. Jakovlev, *Ingušli*, (Moscow, 1925), p. 49.

[53] M. Kovalevskij, *Coutume contemporaine et loi ancienne*, p. 196.

[54] Essad-Bey, *Der Kaukasus. Seine Berge, Völker und Geschichte*, p. 267.

[55] M. Kovalevskij, *Zakon i Obyčaj na Kavkazě*, II, p. 142.

[56] M. Kovalevskij, *Coutume contemp.*, p. 196.

[57] *ibid.*

[58] When a family breaks from its sib and moves into a strange village, it gradually begins to feel closely related to its new neighbours, sometimes even more closely than to actual blood-relatives who live farther away. Such a family may even change its name and begin to call itself after the sib in whose community it now lives. The tendency of local solidarity to supplant the solidarity of the sib is noticeable throughout the Caucasus. Cf. A. Ladyženskij, "Entstehung und Entwicklung des Staates bei den Bergvölkern des Kaukasus," *Zeitschrift für Völkerpsychologie und Soziologie*, VI (1930), pp. 436, 439, 444. How soon such families would become "blood-relatives" to such a degree that intermarriage would be considered incestuous has still to be investigated by the fieldworkers.

[59] M. Kovalevskij, *Coutume contemp.*, pp. 196, 335.

[60] M. Kovalevskij, l. c.

[61] R. Erckert, *Der Kaukasus*, p. 37.

[62] *Voyage au Mont Caucase et en Géorgie*, II, p. 74.

[63] "Domašnjaja i semejnaja žizn Dagestanskich Gorcev Avarskago Okruga," SSKG, III (1870), p. 18.

[64] *A Trip through the Eastern Caucasus*, p. 97. Unfortunately Abercromby fails to specify whether they were only *permitted* to marry blood-relatives or actually obliged to do so.

[65] M. Kovalevskij, *Zakon*, II, p. 142; *Coutume contemp.*, l. c. Egiasarov's article is not at my disposal, hence I am relying on Kovalevskij's faithful citation of the author.

582 in Kaitag, and of the Tabassaranians he is able to say: "Up to the present
[64] there have been no instances of anyone freely separating himself from his *tukhum*. The people are convinced that such an action would be impossible, unthinkable, certainly the most abominable disgrace imagineable." In the Province of Dargwa (according to Popov) the *tukhum* does not even have the authority to expel an illegitimate member, much less permit a fully-fledged member to separate from the others freely. Of all the provinces in South Daghestan only the adats of Tsakhur admit marriages with outsiders, but only
[65] by way of exception. Thus, according to Akhtinian and Rutulian customary law, a sib may marry one of their girls to a groom belonging to another *tukhum*, but only if the groom's sib is in danger of extinction.[66] But even in this extreme case an important *conditio sine qua non* is added: the children born of this marriage must be named not after the father's, but, strangely enough, after the mother's sib.[67]

[21] In most cases local exogamy will coincide with consanguineous exogamy, because generally the Caucasian *auls* are sib-villages, that is, inhabited by people with the same family name who consider themselves related to one another. The questions of local exogamy and cross-cousin marriages have still to be investigated by the fieldworker.

Endogamy is not a sign of primitiveness. On the contrary, it thrives where social ranks are of paramount importance.[68] But the Lesghians, as we shall soon learn (*infra*, pp. 61 ff), are virtually classless and therefore endogamy seems out of place. We cannot attribute the practice to Islamism; for Mohammedanism may indeed *permit* consanguineous mating but it does not *prescribe* it. We may therefore rightly expect to find the solution to the riddle in pre-Islamic times.

We have said that the Southern Caucasians are strict exogamists. That is true, but there has been a time when the Georgians, the neighbours of the Lesghian peoples, were endogamists.

In the Georgian chronicles of King Vakhtang, which speak of the times of Nabuchodonosor, we read (after Brosset, *Additions*, p. 31), "Les plus abominable coutumes s'introduisirent, dans les mariages, on n'avait aucun égard à la parenté, on mangeait tout ce qui a vie, on n'ensevelissait point les morts et l'on dévorait les cadavres!"[69] And according to the legend about Alexander's march into the Caucasus as found in the Georgian chronicles (after Brosset, *Histoire de la Géorgie*, I, p. 33): "Étant venu dans le Karthli, il trouve chez tous les Géorgiens des coutumes plus abominables que chez aucun peuple. En effet les mariages et la débauche s'y pratiquaient sans égard à la parenté, on mangeait de tout ce qui avait vie, on dévorait les cadavres."[70] Moreover, Tacitus (*Annales*, xii. 46) gives us a good example of a next-of-kin marriage in a Georgian royal family in Iberia. Moses of Chorene (iii, 20) and Faustus of

[66] M. Kovalevskij, *Zakon*, II, pp. 144 f.
[67] M. Kovalevskij, *Zakon*, II, p. 172.
[68] R. Lowie, *Primitive Society*, pp. 16 f.
[69] Cf. O. G. von Wesendonk, "Über georgisches Heidentum," *Caucasica*, I (1924), p. 6.
[70] Cf. Wesendonk, *op. cit.*, 61 f.

defend themselves against the raiders from Kabardia and the Kumykian plains. The Turlovs[A] did not affect the social organization of the Chechens very deeply. After the ruling family had been compelled to leave Chechnia, the mountaineers continued to live as classlessly as before ; each Chechen sib was a government in itself with little or no interest in the neighboring sibs.[124] In the *adat* collection of 1849 for the villages of Sunsha we read : " There is no special *adat* regarding the bride-price for princes because the inhabitants do not have any princes."[125] 565 [L14] [62]

(2) A perusal of any *adat* collection will convince us that *de jure* the Chechens do not have a nobility either. Thus, for example, in the collection of adats of 1844 of Vladikavkaz Province (the Dzher, Kists, Galgai, Tsori, Ingushi and Karabulaks) we read in § 2 : " No Chechen family has any privilege over any other family." *De facto* however there are influential families. Any family or sib may become more important than the others by manifesting extraordinary bravery or more especially by outnumbering the others.[126] Such families (or to be more exact, sibs) decide what is " wrong " and what is " right," what should be done and what should be left undone.

(3) There are actually two classes : the free and the slaves, the latter being mainly prisoners of war and captives taken in raids. Reineggs describes how in the eighteenth century the Chechens would mercilessly rob strangers and then demand a ransom. If the victim happened to be a fellow-Mohammedan, he naturally could not become a slave[127] if he failed to be ransomed, and consequently was murdered. On the other hand if the captive was a non-Muslim and was of a poor family that was unable to ransom him, he had to remain as a slave.[128] The adats distinguish between two classes of slaves, the *lai* and the *yasir*, the difference between the two being that the *yasir* could be ransomed while the *lai* could not.[129] But in spite of this difference the lot of the *lai* was not as unbearable as might seem at first sight. He was, practically speaking, more or less only a nominal slave, for, as a rule, he was declared free after some time or was *ipso facto* emancipated through marriage.[130] [562]

The situation in Daghestan is much the same as among the Chechen tribes. On the whole the *Lesghians* are very democratic, virtually classless. Class division, wherever it existed, was not of Lesghian origin but was brought from without. It can be roughly sketched as follows.

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[124] Ladyženskij, " Entstehung und Entwicklung des Staates bei den kaukasischen Bergvölkern *Zeitschrift für Völkerpsychologie und Soziologie*, VI (1930), pp. 441 ff.
N. Danilewski, *Der Kaukasus*, p. 141.
Leontovič, II, pp. 86, 114 § 1.
Berže, *Čečnja i Čečency*, p. 90.
Güldenstädt, *Beschreibung der kaukasischen Länder etc.*, pp. 148, 153.

[125] Leontovič, II, pp. 114, § 2, 123, § 1.

[126] A. H. Günther, " Zusammenstöße zwischen Gesetz und Gewohnheitsrecht im nördlichen Kaukasus," *Zeitschrift f. vergl. Rechtsw.*, XLVI (1931), p. 325. Reineggs, *op. cit.*, I, p. 38. Engelhardt und Parrot, *Reisen in die Krym und den Kaukasus*, I, p. 243.

[127] An Islamic prohibition. Cf. G. Bergsträsser, *Grundzüge des islamischen Rechts*, p. 38.

[128] Reineggs, *op. cit.*, I, p. 40.

[129] Leontovič, II, p. 80. Berže, *Čečnja i Čečency*, p. 90. Dubrovin, *Istorija*, Tome I, Bk. I, p. 452.

[130] U. Laudaev, " Primečanja k statě čečenskoe plemja," SSKG, VI (1872), p. 52. Leontovič, *l. c.* Berže, *op. cit.*, p. 91. Byhan, *La Civilisation Caucasienne*, p. 191.

A [foreign princely family invited to be rulers of the Chechens in the eighteenth century--Analy]

21: Kolarz J-4 (no date) 1952 R1 Soviet Union R1
[Osset] Caucasia RH1


Ca. 175 177 actions against the Turks. An Ossetin Major-General, K. Zankisov, fought in Poland against the insurgents of 1863–4 and he was by no means the only Ossetin Major-General of that epoch. Furthermore, an 'Ossetin Division' became famous in the course of the Russo-Turkish War in 1877–8, when General Skobelev described its 'chivalrous gallantry' as being 'above any praise'.[12]

Ca. 177 538 Russian cultural work among the Ossetins started much earlier than among other mountain peoples. The first book to appear in the Ossetin language was printed in Moscow in 1798; its object was to serve as a kind of introduction to the study of the Bible. A long period of fruitful association with the Russians and the general peaceful approach of the Ossetins towards Russian military and political rule made them more open to the acceptance of Russian preponderance. The Ossetins were, as a matter of fact, the only people of the Northern Caucasus to produce a great writer in the person of Kosta Khetagurov (1859-1906) who was half Russianized himself and wrote in both the Ossetin and Russian languages. The Soviet régime greatly popularized Khetagurov as a symbol of Russian-Ossetin synthesis, which he undoubtedly was. He had a complete Russian education, had studied at St. Petersburg and was strongly influenced by such progressive Russian writers as Herzen and Chernishevsky, which makes him particularly acceptable from the Soviet point of view.

Ca. 423 668 474 641 Until the Ossetins gave proof of their loyalty to Russia during the war the Soviet régime had had to overcome Ossetin resistance to both the establishment of collective farms and the suppression of tribal customs. During the period of the collectivization Ossetin peasants waged a sort of guerilla warfare against 'socialist property' and while outwardly accepting collectivization, tried to transform the Kolkhoz into an instrument of their respective clans. Ossetin chairmen of collective farms and officials of local Soviets seem to have acted on the principle 'I decide who is a kulak and an enemy of the State and who is not'. Thus, at least during its initial stage, collectivization in Ossetia became a downright farce. Persons belonging to a rival clan were rendered innocuous by being denounced as kulaks; real kulaks, on the other hand, were promoted to the rank of respectable Soviet citizens if they happened to belong to the clan dominating the local village council or the collective farm concerned.[13]

Ca. [725] 631 142 S.U. 563 634 All such 'incidents' were forgotten when the Ossetins redeemed their reputation by their brilliant war record. In the fighting which resulted in the dislodgement of the Germans from the approaches to the Caucasus, Ossetin partisans operating from behind the enemy lines greatly assisted the Red Army.[14] As a mark of appreciation for their loyalty, the Soviet Government allowed the Ossetins to increase substantially the territory of their national republic. A decree of April 8th, 1944, stipulated

5: Allen H-4 (no date) 1923 RH1 Caucasia RH1



Of these the Kubachins,[1] skilled armourers, the Kurins and the Tabasserans—the two latter tribes probably descendants of Persian colonists—were the most peaceable, industrious and civilised, while the Avars were the most warlike. All the Daghestanli tribes were organised on a patriarchal and extremely democratic basis—the chiefs being elective and controlled by councils of elders. To quote Hanway—"as they live under a kind of republican government, the distinction paid to him (the chief) is not very considerable."[2] 101 [622]

Distinct, racially and politically, from the other mountain tribes were the Ossets, who, divided into four main tribes—Digurins, Tagaurs, Kutatins and Alaghirs—were settled over the southern slopes of the Central Caucasus and in the valley of the Upper Araghva. Their social organisation, with its divisions into classes of nobles and serfs, corresponded in many respects to that of the western tribes.

The mountaineers possessed the accepted characteristics of all semi-civilised peoples: on the one hand reckless courage, extreme generosity, hospitality, loyalty, respect for the aged and love of animals; on the other hand a sensibility to offence and a childish vindictiveness which was expressed in perpetual and blood-thirsty vendettas, extreme personal vanity, a disinclination to submit to discipline or to undertake regular work, cruelty, callousness and violence. 181

All travellers unite in praising the hospitality of the mountaineers. "They fulfil the duties of hospitality with the most scrupulous attention, and both the host and his guest style one another *conacco*,[3] which is synonymous with *hospes* in Latin. On the departure of the latter, his host escorts him to another lodging, protects him, and, if necessary, risks his own life in defence of his guest. Though it has been observed that robbery is so general in this country that it may be considered as a regular profession, they nevertheless manifest the utmost fidelity to their conacci or guests.[4] Of the Ingushes Klaproth says, "At entertainments the host always waits upon his guests, and eats only what the latter throw him."[5] 574

The chief occupation and interest of the tribes lay in perpetual raids against their neighbours, or against the inhabitants 721

[1] Chantre, basing himself on Kubachin legends, suggests that this community was of Greek origin, the descendants of a colony of armourers settled by the Persian Kings at Derbend (Chantre, iv, 228).

[2] Hanway, i. 373.

[3] The Italianised form of "kunakh."

[4] Klaproth, p. 336, Dubois de Montpereux, i, 88, both quoting Interiano.

[5] Klaproth, p. 349.

[624] (1) Most of the Lesghian peoples were ruled by their own freely-elected elders independently of any prince. Of course, the Avars and the Laks had their khans,[121] while the Andi were subject to Kumykian and Avarian rulers.[122] After the Russian conquest of the Caucasus, chief native officials approved by the Military Government were known as *nā'ibs*.[123]

[565] [614] (2) Despite the fact that the Lesghian peoples have been subject to a more or less foreign aristocracy—the gradation being khan, bek, uzden, commoner and slave—[124] the people themselves remained essentially classless. Interest centred mainly around one's own sib. What generally determined precedence among the different sibs was, just as among the Chechens, not noble birth but the size of the sib.[125]

(3) Commoners.

[567] (4) Slaves. Lesghian slaves were usually prisoners taken in war or raids.[126] On paying a ransom or after a 10-year service or on marrying a Mohammedan the slave would be emancipated.[127]

The SOUTHERN CAUCASIANS. The complexity of the Georgian social classes surpasses even that of the Cherkess, a fact of which a mere glance through King Vakhtang's Code will convince us.[128] It should be noted that the [793] clergy do not form a distinct class; rather their class is determined by their ecclesiastical rank. In the following outline we shall also indicate the approximate social rank connected with the various ecclesiastical dignities.

(1) The King. The crown is inherited by the first-born male child. The *Catholicos* i. e., Patriarch of Iberia, ranks immediately after the King. (King Vakhtang's Code § 25.)

(2) Princes:

(a) The princes of the first order *(didebuli thavadi)*. Archbishops. (§ 26)
(b) Princes of the second order. Bishops. (§ 27)
(c) Princes of the third order and archimandrites. (§ 28)

(3) Nobles *(Aznauri)*:

(a) *Aznauri* of the first order and priors with the function of an abbot. (§ 29)

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[121] Cf. Gadži-Ali, "Skazanie očevidca o Šamilě," SSKG, VII (1873), pp. 6.

[122] Potocki, *Voyage dans les steps d'Astrakhan et du Caucase*, II, p. 165.

[123] The word is derived from the Arabic *nā'ib*. The territory over which the naib was in charge we shall call "naibate". For an excellent description of a naib family see Halil Beg Mussayassul, *Das Land der letzten Ritter*, München, 1936.

[124] Cf. Svěčin, "Očerk narodonaselenija, nravov i obyčaev Dagestancev," ZKO, II (1853), p. 64.

[125] Cf. Enad-Bey, *Der Kaukasus, seine Berge, Völker und Geschichte*, p. 130.

[126] Klaproth, *Beschreibung der russ. Prov.*, p. 117.

[127] Reineggs, *op. cit.*, I, p. 87.
The social stratification of Daghestan has been treated in: A. Tomai, "Materialy k voprosu o feodalizme v istorii Dagestana," *Revoljucionnyj Vostok*, (Moscow, 1935), No. 5, pp. 116—137.

[128] Cf. Karst's edition, pp. 81—85.

sheep is slaughtered and a second feast is given at which the husband- and wife-to-be are present. The elder of the village *(khevis-beri)* presides and then recites the special engagement prayer: "Glory to you, George, Angel of the Oak, Lasharis-Dzhbari, and Queen Tamara! George, Angel of the Oak, bless this young couple! Make them happy, rich and prosperous!"[35] After this the *mkepari*[36] are chosen from among the relatives of both partners, whose task it is to collect gifts for the betrothed. The Pshavs do not give their daughters a special dowry, these gifts and the *satavno* taking its place.[37] From now on the suitor is allowed to pay his future wife frequent visits.[38] 584 [776] [631]

There is very little difference to be noted in the OSSETINE matchmaking and betrothal.[39] At first a good friend (generally a woman) of the young man's family is sent to the parents of the girl to learn, unnoticed if possible, about the possiblity of a marriage. If the "spy" returns with a favourable answer, two official matchmakers are sent, generally elderly friends of the family. All dealings are kept secret until the girl's father consents. The town-crier is then notified, for it is his duty and privilege to publicize all engagements. Then the matchmakers bring to the girl's family gifts and the *kalym*, and, as usual, the engagement is celebrated by a feast.[40] [624]

The engagement customs of the KUMYKS are about the same as those of the Chechens.[41] In Balkaria it is the agreement regarding the *kalym* that constitutes the essence of the betrothal.[42]

## 2. Conclusions regarding Matchmaking and Betrothal

(1) All North Caucasians and immediate neighbours have the custom of formal betrothal of one sort or another. (2) Nowhere is the marriage arrangement a private affair. The two persons concerned are either passive, or if they do act, they are simply cooperating in a family matter. (3) Official go-betweens are usually employed. (4) The initiative is taken among all North Caucasians and neighbouring peoples by the male side. (5) Although the mother plays a surprisingly important part in the engagement customs, the final decision rests with the father. 593 584

The premarital arrangements of the Caucasians have a strongly patriarchal character. It is the father who has the final word in matchmaking. Moreover,

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[35] Makalatija, *l. c.* The sacred oak referred to is supposed to be on Mount Lashari in the central part of Pshavia and is tied to heaven with a golden chain (Makalatija, *op. cit.*, p. 103).

[36] Makalatija, *l. c.*

[37] Every girl, while still small, receives a calf as her own property. All the profit she makes by raising the calf becomes her property too.

[38] Makalatija, *l. c.*

[39] Dubrovin, I, i, pp. 329—332.

[40] Hahn, *Bilder aus dem Kaukasus*, pp. 40 f.

[41] For a fine description of Kumykian matchmaking and engagement see Semenov, "Očerki narodnych obyčaev Kumykov Terskoj Oblasti," *Terskij Sbornik*, II (1892), No. 2, Part 2 pp. 68—71; Dubrovin, *Istorija*, I, i, p. 637.

A. Karaulov, "Bolkari na Kavkaze," SMOMPK, XXXVIII (1908), No. 1, p. 146.

[42] [in Pshavia, southern Caucasia -- Analyst]

7: Columbia U. S-4,5 1956 RHl Caucasia

RHl

791 1 Pantsulaia, Zinaida Illarionovich
Abkhaz. deputy Sov. Nats. VS SSSR 4. sozyv, 1954. Born in Sukhumi 1920. Physician; no party affiliation.

Bak. Rab. 3/18/54
Zar. Vost. 2/14/54

536 2 Papazian, Vagram Kamerovich, 1888-
Born in Istambul; people's artist of Armenia, Georgia. Finished Armenial lyceum in Venice, Italy. Actor in various Caucasian theaters. Protagonist of many tragic roles chiefly in dramas of Armenian Adamian.

BE II 32:18

646 2 Papian, Matsak Petrosovich
Deputy Sov. Nats. VS SSSR 4. sozyv, 1954.

Kom. Er. 3/19/54

625 1 Paramonov, G. I.,-1955
Executed for treason; was investigator of NKVD of Georgia.

NYT

RH1

643
665 3
615

Ragimov, Sadykh Gadzhi Iaralievich (1914-Balakhany); engineer Premier of Azerb. Member CC CP Azerb. 1954-1956 (20.-21. s'ezd). Member CC CP SSSR 1956- (20. s'ezd). Member Sov. Nats. VS SSSR 1954- (4. s'ezd) 1953 - min. promyshlennykh tovarov shirokogo potrebleniia Azerb.

NYT 2/27/56
Zar. Vost. 12/28/55
Bak. Rab. 3/2/54, 2/17/54, 3/19/54, 1/26/56

646
4

Ramonov, Boris Grigor'evich Sev. Os. deputy Sov. Nats. VS SSSR 4. sozyv, 1954

Pravda 3/18/54

645
625 1

Rapava, A. N., - Nov. 22 ? 1955 Former deputy and later head People's Commissar for Int. Affairs in Georgia. Executed for having conducted "terroristic annihilation of honest Soviet citizens."

NYT
Zaria Vostoka

665
1

Rigvava, S.S. 2nd sect. of 1st plenum CC LKSM Gruz. SSR

Zar. Vost. 12/27/55

7: Columbia U. S-4, 5 1956 RH1 Caucasia

RH1

646

1 Romelashvili, David Zakhar'evich
Deputy to Sov. Nats. VS SSSR (4. s'ezd, 1954); sect. CC CP Gruz. SSR.

Bak. Rab. 3/19/54
Zar. Vost. 2/18/54

546

1 Rondeli-Tsagareishvili, D. E.
Georgian film producer; received Stalin prize in 1950 for collaboration with Dolidze, S. V. on film Shchit Dzhurgaia

BEII 15:25

645
625 1 Rukhadze, N. M. -Nov. 1955
Former investigation chief in the Georgian Internal Affairs Commissariat and later Georgian Minister of State Security. Helped oust Rapava in 1951. Tried and executed under Article 58 (Crimes connected with protection of Beriia acc. to Soviets).

NYT
Zaria Vost.

7: Columbia U. S-4, 5 1956 RHl Caucasia

RHl

532 2 Sar'ian, Martiros Sergeevich, 1880-
Armenian painter born in Nakhichevan. Worked under Serov and Korovin. In the beginning painted themes from fables; middle period is devoted to landscapes with oriental coloring; 1911- post-impressionistic. Did portrait of Simonov. Received Stalin prize for sets of opera Almast. Deputy to Sov. Soiuz VS SSSR 4. sozyv, 1954.

BE I 50:307
Kom. Er. 3/18/54

645 2 Sarkisov, B.E.
Member CC CP Arm. SSR, 18. s'ezd, 1956

Kom. Er. 1/22/56

625 1 Savitskii, K.S.
Former investigator for Georgian Commissariat of Int. Aff. Executed Nov. 1955.

NYT
Zaria Vostoka

RHI

645
625 1 Tsereteli, S.S.
Former deputy People's Commissar and deputy Minister for Internal Affairs. Executed Nov. 1955, for alleged treason, counter-revolutionary crimes, for bringing false accusations ("slanderous evidence" against Ordzhonikidze); tried under Soviet criminal code 58 (high treason) in Sept. 1955 in Tiflis by military collegium of Soviet Supreme Court, headed by Lieut. Gen. A.A Cheptsov.

NYT
Zaria Vost.

535
1 Tsignadze, Vera Varlamovna
Stalin prize 2. class, 1950 for ballet role in Gorda ballet.

Laur. Stalin. prem. 1950
p. 81

646
645 1
665 Tsimakuridze, Kondratii Sokratovich
Deputy to Sov. Nats. VS SSSR (4. s'ezd, 1954). Born in Tlukhi, 1904-1937-1947 narodnyi komissar finansov Gruz. SSR. 1953- minister finansov Gruz. SSR. Member CC CP Gruz. SSR.

Bak. Rab. 2/19/54
Zar. Vost. 2/13/54

593 for some Persian cloth worth Rs. 240. While the deal was still going on, the
567 girl fled and hanged herself.[7]

We have found no purely Lesghian *adats* prohibiting or sanctioning the selling of children into slavery, in spite of the despotic authority of the father.[8] Although we do not know the attitude of customary law in this regard, we do know that the *šarī'a* strictly forbids not only the selling of a fellow-Mohammedan into slavery, but expressly condemns the selling of one's own children.[9]

The SOUTHERN CAUCASIANS. In times of famine the mountain tribes of Georgia used to sell their children; the Svans, for example, "for 700 to 1,200 francs each" (Mourier, *Guide au Caucase*, I, p. 147).

It was this same poverty that led their neighbours, the Tualti (SOUTHERN OSSETES), to kill their girls and sell their boys.[10]

In short, everywhere in the Caucasus the *right* to sell children is not disputed; the practice, however, is *rare*, except in time of absolute necessity or in regard to children who are not considered fully members of the family.

## § 2. JUS VITAE NECISQUE

593 The NORTHWESTERN CAUCASIANS. The *adats* expressly mention
682 that a father does not have the right over life and death of his children.[11]
[627] However, he may condemn a *perverse* member of the family to death: he must, of course, first chastize him, then disinherit him, and finally, if all these means fail and the son remains incorrigeable, the father, acting as supreme judge of the family, may hand him over to a servant to be killed.[12] In spite of these *adats* it seems that formerly the father actually had the right to kill his child at will.[13]

The NORTHEASTERN CAUCASIANS. The Chechen adat collection of 1843 tells us that "there is no customary law defining or limiting the authority of the father over his children."[14] However, in practice, he enjoys this unlimited
[858] authority only as long as the children are small. Once his sons have grown up, they may take vengeance on their own father for killing one of their brothers.[15] It is quite possible that at one time the father actually possessed the *jus vitae necisque*, a right that had disappeared long before the *adat* collections of the past century were made. By no means does a husband have a right over the

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[7] *Voyage dans les steps d'Astrakhan et du Caucase*, II, p. 123.

[8] Cf. Omarov, "Kak živut Laki," SSKG, IV (1871), p. 18.

[9] G. Bergsträsser, *Grundzüge des islamischen Rechts*, p. 39.

[10] Kovalevskij, *Coutume contemp.*, p. 189.

[11] Leontovič, II, p. 250, § 138.

[12] *ibid.* See also Leontovič, I, p. 152, § 81.

[13] Dubrovin, *Istorija*, I, i, pp. 168 f; P. I. Kovalevskij, *Kavkaz, Narody Kavkaza*, p. 56.

[14] Leontovič, II, p. 112, § 8.

[15] M. O. Kosven, "Avunkulat," SE, 1948, No. 1, p. 18; Leontovič, II, pp. 112 (§ 8), 251 (§ 143), 258 (§ 206); Berže, *Čečnja i Čečency*, p. 96.

7:Columbia U. S-4, 5 1956 RH1 , CaucasiaRH1
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Swan

C. G. 361 342 over the wooden lattice of the horizontal roof frame. These flat roofs are also much used for growing cereals, vegetables, curing meat, etc. The sakhli is also the common type of house in most parts of Anatolia and Iran, where we also find the staircase-like arrangement of the sakhlis on the mountain slopes.

C. G. 628 These are the lands where the kings of Sak'art'velo or the Emirs and Khans of Shirvan and Arran had no say, nor did the Caliph in Baghdad or the Roman Emperor have any authority, with the result that feuds were fought right on the spot. Thus, there were times when not only one aul fought another, but even one clan or family fought another within the same aul. Hence the many small castles; hence a man always carried his kinzhal; hence such customs as the vendetta, the qan-alma (Turkic: "taking of blood"), which have been preserved C. G. 631 there down to the present time. Svanet'ia consists of three small lands: Free Svanet'ia, Svanet'ia of the Dadishkeliani, and Svanet'ia of the Dadiani, the latter two named after the C. G. 771 families of their former overlords. Many pagan elements are found in the Eastern Orthodox religion of these valiant mountaineers, although to a lesser degree than is true of the Oset'i, as mentioned above, or some of the Dagestanians, who were later converted to Islam.

## LAW AND CUSTOM

671 Among the moutaineers the rights and duties of each individual and penalties for offences were regulated in detail by an unwritten body of rules (adat), which remained largely unchanged among the Christian Kartvelians, and which never quite yielded to
628 Muslim law (shariate). Among the North Caucasians, a killing - whether deliberate or accidental -- resulted in a blood feud, which could last for generations. The revenge had to be carried out by a close male relative, usually a brother or son. Friends of the blood-guilty could try to arrange a peace, and the injured family could then accept a "blood-price," which varied according to the social rank of the victim.
[608] Also, the milk-relationship[1] was considered so sacred that its establishment could end a feud. Thus among the Circassians a person guilty of blood could kidnap a young child from the injured family and bring it up; he thus became the child's atalyk and a milk-relationship was established between him and the family.

Besides manslaughter, blood feuds also resulted from abduction of married women, adultery, and from certain grave insults, e. g. throwing out of the house the kettle that was suspended over the hearth; among the Tush, who were seminomadic pastoralists, also from cattle-stealing.

681 For less serious injuries the adat prescribed in detail compensations in kind. E. g.

[1] [Cf. cat. 116, pp. 527-528 -- Analyst]

577 The mountaineer's touchiness and vengefulness are connected with the stress laid on personal dignity and group-loyalty in Caucasian culture; they go back to the times of blood feuds, intertribal wars and the constant danger of armed attack. Formerly, in the mountaineers' conception of life, wars and predatory raids formed a more honorable way of existence than agriculture and cattle breeding. Only a life of danger and audacity could win a man public esteem, and during the Caucasian war a family that had not lost one or more members in the field was looked down upon with contempt. The inducement to wars and raids was furnished as much by the action itself as by the possible gains. The Circassian who had risked his life in a raid to seize a herd of horses was ready to part with his booty at the first request or even hint of a person who was in need; the "Circassian tradition" required compliance with any request for material help. Material possessions were not placed high in the scale of values; more important was public esteem, and loss of face was feared above all else. The mountaineer is proud, both of his people and their traditions, and in a personal way. He is easily offended, and in the old days offense easily led to bloodshed (a fistfight was considered a disgrace, so that violence was always committed with arms); and an unrevenged killing was the worst shame that could rest on a house.

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628 The vendetta flourished until well into the Soviet period, as is witnessed by official pamphlets of the twenties combating it.

8: Lužbetak E-4 (no date) 1951 RHl Caucasia RHl



582 608 853 them to each other."[85] The Utsmi or Usmi were rulers of Kaitag, said to date from the Arab conquest in the eighth century or soon after.[86] The custom of the Usmi did more than merely endear the baby prince to his subjects. The inhabitants actually considered the prince their foster-brother and for him they were ready to die, for milk-relationship implied as strong a tie as that of consanguinity.[87] The anonymous *Tagebuch* (p. 59)[88] gives us another example: an Ingush "murderer of an only son flies to the mother and, dagger in hand, compels her to give him her breast. Other relatives demand blood-revenge, but the woman, whose right it is to decide, says 'now that he has sucked my breast, if you kill him I lose *two* sons,' and the murderer's life is spared."[89]

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Both forms of adoption, by actual and by ceremonial breastsucking, are in full accord with the *šarī'a*. According to the Koran, iv. 27, relationship by milk constitutes an impediment as stringent as that of blood propinquity. Excluded from marriage are the woman and her adopted child; the child and all those suckled by the same woman; the child with all his descendents and the woman who suckled him with all her milk and blood relatives and those of her husband. Such kinship is known in Islamic law as *raḍâ* or *raḍâ'h*[90]

It is difficult to determine just in how far the Caucasian practice is dependent on that of Islamism. The explorers and *adat* collectors fail to tell us to what degree marriage between milk-relatives is looked upon as incestuous. In all probability the institution existed in the Caucasus long before the introduction of the Koran. It seems to be pre-Islamic for various reasons. First of all, the custom is not limited to Mohammedan Caucasians but is found among Christian tribes as well, for example in Armenia.[91] Moreover it is very difficult to imagine that a *mere* ceremony, and a *foreign* one at that, could dispense a Caucasian from the most sacred obligation of avenging the blood of a murdered relative. Anyone who has studied Caucasian customary law will admit that perhaps no *adats* are so unchangeable as those regarding blood-feuds. It is unintelligible how an imported ceremony, especially among tribes that have been converted to Islamism rather recently and then only half-heartedly, could change these almost unchangeable *adats*. Finally, relationship by milk is neither an Islamic invention nor restricted to Mohammedan countries (it is found, for example, also among the nomadic peoples of Asia); it could exist in the Caucasus independently of Mohammedanism too.

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[85] G. Ellis, *Memoir of a map of the countries comprehended between the Black Sea and the Caspian nations and vocabularies of their languages*, London, 1788, pp. 40 f.

[86] Baddeley, *The Rugged Flanks of Caucasus*, II, p. 18, note. Ellis, *l. c.*

[87] Baddeley, *l. c.*

[88] *Tagebuch einer Reise, die im Jahr 1781 von der Gränzfestung Mosdok nach dem innern Caucasus unternommen worden*, Leipzig and St. Petersburg, 1797. A certain Steder is the author.

[89] Baddeley, *op. cit.*, I, p. 262.
U. Laudaev, "Primĕčanija k statĕ čečenskoe plemja," SMOMPK, VI (1872), p. 50.

[90] Th. W. Juynboll, *Handbuch des islâmischen Gesetzes nach der Lehre der schâfiitischen Schule nebst einer allgemeinen Einleitung*, p. 219.

[91] *Baddeley, op. cit.*, I, p. 263.

582 relationship by milk. As is well known, Mohammed had an adopted son, his
597 own emancipated slave named Zaid ibn Ḥâriṯah, who had a beautiful wife, at least beautiful in the eyes of the Prophet. Mohammed persuaded Zaid to divorce her and thus to make it possible for the Prophet to marry her. The faithful, however, were greatly scandalized, for the "sinless" Prophet married the wife of his "son". Mohammed seemed to have no way of extricating himself from this awkward position, but fortunately Allah had pity on him and favoured him with another revelation according to which all fosterage is sinful and non-
[607] existent. If anyone dares to call another person by the name of "father" and if that person did not actually beget him, he will infallibly be cursed by Allah and all His Angels.[104] In the Caucasus children are adopted and, as is the case with the Cherkess today, enjoy the full and equal rights of natural sons and daughters.[105] M. Kovalevskij found adoption in practice among the Ossetes. Here too the adopted son would be regarded as a true "son" who was able to perpetuate the family.[106] Formerly fictitious relationship could arise among the Cherkess by a mere pronouncement of the formula, "I adopt you," or "You are my daughter," or "You are my sister." From that moment the person adopted would have to consider the relatives of the person who pronounced
[608] the formula, as his own. A murderer could form a fictitious relationship in Ossetia by consecrating himself to his victim in a special ceremony at his grave.[107] Among the Ossetes adoption sometimes took place before the mother of the family. The person to be adopted would say to her, "From today on you are my mother; I am your son." The mother would then uncover her breast and answer, "I am your mother; you are my son."[108] As is only to be expected, adoption occurs very rarely, in fact only in extreme necessity to pre-
[608] vent extinction of the family. Adoption cannot be frequent because the mountaineers insist on purity of blood, and to adopt a child unnecessarily would imply giving away family property to a fictitious member.[109] Owing to the lack of data, we can only call the attention of the fieldworker to the following two problems: firstly, exactly *which* tribes consider adoption an impediment to mating; secondly, to which degree of fictitious relationship.

### 4. Disparity of Social Rank

505 We now come to the obligation of marrying exclusively within one's own
[582] social rank. But before we can begin to speak of this form of endogamy we must briefly describe the social stratification in the Caucasus.

The NORTHWESTERNERS. The *Abkhazian* society was formerly divided into four distinct classes: (1) the princes, (2) the *Chinakma*, i. e., the

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[104] Koran, xxxiii, 5. Cf. J. Henninger, *Die Familie bei den heutigen Beduinen Arabiens und seiner Randgebiete*, Leiden, 1943, p. 64. Juynboll, *op. cit.*, p. 187. R. Roberts, *Das Familien-, Sklaven- und Erbrecht im Qorân*, Leipzig, 1908, pp. 39 ff.

[105] Ladyženskij, FT, p. 202.

[106] Kovalevskij, *Coutume contemp.*, p. 203.

[107] Kovalevskij, *op. cit.*, p. 204.

[108] *ibid.*

[109] Kovalevskij, *op. cit.*, p. 203.

### 6. Impediment Arising from Failure to Carry Out an Obligation of Vengeance

628 Vengeance is a sacred obligation among all the Mountain Tribes of Caucasus.
614 If a member of the sib is murdered or killed accidentally,[183] if a member of the family is raped or abducted, if the sacred hearth-chain is violated, or if the sib is offended seriously in any other way, the injured party incurs the strict and sacred obligation of vengeance. Self-defense calls for vengeance, for in the eyes of the mountaineers there is no competent authority common to the offender and the offended, who might compel the culprit's sib to repair the injury done. The blood of the victim, self-respect, and respect for the ancestors call for vengeance. Usually the nearest male relative of the victim has the obligation to kill the offender or one or more of his sib, depending on the local *adat*. Although the vendetta has become more a thing of the past, it still does occur now and then in our own days. Even today reconciliation (bloodwite) is regarded as a disgraceful exchange for the noble blood of a member of the family and at [582] times is refused.[184] Blood calls for blood alone! Even today, if a young mountaineer fails to carry out his sacred obligation of avenging an enemy (regardless of Soviet laws), he may have to remain single for the rest of his life, for no respectable girl would wish to marry him.[185]

[672] [183] If a passer-by is killed by a stone kicked down a cliff by a sheep or goat, the owner of the animal becomes the blood-enemy *(qanly)* of the victim's sib. For other examples of similar customary laws see Dirr, AGKB, p. 107. Even in our own days accidents may be punished by death. See A. H. Günther, "Zusammenstöße zwischen Gesetz und Gewohnheitsrecht im nördlichen Kaukasus," *Zeitschr. f. vergl. Rechtsw.*, XLVI (1931), pp. 332 ff.

[184] Günther, *op. cit.*, p. 329.

[185] Günther, *op. cit.*, p. 327. For blood-feuds in the Caucasus see the works of Dirr and Günther just cited, S. Karginov, "Krovavaja mest' u Osetin," SMOMPK, XLIV (1914), No. 3, and Berže, *Čečnja i Čečency*.

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fire in the hearth is extinguished, and the future bride and groom must clasp hands as a concluding betrothal ceremony.[6] Only now do the negotiations regarding the *kalym* begin.[7] 584

The NORTHEASTERN CAUCASIANS. Instead of describing the customs of each Chechen tribe individually, we shall present the engagement customs of the most primitive of Chechen tribes, the Ingushi. The father of the suitor visits the family of the prospective bride personally.[8] Stereotyped procedure is the rule, and he is fully aware of this observance. At the first and second visit the girl's family is obliged by etiquette to make excuses, and by no means may a decision be reached. At the third visit the girl's father will utter his long awaited consent. The matchmakers may never visit the bride's father empty-handed. Usually they bring a ram to treat the family to a little dinner and to create a friendly atmosphere for the discussion regarding the marriage. If for some reason or other the marriage be considered undesireable, etiquette demands that an outright refusal be avoided; instead, the girl's family must demand an excessive *kalym* or make other impossible stipulations. If the father of the girl has given his consent, a betrothal feast must be prepared,[9] on which occasion the suitor presents his future wife with an engagement gift of Rs. 10 and a silk cloth.[10] The local mullah is then called and a formal engagement contract is drawn before the usual two witnesses.[11] Two or three months later, the date of the marriage is agreed upon. Once the couple is officially engaged, the entire *taipan* becomes extremely interested in them, doing them all sorts of favours.

In Leontovič's *adat* collection we find another form of matchmaking. A brother is obliged to arrange a marriage between his sister and a friend who has "drunk to her health and offered her brother a gift." A failure to carry out this obligation will turn an intimate friend into the bitterest foe, and rightly so, says the *adat*, because such a neglect is a serious crime, a blood-offense, which necessarily calls for revenge no less than does murder.[12] This means of arranging a marriage is very rare and resorted to by the North Caucasians, especially the Ingushi, only after a refusal.[13] This *adat* is especially interesting because it overrules the sacred, inviolable *patria potestas* and so many other *adats* regarding choice of mates and engagement. This may very well be a vestige of a right formerly enjoyed by the maternal uncle.[14] [628] [604]

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[6] *ibid.*

[7] *ibid.* The engagement customs of the Abkhaz have been described quite fully by Seidlitz in his "Die Abchasen," *Globus*, LXVI (1894), p. 40.

[8] In Salati, Aukh, and Ichkeria matchmakers arrange the marriage ("Sbornik adatov žitelej Nagornago Okruga, 1864 goda," Leontovič, II, p. 144, § 92).

[9] Jakovlev, *Ingušli*, pp. 50 f.

[10] Berže, *Čečnja i Čečency*, p. 97.

[11] Grabovskij, "Ekonomičeskij i domašnij byt žitelej gorskago učastka Inguševskago Okruga," SSKG, III (1870), p. 20.

[12] Leontovič, II, pp. 251, §§ 149, 151; Berže, *op. cit.*, p. 98; Dubrovin, *Istorija*, I, i, p. 427.

[13] Leontovič, II, p. 251, § 151.

[14] Cf. Kovalevskij, "La Famille matriarcale au Caucase," *L'Anthropologie*, IV (1893), pp. 271 f.

855 a total want of manliness. On one occasion, stung by the jeers of the men in
593 his native regiment, he drew his 'kinjal' and crying: 'I love my son, but you shall see also that I don't mind killing him', was about to do so when they seized his arm and succeeded in calming him."[107] A better example to illustrate the necessary distinction between love and public manifestation of that love we can hardly offer. "I love my son, but you shall see also that I don't mind killing him!" A paradox which a Western mind finds very difficult to grasp![108]

The neighbouring SOUTHERN CAUCASIANS, the Khevsurs, have the same taboo. A father may never carry his child before others or even say a friendly word to it. The most that the father may do is hold the child by hand when it is old enough to walk.[108a]

The neighbouring OSSETES observe the same rule. Here too it is not a lack of affection but a convention, which under no condition may be violated. "Neither husband nor wife might take their children in their arms, or by hand, or give them anything, in the presence of older members of his family. 'So far is this carried,' said Ourousbi [the Author's guide, an Ossete] 'that once one of my children fell into the water and might have been drowned, but as older men of the family were present I did not dare to call attention to the fact, much less take the child out of the water myself. Luckily one of them saw what was happening and saved it.'"[109] "So, too, Kosta Khetagouroff, the Ossetine poet, saved a child from falling off a high house-roof by stamping on its garments, but called a woman to pick it up as it would have been against custom for him to do so; and one of the Abayeffs, having in identical circumstances saved a child, called to its mother—his own wife—'Here, come and pick up your puppy!' (Čursin, *Osetini*, p. 40)." Baddeley claims that in this respect a change has taken place, and as proof, points out that in several of his own photographs Ourousbi is seen carrying a friend's baby. But here Baddeley forgets that the prohibition is not to carry a *friend's* baby but to carry *one's own* child.

## § 10. CONCLUSIONS

842 We have already mentioned the main reason why boys are preferred to
628 girls, namely the patriarchal, patrilocal, and patrilineal structure of the North Caucasian and neighbouring societies. But there is still another reason, based on intertribal relations and on the poverty of the mountain tribes, which leads them to a life of raids and robbery. The Caucasus is a typical land of blood-feuds. In the Terek Province, for example, with a population of about 930,000, there were in one year 365 cases of homicide or attempted homicide, an average of one a day. Feuds accounted for most of them.[110] The rest were the result

[107] Baddeley, *op. cit.*, II, pp. 87 f.

[108] Cf. Dubrovin, I, i, p. 440.

[108a] Hahn, *Bilder aus dem Kaukasus*, p. 81. For the practice in the Government of Elizabethpol, see E. Melik-Šachnazarov, "Selenie Arcevanik, Zangezurskago uezda, Elisavetpol'skoj Gubernii," SMOMPK, XXV (1898), No. 2, p. 43.

[109] Baddeley, *op. cit.*, I, p. 269, from whom we borrow also the following citation of Čursin.

[110] Baddeley, *op. cit.*, I, p. 81.

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of raids and robberies. Girls are useless in these tasks, whereas, in this struggle for existence, every additional boy means greater security and prestige. 842 628

In conclusion, we may ask ourselves, just why should the *adats* prohibit the manifestation of one's affection for a child. The reason behind this customary law seems to be founded not so much on a father-child relation as on the male-female relation of the Caucasian society. If a father were to show his affection for his child, were he to fondle and carry it, he would be imitating a *woman*, and that would be a terrible deg-adation! This degradation will be better understood in the following chapter. This rule to my mind is linked up with the low position of the female sex. Just as a man may never do a task that is established by the *adats* as a task exclusively for women, e. g., milk cows, fetch water, gather wood, so a man may never carry, fondle, or rock his child. Čursin seems to be of the same opinion. He says that the Ossetes would call such a man by a very insulting name, "baba," that is, "old lady," if he would ever dare to milk a cow or look after children.[111] We wish to stress two facts: first of all, it is not a lack of affection for one's child that is prohibited, as we have said, but the *manifestation* of that love; and secondly, the manifestation of love is forbidden simply out of fear of being considered an "old lady," a woman! 562 885 593

[111] G. F. Čursin, *Osetini, etnografičeskij očerk*, p. 39.

562 [606] respect her rights. Chechen women enjoy considerably more freedom than do the women in Daghestan.[65] But even the Lesghian women are not entirely without rights. We have seen how in matters regarding engagement and marriage the mother plays an important part. This may be a vestige of an ancient mother-right culture.

The SOUTHERN CAUCASIANS. Despite the slavish condition to which the South Caucasian *adats* condemn the female sex, the women are given certain unusual privileges, enjoyed not even by the menfolk. In Khevsuria[66] and Svanetia,[67] just as in W. Circassia[68] and OSSETIA,[69] a woman is able to put an end to a savage duel by a mere word or by her very presence. The Svan need but touch her and he is, at least temporarily, secure even in the presence of his bitterest enemy.[70]

Finally, we should not forget that the women are the official owners of their engagement and wedding gifts, and if divorced, also of the *kebin*.[71]

## § 4. PROBLEMS

562 628 [171] The two main problems of this chapter are: (1) Why must the women do most of the work? (2) Why is the status of women throughout the Caucasus so unfavourable? These questions can be answered only in the light of our entire study and in the light of the entire culture of the North Caucasians. Her unfavourable and still privileged position as mistress of the house and as an asylum for any murderer resembles very closely the condition of the women in a society such as that found among pastoral nomads of Asia. It is indeed difficult to determine just in how far the pastoral nomads of Asia are responsible for the status of women in North Caucasus and in how far the general economic conditions among the mountaineers have contributed to the position of the female sex. Here we wish to point out one important contributing factor, raids and blood-feuds. By no means do we maintain that this is the *most* important or the *only* factor; it is, however, *a very important* one. Any mountaineer may object to the accusation that he is an idler by saying: "We men are constantly exposing our lives for our wives and children, while the women are able to work in peace and security. How can we be soldiers and farmers at the same time?" Amirov heard the same argument used in Kaitago-Tabassaran, where formerly there was hardly a man in all Kaitago that had not killed or cooperated in killing another man. As a consequence of feuds, the men had to be constantly on the lookout, constantly hiding, and frequently

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[65] B. Plaetschke, *Die Tschetschenen*, p. 33.
[66] Essad-Bey, *op. cit.*, p. 267.
[67] Dirr, FT, p. 43.
[68] Mourier, *Guide au Caucase*, I, p. 136.
[69] N. F. Takoeva, "Kosta Chetagurov — narodnyj poet osetin etnograf-kavkazoved," SE, 1949, No. 2, p. 129.
[70] Dirr, *l. c.*
[71] Kovalevskij, *Zakon*, I, p. 143.

away from home.[72] It is indeed striking that, with the disappearance of blood-feuds, the men have begun to take a more and more active part in the family work.[73]

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[72] Amirov, "Srědi gorcev sěvernago Dagestana," SSKG, VII (1873), p. 48.
In regard to the Chechens, see Dubrovin, *Istorija*, I, i, pp. 437 f.

[73] For more material on the position of the female sex in the Caucasian society see the following:
Olearius, *Ueber den Zustand Russlands zur Zeit des Alexei Michailowitsch*; J. de Lucca, *Rélations des Tartares, Percopites et Nogaies, des Circassiens, etc.*; Ramusio, *Raccolta di Viaggi*.
Hahn, "Putešestvie v Kachetiju i Dagestan," SMOMPK, XXXI (1902), No. 2, pp. 49—96.
Alichanov, Series of articles in the *Kavkaz*, "V gorach Dagestana."
Leontovič, "Otnošenie muža k žene," *Adaty Kavkazskich Gorcev*, II, pp. 98 ff.
Mačavarian, "Někotoryja čerty iz žizni abchazcev. Položenie ženščiny v Abchazii," SMOMPK, IV (1884), No. 2, pp. 40—76.
Zacharov, "Domašnij i socialnyj byt ženščiny u Zakavkazskich Tatar," SMOMPK, XX (1894), pp. 91—151.
Steinberg, "Pravovyje položenije ženščiny v Dagestanč," *Novij Vostok*, 1929, No. 26—27.

# Chapter XII

# Sexual Offenses

## § 1. CRIMES AND PENALTIES

684 628 The ancient customary law of the NORTHWESTERN CAUCASIANS imposes a death penalty on the adulteress, allowing the adulterer to go unpunished. According to Cherkess *adats* she might be killed in the act or anytime afterwards,[1] while the male partner had always to be spared. It is true, Leontovič's excellent collection of customary laws maintains the very contrary, expressly stating that the adulterer had to be punished too,[2] but the penalty imposed on him is doubtless an Islamic innovation.[3]

[585] According to ancient customary law, the lot of the unfortunate bride found unchaste on her wedding night did not differ from that of the adulteress caught in the act. If the bride did not pass the virginity test, the angry groom would at once dismiss her, hand her over to her disgraced and furious father to be mutilated and finally killed.[4]

[836] In case of pregnancy before marriage, the penalty imposed on the lover was somewhat less than the equivalent of bloodwite,[5] about twenty-five head of cattle, as Longworth found it in the beginning of the last century.[6]

Customary law hardly distinguishes between rape and abduction, although the collections do, for rape generally has the same purpose as bride capture. Rape is severely punished, as severely as murder. If the ravisher's life has been spared, he is obliged to pay as much as Rs. 150 in reparation for the insult suffered by the victim's sib, and besides this fine, he is forced to pay the usual *kalym*. He is also forced to marry the girl, for, generally, once raped, she has no hope of finding another mate. If the victim happens to be of a higher social class than the attacker, there is no reconciliation possible. Vengeance alone can atone for such a hideous crime.[7]

Incest is considered a qualified crime and is sanctioned by the severest penalties. Formerly if a Cherkess dared to marry a girl of his fraternity (*tleush*)[8]

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[1] Dubrovin, *Istorija*, I, i, p. 171.

[2] Leontovič, I, p. 254, § 109: "Imějuščij ženu i uličennyj v preljubodělěljanii, po zakonu lišaetsja žizni, no tot že potupok, soveršennyj cholopom, podvergaet ego nakazaniju sta udarami; ěto nazyvaetsja chod-tazir."

[3] Dirr, AGKB, p. 82.

[4] Byhan, *La civilisation caucasienne*, p. 155.

[5] Post, *Grundriß der ethnol. Jurispr.*, II, p. 378.

[6] *A Year among the Circassians*, I, p. 217.

[7] Grabovskij, "Očerk suda i ugolovnych prestuplenij v Kabardinskom okrugě," SSKG, IV (1870), pp. 42 f.

[8] *Supra*, p. 55.

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he would be sentenced to death by drowning. In the nineteenth century a heavy fine of 200 oxen and immediate separation were insisted upon instead.[9] 684 628

The penalty for raping a boy before puberty is death. Of course, such cases of perversion are very rare.[10] Likewise extremely rare are cases of homosexuality and bestiality,[11] except among certain Cherkess horse-breeders among whom bestiality is more common and the penalty trivial or none at all.[12] [839]

The *adats* have evidently gone through a distinct evolution, from unusual severity imposed exclusively on the adulteress to a more moderate form of punishment affecting both partners. Dubois de Montpéreux observed how a husband, who would clip his wife's hair for adultery, then cut off her ear, arm, or nose and finally kill her, fully in accord with ancient *adats*,[13] would thereby become a blood-enemy of his wife's relatives. He therefore usually preferred to divorce her instead[14] and have the *kalym* refunded.[15] Vasil'kov reported in the beginning of this century that among the Temirgoi illicit intercourse was extremely rare and that *both* partners would be punished very severely. If caught in the act, they would be buried up to their necks and then stoned to death.[16]

The NORTHEASTERN CAUCASIANS. The Chechen customary law likewise imposes very severe penalties for adultery, as the following table clearly shows (Table No. 19).

The most serious sex offenses are those of rape and incest. If an Ingush woman (married or single) is raped, the attacker may be killed on the spot. If he manages to escape, a bitter blood-feud breaks out between the sibs of the offended and offender. In *adat* courts confession of the culprit or the accusation of the victim are considered undeniable evidence. The accused can prove himself not guilty by taking an oath, which must then be confirmed by the statements of five conjurors,[17] two of whom must be relatives. If the defendant hesitates to take the oath or fails to find sufficient conjurors who are convinced of his innocence (and hence who are not afraid of the supernatural sanction attached to such an oath), he must pay a fine of 24 cows if the victim happened to be a married woman,[18] and a horse worth 30 silver rubles, a ram and four kettles of *arrack* if she happened to be unmarried.[19] The ravisher, as usual, must marry the girl he attacked.[20] If the girl has already been engaged to someone, 684 695 628 684 584

[9] McLennan, *Studies in Ancient History*, p. 76.
[10] At least in Kabardia, according to Grabovskij, *op. cit.*, p. 43.
[11] *ibid.*
[12] Grabovskij, *op. cit.*, p. 44.
[13] Amputation of the adulteress' ears and nose is a punishment found throughout the Caucasus; today, of course, it is rare. It is indeed interesting to note that a Hittite code (about 1350 B. C.) engraved on a stele has been dug up, which legalized such mutilation in case of adultery (cf. H. C. E. Zacharias, *Protohistory*, p. 258).
[14] Dubois de Montpéreux, *Voyage autour du Caucase*, I, p. 132.
[15] Dubrovin, *l. c.*
[16] "Očerk byta Termirgoevcev," SMOMPK, XXIX (1901), No. 1, p. 102.
[17] For the institution of *conjury* see above, pp. 155 f.
[18] Leontovič, II, p. 172, §§ 140, 142.
[19] Leontovič, II, p. 172, § 144.
[20] Leontovič, II, p. 120, § 24. Other adat collections claim the very opposite, cf. Leontovič, II, p. 172, § 147.

593 682 [628] The last class of *adats* demand blood for blood. Such customary laws are found, for example, in the Dargwa Province : in Usisha District,[31] Tsudakhar,[32] Akusha District,[33] and in some towns of the naibate of Tilitl-Hidatl,[34] and in the Samur District.[35] The same holds if a husband kills his wife : he becomes a blood-enemy of the wife's relatives and sometimes of his own children. In Bashli (Kaitago-Tabassaran Province),[36] Mahallen Terekeme (Kaitago-Tabassaran Province),[37] Mahal Gamri (Kaitago-Tabassaran Province),[38] and in the Province of Samur,[39] a husband who has murdered his wife becomes a blood-enemy of her relatives. In Mahal Gamri he becomes a blood-enemy of his children as well.[40]

Ancient GEORGIAN *adats* permit the murderer to go unpunished, the crime being "left to the judgement of God."[41] A Khevsur who murders his wife is obliged to pay a bloodwite of five cows to her relatives.[42] The Svan custom of tying a large stone about the neck of a person who murdered one of his own kin (as a sign of excommunication) is most likely of Christian origin. It reminds us very much of a similar penalty for parricide in the Old Testament. It may, less probably though, have come to Svanetia through Islamism, for Mohammedanism has borrowed this form of excommunication from the Old Testament.[43]

[614] The neighbouring KUMYKS do not punish a man for murdering his child either.[44] Uxoricide, however, never goes unpunished ; the murderer becomes *a qanly* of the victim's sib.[45]

The ancient Indo-Europeans used to place the newborn child on the ground and then invite the father to pick it up, as an official recognition of the child as his own and at the same time expressing his wish not to use his right to kill it.[46] According to OSSETINE customary law, a father may kill his child with

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[31] ADOiZO, p. 225, § 47 ; cf. Dirr, AGKB, p. 61 ; "Adaty Darginskich Obščestv," p. 102.
[32] ADOiZO, p. 244, § 40 ; cf. Dirr, AGKB, pp. 61 f ; "Adaty Dauginskich Obščestv," pp. 113 f.
[33] "Adaty Darginskich Običestv," p. 35. Also in Balhar, Tsumkan, according to ADOiZO, p. 115, § 43 ; cf. Dirr, p. 61.
[34] ADOiZO, p. 337, § 12 ; cf. Dirr, AGKB, p. 60.
[35] ADOiZO, p. 530, § 16 ; cf. Dirr, AGKB, p. 61.
[36] ADOiZO, pp. 597 f, §§ 14 f ; cf. Dirr, AGKB, p. 65.
[37] ADOiZO, p. 583, § 9 ; cf. Dirr, AGKB, p. 65.
[38] ADOiZO, pp. 588 f, § 14 ; cf. Dirr, AGKB, pp. 65 f.
[39] ADOiZO, p. 530, § 14 ; cf. Dirr, AGKB, p. 66.
[40] ADOiZO, pp. 599 f, § 14 ; cf. Dirr, AGKB, pp. 65 f.
[41] Haxthausen, *Transcaucasia*, II, p. 205 ; Post, *Grundriß der ethnol. Jurisprudenz*, II, p. 340 ; cf. Dirr, AGKB, p. 59. These three authors base their assertion on King Vakhtang's Code. In § 78 we read : "... the case must be judged according to the *sdzhuli-kanoni*". Perhaps in the last analysis "sdzhuli-kanoni" can be identified with God ; but actually these two words refer to the ecclesiastical laws codified by Patriarch John the Scholastic under Emperor Justinian (cf. Code of King Vakhtang VI, ed. Karst, p. 119, *note 1*).
[42] Hahn, *Bilder aus dem Kaukasus*, p. 184.
[43] Kovalevskij, *Zakon*, I, p. 40.
[44] Leontovič, II, p. 212, § 35 (an *adat* of 1865).
[45] "Adaty žitelej kumykskoj ploskosti," SSKG, VI (1872), p. 5.
[46] Schmidt-Koppers, *Völker und Kulturen*, p. 309.

½ [i.e. blood-enemy --Analyst]

58 171 (14) Then there is the fact that *a woman constitutes an asylum* for any murderer,[27] a fact found among the North Caucasians as well as among the Asiatic nomads.

(15) The *adats regarding divorce*,[28]

(16) the *penalties for sexual offenses*,[29]

(17) the *division of labour*,[30] allowing men plenty of time for loafing, sport, and raids,

(18) and many other *adats which place the female sex at a great disadvantage*[31] remind us very much of a pastoral society.

171 596 614 (19) Then, of course, there are the many other features of the North Caucasian marriage and family *adats* which we have been able only to touch upon rather superficially, for they refer to the joint-family and kinship in general rather than to the biological family. The North Caucasian society, for example, has had till recently a *patriarchal joint-family organization*[32] very similar to that found among pastoral nomads. Just as among the Indo-Europeans and the Turco-Mongols the central interest of the North Caucasian has been, and in places still is, the joint-family. According to the *adats*, the individual family, till it becomes independent, plays a very subordinate part in society. The tribe and state mean but little. Crimes, criminals, and penalties in the strict sense of the word are of very recent origin: any damage done to the sib (not so much to any individual !), whether accidental or intentional, are the only form [681] of "crime" found in the *adats*. The reparation of the damages made by the "offending" sib (not the individual who inflicted the harm) corresponds to our [428] concept of penalty. We have also said very little about the *inheritance rights* of the mountaineers of North Caucasia, for to speak of inheritance without first describing the joint-family and kinship *adats* would be impossible. It seems that originally, just as is the case in pastoral nomadic societies, the rights were restricted to the male children with special privileges reserved for the first-born [628] son. Finally, there is hardly another place in the world where *blood-feuds* are so common as in the Caucasus; and, we know, pastoral nomadic peoples have always been fond of settling their quarrels in this particular manner, more so than any other people. In a word, we are dealing with a "pastoral nomadic" marriage and family when we deal with North Caucasian marriage and family *adats*.

171 We must however, keep in mind that there are different zones of intensity of nomadic traits: in North Caucasia the most pastoral nomadic in character are the marriage and family of the Cherkess; then perhaps follow those of the Abkhaz, then the Chechens, and finally the Lesghians. The Ossetine *adats* are perhaps even more typically pastoral nomadic than those of the Cherkess. The Kumykian and Nogain *adats*, as well as those of other Turco-Mongols of North Caucasus,

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[27] *Supra*, pp. 159 f.
[28] *Supra*, pp. 132—137.
[29] *Supra*, pp. 168—179, 182.
[30] *Supra*, pp. 156—159.
[31] *Supra*, pp. 152—156.
[32] *Supra*, pp. 44 f.

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1.

# I. GEOGRAPHY PHYSICAL AND POLITICAL

## *TRANSCAUCASIA*

### (1) Position and Frontiers

631 131 Transcaucasia in Asiatic Russia consists of the following six Governments, three Provinces, and two Districts:

| | *Square Miles.* | | *Square Miles.* |
|---|---|---|---|
| Black Sea (Chernomoria) . . | 3,220 | Elisavetopol . . | 16,991 |
| Kutais . . . | 8,145 | Batum . . . | 2,693 |
| Tiflis . . . | 15,770 | Kars . . . | 7,239 |
| Baku . . . | 15,061 | Daghestan . . | 11,471 |
| Erivan . . . | 10,725 | Zakatali . . | 1,539 |
| | | Sukhum . . | 2,545 |
| | | Total . . . | 95,399 |

131 The northern boundary (650 miles in length) runs from Cape Taman, on the eastern side of the Straits of Kerch, along the summits of the Caucasian chain as far as Donos Mta, and thence along the north-west frontier of Daghestan to the Bay of Agrakhan on the Caspian. The western frontier, about 400 miles long, is formed by the coast of the Black Sea from the peninsula of Taman to Cape Kopmush, south of Batum. The southern frontier falls into two divisions, the Russo-Turkish and the Russo-Persian. The former starts from Cape Kopmush and runs for 348 miles south-east to Mount Ararat, where the boundaries of Russian, Turkish, and Persian territory meet. The Russo-Persian boundary (350 miles) runs south-east to a few miles east of Ordubad, where it turns to the north-east as far as the village of Karakyavendikli; thence it again turns south-east and finally reaches the

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131 Caspian at Fort St. Nicholas on the Astara. The eastern frontier, some 450 miles in length, is formed by the Caspian Sea from the Bay of Agrakhan to the River Astara.

Geographically Transcaucasia is so placed that, with the development of communications, it should reap considerable advantages from the commercial development both of northern Persia and of north-eastern Asia Minor.

## (2) Surface, Coasts, and River System

### *Surface*

133 Transcaucasia is divided across the centre from west [63] to east by the two valleys of the Rion and Kura, the head-waters of which are separated by the low ridge of the Suram Mountains, connecting the Caucasus with the Armenian Highlands. These valleys run west and east into the Black and Caspian Seas respectively. They are roughly equivalent to the Governments of Kutais (the Rion valley), Tiflis, Elisavetopol, and Baku. The *Governments of Kutais and Tiflis* and parts of Batum form the region known as Georgia.

The Rion valley is narrowed in its upper part by the mountainous district of Svanetia, but begins to broaden west of Kutais, and becomes a flat, marshy plain. The Kura valley narrows about Tiflis, and then widens till, at the Mughan steppe, it is over 100 miles broad. The valley floor slopes gently east from 1,200 ft. at Tiflis to 500 ft. in the middle of its course, and 85 ft. below sea level at the Caspian. The only interruption is caused by a plateau of between 2,000 and 3,000 ft. along the southern foot-hills of the eastern Caucasus in the region known as Kakhetia.

134 The soil in the Rion and upper Kura valleys is extraordinarily fertile. On the southern slope of the 311 Caucasus, in fact, almost every available patch of ground is successfully utilized for agriculture, even up to a height of 7,000–8,000 ft. Most of the steppes in the lower Kura valley are too dry to be cultivated without the aid of irrigation.

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## (2) Political

631 The title and powers of Viceroy of the Caucasus were revived in 1905; the Viceroyalty had been abolished in 1882 in favour of a Governor-Generalship, directed and controlled by a Caucasian Committee at Petersburg.

The Viceroy's powers comprised:—the supreme civil administration of the Provinces and Governments making up the Caucasus region, the command of all the troops quartered in the Caucasus, the framing of any new regulations necessary in his administration, together with a seat on the Council of the Empire and the title of Ataman of the Cossacks in the Caucasus. There was a civil Governor at the head of each Province or Government (*gubernie*), except those of Daghestan, Sukhum, Batum, and Kars, where the Governor was a military official. The *gubernies* were divided into districts, governed by *nachalniks*, and the districts were divided into communes (*volosts*), each presided over by an elder (*volostnoi starshina*), elected by the community. The *volosts* were made up of villages under elected headmen (*starosts*), assistants to the communal elder. In each village every tenth man had to take his turn in assisting in the preservation of law and order; these were known as tenth men (*desyatniks*).

631 692 There were District Courts (*okrujni sud*) in five Transcaucasian Governments—Tiflis, Kutais, Elisavetopol, Erivan, and Baku. These also constituted courts of appeal from the lower courts. Each minor division had two stipendiary magistrates; civil cases, to the value of 2,000 roubles (£200), appeared before one, and minor police cases before the other. The rural judges (*selskiya sudya*), or the *kandidati* in their stead, investigated all complaints and settled disputes; the number of these *selskiya sudya* could not exceed twelve in each district, and their decisions were subject to the *volostnoi starshina's* approval. Beneath these officials again were elected arbitrators, to settle questions of trespass or damage to property. Appeals

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from the District Courts' decisions could be taken to the 631
Supreme Court at Tiflis, and from that to Peters- 692
burg. The Courts were accessible and cheap, and there was no discrimination between Russian subjects and foreigners in legal proceedings; but judgements given in Russian Courts had no effect in England, nor decisions obtained in England in Russia.

The Cossack communities are divided into *stanitzas* 631
or villages, each *stanitza* having an elected assembly of 563
30 members; in populous *stanitzas* one man is elected from every ten households. These assemblies have wider powers than the usual *mir* or commune, viz. division of land, assessment of taxes, regulation of schools, grain stores, cultivation, &c., and the election of elders (*ataman*) and judges.

When the Revolution occurred in 1917, the Viceroy was recalled, and the various nationalities in the Caucasus arranged representative National Assemblies; but, as chaos in the Empire increased, relations were broken off with the Central Government. A separate [412]
Transcaucasian Republic was formed, in the Government of which Armenians, Tatars, and Georgians were equally represented; and another new state called the Republic of Daghestan, under the presidency of a Lesghian of the Mohammedan faith, also emerged. The Cossacks, however, remained aloof.

## (3) Educational

Public education was in the hands of the State, or was 871
directly controlled by it. The number of persons able [212]
to read or write in the Caucasus in 1912 was only 17 per cent., and the percentage of schools to the population was very low. Some progress was made in the provision of instruction during 1912 and 1913, but the outbreak of war hindered the completion of the various schemes put forward, in particular by the towns of Anapa, Novorossiisk, Yeisk, Temryuk, Maikop, Grozni, Georgievsk, Pyatigorsk, and Stavropol in

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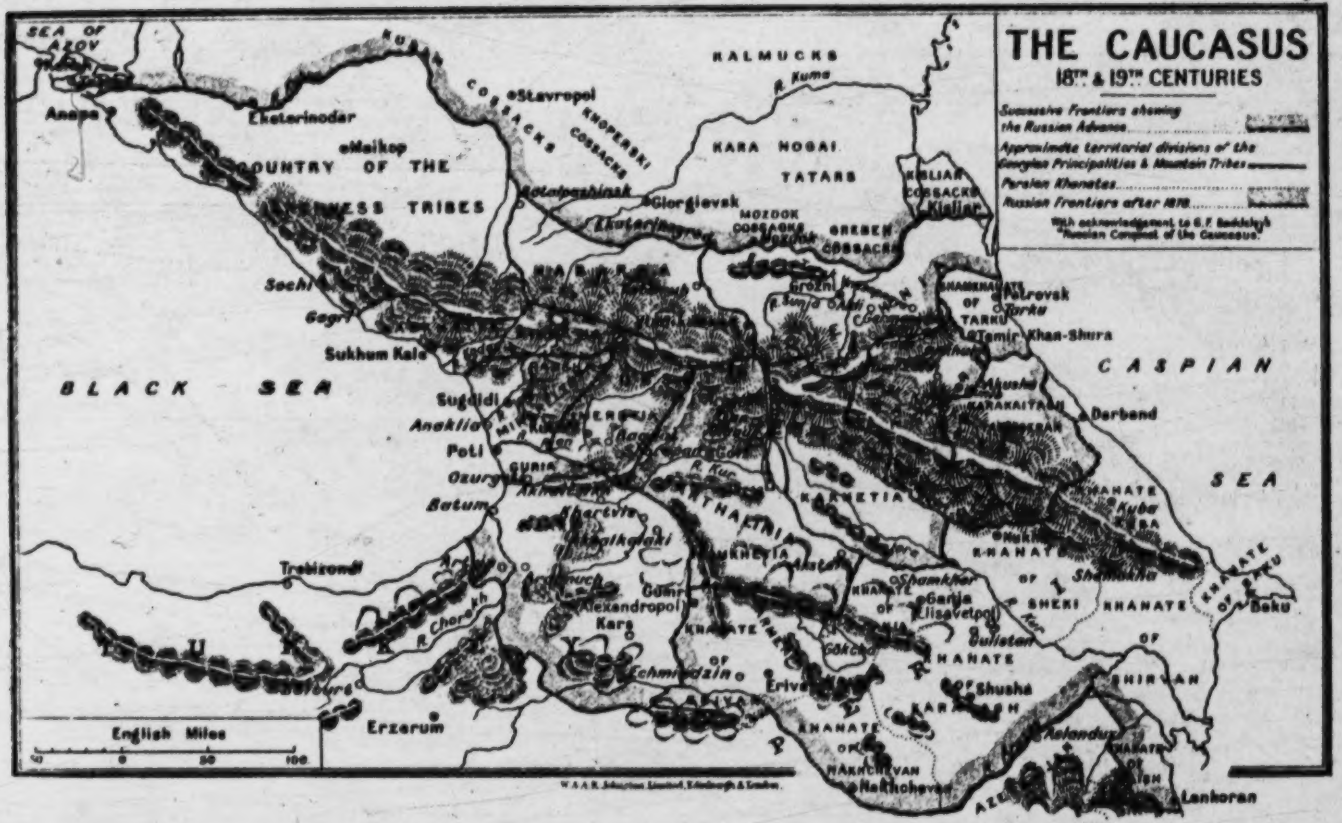


[facing p. 204]

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# V

## NATIONALISM AND SOCIAL REVOLUTION, 1811–1917

175 THE tendencies and results, good and bad, of the Russian system are demonstrated in the history of Russian rule in the Caucasus. The Russians at the beginning of the nineteenth century assumed control of a country whose condition was possibly more anarchical than that of any other part of Asia, whose population was being gradually exterminated by war, plague and famine, whose political organisation and culture had almost collapsed into utter ruin and whose economic possibilities had been completely neglected.

Firstly they gave to the Transcaucasus a military security which it had never before enjoyed. For a hundred years no hostile army approached Tiflis. Consequently it may be claimed that the Russian régime not only gave to the Georgians and Armenians the possibility of developing national prosperity in peace, but preserved those peoples from the virtual extinction which has been the fate of the Armenians and other Christian races whose country lies beyond the Russian borders.

175 565 Secondly, Russian rule tended to improve the condition of the individual. The aristocracy, who during the period of Persian hegemony had led lives of idle luxury and undignified subservience to their Mussulman lords, found careers, which were at least healthier and wider, in service in the Russian Army and Civil Service. The peasants, whose lot still left much to be desired, gained on the one hand by the abolition of serfdom within the Russian Empire (1864), on the other by the increased prosperity which followed the development of communications, the establishment of schools and the introduction of modern methods of agriculture. And there developed a prosperous middle-class, for the most part Armenian and Russian, whose political rôle in the Caucasus became increasingly important.

Lastly, the peace imposed by Russian arms permitted the development of the economic resources of the country, with its subsequent general increase of prosperity and population.

643 631 But the inherent shortcomings of Russian rule were productive of grave troubles. The administrative policy was one of centralisation. Until 1882 the Caucasus was ruled by a Viceroy nominated by the Tsar and possessing supreme civil

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[1811 - 1917]



643 power, which gave him in effect the position of an autocratic
631 monarch during the period of his viceroyalty. From 1882 to 1905 the administration was yet further centralised by the substitution for the Viceroy of a Governor-General, directly controlled by a Caucasian Committee at St. Petersburg. A civil Governor subordinate to the Viceroy or Governor-General ruled each Province, with the exception of those of Daghestan, Sukhum, Batum and Kars, where the Governor was a military officer. The Provinces were divided into districts, governed by officials bearing the title *nachalnik*, and the districts were divided into communes (*volost*), where the chief authority was a native elder (*volostnoi starshina*) elected by the community and assisted by a headman of each village (*starosh*). With regard to the law, small cases were tried by local magistrates; those involving more than 2,000 roubles by Russian judges in the district courts.

It will thus be seen that while the Russian administrative
186 machine provided for a degree of local autonomy, the natives
469 had no influence on the conduct of Caucasian or even of provincial affairs. But this system was suitable enough to the mass of the peasantry who, under native rule, had lain in still deeper servitude. The Tatar peasantry, particularly, after the termination of the national struggle for independence, reconciled themselves to Russian rule. The Georgian aristocracy, still inspired by some glimmerings of sentimental patriotism, and resenting at once the supremacy of the Russian bureaucracy, the decline of their own feudal powers, and the steady growth of an Armenian bourgeoisie, alone of all the elements in the Transcaucasus continued to foster a vivid resentment against the existing régime. The Russian policy of Russification, the chief incidents of which were the subjecting of the Georgian Autocephalous Church to the Holy Synod (1811) and the abolition of the autonomy of Svanetia (1833) and of Mingrelia (1867), roused them more than once to sporadic revolt. Thus risings, partly nationalist and partly agrarian in character, in which members of the nobility led the peasant bands, took place at different dates—in Imeretia (1821), in Guria (1822) and in Mingrelia (1857).

During the same period, and parallel with the political
538 discontent, the patriotic literary revival, initiated during the
186 previous century by Vakhtang VI and Prince Vakhusht, was developed, and a school arose of aristocratic journalists and poets, chief of whom were Alexander and Ilia Chavchavadze, Giorgi Eristavi (a Decabrist), Grigor Orbelian and Ivané

C. G. 361 342 over the wooden lattice of the horizontal roof frame. These flat roofs are also much used for growing cereals, vegetables, curing meat, etc. The sakhli is also the common type of house in most parts of Anatolia and Iran, where we also find the staircase-like arrangement of the sakhlis on the mountain slopes.

C. G. 628 These are the lands where the kings of Sak'art'velo or the Emirs and Khans of Shirvan and Arran had no say, nor did the Caliph in Baghdad or the Roman Emperor have any authority, with the result that feuds were fought right on the spot. Thus, there were times when not only one aul fought another, but even one clan or family fought another within the same aul. Hence the many small castles; hence a man always carried his kinzhal; hence such customs as the vendetta, the qan-alma (Turkic: "taking of blood"), which have been preserved C. G. there down to the present time. Svanet'ia con- ●631 sists of three small lands: Free Svanet'ia, Svanet'ia of the Dadishkeliani, and Svanet'ia of the Dadiani, the latter two named after the C. families of their former overlords. Many G. 771 pagan elements are found in the Eastern Orthodox religion of these valiant mountaineers, although to a lesser degree than is true of the Oset'i, as mentioned above, or some of the Dagestanians, who were later converted to Islam.

*175 Mountaineer's Republic. With its collapse, and with the withdrawal of interested Western powers, however, all these states remained on their own and in 1920 they ceased to exist one after the other.

*175 The Bolshevik Russians after the difficulties of the first years reorganized the area along the Soviet Socialistic Republic principles. Whereas the Republics were set up on the nationality basis the oblast and kray divisions had been accepted rather along the lines of economic consideration. Materially the whole area has without doubt advanced. Spiritually, however, the Caucasus remained dissatisfied and with the German advances during World War II a whole series of problems popped up and showed the real state of *175 affairs. Ostensibly to punish collectively some Caucasian peoples for alleged crimes, in reality to further Russification, a whole series of peoples were exterminated by the Russians. The Czarist liquidation of Crimean Turks and Circassians was followed now by steps against the Paleocaucasian Chechen-Ingush people, and against the Balkars and Karachays of Turkic, and against the Kalmyks of Mongolian origin. There have even been accusations of Bolshevik genocide of the Crimean Turks, but this accusation is only partially justified. The overwhelming majority of the Crimean Turks

45. 1950 A. D.

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45. Legend: Political Divisions

631

I Armenian SSR
- a. Kirovakan Okrug
- b. Leninakan Okrug
- c. Yerevan Okrug

II Azerbaijan SSR
- 1. Baku Oblast
- 2. Gyanja Oblast
- 3. Nagorno-Karabakh AO
- 4. Nakhichevan' ASSR

III Georgian SSR
- 1. Abkhaz ASSR
- 2. Ajar ASSR
- 3. Kutaisi Oblast
- 4. South Ossetian AO
- 5. Tbilisi Oblast

IV RSFSR
- 1. Astrakhan' Oblast
- 2. Dagestan ASSR
  - a. Buynaksk Okrug
  - b. Derbent Okrug
  - c. Izberbash Okrug
  - d. Makhachkala Okrug
- 3. Groznyy Oblast
- 4. Krasnodar Kray
  - A. Adyge AO
- 5. Rostov Oblast
- 6. Stavropol' Kray
  - A. Cherkess AO
  - B. Kabardian ASSR
  - C. North Ossetian ASSR

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## I. Area and Population of Chief Political Divisions

| Name of Division | Area in square kilometers | | Population estimate (based on 1954 election districts) | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Astrakhan Oblast | 76,900 | | 750,000 | |
| Rostov Oblast | 62,500 | | 1,800,000 | |
| Krasnodar Krai | 85,000 | | 3,300,000 | |
| Adyge A | | 4,400 | | 300,000 |
| Stavropol' Krai | 99,100 | | 1,650,000 | |
| Cherkess AO | | 4,000 | | 150,000 |
| Kabardian ASSR | 11,800 | | 300,000 | |
| North Ossetian ASSR | 9,200 | | 450,000 | |
| Groznyi Oblast | 33,000 | | 600,000 | |
| Daghestan ASSR | 38,200 | | 900,000 | |
| Northern Caucasus | 415,700 | | 9,750,000 | |

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| Name of Division | Area in square kilometers | | Population estimate (based on 1954 election districts) | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Azerbaidzhan SSR | 85,700 | | 3,100,000 | |
| Nakhichevan' ASSR | | 5,200 | | 110,000 |
| Nagorno-Karabakh AO | | 4,500 | | 110,000 |
| Georgian SSR | 76,400 | | 3,550,000 | |
| Abkhaz ASSR | | 8,700 | | 330,000 |
| Adzhar ASSR | | 2,900 | | 200,000 |
| South Ossetian AO | | 3,900 | | 100,000 |
| Armenian SSR | 29,800 | | 1,500,000 | |
| Transcaucasia | 191,900 | | 8,150,000 | |

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Georgia R I 1

## 4. SVAN

C. G. 101 NAME: SELF-DESIGNATION: Shwan, sing. Mushwän, Mushwni.

ENGLISH VARIANTS: Svan, Svanetians

RUSSIAN DESIGNATIONS: Svany, Svanety.

OTHER DESIGNATIONS: (Georgian:) Svani; the country: Svaneti

C. G. 161 NUMBER: 1897 15,756 (Russian census)
1926 13,218 (Russian census, ethn.)
13,142 (Russian census, ling.)

The 1926 numbers are very low and must be due to some misunderstanding. The Bol'shaia Sovetskaia Entsiklopediia (1st ed.) Vol. 50 (1944), p. 371, gives the number of the Svan as over 23,000.

C. G. 162 LOCATION: Two valleys S of Mt. El'brus, one of the upper Tskhenis-Tskali and its tributary the Kheledula (Sv. of the Dadiani), the other of the upper Ingur (West: Sv. of the Dadishkeliani, East: Free Sv.) Georgian SSR)

C. G. 197 LANGUAGE: The Svan language is a member of the S Caucasian (Kartvelian) language-family, to which belong further Migrelo-Laz (Zan), and Georgian, the latter languages forming one group as against Svan. The language is not written, Georgian being used as the literary language.

C G SUBDIVISIONS: Historically, Svanetia fell into
163 three parts, Svanetia of the Dadiani, Svanetia of the Dadishkeliani, Free Svanetia.

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## POLITICAL-ADMINISTRATIVE DIVISIONS

631 The Caucasus region forms part of four of the sixteen constituent republics that make up the Soviet Union. The Northern Caucasus is essentially within the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic (RSFSR) while Trans-caucasia is divided into three union republics of Azerbaidzhan, Georgia and Armenia.

The Northern Caucasus is divided into Rostov Oblast, Astrakhan' Oblast, Krasnodar Krai, Stavropol' Krai, Groznyi Oblast and three autonomous republics -- Kabardian ASSR, North Ossetian ASSR and Daghestan ASSR. In addition, there are two autonomous oblasts contained in the krais: the Adyge Autonomous Oblast in Krasnodar Krai and the Cherkess Autonomous Oblast in Stavropol' Krai. The city of Rostov = on = Don and the Black Sea resort of Sochi are jurisdictionally directly under the central RSFSR Government on the same basis as the krais, oblasts and autonomous republics.

The Azerbaidzhan SSR contains two autonomous units. They are the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast, inhabited chiefly by Armenians, and the Nakhichevan' ASSR, inhabited by Azerbaidzhan Turks, but separated physically from the Azerbaidzhan SSR proper.

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631 The Georgian SSR contains three autonomous units. They are the Abkhaz ASSR, the Adzhar ASSR and the South Ossetian Autonomous Oblast. The Armenian SSR contains no autonomous units.

All the major territorial units, in turn, are divided into independent cities and raions directly under the administration of the krai, oblast, or autonomous republic government.

A list of all these units as of March, 1956, follows:

ROSTOV-ON-DON (city under RSFSR jurisdiction)

ROSTOV OBLAST (Capital: Rostov on Don)

Independent cities:

Bataysk
Novocherkassk
Taganrog

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631 Raions and Raion Centers:

| | |
|---|---|
| Aksaiskii | Aksaiskaia |
| Aleksandrovskii | Aleksandrovka |
| Anastasievskii | Anastasievka |
| Azovskii | Azov |
| Bagaevskii | Bagaevskaia |
| Dubovskii | Dubovskoe |
| Kagal'nitskii | Kagal'nitskaia |
| Kuybyshevskii | Kuybyshevo |
| Martynovskii | Bol'shaia Martynovka |
| Matveevo-Kurganskii | Matveev-Kurgan |
| Mechetinskii | Mechetinskaia |
| Miasnikovskii | Chaltyr' |
| Neklinovskii | Pokrovskoe |
| Novocherkasskii | Novocherkassk |
| Orlovskii | Orlovskaia |
| Peschanokopskii | Peschanokopskoe |
| Proletarskii | Proletarskaia |
| Razvilenskii | Razvil'noe |
| Remontnenskii | Remontnoe |
| Rodionovo-Nesvetaiskii | Rodinovo-Nesvetaiskoe |
| Romanovskii | Romanovskaia |
| Sal'skii | Sal'sk |
| Samarskii | Samarskoe |
| Semikarakorskii | Semikarakorskaia |
| Stepnovskii | Stepnoe |
| Taganrogskii | Taganrog |
| Tselinskii | Tselina |

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• 631 Raions and Raion Centers (cont.)

| | |
|---|---|
| Veselovskii | Veselyi |
| Egorlykskii | Egorlykskaia |
| Zapadnyi | Bashanta |
| Zavetinskii | Zavetnoe |
| Zimovnikovskii | Zimovniki |

ASTRAKHAN' OBLAST (Capital: Astrakhan')
Independent city: Astrakhan'

Raions:

| | |
|---|---|
| Chernoiarskii | Chernyi Iar |
| Ikrianinskii | Ikrianoe |
| Kamyziakskii | Kamyziak |
| Kapustinoiarskii | Kapustin Iar |
| Kaspiiskii | Kaspiiskii |
| Kharabalinskii | Kharabali |
| Krasnoiarskii | Krasnyi Iar |
| Limanskii | Liman |
| Marfinskii | Marfino |
| Narimanovskii | Zatsarevo |
| Nikol'skii | Nikol'skoe |
| Privolzhskii | Privolzhskii |
| Sasykol'skii | Sasykoli |
| Travinskii | Obraztsovo-Travino |
| Vladimirovskii | Vladimirovka |
| Enotaevskii | Enotaevka |
| Zelenginskii | Zelenga |

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631 SOCHI ( city under RSFSR jurisdiction)

KRASNODAR KRAI (Capital: Krasnodar)

Independent cities:

Krasnodar
Armavir
Kropotkin
Novorossiysk
Tuapse
Eysk

Raions:

| | |
|---|---|
| Abinskii | Abinskaia |
| Adlerskii | Adler |
| Anapskii | Anapa |
| Apsheronskii | Apsheronsk |
| Beloglinskii | Belaia Glina |
| Belorechenskii | Belorechenskaia |
| Briukhovetskii | Briukhovetskaia |
| Gelendzhikskii | Gelendzhik |
| Goriache-Kliuchevskii | Goriachii Kliuch |
| Gul'kevichskii | Gul'kevichi |
| Kaganovichskii | Popovichevskaia |
| Kanevskii | Kanevskaia |
| Kavkazskii | Kavkazskaia |
| Korenovskii | Korenovskaia |
| Krasnoarmeiskii | Krasnoarmeiskaia |
| Krylovskii | Ekaterinovskaia |
| Krymskii | Krymskaia |
| Kurganinskii | Kurgannaia |
| Kushchevskii | Kushchevskaia |
| Labinskii | Labinsk |
| Lazarevskii | Lazarevskoe |

63 KRASNODAR KRAI -- Raions (cont.)

| | |
|---|---|
| Neftegorskii | Khadyzhensk |
| Novo-Kubanskii | Novo-Kubanskaia |
| Novo-Pokrovskii | Nov-Pokrovskaia |
| Novo-Titarovskii | Novo-Titarovskaia |
| Otradnenskii | Otradnaia |
| Pavlovskii | Pavlovskaia |
| Plastunovskii | Dinskaia |
| Primorsko-Akhtarskii | Primorsko- Akhtarsk |
| Psebayskii | Psebay |
| Severskii | Severskaia |
| Shcherbinovskii | Staro-Shcherbinovskaia |
| Slavianskii | Slavianskaia |
| Sovetskii | Sovetskaia |
| Spokoynenskii | Spokoynaia |
| Stalinskii | Leningradskaia |
| Staro-Minskii | Staro-Minskaia |
| Tbilisskii | Tbilisskaia |
| Temriukskii | Temriuk |
| Tikhoretskii | Tikhoretsk |
| Timashevskii | Timashevskaia |
| Tuapsinskii | Tuapse |
| Tul'skii | Tul'skaia |
| Uspenskii | Uspenskaia |
| Ust'-Labinskii | Ust'-Labinskaia |
| Vyselkovskii | Vyselki |
| Iaroslavskii | Iaroslavskaia |
| Eyskii | Eysk |

631 Adyge Autonomous Oblast (Capital: Maykop)

Independent city: Maykop

Raions:

| | |
|---|---|
| Giaginskii | Giaginskaia |
| Koshekhabl'skii | Koshekhabl' |
| Krasnogvardeyskii | Nikolaevskoe |
| Maykopskii | Maykop |
| Shovgenovskii | Khakurinokhabl' |
| Takhtamukaiskii | Takhtamukay |
| Teuchezhskii | Ponezhukay |

STAVROPOL' KRAI (Capital: Stavropol')

Independent cities:

Stavropol'
Kislovodsk
Piatigorsk
Stepnoy
Essentuki
Zheleznovodsk

Raions:

| | |
|---|---|
| Aleksandrovskii | Aleksandrovskoe |
| Apanasenkovskii | Divnoe |
| Apollonskii | Novo-Pavlovskaia |
| Arzgirskii | Arzgir |
| Blagodarnenskii | Blagodarnoe |
| Budennovskii | Budennovsk |
| Chernozemel'skii | Krasnyi Kamyshanik |
| Dmitrievskii | Takhta |
| Georgievskii | Georgievsk |

STAVROPOL' KRAI -- Raions (cont.)

631

| | |
|---|---|
| Ipatovskii | Ipatovo |
| Izobil'nenskii | Izobil'noe |
| Klukhorskii | Kluhkori |
| Kursavskii | Kursavka |
| Kurskii | Kurskaia |
| Levokumskii | Levokumskaia |
| Libknekhtovskii | Ol'ginskoe |
| Mineralovodskii | Mineral'nye Vody |
| Molotovskii | Molotovskoe |
| Nevinnomysskii | Nevinnomyssk |
| Novo-Aleksandrovskii | Novo-Aleksandrovskaia |
| Novoselitskii | Novoselitskoe |
| Petrovskii | Petrovskoe |
| Shpakovskii | Kugul'ta |
| Spitsevskii | Spitsevka |
| Stepnovskii | Stepnoe |
| Stepnoi | Stepnoi |
| Suvorovskii | Suvorovskaia |
| Trunovskii | Trunovskoe |
| Turkmenskii | Letniaia Stavka |
| Ust'-Dzhegutinskii | Ust'-Dzhegutinskaia |
| Vorontsovo-Aleksandrovskii | Vorontsovo-Aleksandrovskoe |
| Voroshilovskii | Mikhaylovskoe |
| Zelenchukskii | Zelenchukskaia |

631 Cherkess Autonomous Oblast

Independent city: Cherkessk

Raions:

| | |
|---|---|
| Ikon-Khalkovskii | Adyge-Khabl' |
| Kirovskii | Ispravnaia |
| Khabezskii | Khabez |

KABARDIAN ASSR (Capital: Nal'chik)

Independent city: Nal'chik

Raions:

| | |
|---|---|
| Baksanskii | Baksan |
| Chegemskii | Chegem |
| El'brusskii | Zayukovo |
| Kubinskii | Kuba |
| Leskenskii | Staryi Lesken |
| Mayskii | Mayskii |
| Nagornyi | Sarmakovo |
| Nal'chikskii | Nartan |
| Primalkinskii | Soldatskaia |
| Prokhladnenskii | Prokhladnyi |
| Sovetskii | Sovetskoe |
| Terskii | Terek |
| Urozhaynenskii | Urozhainoe |
| Urvanskii | Dokshukino |
| Zol'skii | Zalukokoazhe |

63 NORTH OSSETIAN ASSR
(Capital: Ordzhonikidze)

Independent cities: Ordzhonikidze. Malgobek

Raions:

| | |
|---|---|
| Alagirskii | Alagir |
| Alanskii | Alanskoe |
| Ardonskii | Ardon |
| Dargkokhskii | Khumalag |
| Digorskii | Digora |
| Gizel'donskii | Gizel' |
| Irafskii | Chikola |
| Kirovskii | El'khotovo |
| Kosta-Khetagurovski | Kosta-Khetagurovo |
| Kurpskii | Vinogradnoe |
| Makhcheskii | Matsuta |
| Mozdokskii | Mozdok |
| Nartovskii | Nartovskoe |
| Ordzhonikidzevskii | Arkhonskaia |
| Pravoberezhnyi | Beslan |
| Prigorodnyi | Verkhne-Kambileevskoe |
| Sadonskii | Mizur |

GROZNYI OBLAST (Capital: Groznyi)

Independent cities: Groznyi. Kizliar

Raions:

| | |
|---|---|
| Achikulakskii | Achikulak |

631 GROZNYI OBLAST -- Raions (cont.)

| | |
|---|---|
| Goriacheistochnenskii | Goriacheistochnenskaia |
| Groznenskii | Grozny i |
| Gudermesskii | Gudermes |
| Kargalinskii | Kargalinskaia |
| Karanogayskii | Terekli-Mekteb |
| Kaiasulinskii | Kaiasula |
| Kizliarskii | Kizliar |
| Krainovskii | Krainovka |
| Krasnoarmeiskii | Krasnoarmeiskoe |
| Mezhdurechenskii | Mezhdurechie |
| Nadterechnyi | Nadterechnaia |
| Naurskii | Naurskaia |
| Novosel'skii | Novosel'skoe |
| Pervomaiskii | Pervomaiskoe |
| Predgornyi | Predgornoe |
| Shelkovskii | Shelkovskaia |
| Sovetskii | Sovetskoe |
| Sunzhenskii | Ordzhonikidzevskoe |
| Tarumovskii | Tarumovka |

DAGHESTAN ASSR (Capital: Makhachkala)

Independent cities: Makhachkala
Buinaksk
Derbent
Izberbash
Kaspiisk
Khasaviurt

Raions:

| | |
|---|---|
| Agul'skii | Tpig |

631 DAGHESTAN ASSR -----Raions (cont.)

| | |
|---|---|
| Akhtynskii | Akhty |
| Akhvakhskii | Karata |
| Akushinskii | Akusha |
| Andalalskii | Andalaly |
| Babaiurtovskii | Babaiurt |
| Botlikhskii | Botlikh |
| Buinakskii | Buinaksk |
| Charodinskii | Tsurib |
| Dakhadaevskii | Urkarakh |
| Derbentskii | Derbent |
| Dokuzparinskii | Usukh-Chay |
| Gerbebil'skii | Gergebil' |
| Gumbetovskii | Mekhel'ta |
| Gunibskii | Gunib |
| Kaitagskii | Madzhalis |
| Kakhibskii | Kakhib |
| Karabudakhkentskii | Karabudakhkent |
| Kasumkentskii | Kasumkent |
| Kaiakentskii | Kaiakent |
| Kazbekovskii | Dylym |
| Khasaviurtovskii | Khasaviurt |
| Khivskii | Khiv |
| Khunzakhskii | Khunzakh |
| Kizil-Iurtovskii | Kizil-Iurt |
| Kulinskii | Vachi |
| Kurakhskii | Kurakh |
| Lakskii | Kumukh |
| Levashinskii | Levashi |
| Magaramkentskii | Magaramkent |
| Novo-Lakskii | Novo-Lakskoe |
| Ritliabskii | Ritliab |

631 DAGHESTAN ASSR--------Raions (cont.)

| | |
|---|---|
| Rutul'skii | Rutul |
| Sergokalinskii | Sergokala |
| Shuragatskii | Shuragat |
| Tabasaranskii | Khuchni |
| Tliaratinskii | Tliarata |
| Tsudakharskii | Tsudakhar |
| Tsumadinskii | Agvali |
| Tsuntinskii | Bezhta |
| Untsukul'skii | Untsukul' |
| Vedenskii | Vedeno |

AZERBAIDZHAN ASSR (Capital: Baku)

Independent cities: Baku
Kirovabad
Mingechaur
Sumgait

Raions:

| | |
|---|---|
| Agdamskii | Agdam |
| Agdashki | Agdash |
| Agdzhabedinskii | Agdzhabedy |
| Akhsuinskii | Akhsu |
| Akstafinskiy | Akstafa |
| Ali-Bairamlinskii | Ali-Bayramly |
| Astarinskii | Astara |
| Astrakhan-Bazarskii | Astrakhan-Bazar |
| Bardinskii | Barda |
| Belokanskii | Belokany |
| Dastafiurskii | Dashkesan |
| Divichinskii | Divichi |

• 631 AZERBAIDZHAN ASSR-----Raions (cont.)

| | |
|---|---|
| Dzhebrail'skii | Dzhebrail |
| Geokchaiskii | Geokchai |
| Imishlinskii | Imishly |
| Ismaillinskii | Ismailly |
| Kakhskii | Kakhi |
| Kariaginskii | Kariagino |
| Kasum-Ismailovskii | Kasum-Ismailovo |
| Kazakhskii | Kazakh |
| Kazi-Magomedskii | Kazi-Magomed |
| Kedabekskii | Kedabek |
| Kel'badzharskii | Kel'badzhar |
| Khachmasskii | Khachmas |
| Khaldanskii | Khaldan |
| Khanlarskii | Khanlar |
| Khillinskii | Khilly |
| Khizinskii | Altiagach |
| Khudatskii | Khudat |
| Konakhkendskii | Konakhkend |
| Kubatlinskii | Kubatly |
| Kubinskii | Kuba |
| Kusarskii | Kusary |
| Kutkashenskii | Kutkashen |
| Kiurdamirskii | Kiurdamir |
| Lachinskii | Lachin |
| Lenkoranskii | Lenkoran' |
| Lerikskii | Lerik |
| Marazinskii | Maraza |
| Masallinskii | Masally |
| Mir-Bashirskii | Mir-Bashir |
| Neftechalinskii | Neftechala |
| Nukhinskii | Nukha |

| | |
|---|---|
| 631 Pushkinskii | Pushkino |
| Saatlinskii | Saatly |
| Sabirabadskii | Sabirabad |
| Safaralievskii | Safaralievo |
| Sal'ianskii | Sal'iany |
| Samukhskii | Samukh |
| Shamkhorskii | Shamkhor |
| Shaumianovskii | Shaumianovsk |
| Shemakhinskii | Shemakha |
| Siazanskii | Siazan' |
| Tauzskii | Tauz |
| Udzharskii | Udzhary |
| Vartashenskii | Vartashen |
| Iardymlinskii | Iardymly |
| Ievlakhskii | Ievlakh |
| Zakatal'skii | Zakataly |
| Zangelanskii | Pirchevan' |
| Zardobskii | Zardob |
| Zhdanovskii | Zhdanovsk |

Nakhichevan' ASSR (Capital: Nakhichevan')

Independent city: Nakhichevan'

Raions:

| | |
|---|---|
| Dzhul'finskii | Dzhul'fa |
| Nakhichevanskii | Nakhichevan' |
| Norashenskii | Norashen |
| Ordubadskii | Ordubad |
| Shakhbuzskii | Shakhbuz |

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63 Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast
(Capital: Stepanakert)

Independent city: Stepanakert

Raions:

| | |
|---|---|
| Gadrutskii | Gadrut |
| Mardakertskii | Mardakert |
| Martuninskii | Martuni |
| Shushinskii | Shusha |
| Stepanakertskii | Stepanakert |

GEORGIAN SSR (Capital: Tbilisi)

Independent cities: Tbilisi
Chiatura
Gori
Kutaisi
Poti
Rustavi

Raions:

| | |
|---|---|
| Abashskii | Abasha |
| Adigenskii | Adigeni |
| Akhalkalakskii | Akhalkalaki |
| Akhmetskii | Akhmeta |
| Ambrolaurskii | Ambrolauri |
| Aspindzskii | Aspindza |
| Bogdanovskii | Bogdanovka |
| Bolnisskii | Bolnisi |

• 631 GEORGIAN SSR----------Raions (cont.)

| | |
|---|---|
| Borzhomskii | Borzhomi |
| Chiaturskii | Chiatura |
| Chkhorotskuskii | Chkhorotsku |
| Chokhataurskii | Chokhatauri |
| Dmanisskii | Dmanisi |
| Dushetskii | Dusheti |
| Gardabanskii | Gardabani |
| Gegechkorskii | Gegechkori |
| Goriskii | Gori |
| Gurdzhaanskii | Gurdzhaani |
| Kachretskii | Kachreti |
| Karel'skii | Kareli |
| Kaspskii | Kaspi |
| Kazbegskii | Kazbegi |
| Khashurskii | Khashuri |
| Khobskii | Khobi |
| Kutaisskii | Kutaisi |
| Kvarel'skii | Kvareli |
| Lagodekhskii | Lagodekhi |
| Lanchkhutskii | Lanchkhuti |
| Lentekhskii | Lentekhi |
| Makharadzevskii | Makharadze |
| Maneul'skii | Marneuli |
| Maiakovskii | Maiakovski |
| Mestiiskii | Mestia |
| Mtskhetskii | Mtskheta |
| Onskii | Oni |
| Ordzhonikidzevskii | Ordzhonikidze |
| Sachkherskii | Sachkhere |
| Sagaredzhoiskii | Sagaredzho |
| Samtredskii | Samtredia |
| Signakhskii | Signakhi |
| Telavskii | Telavi |

631 GEORGIAN SSR----------Raions (cont.)

| | |
|---|---|
| Terzhol'skii | Terzhola |
| Tetrit'karoiskii | Tetritskaro |
| Tianetskii | Tianeti |
| Tkibul'skii | Tkibuli |
| Tsagerskii | Tsageri |
| Tsalendzhikhskii | Tsalendzhikha |
| Tsalkinskii | Tsalka |
| Tsitelitskaro'skii | Tsitelitskaro |
| Tskhakaevskii | Mikha Tskhakaia |
| Tskhaltubskii | Tskhaltubo |
| Tsulukidzevskii | Tsulukidze |
| Vanskii | Vani |
| Zestafonskii | Zestafoni |
| Zugdidskii | Zugdidi |

Abkhaz ASSR (Capital: Sukhumi)

Indepdendent cities: Sukhumi
Tkvarcheli

Raions:

| | |
|---|---|
| Akhaliafonskii | Akhali-Afoni |
| Gal'skii | Gali |
| Gagrinskii | Gagra |
| Gudautskii | Gudauta |
| Gul'ripshskii | Dranda |
| Ochamchirskii | Ochamchire |
| Sukhumskii | Sukhumi |

Adzhar ASSR (Capital: Batumi)

Independent city: Batumi

631 Adzhar ASSR------cont.

Raions:

| | |
|---|---|
| Batumskii | Batumi |
| Kedskii | Keda |
| Khuloiskii | Khulo |
| Kobuletskii | Kobuleti |
| Shuakhevskii | Shuakhevi |

South Ossetian Autonomous Oblast
(Capital: Staliniri)

Independent city: Staliniri

Raions:

| | |
|---|---|
| Dzhavskii | Dzhava |
| Leningorskii | Leningori |
| Stalinirskii | Staliniri |
| Znaurskii | Znauri |

ARMENIAN SSR (Capital: Erevan)

Independent cities: Erevan
Kirovakan
Leninakan

Raions:

| | |
|---|---|
| Akhtinskii | Akhta |
| Akhurianskii | Leninakan |
| Alaverdskii | Alaverdi |
| Aparanskii | Aparan |
| Artashatskii | Artashat |
| Artikskii | Artik |

631 ARMENIAN SSR----------Raions (cont.)

| | |
|---|---|
| Ashtarakskii | Ashtarak |
| Azizbekovskii | Mikoyan |
| Basargecharskii | Basargechar |
| Echmiadzinskii | Echmiadzin |
| Gorisskii | Goris |
| Gukasianskii | Gukasian |
| Idzhevanskii | Idzhevan |
| Kafanskii | Kafan |
| Kirovakanskii | Kirovakan |
| Kotaikskii | Kanaker |
| Krasnosel'skii | Krasnosel'sk |
| Martuninskii | Martuni |
| Megrinskii | Megri |
| Nor-Baiazetskii | Nor-Baiazet |
| Oktemberianskii | Oktemberian |
| Sevanskii | Sevan |
| Sisianskii | Sisian |
| Shamshadinskii | Berd |
| Shaumianskii | Shaumian |
| Stepanavanskii | Stepanavan |
| Talinskii | Verin Talin |
| Vedinskii | Vedi |

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# Major Boundary Changes in the Caucasus Region since 1950

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## Rostov Oblast

On January 6, 1954, Rostov Oblast was greatly reduced in area with the creation of a separate Kamensk Oblast, which was carved out of the northern part of Rostov Oblast. The reduced Rostov Oblast extends as far north as the Don River, but includes the industrial Rostov-Novocherkassk-Taganrog area north of the Don.

## Stavropol'Krai -- Astrakhan' Oblast

On February 28, 1951, Stavropol'Krai annexed the newly created Chernozemel'skii Raion, carved out of the Stepnoi Raion of Astrakhan' Oblast. On January 14, 1952, Stavropol'Krai annexed the rest of Stepnoi Raion of Astrakhan' Oblast. The total area thus transferred from Astrakhan' Oblast to Stavropol' Krai is 22,500 square kilometers.

## Georgian SSR -- RSFSR

On March 14, 1955, the Georgian SSR returned to the RSFSR the Klukhorskii Raion. This raion was set up within Georgia in September, 1944, out of the former Karachai Autonomous Oblast of Stavropol'Krai and the southwest corner of the Kabardian ASSR. The entire raion was returned in March, 1955,

631 to Stavropol'Krai. On May 26, 1955, the
131 Ialbuzi sel'sovet (village council), corresponding to the former southwest corner of the Kabardian ASSR, was transferred from Stavropol'Krai to the Kabardian ASSR.

Temporary Oblasts and Okrugs in Georgia, Azerbaizhan, Armenia and Daghestan

The periods of these areas are as follows:

1. Tbilisi and Kutaisi Oblasts of Georgia: Nov. 5, 1951 to April 23, 1953

2. Baku and Giandzha Oblasts of Azerbaidzhan: March 14, 1952 to April 23, 1953

3. Okrugs in Armenia: January 17, 1952 to April 18, 1953

4. Okrugs in Daghestan: early 1952 to April 28, 1953.

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Political- Administrative Divisions of the Caucasus

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ASTRAKHAN' OBLAST
OSTOV OBLAST
Astrakhan'
STAVROPOL' KRAY
Stavropol'
GROZNYY OBLAST
KABARDIAN ASSR
Nalchik
Grozny
Ordzhonikidze
Makhachkala
S. OSSETIAN AO
Stalinir
DAGESTAN ASSR
GEORGIAN SSR
Tbilisi
AZERBAIJAN SSR
ARMENIAN SSR
Yerevan
NAGORNO-KARABAKH AO
Stepanakert
Nakhichevan'

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471 since the death of Stalin there are some indi-
178 cations, for instance, in the case of the Azerbaijan oil ministry, that the central government will foster local rule in the future.

.631 In the realm of state planning, the Cau-
178 casian administrative units represent a solution partly on economic and partly on nationalistic lines. The fact that nationalistic features are more emphasized in this area than elsewhere in Soviet Russia, is due to the ethnic complexity, not to say confusions of the Caucasus. In the Northern Caucasus administrative units like the Rostov, Astrakhan', Groznyy Oblasts, and the Krasnodar, Stavropol' Krays are basically economic units. Those units which are essentially ethnic, though numerous (Adyge AO, Cherkess AO, Kabardian ASSR, North Ossetian ASSR, Dagestan ASSR) are not very important, and their population forms roughly only 10 per cent of that of the whole North Caucasus. The Soviet South Caucasus on the other hand, has only ethnic units. The South Caucasus, a relatively small area, is inhabited by three different non-Russian nations (Armenian, Azeri, Georgia), each of them with the status of a Soviet Socialistic Republic. The territory of these republics was handled during the Czarist regime as a single political and economic unit. This resulted in these republics being even today more interdependent than other Soviet units of a similar grade. The stock-raising of Armenia and

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178 Azerbaijan, for instance, is handled as a whole. The stock is driven from the winter pastures of Azerbaijan (used as a cotton growing area during the summer) and spends the summer months in Armenia. In the field of industry the Baku oilfields and oil industry are connected through pipelines with the oil industry of Batumi, in Georgia. Similarly, the Rustavi steel mills of the Georgian SSR depend on the iron ore of Dashkesan which is in Azerbaijan.

178 Industrialization in agriculture, stock-
438 raising, and forestry follows the general Soviet patterns. The Kolkhozes and Sovkhozes are predominant, some of them covering large areas like the Gigant (in Rostov Oblast). This centralization makes it easy for the central government to introduce new industrial crops, like tea or various rubber plants, into the South Caucasus, or spread the cultivation of rice or cotton in the North Caucasus. At the same time it presents the opportunity to transform the nomadic features of eastern Caucasian stock-raising into a more sedentary one. In the field of industry proper and related fields, industrialization went ahead with great strides when compared with the 1913 status. In the Czarist period the Caucasus had an oil industry (Baku, Groznyy, Maykop), a mining industry (Chiatura, Sadon and Kedabek), some copper smelters (in Alaverdi and Kafan), and some manufacturing industries (like the food industry in western North Caucasus, the fishing industry

7: Columbia U. S-4, 5 1956 RHl Caucasia RHl

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a-1.1 Administrative Boundaries as of January 5, 1955

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21: Kolarz J-4 (no date) 1952 R1 Soviet Union R1
[Osset] Caucasia RH1



Ca. 175 177

actions against the Turks. An Ossetin Major-General, K. Zankisov, fought in Poland against the insurgents of 1863–4 and he was by no means the only Ossetin Major-General of that epoch. Furthermore, an 'Ossetin Division' became famous in the course of the Russo-Turkish War in 1877–8, when General Skobelev described its 'chivalrous gallantry' as being 'above any praise'.[12]

Ca. 177 538

Russian cultural work among the Ossetins started much earlier than among other mountain peoples. The first book to appear in the Ossetin language was printed in Moscow in 1798; its object was to serve as a kind of introduction to the study of the Bible. A long period of fruitful association with the Russians and the general peaceful approach of the Ossetins towards Russian military and political rule made them more open to the acceptance of Russian preponderance. The Ossetins were, as a matter of fact, the only people of the Northern Caucasus to produce a great writer in the person of Kosta Khetagurov (1859-1906) who was half Russianized himself and wrote in both the Ossetin and Russian languages. The Soviet régime greatly popularized Khetagurov as a symbol of Russian-Ossetin synthesis, which he undoubtedly was. He had a complete Russian education, had studied at St. Petersburg and was strongly influenced by such progressive Russian writers as Herzen and Chernishevsky, which makes him particularly acceptable from the Soviet point of view.

Ca. 423 628 474 601

Until the Ossetins gave proof of their loyalty to Russia during the war the Soviet régime had had to overcome Ossetin resistance to both the establishment of collective farms and the suppression of tribal customs. During the period of the collectivization Ossetin peasants waged a sort of guerilla warfare against 'socialist property' and while outwardly accepting collectivization, tried to transform the Kolkhoz into an instrument of their respective clans. Ossetin chairmen of collective farms and officials of local Soviets seem to have acted on the principle 'I decide who is a kulak and an enemy of the State and who is not'. Thus, at least during its initial stage, collectivization in Ossetia became a downright farce. Persons belonging to a rival clan were rendered innocuous by being denounced as kulaks; real kulaks, on the other hand, were promoted to the rank of respectable Soviet citizens if they happened to belong to the clan dominating the local village council or the collective farm concerned.[13]

Ca. [725] 631 162 S.U. 563 634

All such 'incidents' were forgotten when the Ossetins redeemed their reputation by their brilliant war record. In the fighting which resulted in the dislodgement of the Germans from the approaches to the Caucasus, Ossetin partisans operating from behind the enemy lines greatly assisted the Red Army.[14] As a mark of appreciation for their loyalty, the Soviet Government allowed the Ossetins to increase substantially the territory of their national republic. A decree of April 8th, 1944, stipulated

21: Kolarz J-4 (no date) 1952 R1 Soviet Union R2
[Osset]
[Kabardin]
Caucasia RH1



that three districts were to be added to the Northern Ossetin A.S.S.R. in their entirety as well as parts of three other districts. The major portion of this new Ossetin territory was sliced off the Stavropol Territory, but a section of it came from Ingushetia, which had occupied the western border area of the Chechen-Ingush A.S.S.R. In this way the Northern Ossetin A.S.S.R. grew from 2,390 square miles before the war to 3,250 square miles. This territorial change altered the ethnographic character of the Republic, for together with its new territories Ossetia received a fairly large number of Russians who mostly lived in the two new 'Ossetin' towns, Mozdok and Malgobek. Russian communists thus obtained a greater say in the running of the Northern Ossetin A.S.S.R. at the expense of their Ossetin comrades. In the small Northern Ossetin Republic of the inter-war period (an Autonomous Province until 1936) the Ossetins had formed 84 per cent of the entire population against 13·4 per cent Russians and Ukrainians. In 'Greater Ossetia' however, the percentage of the Ossetins may have dropped to about 60 per cent while the Slav share may have increased accordingly.

Ca. 631 162 S.U. 563 634 Ca. [131]

In addition to the territorial expansion of Ossetia the Soviet Government made still another 'concession' to the Ossetins. The capital of the republic, Vladikavkaz, was allowed to assume the Ossetin name of Dzaudzhikau – a worthless gesture since Russian predominance in the town was not affected by the change of its name. Dzaudzhikau remained that which was implied in its former name of Vladikavkaz, meaning 'Ruler of the Caucasus'. It continues to be one of the centres from which Russian administration exercises its control over the mountaineers.

Ca. 103 633

## RE-EDUCATION OF THE KABARDINIANS

The Chechens and the Ossetins represent the two extremes in the attitude of the local Caucasus peoples towards the Russians – the most irreconcilable resistance in the case of the Chechens, and the most far-reaching appeasement in the case of the Ossetins. The Kabardinians, forming part of the once powerful Circassian group which had been broken up by Russian colonization and conquest, stand between these extremes. In the Second World War their attitude was not beyond reproach. The Kabardinians had their deserters and traitors, but the Soviet Government did not consider they were bad enough to justify the abolition of their Autonomous Republic.

Ca. 609 687

During the important administrative reorganization which took place in the Caucasus towards the end of the Second World War, the Kabardinian A.S.S.R. was diminished by only 300 square miles, which were incorporated into Georgia. This, however, was not meant to be a punishment for the Kabardinians, but was directed against the Balkars who had inhabited the area in question. The small administrative reform

Ca. [131] [131] S.U. 563 634 687

[Cf. category 116, pp. 185 ff., R1 Sov. Union — Analyst]

ment on 'serious shortcomings and mistakes' committed in Kabarda in 871
the field of national policy. It stressed that conditions in Kabardinian 191
education were in conflict with the constitution of the A.S.S.R., which stipulated the right of the Kabardinian people to schools in their own language.

Although the Kabardinians are by far more numerous and advanced 875
than the peoples of the Soviet Far North, they suffer from the same acute shortage of national teaching-personnel which has been fatal to the national culture of many a minor Soviet nationality. Thus in 1948, the Kabardinian teachers' training college at Nalchik had but fifty-six Kabardinians out of a total of 559 students.[17]

It is to be expected that the survival of a truly Kabardinian culture 167
and Kabardinian language will become even more remote with the 162
increasing pressure of Slav colonization. Between 1926 and 1935 alone the number of Russians and Ukrainians in the Kabardinian A.S.S.R. more than doubled; it increased from about 37,000 to 93,000. This increase was partly due to immigration, partly to the inclusion in Kabarda of a number of Cossack villages in 1932. After the war the numerical relation between 'natives' and colonists changed to the detriment of the former, owing to the forcible departure of the Balkars.* Moreover more Russian colonists came into the country to staff new factories springing up around Nalchik.

* [Cf. category 631, p. 193 - -Analyst]

THE CIRCASSIANS – A RESERVE OF SOVIET MIDDLE EAST POLICY

For the benefit of the remnants of the Circassian people, a the Soviet 631
Government set up two Autonomous Provinces in the western part of 162
the North Caucasus area; the Cherkess Province in the Caucasus foothills and the Adyge Province in the Kuban plain.

Surrounded as they are on all sides by Russian territories these two national units have little chance of long-term survival. This applies in particular to the Adyge Province, whose capital – Maikop – used to be [361]
the third largest Russian oil centre after Baku and Grozny, before the development of the 'second Baku' between the Volga and the Urals.

Originally, Maikop was not included in the Adyge Province, which had a small Adyge majority in its initial stage (55·7 per cent various branches of Adyge, 42·7 per cent Russians and Ukrainians, and the rest made up of other Europeans and Armenians). The size of the Province was increased, however, before the war and the Adyge thus found themselves in the position of a minority. In 1930 the Adyge Province [41]
won doubtful 'fame' owing to its extraordinarily high percentage of disfranchized people. This was due to the arbitrary action of the local Soviet authorities, who had indiscriminately interpreted the terms of 'kulak', 'capitalist' and 'reactionary' with the result that 12 per cent of the entire adult population of the Province were deprived of their civic rights. — * [Cf. Cat. 116, p. 182 Sov. Union-Analyst]
195

21: Kolarz J-4 (no date) 1952 R1 Soviet Union R1
Caucasia RHJ



permanent and violent pressure and persecution, on the part of Oriental, non-Christian powers. The Russians avenged the sufferings and hardships which both Armenians and Georgians had endured from Turkish and Persian overlords. Although the primary motives of the Russians were hardly of an exclusively humanitarian nature they could claim, with some justification, that they acted in Georgia and Armenia as a protecting rather than as a colonial power.

Ca. 101 175 S.U. 181

The case of Azerbaidzhan, which covers Eastern Transcaucasia, is altogether different; unlike the Georgian and Armenian 'protectorates' that country has more the character of a colony. Azerbaidzhan is, indeed, the only part of Transcaucasia where Russian colonization has been conducted on a large scale.

In Western Transcaucasia the influx of Russian elements has always remained insignificant even if Russian cultural influences are promoted there as strongly as anywhere else in the Soviet Union. The two principal peoples of Western Transcaucasia, the Georgians and Armenians, enjoy a special privileged position. They are expected to encourage Russian state interests in their area, as it were, by their own initiative, but without visible interference by Russian colonists who in other Soviet Republics occupy commanding posts in cultural and economic life.

Nominally, Georgia and Armenia have the same status as Kirghizistan or Uzbekistan, but their actual status is on a higher level. Georgia is the only Soviet Republic, apart from the R.S.F.S.R., forming a miniature federation which includes two Autonomous Republics and one Autonomous Province. Thus the Georgians exercise within the framework of the Soviet constitution a certain guardianship over other peoples, a role which the Russians claim for themselves practically everywhere else in the Soviet Union. Armenia again is not only the State of the Armenians within the Soviet Union but also the spiritual home of the Armenian people scattered all over the globe.

Ca. 631

## TRANSCAUCASIA AND RUSSIAN MIDDLE EAST POLICY

Politically and strategically the whole of Transcaucasia forms a Russian wedge driven into the Middle East which has every possible chance of expanding. Lermontov seems to have felt the tremendous implications which the submission of the Caucasus mountains to Russian rule may have for both Russia and the peoples of the East. He may have had a premonition that the conquest of the Caucasus would open a new chapter in the history of many lands situated to the South of the great mountain system. In Lermontov's prophetic poem 'Dispute', two Caucasus mountains, Kazbek and Shat, talk to each other. Shat warns Kazbek of the 'powerful East crowded with people', but he fails to

S.1 175 539

21: Kolarz J-4 (no date) 1952 R1 Soviet Union R1
Georgia RI1
Caucasia RH1



population. In short, Tiflis was designated to avenge the defeat which democratic socialism had suffered in Petrograd and Moscow. 665

The liquidation by military action of Menshevik Georgia under these circumstances* became a vital necessity from the point of view of the Bolshevik leaders. By establishing Soviet power in Georgia they attained several aims simultaneously. In Russia proper Bolshevik prestige was greatly enhanced by the fact that a province of the Czarist Empire had been recovered. The British Empire was embarrassed by Russia's enlargement of her access to the Middle East. More important than all this was the blow inflicted by the young Soviet State on 'World Menshevism', which led to a strengthening of the Russian grip on certain sections of the working-class of Western Europe. S.U. 648

## STALIN'S FIGHT AGAINST 'NATIONAL' BOLSHEVISM

The proclamation of the Georgian Soviet Republic was a victory for Bolshevism, but, as yet, not for Stalin personally, since the original leaders of the Georgian Communist Party were hostile to Stalin and to his views on Georgia's future within the framework of the Soviet Union. Those Georgian Bolsheviks who took over the Tiflis Government after the collapse of Menshevik rule considered Stalin as a kind of renegade, because he had completely stripped himself of any Georgian national feeling and was determined to uphold against the Georgians the interests of the central power, which were ultimately Russian interests. Knowing his Georgian compatriots, Stalin feared that even the Georgian communists would strive for a measure of independence detrimental to Soviet centralism. He felt that the Georgian people with its strong historical state traditions and occupying the largest single territory of Soviet Transcaucasia needed to be more thoroughly watched than the Armenians or the Azerbaidzhani Turks. S.U. 6 643 Ge. 665

It was always Stalin who insisted on curtailing the powers of the Georgian Bolsheviks while Lenin and other Bolshevik leaders of the early period were prepared to grant them far-reaching freedom within the Soviet framework. It was also Stalin's idea to press the Georgians into a Transcaucasian Soviet Federation in order to keep them better under control. Such a Transcaucasian Federation might have been a commendable solution for a *rapprochement* between Georgians, Armenians and Azerbaidzhani Turks; it might have even become a means for creating a united front of the three peoples against Moscow centralism. Stalin's intervention, however, brought a different sort of federation into being. For Stalin, federation was no end in itself, but just a temporary instrument of Soviet policy to be cast aside after its aim had been achieved. At a time when Soviet centralism was not strong enough to rule Georgians, Armenians and Azerbaidzhanis from S.U. 631 563 Ge. 6 Ca. 631 642

*[Cf. category 635, p. 226 for continuity -- Analyst]

21: Kolarz J-4 (no date) 1952 R1 Soviet Union R1
Georgia R11
Caucasia RH1



S.U. 631 563 Ge. 642 Ca. 631 642

Moscow, the Transcaucasian Federation was an intermediate agency by which the national sovereignty of the three republics could be limited. The cabinet of the Transcaucasian S.F.S.R. included ministers for agriculture, home affairs, home trade, finance, and local industry as well as the Chairman of the Transcaucasian State Planning Commission, who was usually a Russian. The existence of the Transcaucasian Federation enabled the Russian communists generally to play the role of arbiters.

Ge. 665 [642]

The Georgian communists felt the weight of the Transcaucasian Federation more than anybody else, for the headquarters of the federal government were in Tiflis. The recognized leaders of the Georgian communists, like Budu Mdivani and Philip Makharadze, energetically opposed Stalin's federation manœuvre and wanted Georgia to become a direct member state of the U.S.S.R., which in their view should be but a loose federation. The ideal solution which they aimed at was, however, to have no Soviet Union at all, but to be linked with the Russian communists only through the Communist International.

In the early twenties the Georgian communists showed many signs of an independent policy, confirming Stalin's anxiety as to the future relationship between Georgia and the Soviet State as a whole. If Georgia could not be independent from Moscow, they wanted her to keep at least as many prerogatives of an independent State as possible. Thus they resisted Russian control over the Georgian railways and ignored the foreign trade monopoly of the Moscow Government by concluding contracts with foreign companies directly. In doing so they were in accord with the recommendation which Lenin had given to the Transcaucasian communists shortly after the formation of Soviet Georgia. This is what Lenin had advised: 'Make the utmost intense and speedy economic use of the capitalist West by means of a policy of concessions and by commercial intercourse. . . .'[22] Soviet Georgia also wanted to maintain an independent attitude in relation to the other Transcaucasian Soviet Republics and their subjects. Thus certain categories of Armenians and Azerbaidzhanis were ordered to leave the Georgian Soviet Republic so that the country might assume a more homogeneous national character. Georgian women marrying citizens of other Soviet republics lost their Georgian nationality. The central Government in Moscow declared all these discriminatory practices null and void.

Ge. [641]

Despite all appearances the Georgian communists were by no means chauvinists. They knew only too well that their régime was unpopular and that they had to maintain themselves in power by making concessions in every possible direction, including concessions to nationalist feelings. When taking over the Georgian Government in February 1921 the Bolsheviks claimed a membership of 20,000, of whom about one-half were expelled from the party almost immediately after the

23: Shabad N-4 (no date) 1951 R1 Soviet Union R1
Caucasia RH1



in a southwestern suburb of Krasnyy Sulin. The former plays an important role in the mechanization of the coal-mining operations. Before the Second World War, more than 10 percent of the Donbas coal was mined within Rostov Oblast.

On the basis of the coal resources, heavy industry is operating metallurgical plants at Taganrog and Krasnyy Sulin. Rostov is the home of *Rossel'mash*, the largest agricultural machinery plant of the USSR. Agricultural implements are also manufactured at Morozovsk. Other centers engaged in the production of machinery and metal products are Taganrog, Novocherkassk, Glubokiy, and Likhovskoy (at Likhaya station).

In the northern grain-growing district, wheat and sunflower are the dominant crops. Toward the southeast, barley and mustard become important; further on, toward the Caspian Lowland, the emphasis shifts to stock raising. Horses and meat cattle are gradually replaced by sheep in the drier areas. Cotton is grown to some extent in the south and the southeast. Several Cossack villages along the Don River, notably Tsimlyanskaya and Razdorskaya, have extensive vineyards. In a wide zone through the urban and heavily industrialized section of Taganrog-Rostov-Shakhty, truck gardening and the raising of dairy cattle are the principal agricultural activities. The principal agricultural centers are Millerovo and Chertkovo in the north and Sal'sk (with near-by Gigant state farm, one of the largest grain farms of the USSR) in the southeast. These and other towns throughout the oblast mill flour, extract sunflower oil, and process tobacco. The fish catch of the Don delta and adjacent Taganrog Gulf is processed at Azov, a small port southwest of Rostov.

Rostov Oblast is settled by Russians and a Ukrainian minority. Prior to the Second World War some Kalmyk elements were organized into a Kalmyk national rayon, northwest of Zimovniki. In 1944, following the abrogation of the Kalmyk Autonomous SSR, the rayon was also abrogated, and presumably the population was resettled elsewhere. In this connection, Rostov Oblast also acquired the westernmost section of the former Kalmyk Autonomous SSR.

Rostov lies on the elevated, right bank of the Don River at the head of the delta. Thanks to its favorable location at the junction of trade routes between the Black Sea, the Volga, the Ukraine, the European Center, and the Northern Caucasus, it developed early into an important commercial center and transportation hub. With the construction of the

23: Shabad N-4 (no date) 1951 R1 Soviet Union R1
Adige RH4
Caucasia RH1



Maykop on the Belaya River at the north foot of the Caucasus is the center of the oil field of Neftegorsk and Apsheronsk, more than 30 miles southwest. The city has a small-scale metallurgical industry and produces machine tools, agricultural and lumbering machinery, furniture, tobacco, canned goods, and meat. SU 438* A 438

## Stavropol' Kray

**Capital, Stavropol'; area, 29,600, population, 1,500,000** SU

Stavropol' Kray reaches to the crest of the Greater Caucasus only in its extreme southwestern portion along the upper Urup, a left affluent of the Kuban'. The basic portion of the region lies in the northern foothills of the Caucasus, the so-called Stavropol' upland, and in the dry steppes to the northeast. The watershed between the Caspian and the Black Sea basins passes roughly along the Stavropol' meridian, near the western border of the kray. Due to this circumstance, only a narrow strip of territory along the western boundary receives the benefit of the humid westerly winds blowing from the Black Sea. The rest of the area, east of the Stavropol' upland, is characterized by a dry climate. The yearly precipitation decreases from 16 inches in the west to 8 inches in the east; insolation and summer heat are very pronounced. Consequently, water courses are poorly developed, and trees are entirely absent. In the western and central portions fertile black-earth and chestnut soils predominate; only in the extreme east does the region have a semi-desert character. 133* C 133

The population of the region is predominantly Russian, with a strong Ukrainian admixture. In the southwest lives another section of the Cherkess, or Circassian, ethnic group, which is organized into the Cherkess Autonomous Oblast. This region, now known as Stavropol' Kray, was first organized within its present approximate limits in 1924, when it was called North Caucasus Kray. In 1937 it was renamed Ordzhonikidze Kray; it received its present designation in 1943. Prior to the Second World War, it also included the Karachay Autonomous Oblast, a division located in the southwest on the slopes of the Greater Caucasus. This autonomous unit, with an area of 3,800 square miles and a population of 150,000, had been constituted in 1926, when it was separated from the original Karachay-Cherkess Autonomous Oblast (formed in 1922). The Karachay, a Turkic people who constituted about one half of the population of the autonomous unit, were among those accused of collaboration with the Germans during the Second World War. In 1943 the nationality was abrogated, the people were dis- SU 162 631 C 162 631 SU 728 631 C 728 631

23: Shabad N-4 (no date) 1951 Rl Soviet Union Rl
Caucasia RH1



SU 631 928 C 631 928 persed and resettled, and the Karachay lost official recognition. The autonomous unit was abolished. Its major portion, including the capital, Mikoyan-Shakhar, now Klukhori, and the resort Teberda, and the village Uchkulan, now Madniskhevi, were ceded to the Georgian SSR, the strip along the upper Laba River passed to Krasnodar Kray; another portion, including the village Pregradnaya, was annexed to Cherkess Autonomous Oblast; the remainder became part of Stavropol' Kray proper.

SU 241 C 241 The climatic and soil conditions of the region are favorable to the development of grain farming and the raising of livestock for wool and meat, activities which prevail for similar reasons in the dry steppes of the Lower Volga Region, in northern Kazakhstan, and in Western Siberia. The main crops are winter wheat, sunflowers in the west, and cotton in the east. In the section bordering on the upper and middle Kuma River, irrigated farming is devoted to the raising of orchards, garden crops, and vineyards, the latter particularly in the Budennovsk–Georgiyevsk area. With the construction of the Nevinnomyssk Canal, to be completed during the current Five-Year Plan, the glacier-fed Kuban' River will be linked with the Yegorlyk, an affluent of the Manych, and new areas will be put under irrigation in the western part of Stavropol' Kray. Truck produce is grown intensively in the relatively urban areas of the health resorts (Pyatigorsk, Kislovodsk, and others) in the south SU 236 and in the southwestern mountain area garden and dairy farming is carried on. In the northern and eastern steppes the raising of sheep is C 236 most important. On specially organized state farms two major breeds predominate: the merino sheep for the production of fine wool and the *volosh* sheep, which furnishes meat and coarse wool. The Alpine pastures in the southwest support the so-called Karachay sheep, which also is used mainly for meat. Dairy cattle are raised in the health resort district, and hogs and horses on the mountains slopes.

SU [135] C [135] The mineral resources of the region consist only of coal, which is worked in small amounts at Khumarinskoye and Ordzhonikidzevskiy, just north of Klukhori, of raw material for the chemical industry of SU 438* C 438 Cherkess Autonomous Oblast, and of the mineral springs in the Pyatigorsk-Kislovodsk area. The products of agriculture and of the pastoral economy are partly processed within the region; some are exported in semi-processed form to other areas of the USSR. The principal export items are grain, vegetable oil, meat, tallow, dairy products, raw wool, fruits, and vegetables. The local industries are scattered

Until 1936 Transcaucasia formed a single political unit: the Transcaucasian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic, then one of the union republics of the USSR. With the promulgation of the 1936 Constitution, this federated republic was split up into its primary components based on the three principal nationalities: Armenian, Azerbaijan, and Georgian SSR's. Minor nationalities, such as Abkhaz, Adzhars, and Ossetians, are organized into lesser autonomous units such as autonomous SSR's or autonomous oblasts.

Petroleum is the most important single asset of Transcaucasia. The Baku oil region of world-wide significance is the principal petroleum producer of the USSR, furnishing more than one half the total output. Pipe lines for crude oil, kerosene, and other petroleum products lead from Baku across the entire region to Batumi on the Black Sea, next to Baku, the principal oil port and refining center of Transcaucasia. Before the Second World War the petroleum industry accounted for two fifths of all factory workers, two thirds of the use of electric energy, more than one half the industrial production, and almost two thirds of the exports of Transcaucasia. Since then, however, the creation of new industries and the increase of electric power sources have reduced the relative importance of this branch of the economy. Among the other important power resources are the coal mines of Tkibuli and Tkvarcheli in Georgia, especially the reserves of hydroelectric power, which equal the reserves of the European part of the USSR. Among the most important metal deposits are the manganese mines of Chiatura (Georgia), the second largest in the world, copper in Armenia, and iron in Azerbaijan.

Manufacturing industries are mainly devoted to the processing of the local agricultural products: fruit canning, wine-making, distilling, and cotton ginning. Azerbaijan has a well-developed textile industry, and many of the precious woods are used in wood-working plants. Heavy metallurgy is represented by the steel mills of Rustavi (Georgia) and the ferro-manganese works of Zestafoni (Georgia), and there are machinery plants in many of the large cities. Chemicals and cement are also produced.

In connection with the varied natural conditions and under the influence of the vertical zoning in the mountains, all rural economy forms are represented—from orchard farming in the irrigated sections to nomadic livestock raising in the drier areas. The land is divided according to usability as follows: one fifth is arid, due to the presence of rocks, sands, or marshes; another fifth is forested; more than one third is

21: Kolarz J-4 (no date) 1952 R1 Soviet Union R1
[Osset] Caucasia RH1
[Kabardin]



that three districts were to be added to the Northern Ossetin A.S.S.R. in their entirety as well as parts of three other districts. The major portion of this new Ossetin territory was sliced off the Stavropol Territory, but a section of it came from Ingushetia,* which had occupied the western border area of the Chechen-Ingush A.S.S.R. In this way the Northern Ossetin A.S.S.R. grew from 2,390 square miles before the war to 3,250 square miles. This territorial change altered the ethnographic character of the Republic, for together with its new territories Ossetia received a fairly large number of Russians who mostly lived in the two new 'Ossetin' towns, Mozdok and Malgobek. Russian communists thus obtained a greater say in the running of the Northern Ossetin A.S.S.R. at the expense of their Ossetin comrades. In the small Northern Ossetin Republic of the inter-war period (an Autonomous Province until 1936) the Ossetins had formed 84 per cent of the entire population against 13·4 per cent Russians and Ukrainians. In 'Greater Ossetia' however, the percentage of the Ossetins may have dropped to about 60 per cent while the Slav share may have increased accordingly.

Ca. 631 162 S.U. 563 634 Ca. [131]

In addition to the territorial expansion of Ossetia the Soviet Government made still another 'concession' to the Ossetins. The capital of the republic, Vladikavkaz, was allowed to assume the Ossetin name of Dzaudzhikau – a worthless gesture since Russian predominance in the town was not affected by the change of its name. Dzaudzhikau remained that which was implied in its former name of Vladikavkaz, meaning 'Ruler of the Caucasus'. It continues to be one of the centres from which Russian administration exercises its control over the mountaineers.

Ca. 103 633

## RE-EDUCATION OF THE KABARDINIANS

The Chechens and the Ossetins represent the two extremes in the attitude of the local Caucasus peoples towards the Russians – the most irreconcilable resistance in the case of the Chechens, and the most far-reaching appeasement in the case of the Ossetins. The Kabardinians, forming part of the once powerful Circassian group which had been broken up by Russian colonization and conquest, stand between these extremes. In the Second World War their attitude was not beyond reproach. The Kabardinians had their deserters and traitors, but the Soviet Government did not consider they were bad enough to justify the abolition of their Autonomous Republic.

Ca. 609 687

During the important administrative reorganization which took place in the Caucasus towards the end of the Second World War, the Kabardinian A.S.S.R. was diminished by only 300 square miles, which were incorporated into Georgia. This, however, was not meant to be a punishment for the Kabardinians, but was directed against the Balkars who had inhabited the area in question. The small administrative reform

Ca. [631] [131] S.U. 563 634 687

* [Cf. category 116, pp. 185 ff., R1 Sov. Union — Analyst]

7: Columbia U. S-4, 5 1956 RHl Caucasia
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43. Legend: Russian Provinces

1. Astrakhan'
2. Baku
3. Batum
4. Erivan
5. Kars
6. Kutais
7. Novocherkassk
8. Novorossiysk
9. Stavropol'
10. Sukhum
11. Temir-Khan-Shura
12. Tiflis
13. Vladikavkaz
14. Yekaterinodar
15. Yelisavetpol'
16. Zakataly

43. 1878-1918 A. D.

•635

000 This is rather striking in the Constitution of Stalin's native land.

642 Chapter VIII of the Armenian Constitu-
641 tion (Articles 93-108) as well as Chapters XI of Azerbaidzhan (Articles 125-140) and of the Georgian (Articles 131-146) Constitutions deal with the fundamental rights and duties of citizens. There appears, in all three constitutions, the following striking statement: "Freedom of religious worship and freedom of anti-religious propaganda is recognized for all citizens." The separation of church and state is also mentioned, but no mention is made of mosques in the Azerbaidzhan Constitution.

642 Chapter X of the Armenian Constitution (Articles 119-122) and Chapter XIII of the Georgian Constitution (Articles 156-161) deal with the official language, the coat of arms, flags, etc. of the respective republics, and the corresponding chapter in the Azerbaidzhan Constitution (Articles 151-153) does the same but the official language is not mentioned at all.

In attempting to set forth certain peculiarities found in the three Caucasian Constitutions against those found in other Soviet Socialist republic constitutions, only striking, important peculiarities will be noted.

On the attainment of their Soviet socialist goals, both the Armenian and the Azerbaidzhan Constitutions, as stated above, refer to the "national oppression of tsarism and of the Russian imperialist bourgeoisie,

ment on 'serious shortcomings and mistakes' committed in Kabarda in 871
the field of national policy. It stressed that conditions in Kabardinian /91
education were in conflict with the constitution of the A.S.S.R., which stipulated the right of the Kabardinian people to schools in their own language.

Although the Kabardinians are by far more numerous and advanced 875
than the peoples of the Soviet Far North, they suffer from the same acute shortage of national teaching-personnel which has been fatal to the national culture of many a minor Soviet nationality. Thus in 1948, the Kabardinian teachers' training college at Nalchik had but fifty-six Kabardinians out of a total of 559 students.[17]

It is to be expected that the survival of a truly Kabardinian culture /67
and Kabardinian language will become even more remote with the /62
increasing pressure of Slav colonization. Between 1926 and 1935 alone the number of Russians and Ukrainians in the Kabardinian A.S.S.R. more than doubled; it increased from about 37,000 to 93,000. This increase was partly due to immigration, partly to the inclusion in Kabarda of a number of Cossack villages in 1932. After the war the numerical relation between 'natives' and colonists changed to the detriment of the former, owing to the forcible departure of the Balkars.* Moreover more Russian colonists came into the country to staff new factories springing up around Nalchik.

*[Cf. category 631, p. 193 - -Analyst]

THE CIRCASSIANS – A RESERVE OF SOVIET MIDDLE EAST POLICY

For the benefit of the remnants of the Circassian people, the Soviet 631
Government set up two Autonomous Provinces in the western part of /162
the North Caucasus area; the Cherkess Province in the Caucasus foothills and the Adyge Province in the Kuban plain.

Surrounded as they are on all sides by Russian territories these two national units have little chance of long-term survival. This applies in particular to the Adyge Province, whose capital – Maikop – used to be [361]
the third largest Russian oil centre after Baku and Grozny, before the development of the 'second Baku' between the Volga and the Urals.

Originally, Maikop was not included in the Adyge Province, which had a small Adyge majority in its initial stage (55·7 per cent various branches of Adyge, 42·7 per cent Russians and Ukrainians, and the rest made up of other Europeans and Armenians). The size of the Province was increased, however, before the war and the Adyge thus found themselves in the position of a minority. In 1930 the Adyge Province [141]
won doubtful 'fame' owing to its extraordinarily high percentage of disfranchized people. This was due to the arbitrary action of the local Soviet authorities, who had indiscriminately interpreted the terms of 'kulak', 'capitalist' and 'reactionary' with the result that 12 per cent of the entire adult population of the Province were deprived of their civic rights.* [Cf. cat. 116, p. 182, R1 Sov. Union-Analyst]

3: Anonymous U-4 (no date) 1920 RH1 Caucasia RH1



from the District Courts' decisions could be taken to the Supreme Court at Tiflis, and from that to Petersburg. The Courts were accessible and cheap, and there was no discrimination between Russian subjects and foreigners in legal proceedings; but judgements given in Russian Courts had no effect in England, nor decisions obtained in England in Russia. 691 692

The Cossack communities are divided into *stanitzas* or villages, each *stanitza* having an elected assembly of 30 members; in populous *stanitzas* one man is elected from every ten households. These assemblies have wider powers than the usual *mir* or commune, viz. division of land, assessment of taxes, regulation of schools, grain stores, cultivation, &c., and the election of elders (*ataman*) and judges. 631 563

When the Revolution occurred in 1917, the Viceroy was recalled, and the various nationalities in the Caucasus arranged representative National Assemblies; but, as chaos in the Empire increased, relations were broken off with the Central Government. A separate Transcaucasian Republic was formed, in the Government of which Armenians, Tatars, and Georgians were equally represented; and another new state called the Republic of Daghestan, under the presidency of a Lesghian of the Mohammedan faith, also emerged. The Cossacks, however, remained aloof. [412]

## (3) Educational

Public education was in the hands of the State, or was directly controlled by it. The number of persons able to read or write in the Caucasus in 1912 was only 17 per cent., and the percentage of schools to the population was very low. Some progress was made in the provision of instruction during 1912 and 1913, but the outbreak of war hindered the completion of the various schemes put forward, in particular by the towns of Anapa, Novorossiisk, Yeisk, Temryuk, Maikop, Grozni, Georgievsk, Pyatigorsk, and Stavropol in 871 [212]

3: Anonymous U-4 (no date) 1920 RH1 Caucasia RH1



sternly repressed, left seeds of unrest behind them; and 181
the provinces were probably on the road to a serious effort to secure autonomy, when the European War, and later the Russian Revolution, shattered the existing system. Since May 26, 1918, when the Transcaucasian [642] Diet proclaimed its own dissolution, there have existed three independent republics in what used to be Russian Caucasia—the Armenian Republic, the Georgian Rep' blic, and a Tatar Republic in the eastern Caucasus. Of these the eastern republic presents by far the most formidable problem. It is manifestly impossible to leave the Tatars of the eastern Caucasus, with the wild hill-tribes of Daghestan, to their own devices. The vital importance to Europe of the oil-fields in this region makes the problem here exceptionally pressing.

565 had the right to change masters, and who were protected against arbitrary sale; and the slaves, who were for the most part prisoners of war. Very definite laws regulated the rights and duties of the various castes, and intermarriage was forbidden. On the other hand the princes[1] exercised little real [642] authority; leadership in war was not an hereditary right, but leaders were elected from the families of the princes and nobles by a popular assembly of the four highest classes; while judges were nominated by popular vote, with powers only for a single day.

181 The social organisation of the Cherkesses was in many respects anarchical, for not only was every tribe independent, 871 but every noble's household within each tribe. Nevertheless the general conduct of the people was subject to a series of established customs, based on primitive conceptions of chivalry, respect for age, hospitality and blood-vengeance. The sons of nobles were educated in a long and difficult course of knightly training by cadet members of other noble families, who stood in the joint relation to them of tutor and blood-brother. The women had few rights, but the rights of protection by their fathers and husbands were very clearly defined.

101 The eastern tribes occupied the country between the Daryal and the Caspian littoral, and from the right bank of the Terek to the hills overlooking the valleys of the Alazan and the Kur. On the north, inhabiting the highlands of the Terek, the Sunja and the Argun, were the various tribes of Chechens, and the lesser related tribes of the Ingushes, the Kists, the Itskheris and the Galgais. Segregated in unapproachable villages (*auls*) in the depths of primæval beech-forests, the Chechens had a culture which was far less developed than that of the Cherkesses. They had no class system, and lived together in small anarchical communities.

South-east of the Chechens were the powerful Lesghian [633] tribes, scattered over Daghestan ("The Mountain Country"), which formed an elevated table-land through which innumerable rivers had cut channels to a depth frequently of thousands of feet, the whole being backed and ribbed south and west by mountain chains with several peaks over 13,000 feet in height. The principal Lesghian tribes were the Kubachins and Darghis on the north-east, bordering the Chechen country, the Kazi-Kumukhs of the central plateau, the Kurins and Tabasserans of the south-east, overlooking the Tâtar lowlands of Shirvan, and the Avars, Andis and Didos on the west, bordering on Kakhetia.

1 [of the Cherkess -- Analyst]

5: Allen H-4 (no date) 1923 RH1 Caucasia RH1

[1811-1917]



Democrats, Georgians, Armenians and Tatars, in spite of their internationalist ideals, soon became involved in the real and bitter racial antagonisms of the uneducated mass of the Christian and Mussulman peasantry. And the situation was further complicated, on the one hand by the intrigues of the Mussulman parties with the Turkish Command and by the effects of the propaganda of Turkish agents; on the other by the anti-Mussulman violence of the Armenian Dashnakists and by the reflex on Tatar-Armenian relations of the reciprocal atrocities committed by Mussulmans and Christians in the war-area of Turkish Armenia. 669

It was in the Northern Caucasus that a separatist movement first assumed definite form in the proclamation of the autonomous "Union of the Peoples of the Northern Caucasus" at Vladikavkaz in May 1917. But in Transcaucasia separatist tendencies were soon afterwards manifested in the demand for the reunion of all Armenian and Georgian contingents on the Polish front, and their concentration in the Caucasus.

The Bolshevist *coup d'état* at Petrograd in October 1917 marked the opening of the next phase of the Revolution. In the Northern Caucasus the conservative leaders of the North Caucasus Union naturally repudiated the Soviet Government, and associated themselves with the "South-eastern Union" formed by Messrs. Miliukov, Guchkov and Kharlamov, Gen. Alexeiev, and the Hetman of the Don Cossacks, Gen. Kalédin. The South-eastern Union made a desperate effort to reconcile the growing differences of the Cossacks and the mountaineers —differences which had already resulted in fighting—by engaging the former to cede certain disputed districts. The result was the defection of the Terek Cossacks who, in conjunction with Bolshevist troops returning from the Turkish front, attacked the mountaineers. On December 2, the independence of the "Union of the Mountaineers" was proclaimed, and a Provisional Government, at the head of which was a wealthy Chechen landowner, Colonel Tapa Chermoiev, was formed pending the convocation of a Russian Constituent Assembly. An organisation of local tribal autonomy was established, and the seat of the central authority was fixed at Vladikavkaz. 669 642

At the beginning of 1918, however, Bolshevist and Cossack forces advanced along the railway-line from Mineralnaia Vody to Beslan, and the mountaineers, who lacked munitions, were forced, after some severe fighting, to withdraw from Vladikavkaz and Grozni, and to remove their capital first to Nazran and later to Temir-Khan-Shura.

5: Allen H-4 (no date) 1923 RH1 Caucasia RH1



669 In the Transcaucasus a Social Democratic "Commissariat" had superseded the "Caucasian Committee" at Tiflis. This
642 body, which represented all nationalities (three Georgians, three Armenians, three Tatars and two Russians) was presided over by the Georgian Gegéchkori. It drew its authority from a "Transcaucasian Seim" composed of the Caucasian members of the recently elected All-Russian Constituent Assembly, with the further addition of two members for each original one, the various parties increasing their membership in proportion to the last election figures. Further, the Commissariat and Seim worked in conjunction with the various Workmen's, Soldiers' and Municipal Councils, and with Georgian, Armenian and Tatar "National Committees."

In spite, however, of this inevitable organisation on nationalist lines, the Commissariat still endeavoured to maintain the co-operation of the different races and the principle of unity with Russia; and at the Georgian National Congress in November 1917 the Georgian Social Democratic leaders Jordania and Chenkeli emphasised these principles.

## VI

## RECENT HISTORY

726 As in Russia, the most urgent necessity for Georgia was the conclusion of an early peace. The Turkish commander on the
648 Turko-Caucasian front, Ferik Mehmed Vehib Pasha, proposed a cessation of hostilities at the beginning of December, in accordance with the action of the German General Staff on the Polish front, and on December 14 General Prjevalski, who still held nominal command of the Russo-Caucasian troops, signed an armistice at Erzinjan. During the following month the anarchy behind the Russian lines increased. Turkish agents were active in the Muhammadan districts of Transcaucasia, encouraging the Tatars and Ajars to attack the disorganised bodies of Russian troops who were making their way home through Transcaucasia. Armenian bands were attacking Turkish villages in the Russian area, and were preparing a desperate resistance to the Turkish advance.

In mid-January 1918 the Ottoman Government made a further *démarche*, addressing itself now to the "Independent Transcaucasian Government," which it invited to participate in the Brest-Litovsk negotiations. It was a development of the Turkish policy, revealed at the outbreak of war, of constructing

C. A. 608 way, though all the members of a clan claim a common descent from the same ancestor, this descent is largely fictitious.

C. G. 565 642 Clans naturally differed in size and wealth, and this led in many parts of the Caucasus to a differentiation of classes and to a feudal structure of the society (Kabarda; lower regions of Dagestan). In Transcaucasia there was a further development into feudal C. G. 619 monarchies (Georgia, Armenia). The original tribal structure was best preserved among the Georgian highlanders, the Svan, some of the W. Circassian tribes, the Ossetes, the Chechen and Ingush, and the tribes in the higher parts of Dagestan. For instance, the Pshav tribe (dziri, lit. "root") is divided into eleven clans (temi); the members of each clan bear the same name, but in everyday life are known under a second family name (gvari) derived from the proper name of a grandfather or great-grandfather. If a family expanded, C. G. 565 new surnames were adopted. Where a differentiation of classes took place, the general pattern was the following. The upper class consisted of the nobility, in its turn subdivided into various ranks in the regions with more pronounced feudal traits (Georgia, Kabarda). The lower class consisted of the peasants; here too, a further stratification existed, depending on differences in degree of economic C. G. [567] and personal freedom. The lowest classes were the slaves; mostly prisoners of war. In

7: Columbia U. S-4, 5 1956 RHl Caucasia RHl

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# CONSTITUTIONS OF THE ARMENIAN, AZERBAIDZHAN AND GEORGIAN SOVIET SOCIALIST REPUBLICS

## Brief Statement on their Peculiarities

All these Soviet constitutions, including that of the U. S. S. R., seem to have been neatly fitted into one matrix, cast in the same foundry. Their lengths, their chapter headings, and even the order of their subdivisions as well as their contents do not vary much. Even so and notwithstanding the paramountcy of the Union's unrelenting administrative, legislative and judicial control of the activities of these republics, and the unchallenged dictatorial rule of the authorities in Moscow, there are certain variations, perhaps meant to be in form only, in some of these constitutions, These variations do not in any sense constitute deviations from the much publicized "socialist in content and nationalist in form" slogan. Some of these are, of course, variations merely in phraseology, while others seem to imply something more. These variations or peculiarities as found in the constitutions of the three Caucasian republics are herein noted in their context, and then they are compared with those found in the constitutions of other Soviet Socialist republics.

In one particular respect all 16 of these constitutions may be divided into two large

7: Columbia U S-4, 5 1956 RH1 Caucasia RH1

642 categories: the constitutions of unitary republics, and those of non-unitary or multiple-unit republics. In the first category are:

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|---|---|
| the Armenian SSR | the Kirghiz SSR |
| the Belorussian SSR | the Latvian SSR |
| the Estonian SSR | the Lithuanian SSR |
| the Karelo-Finnish SSR | the Moldavian SSR |
| the Kazakh SSR | the Turkmen SSR |

the Ukrainian SSR

These unitary republics do not have any autonomous SSR, or autonomous region, or area within their boundaries, and their constitutions are not burdened with the enumeration of governmental officials for the administration of these component parts. For that reason they are shorter, having no more and no less than 11 chapters.

In the second category, or the non-unitary or multiple-unit class, are the following:

| | |
|---|---|
| the Russian SFSR | the Georgian SSR |
| the Azerbaidzhan SSR | the Tadzhik SSR |

the Uzbek SSR

All of these republics have, within their own boundaries, at least an autonomous SSR, or an autonomous region or area. And the rather detailed description of their governmental machinery in the respective constitutions add considerably to their lengths. That is why the RSFSR, the Azerbaidzhan and the Georgian constitutions are 14 chapters each, and the

042 Tadzhik and Uzbek constitutions have 12 and 13 chapters respectively.

## Chapter I: the Social Structure

Article 2 of the Georgian Constitution states that the Georgian SSR is "firmly established as a result of the overthrow of the power of the landlords and the capitalists and the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat." This is almost verbatim from the Union Constitution. But the Armenian and the Azerbaidzhan versions of this Article are longer and somewhat different. Therein we have the Armenian SSR grow and become strong

> as the result of the overthrow of the power of the landlords and capitalists, the liberation of the Armenian people from the national oppression of tsarism and of the Russian imperialist bourgeoisie, the defeat of the Dashnak nationalist counter-revolution ... .

In the Azerbaidzhan Constitution the version is practically the same except that the "nationalist counter-revolution" is not identified with any one group as it is done in the Armenian Constitution.

## Chapter II: the State Structure

In the Azerbaidzhan Constitution Article 13 deals with the constituent units in the republic, merely mentioning the autonomous republic and the region within its jurisdiction. In the

642 Georgian Constitution Article 14 describes in detail the duties and functions of officials in the social, political and cultural spheres in such units in the Georgian SSR. The Armenian Constitution, for reasons given above, has nothing under this head. What is included in the Georgian Constitution under Article 14 on the functions and duties of the government, is covered under Article 18 of the Armenian Constitution, and under Article 19 of the Azerbaidzhan Constitution.

Chapter III: the Higher Organs of State Power

642 646 Article 21 of the Armenian Constitution provides that the members of the Armenian Supreme Soviet be elected for a term of four years, on the basis of one deputy for "every 5,000 of the population". In the Azerbaidzhan Constitution (Article 25) this provision calls for one deputy for every 10,000 inhabitants, while according to the Georgian Constitution (Article 29) there is to be one deputy for every 642 15,000 inhabitants. The Presidium of the 643 Supreme Soviet of the Armenian SSR is made up of 13 members (Article 28); the same number holds for the Azerbaidzhan SSR (Article 31), but the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Georgian SSR is composed of 17 members (Article 34).

642 Chapter IV: the Organs of State Administration

645 All three constitutions enumerate the ministries in the Council of Ministers of

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the respective republics. The list of the Azerbaidzhan SSR is longest with 32 ministries, including the chairman and two vice chairmen; the Armenian SSR has 29 ministries (there aré no ministries for forestry, fish industry, and state farms), while the Georgian SSR has 30 (no ministries for fish industry, and for state farms). There are in all three constitutions two categories of ministries: Union-Republic ministries, and Republic ministries. The number of the first group varies, but that of the second group remains more or less constant; there are 6 of these in nearly all republics. The Armenian SSR has (according to Article 53) 18 Union-Republic ministries; the Grorgian SSR (Article 55 of its Constitution) has 19, while the Azerbaidzhan SSR has 21 (Article 55).

Chapter V of the Armenian Constitution (Articles 55-76 as well as Chapters VIII of the Azerbaidzhan (Articles 86-105) and of the Georgian Constitution (Articles 84-111) are devoted to the "local organs of state power". In both the Azerbaidzhan and Georgian Constitutions these chapters are more detailed and longer than what is found in the Armenian Constitution. It is interesting to note that by Article 71 of the Armenian Constitution the Ministry of Internal Affairs is empowered to set up "its own administration under the district Soviets of Working People's Deputies in

7: Columbia U. S-4,5 1956 RH1 Caucasia RH1

642 accordance with the conditions of the district
645 ..." The same is found in the Georgian Constitution (Article 103), while according to the Azerbaidzhan Constitution (Article 101) this work devolves upon the Ministry of Internal Affairs and the Ministry of State Security.

642 692 Chapter VII of the Armenian Constitution (Articles 81-92) as well as Chapters X of the Azerbaidzhan (Articles 110-124) and of the Georgian (Articles 117-130) Constitutions deal with the courts and the procurator's office. Article 86 of the Armenian Constitution states that court proceedings are to be conducted in Armenian, and when necessary in the Russian and Azerbaidzhan languages. The Azerbaidzhan Constitution (Article 117) is just as explicit on this matter: proceedings are to be conducted in Azerbaidzhan, and when necessary in the Russian and Armenian languages. But the provision under this head in the Georgian Constitution (Article 124) is not set forth as explicitly. Therein the said Article reads:

> Judicial proceedings in the Georgian SSR are conducted in the Georgian language, or in the languages of the Autonomous Republics or of the Autonomous Region, persons not knowing these languages being guaranteed the opportunity of fully acquainting themselves with the material in the case through an interpreter and likewise the right to use their own language in court.

000 This is rather striking in the Constitution of Stalin's native land.

642 641 Chapter VIII of the Armenian Constitution (Articles 93-108) as well as Chapters XI of Azerbaidzhan (Articles 125-140) and of the Georgian (Articles 131-146) Constitutions deal with the fundamental rights and duties of citizens. There appears, in all three constitutions, the following striking statement: "Freedom of religious worship and freedom of anti-religious propaganda is recognized for all citizens." The separation of church and state is also mentioned, but no mention is made of mosques in the Azerbaidzhan Constitution.

642 Chapter X of the Armenian Constitution (Articles 119-122) and Chapter XIII of the Georgian Constitution (Articles 156-161) deal with the official language, the coat of arms, flags, etc. of the respective republics, and the corresponding chapter in the Azerbaidzhan Constitution (Articles 151-153) does the same but the official language is not mentioned at all.

In attempting to set forth certain peculiarities found in the three Caucasian Constitutions against those found in other Soviet Socialist republic constitutions, only striking, important peculiarities will be noted.

On the attainment of their Soviet socialist goals, both the Armenian and the Azerbaidzhan Constitutions, as stated above, refer to the "national oppression of tsarism and of the Russian imperialist bourgeoisie,

642 and the defeat of the nationalist counter-revolution..." The Georgian Constitution, on the other hand, as well as that of RSFSR, Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania and Moldavia, makes no reference to tsarist oppression and the Russian imperialist bourgeoisie, while all others do, including the Karelo-Finnish Constitution. The omission of any such reference from the Constitutions of Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania and Moldavia seems valid enough (they all were created in 1940), but its absence in the Constitutions of RSFSR and Georgia is difficult to understand and interpret. Here one encounters an anomaly based on unreality. Under this head, and with reference to nationalist counter-revolutionaries, in all of these Constitutions except where no reference to them occurs, these counter-revolutionaries are denominated as "nationalist." But in the Armenian and Kirghiz Constitutions they are specifically named as "Dashnaks" and "feudal bai". This is. in some sense. unusual.

The three Caucasian Constitutions make no reference to small peasant holdings and private trade; nor do any of the Constitutions of the other 11 original republics, but in these of the 4 post-World War II republics (Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania and Moldavia) small private industry and trade, as well as small land holdings by the peasants were permitted, at least on paper. No reference is made to such matters in the Karelo-Finnish SSR Constitution.

642 With reference to official languages, it was observed that only the Armenian and Georgian Constitutions stated that Armenian and Georgian were the official languages in these respective republics. These two seem to be the instances where this matter is specifically dealt with by constitutional provision; all other Constitutions are silent on this matter. As to the language or languages in which laws and decrees may be published, or the languages in use in court proceedings, peculiarities exist. The Armenian and Azerbaidzhan Constitutions call for the publication of laws in the Armenian, Azerbaidzhan and Russian languages. In the Constitutions of the Belorussian, Estonian, Karelo-Finnish, Kazakh, Latvian, Lithuanian, Kirghiz, Moldavian, Tadzhik, Turkmen, Ukrainian and Uzbek republics their publication in Russian, in addition to the language of the given republic, is made mandatory. These same Constitutions also call for the use of the Russian language as an alternative language in court proceedings. But the story told in the Constitutions of Georgia and of RSFSR is different. In these republics laws are to be published only in Georgian and in Russian and court proceedings are also conducted in Georgian and in Russian. This is another startling peculiarity, especially in the case of Georgia.

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646 The most common and varying peculiarity is, of course, the basis of the number of deputies each SSR republic is to have in its Supreme Soviet. Here the number varies from one for each 150,000 inhabitants (in RSFSR) to one for each 5,000 inhabitants (in the Armenian, Karelo-Finnish, Kirghiz, Tadzhik and Turkmen republics). In the Azerbaidzhan SSR the ratio is one for each 10,000, and in the Georgian SSR, one for every 15,000 inhabitants.

642 There are also such minor peculiarities as in the distinctive features in coats of arm, flags, etc., and of course the fact that each has its own principal city as its capital. It is also worth noting that in the Constitutions of the three Central Asian republics (Kazakh, Turkmen and Uzbek) the separation of schools from mosques and other religious institutions is mentioned. In the Azerbaidzhan Constitution (Article 131), however, the word "church" in place of "mosque" is used.

Article 16 of the USSR Constitution (English translation published in Moscow, 1954) states that the constitution of the republics "takes account of the specific features of the Republic andis drawn up in full conformity with the Constitution of the U.S.S.R." This general but rigid conformity with the USSR Constitution is most striking throughout all the constitutions examined, and the few peculiarities allowed to creep into them have been enumerated above.

21: Kolarz J-4 (no date) 1952 R1 Soviet Union R1
[Adige] Caucasia RH1



[Cherkess]

Ca. 175 that Russia would not fight for the barren Caucasus mountains if she were really as great and mighty as was sometimes asserted by some mountaineers who had seen her immensity and later returned to their own people.[1]

## THE FIRST EXODUS OF THE MOUNTAINEERS

Ca. 175 167 The mountaineers of the Western Caucasus – the Circassians or the Adyge – who had lived close to the shores of the Black Sea, occupied particularly important strategic positions. In every war which Russia waged against Turkey the fearless Circassians had constituted a grave menace in the immediate rear of the Russian Caucasus front. The alternatives, from the Russian point of view, therefore, could only be either the total surrender or the total annihilation of the Circassians. As only a minority of the Circassians were ready to accept surrender, a mass migration of the Circassians to Turkey appeared the only possible 'solution', both to the Russian conquerors and the Circassians themselves, whose indomitable spirit of freedom could not be reconciled with Russian rule.

Thus between 1861 and 1864 about 500,000 Circassians left the Caucasus; but owing to starvation, disease and the hardships of the journey in overcrowded vessels, it is said that only half of them ever reached Turkey alive. Referring to this trek of the Circassians a semi-official Russian publication admitted that 'a calamity of such proportions has rarely befallen humanity'.[2] This great exodus of the Circassians disposed of the problem of nationalities in large areas of the western part of the North Caucasus region and opened them up to Russian, Ukrainian and Armenian colonization.

After the departure of the Circassians a great deal still remained to be done in the North Caucasus region from a Russian national point of view. Although thousands of Chechens, Nogai Tartars and Ossetins had likewise participated in the great exodus, these and other peoples of the Central and Eastern Caucasus continued to be a source of uneasiness to the Russian State. Complete Russian victory over the rebellious mountaineers was achieved only under the Soviet régime.

## THE ADMINISTRATIVE CHAOS IN THE SOVIET CAUCASUS

S.U. 634 563 Ca. 642 The Russian communist leaders came to the Northern Caucasus with progressive ideas and plans for raising the material and cultural level of its peoples. The Soviet Government was originally even determined to give the small mountain peoples a chance to combine their forces and thus become a political factor of some importance. In accordance with the wishes of the more advanced mountaineers the Soviet Government decided that there should be one United Northern Caucasus

21: Kolarz J-4 (no date) 1952 R1 Soviet Union R1
Caucasia RH1



Republic aggregating approximately 1,500,000 inhabitants. This Republic – officially called 'Autonomous Mountain Socialist Soviet Republic' – (Gorskaya A.S.S.R.) – was formed by a decree of January 20th, 1920. Its capital was the city of Vladikavkaz. The Republic* comprised no fewer than seven different Caucasian peoples: Kabardinians, Chechens, Circassians (Cherkess), Ingush, Ossetins, Balkars and Karachay.

In its original form the Mountain Republic remained in being for only about twenty months. The Russian communist rulers apparently felt that the promotion of unity among the North Caucasus peoples was not in the interest of Soviet centralism and that it was safer to have them split up again into several single units. The disintegration of the Mountain Republic started in September 1921 when the Kabardinians were given a special Autonomous Province. In January 1922 three more peoples seceded from the Republic. The Balkars were made to join the Kabardinian Autonomous Province and the Karachay and the Cherkess were given a joint Autonomous Province. In December 1922 the Chechens were induced to set up an Autonomous Province of their own, which left only the Ossetins and the Ingush, in the Mountain Republic. In July 1924 both these peoples were endowed with separate territorial units of their own. The experiment of a united North Caucasus Republic was thus finally terminated. Administrative changes in the Northern Caucasus continued even after the end of the Mountain Republic. In April 1926 the Karachay-Cherkess Autonomous Province was divided into two provinces; and in January 1934 the Ingush merged with the Chechens into a single Autonomous Province.

The autonomy which the Northern Caucasus peoples had enjoyed existed very largely on paper. In reality they were administered up to 1934 from Rostov, the capital of the huge North Caucasus Territory, which was almost as large as Great Britain and Eire combined. The Executive Committee of the North Caucasus Territory (Krayispolkom) was entitled to overrule any decisions taken by the various Autonomous Provinces. In 1934 the Soviet bureaucracy administering the multinational parts of the North Caucasus region moved from Rostov to Vladikavkaz. Only in December 1936 did the mountaineers gain a greater say in the management of their affairs through the transformation of three Autonomous Provinces into Republics (Kabardinian-Balkar A.S.S.R., Chechen-Ingush A.S.S.R. and Northern Ossetin A.S.S.R.).

The repeated shifting of the Northern Caucasus peoples from one territorial unit to another had left untouched the real problem: how to make the mountaineers into reliable Soviet citizens and how to associate them with the socialist transformation of society. The continual changes in the administrative boundaries had hindered rather than encouraged these tasks. They had rendered particularly difficult the recruiting of administrative personnel from among the local peoples and the intro-

* [Cf. category 642, p. 182 -- Analyst]

THE NORTH CAUCASUS PEOPLES

S.U. 631 523 Ca. 692 E47

duction of their languages for official use. In other words, the Soviet nationalities policy in the Northern Caucasus remained unsuccessful, and an endless stream of statements, ordinances and recommendations issued by the Presidium of the Central Executive Committee (TsIK) in Moscow had been unable to remedy the situation to any major extent. On May 10th, 1931, for instance, TsIK circulated a decree to the effect that Soviet nationalities policy in the Northern Caucasus should operate at a quicker pace. The decree stipulated that by the end of 1932 at least 70 per cent of officials in the Autonomous Provinces should be recruited from among the local nationalities, and that local languages should be introduced into the administration. On July 5th, 1934, TsIK issued a statement recognizing that the decree put into force over three years earlier had remained a dead letter. A further decree which Kalinin signed on January 7th, 1936, again denounced the non-implementation of the Soviet nationalities policy in the Northern Caucasus and revealed that the Russian language dominated everywhere in local government bodies, from the provincial administration down to the village councils. Of 1,310 officials in the Northern Caucasus Territory only seventeen belonged to the mountain peoples. According to the new decree the local languages were supposed to come into official use in 1936 and 1937, but it is open to doubt whether that order had any greater practical results than its predecessors.

THE SECOND EXODUS OF THE MOUNTAINEERS

Ca. 669 S.U. 687 672

The Russo-German War fully revealed the discrepancy existing between propaganda and reality with regard to conditions in the Northern Caucasus. One could hardly find a better example of the former than the optimistic and distorted picture which Mikhail Kalinin gave in October 1942 when the German troops were approaching the Caucasus Mountains. Kalinin then said: 'The Caucasus is the most enlightening demonstration of the reforming, beneficial effect of the Soviet sytem on the psychology and character of people who, not without reason, saw danger to themselves everywhere. The Caucasians have now become a social people who see in the collective system their bulwark, the foundation of material prosperity and a higher intellectual life. . . . The whole Caucasus has become one mountain village for its peoples. The whole Soviet land, from border to border, has become their beloved home. National enmity has given way to mutual understanding, estrangement to co-operation. . . . Is not everything that has taken place in the Caucasus during the twenty-five years of Soviet power a miracle? Yes, it is a miracle. It is that for which Lenin fought all his life, that for which Stalin fought and is fighting, that to which our party has always aspired.' And Kalinin went on to say that the peoples of the Northern Caucasus were

21: Kolarz J-4 (no date) 1952 R1 Soviet Union R1
Caucasia RH1
[Osset]



territory comprising 1,200 square miles was a national triumph for Georgia, for it enabled her, for the first time, to spread out to the north of the Caucasus. S.U. 563 634

## A 'GOOD' PEOPLE – THE OSSETINS

After the expulsion of the Chechens from their homeland the Ossetins became the largest mountain people of the Northern Caucasus. In 1939 there were altogether 354,000 Ossetins in the U.S.S.R. of whom slightly less than two-thirds lived in the Autonomous Republic of Northern Ossetia, with which we are here primarily concerned, and about one-third in the Southern Ossetin Autonomous Province of Georgia. The two Ossetin territories adjoin each other and it would have been logical to amalgamate them into a single Autonomous Republic. Representatives of the two Ossetias went to Moscow in October 1925 to discuss the unification of their people with the Soviet central Government and personally with Stalin whose own mother is of Ossetin origin. This discussion which is briefly referred to in the seventh volume of Stalin's complete works, was inconclusive. The unification of the Ossetins would have been possible only at the expense of Georgia and the Kremlin was apparently not prepared to harm the interests of one of the constituent republics of the U.S.S.R. for the sake of a minor nationality. Ca. 101 [162] 642 S.U. 563 631

Czarist and Bolshevik authorities agree in their appraisal of the comparatively peaceful and placid Ossetins, no less than in their judgment on the turbulent Chechens. Of course, both régimes had encountered difficulties among the Ossetins, too, but never on the same scale as in the case of other Caucasus mountain peoples. Ca. 181

Czarist Russia started the conquest of the Ossetins in the period of Catherine II and skilfully exploited the class differences among them as well as their hostility toward their western neighbours – the Kabardinians. Many Ossetins considered the establishment of Russian rule as a safeguard against the danger of attacks by more warlike mountain peoples. Ossetin folk-songs of the early epoch of Russian conquest reflect a pro-Russian spirit and state unequivocally that living under Russian rule was identical to living in peace. Ca. 175 177

The Ossetins appreciated that Russian occupation and protection enabled them to settle in the plain from which they had been driven by the Kabardinians. Part of that re-settlement had already started in the second half of the eighteenth century. The major part of the re-settlement action was, however, carried out much later, between the twenties and the forties of the nineteenth century.

The Ossetins were of use to Russia not only as settlers, but also as soldiers. As early as the last years of the eighteenth century a number of Ossetin officers distinguished themselves in Prince Potemkin's army in

population. In short, Tiflis was designated to avenge the defeat which 665
democratic socialism had suffered in Petrograd and Moscow.

The liquidation by military action of Menshevik Georgia under these S.U.
circumstances† became a vital necessity from the point of view of the 648
Bolshevik leaders. By establishing Soviet power in Georgia they attained several aims simultaneously. In Russia proper Bolshevik prestige was greatly enhanced by the fact that a province of the Czarist Empire had been recovered. The British Empire was embarrassed by Russia's enlargement of her access to the Middle East. More important than all this was the blow inflicted by the young Soviet State on 'World Menshevism', which led to a strengthening of the Russian grip on certain sections of the working-class of Western Europe.

## STALIN'S FIGHT AGAINST 'NATIONAL' BOLSHEVISM

The proclamation of the Georgian Soviet Republic was a victory for S.U.
Bolshevism, but, as yet, not for Stalin personally, since the original 6
leaders of the Georgian Communist Party were hostile to Stalin and to 643
his views on Georgia's future within the framework of the Soviet Union. Ge.
Those Georgian Bolsheviks who took over the Tiflis Government after 665
the collapse of Menshevik rule considered Stalin as a kind of renegade, because he had completely stripped himself of any Georgian national feeling and was determined to uphold against the Georgians the interests of the central power, which were ultimately Russian interests. Knowing his Georgian compatriots, Stalin feared that even the Georgian communists would strive for a measure of independence detrimental to Soviet centralism. He felt that the Georgian people with its strong historical state traditions and occupying the largest single territory of Soviet Transcaucasia needed to be more thoroughly watched than the Armenians or the Azerbaidzhani Turks.

It was always Stalin who insisted on curtailing the powers of the S.U.
Georgian Bolsheviks while Lenin and other Bolshevik leaders of the 631
early period were prepared to grant them far-reaching freedom within 563
the Soviet framework. It was also Stalin's idea to press the Georgians Ge.
into a Transcaucasian Soviet Federation in order to keep them better 642
under control. Such a Transcaucasian Federation might have been a Ca.
commendable solution for a *rapprochement* between Georgians, 631
Armenians and Azerbaidzhani Turks; it might have even become a 642
means for creating a united front of the three peoples against Moscow centralism. Stalin's intervention, however, brought a different sort of federation into being. For Stalin, federation was no end in itself, but just a temporary instrument of Soviet policy to be cast aside after its aim had been achieved. At a time when Soviet centralism was not strong enough to rule Georgians, Armenians and Azerbaidzhanis from

† [Cf. category 635, p. 226 for continuity -- Analyst]

21: Kolarz J-4 (no date) 1952 R1 Soviet Union R1
Georgia R11
Caucasia RH2



S.U. 631 563 Ge. 642 Ca. 631 642

Moscow, the Transcaucasian Federation was an intermediate agency by which the national sovereignty of the three republics could be limited. The cabinet of the Transcaucasian S.F.S.R. included ministers for agriculture, home affairs, home trade, finance, and local industry as well as the Chairman of the Transcaucasian State Planning Commission, who was usually a Russian. The existence of the Transcaucasian Federation enabled the Russian communists generally to play the role of arbiters.

Ge. 665 [642]

The Georgian communists felt the weight of the Transcaucasian Federation more than anybody else, for the headquarters of the federal government were in Tiflis. The recognized leaders of the Georgian communists, like Budu Mdivani and Philip Makharadze, energetically opposed Stalin's federation manœuvre and wanted Georgia to become a direct member state of the U.S.S.R., which in their view should be but a loose federation. The ideal solution which they aimed at was, however, to have no Soviet Union at all, but to be linked with the Russian communists only through the Communist International.

In the early twenties the Georgian communists showed many signs of an independent policy, confirming Stalin's anxiety as to the future relationship between Georgia and the Soviet State as a whole. If Georgia could not be independent from Moscow, they wanted her to keep at least as many prerogatives of an independent State as possible. Thus they resisted Russian control over the Georgian railways and ignored the foreign trade monopoly of the Moscow Government by concluding contracts with foreign companies directly. In doing so they were in accord with the recommendation which Lenin had given to the Transcaucasian communists shortly after the formation of Soviet Georgia. This is what Lenin had advised: 'Make the utmost intense and speedy economic use of the capitalist West by means of a policy of concessions and by commercial intercourse. . . .'[22] Soviet Georgia also wanted to maintain an independent attitude in relation to the other Transcaucasian Soviet Republics and their subjects. Thus certain categories of Armenians and Azerbaidzhanis were ordered to leave the Georgian Soviet Republic so that the country might assume a more homogeneous national character. Georgian women marrying citizens of other Soviet republics lost their Georgian nationality. The central Government in Moscow declared all these discriminatory practices null and void.

Ge [641]

Despite all appearances the Georgian communists were by no means chauvinists. They knew only too well that their régime was unpopular and that they had to maintain themselves in power by making concessions in every possible direction, including concessions to nationalist feelings. When taking over the Georgian Government in February 1921 the Bolsheviks claimed a membership of 20,000, of whom about one-half were expelled from the party almost immediately after the

5: Allen H-4 (no date) 1923 RH1 Caucasia RH1



## V

## NATIONALISM AND SOCIAL REVOLUTION, 1811–1917

175 THE tendencies and results, good and bad, of the Russian system are demonstrated in the history of Russian rule in the Caucasus. The Russians at the beginning of the nineteenth century assumed control of a country whose condition was possibly more anarchical than that of any other part of Asia, whose population was being gradually exterminated by war, plague and famine, whose political organisation and culture had almost collapsed into utter ruin and whose economic possibilities had been completely neglected.

Firstly they gave to the Transcaucasus a military security which it had never before enjoyed. For a hundred years no hostile army approached Tiflis. Consequently it may be claimed that the Russian régime not only gave to the Georgians and Armenians the possibility of developing national prosperity in peace, but preserved those peoples from the virtual extinction which has been the fate of the Armenians and other Christian races whose country lies beyond the Russian borders.

175 565 Secondly, Russian rule tended to improve the condition of the individual. The aristocracy, who during the period of Persian hegemony had led lives of idle luxury and undignified subservience to their Mussulman lords, found careers, which were at least healthier and wider, in service in the Russian Army and Civil Service. The peasants, whose lot still left much to be desired, gained on the one hand by the abolition of serfdom within the Russian Empire (1864), on the other by the increased prosperity which followed the development of communications, the establishment of schools and the introduction of modern methods of agriculture. And there developed a prosperous middle-class, for the most part Armenian and Russian, whose political rôle in the Caucasus became increasingly important.

Lastly, the peace imposed by Russian arms permitted the development of the economic resources of the country, with its subsequent general increase of prosperity and population.

643 631 But the inherent shortcomings of Russian rule were productive of grave troubles. The administrative policy was one of centralisation. Until 1882 the Caucasus was ruled by a Viceroy nominated by the Tsar and possessing supreme civil

5: Allen H-4 (no date) 1923 RH1 Caucasia RH1

[1811 - 1917]



643 power, which gave him in effect the position of an autocratic
631 monarch during the period of his viceroyalty. From 1882 to 1905 the administration was yet further centralised by the substitution for the Viceroy of a Governor-General, directly controlled by a Caucasian Committee at St. Petersburg. A civil Governor subordinate to the Viceroy or Governor-General ruled each Province, with the exception of those of Daghestan, Sukhum, Batum and Kars, where the Governor was a military officer. The Provinces were divided into districts, governed by officials bearing the title *nachalnik*, and the districts were divided into communes (*volost*), where the chief authority was a native elder (*volostnoi starshina*) elected by the community and assisted by a headman of each village (*starosh*). With regard to the law, small cases were tried by local magistrates; those involving more than 2,000 roubles by Russian judges in the district courts.

186 It will thus be seen that while the Russian administrative
469 machine provided for a degree of local autonomy, the natives had no influence on the conduct of Caucasian or even of provincial affairs. But this system was suitable enough to the mass of the peasantry who, under native rule, had lain in still deeper servitude. The Tatar peasantry, particularly, after the termination of the national struggle for independence, reconciled themselves to Russian rule. The Georgian aristocracy, still inspired by some glimmerings of sentimental patriotism, and resenting at once the supremacy of the Russian bureaucracy, the decline of their own feudal powers, and the steady growth of an Armenian bourgeoisie, alone of all the elements in the Transcaucasus continued to foster a vivid resentment against the existing régime. The Russian policy of Russification, the chief incidents of which were the subjecting of the Georgian Autocephalous Church to the Holy Synod (1811) and the abolition of the autonomy of Svanetia (1833) and of Mingrelia (1867), roused them more than once to sporadic revolt. Thus risings, partly nationalist and partly agrarian in character, in which members of the nobility led the peasant bands, took place at different dates—in Imeretia (1821), in Guria (1822) and in Mingrelia (1857).

538 During the same period, and parallel with the political
186 discontent, the patriotic literary revival, initiated during the previous century by Vakhtang VI and Prince Vakhusht, was developed, and a school arose of aristocratic journalists and poets, chief of whom were Alexander and Ilia Chavchavadze, Giorgi Eristavi (a Decabrist), Grigor Orbelian and Ivané

5: Allen H-4 (no date) 1923 RH1 Caucasia RH1

[1811 - 1917]



and at Batum there was trouble between the Gurian and Mingrelian workmen and the Ajars, whom the authorities proposed to employ as "blacklegs." Finally, there was a serious Armeno-Tatar outbreak at Tiflis (December 1905), and for a time the city was threatened by Tatar bands who had advanced from the Borchalu district. On the countryside the troubles assumed still more serious proportions. The Guriel[1] and Prince Eristavi were murdered on their estates, and many landowners were forced to take to flight. The railway-line was cut at various points and troop-trains were wrecked. At Ozurgeti the "Gurian Republic" was proclaimed. For several months the Government lost all control of the country between Kutais and Batum. At last, in the first months of 1906, the reaction having triumphed in Russia, a powerful force of Cossacks under the Tatar General Alikhanov marched through Mingrelia, Imeretia and Guria, and suppressed the insurrection after some difficult fighting. 669

The revolutionary movement as a whole had failed, but its suppression indicated but the end of a phase in the struggle, and, for the Caucasus, it had not been without its meagre results. The Viceroyalty was revived, and the Caucasus was accorded twenty-nine seats in the Duma.[2] The Socialists did not—as in Russia proper—boycott the elections to the first Duma, to which were elected their most prominent representatives, Jordania, Irakli Tsereteli and G. Makharadze. 643 666

The tribes of the Northern Caucasus were naturally little affected by the revolutionary movement in Russia. But the old free spirit still survived in the mountain auls in spite of the bitter suffering and ruin of Shamil's wars. The Russo-Turkish War of 1877–8 had come too soon to rouse an active response among the exhausted tribes, but in the last decade of the nineteenth century the governmental policy of expropriating the mountaineers from the most fertile districts in favour of Cossack immigrants began to revive the warlike spirit. In 1898 a serious outbreak occurred among the Chechens, and four years later the Ossets rose. The disturbances of 1904–6 occasioned a recrudescence of the old raiding habits of the mountaineers. Trains were wrecked along the railway from Vladikavkaz to Baku, and bands of Ingush Chechens threatened the environs of Vladikavkaz and Grozni. But with the reaction in Russia, order was restored in the mountains. The tribesmen in reality retained little of their former strength. The best 669

[1] Chief Prince of Guria.
[2] Reduced to nineteen at the elections for the Third Duma.

 ½ [see cat. 116, pp 207-9 -- Analyst]

642 Georgian Constitution Article 14 describes in detail the duties and functions of officials in the social, political and cultural spheres in such units in the Georgian SSR. The Armenian Constitution, for reasons given above, has nothing under this head. What is included in the Georgian Constitution under Article 14 on the functions and duties of the government, is covered under Article 18 of the Armenian Constitution, and under Article 19 of the Azerbaidzhan Constitution.

Chapter III: the Higher Organs of State Power

642 646 Article 21 of the Armenian Constitution provides that the members of the Armenian Supreme Soviet be elected for a term of four years, on the basis of one deputy for "every 5,000 of the population". In the Azerbaidzhan Constitution (Article 25) this provision calls for one deputy for every 10,000 inhabitants, while according to the Georgian Constitution (Article 29) there is to be one deputy for every 642 15,000 inhabitants. The Presidium of the 643 Supreme Soviet of the Armenian SSR is made up of 13 members (Article 28); the same number holds for the Azerbaidzhan SSR (Article 31), but the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Georgian SSR is composed of 17 members (Article 34).

642 645 Chapter IV: the Organs of State Administration

All three constitutions enumerate the ministries in the Council of Ministers of

665 2 Bagdasarian, O. M.
Member of CC CP Arm. SSR, 17.-18. s'ezd, 1954, 1956
Editor of Sovetakan Aiastan

Kom. Er. 1/22/56, 1/21/56

2 Bagdasarian, S. B.
Member CC CP Arm. SSR, 18. s'ezd, 1956

Kom. Er. 1/22/56

665 643 3 Bagirov, Mir Dzhafar Abbasovich, 17. Sept. 1896- in Kuba (Baku province) 1st sect. CC CP Azerb.; deputy VS SSSR 1.-3. sozyv; member of presidium of VS SSSR. Wrote Iz istorii bol'shevistskoi organizatsii Baku i Azerbaidzhana. In 1946 was awarded Lenin order.

BE II 4:24

665 646 3 Bagirova, Basti Masim kyzy, 1906- Azerb. master cotton-picker. In 1946 became Geroi sotsialistich truda. Deputy to VS SSSR 1.-3. sozyv. Member of presidium CC CP Azerb. SSR, 21. s'ezd, 1956

BE II 4:25
Bak. Rab. 1/26/56

7:Columbia U. S-4, 5 1956 RH1 Caucasia
RH1

646 1 Beridze, Archil Mikhailovich
643 Adzhar. deputy Sov. Nats. VS SSSR 4. sozyv, 1954. Born in Tunadzubi, 1922- Party worker; president of presidium VS Adzhar. SSR

Bak. Rab. 3/18/54
Zar. Vost. 2/13/54

645 1 Beriia, Lavrentii Pavlovich
665 March 29, 1899-Dec. 23, 1953; born in Merkheuli, Sukhumi province. CP member since 1917. Graduated from politechn. inst. Baku in 1919. Chief of intelligence service of the Red Army in 1922. In 1931 1st sect. CC CP Gruz. SSR. 1938--people's commissar of internal affairs. Since 1945 commissar of NKVD; since July 9, 1945, called Marshal of Sovet. Soiuz. Purged Stalin's enemies in the 30-s and so rose to power. Was executed for treason himself Dec. 1953.

Wrote: K voprosu ob istorii bol'shevistskikh organizatsii v Zakavkaz'e. 7 ed. appeared in 1948.

BE II 5:22
Curr. Biogr. 1954, p. 80
NYT 1953, Dec. 24. p. 1 (obituary)

793 2 Chorekchian, Georg VI
Only asst. until 1938. 1945 he was elected Catholicos of all Armenians. Under his era much propaganda was made to induce Armenians from abroad to come back to Armenia. He was looked on by Soviet regime with tolerance for his activities in the cause of peace.

Armenian Catholicos 1955?
Khoren 1938
Bull. Inst. Munich v. 3, No. 2, Feb. 1956, 42-46.

814 1 Chubinashvili, Georgii Nikolaevich
1885- . Prof. at Tiflis univ.; historian of Georgian architecture. Protagonist of idea that Georgian architecture developed independently from Armenian influence. Wrote: Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der georgischen Baukunst, 1921.

BE I 61:698

646 1
643 Chubinidze, Miron Dmitrievich
Deputy to Sov. Nats. VS SSSR (4. s'ezd, 1954). President of Presidium VS Gruz. SSR.

Bak. Rab. 3/19/54
Internatl. Yearbk. 1955:538

7: Columbia U. S-4, 5 1956 RHI Caucasia

RHI

665 3 Dun'iamaliev, K. G.
CC CP Azerb. SSR, 20. s'ezd, 1954

536 3 Dzhabarly, Dzafar, 1899-1934
Azerb. dramatist. His best known drama is V 1905 godu; Aidyn, 1922 Iashar, 1932, Almas, 1930. Stands for emancipation of women in Azerb. Born in Khizy near Baku

BE II 14:197

665 3 Dzhafarov, A. A.
CC CP Azerb. SSR, 20. s'ezd, 1954.

643 3
665 Dzhafarov, S. M
Sect. of presidium VS SSR Azerb. (5. s'ezd, 1954) Member CC CP Azerb.

Bak. Rab. 3/10/54

814 1 Dzhanashia, Simon Nikolaevich, 1900-1947. Historian of Georgia. Deputy to VS SSSR 2. sozyv. Member of CP SSSR since 1940. Wrote dissertation on: feudalism in Georgia. Since 1943 director of Inst. istorii Akad. nauk Gruz. SSR. Wrote on genetic resemblance between Georgians and Orientals. Twice rec'd Stalin prize, 1942, 1947.

BE II 14:211

5:2
646 1 Dzhaparidze, Ucha Malakievich 1906- in Tiflis. Painter; member CP SSSR 1944- Painted portraits of Shota Rustaveli, Chavchavadze (1937), Paliashvili (1941). Beriia (1950). Most known painting: "l. maiskaia demonstratsiia v Tbilise." Deputy VS Gruz. SSR l. 3. sozyv; people's artist of Georgia. Studied under Toidze, Lansere.

BE II 14:214

815 1 Dzhavakhishvili, Aleksandr Nikolaevich, 1875-
Geographer and anthropologist; member of Akad. nauk Gruz. SSR. Organized cartography inst. Wrote Antropologiia Gruzii, 1908-1914, in 2 vols. Also: Geografiia Gruzii in 1926.

BE II 14:198

643
665 1 Dzhavakhishvili, Givi Dmitrievich Premier of Georgia. Member CC CP SSSR 1956 - (20. s'ezd) Member Sov. Soiuz, VS SSSR 1954- (4. s'ezd)

NYT 2/27/56
Bak. Rab. 3/18/54
Zar. Vost. 2/17/54

7: Columbia U. S-4, 5 1956 RH1 Caucasia
RH1

814 1
646 Dzhavakhishvili, Ivan Aleksandrovich, 1876-1940
Georgian historian. Wrote on Armenian-Georgian philology in his dissertation. Was among organizers Georgian university. Deputy to VS SSSR. Wrote also: Osnovnye voprosy istorii gruzinsk. iazyka.

BE II 14:198

645 1 Dzhibladze, G. N.
Minister of education Gruz. SSR, 1954

Zar. Vost. 2/18/54

377 1 Dzhigaur, Georgii Mikhailovich
Stalin prize 2. class, 1950 chief specialist of hydrotechnical research of Tiflis Gidroenergoproekt.

Laur. Stalin. prem. 1950
p. 44

646 1 Dzhokhadze, Mariia Nikolaevich
Deputy to Sov. Soiuz VS SSSR
(4. s'ezd, 1954)

Bak. Rab. 2/18/54

643 1 Dzhugashvili
see Stalin, Iosif Vissarionovich
[cf. cat. 116, pp. 804-805 -- Analyst]

646 1 Gegeshidze, Georgii Andreevich
Deputy to Sov. Soiuz VS SSSR
(4. s'ezd, 1954)

Bak. Rab. 2/18/54

646 1
533 Georgadze, Leila Mikhailovna
Deputy to Sov. Nats. VS SSSR
(4. s'ezd, 1954) Born in Tiflis,
1924- ; singer; graduated from
Saradzhishvili conservatorium;
presently with the Tiflis Paliashvili
opera & theater.

Bak. Rab. 2/19/54
Zar. Vost. 2/13/54

646 1
643 Georgadze, Mikhail Porfi'evich
Deputy to Sov. Nats. VS SSSR
(4. s'ezd, 1954) 1st deputy president
of Georgia. Minister of agriculture
of Georgia.

Bak. Rab. 2/19/54
Zar. Vost. 2/17/54

646 5 Gerasimov, Sergei Appolinarievich
Adyg. deputy Sov. Nats. VS SSSR
4. sozyv, 1954

Pravda 3/18/54

7:Columbia U. S-4,5 1956 RH1 Caucasia
RH1

646
643
538 3 Ibragimov, Mirza Azhdar ogly (born in 1911- no place found) Deputy to Sov. Nats. VS SSSR (4. sozyv, 1954) President of Presidium VS Azerb. SSR since 1954- President of Soiuz sovet. pisat. Azerb. Member of CC CP Azerb. SSR 20-21 s'ezd 1954, 1956. Philologian, writer; member of Akad. nauk Azerb. SSR. Dramas: Khaiat (1937), Madrid (1938), Nastupit den' (1948; rec'd Stalin prize for it in 1951).

Bak. Rab. 3/19/54 and 3/10/54; 2/28/54, 1/26/56, 12/28/55

Laur. Stalin. prem. 1950 p. 66

646 1 Ignitian, Sergei Mezovich Deputy to Sov. Nats. VS SSSR (4. s'ezd, 1954)

Bak. Rab. 2/19/54

665 3 Ignatov, I. P. Member of presidium CC CP Azerb. SSR, 21. s'ezd, 1956

Bak. Rab. 1/26/56

646 665 3 Karasev, Aleksandr Petrovich
Deputy to Sov. Nats. VS SSSR (4. sozyv, 1954). Member of CC CP Azerb. SSSR

Bak. Rab. 3/19/54

533 1 Karashvili, Andrei Nikolaevich
1857-1925. Georgian composer; wrote 1st Georgian quartet based on folk melody.

BE II 20:144

646 5 Kardanov, Adam Aisovich
Cherkes. deputy Sov. Nats. VS SSSR 4. sozyv, 1954.

Pravda 3/18/54

645 665 3 Kasim-Zade, Enver Ali ogly
Minister of civilian housing, Azerb. 1954. Member of CC CP Azerb. SSR.

Bak. Rab. 3/10/54

665 646 643 3 Kasumov, Mir Bashir Fattakh ogly
1879-1949. Born in Tebriz. Party organizer; revolutionary member of CP Azerb. SSR. 1920-21 head of Baku worker-peasant inspection.

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1935-7 people's commissar of Azerb. social security. Deputy to VS SSSR 1. -2. sozyv. 1938-1948 president of VS Azerb. SSR presidium.

BE II 20:346

645 3

Kasumov, Salim Kasumovich
Minister of local industry, Azerb. 1954.

Bak. Rab. 3/10/54

669 2

Katanian, R. P.
One of the signers of a letter to Pravda. One of the old members of the 1905 revolution, formerly described in Soviet propaganda as the chief of "nationalist opposition" group in Armenia. For almost a generation his name had not appeared in the official press.

NYT 3/12/56

669 3(1?)
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Kavtaradze, S. I.
(no dates, place) Order of Lenin, of Red Labor flag. Educated in Leningr. Univ. (law degree). Engaged in revolutionary work in Baku 1903. On editorial staff of Pravda 1913-14. Return to Caucasus in 1918. Chairman of the Council of People's Commissars of Georgia, 1921-22. Legal

7: Columbia U. S-4, 5 1956 RHI Caucasia RHI

643 1 Makharadze, Filipp eseevich, 1868-1941. Born in Karis-Kure. Since 1903 active among Caucasian proletariat. Translated Lenin's K derevenskoi bednote. Delegate to 2. congress of Komintern. 1921-president of Revkom of Georgia. 1938 deputy president of VS SSSR, and president of VS Gruz. SSR.

BE II 26:545

693 2 Maksudian, E. E.
State prosecutor, deputy republic prosecutor and senior legal adviser to Collegium of Armenian Supreme Court.

696 5 Mal'bakov, Timbora Kubatievich
Deputy (Kabardian) Sov. Nats. VS SSSR 4. sozyv, 1954

Pravda 3/18/54

665 3 Maliutin, A. M.
CC CP Azerb. SSR, 20. s'ezd, 1954. Editor: Bakinskii rabochii-organ tsentral'nogo i Bakinskogo komitetov kompartii Azerbaidzhana.

7: Columbia U. S-4, 5 1956 RHI CaucasiaRHI

643
665 2 Mikoian, Anastas Ivanovich
645

Nov. 25, 1895- in Sanain (Armenian village near Georgian border. 1st deputy premier (March 1955-) one of 5 in council of ministers. Member CC CP SSSR. Member Sov. Nats. VS SSSR (represents the Stalin district of Erevan) One of 9 members of the Presidium of CC CP SSSR. Graduated from Tiflis eccles. seminary in 1915. In same year joined CP. After revolution member of Baku party committee; ed. of Bakinskii Rabochii; 1926- People's Commissar of Trade of SSSR. 1930-People's Commissar of Food Supply Industry. Was in USA in 1936 where for 3 months he studied American methods of food production: subsequently introduced corn flakes, tomato juice, eskimo pie, frozen corn-on-the-cob, etc. to SSSR. 1938- People's Commissar of Foreign Trade. 1943- awarded title: Hero of Socialist labor for war efforts. After 1945 clashed with Malenkov over German reparations. Bid unsuccessfully for a $6. billion reconstruction loan from USA and led unsuccessfully effort for Russia to participate in Marshall plan (cf. Curr. Biogr.). After Stalin's death in 1953 named head of combined Ministry of Domestic & Foreign Trade. Stood for increased consumer goods production.

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Jan. 24, 1955 resigned as minister of domestic trade (construed as consequence to Russia's orientation toward heavy industry). An ice cream factory, bread-factory, and village in Armenia named after Mikoian (cf. Curr. Biogr.). Mr. Mikoian called for new textbooks of early Bolshevik history that would no longer attempt to explain some "complex and contradictory events by the allegedly subversive activity of some former party leaders who many years after the events described were wrongly declared enemies of the people." In this connection Mr. Mikoian referred particularly to Vladimir Antonov-Ovseyenko, who supervised military affairs in Lenin's first Government, and Stanislav Kosier, veteran Politburo member and former leader of the Ukrainian Bolsheviks.

NYT 2/27/56, 2/20/56
Pravda 2/18/56
Bak. Rab. 3/18/54
Current Biogr. 1955, p. 419-21
World Biogr. 1954 (5. ed) p.808
BE I 39:343-7
BE II 27:430-1

7: Columbia U. S-4, 5 1956 RHl Caucasia
RHl

816
465 3 Novruzov, Neimat Guseinovich
645 Born in Nakhichevani, 1908-
643 Engineer, cotton-expert; 1950 - minister of Azerb. cotton industry. Member of CC CCP Azerb. SSR. 1952- deputy-minister of goskontrol Azerb. SSR. 1953- president of Council of Minister Nakhichevanskaia ASSR. Unsuccessful candidate in 1954 for Sov. Nats. VS SSSR.

Bak. Rab. 2/25/54

331
3(?) Oboladze, Iraklii Onisimovich
Stalin prize 2. class, 1950, construction engineer.

Laur. Stalin. prem. 1950
p. 44

665
2 Oganesian, G. V.
Member CC CP Arm. SSR, 17. - 18. s'ezd, 1954, 1956.

Kom. Er. 1/22/56

759
2 Oganesian, L. A., 1885-
Physician, Armenian scientist.

Kom. Er. 12/20/55

RH1

643
665 3
145

Ragimov, Sadykh Gadzhi Iaralievich (1914-Balakhany); engineer Premier of Azerb. Member CC CP Azerb. 1954-1956 (20.-21. s'ezd). Member CC CP SSSR 1956- (20. s'ezd). Member Sov. Nats. VS SSSR 1954- (4. s'ezd) 1953 - min. promyshlennykh tovarov shirokogo potrebleniia Azerb.

NYT 2/27/56
Zar. Vost. 12/28/55
Bak. Rab. 3/2/54, 2/17/54, 3/19/54, 1/26/56

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Ramonov, Boris Grigor'evich Sev. Os. deputy Sov. Nats. VS SSSR 4. sozyv, 1954

Pravda 3/18/54

645
625 1

Rapava, A. N., - Nov. 22 ? 1955 Former deputy and later head People's Commissar for Int Affairs in Georgia. Executed for having conducted "terroristic annihilation of honest Soviet citizens."

NYT
Zaria Vostoka

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Rigvava, S.S. 2nd sect. of 1st plenum CC LKSM Gruz. SSR

Zar. Vost. 12/27/55

7: Columbia U. S-4, 5 1956 RHl Caucasia

RHl

646
665 2 Savoian, Andranik Israelovich
Deputy Sov. Nats. VS SSSR, 4. sozyv, 1954. Member CC CP Arm. SSR, 17.-18. s'ezd 1954, 1956

Kom. Er. 3/19/54 and 1/22/56

536 2 Sazandarian, Tatevik Tigranovna
Stalin prize 3. class for performance in opera Geroinia.

Laur. Stalin. prem. 1950
p. 80

646
665
647 3 Seidov, Gasan ogly
Deputy to Sov. Nats. VS SSSR (4. sozyv, 1954) Born in 1906- . 1937- head of Azerb. nauchno-issled. inst. khlopkovodstva in Kirovabad. 1946-2nd. sect. CC CP Azerb. SSSR; 1953- president of Gosplan Azerb. SSR. Member of CC CP Azerb. SSR, 20.-21. s'ezd, 1954, 1956

Bak. Rab. 3/19/54, 3/2/54, 1/26/56

242
643 3 Seidov, Mamed Mir Aziz ogly
645
Born in Sadarak, 1907- . Agriculture expert, partly official; deputy-president of Council of Ministers. 1954-minister of agriculture Azerb. SSR; Deputy VS Nakhichevanskaia ASSR; Unsuccessful candidate to VS SSSR (Sov. Nats., 1954)

Bak. Rab. 2/25/54

533 2 Spendiarov, Aleksandr Afanas'evich 1871-1928. Armenian composer born in Kakhovka. Studied under Rimskii-Korsakov, Glazunov. Used Armenian themes in his compositions. Almast his best opera on poem by Tumanian. First shown in Moscow in 1930, now in repertory of Erevan opera house.

BE I 52:392

643
645 1 Stalin (Dzhugashvili) Iosif Vissarionovich. Dec. 21, 1879 in Gori-March 5, 1953. Studied in Gori ecclesiastic seminary, 1888-1894. 1898 joined Rossiisk. sots. demokr. raboch. partiia of Tiflis. Met Lenin at Tammersfors in 1905; frequently imprisoned during 1903-7.

Founded Pravda in 1911, worked on revolutionary paper Brdzola (Bor'ba) with Ketskhoveli, as well as on Lenin's Iskra. 1917- Commissar of nationalities; 1922- gen. sect. CC CP SSSR; Lenin's successor as chairman of Politbureau in 1924; exiled Trotskii in 1928; purge trial of enemies in 1934-38; Marshal of SSSR in 1943; initiated the first 5 year plan; member of supreme Soviet; people's commissar for the defense of SSSR until

7: Columbia U. S-4,5 1956 RHl Caucasia
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Feb. 1947. Generalissimo in 1945; took part in Teheran (1943), Yalta (1945) Potsdam (1945) conferences. Wrote: October Revolution, Marxism and the National and Colonial Question, Leninism, Problems of Leninism, etc. Attacked at the 1956 Party congress by Krushchev.

BE I 52:535-622
BE II only X-ref. from Dzhugashvili to yet unpublished volume
Curr. Biogr. 1953, p. 584 & 1942, p. 790-7
Obituary NYT 3/6/53
International Who's Who, 1948/49, p. 1615

538
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Stal'skii, Suleiman ashug, 1869-1937 Lezgin poet; people's artist of Dagestan. Member of CC CP Dag. SSR. Born in Ashaga-Stal'. Was not educated and transmitted his songs orally, telling about the difficult life of the peasants. 1934- deputy to 1. vsesoiuz. s'ezd sovet. pisateli. Best work: Poema o Sergo. Buried in Makhachkala. His Pesnia o Staline, Krasnaia Armiia set to music.

BE I 52:670-1
BE II 13:288

532 1 Toidze, Iraklii Mosevich, 1902-
Finished Tiflis art academy in 1930. Revolutionary paintings: Podarok k oktiabriu, 1930; Stalin na Riongese, 1935; did illustrations to Rustaveli's Vitiaz' v tigrovoi shkure, for which he received Stalin prize in 1941; Stalin prize 3. class in 1950 for illustration to Istoriia Gruzii.

BE I 54: 410
Laur. Stalin. prem. 1950, p. 75

646 665 3 Tolstikov, Oleg Viktorovich
Deputy to Sov. Nats. VS SSR (4. sozyv, 1954). Member of CC CP Azerb. SSR.

Bak. Rab. 3/19/54

646 2 Topchian, E. S.
Member CC CP Arm. SSR, 18. s'ezd, 1956

Kom. Er. 1/22/56

643 204 3 Toptsibashev, M. A.
President of VS Azerb. SSR (5. s'ezd, 1954). Editor in chief of Dokl. Akad. Nauk. Azerb. SSR

Bak. Rab. 3/10/54

642 Georgian Constitution Article 14 describes in detail the duties and functions of officials in the social, political and cultural spheres in such units in the Georgian SSR. The Armenian Constitution, for reasons given above, has nothing under this head. What is included in the Georgian Constitution under Article 14 on the functions and duties of the government, is covered under Article 18 of the Armenian Constitution, and under Article 19 of the Azerbaidzhan Constitution.

Chapter III: the Higher Organs of State Power

642 646 Article 21 of the Armenian Constitution provides that the members of the Armenian Supreme Soviet be elected for a term of four years, on the basis of one deputy for "every 5,000 of the population". In the Azerbaidzhan Constitution (Article 25) this provision calls for one deputy for every 10,000 inhabitants, while according to the Georgian Constitution (Article 29) there is to be one deputy for every 642 643 15,000 inhabitants. The Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Armenian SSR is made up of 13 members (Article 28); the same number holds for the Azerbaidzhan SSR (Article 31), but the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Georgian SSR is composed of 17 members (Article 34).

642 645 Chapter IV: the Organs of State Administration

All three constitutions enumerate the ministries in the Council of Ministers of

7: Columbia U S-4, 5 1956 RHl Caucasia RHl

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the respective republics. The list of the Azerbaidzhan SSR is longest with 32 ministries, including the chairman and two vice chairmen; the Armenian SSR has 29 ministries (there aré no ministries for forestry, fish industry, and state farms), while the Georgian SSR has 30 (no ministries for fish industry, and for state farms). There are in all three constitutions two categories of ministries: Union-Republic ministries, and Republic ministries. The number of the first group varies, but that of the second group remains more or less constant; there are 6 of these in nearly all republics. The Armenian SSR has (according to Article 53) 18 Union-Republic ministries; the Grorgian SSR (Article 55 of its Constitution) has 19, while the Azerbaidzhan SSR has 21 (Article 55).

Chapter V of the Armenian Constitution (Articles 55-76 as well as Chapters VIII of the Azerbaidzhan (Articles 86-105) and of the Georgian Constitution (Articles 84-111) are devoted to the "local organs of state power". In both the Azerbaidzhan and Georgian Constitutions these chapters are more detailed and longer than what is found in the Armenian Constitution. It is interesting to note that by Article 71 of the Armenian Constitution the Ministry of Internal Affairs is empowered to set up "its own administration under the district Soviets of Working People's Deputies in

642 accordance with the conditions of the district
645 ..." The same is found in the Georgian Constitution (Article 103), while according to the Azerbaidzhan Constitution (Article 101) this work devolves upon the Ministry of Internal Affairs and the Ministry of State Security.

642 692 Chapter VII of the Armenian Constitution (Articles 81-92) as well as Chapters X of the Azerbaidzhan (Articles 110-124) and of the Georgian (Articles 117-130) Constitutions deal with the courts and the procurator's office. Article 86 of the Armenian Constitution states that court proceedings are to be conducted in Armenian, and when necessary in the Russian and Azerbaidzhan languages. The Azerbaidzhan Constitution (Article 117) is just as explicit on this matter: proceedings are to be conducted in Azerbaidzhan, and when necessary in the Russian and Armenian languages. But the provision under this head in the Georgian Constitution (Article 124) is not set forth as explicitly. Therein the said Article reads:

> Judicial proceedings in the Georgian SSR are conducted in the Georgian language, or in the languages of the Autonomous Republics or of the Autonomous Region, persons not knowing these languages being guaranteed the opportunity of fully acquainting themselves with the material in the case through an interpreter and likewise the right to use their own language in court.

645 3 Abdullaev, Abutalyb Miragaevich
Minister of kommunal'noel Khoziaistvo Azerb. 1954

Bak. Rab. 3/10/54

645 665 3 Abdullaev, Il'ias Kerim ogly
Born in Akstaf, 1913-
Member of CC CP Azerb. SSR, 20-21 s'ezd 1954, 1956. Specialist in silk production. 1950-1954 minister of agriculture in Azerb. Nakhichevan. deputy to Sov. Nats., VS SSSR, 4. sozyv, 1954

Bak. Rab. 3/2/54, 3/18/54, 1/26/56

665 3 Abdullaev, F. A.
Member of presidium CC CP Azerb. SSR, 21. s'ezd, 1956

Bak. Rab. 1/26/56

646 2(3?) Abdullaeva, Raziia Gasan kyzy
Deputy to Sov. Nats. VS SSSR, 4. sozyv, 1954

Kom. Er. 3/19/54

665 3 Abdulragimov, A. I.
CC CP Azerb. SSR, 20. s'ezd, 1954

242 3 Abdulragimov, Tagi Abragim ogly
645 Stalin prize 2. class, 1950 for new ways of producing agricultural plants, mainly cotton. Deputy Minister of vodnoe khoziaistvo Azerb. SSR, 1950

Laur. Stalin prem. 1950
p. 55

532 3 Abdurakhman, Fuad Gason ogly
Stalin prize 3. class, 1950 for his sculpture "Chaban." Born 1915- Among famous statues are: Nizami in Baku; also portraits of Bagirov, Azi Aslanov. Corresp. member of Akad. khudozh. SSSR.

Laur. Stalin prem. 1950
p. 76
BE II 1:14

814 2 Abegian, Manuk Khachaturovich
1865-1944. Armenian folklorist, linguist; Professor of Erevan univ. Wrote: Armianskie narodnye mify, 1899; Armianskii narodnyi epos, 1908; Russko-armianskii voennyi slovar' 1925; Metrika armianskogo stikha, 1933; 2 vols. of Armenian literature from V-XVIII c. (1944-46).

BE II 1:15-16

665 2 Abramian, R. T.
● 645 Member CC CP Arm. SSR. 17.-18. s'ezd, 1954, 1956. Minister of Agriculture Arm. SSR, 1956

Kom. Er. 1/22/56, 1/21/56

646 1 Abuladze, Eteri Baratalovna
Adzhar. deputy Sov. Nats. VS SSSR 4. sozyv, 1954. Born Vashlovani, 1926- No party affiliation.

Bak. Rab. 3/18/54
Zar. Vost. 2/13/54

242 3 Adibekov, Ogan Aleksandrovich
Stalin prize, 2. class, 1950 for new ways of producing agricultural plants, mainly cotton. Head of trust "Azvodstroi." (1950)

Laur. Stalin. prem. 1950
p. 55

536 2 Adzhemian, Vartan Mkrtichevich
Stalin prize, 3. class, 1950. Artist; for participation in Stepanian's opera "Geroinia."

Laur. Stalin. prem. 1950
p. 80

7: Columbia U. S-4, 5 1956 RHl Caucasia RHl

665 3 Alikhanov, E.N.
CC CP Azerb. SSR, 20. s'ezd, 1954

● 645 3 Alikperov, Aga Mekhti Salman ogly
Minister of industrial building material (1954)- Azerb.

Bak. Rab. 3/10/54

646 3 Alikulieva, Rubaba Alikuli kyzy
Nakhichev. deputy Sov. Nats. VS SSSR, 4. sozyv, 1954. Born in Garachuk, 1929 - cotton picker.

Bak. Rab. 3/18/54, 2/21/54

536 5 Alili, Mamed
Chechen 20. c. theater producer influenced by Meyerhold, Tairov.

BE I 61:535

645 4 Alimov, Tair
Deputy to Sov. Soiuz VS SSSR, 4. sozyv, 1954

Kom. Er. 3/18/54

665 2
646 Allakherian, Karapet Navasardovich
Deputy to Sov. Nats. VS SSSR, 4. sozyv, 1954. Member of CC CP Armen. SSR, 18. s'ezd, 1956

Kom. Er. 3/19/54
1/22/56

7: Columbia U. S-4,5 1956 RH1 CaucasiaRH1

538 4 Bagraev, Sozur Kurmanovich
1888-1928. Poet of Sev. Oset. oblast'. Wrote in Digor dialect Dver' serdtsa, lyric poems, 1908

BE II 4:25

701 2
646 Bagramian, Ivan Khristoforovich
1897- in Kirovabad. Began as squadron commander in Ararat valley, 1922. Finished Frunze acad. mil. in Moscow. 1941 col. in Ukraine; 1943 cracked Bryansk front; became asst. chief of Timoshenko; fought at Khar'kov. Order of Kutuzov; commander of Baltic army (the only non-Russian to command a Red Army front-Curr. Biogr.) Won victory at Vitebsk, January 27, 1944. Deputy to VS SSSR 1-3 sozyv. Deputy chief of staff 1941 1945.

BE II 4:25
Curr. Biogr. 1944, p. 27-28
Curr. Digest news 9'55, 8-10

232 2
645 Bagratian, Malkhas Galustovich
Stalin prize 3. class, 1950 for new breed of rabbits. Minister of Agriculture Arm. SSR, 1950

Laur. Stalin prem. 1950
p. 59

7:Columbia U. S-4, 5 1956 RH1 Caucasia
RH1

646 1 Beridze, Archil Mikhailovich
643 Adzhar. deputy Sov. Nats. VS SSSR 4. sozyv, 1954. Born in Tunadzubi, 1922- Party worker; president of presidium VS Adzhar. SSR

Bak. Rab. 3/18/54
Zar. Vost. 2/13/54

645 1 Beriia, Lavrentii Pavlovich
665 March 29, 1899-Dec. 23, 1953; born in Merkheuli, Sukhumi province. CP member since 1917. Graduated from politechn. inst. Baku in 1919. Chief of intelligence service of the Red Army in 1922. In 1931 1st sect. CC CP Gruz. SSR. 1938--people's commissar of internal affairs. Since 1945 commissar of NKVD; since July 9, 1945, called Marshal of Sovet. Soiuz. Purged Stalin's enemies in the 30-s and so rose to power. Was executed for treason himself Dec. 1953.

Wrote: K voprosu ob istorii bol'shevistskikh organizatsii v Zakavkaz'e. 7 ed. appeared in 1948.

BE II 5:22
Curr. Biogr. 1954, p. 80
NYT 1953, Dec. 24. p. 1 (obituary)

814 1
646 Dzhavakhishvili, Ivan Aleksandrovich, 1876-1940
Georgian historian. Wrote on Armenian-Georgian philology in his dissertation. Was among organizers Georgian university. Deputy to VS SSSR. Wrote also: Osnovnye voprosy istorii gruzinsk. iazyka.

BE II 14:198

• 645 1 Dzhibladze, G. N.
Minister of education Gruz. SSR, 1954

Zar. Vost. 2/18/54

377 1 Dzhigaur, Georgii Mikhailovich
Stalin prize 2. class, 1950 chief specialist of hydrotechnical research of Tiflis Gidroenergoproekt.

Laur. Stalin. prem. 1950
p. 44

646 1 Dzhokhadze, Mariia Nikolaevich
Deputy to Sov. Soiuz VS SSSR
(4. s'ezd, 1954)

Bak. Rab. 2/18/54

643 1 Dzhugashvili *
see Stalin, Iosif Vissarionovich
* [cf. cat. 116, pp. 804-805 -- Analyst]

7: Columbia U. S-4, 5 1956 RHl Caucasia RHl

665 2 Gevondian, S. A.
Member CC CP Arm. SSR, 17.-18. s'ezd, 1954, 1956

Kom. Er. 1/22/56

3 Gidaiatov, E. I.
CC CP Azerb. SSR, 20. s'ezd, 1954.

816 645 3 Giulmamedov, Ibragim Alekper ogly
Stalin prize 2. class, 1950 for new ways of agricultural plant production. Minister of vodnoe khoziaistvo Azerb. SSR.

Luar. Stalin.prem. 1950
p. 55

532 646 2 Giurdzhian, Gabriel Mikhailovich, 1892- Armenian painter; deputy to VS SSSR 1st and 3rd sozyv. Professor of Erevan art academy.
Zavodskii peizazh, 1949.
Ukladka kolkhoznogo sena v stoga, 1944, Vesna v Armenii, 1945

BE II 3:390
13:252

646 1 Gogitidze, Naziko Khasanovna
Adzhar, deputy Sov. Nats. VS SSSR 4. sozyv, 1954.

Bak. Rab. 3/18/54

706 1 Iskaov, Admiral Ivan Stepanovich 1894-, Tiflis. Naval officer, educated in technol. institute. Taught Soviet mil. acad. till 1937. Commander of Baltic fleet; flag officer 2nd rank; 2nd vice-commissar of Navy. Admiral in 1939. Same year visited USA as member of commission placing an order. Navy chief of staff in 1941; admiral of fleet since 1944. Deputy to VS SSSR (1936). Head of editorial board: Marine Atlas. Wrote: The Navy in the Patriotic War, 1944.

World biogr. 1954, p. 577

645 665 3 Iskenderov, Gusein Nadzhaf Minister of automobile transportation (1954) - Azerb. Member of CC CP Azerb. SSR, 20. s'ezd, 1954.

Bak. Rab. 3/10/54

665 3 Iskenderov, M. S. CC CP Azerb. SSR, 20. s'ezd, 1954

815 665 646 3 Iskenderov, Mamed Abdul ogly Deputy to Sov. Soiuz VS SSSR 4. s'ezd, 1954. Born in Eivazlar, 1915-. Geologist; 1953- 1st. sect. Bakinskii gorodskoi komitet; 1954, 1956, member of CC CP Azerb. SSR 20.-21. s'ezd. Deputy to VS Azerb. SSR.

Bak. Rab. 3/18/54, 1/26/54

7:Columbia U. S-4,5 1956 RHl Caucasia
RHl

646 665 3 Karasev, Aleksandr Petrovich
Deputy to Sov. Nats. VS SSSR (4. sozyv, 1954). Member of CC CP Azerb. SSSR

Bak. Rab. 3/19/54

533 1 Karashvili, Andrei Nikolaevich
1857-1925. Georgian composer; wrote 1st Georgian quartet based on folk melody.

BE II 20:144

646 5 Kardanov, Adam Aisovich
Cherkes. deputy Sov. Nats. VS SSSR 4. sozyv, 1954.

Pravda 3/18/54

645 665 3 Kasim-Zade, Enver Ali ogly
Minister of civilian housing, Azerb. 1954. Member of CC CP Azerb. SSR.

Bak. Rab. 3/10/54

665 646 643 3 Kasumov, Mir Bashir Fattakh ogly
1879-1949. Born in Tebriz. Party organizer; revolutionary member of CP Azerb. SSR. 1920-21 head of Baku worker-peasant inspection.

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1935-7 people's commissar of Azerb. social security. Deputy to VS SSSR 1. -2. sozyv. 1938-1948 president of VS Azerb. SSR presidium.

BE II 20:346

• 645 3

Kasumov, Salim Kasumovich
Minister of local industry, Azerb. 1954.

Bak. Rab. 3/10/54

669 2

Katanian, R. P.
One of the signers of a letter to Pravda. One of the old members of the 1905 revolution, formerly described in Soviet propaganda as the chief of "nationalist opposition" group in Armenia. For almost a generation his name had not appeared in the official press.

NYT 3/12/56

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Kavtaradze, S. I.
(no dates, place) Order of Lenin, of Red Labor flag. Educated in Leningr. Univ. (law degree). Engaged in revolutionary work in Baku 1903. On editorial staff of Pravda 1913-14. Return to Caucasus in 1918. Chairman of the Council of People's Commissars of Georgia, 1921-22. Legal

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counselor to Turkey 1923-4; chief of Middle East Dept. of Ministry of Foreign Affairs 1941-3; deputy of Ministry of Foreign Affairs 1943-5; ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary to Rumania since 1945.

World Dipl. Dir. 1950, page 853

665 2 Kazarian, V. A.
Member CC CP Arm. SSR, 18.s'ezd 1956.

Kom. Er. 1/22/56

538 1 Kediashvili, D.
1862-1931. Georgian writer. Wrote: Solomon Morbeladze, 1894; Machekha Samanishvili, 1897; Nevzgody Kamushadze, 1900.

BE II 13:78

325 3(?) Kekelidze, Ivan Grigor'evich
Stalin prize 3. class, for work in metallurgy (1950).

Laur. Stalin. prem. 1950
p. 32

814 1 Kekelidze, Konrelii Samsonovich
1879-. Georgian academician, philologian. Wrote: Istoriia

665 3 Kerimova, Z. A.
CC CP Azerb. SSR, 20. s'ezd, 1954

538 5 Keshokov, A.
1914-
Kabardian author; wrote poem
U podnozh'ia gor, 1941

BE II 19:216

815 1
875
646 Ketskhoveli, Nikolai Nikolaevich
1897-. Botanist; member of Akad. nauk Gruz. SSR since 1941; rector of Tiflis univ. since 1945. Collected material on Georgian forests. Published: Atlas kul'turnoi flory Gruzii, Flora Gruzii. Deputy to VS SSR I. 3. sozyv. Head of agricult. div. Akad. nauk Gruz. SSR.

BE II 20:578
Zar. Vost. 2/17/54

● 645 1 Ketsoveli, Z. N.
Minister of food industry Gruz. SSR, 1954.

Zar. Vost. 2/17/54

533 2 Khachaturian, Aram Il'ich
1904-, Tiflis. Finished conservatory in Moscow 1934. Began with

532 1 Lansere, Evgenii Evgen'evich 1875-1946. Member of "mir iskusstva" school of painting; began painting with historical portraits. Painted: Zangezur 1926, Krasnye partizany Dagestana, 1931. Illustrated L. Tolstoy's Kazaky and Khadzhi Murat.

BE II 24: 283-4

535 1 Lapiashvili, Parnaoz Georgevich Stalin prize 2. class, for ballet performance in Gorda.

Laur. Stalin prem. 1950 p. 81

645 1 Leleshvili, M. M. Minister of transportation, Gruz. SSR, 1954.

Zar. Vost. 2/17/54

538 646 1 Leonidze, Georgii Nikolaevich, born in Patardzeuli 1889-. Georgian writer; depicts socialism. CP member since 1945. Deputy VS Gruz. SSR 3.sozyv. Started career as symbolist poet of "Golubye rogi" group. Later wrote: Leninu, 1936, Rodinu poiu, 1936. Stalin prize in 1941, 1952. Now works on history of Georgian lit. 17-19th c.

BE II 24-578

7: Columbia U.S-4, 5 1956 RHl CaucasiaRHl

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665 3 Magomaev, Dzamal Eddin Muslimovich. Deputy to Sov. Nats. VS SSSR (4. sozyv, 1954) Deputy president of VS Azerb. SSR. 1948- Born in Lenkorani, 1910- 1952-2nd sect. Bakinskii oblast. komitet, 1953 minister of local industry Azerb Member of CC CP Azerb. SSSR.

Bak. Rab. 3/19/54
3/10/54
2/24/54

646 4 Magomedov, Dzhamaludin Makhmudovich, Dag. deputy Sov. Nats. VS SSSR 4.sozyv, 1954.

Pravda 3/18/54

533
1(3?) Magomaev, Muslim Magometovich, 1885-1937, Operatic composer; wrote Shakh Ismail, 1916. Lived in Baku, where he conducted most of his operas. Wrote opera Negriz, 1935 extolling in it the Soviet power in Azerbaidzhan.

BE II 26:43

641 4 Magomedova, Aishat Gamzatovna Dag. deputy Sov. Nats. VS SSSR 4. sozyv, 1954.

Pravda 3/18/54

7: Columbia U. S-4, 5 1956 RHI Caucasia RHI

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Mikoian, Anastas Ivanovich

Nov. 25, 1895- in Sanain (Armenian village near Georgian border. 1st deputy premier (March 1955-) one of 5 in council of ministers. Member CC CP SSSR. Member Sov. Nats. VS SSSR (represents the Stalin district of Erevan) One of 9 members of the Presidium of CC CP SSSR. Graduated from Tiflis eccles. seminary in 1915. In same year joined CP. After revolution member of Baku party committee; ed. of Bakinskii Rabochii; 1926- People's Commissar of Trade of SSSR. 1930-People's Commissar of Food Supply Industry. Was in USA in 1936 where for 3 months he studied American methods of food production: subsequently introduced corn flakes, tomato juice, eskimo pie, frozen corn-on-the-cob, etc. to SSSR. 1938- People's Commissar of Foreign Trade. 1943- awarded title: Hero of Socialist labor for war efforts. After 1945 clashed with Malenkov over German reparations. Bid unsuccessfully for a $6. billion reconstruction loan from USA and led unsuccessfully effort for Russia to participate in Marshall plan (cf. Curr. Biogr.). After Stalin's death in 1953 named head of combined Ministry of Domestic & Foreign Trade. Stood for increased consumer goods production.

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Jan. 24, 1955 resigned as minister of domestic trade (construed as consequence to Russia's orientation toward heavy industry). An ice cream factory, bread-factory, and village in Armenia named after Mikoian (cf. Curr. Biogr.). Mr. Mikoian called for new textbooks of early Bolshevik history that would no longer attempt to explain some "complex and contradictory events by the allegedly subversive activity of some former party leaders who many years after the events described were wrongly declared enemies of the people." In this connection Mr. Mikoian referred particularly to Vladimir Antonov-Ovseyenko, who supervised military affairs in Lenin's first Government, and Stanislav Kosier, veteran Politburo member and former leader of the Ukrainian Bolsheviks.

NYT 2/27/56, 2/20/56
Pravda 2/18/56
Bak. Rab. 3/18/54
Current Biogr. 1955, p. 419-21
World Biogr. 1954 (5. ed) p.808
BE I 39:343-7
BE II 27:430-1

507 2 Mikoian, Artem, 1905-
Aircraft designer; studied in Tiflis; graduated from Zhukovskii air academy. Designed under Polikarpov; built the first fighter plane, MIK-I, 1939, and built many new types of speed planes. Designed jet plane in 1947. Stalin prizes in 1941, 1947, 1952. Now with ministry of Air Craft Industry in Erevan.

BE II 27:431
World Biogr. 1954, p. 808

645
665 3 Mirzoev, Sultan Abas ogly
Minister of sovkhozy (Azerb., 1954). Member CC CP Azerb. SSR.

Bak. Rab. 3/10/54

538 3 Mir-Dzhalal (pseud of Pashaev, Mir-Dzhalal Ali ogly), 1908-. Azerb. writer. Wrote: Voskresshii chelovek, 1935, Manifest molodogo cheloveka, 1939.

BE II 27:565

759
646 3 Mir-Kasimov, Mir Asadulla Mir Alekper ogly, 1883- . surgeon; president of Azerb. Akad. nauk, 1945-7. Deputy of VS SSSR 1.-3. sozyv. 1931- prof. of Azerb. Med. inst.

BE II 27:571

816
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3 Novruzov, Neimat Guseinovich
Born in Nakhichevani, 1908-
Engineer, cotton-expert; 1950 - minister of Azerb. cotton industry. Member of CC CCP Azerb. SSR. 1952- deputy-minister of goskontrol Azerb. SSR. 1953- president of Council of Minister Nakhichevanskaia ASSR. Unsuccessful candidate in 1954 for Sov. Nats. VS SSSR.

Bak. Rab. 2/25/54

331

3(?) Oboladze, Iraklii Onisimovich
Stalin prize 2. class, 1950, construction engineer.

Laur. Stalin. prem. 1950
p. 44

665

2 Oganesian, G. V.
Member CC CP Arm. SSR, 17. - 18. s'ezd, 1954, 1956.

Kom. Er. 1/22/56

759

2 Oganesian, L. A., 1885-
Physician, Armenian scientist.

Kom. Er. 12/20/55

7: Columbia U. S-4, 5, 1956 RHl Caucasia
RHl

538 3 Ordubady, Mamed Said, 1872-1950. Azerb. novelist, born in Ordubad. Collaborated on paper Molla Nasredin. Translated Pushkin's Bakhchisaraiskii fontan, Boris Godunov. Wrote: Tebriz tumannyi, 1933-48 4 vols. Early work: Neschastnyi millioner in 1914.

BE II 31:177

645 1 Ordzhonikidze, Grigorii Konstantinovich, 1886-1937. Born in Goresha. Member of Bolshevik party since 1903. Carried out Stalin plan to defeat Denikin. 1926-30 people's commissar of the workers and peasants' inspection of USSR. 1930- chairman of Supreme council of national economy of USSR. Later people's commissar of heavy industry. 1930- member of Politbureau. His obituary appears in Pravda, Feb. 17, 1937.

Soviet Calendar, Feb. 18
BE II 31:171-3

665 3 Orudzhev, M. B.
Member of presidium CC CP Azerb. SSR, 20.-21.s'ezd, 1954, 1956.

Bak. Rab. 1/26/56

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Ragimov, Sadykh Gadzhi Iaralievich (1914-Balakhany); engineer
Premier of Azerb. Member CC CP Azerb. 1954-1956 (20.-21. s'ezd). Member CC CP SSSR 1956- (20. s'ezd). Member Sov. Nats. VS SSSR 1954- (4. s'ezd) 1953 - min. promyshlennykh tovarov shirokogo potrebleniia Azerb.

NYT 2/27/56
Zar. Vost 12/28/55
Bak. Rab. 3/2/54, 2/17/54, 3/19/54, 1/26/56

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Ramonov, Boris Grigor'evich
Sev. Os. deputy Sov. Nats. VS SSSR 4. sozyv, 1954

Pravda 3/18/54

645
625 1

Rapava, A. N., - Nov. 22 ? 1955
Former deputy and later head People's Commissar for Int Affairs in Georgia. Executed for having conducted "terroristic annihilation of honest Soviet citizens."

NYT
Zaria Vostoka

665
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Rigvava, S.S.
2nd sect. of 1st plenum CC LKSM Gruz. SSR

Zar. Vost. 12/27/55

7: Columbia U. S-4, 5 1956 RH1 Caucasia

RH1

646
1 Romelashvili, David Zakhar'evich
Deputy to Sov. Nats. VS SSSR (4. s'ezd, 1954); sect. CC CP Gruz. SSR.

Bak. Rab. 3/19/54
Zar. Vost. 2/18/54

546
1 Rondeli-Tsagareishvili, D. E.
Georgian film producer; received Stalin prize in 1950 for collaboration with Dolidze, S. V. on film Shchit Dzhurgaia

BEII 15:25

645
625 1 Rukhadze, N. M. -Nov. 1955
Former investigation chief in the Georgian Internal Affairs Commissariat and later Georgian Minister of State Security. Helped oust Rapava in 1951. Tried and executed under Article 58 (Crimes connected with protection of Beriia acc. to Soviets).

NYT
Zaria Vost.

RHI

646
665 2 Savoian, Andranik Israelovich
Deputy Sov. Nats. VS SSSR, 4. sozyv, 1954. Member CC CP Arm. SSR, 17.-18. s'ezd 1954, 1956

Kom. Er. 3/19/54 and 1/22/56

536 2 Sazandarian, Tatevik Tigranovna
Stalin prize 3. class for performance in opera Geroinia.

Laur. Stalin. prem. 1950
p. 80

646
665
647 3 Seidov, Gasan ogly
Deputy to Sov. Nats. VS SSSR (4. sozyv, 1954) Born in 1906- . 1937- head of Azerb. nauchno-issled. inst. khlopkovodstva in Kirovabad. 1946-2nd. sect. CC CP Azerb. SSSR; 1953- president of Gosplan Azerb. SSR. Member of CC CP Azerb. SSR, 20.-21. s'ezd, 1954, 1956

Bak. Rab. 3/19/54, 3/2/54, 1/26/56

242
643 3 Seidov, Mamed Mir Aziz ogly
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Born in Sadarak, 1907- . Agriculture expert, partly official; deputy-president of Council of Ministers. 1954-minister of agriculture Azerb. SSR; Deputy VS Nakhichevanskaia ASSR; Unsuccessful candidate to VS SSSR (Sov. Nats., 1954)

Bak. Rab. 2/25/54

536
3 Sharlakhov, Boris Mikhailovich
People's artist of Azerb. Stalin prize 3. class, 1950 for dramatic role in Zaria nad Kaspiem

Laur. Stalin. prem. 1950
p. 79

381
1 Sharmazanashvili, Luarsab Kharitonovich. Stalin prize 3. class, 1950 chemical engineer.

Laur. Stalin. prem. 1950
p. 33

325
1 Shatirishvili, Georgii Afans'evich
Stalin prize 3. class 1950 for work in metallurgy.

Laur. Stalin. prem. 1950
p. 32

646
6 Shatskii, Ivan Petrovich
Member of VS SSSR, Sov. Soiuz, 4. sozyv, 1954. Krasnodar. krai

Bak. Rab. 3/18/54

204
6452 Shaumian, Stepan Grigor' evich, 1878-1918. One of the most outstanding of the 26 Bakinskii komissary. Editor of various newspapers, also

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of Bakinskii rabochii. Translated into Armenian: Manifest kommunist. partii. Knew Lenin, Plekhanov. In 1918 was komissar of foreign affairs.

BE I 61:878-9

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Shebzukhova, Natal'ia Danilovna
Kab. deputy Sov. Nats. VS SSSR 4. sozyv, 1954

Pravda 3/18/54

533
3

Sheibler, T. K
Wrote 1. Kantata o Staline dlia khora; 2. Fortepiannaia rapsodiia na Kab. iaz.

BE I 19:218

536
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Shekikhachev,
Kabardian dramatist who with Naloev wrote: Korigat, a historical tragedy, presented in Kabardian in 1934.

BE I 30:419

645
3 Sultanov, Shamsadin Kurbanovich
Minister of commerce Azerb., 1954

Bak. Rab. 3/10/54

536
2 Sundukian, G., 1825-1912
Armenian playwright; wrote: Pepo, Razrushennyi ochag, Khatabala. Represents critical realism; depicts themes about workers against bourgeoisie. Many younger Armenian dramatists were influenced by him.

BE II 3:86

646
5 Suprunov, Valentin Kuz'mich
Adyg. deputy Sov. Nats. VS SSSR 4. sozyv, 1954

Pravda, 3/18/54

6 Suslov, Victor Maksimovich
Member of Sov. Soiuz VS SSSR, 4. [redacted], 1954. Krasnodar. krai.

Bak. Rab. 3/18/54

533 2 Tal'ian, V. G., 1896-1947
Armenian composer

BE II 3:99

344
2 Tamanian, Aleksandr Ivanovich, 1880-1936. Architect. Partially rebuilt Erevan in 1924. Built Narkomles building, the medic-institute, agriculture school. Posthumously awarded Stalin prize in 1942. His pupil is Grigorian, M. V. Was president of Armenian art academy 1917-18.

BE I 53:519

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204 1
645
Tarba, Ivan Konstantinovich
Abkhaz. deputy Sov. Nats. VS SSSR, 4. sozyv, 1954. Born in Beslakhuba, 1921- co-editor of Apsny Kapsh; correspondent to Sov. Abkhaziia; since 1943 party official sect. of Abkhazian division of Soiuz Sovet. pisatelei Gruz. SSR. 1953 - minister of education Abkhaz.

Bak. Rab. 3/18/54
Zar. Vost. 2/13/54

7: Columbia U. S-4,5 1956 RH1 Caucasia RH1

533 2 Tigranian, Armen Tigranovich, 1879-
Armenian composer: pioneer of national Armenian opera. Wrote: Anush, Turk opera based on poem by Tumanian. It was played in Moscow in 1937, and received Lenin prize.

BE I 54: 242

2 Tigranian, Nikolai Fadeevich, 1856-
Armenian composer; blind since 9. year. Studied in St. Petersburg, Vienna. Concentrated on folk-songs of Armenia, Turkey, 1939 received order trudovogo krasnogo znameni.

BE I 54: 242

665 3 Titarenko, A. I.
CC CP Azerb. SSR, 20. s'ezd, 1954

. 645 1 Tkhilaishvili, Aleksandr Dursunovich
Adzhar, deputy Sov. Nats. VS SSSR 4. sozyv, 1954

Bak. Rab. 3/18/54

5 Tlostanov, Kalimet Tutovich
Kab. deputy Sov. Nats. VS SSSR 4. sozyv, 1954

Pravda 3/18/54

RHl

645
625 1 Tsereteli, S.S.
Former deputy People's Commissar and deputy Minister for Internal Affairs. Executed Nov. 1955, for alleged treason, counter-revolutionary crimes, for bringing false accusations ("slanderous evidence" against Ordzhonikidze); tried under Soviet criminal code 58 (high treason) in Sept. 1955 in Tiflis by military collegium of Soviet Supreme Court, headed by Lieut. Gen. A.A Cheptsov.

NYT
Zaria Vost.

535
1 Tsignadze, Vera Varlamovna
Stalin prize 2. class, 1950 for ballet role in Gorda ballet.

Laur. Stalin. prem. 1950
p. 81

646
645 1
665 Tsimakuridze, Kondratii Sokratovich
Deputy to Sov. Nats. VS SSSR (4. s'ezd, 1954). Born in Tlukhi, 1904-1937-1947 narodnyi komissar finansov Gruz. SSR. 1953- minister finansov Gruz. SSR. Member CC CP Gruz. SSR.

Bak. Rab. 2/19/54
Zar. Vost. 2/13/54

642 Georgian Constitution Article 14 describes in detail the duties and functions of officials in the social, political and cultural spheres in such units in the Georgian SSR. The Armenian Constitution, for reasons given above, has nothing under this head. What is included in the Georgian Constitution under Article 14 on the functions and duties of the government, is covered under Article 18 of the Armenian Constitution, and under Article 19 of the Azerbaidzhan Constitution.

Chapter III: the Higher Organs of State Power

642 646 Article 21 of the Armenian Constitution provides that the members of the Armenian Supreme Soviet be elected for a term of four years, on the basis of one deputy for "every 5,000 of the population". In the Azerbaidzhan Constitution (Article 25) this provision calls for one deputy for every 10,000 inhabitants, while according to the Georgian Constitution (Article 29) there is to be one deputy for every 642 15,000 inhabitants. The Presidium of the 643 Supreme Soviet of the Armenian SSR is made up of 13 members (Article 28); the same number holds for the Azerbaidzhan SSR (Article 31), but the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Georgian SSR is composed of 17 members (Article 34).

642 Chapter IV: the Organs of State Administration
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All three constitutions enumerate the ministries in the Council of Ministers of

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The most common and varying peculiarity is, of course, the basis of the number of deputies each SSR republic is to have in its Supreme Soviet. Here the number varies from one for each 150,000 inhabitants (in RSFSR) to one for each 5,000 inhabitants (in the Armenian, Karelo-Finnish, Kirghiz, Tadzhik and Turkmen republics). In the Azerbaidzhan SSR the ratio is one for each 10,000, and in the Georgian SSR, one for every 15,000 inhabitants.

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There are also such minor peculiarities as in the distinctive features in coats of arm, flags, etc., and of course the fact that each has its own principal city as its capital. It is also worth noting that in the Constitutions of the three Central Asian republics (Kazakh, Turkmen and Uzbek) the separation of schools from mosques and other religious institutions is mentioned. In the Azerbaidzhan Constitution (Article 131), however, the word "church" in place of "mosque" is used.

Article 16 of the USSR Constitution (English translation published in Moscow, 1954) states that the constitution of the republics "takes account of the specific features of the Republic and is drawn up in full conformity with the Constitution of the U.S.S.R." This general but rigid conformity with the USSR Constitution is most striking throughout all the constitutions examined, and the few peculiarities allowed to creep into them have been enumerated above.

538 3 Abashidze, Grigol (Grigorii Grigor'evich)
Stalin prize 2. class, 1950 for poetry collection: Lenin y Samgori
Na iuzhnoi granitse.

Laur. Stalin prem. 1950
BE I 1:67

646 1 Abashidze, Iraklii Vissarionovich
1st sect. Soiuz sovet. pisatelei Gruz. SSR, 1954 Abkhaz. deputy Sov. Nats. VS SSSR, 4. sozyv, 1954

Zar. Vost. 2/17/54
Bak. Rab. 3/19/54

533 3 Abbasov, A.
Azerbaidzhani musician, 20th c.

BE II 1:478

646 3
665 Abbasov, Kurban Abas Kuli ogly
Nakhichev. deputy Sov. Nats. VS SSSR 4. sozyv, 1954. Member of CC CP Azerb. SSR, 20-21 s'ezd, 1954, 1956

Bak. Rab. 3/18/54
Bak. Rab. 1/26/56

645 3 Abdullaev, Abutalyb Miragaevich
Minister of kommunal'noel Khoziaistvo Azerb. 1954

Bak. Rab. 3/10/54

645 665 3 Abdullaev, Il'ias Kerim ogly
Born in Akstaf, 1913-
Member of CC CP Azerb. SSR, 20-21 s'ezd 1954, 1956. Specialist in silk production. 1950-1954 minister of agriculture in Azerb. Nakhichevan. deputy to Sov. Nats., VS SSSR, 4. sozyv, 1954

Bak. Rab. 3/2/54, 3/18/54, 1/26/56

665 3 Abdullaev, F. A.
Member of presidium CC CP Azerb. SSR, 21. s'ezd, 1956

Bak. Rab. 1/26/56

646 2(3?) Abdullaeva, Raziia Gasan kyzy
Deputy to Sov. Nats. VS SSSR, 4. sozyv, 1954

Kom. Er. 3/19/54

665 3 Abdulragimov, A. I.
CC CP Azerb. SSR, 20. s'ezd, 1954

7: Columbia U. S-4, 5 1956 RHl Caucasia
RHl

532 2 Abegian, Mger Manukovich
1909- Armenian painter; studied in Erevan and Moscow. Famous works "Makravanskii peizazh, "1939; "V sadakh Armenii," 1945; "Vstuplenie I. V. Stalina na rabochem sobranii v Tiflise 18. okt. 1905 g."

BE II 1:16
v. 3, p. 90 (picture)

536 2 Abelian, Ovanes Artem'evich
1865-1936. Armenian actor; people's artist of Armenia and Azerbaidzhan; portrayed about 52 different roles in the famed Sundukian theater of Erevan (Oedipus rex; Egor Bulichev; Dr. Stockman, etc.).

BE II 1:16

646 5 Abidokova, Mar'ian Magometovna
Cherkes. deputy Sov. Nats. VS SSSR 4. sozyv, 1954

Pravda, 3/18/54

701 646 3 Abilov, Makhmud Abdul-Rza ogly
Deputy to Sov. Nats. VS SSSR (4. sozyv, 1954). Born in Ukur, 1898- Rose from ordinary private to general of Red Army. Fought at Smolensk, Berlin. Rec'd Orders of Krasnoe znamia, Surorov, Kutuzov and foreign decorations.

Bak. Rab. 3/19/54. 2/20/54

645 2
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Abramian, R. T.
Member CC CP Arm. SSR. 17.-18. s'ezd, 1954, 1956. Minister of Agriculture Arm. SSR, 1956

Kom. Er. 1/22/56, 1/21/56

● 646 1

Abuladze, Eteri Baratalovna
Adzhar. deputy Sov. Nats. VS SSSR 4. sozyv, 1954. Born Vashlovani, 1926- No party affiliation.

Bak. Rab. 3/18/54
Zar. Vost. 2/13/54

242 3

Adibekov, Ogan Aleksandrovich
Stalin prize, 2. class, 1950 for new ways of producing agricultural plants, mainly cotton. Head of trust "Azvodstroi." (1950)

Laur. Stalin. prem. 1950
p. 55

536 2

Adzhemian, Vartan Mkrtichevich
Stalin prize, 3. class, 1950. Artist; for participation in Stepanian's opera "Geroinia."

Laur. Stalin. prem. 1950
p. 80

242 2 Agababian, Shavarsh Mnetsakonovich
Stalin prize, 2. class, 1950 for his work on Kormovye rasteniia senokosov i pastbishch SSR, v. 1, 1950. Armenian agronomist.

Laur. Stalin. prem. 1950
p. 11

665 2 Agadzhanian, E. M.
Member CC CP Arm. SSR, 17-18. s'ezd, 1954, 1956.

Kom. Er. 1/22/56

532 2 Agadzhanian, Stepan Meliksetovich
1863-1940. Armenian landscape painter; people's artist of Armenia. "Portret matery" "Portret ottsa," both in 1900; "Portret Spandariana," 1936. Lives and teaches in Erevan.

BE II 1:286

646 3 Agaev, Sabir Bala Ali ogly (Azerbaidzhani). Deputy to Sov. Soiuz VS SSR (4. s'ezd, 1954) Born in Sarai, 1927- Began as shepherd, then became metallurgical worker.

Bak. Rab. 3/18/54, 2/18/54

665 3 Agaeva, G. I.
Member of presidium CC CP Azerb. SSR, 21. s'ezd, 1956.

Bak. Rab. 1/26/56

3 Agamali, B. A.
CC CP Azerb. SSR, 20. s'ezd, 1954

• 646 4 Agkatsev, Vladimir Mikhailovich
Sev.-Osset. deputy Sov. Soiuz VS SSSR, 4. sozyv, 1954.

Pravda 3/18/54

665 3 Agsev, N. K.
CC CP Azerb. SSR, 20. s'ezd, 1954

2 Airian, G. A.
Member of CC CP Arm. SSR, 17.-18. s'ezd, 1954, 1956; head of propaganda bureau of CC CP Arm. SSR.

Kom. Er. 1/22/56.

2 Aivazian, A. R.
Member CC CP Arm. SSR, 17.-18. s'ezd, 1954, 1956

Kom. Er. 1/22/56

532 2 Akhikian, Vrtanes Galustovich 1872-1936. Armenian landscape painter. "Ataka krasnoi konnitsy," 1933.

BE II 3:565

465 3 Akhmedov, A. M.
Member of presidium CC CP Azerb. SSR. 21. s'ezd, 1956

Bak. Rab. 1/26/56

533 3 Akhmedova, Frangiz Iusuf kyzy
Born in Baku, 1928- Soloist of Azerb. state theatre and opera; sings arias from classical opera, as well as Azerb. folk-songs. Deputy of Bakinskii gorod. sovet. Unsuccessful candidate to Sov. Nats. VS SSSR in 1954.

Bak. Rab. 2/21/54

• 646 5 Akhokhov, Aslambi Nakhovich
Kab. deputy Sov. Nats. VS SSSR 4. sozyv, 1954

Pravda 3/18/54

532 3 Akhundov, Ismail Gusein ogly, 1907- Azerb artist. Rec'd Stalin

532 2 Akopian, Amaiak Stepanovich
1871-1939. Armenian painter; his favorite subjects are scenes from old Tiflis; in Soviet period did many charcoal drawings. Studied in Munich.

BE II 1:607

665 2 Akopian, S. S.
Member of CC CP Arm. SSR, 18. s'ezd, 1956.

Kom. Er. 1/22/56

3 Alekperov, M. G
CC CP Azer. SSSR, 20. s'ezd, 1954

646 3 Alekperova, Shukhiufa Alekser kyzy
Deputy to Sov. Nats. VS SSSR (4. sozyv, 1954)

Bak. Rab. 3/19/54

535 1 Aleksidze, Irina Aleksandrovna
Stalin prize 2. class for ballet performances in 1950

Laur. Stalin prem. 1950
p. 81

7 :Columbia U. S-4, 5 1956 RHl Caucasia

RH1

665 3 Aliev, Firidun Ali ogly
646 Deputy to Sov. Nats. VS SSSR (4. sozyv, 1954) Born in Baladzhary 1921- Machinist. Member of presidium CC CP Azerb. SSR. 21. s'ezd 1956.

Bak. Rab. 3/19/54, 1/26/56

646 4 Aliev, Gadzhi-Kasum Shikhmurzaevich
Dag. deputy Sov. Nats. VS SSSR, (4. sozyv, 1954)

Pravda 3/18/54

646 3 Aliev, Musa Mirzoevich
665 Deputy to Sov. Nats. VS SSSR (4. sozyv, 1954) Born in Shemakha, 1908- ;geologist; 1941- member of CP; 1947-1950 president of Gosplan and deputy president of Azerb. SSR. 1950- member and president of Akad. nauk. Azerb. SSR. Member of CC CP Azerb. SSR. Deputy to VS SSSR 2.-3. sozyv.

Bak. Rab. 3/19/54, 2/25/54

815 2 Alikhanov, Artemie I.
1908- and brother Alikhanian, Abram Isaakovich, 1904-. Members of Akad. nauk SSSR since 1934; both worked on cosmic ray theory and rec'd Stalin prizes in 1941 and 1948 (for discovery of varitrons).

BE II 2:111 3:68 -671-

7: Columbia U. S-4, 5 1956 RHI Caucasia RHI

665 3 Alikhanov, E.N.
CC CP Azerb. SSR, 20. s'ezd, 1954

675 3 Alikperov, Aga Mekhti Salman ogly
Minister of industrial building material (1954)- Azerb.

Bak. Rab. 3/10/54

• 646 3 Alikulieva, Rubaba Alikuli kyzy
Nakhichev. deputy Sov. Nats. VS SSSR, 4. sozyv, 1954. Born in Garachuk, 1929 - cotton picker.

Bak. Rab. 3/18/54, 2/21/54

536 5 Alili, Mamed
Chechen 20. c. theater producer influenced by Meyerhold, Tairov.

BE I 61:535

645 4 Alimov, Tair
Deputy to Sov. Soiuz VS SSSR, 4. sozyv, 1954

Kom. Er. 3/18/54

665 2
646 Allakherian, Karapet Navasardovich
Deputy to Sov. Nats. VS SSSR, 4. sozyv, 1954. Member of CC CP Armen. SSR, 18. s'ezd, 1956

Kom. Er. 3/19/54
1/22/56

7: Columbia U. S-4, 5 1956 RHl Caucasia
RHl

646 3 Allakhiarly, Ismail Babaiar ogly
665 Deputy to Sov. Soiuz VS SSSR (4. s'ezd, 1954) Born in Shemakha, 1905- Member of CC CP Azerb. SSR

Bak. Rab. 3/18/54, 2/25/54

665 3 Allakhverdiev, T. A.
Member of presidium CC CP Azerb. SSR, 21. S'ezd, 1956.

Bak. Rab. 1/26/56

759 2 Ambartsumian, Sarkis, 1880- in Nagornyi Karabakh. Physician; since 1926 president of Armenian Sovnarkom.

BE I 2:384

815 2 Ambartsumian, Viktor Amazospovich
665 Born in 1908- ; astrophysicist (specialized in intrastellar light absorption) Stalin prize in 1950 Deputy Sov. Soiuz VS SSSR (4. sozyv, 1954) Member of CC CP Arm. SSR 17-18. s'ezd 1954 and 1956)

Kom. Er. 3/2/54 & 1/22/56
BE II 1:566, 2:217 (bibliography of works)
Vest. Akad. nauk SSSR, 1947, No. 10

7: Columbia U. S-4, 5 1956 RHI Caucasia
RHI

538 5 Anchby-Shervanize (no initials) Published in Paris, 1923: Abkhazskie legendy; acc. to inform. in encyclopedia: the work is without literary merit.

BE I 1:118

• 646 6 Andrianovia, Mariia Fedorovna Member of Sov. Soiuz VS SSSR, 4. sozyv, Stavropol. krai.

Bak. Rab. 3/18/54

1 Antonov, Aleksei Innokent'evich Deputy to Sov. Soiuz VS SSSR (4. s'ezd) 1954

Bak. Rab. 2/18/54

536 1 Apkhaidze, Emanuil Eliseevich Stalin prize 3. class, 1950 for acting in "Potoplennye kamni". People's artist of Georgia.

Laur. Stalin. prem. 1950 p. 78

646 6 Apollova, Valentina Fedorovna Member of Sov. Soiuz, VS SSSR, 4. sozyv, 1954; Krasnodar. krai

Bak. Rab. 3/18/54

7: Columbia U. S -4, 5 1956 RHI Caucasia
RHI

538 1 Aragvispireli, Shio Zakhar'evich (Now: Dedobrishvili) 1876-1926 Georgian writer, wrote: Vot nasha zhizn', Uzhas

BE II 2:604

646 2 Arakelian, Astkhik Sarkisovna Deputy Sov. Soiuz VS SSSR (4. sozyv, 1954)

Kom. Er. 3/18/54

665 2 Arakelian, S. V. Member of CC CP Arm. SSR, 17-18. s'ezd, 1954, 1956.

Kom. Er. 1/22/56

532 2 Arakelian, Sedrak Arakelovich, 1884-1942. Armenian landscape painter. During Civil War painted many inflammatory posters; among first to glorify socialism. Painted: "Artiktuk", 1930. "Kal'liura v gory", 1936. Influenced by impressionist style.

BE II 2:607

533 1 Arakishvili (Arakchiev) Dmitrii Ignat'evich, 1873- Georgian composer; people's artist of Georgia. Studied in Moscow. Wrote: Gruz narodnoe muzik, tvorchestvo, 1916. Composed first Georgian opera: Skazanie o Shota Rustaveli, 1914; with slight changes the opera appeared first in 1919 and them with Shanshiashvili libretto in 1947.

BE II 2:607-8;13:91

538 2 Arzai (pseud. of Movses Arutiunian) 1878 - Founder of proletarian prose in pre revolutionary Armenia. Wrote: Solntse, 1913. Skazka, Nedostroennyi dom, 1913. Good short-story writer: Ogni, Tovarishch Mukuch Tysiachegolov

BE II 2:606

875 1 Ardzinba, Grigorii Shagovich
• 646 Abkhaz. deputy to Sov. Nats. VS SSSR, 4. sozyv, 1954. Born in Duripsh, 1919- Teacher; deputy to VS SSSR 1-3. sozyv.

Bak. Rab. 3/18/54

532 2 Artsatbanian, V. G. Armenian painter 20th c.

BE II 3:90

646 665 2 Arushaniian, Shmavon Minasovich
Deputy Sov. Nats. VS SSSR, 4. sozyv, 1954. Member of CC CP Armen. SSR, 17-18. s'ezd, 1954, 1956.

Kom. Er. 3/19/54
1/22/56

665 3 Arushanov, P. A.
CC CP Azerb. SSR, 20. s'ezd, 1954

532 2 Arutch'ian, Mikhail Avetovich, 1897-
Armenian theater artist; studied in Paris. Worked on Armenian pavilion for Soviet exhibit in 1939. Designed sets for operas: Lusabatsin, Otello

BE II 3:150

665 646 2 Arutinov, Griogorii Artem'evich, 1900-
Born in Telavi, Georgia. 1st sect. CC CP Arm. SSR. Rec'd three Stalin prizes. Deputy VS SSSR 1-3 sozyv; CP member 1919- ; deputy people's commissar RKI Gruzii; 1931-member of secretariat CC CP Gruz. SSR.

BE II 3:150

533 2 Arutiunian, Aleksandr Grigor'evich, 1920- Armenian composer; Stalin prize in 1948 for his Kantata o Staline. His is a well-known piano concerto.

BE II 3:150
3:99

536 5 Askerkhanov,
Chechen 20. c. actor of comic roles.

BE I 61:535

646 665 3 Askerov, Ismail Nasrulla, ogly
Deputy to Sov.Soiuz VS SSSR (4. s'ezd, 1954) Member of CC CP Azerb. SSR. Born in Ordubad, 1914- ; head of Dom propagandista i agitatora im S. M. Kirova (in Moscow?) Since 1943 sect. of propaganda in Azerbaidzhan; 1945 1st sect. CC Komsomol Azerb. SSR. 1950- president of Azerb. Sov. Profsoiuzov; 1952-1st sect. Nakhichevan. oblast. komitet. CP Azerb. SSR.

Bak. Rab. 3/18/54, 2/21/54

665 2 Aslanian, S.K.
Member of CC CP Arm. SSR, 18. s'ezd, 1956.

Kom. Er. 1/22/56

646 665 3 Aslanova, Chimnaz Abdul Ali kyzy
Nakhichev. deputy Sov. Nats. VS SSSR, 4. sozyv, 1954. Member CC CP Azerb. SSR. Born in Mardakian, 1914- Deputy to ov. Nats. VS SSSR since 1937-

Bak. Rab.3/18/54 2/25/54

533 2 Babadzhanian, Arno Arutiunovich
Stalin prize 3. class, 1950 for musical composition: Georgicheskaia ballada.

Laur. Stalin prem. 1950
p. 72

381 646 2 Babadzhanian, Mariia Arakelovna
Deputy to Sov. Nats. VS SSSR, 4. sozyv, 1954. Party member; chemical engineer; rec'd Stalin prize in 1949 for perfecting glass making via electronics.

Bak. Rab. 3/18/54 & 2/19/54

646 6 Babaevskii, Semen Petrovich
Member of Sov. Soiuz VS SSSR 4. sozyv, Stavropol. krai

Bak. Rab. 3/18/54

665 2 Babaian, L. O.
Member CC CP Arm. SSR, 17-18. s'ezd, 1954, 1956

Kom. Er. 1/22/56

3 Baba-Zade, B. K.
CC CP Azerb. SSR, 20. s'ezd. 1954.

646 5 Babich, Vasilii Ivanovich (Kabardian)
Deputy to Sov. Soiuz VS SSSR
4. sozyv, 1954

Kom. Er. 3/18/54

665 2 Badamiants, G. A.
Member CC CP Arm. SSR, 18. s'ezd, 1956

Kom. Er. 1/22/56

536 5 Baduev, Said
Chief Chechen dramatist; wrote Krasnaia krepost', 1930.

BE I 61:535

665 3 Bagabova, S. G.
Member of presidium CC CP Azerb. SSR, 21. s'ezd, 1956

Bak. Rab. 1/26/56

646 2 Bagdasarian, Grant Bakhshievich
Deputy to Sov. Nats. VS SSSR
4. sozyv, 1954. Born in Egvard, 1925- oil-driller

Kom. Er. 3/19/54
2/19/54

665 2 Bagdasarian, O. M.
Member of CC CP Arm. SSR, 17.-18. s'ezd, 1954, 1956
Editor of Sovetakan Aiastan

Kom. Er. 1/22/56, 1/21/56

2 Bagdasarian, S. B.
Member CC CP Arm. SSR, 18. s'ezd, 1956

Kom. Er. 1/22/56

665 643 3 Bagirov, Mir Dzhafar Abbasovich, 17. Sept. 1896- in Kuba (Baku province) 1st sect. CC CP Azerb.; deputy VS SSSR 1.-3. sozyv; member of presidium of VS SSSR. Wrote: Iz istorii bol'shevistskoi organizatsii Baku i Azerbaidzhana. In 1946 was awarded Lenin order.

BE II 4:24

665 646 3 Bagirova, Basti Masim kyzy, 1906- Azerb. master cotton-picker. In 1946 became Geroi sotsialistich truda. Deputy to VS SSSR 1.-3. sozyv. Member of presidium CC CP Azerb. SSR, 21. s'ezd, 1956

BE II 4:25
Bak. Rab. 1/26/56

538 4 Bagraev, Sozur Kurmanovich
1888-1928. Poet of Sev. Oset. oblast'. Wrote in Digor dialect Dver' serdtsa, lyric poems, 1908

BE II 4:25

701 2
646 Bagramian, Ivan Khristoforovich
1897- in Kirovabad. Began as squadron commander in Ararat valley, 1922. Finished Frunze acad. mil. in Moscow. 1941 col. in Ukraine; 1943 cracked Bryansk front; became asst. chief of Timoshenko; fought at Khar'kov. Order of Kutuzov; commander of Baltic army (the only non-Russian to command a Red Army front-*Curr. Biogr.*) Won victory at Vitebsk, January 27, 1944. Deputy to VS SSSR 1-3 sozyv. Deputy chief of staff 1941 1945.

BE II 4:25
Curr. Biogr. 1944, p. 27-28
Curr. Digest news 9'55, 8-10

232 2
645 Bagratian, Malkhas Galustovich
Stalin prize 3. class, 1950 for new breed of rabbits. Minister of Agriculture Arm. SSR, 1950

Laur. Stalin prem. 1950
p. 59

7: Columbia U. S-4, 5 1956 RHl Caucasia
RHl

536 5 Bagrimanov
Chechen actor of tragic roles 20. c.

BE I 61:535

665 3 Baibakov, A. S
Member of presidium CC CP Azerb. SSR, 21. s'ezd, 1956

Bak. Rab. 1/26/56

646 665 315 3 Baibakov, Nikolai Konstantinovich
Deputy to Sov. Soiuz VS SSSR (4. s'ezd, 1954) Born in Sabunchi (near Baku) 1911- oil engineer. Was member of CC CP SSSR (before 1956) Deputy to VS SSSR 2. sozyv. Member of presidium CC CP Azerb. SSR, 21. s'ezd, 1956

Bak. Rab. 3/18/54,3/2/54 ,1/26/56

646 665 3 Bairamov, Musa Khuda Kerim ogly
Deputy to Sov. Soiuz VS SSSR (4. s'ezd, 1954) Member of CC CP Azerb. SSR.

Bak. Rab. 3/18/54

538 1
646

Baratashvili, Mariia Gervasevna
Deputy to Sov. Nats. VS SSSR
(4. s'ezd, 1954) Born in Chiatura,
1908- Graduated from Tiflis univ.
fac. philology in 1945; since 1936 a
writer of lyric poetry; Wrote comedy
"Strekoza" (Marine)

Bak. Rab. 2/19/54
Zar. Vost. 2/13/54

533 2

Barkhudarian, Sergei (Sarkis)
Vasil'evich, 1887-
Armenian composer; 1923-- professor
at Tiflis conservatory. Wrote: Narine,
ballet, 1938; Keri-Kuchi, children's
opera. Anush, symphonic poem. Uses
Armenian themes in his works.

BE II 4:276

538 1

Barnovi, Vasilii Zakhar'evich,
1856-1934 Georgian realist writer.
Wrote: Torzhestvo zmeia; Nevesta
Tebery; Muchenitsa liubvy; Zaria Isani
His early works are concerned with
historial themes; language a bit archaic.

BE II 4:252

646 1

Basistyi, Nikolai Efremovich
Deputy to Sov. Nats. VS SSSR
(4. s'ezd, 1954)

Bak. Rab. 2/19/54

7:Columbia U. S-4,5 1956 RH1 Caucasia
RH1

• 646 4 Baskaev, Dzambolat Timofeevich
Sev. Osset. deputy Sov. Nats. VS SSSR,
4. sozyv, 1954

Pravda 3/18/54

535 1 Bauer, Maria Veniaminovna
Stalin prize 2. class, 1950 ballerina

Laur. Stalin prem. 1950
p. 81

646 1 Bazhunaishvili, Suleiman Dzhemalovich
Adzhar. deputy Sov. Nats. VS SSSR
4. sozyv, 1954
Born in Kveda-Sameba, 1922-
kolkhoz worker, member of CP

Bak. Rab. 3/18/54
Zar. Vost. 2/13/54

665 3 Begrambekov, B. L.
CC CP Azerb. SSR, 20 s'ezd, 1954

546 2 Bek-Nazarov, Amo Ivanovich
1892- Armenian film-producer;
director of Tiflis Goskinprom.
Directed films: Pepo, Zangezur, for
which he was awarded Stalin prize in
1941. People's artist of Armenia.

BE II 4:405

7:Columbia U. S-4,5 1956 RH1 Caucasia
RH1

646 1 Beridze, Archil Mikhailovich
643 Adzhar. deputy Sov. Nats. VS SSSR 4. sozyv, 1954. Born in Tunadzubi, 1922- Party worker; president of presidium VS Adzhar. SSR

Bak. Rab. 3/18/54
Zar. Vost. 2/13/54

645 1 Beriia, Lavrentii Pavlovich
665 March 29, 1899-Dec. 23, 1953; born in Merkheuli, Sukhumi province. CP member since 1917. Graduated from politechn. inst. Baku in 1919. Chief of intelligence service of the Red Army in 1922. In 1931 1st sect. CC CP Gruz. SSR. 1938--people's commissar of internal affairs. Since 1945 commissar of NKVD; since July 9, 1945, called Marshal of Sovet. Soiuz. Purged Stalin's enemies in the 30-s and so rose to power. Was executed for treason himself Dec. 1953.

Wrote: K voprosu ob istorii bol'shevistskikh organizatsii v Zakavkaz'e. 7 ed. appeared in 1948.

BE II 5:22
Curr. Biogr. 1954, p. 80
NYT 1953, Dec. 24. p. 1 (obituary)

7:Columbia U. S-4,5 1956 RHl Caucasia
RHl

815 1 Beritashvili, Ivan Solomonovich
1884- in Vedzhin (Georgia).
Founder of physiology school of Georgia. Professor at Tiflis Univ. His works are on role of central nervous system, on theory of electric shock in treatment, etc. Wrote: Obshchaia fiziologiia myshechnoi i nervnoi systemy, for which he received Stalin prize in 1941. Had committed grave errors against Pavlov's teachings but recanted later.

BE II 5:21
Problemy nervnoi fiziologii i povedeniia, 1936, p. 8

1 Beritov, I. S.
SEE Beritashvili, I. S.

646 5 Bliagoz, Khimsad Makhmudovna
Adyg. deputy Sov. Nats. VS SSSR
4. sozyv, 1954

Pravda 3/18/54

4 Bocharov, Ivan Lazarevich
Sev. Os. deputy Sov. Nats. VS SSSR
4. sozyv, 1954

Pravda 3/18/54

665 2 Boiakhchev, S. G.
Member of CC CP Arm.SSR, 18. s'ezd, 1956.
Kom. Er. 1/22/56

646 6 Boitsov, Ivan Pavlovich
Member of Sov. Soiuz VS SSSR, 4. sozyv, 1954; Stavropol. krai

Bak. Rab. 3/18/54

5 Bondarchuk, Tat'iana Nikolaevna
Kab. deputy Sov. Nats. VS SSSR 4. sozyv, 1954

Pravda, 3/18/54

535 1 (?) Bregvadze, Boris Iakovlevich
Stalin prize 2. class, 1950; ballet dancer; for role in Ali-Batyr, performed in Leningr. gos. akad. teatr opery i baleta im. S.M. Kirova.

Laur. Stalin. prem. 1950
p. 81

665 3 Bulyga, A. E.
CC CP Azerb. SSR, 20. s'ezd, 1954.

646 665 2 Buniatian, Artavazd Avakovich
Deputy to Sov. Nats. VS SSSR, 4. sozyv, 1954. Member CC CP Arm. SSR, 17-18. s'ezd, 1954, 1956

Kom. Er. 3/19/54, 1/22/56

7:Columbia U. S-4,5 1956 RHl Caucasia
RHl

875 1 Burchuladze, E. E.
Rector of Tiflis Univ. im. Stalina, 1954.

Zar. Vost. 2/18/54

646 1 Burchuladze, Mariia Ivlianovna
Adzhar. deputy Sov. Nats. VS SSSR 4. sozyv, 1954

Bak. Rab. 3/18/54

1 Burdzhanadze, Magdana Davidovna
Deputy to Sov. Nats. VS SSSR (4. s'ezd) 1954

Bak. Rab. 2/19/54

535 1 Chabukiani, Vakhtang Mikhailovich
Stalin prize 2. class, 1950
Choreographer of ballet Gorda, performed in Gruz. gos. teatr opery i baleta im. Paliashvili.

Laur. Stalin. prem. 1950
p. 81

759 1 Chachava, Mikhail Konstantinovich
646 Adzhar. deputy Sov. Nats. VS SSSR 4. sozyv, 1954. Born in Lanchkhuti 1902- Military physician; since 1930 surgeon in Tiflis. No party affiliation

Bak. Rab. 3/18/54
Zar. Vost. 2/13/54

7:Columbia U. S-4,5 1956 RH1 Caucasia
RH1

538 1 Cheishvili, Aleksandr Nikolaevich
Stalin prize 2. class, 1950, for novel Lelo.

Laur. Stalin. prem. 1950
p. 66

646 5 Chekmenev, Dmitrii Rodionovich
Kab. deputy Sov. Nats. VS SSSR
4. sozyv, 1954

Pravda, 3/18/54

546 1 Chiaureli, Mikhail Edisherovich
1894-. Film script writer; best films: Saba, Khabarda, etc. Rec'd Stalin prize in 1947. Also sculptor; did Lenin's statue in Tiflis. In his writings shows satirical bent. Acted in first Georgian film: Arsen Dzhordiiashvili, 1921. In 1946 directed film: Kliatva Stalina po mogile Lenina.

BE I 61:571
Soviet Calendar 1917-1947

646 4 Chibirov, Khristofor Tadiozovich
Sev. Os. deputy Sov. Nats. VS SSSR
4. sozyv, 1954.

Pravda, 3/18/54

646 1 Chichinadze, David Alekseevich
Deputy to Sov. Nats. VS SSSR (4. s'ezd, 1954). Born in Tiflis, 1902- . Blacksmith; head of locomotive concern. Deputy VS SSSR 1.-3. sozyv.

Bak. Rab. 3/19/54
Zar. Vost. 2/14/54

325 Chikashua, David Semenovich
Stalin prize 3. class, 1950
Head of metallurgical laboratory, Zestafonskii zavod.

Laur. Stalin. prem. 1950
p. 32

814 1 Chikobava, Arn. S.
1898- Philologian; follower of Stalin's dicta on linguistics; one of group that studied Caucasian languages. Opened discussion on Marr's theories in Pravda (1950).

BE II 13:70

646 1 Chikovani, Mikhail Gerasimovich
Abkhaz. deputy Sov. Nats. VS SSSR 4. sozyv, 1954. Born in Kazandzhik (Turkmenia), 1911- .

Bak. Rab. 3/18/54
Zar. Vost. 2/13/54

204 1 Chkhikvishvili, I.
Editor of Zaria vostoka (1955)

815 1 Chkhikvishvili, Zebed Iraklievich
Stalin prize 3. class, 1950
for geological works.

Laur. Stalin. prem. 1950
p. 35

538 1 Chkhivadze, Panteleimon
1903- . Georgian, proletarian writer. Member of CP SSSR. In his works he extolls possibilities of tomorrow. Wrote: Tov. Butkhuzi, Etazhi. Both are translated into Russian.

BE I 61:782

646 1 Chochua, Andrei Maksimovich
Abkhaz. deputy Sov. Nats. VS SSSR
4. sozyv, 1954

Bak. Rab. 3/18/54

665 2 Cholakchian, G. T.
Member CC CP Arm. SSR, 18. s'ezd, 1956.

Kom. Er. 1/22/56

793 2 Chorekchian, Georg VI
Only asst. until 1938. 1945 he was elected Catholicos of all Armenians. Under his era much propaganda was made to induce Armenians from abroad to come back to Armenia. He was looked on by Soviet regime with tolerance for his activities in the cause of peace.

Armenian Catholicos 1955?
Khoren 1938
Bull. Inst. Munich v. 3, No. 2, Feb. 1956, 42-46.

814 1 Chubinashvili, Georgii Nikolaevich
1885- . Prof. at Tiflis univ.; historian of Georgian architecture. Protagonist of idea that Georgian architecture developed independently from Armenian influence. Wrote: Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der georgischen Baukunst, 1921.

BE I 61:698

646 1 Chubinidze, Miron Dmitrievich
643
Deputy to Sov. Nats. VS SSSR (4. s'ezd, 1954). President of Presidium VS Gruz. SSR.

Bak. Rab. 3/19/54
Internatl. Yearbk. 1955:538

7: Columbia U. S-4, 5 1956 RHl Caucasia
RHl

401 2 Chuian, Mikhail Mikhailovich
Stalin prize 1st class, 1950 for mechanical engineering works.

Laur. Stalin. prem. 1950
p. 16.

•641 6 Chukhno, Andrei Vasil'evich
Member of Sov. Soiuz VS SSSR
4. sozyv, 1954 Stavropol. krai.

Bak. Rab. 3/18/54

5 Chundukov, Ibragim Saidovich
Adyg. deputy Sov. Nats. VS SSSR
4. sozyv, 1954

Pravda 3/18/54

341 3 Dadashev, Sadykh Alekper ogly, 1905-1946. Architect; artist of Azerb. Built many buildings in Baku, e. g. conservatory, Nizami museum; also statue of Nizami in Baku and Kirovabad. Did the Azerb. pavillion at the Moscow Soviet exposition in 1939. Has written many treatises on Azerb. architecture.

BE II 13:297

7: Columbia U. S-4, 5 1956 RHI Caucasia
RHI

538 1 Dadiani, Shalva Nikolaevich, 1874-
Georgian writer. Member of CP SSSR since 1945. People's artist of Georgia. Representative of critical realism in Georgian lit. Wrote: Iz iskry (1937) which was translated into Russian in 1940. Wrote 37 plays. Deputy to VS SSSR 1. -2. sozyv. Rec'd Lenin order.

BE II 13:299

• 646 4 Dagirov, Nabi Sadykovich
Dag. deputy Sov. Nats. VS SSSR, 4. soz., 1954

Pravda 3/18/54

646 2
815 Daiän, Viktoriia Ovanesovna
Deputy Sov. Nats. VS SSSR, 4. sozyv, 1954. Born 1904- in Nor Baiazet. Economist; teacher

Kom. Er. 3/19/54
2/17/54

815 1 Dalakishvili, Mikhail Semenovich
Stalin prize 3. class. Director of Inst. polevodstva Akad. nauk. Gruz. SSR. Prize rec'd for work: Vozdelyvanie pshenitsy v nizmennoi zone Zapadnoi Gruzii, publ. in Trudy Adzhametskoi opytnoi stantsii polevodstva Akad. nauk Gruz. SSR, 1949/50

Laur. Stalin. prem. 1950
p. 11

665 4
646 Danialov, Abdurakhmin Daniialovich
1st sect. CC CP Dagestan
Member CC CP SSSR 1956- (20. s'ezd). Member Sov. Soiuz VS SSSR 1954- (4. s'ezd)

NYT 2/27/56
Bak. Rab. 3/18/54

533 2
646 Danielian, Aikanush Bagdasarovna, 1893- Armenian singer. Born in Tiflis. Made debut in St. Petersburg. Now soloist with Erevan opera im. Spendiarov since 1932. Sings in Armenian operas mostly, but occasionally in Glinka and Meyerbeer operas also. Deputy to VS SSSR 2. sozyv.

BE II 13:338

538 2 Demirchian, Derenik Karapetovich
1877- Armenian writer; born in Akhalkalaki in Georgia. Began as poet in 1893, later influenced by Gorkii. Wrote short story Sato in 1929, comedy Khrabryi Nazar in 1942, historical novel Vartanidy (2 vols. 1943/44)

BE II 3:87
13:652

646 1 Dgebuadze, Nina Kalistratovna
Deputy to Sov. Nats. VS SSSR (4. s'ezd, 1954)

Bak. Rab. 2/19/54

665 2 Dilanian, A. O.
Member CC CP Arm. SSR, 17.-18. s'ezd, 1954, 1956

Kom. Er. 1/22/56

3 Dmitriev, A. P.
CC CP Azerb. SSR, 20. s'ezd, 1954

7:Columbia U. S-4, 5 1956 RHl Caucasia
RHl

815 1
646

Dzhanelidze, Aleksandr Illainovich 1888-. Georgian geologist; member of Akad. nauk Gruz. SSR; deputy to VS Gruz. SSR 1.-3. sozyv. Writes on paleontology. 1951- vice president of Akad. nauk Gruz. SSR; professor at Tiflis univ. Head of Inst. geol. Akad. nauk Gruz. SSR. Specialist in regional tectonics of Georgia.

BE II 13:70
14:212

759 1 (3?)

Dzhanelidze, Justin Ivlianovich 1883-1950. Surgeon; member of Akad. med. nauk SSR; editor of Vestnik khirugriiim. Grekova, 1937-1941. Stalin prize in 1949. Specialist on heart wound surgery. Pres. of 25. Vsesoiuz. s'ezd khirurgov. Encycl. does not mention that he is Azerb. or Georgian in origin.

BE II 14:212

816 1
646

Dzhanelidze, Tamaz Vissarionovich Adzhar. deputy Sov. Nats. VS SSSR 4. sozyv, 1954. Born in Tiflis, 1926- Engineer, party official of Komsomol. 1st sect. CC LKSM of Georgia (Zar. Vost. 29. Dec. 1955, p. 4)

Bak. Rab. 3/18/54
Zar. Vost. 2/13/54

7:Columbia U. S-4, 5 1956 RH1 Caucasia
RH1

532 646 1 Dzhaparidze, Ucha Malakievich 1906- in Tiflis. Painter; member CP SSSR 1944- Painted portraits of Shota Rustaveli, Chavchavadze (1937), Paliashvili (1941). Beriia (1950). Most known painting: "1. maiskaia demonstratsiia v Tbilise." Deputy VS Gruz. SSR 1. 3. sozyv; people's artist of Georgia. Studied under Toidze, Lansere.

BE II 14:214

815 1 Dzhavakhishvili, Aleksandr Nikolaevich, 1875-
Geographer and anthropologist; member of Akad. nauk Gruz. SSR. Organized cartography inst. Wrote Antropologiia Gruzii, 1908-1914, in 2 vols. Also: Geografiia Gruzii in 1926.

BE II 14:198

643 665 1 Dzhavakhishvili, Givi Dmitrievich Premier of Georgia. Member CC CP SSSR 1956 - (20. s'ezd) Member Sov. Soiuz, VS SSSR 1954- (4. s'ezd)

NYT 2/27/56
Bak. Rab. 3/18/54
Zar. Vost. 2/17/54

814 1
646
●

Dzhavakhishvili, Ivan Aleksandrovich, 1876-1940
Georgian historian. Wrote on Armenian-Georgian philology in his dissertation. Was among organizers Georgian university. Deputy to VS SSSR. Wrote also: Osnovnye voprosy istorii gruzinsk. iazyka.

BE II 14:198

645 1

Dzhibladze, G. N.
Minister of education Gruz. SSR, 1954

Zar. Vost. 2/18/54

377 1

Dzhigaur, Georgii Mikhailovich
Stalin prize 2. class, 1950 chief specialist of hydrotechnical research of Tiflis Gidroenergoproekt.

Laur. Stalin. prem. 1950
p. 44

646 1

Dzhokhadze, Mariia Nikolaevich
Deputy to Sov. Soiuz VS SSSR (4. s'ezd, 1954)

Bak. Rab. 2/18/54

643 1

Dzhugashvili
see Stalin, Iosif Vissarionovich
[cf. cat. 116, pp. 804-805 -- Analyst]

646 2 Eslian, Ruben Osipovich
Deputy Sov. Nats. VS SSSR,
4. sozyv, 1954.

Kom. Er. 3/19/54

665 2 Erzinkian, A. G.
Member CC CP Arm. SSR, 18. s'ezd,
1956.

Kom. Er. 1/22/56

331 2 Etmekdzhiian, Ashot Arutiunovich
Stalin prize 1950 for certain iron-
work construction. Head of
Glaviugstroi.

Laur. Stalin.prem. 1950
p. 49

646 4 Farzinova, Zareta Balcevna
Sev. Os. deputy Sov. Nats. VS SSSR
4. sozyv, 1954

Pravda 3/18/54

665 3 Fediuninskii, I. I.
Member of presidium CC CP Azerb.
SSR, 21. s'ezd, 1956

Bak. Rab. 1/26/56

665 3 Filiashkin, K. I.
CC CP Azerb. SSR, 20. sezd, 1954

669 3 Fioletov, Ivan Timofeevich (Vania)
1884-1918. Azerb. revolutionary. One of the 26 Bakinskie komissary, organizer of Bakinskaia kommuna. Bol'shevik since 1903. After February revolution elected to Ispol. komit. sovet. Fought against Mensheviks, dashnaky and mussavisty. Komissar and president of Sovet narod. khoziaist. in Baku; member of Kavkazskii krai. kometet bol'shevikov. Executed in 1918.

BE I 57:630

641 5 Firsov, Vasilii Nikiforovich
Cherkes. deputy Sov. Nats. VS SSSR 4. sozyv, 1954

Pravda 3/18/54

4 Fomicheva, Efrosin'ia Alekseevna
Dag. deputy Sov. Nats. VS SSSR 4. sozyv, 1954
Pravda 3/18/54

538 1 Gabashvili, Ekaterina Revazovna
1851-1938. Born in Gori. Wrote on peasant themes and stood for feminist movements.
BE II 13:77

532 1 Gabashvili, Georgii Ivanovich, 1862-1936.
Georgian realist painter, influenced by Repin. Paintings: Posle dozhda, Prodavets chaia, Khramovoi prazdnik. Prefers to paint scenes from present and past local Georgian life. Organized art academy in Tiflis.

BE II 9:590

538 5 Gabiev, Said, 1877-
Lak poet; wrote; zvuki lakskoi chengury, 1928.

BE II 13:288

• 64 5 Gabitov, Abdulla Gismotullovich
Kab. deputy Sov. Nats. VS SSSR 4. sozyv, 1954

Pravda, 3/18/54

533 2 Gabrielian, Avet Karpovich, 1899-
Violinist; people's artist of Armenia; teaches at Moscow conservatory; member of Komitats chamber orchestra group, awarded Stalin prize in 1946.

BE II 9:595

538 2 Gabrielian, Rachii Kocharovich
see
Rachii Kochar (pseud.) 1

815 1 Gabuniia, Evtikhii Bagratovich
Stalin prize 3. class, 1950 geologist.

Laur. Stalin.prem. 1950
p. 35

538 4(1?) Gadiev, Tsomak, Mikhail Iur'evich, 1883-1931
Ossetian revolutionary poet; son of Osset. revolutionary Seka Gadiev. The poems lash against czarist regime. Narod, Nabat; Glorification of socialism Chest' predkov, 1931, about Osset. peasants becoming collectivized. Unfinished trilogy: Idushchie k schast'iu, 1929-

BE II 9:613

646 1 Gadliia, Mariia Vladimirovna
Abkhaz. deputy Sov. Nats. VS SSSR, 4. sozyv, 1954.

Bak. Rab. 3/18/54

1 [cf. cat. 116, p. 788 -- Analyst]

7: Columbia U. S-4, 5 1956 RHl CaucasiaRHl

533 3 Gadzhibabekov, Gusein Aga Sultan ogly, 1898- ; tenor; people's artist of Azerb. Sang in chorus 'Nidzhat' of Baku. Since 1917 in Azerb. opera. Has rather high voice, andin pre-revolutionary times when women were not allowed to sing on stage, sang many feminine roles; Since 1920 soloist of Akhundov opera in Baku. Sings many roles of Gadzhibekov and Magomaev operas.

BE II 9:611

533 3 646 Gadzhibekov, Uzeir Abdul Gusein ogly, 1885-1948 (born in Agdzhabed) Composer, founder of Azerb. opera; people's artist of SSSR. Rec'd Stalin prize twice. Member of Akad. nauk Azerb. SSR since 1945; deputy to VS SSSR 1-2 sozyv, CP member since 1938. Studied in teachers seminary of Gori. Wrote: Leila i Medzhun 1908, Sheikh Senan, Rustam i Zokhrab; 1936 heroic opera: Ker-Ogly, produced in Moscow in 1938. In 1939 cantata for Stalin's 60. birthday. Rec'd Stalin prize for film made after his musical comedy Arshin mal alan. Wrote unfinished opera: Firuza. Wrote on folk themes of Azerb. opera in Osnovy azerb. narodnoi muzyki. 1945.

BE II 9:611-3

665 3 Gadzhiev, N. M.
Member of presidium CC CP Azerb. SSR, 20.-21. s'ezd, 1954, 1956.

Bak. Rab. 1/26/56

641 759 3 Gadzhi-Kasumov, Mustafa Makhmud ogly. Nakhichev. deputy Sov. Nats. VS SSSR, 4. sozyv, 1954. Finished med. faculty of Kharkov in 1910; professor of gynecology of Azerb. inst. of medicine since 1938. Was member of Zakavkaz. ispolnit. kom. Deputy to VS Azerb. SSR.

Bak. Rab. 3/18/54
2/20/54

538 4 Gafurov, Abutalid, 1883-
Dagestani poet; at 18. s'ezd of CP SSSR read poem about Stalin Reki stremiatsia k moriu.

BE II 13:288

646 1 Gagiev, Aleksei Davidovich
Iugo-Os. deputy Sov. Nats. VS SSSR 4. sozyv, 1954

Pravda 3/18/54

5382 204 Gaidar (pseud. of Golikov, Arkadii) 1904-1941. Armenian writer, born in L'gov. Wrote: Shkola, Chuk i Gek, Timur i ego komanda; was military correspondent in World War II, and died in war.

Kom. Er. 2/21/54

401 2 Galfaian, Markar Karapetovich Stalin prize 3. class, 1950 for work on a three-phase generator.

Laur. Stalin.prem. 1950 p. 43

646 2 Galoian, Aslan Akopovich Deputy to Sov. Nats. VS SSSR, 4. sozyv, 1954

Kom. Er. 3/19/54

665 2 Galstian, N. S Member CC CP Arm. SSR, 17.-18. s'ezd, 1954, 1956.

Kom. Er. 1/22/56

•646 3 Gasanova, Gyzgaid Salman kyzy
Deputy to Sov. Nats. VS SSSR
(4. sozyv, 1954)

Bak. Rab. 3/19/54

3 Gasanova, Shamama Makhmudali kyzy
Deputy to Sov. Soiuz VS SSSR.
(4. s'ezd, 1954) Born in 1923-
Cotton-worker; Geroi sotsial. truda.

BE II 10:257
Bak. Rab. 3/18/54

665 2 Gasparian, D. A
Member CC CP Arm. SSR, 17.-18.
s'ezed, 1954, 1956.

Kom. Er. 1/22/56

5332 Gasparian, Goar Mikaelovna
Stalin prize 3. class, 1950 for operatic
role in Stepanian's Geroinia.

Laur. Stalin.prem. 1950
p. 80

665 2 Gazarian, V. R.
Member of CC CP Arm. SSR, 18. s'ezd,
1956

Kom. Er. 1/22/56

• 646 1 Gegeshidze, Georgii Andreevich
Deputy to Sov. Soiuz VS SSSR
(4. s'ezd, 1954)

Bak. Rab. 2/18/54

646 1
533 Georgadze, Leila Mikhailovna
Deputy to Sov. Nats. VS SSSR
(4. s'ezd, 1954) Born in Tiflis,
1924- ; singer; graduated from
Saradzhishvili conservatorium;
presently with the Tiflis Paliashvili
opera & theater.

Bak. Rab. 2/19/54
Zar. Vost. 2/13/54

646 1
643 Georgadze, Mikhail Porfi'evich
Deputy to Sov. Nats. VS SSSR
(4. s'ezd, 1954) 1st deputy president
of Georgia. Minister of agriculture
of Georgia.

Bak. Rab. 2/19/54
Zar. Vost. 2/17/54

646 5 Gerasimov, Sergei Appolinarievich
Adyg. deputy Sov. Nats. VS SSSR
4. sozyv, 1954

Pravda 3/18/54

7: Columbia U. S-4, 5 1956 RHI Caucasia RHI

665 2 Gevondian, S. A.
Member CC CP Arm. SSR, 17.-18. s'ezd, 1954, 1956

Kom. Er. 1/22/56

3 Gidaiatov, E. I.
CC CP Azerb. SSR, 20. s'ezd, 1954.

816 645 3 Giulmamedov, Ibragim Alekper ogly
Stalin prize 2. class, 1950 for new ways of agricultural plant production. Minister of vodnoe khoziaistvo Azerb. SSR.

Luar. Stalin.prem. 1950
p. 55

532 646 2 Giurdzhian, Gabriel Mikhailovich, 1892- Armenian painter; deputy to VS SSSR 1st and 3rd sozyv. Professor of Erevan art academy.
Zavodskii peizazh, 1949.
Ukladka kolkhoznogo sena v stoga, 1944, Vesna v Armenii, 1945

BE II 3:390
13:252

646 1 Gogitidze, Naziko Khasanovna
Adzhar, deputy Sov. Nats. VS SSSR 4. sozyv, 1954.

Bak. Rab. 3/18/54

7: Columbia U, S-4, 5 1956 RHl Caucasia RHl

538 2 Golikov, Arkadii
see
Gaidar (pseud) 1/1

• 646 6 Golovchenko, Vasilii Ivanovich
Member of Sov. Soiuz Krasnodar. krai, VS SSSR, 4. sozyv, 1954.

Bak. Rab. 3/18/54

2 Gorbatov, Aleksandr Vasil'evich
Deputy Sov. Nats. VS SSSR
4. sozyv, 1954

Kom. Er. 3/19/54

536 1 Gotsiridze, N. S.
1872-1949; Georgian actor.

BE II 13:95

646 1 Gotsiridze, Otar Davidovich
Deputy to Sov. Nats. VS SSSR
(4. s'ezd, 1954)

Bak. Rab. 2/19/54

1/[cf. cat. 116, p. 720 - - Analyst]

7: Columbia U, S -4, 5 1956 RHl Caucasia RHl

665 646 3 Grigorian, Egishe Petrosovich
Born in Magavuz, 1902-
Member of CC CP Azerb. SSR, 20.-21. s'ezd, 1954, 1956. 1942-1952 1st sect. Nagorno-Karabakhskii obkom CP Azerb. SSR. Deputy VS SSSR 2. sozyv; Deputy VS Azerb. SSR. Unsuccessful candidate to Sov. Nats. VS SSSR 4. sozyv in 1954.

Bak. Rab. 2/24/54
1/26/56

341 2 Grigorian, Mark Vladimirovich, 1900-
Armenian architect; built the offices of CC CP Arm. SSR in Erevan. Member of CP since 1945. 1938-1950 chief architect of Erevan. Builds in traditional Armenian style, but shows traces of Italian renaissance, too. Stalin prize, 3. class, 1950.

BE II 12:608
Laur. Stalin. prem. 1950
p. 76

665 2 Grigorian, V. KH.
Member CC CP Arm. SSR, 18.s'ezd, 1956.

Kom. Er. 1/22/56

•646 1 Gulieva, Ol'ga Maksimovna
Iugo-Os. deputy Sov. Nats.
VS SSR 4. sozyv, 1954
Born in Tbeti, 1923-
Ossetian language instructor; no
party affiliation.

Pravda 3/18/54
Zar. Vost. 2/13/54

1 Guniia, Avtandil Levanovich
Deputy to Sov. Nats. VS SSSR
(4. s'ezd, 1954) Minister of
culture of Georgia.

Bak. Rab. 2/19/54
Zar. Vost. 2/17/54

814 3 Guseinov, G.
Russko-azerbaidzhanskii slovar',
v. 1-4, Baku, 1940-1946
Stat'i po istorii razvitiia filosofskoi
i obshchestvennoi mysli v Azer-
baidzhane. Baku, 1948

BE II 1:486 & 452

665 3 Guseinov, K. A.
Member of presidium CC CP Azerb.
SSR, 20.-21. s'ezd, 1954, 1956

Bak. Rab. 1/26/56

•646 3 Gus'kov, Anatolii Mikhailovich
665 Deputy to Sov. Soiuz. VS SSSR
(4. s'ezd, 1954)
Member of CC CP Azerb. SSR.,
20.-21. s'ezd, 1954, 1956
Born in Moscow, 1914-
Member of Internal Affairs Azerb.
SSR since 1953.

Bak. Rab. 3/18/54, 2/25/54, 1/26/56

538 1 Gvetadze, Razhden Matveevich
1897- . Georgian writer, symbolist.
Belonged to group Golubye rogi,
Georgian symbolist poets. Translated Chanson de Roland and Ramayana into Georgian.

BE II 10:290

665 3 Iakovlev, D. D.
Member of presidium CC CP Azerb.
SSR, 21. s'ezd, 1956

Bak. Rab. 1/26/56

3 Ibragimov, A. I.
CC CP Azerb. SSR, 20. s'ezd, 1954

646 4 Ibragimov, Davud
Dag. deputy Sov. Nats. VS SSR
4. sozyv, 1954

Pravda, 3/18/54

646 643 538 3 Ibragimov, Mirza Azhdar ogly (born in 1911- no place found) Deputy to Sov. Nats. VS SSSR (4. sozyv, 1954) President of Presidium VS Azerb. SSR since 1954- President of Soiuz sovet. pisat. Azerb. Member of CC CP Azerb. SSR 20-21 s'ezd 1954, 1956. Philologian, writer; member of Akad. nauk Azerb. SSR. Dramas: Khaiat (1937), Madrid (1938), Nastupit den' (1948; rec'd Stalin prize for it in 1951).

Bak. Rab. 3/19/54 and 3/10/54; 2/28/54, 1/26/56, 12/28/55

Laur. Stalin. prem. 1950 p. 66

646 1 Ignitian, Sergei Mezovich Deputy to Sov. Nats. VS SSSR (4. s'ezd, 1954)

Bak. Rab. 2/19/54

665 3 Ignatov, I. P. Member of presidium CC CP Azerb. SSR, 21. s'ezd, 1956

Bak. Rab. 1/26/56

• 646 1 Inauri, Aleksei Nikolaevich
Deputy to Sov. Soiuz VS SSSR
(4. s'ezd, 1954)

Bak. Rab. 2/18/54

665 2 Ioannesian, K. I.
693 Member of CC CP Arm. SSR, 17.-18. s'ezd, 1954, 1956. Public prosecutor of Armenian Supreme Court.

Kom. Er. 1/22/56

538 2 Isaakian, Avetik Saakovich
646 1875-, Aleksandropol (now Leninakan). President of writers' union of Armenia. Since 1946 member of Akad. nauk Arm. SSR. Deputy to VS SSR 3. sozyv. Studied in Leipzig. Stalin prize 1946. Lyric poet; studied in ecclesiastic. seminary. Famous poem: Abu-Lala-Maari translated into many European languages. 1930-36 lived in Paris where he worked against enemies of Armenian dashnaky. Very nationalistically inclined.

BE II 3:86 18:471-2
I 29:280-1

532 2 Isabekian, E. A.
20th century painter; most famous statue is Abovian Khachatur.

BE II 1:20

• 646 4 Isaev, Magomed Isaevich
Dag. deputy Sov. Nats. VS SSSR 4. soz. 1954

Pravda 3/18/54

536 5 Isaeva, Asai
20. c. Chechen actress

BE 1 61:535

377 2 Isagulian, Amasii Vasakovich
Stalin prize 3. class, 1954. Chief constructor of Erevanskii mashinostroi, zavod. Prize for collaborating on a three-phase synchronic generator.

Laur. Stalin. prem. 1950
p. 43

646 2 Ishkhanian, Ashkhen Tigranovna
Deputy to Sov. Nats. VS SSSR, 4. sozyv, 1954

Kom. Er. 3/19/54

7:Columbia U. S-4, 5 1956 RH1 Caucasia
RH1

706 1 Iskaov, Admiral Ivan Stepanovich 1894-, Tiflis. Naval officer, educated in technol. institute. Taught Soviet mil. acad. till 1937. Commander of Baltic fleet; flag officer 2nd rank; 2nd vice-commissar of Navy. Admiral in 1939. Same year visited USA as member of commission placing an order. Navy chief of staff in 1941; admiral of fleet since 1944. Deputy to VS SSSR (1936). Head of editorial board: Marine Atlas. Wrote: The Navy in the Patriotic War, 1944.

World biogr. 1954, p. 577

645 665 3 Iskenderov, Gusein Nadzhaf Minister of automobile transportation (1954) - Azerb. Member of CC CP Azerb. SSR, 20. s'ezd, 1954.

Bak. Rab. 3/10/54

665 3 Iskenderov, M. S. CC CP Azerb. SSR, 20. s'ezd, 1954

815 665 646 3 Iskenderov, Mamed Abdul ogly Deputy to Sov. Soiuz VS SSSR 4. s'ezd, 1954. Born in Eivazlar, 1915-. Geologist; 1953- 1st. sect. Bakinskii gorodskoi komitet; 1954, 1956, member of CC CP Azerb. SSR 20.-21. s'ezd. Deputy to VS Azerb. SSR.

Bak. Rab. 3/18/54, 1/26/54

646 3
816

Islam-Zade, Islam Mamedovich
Deputy to Sov. Nats. VS SSSR (4. sozyv, 1954). Born in Baku, 1910-; Engineer; deputy to VS Azerb. SSR

Bak. Rab. 3/19/54

665 3

Ismailov, K. G.
CC CP Azerb. SSR, 20. s'ezd, 1954

646 5

Kade, Khalid Batkerievich
Adyg. deputy Sov. Nats. VS SSSR 4. sozyv, 1954

Pravda 3/18/54

532 3
(1?)

Kakabadze, Silovan Iakimovich
1895-. Azerb. sculptor; studied under Nikoladze. Did busts of Geladze, a socialist worker and Dzhanashi, academician. Stalin prize in 1941 for his Stalin monument in Tiflis.

BE II 19:392

646 1

Kakhadze, Rusudana Davidovna
Deputy to Sov. Soiuz VS SSSR (4. s'ezd, 1954)

Bak. Rab. 2/18/54

7:Columbia U. S-4, 5 1956 RH1 Caucasia

RH1

316 3(?) Kamladze, Aleksandr Artem'evich
Stalin prize 1. class
Mining engineer

Laur. Stalin. prem. 1950
p. 34

669 3(?) Kamo (pseud.) Party-pseudonym of Ter-Petrosian, Semën Arshakovich Born in Gori, 1882-1922. Prof. revolutionary. Died in car accident. Collaborated with Stalin.

BE II 19:543

242 1 Kanchaveli, L.
Director of the Institute of plant protection of Akad. nauk, SSR Gruz., 1954

Zar. Vost. 2/17/54

538 2 Kaputikian, Sil'va Barunakovna 1919- . Armenian poetess, born in Erevan. Stalin prize in 1952. Wrote Vera, Esli vdrug pozuvut menia, etc.

BE II 20:90

• 646 2 Karapetian, Sashibek Airapetovich
Deputy Sov. Nats. VS SSSR, 4. sozyv, 1954.

Kom. Er. 3/19/54

646 665 3 Karasev, Aleksandr Petrovich
Deputy to Sov. Nats. VS SSSR (4. sozyv, 1954). Member of CC CP Azerb. SSSR

Bak. Rab. 3/19/54

533 1 Karashvili, Andrei Nikolaevich
1857-1925. Georgian composer; wrote 1st Georgian quartet based on folk melody.

BE II 20:144

646 5 Kardanov, Adam Aisovich
Cherkes. deputy Sov. Nats. VS SSSR 4. sozyv, 1954.

Pravda 3/18/54

645 665 3 Kasim-Zade, Enver Ali ogly
Minister of civilian housing, Azerb. 1954. Member of CC CP Azerb. SSR.

Bak. Rab. 3/10/54

665 646 643 3 Kasumov, Mir Bashir Fattakh ogly
1879-1949. Born in Tebriz. Party organizer; revolutionary member of CP Azerb. SSR. 1920-21 head of Baku worker-peasant inspection.

665
• 646
643

1935-7 people's commissar of Azerb. social security. Deputy to VS SSSR 1.-2. sozyv. 1938-1948 president of VS Azerb. SSR presidium.

BE II 20:346

645 3

Kasumov, Salim Kasumovich
Minister of local industry, Azerb. 1954.

Bak. Rab. 3/10/54

669 2

Katanian, R. P.
One of the signers of a letter to Pravda. One of the old members of the 1905 revolution, formerly described in Soviet propaganda as the chief of "nationalist opposition" group in Armenia. For almost a generation his name had not appeared in the official press.

NYT 3/12/56

669 3(1?)
645
648

Kavtaradze, S. I.
(no dates, place) Order of Lenin, of Red Labor flag. Educated in Leningr. Univ. (law degree). Engaged in revolutionary work in Baku 1903. On editorial staff of Pravda 1913-14. Return to Caucasus in 1918. Chairman of the Council of People's Commissars of Georgia, 1921-22. Legal

814 drevnegruzinskoi literatury. 2 vols. 1923-24. 3. ed. 1951-52. Did some work on Byzantine literature as reflected in Georgian translation, and unavailable in the original.

BE II 20:491

• 646 1 Kemoklidze, Parten Georgevich
Deputy to Sov. Soiuz VS SSSR (4. s'ezd, 1954).

Bak. Rab. 2/18/54

538 5 Kerashev, Tembot Magometovich 1903- . Adygeian prose-writer. Translated "International" into Adygeian. Novel Shambul about collectivization of Adygeia. Rec'd Stalin prize in 1948 for Doroga k schast'iu.

BE II 20:551, I 61:254

316 3(?) Kereselidze, Konstantin Georgievich
Stalin prize 3. class, 1950. Mining engineer.

Laur. Stalin. prem. 1950
p. 35

665 3 Kerimov, A. G.
CC CP Azerb. SSR, 20. s'ezd, 1954.

665 3 Kerimova, Z. A.
CC CP Azerb. SSR, 20. s'ezd, 1954

538 5 Keshokov, A.
1914-
Kabardian author; wrote poem
U podnozh'ia gor, 1941

BE II 19:216

815 875 646 1 Ketskhoveli, Nikolai Nikolaevich
1897-. Botanist; member of Akad. nauk Gruz. SSR since 1941; rector of Tiflis univ. since 1945. Collected material on Georgian forests. Published: Atlas kul'turnoi flory Gruzii, Flora Gruzii. Deputy to VS SSR I. 3. sozyv. Head of agricult. div. Akad. nauk Gruz. SSR.

BE II 20:578
Zar. Vost. 2/17/54

645 1 Ketsoveli, Z. N.
Minister of food industry Gruz. SSR, 1954.

Zar. Vost. 2/17/54

533 2 Khachaturian, Aram Il'ich
1904-, Tiflis. Finished conservatory in Moscow 1934. Began with

538 temporary life Cherkessian.

BE I 61:254

5 Khavpachev, Amirkhan
1882-. Kabardian poet; wrote: Partizany Kabardy, My pobediteli, Slava Stalinu.

BE II 19:216

647 1 Khazan, A. S.
Former investigator of Georgian Commissariat of Int. Aff. Executed Nov. 1955.

NYT
Zar. Vost.

646 4 Khetagurova, Tamara Soltanovna
Sev. Os. deputy Sov. Nats. VS SSSR 4. sozyv, 1954.

Pravda, 3/18/54

6 Khoruzhenko, Ol'ga Petrovna
Member of Sov. Soiuz VS SSSR, 4. sozyv, 1954; Krasnodar. krai

Bak. Rab. 3/18/54

538 1 Kiacheli, Leo
(presently called:Shengelaia, Leon Mikhailovich). 1884-. Georgian writer; born in Obudzhi. Wrote Krov', Gvadi Bigva, 1938, for which he rec'd Stalin prize in 1941.

BE II 20:582

535 1 Kikaleishvili, Zurabu Malakievich.
People's artist of Georgia; Stalin prize winner for dance choreography. (Collaborated with Chabukiani on ballet Gorda.)

Zar. Vost. 2/30/55
Laur. Stalin. prem. 1950, p. 81

• 646 5 Khmelev, Ivan Fedorovich
Cherkes. deputy Sov. Nats. VS SSSR 4. sozyv, 1954.

Pravda 3/18/54

536 1 Khorava, Akakii Alekseevich
Deputy to Sov. Nats. VS SSSR (4. s'ezd, 1954). Born Ochkhomuri, 1895-. Actor (classical roles); director of Tiflis Rustaveli theatre (1949-); member of committee awarding Stalin prizes on lit. and drama. Won 5 Stalin prizes.

Bak. Rab. 3/19/54
Zar. Vost 2/13/54

7: Columbia U. S-4, 5 1956 RHl Caucasia RHl

533 2(3?) Kocharian, A. Armianskaia Narodnaia muzyka-obshchii obzov. M. 1939

BE I 3:99

2 Kocharian, Suren Akimovich
People's artist of Armenia; member of Moscow's philharmonia orchestra. Stalin prize 3. class, 1950

Laur. Stalin.prem. 1950
p. 73

646 6 Kochergov, Vasilii Nikitovich
Member of Sov. Soiuz VS SSSR, Krasnodar. krai, 4. sozyv, 1954

Bak. Rab. 3/18/54

646 2
665 Kochinian, Anton Ervandovich
Deputy to Sov. Soiuz VS SSSR 4. sozyv, 1954. Member CC CP Arm. SSR, 18. s'ezd, 1956. Might be the chairman of the Council of Ministers of Armenia, 1955

Kom. Er. 3/18/54, 1/22/54

532 2 (3?) Kodzhoian, A. G.
"Prazdnik urozhaia" Armenian painting 1947.

BE II. 3:90

7: Columbia U, S-4, 5 1956 RHl Caucasia RHl

646 5 Komarov, Pavel Timofeevich
Kab. deputy Sov. Nats VS SSSR
4. sozyv, 1954.

Pravda 3/18/54

533 2 Komitas
1869-1935 (real name: Sogomonian, Sogomon Gevorkovich) Born in Kuti, Turkey. Armenian composer; studied at Echmiadzin seminary. In 1910 went to Constantinople and finally died in Paris. Buried in Soviet Armenia. Wrote down over 3000 Armenian folk songs.

BE II 20:159-160

665 3 Kremleva, E. A.
CC CP Azerb. SSR, 20.s'ezd, 1954

647 1 Krimian, N. A. --Nov. 1955
Executed as possible Beriia accomplice. Former investigator in Georgian Commissariat of Internal Affairs.

NYT

Zaria Vostoka

646 1 Kuchava, Mitrofan Ionovich
Deputy to Sov. Nats. VS SSSR
(4. s'ezd, 1954)

Bak. Rab. 2/19/54

646 1 Kudzhiashvili, Ivan Petrovich
Iugo-Os. deputy Sov. Nats. VS SSSR
4. sozyv, 1954

Pravda 3/18/54

646 665 3 Kuliev, Makhmud Kuli ogly
Deputy to Sov. Nats. VS SSSR
(4. s'ezd, 1954) Member CC CP
Azer. SSR, 20.s'ezd, 1954

Bak. Rab. 2/19/54

646 5 Kulik, Georgii Tarasovich
Kab. deputy Sov. Nats. VS SSSR
4. sozyv, 1954

Pravda 3/18/54

647 3 Kuloshvili, Irodion Semenovich
Stalin prize 2. class, 1950 for better
production of cotton. Head of a
division in the ministry of water
transport.

Laur. Stalin prem. 1950
p. 55

665 3 Kurbanov, M. K.
CC CP Azer. SSR, 20.s'ezd, 1954.

341/646 1 Kurdiani, Archil Grigor'evich
1903 - Georgian architect; 1936-1944 chief architect of Tiflis; rec'd Stalin prize for the Georgia pavilion at the All-Union agricultural exhibit in Moscow, 1941. Deputy to VS SSSR.

BE II 24:90

538 1 (2?) Kurginian, Shushanik Arutiunovna
1875-1927. Armenian poetess; proletarian themes.

BE II 24:89-90

646 4 Kurmagomedova, Patimat
Dag. deputy Sov. Nats. VS SSSR 4. sozyv, 1954.

Pravda 3/18/54

665 3 Kuz'min, A. V
CC CP Azerb. SSR, 20. s'ezd, 1954.

3 Kuzovenkov, I. E.
CC CP Azerb. SSR, 20. s'ezd, 1954.

646 1 Labakhua, Ketevana Vissarionovna
Abkhaz. deputy Sov. Nats. VS SSSR 4. sozyv, 1954.

Bak. Rab. 3/18/54

532 1 Lansere, Evgenii Evgen'evich 1875-1946. Member of "mir iskusstva" school of painting; began painting with historical portraits. Painted: Zangezur 1926, Krasnye partizany Dagestana, 1931. Illustrated L. Tolstoy's Kazaky and Khadzhi Murat.

BE II 24: 283-4

535 1 Lapiashvili, Parnaoz Georgevich Stalin prize 2. class, for ballet performance in Gorda.

Laur. Stalin prem. 1950 p. 81

645 1 Leleshvili, M. M. Minister of transportation, Gruz. SSR, 1954.

Zar. Vost. 2/17/54

538 646 1 Leonidze, Georgii Nikolaevich, born in Patardzeuli 1889-. Georgian writer; depicts socialism. CP member since 1945. Deputy VS Gruz. SSR 3.sozyv. Started career as symbolist poet of "Golubye rogi" group. Later wrote: Leninu, 1936, Rodinu poiu, 1936. Stalin prize in 1941, 1952. Now works on history of Georgian lit. 17-19th c.

BE II 24-578

817 1
646

Lomtatidze, Ketevana Vissarionovna Born in Khidistavi, 1911- philologian; editor of v. 7 Tolkovyi slovar' gruzinskogo iazyka; Director of Inst. iazykoznaniia Akad. nauk Gruz. SSR CP member since 1952. Abkhaz. deputy Sov. Nats. VS SSSR, 4.sozyv, 1954.

Zar. Vost 2/13/54
Bak. Rab. 3/18/54

325 1

Lordkipanidze, Iraklii Semenovich Stalin prize 3. class 1950 for work in metallurgy.

Laur. Stalin. prem. 1950
p. 32

538 1

Lordkipanidze, Konstantin Aleksandrovich 1904 - Didi-Dzhikhanti Georgian writer. Wrote: Novye krest'iane, 1930. Doloi kukuruznuiu respubliku, 1934. Zaria Kolkhidy, 1949 (extols CP of Georgia in this)

BE II 25:412

~~528~~ 1 Lordkipanidze, Nikolai Merabovich, 1880-1944, born in Chuneshi. Wrote: Razorennye gnezda, 1916; Groznyi vlastelin, 1912; Nepreklonnye, 1938-44. Writes about disintegrating society of landowners, and extols virtues of peasants.

BE II 25:412

~~546~~ 6 Lyskin, Nikolai Fadeevich
Member of Sov. Soiuz. VS SSSR, 4. sozyv, 1954, Stavropol. krai

Bak. Rab 3/18/54

1 Machavariani, Tamara Akakievna
Deputy to Sov. Nats. VS SSSR (4. s'ezd, 1954)

Bak. Rab. 3/19/54

3251 Maglakelidze, Lavrentii Sofromovich
Stalin prize 3. class, 1950 metallurgical engineer.

Laur. Stalin.prem. 1950
p. 32

7: Columbia U.S-4.5 1956 RHI CaucasiaRHI

646
645 3 Magomaev, Dzamal Eddin Muslimovich Deputy to Sov. Nats. VS SSSR (4 sozyv, 1954) Deputy president of VS Azerb. SSR. 1948- Born in Lenkorani, 1910- 1952-2nd sect. Bakinskii oblast. komitet, 1933 minister of local industry Azerb Member of CC CP Azerb. SSSR.

Bak Rab. 3/19/54
3/10/54
2/24/54

646 4 Magomedov, Dzhamaludin Makhmudovich, Dag. deputy Sov. Nats. VS SSSR 4 sozyv, 1954.

Pravda 3/18/54

533 1(3?) Magomaev, Muslim Magometovich, 1885-1937, Operatic composer; wrote Shakh Ismail, 1916. Lived in Baku, where he conducted most of his operas. Wrote opera Negriz, 1935 extolling in it the Soviet power in Azerbaidzhan.

BE II 26:43

646 4 Magomedova, Aishat Gamzatovna Dag. deputy Sov. Nats. VS SSSR 4. sozyv, 1954.

Pravda 3/18/54

7: Columbia U. S-4, 5 1956 RHI Caucasia RHI

643 1 Makharadze, Filipp eseevich, 1868-1941. Born in Karis-Kure. Since 1903 active among Caucasian proletariat. Translated Lenin's K derevenskoi bednote. Delegate to 2. congress of Komintern. 1921- president of Revkom of Georgia. 1938 deputy president of VS SSSR, and president of VS Gruz. SSR.

BE II 26:545

693 2 Maksudian, E. E.
State prosecutor, deputy republic prosecutor and senior legal adviser to Collegium of Armenian Supreme Court.

646 5 Mal'bakov, Timbora Kubatievich
Deputy (Kabardian) Sov. Nats. VS SSSR 4. sozyv, 1954

Pravda 3/18/54

665 3 Maliutin, A. M.
CC CP Azerb. SSR, 20. s'ezd, 1954. Editor: Bakinskii rabochii organ tsentral'nogo i Bakinskogo komitetov kompartii Azerbaidzhana.

7: Columbia U. S-4, 5 1956 RHI Caucasia RHI

538
3 Mamedkulidze, Dzhalil, 1869-1932.
Azerb. realist school writer; born in Nakhichevan. Studied at Gori seminary. Edited satirical journal Molla Nasredin since 1906. On the pattern of Revizor, he wrote comedy Mertvetsy.

BE II 26:189

65
3 Mamedli, R. I.
Member of presidium CC CP Azerb. SSR, 21. s'ezd, 1956.

Bak. Rab. 1/26/56

•46
3 Mamedov, Gusein Kurban ogly
Born in Dyrnis, 1900-
1951-sect. Nakhichevanskii oblast. komitet partii. 1952-president of presidium VS Nakhichevan. ASSR Deputy VS Azerb. SSR of all 3 sozyv. In 1954 was candidate for Sov. Nats. VS SSSR, and got elected as Nakhichevan deputy.

Bak. Rab. 3/10/54 & 3/18/54
2/24/54

65
3 Mamedov, Kh. B
Member of CC CP Azerb. SSR, 20.-21. s'ezd, 1954, 1956.

Bak. Rab. 1/26/56

7: Columbia U. S-4, 5 1956 RHl Caucasia RHl

401 1 (?) Mamedzade, Ali Geidar Aga Usein
Stalin prize 2. class, 1950 for better cotton production; Head of machine-building inst. im. Beriia.

Laur. Stalin. prem. 1950
p. 55

646 1 Mamuladze, David Mikhailovich
Adzhar. deputy Sov. Nats. VS SSSR 4. sozyv, 1954.

Bak. Rab. 3/18/54

538 1 Mamulaishvili, I. G.
see
Grishashvili 1/1

84 2 Manandian, Iakov Amazaspovich, 1873-1951. Armenian academician since 1939. Historian; teaches ancient history of Armenia. Wrote: Kriticheskii obzor istorii armianskogo naroda, v. 1, 1945.

BE II 26: 194-5

665 2 Manasarian, A. B.
Member CC CP Arm. SSR, 17.-18. s'ezd, 1954, 1956.

Kom. Er. 1/22/56

1/1 [cf. cat. 116, p. 727 -- Analyst]

815 1 Margalitadze, Apollon Vladimirovich
Stalin prize 3. class, 1950 geologist.

Laur. Stalin. prem. 1950
p. 35

646
665 2 Margarian, Grach Khachaturovich
Deputy Sov. Nats. VS SSSR
4. sozyv, 1954. Member CC CP
Arm. SSR, 17.-18. s'ezd 1954,
1956.

Kom. Er. 3/19/54
1/22/56

646 4 Margiev, Nester Amzorovich
Sev. Os. deputy Sov. Nats. VS SSSR
4. sozyv, 1954.

Pravda 3/18/54

692 2 Markarian, M. S.
Member of criminal collegium of
Armenian supreme court.

Curr. digest 1956

665 2 Martirosian, B. G.
Member CC CP Arm. SSR, 17.-18.
s'ezd, 1954, 1956.

Kom. Er. 1/22/56

7: Columbia U.S-4, 5 1956 RH1 Caucasia RH1

646

2 Matnishian, Suren Khachaturovich
Deputy Sov. Nats. VS SSSR,
4. sozyv, 1954.

Kom. Er. 3/19/54

4 Medzhidov, Magomed Medzhidovich
Deputy to Sov. Soiuz VS SSSR
4. sozyv, 1954.

Kom. Er. 3/18/54

646
665 1 Megrelishvili, Mamiia Amberkovich
Deputy to Sov. Nats. VS SSSR
(4.s'ezd, 1954) Born in Shua-Partskhma, 1922- Essentially party official; 1st sect. Batumskii Gorkom CP Gruzii; was deputy to VS SSSR 3. sozyv.

Bak. Rab. 3/19/54
Zar. Vost. 2/13/54

3 Mekhtiev, Mageram Rukhullaevich
Deputy to Sov. Nats. VS SSSR
(4. sozyv, 1954) Born in Baku, 1919- ;
oil worker. 1949-sect. Bakinskii komitet Komsomola. Member of CC CP Azerb. SSR, 20-21 s'ezd, 1954, 1956.

Bak. Rab. 3/19/54
2/21/54
1/26/56

646 1 Mertrveli, Ivan Alekseevich
Deputy to Sov. Nats. VS SSSR
(4. s'ezd, 1954)

Bak. Rab. 3/19/54

536 3(?) Miakishev, Konstantin Mikhailovich
Stalin prize 3. class, 1950 for
theatrical performance in Zaria
nad Kaspiem.

Laur. Stalin. prem. 1950
p. 79

331 3(?) Mikaberidze, Aleksandr Sergeevich
Stalin prize 2. degree, 1950
for construction work.

Laur. Stalin.prem.1950
p. 45

532 2 Mikaelian, Mikhail Ivanovich,
1879-1941. Armenian sculptor
born in Shusha, Azerb. Since
1900 lives in Tiflis. Did: Zvonar'
Sakan, Devushka s razbitym
kuvshinom.

BE II 27:416

507 2 Mikoian, Artem, 1905-
Aircraft designer; studied in Tiflis; graduated from Zhukovskii air academy. Designed under Polikarpov; built the first fighter plane, MIK-I, 1939, and built many new types of speed planes. Designed jet plane in 1947. Stalin prizes in 1941, 1947, 1952. Now with ministry of Air Craft Industry in Erevan.

BE II 27:431
World Biogr. 1954, p. 808

645
665 3 Mirzoev, Sultan Abas ogly
Minister of sovkhozy (Azerb., 1954). Member CC CP Azerb. SSR.

Bak. Rab. 3/10/54

538 3 Mir-Dzhalal (pseud of Pashaev, Mir-Dzhalal Ali ogly), 1908-. Azerb. writer. Wrote: Voskresshii chelovek, 1935, Manifest molodogo cheloveka, 1939.

BE II 27:565

759
646 3 Mir-Kasimov, Mir Asadulla Mir Alekper ogly, 1883- . surgeon; president of Azerb. Akad. nauk, 1945-7. Deputy of VS SSSR 1.-3. sozyv. 1931- prof. of Azerb. Med. inst.

BE II 27:571

532

1 Mrevlishvili, Aleksandr Romanovich 1866-1933. Georgian realist school painter. In his works he lashes at bureaucratic officials of czarist era.
I éto nazyvaetsia svoboda
U kantselarii, etc.

BE II 28:485

533

2 Mshvelidze, Shalva Mikhailovich, 1904- Georgian composer; deputy VS Gruz. SSR 3. sozyv. Member of CP 1947- Collected Georgian songs; developed rhythmic polyphonic qualities of Georgian music. Wrote: Gost'i khoziain, 1940 (Stalin prize) Skazanie o Tariele, Stalin prize in 1947. Now teaches at Tiflis univ.

BE II 28:614

646

3 Mukhin, Nikolai Pavlovich
Deputy to Sov. Nats. VS SSSR (4. sozyv, 1954)

Bak. Rab. 3/19/54

7: Columbia U. S-4, 5 1956 RHl Caucasia

RHl

665

3 Muliavko, A. D.
Member of presidium CC CP Azerb. SSR, 21. s'ezd, 1956.

Bak. Rab. 1/26/56

533

5 Muradeli, Vano Il'ich, 1908-
Kabardian composer; studied in Tiflis. Wrote: Gimn Mezhdunarodnogo soiuza studentov, 1949.

BE II 28: 564

665

2 Muradian, B. A.
Member CC CP Arm. SSR, 18. s'ezd, 1956

Kom. Er. 1/22/56

646
803

1 Muskhelishvili, Nikolai Ivanovich, 1891- Deputy to Sov. Soiuz VS SSSR (4. s'ezd, 1954) President of Akad. nauk Gruz. SSR, 1941-; mathematician; Stalin prizes in 1941, 1947. Since 1922 professor of polytech. inst. Tiflis. Expert on theory of resilience. Instrumental in creating Tiflis math inst. in 1935. His chief works: Matematika SSSR za let 1917-1947. Mekhanika v SSSR za let 1917-1947. Uspekhi matemat. nauk, 1951, 4.6 vyp. 2 contains his works.

646
803

Bak. Rab. 2/18/54
Zar. Vost. 2/17/54
BE II 13:70
BE I 28:568

665
646 3
242

Mustafaev, Imam Dashdemir ogly (1910-Kakhi) 1st sect. CC CP Azerb. 1954- (20. s'ezd). Member CC CP SSSR 1956- (20.s'ezd). Member Sov. Soiuz VS SSSR 1954- (4. s'ezd). Agronomist; Michurin follower; introduced new type of wheat; 1947- min. agriculture of Azerb. Member presidium CC CP Azerb. SSR, 21. s'ezd, 1956.

NYT 2/27/56 & 1/26/56
Bak. Rab. 3/18/54
Bak. Rab. 3/2/54

665
646 1

Mzhavanadze, Vasilii Pavlovich 1st. sect. CC CP Georgia 1954- (16. s'ezd). Member CC CP SSSR 1956 - (20. s'ezd). Member Sov. Soiuz VS SSSR 1954 -(4. s'ezd)

NYT 2/27/56 also 12/29/55
Pravda 2/18/56
Bak. Rab. 3/18/54
Internatl. Yearb. 1955:538

815
1 Natishvili, Aleksandr Nikolaevich, 1878- Anatomist; member of Akad. nauk. Gruz. SSR since 1944. Member of CP since 1945. Teaches at med. faculty of Tiflis univ. Wrote anatomical nomenclature, and anatomy textbooks in Georgian.

BE II 29:229

646
232 1 Natroshvili, Archil Georgievich Deputy to Sov. Nats. VS SSSR (4. s'ezd, 1954) Born in Zemo-Machkhaani, 1905- Agricultural specialist; since 1949 director of Gruz. nauch. issled. inst. zhivotnovodstva; in 1952 introduced new breed of sheep for which he rec'd Stalin prize.

Bak. Rab. 3/19/54
Zar. Vost. 2/13/54

646
3 Nazirova, Mina Bashir kyzy Deputy to Sov. Nats. VS SSSR (4. sozyv, 1954.)

Bak. Rab. 3/19/54

7: Columbia U. S-4, 5 1956 RH1 Caucasia

RH1

616 1 Osin, Nikolai Lavrent'evich
Adzhar. deputy Sov. Nats. VS SSSR 4. sozyv, 1954.

Bak. Rab. 3/18/54

377 2 Ovanesian, Levon Tigranovich
Stalin prize 3. class, 1950 for new type of three-phase synchronic generator.

Laur. Stalin. prem. 1950 p. 43

538 2 Ovanisiian, Mikael
see
Nar-Dos (pseud.) 1/1

692 2 Ovsepian, Melik R.M.
Member of the criminal collegium of the Armenian Supreme Court

Curr. Digest 1956.

538 5 Pachev, Bekmurza, 1854-1936.
Kabardian poet, born in Nartan. Wrote: Pesnia o Lenine, Pesn' ob Alikhane Kashirgove, Kabarda, Stalin, etc.

BE II 32:251

1/1 [cf. cat. 116, p. 776 -- Analyst]

759 1 Pantsulaia, Zinaida Illarionovich
Abkhaz. deputy Sov. Nats. VS SSSR 4. sozyv, 1954. Born in Sukhumi 1920. Physician; no party affiliation.

Bak. Rab. 3/18/54
Zar. Vost. 2/14/54

536 2 Papazian, Vagram Kamerovich, 1888-
Born in Istambul; people's artist of Armenia, Georgia. Finished Armenial lyceum in Venice, Italy. Actor in various Caucasian theaters. Protagonist of many tragic roles chiefly in dramas of Armenian Adamian.

BE II 32:18

646 2 Papian, Matsak Petrosovich
Deputy Sov. Nats. VS SSSR 4. sozyv, 1954.

Kom. Er. 3/19/54

625 1 Paramonov, G. I., -1955
Executed for treason; was investigator of NKVD of Georgia.

NYT

528
3 Pashaev, Mir-Dzhalal ogly
see
Mir-Dzhalal (pseud.) 1/1

665
2 Pavlovskii, I. G.
Member CC CP Arm. SSR, 18 s'ezd, 1956

Kom. Er. 1/22/56

533
? Peiko, Nikolai Ivanovich, 1916-
Kab. composer. 1940 finished Moscow conservatory where he now teaches. Composes themes from nationalities like "Prazdnichnaia uvertiura na kabardinskie temy" (1951), "Moldavskaia suita" (Stalin prize 1947, 1951)

BE I 19:218; BE II 32:283

646
1 Pervukhin, Mikhail Georgevich
Deputy to Sov. Soiuz VS SSSR (4. s'ezd, 1954)

Bak. Rab. 2/18/54

6 Petukhov, Boris Fedorovich
Member of Sov. Soiuz Krasnodar krai, VS SSSR, 4. sozyv, 1954.

Bak. Rab. 3/18/54

7: Columbia U. S-4, 5 1956 RHl Caucasia

RHl

533 2 Petrosian, Avak Gegamovich
Stalin prize 3. class, 1950 for performing in opera Geroinia.

Laur. Stalin. prem. 1950
p. 80

646
665 2
815
875 Petrosian, Garegin Bakhshievich
Deputy Sov. Nats. VS SSSR, 4 sozyv, 1954. Member CC CP Arm. SSR, 17. -18. s'ezd, 1954, 1956. Rector of Erevan univ. since 1949. Physicist-mathematician; wrote Matematika v drevnei i srednevekov. Armenii.

Kom. Er. 3/19/54, 1/22/56, 2/27/54

815 2 Piotrovskii, Boris Borisovich, 1908-
Chlen-korrespondent Akad. nauk. Arm. SSSR (1945). Archeologist. Specialist on Zakavkaze. 1930 Archeological research in Teishebiani on hill Karmir-Blur near Erevan, and contributes source material on history of Urartu state 6-8 c. BC. 1946 Stalin prize. Interested in Scythian problem and origin of Armenians.

BE I 3:80, BE II 33:58

7: Columbia U. S-4,5 1956 RHl Caucasia
RHl

646
665 2 Piskunov, Petr Vasilievich
Deputy Sov. Nats. VS SSSR, 4. sozyv, 1954. Member CC CP Arm. SSR, 17.-18. s'ezd, 1954, 1956

Kom. Er. 3/19/54, 1/22/56

646
665
701 3 Pliev, Issa Aleksandrovich
Deputy to Sov. Soiuz VS SSSR (4. s'ezd, 1954) Born in Sev. Ost. ASSR, 1902- Col. gen., fought in Hungary, Austria, Japan, in World War II; deputy VS SSSR 2.-3. sozyv. Member CC CP Azerb. SSR.

Bak. Rab. 3/18/54

665
3 Plotnikov, A. K.
CC CP Azerb. SSR, 20. s'ezd, 1954.

646
4 Podvarko, Aleksei Grigor'evich
Dag. deputy Sov. Nats. VS SSSR 4. sozyv, 1954

Pravda 3/18/54

665
2 Poladian, A. K.
Member CC CP Arm. SSR, 18. s'ezd, 1956

Kom. Er. 1/22/56

646 6 Proshunin, Nikolai Emmanuilovich
Member of Sov. Soiuz VS SSSR, 1954, 4. sozyv, Stavropol. krai

Bak. Rab. 3/18/54

665 3 Prusskii, A. L.
Member of presidium CC CP Azerb. SSR, 21. s'ezd, 1956

Bak. Rab. 1/26/56

646 1 Purtskhvanidze, Shalva Estatievich
Deputy to Sov. Nats. VS SSSR (4. s'ezd, 1954)

Bak. Rab. 3/19/54

538 2 Rachiia Kochar (pseud. of Gabrielian, Rachiia Kocharovich) 1910-
Armenian writer; member of CP 1939- Wrote humorous novels: Puteshestviia Ogesena Vaspura, 1937; Deti bol'shogo doma, 1952.

BE II 36:133

3 Ragim, Mamed
Azerb. poet; rec'd Stalin prize in 1949 for poem: Nad Leningradom

BE II 1:471

646
242 3 Ragimov, Iunus Iskender ogly
Deputy to Sov. Nats. VS SSSR (4. sozyv, 1954) Born in Agdash, 1907-. 1938 - chief agronomist of Bardinskaia mashino-traktornaia stantsiia; 1950 - director of Agzhabedinsk.lesozashchitnaia stantsiia. On record for overfulfilling the work quota, especially in clearing of lands.

Bak. Rab. 3/19/54, 2/18/54

646
665 3 Ragimov, Makhmud Dzafar Kuli ogly
Deputy to Sov. Nats. VS SSSR (4. sozyv, 1954) Born in Baku, 1905- Commander of "Kasptanker" (oil-transport boat); member of CC CP Azerb. SSR.

Bak. Rab. 3/19/54 and 3/2/54

665
3 Ragimov, R. K.
Member of CC CP Azerb. SSR, 21. s'ezd, 1956

Bak. Rab. 1/26/56

RH1

643
665 3
615

Ragimov, Sadykh Gadzhi Iaralievich (1914-Balakhany); engineer Premier of Azerb. Member CC CP Azerb. 1954-1956 (20.-21. s'ezd). Member CC CP SSSR 1956- (20. s'ezd). Member Sov. Nats. VS SSSR 1954- (4. s'ezd) 1953 - min. promyshlennykh tovarov shirokogo potrebleniia Azerb.

NYT 2/27/56
Zar. Vost. 12/28/55
Bak. Rab. 3/2/54, 2/17/54, 3/19/54, 1/26/56

646
4

Ramonov, Boris Grigor'evich Sev. Os. deputy Sov. Nats. VS SSSR 4. sozyv, 1954

Pravda 3/18/54

645
625 1

Rapava, A. N., - Nov. 22 ? 1955 Former deputy and later head People's Commissar for Int Affairs in Georgia. Executed for having conducted "terroristic annihilation of honest Soviet citizens."

NYT
Zaria Vostoka

665
1

Rigvava, S. S. 2nd sect. of 1st plenum CC LKSM Gruz. SSR

Zar. Vost. 12/27/55

7: Columbia U. S-4, 5 1956 RHl Caucasia

RHl

646
1 Romelashvili, David Zakhar'evich
Deputy to Sov. Nats. VS SSSR (4. s'ezd, 1954); sect. CC CP Gruz. SSR.

Bak. Rab. 3/19/54
Zar. Vost. 2/18/54

546
1 Rondeli-Tsagareishvili, D. E.
Georgian film producer; received Stalin prize in 1950 for collaboration with Dolidze, S. V. on film Shchit Dzhurgaia

BEII 15:25

645
625 1 Rukhadze, N. M. -Nov. 1955
Former investigation chief in the Georgian Internal Affairs Commissariat and later Georgian Minister of State Security. Helped oust Rapava in 1951. Tried and executed under Article 58 (Crimes connected with protection of Beriia acc. to Soviets).

NYT
Zaria Vost.

377
2 Safrazbekian, Gurgen Sadatovich
Stalin prize 2. class, 1950, for telemechanization of Mosenergosistem.

Laur. Stalin. prem. 1950
p. 41

• 646
4 Safronov, Arsenii Mikhailovich
Sev. Os. deputy Sov. Nats. VS SSSR 4. sozyv, 1954

Pravda 3/18/54

536
1 Sagaradze, Georgii Illarionovich
People's artist of Georgia. Stalin prize 3. class, 1950, for role in drama Potoplennye kamni.

Laur. Stalin. Prem. 1950
p. 78

665
3 Samedov, K. A.
Member of presidium CC CP Azerb. SSR, 21. s'ezd, 1956

Bak. Rab. 1/26/56

646
8123 Samedov, Vitalii Iunusovich
Deputy to Sov. Nats. VS SSSR (4. sozyv, 1954). Born 1919- Went to party schools; holds doctorate in philosophy; 1950-director of Institut istorii i filosofii Akad. nauk

RHl

646
812

Azerb. SSR. Member of CC ÇP Azerb. SSR.

Bak. Rab. 3/19/54, 2/28/54

646

4 Sanakoev, Grigorii Georgievich
Iugo-Os. deputy Sov. Nats. VS SSSR 4. sozyv, 1954

Pravda, 3/18/54

4 Sarakaev, Vladimir Basaevich
Sev. Os. deputy Sov. Nats. VS SSSR 4. sozyv, 1954

Pravda 3/18/54

538

2 Sarian, Gegam, 1902-
Armenian poet born in Iran; wrote: Strana sovetskaia, 1930; Polden', 1935. Glorifies Civil War themes, success of socialism. His works are translated into Russian. Was one of the authors who composed Pis'ma tov. Stalinu.

BE I 50: 307

RHl

646
665 2 Savoian, Andranik Israelovich
Deputy Sov. Nats. VS SSSR, 4. sozyv, 1954. Member CC CP Arm. SSR, 17.-18. s'ezd 1954, 1956

Kom. Er. 3/19/54 and 1/22/56

536 2 Sazandarian, Tatevik Tigranovna
Stalin prize 3. class for performance in opera Geroinia.

Laur. Stalin. prem. 1950
p. 80

646
665
647 3 Seidov, Gasan ogly
Deputy to Sov. Nats. VS SSSR (4. sozyv, 1954) Born in 1906- . 1937- head of Azerb. nauchno-issled. inst. khlopkovodstva in Kirovabad. 1946-2nd. sect. CC CP Azerb. SSSR; 1953- president of Gosplan Azerb. SSR. Member of CC CP Azerb. SSR, 20.-21. s'ezd, 1954, 1956

Bak. Rab. 3/19/54, 3/2/54, 1/26/56

242
643 3 Seidov, Mamed Mir Aziz ogly
645
Born in Sadarak, 1907- . Agriculture expert, partly official; deputy-president of Council of Ministers. 1954-minister of agriculture Azerb. SSR; Deputy VS Nakhichevanskaia ASSR; Unsuccessful candidate to VS SSSR (Sov. Nats., 1954)

Bak. Rab. 2/25/54

7:Columbia U. S-4,5 1956 RHI Caucasia
RHI

646
1 Sekhniashvili, Emil Alekseevich
Deputy to Sov. Nats. VS SSSR
(4. s'ezd, 1954)

Bak. Rab. 3/19/54

4 Sevast'ianov, Mikhail Mikhailovich
Sev. Os. Deputy Sov. Nats. VS
SSSR 4. sozyv, 1954

Pravda, 3/18/54

242
2 Sevumian, Grigorii Ivanovich
Stalin prize 2. class, 1950 for new
ways to produce cotton

Laur. Stalin. prem. 1950
p. 55

665
2 Shaginian, A. Kh.
Member CC CP Arm. SSR, 17.-18.
s'ezd, 1954, 1956

Kom. Er. 1/22/56

815
2 Shaginian, Marietta Sergeevna, 1888-
Stalin prize 3. class, 1950 for work
Puteshestvie po sovetskoi Armenii
Wrote also: Svoia sud'ba peremena.
Studied mineralogy in Moscow.

Laur. Stalin. prem. 1950, p. 67
BE I 61:788-90

7: Columbia U. S-4, 5 1956 RHl Caucasia

RHl

665

2 Shakhbazian, L. T.
Member CC CP Arm. SSR, 17.-18. s'ezd, 1954, 1956

Kom. Er. 1/22/56

3 Shakhramanian, R. T.
Member of presidium CC CP Azerb. SSR, 21. s'ezd, 1956

Bak. Rab. 1/26/56

536

1 Shanshiashvili, Sandro, 1888-
Georgian dramatist, symbolist poet. Dramas: Nekoronovannye tsari, Berdo Zmaniia, Anzor. His work Zakavkazskie narody shows sketchiness (rather than profoundness?)

BE I 61:832-3

646

4 Shaposhnikova, Aleksandra Andreevna
Sev. Os. deputy Sov. Nats. VS SSSR 4. sozyv, 1954

Pravda 3/18/54

4 Sharifov, Nazhmutdin Sharifovich
Dag. deputy Sov. Nats. VS SSSR 4. sozyv, 1954

Pravda 3/18/54

536
3 Sharlakhov, Boris Mikhailovich
People's artist of Azerb. Stalin prize 3. class, 1950 for dramatic role in Zaria nad Kaspiem

Laur. Stalin. prem. 1950
p. 79

581
1 Sharmazanashvili, Luarsab Kharitonovich. Stalin prize 3. class, 1950 chemical engineer.

Laur. Stalin. prem. 1950
p. 33

325
1 Shatirishvili, Georgii Afans'evich
Stalin prize 3. class 1950 for work in metallurgy.

Laur. Stalin. prem. 1950
p. 32

646
6 Shatskii, Ivan Petrovich
Member of VS SSSR, Sov. Soiuz, 4. sozyv, 1954. Krasnodar. krai

Bak. Rab. 3/18/54

204
6452 Shaumian, Stepan Grigor' evich, 1878-1918. One of the most outstanding of the 26 Bakinskii komissary. Editor of various newspapers, also

204
645 of Bakinskii rabochii. Translated into Armenian: Manifest kommunist. partii. Knew Lenin, Plekhanov. In 1918 was komissar of foreign affairs.

BE I 61:878-9

646
5 Shebzukhova, Natal'ia Danilovna
Kab. deputy Sov. Nats. VS SSSR 4. sozyv, 1954

Pravda 3/18/54

533
3 Sheibler, T. K
Wrote 1. Kantata o Staline dlia khora; 2. Fortepiannaia rapsodiia na Kab. iaz.

BE I 19:218

536
5 Shekikhachev,
Kabardian dramatist who with Naloev wrote: Korigat, a historical tragedy, presented in Kabardian in 1934.

BE I 30:419

RHI

316
646 1 Sheklashvili, Shalva Spiridonovich
Deputy to Sov. Nats. VS SSSR (4. s'ezd, 1954). Born in Gorisa, 1908- ; mining engineer; since 1949 head of "Chiaturmarganets" trust. Deputy of VS Gruz. SSR since 1951.

Bak. Rab. 3/19/54

465 2 Shekoian, A. A.
Member CC CP Arm. SSR, 17.-18. s'ezd, 1954, 1956

Kom. Er. 1/22/56

538 1 Shengelaia, Demma, 1896-
Georgian writer, symbolist; His big work is Sanavardo, 1924-5 (on how capitalism replaced feudalism). Put' portrays counter-revolutionary heroes. 1927 he wrote Tiflis in which he shows affinity to proletarian ideology.

BE I 62:288

1 Shengelaia, Leon Mikhailovich
see
Kiacheli, Leo 1/1

1/1 [cf. cat. 116, p. 747 -- Analyst]

7: Columbia U. S-4, 5 1956 RHl Caucasia

RHl

546

1 Shengelaia, Nikolai Mikhailovich, 1903-
Georgian film-producer; 1928 - film: Eliso, 26 komissarov. Portrays the working class in realist manner.

BE I 62:288

646

6 Shipilov, Boris Semenovich
Member of Sov. Soiuz VS SSSR, 4. sozyv, 1954. Krasnodar. krai

Bak. Rab. 3/18/54

533

2 Sheram, 1857-1936
One of the most famous Armenian wandering minstrels (gusan).

BE II 3:97

536

3 Shirvanadze, Aleksandr, 1856-1935
Drama critic, of the critical realist school. Wrote dramas: Namus, Zloi dukh, Iz-za chesti, Khaos (chief work). Influenced by Balzac.

BE I 62:422-3

646

5 Shkakhov, Khamid Makhmudovich
Kab. Deputy Sov. Nats. VS SSSR 4. sozyv, 1954

Pravda 3/18/54

646 1 Sukhin, Gavriil Petrovich
Deputy to Sov. Soiuz VS SSSR (4. s'ezd) 1954

Bak. Rab. 2/18/54

665 2 Sukiasian, G. Kh.
Member CC CP Arm. SSR, 17. - 18. s'ezd, 1954, 1956

Kom. Er. 1/22/56

3 Suleimanov, G. A.
CC CP Azerb. SSR, 20. s'ezd, 1954

3 Suleimanov, M. I.
Member of presidium CC CP Azerb. SSR, 21. s'ezd, 1956

Bak. Rab. 1/26/56

3 Suleimanov, S. S.
CC CP Azerb. SSR, 20. s'ezd, 1954

3 Sultanova, A. I.
CC CP Azerb, SSR, 20. s'ezd, 1954

7: Columbia U. S-4,5 1956 RHl Caucasia
RHl

645
3 Sultanov, Shamsadin Kurbanovich
Minister of commerce Azerb., 1954

Bak. Rab. 3/10/54

536
2 Sundukian, G., 1825-1912
Armenian playwright; wrote: Pepo, Razrushennyi ochag, Khatabala. Represents critical realism; depicts themes about workers against bourgeoisie. Many younger Armenian dramatists were influenced by him.

BE II 3:86

646
5 Suprunov, Valentin Kuz'mich
Adyg. deputy Sov. Nats. VS SSSR 4. sozyv, 1954

Pravda, 3/18/54

6 Suslov, Victor Maksimovich
Member of Sov. Soiuz VS SSSR, 4. sozyv, 1954. Krasnodar. krai.

Bak. Rab. 3/18/54

7: Columbia U. S-4, 5 1956 RHl Caucasia
RHl

646 6 Svechnikov, Petr Nikolaevich
Member of Sov. Soiuz, VS SSSR, Krasnodar. krai, 4. sozyv, 1954

Bak. Rab. 3/18/54

6 Svinareva, Natal'ia Ivanovna
Member of Sov. Soiuz VS SSSR, 4. sozyv, 1954, Krasnodar. krai.

Bak. Rab. 3/18/54

665
2042 Syrtsev, V. A.
Member CC CP Arm. SSR, 17.-18. s'ezd, 1954, 1956. Editor of Kommunist; organ tsentral'nogo i erevanskogo komitetov KP Armenii.

Kom. Er. 1/22/56

538
1 Tabidze, Galaktion, 1892-
Georgian symbolist poet. Wrote: Ia i noch', Veter; later poems extoll proletarian way of life Epokha, Patsifism; Revoliutsionnaia Gruziia. 1944- member of Akad. nauk Gruz. SSR. His novels are: Rodnaia moia zemlia, Rodina-zhiz'n moia. Since 1933 people's poet of Georgia.

BE I 53:391

7: Columbia U. S-4, 5 1956 RHl Caucasia

RHl

533

3. Tagi-Zade, Niiazi Zul'fugarovich
see
Niiazi (pseud.) *

646

3 Tagiev, Imran Abdulla ogly
Deputy to Sov. Nats. VS SSSR (4. sozyv, 1954)

Bak. Rab. 3/19/54

646
3/5 3 Tairova, Taira Akper ogly
Deputy to Sov. Nats. VS SSSR (4. sozyv, 1954). Born in 1913- oil expert; 1942- director of neftano-nauchn. issled. inst. in Kuibyshev; subsequently head of various oil enterprises in Azerb. Member of Bakinskii gorodskii komitet. Deputy to Bakinskii gorod. sovet. Deputy VS Azerb. SSR. Member of CC CP Azerb. SSR, 21. s'ezd, 1956

Bak. Rab. 3/19/54, 2/25/54, 1/26/56

533
1 Taktakishvili, Otar Vasil'evich (Tiflis in 1924-) Deputy to Sov. Nats. VS SSSR (4. s'ezd, 1954) composer; wrote state hymn of Georgia for which he was awarded Stalin prize 2. degree; member of CP Gruz. SSR.

Bak. Rab. 3/19/54
Zar. Vost. 2/13/54, 3/11/54

* [Cat. cat. 116, p. 778 -- Analyst]

7: Columbia U. S-4,5 1956 RH1 Caucasia

RH1

533 2 Tal'ian, V.G., 1896-1947
Armenian composer

BE II 3:99

341
2 Tamanian, Aleksandr Ivanovich, 1880-1936. Architect. Partially rebuilt Erevan in 1924. Built Narkomles building, the medic-institute, agriculture school. Posthumously awarded Stalin prize in 1942. His pupil is Grigorian, M. V. Was president of Armenian art academy 1917-18.

BE I 53:519

646
204 1
645

Tarba, Ivan Konstantinovich
Abkhaz. deputy Sov. Nats. VSSSR, 4. sozyv, 1954. Born in Beslakhuba, 1921- co-editor of Apsny Kapsh; correspondent to Sov. Abkhaziia; since 1943 party official sect. of Abkhazian division of Soiuz Sovet. pisatelei Gruz. SSR. 1953 - minister of education Abkhaz.

Bak. Rab. 3/18/54
Zar. Vost. 2/13/54

7: Columbia U. S-4,5 1956 RHl Caucasia

RHl

532
2 Tatevosian, Egishe, 1870-1936
Born in Vagarshapat; landscape painter. Painted: Aragats (view) Komitas, Tumanian, Akopian (portraits)

BE I 53:666
Kom. Er. 1/28/56

536
1 Tavadze, Dimitrii Matveevich
for acting role in Potoplennye kamni, Stalin prize, 3. class, 1950

Laur. Stalin. prem.
p. 78

533
646 2 Tavrizian, Mikhail Arsen'evich
for operatic role in Geroinia, Stalin prize 3. class, 1950. Deputy Sov. Nats. VS SSSR 4. sozyv, 1954

Laur. Stalin. prem. 1950
p. 80
Kom. Er. 3/19/54

646
4 Tekhova, Mariia Iordanovna
Iugo-Os. deputy Sov. Nats. VS SSSR 4. sozyv. 1954

Pravda 3/18/54

532 1 Toidze, Iraklii Mosevich, 1902-
Finished Tiflis art academy in 1930. Revolutionary paintings: Podarok k oktiabriu, 1930; Stalin na Riongese, 1935; did illustrations to Rustaveli's Vitiaz' v tigrovoi shkure, for which he received Stalin prize in 1941; Stalin prize 3. class in 1950 for illustration to Istoriia Gruzii.

BE I 54: 410
Laur. Stalin. prem. 1950, p. 75

646
665 3 Tolstikov, Oleg Viktorovich
Deputy to Sov. Nats. VS SSR (4. sozyv, 1954). Member of CC CP Azerb. SSR.

Bak. Rab. 3/19/54

665 2 Topchian, E.S.
Member CC CP Arm. SSR, 18 s'ezd, 1956

Kom. Er. 1/22/56

643
204 3 Toptsibashev, M.A.
President of VS Azerb. SSR (5. s'ezd, 1954). Editor in chief of Dokl. Akad. Nauk. Azerb. SSR

Bak. Rab. 3/10/54

7: Columbia U. S-4, 5 1956 RHl Caucasia

RHl

693
1 Topuridze, M. E.
Prokuror Gruz. SSR, 1954

Zar. Vost. 2/18/54

533
1 Toradze, David Aleksandrovich
Georgian composer; Stalin prize 2. class in 1950 for his ballet Gorda

Laur. Stalin. prem. 1950
p. 81
Zar. Vost. 2/18/54

646
665 2 Tovmasian, Suren Akopovich
Member Sov. Soiuz VS SSSR 1954- (4. s'ezd). Member CC CP SSSR 1956- . 1st Sect. CC CP Armeniia 1954- (17. s'ezd)

NYT 2/27/56
Kom. Er. 3/18/54, 2/17/54, 1/22/56

665
3 Tret'iakova, A. N.
Member of presidium CC CP Azerb. SSR, 21. s'ezd, 1956.

Bak. Rab. 1/26/56

7: Columbia U. S-4, 5 1956 RH1 Caucasia
RH1

646
6 Trofimenkov, Nikolai Ivanovich
Member of Sov. Soiuz, VS SSSR, 4. sozyv, 1954, Krasnodar. krai.

Bak. Rab. 3/18/54

538
4 Tsadasa, no initials
Dagestani post-war (1945-) poet. Wrote: Skazanie o Chabanakh; he rec'd Stalin prize in 1950 for collection: Izbrannoe.

BE II 13:289

4 Tsagalov, Georgii, 1871-
Ossetian poet; since 1890 wrote in Russian, rebelling against tsarist absolutism. Wrote: Osetinskie motivy, Tembolat.

BE I 60:305

538
536 5 Tsei, Ibragim, 1895-
Cherkessian poet, dramatist; contributed to the development of the Cherkessian Theater. Wrote: Khodzhas, on battle of peasants against princes. Drama: Uzyshko, Kharach, etc.

BE I 61:254

RHl

645
625 1 Tsereteli, S.S.
Former deputy People's Commissar and deputy Minister for Internal Affairs. Executed Nov. 1955, for alleged treason, counter-revolutionary crimes, for bringing false accusations ("slanderous evidence" against Ordzhonikidze); tried under Soviet criminal code 58 (high treason) in Sept. 1955 in Tiflis by military collegium of Soviet Supreme Court, headed by Lieut. Gen. A.A Cheptsov.

NYT
Zaria Vost.

535
1 Tsignadze, Vera Varlamovna
Stalin prize 2. class, 1950 for ballet role in Gorda ballet.

Laur. Stalin. prem. 1950
p. 81

646
645 1
665 Tsimakuridze, Kondratii Sokratovich
Deputy to Sov. Nats. VS SSSR (4. s'ezd, 1954). Born in Tlukhi, 1904-1937-1947 narodnyi komissar finansov Gruz. SSR. 1953- minister finansov Gruz. SSR. Member CC CP Gruz. SSR.

Bak. Rab. 2/19/54
Zar. Vost. 2/13/54

815
759 1 Tsinamzgvarishvili, M.D., 1884-
Member of Akad. nauk Gruz.SSR; cardiologist.

Knizh. Let. 1955, No. 5:59

646
1 Tsitlidze, Givi Akakievich
Deputy to Sov. Nats. VS SSSR (4. s'ezd, 1954)

Bak. Rab. 3/19/54

665
204 1
647 Tsivtsivadze, Il'ia Venediktovich, 1881-. Soviet party official; organized illegal typography in Batum and Tiflis during revolution. Edited Bolshevik paper Dro. 1917-1920 member of Moskovskii komitet. 1930-31 president of Mosmiasoprom.

BE I 60:675

665
204 1 Tskhakaia, Mikhail Grigor'evich (also, Mikha, Barsov, Leonov, Gurgen), 1865- Party member since 1898. 1917-1920 member of Tiflis komitet CP. Member of Tsentre. ispol. komitet of Transcaucasus; Member of 11, 13, 15-16 party congresses. Was one of the editors of Kavkazskii rabochii, in 1917-8.

BE I 60:779-781

7: Columbia U. S-4, 5 1956 RHl Caucasia

RHl

331
3(1?) Tsuleiskir, Georgii Vasil'evich
Stalin prize 2. class, 1950 for certain type of construction work.

Laur. Stalin. prem. 1950
p. 44

536
5 Tubaev, M.
20. c. Kabardian playwright.

BE II 19:218

646
6652 Tukhikian, Nunik Mesropovna
Deputy Sov. Nats. VS SSSR, 4. sozyv, 1954. Member CC CP Arm. SSR, 18 s'ezd, 1956.

Kom. Er. 3/19/54
1/22/56

532
5 Tukhuzhev, A.
20. c. Kabardian artist.

BE II 19:218

538
2 Tumanian, Ovannes, 1869-1923.
Armenian poet, humanist, dramatist. Wrote poem: Anush, Gikor, etc. Many of his songs were used in operatic themes.

BE I 55:146

242
1 Ugrekhelidze, Petr Pavlovich
Stalin prize 2. class, 1950 for better cotton production.

Laur. Stalin. prem. 1950
p. 55

165
3 Unanov, B. T.
CC CP Azerb. SSR, 20. s'ezd, 1954.

646
341 3 Useinov, Mikhael Aleskerovich
Deputy to Sov. Nats. VS SSSR (4. sozyv, 1954). Born in Baku, 1905-; architect, representative of Azerb. intelligentsiia (sic!); member of Akad. nauk SSSR and Akad. nauk Azerb. SSR.; since 1940 professor of architect. design. Built movie-house "Nizami", museum, state conservatorium, etc. in Baku. Stalin prize winner. Now building Akad. nauk Azerb. SSSR bldgs. in Baku; director of art and architect. inst. of Akad. nauk Azerb. SSR.

Bak. Rab. 3/19/54
2/18/54

7: Columbia U. S-4,5 1956 RHI Caucasia
RHI

538
2 Vardanian, Anushavan, 1879-
Armenian writer, dramatist. Wrote: Signal, Krasnye partizany, about effects of Civil War on Armenia. Na beregu Araksa, 1940, Patrioty about collectivization in Soviet Armenia.

BE II 6:627

536
2 Vardanian, Ruzana Tigranovna, 1896-
Actress, people's artist of Armenia. Made debut in Sundukian theatre of Erevan; played roles of Ostrovskii, Gorkii, Sundukian. Delegate to 2. vsesoiuznaia konferentsiia storonnikov mira.

BE II 6:627

536
6462 Vardanian, Vavik (Anushavan) Tigranovich, 1901 - . Actor; deputy to VS Arm. SSR 2.-3. sozyv, member of CP since 1945. Producer of Sundukian theatre in Erevan since 1937. Follower of the Moscow Art Theater style of producing. Put on plays by Gorkii, Pogodin, Simonov. Since 1944 head of theater inst. in Erevan.

BE II 6:627

316 2 Vartanian, Konstantin Tigranovich
Stalin prize 3. class, 1950 mining engineer.

Laur. Stalin. prem. 1950
p. 35

536
646 1 Vasadze, Akakii Alekseevich
1899-. Actor; CP member since 1939, deputy to VS Gruz, SSR 1.-2. sozyv. Since 1935 director of Rustaveli theatre in Tiflis; he also acted as Iago, Franz, Vasilli Shuiskii, etc. Worked under influence of Mardzhanishvili. For roles in Kidivdze by Daraseli in 1941, Velikii gosudar' by Solov'ev in 1945 and Potoplennye kamni by Mosashvili rec'd. Stalin prizes.

Laur. Stalin. prem. 1950 p. 78
BE II 7:24

646 5 Vas'kov, Aleksei Ivanovich
Cherkes, Deputy Sov. Nats. VS SSSR 4. sozyv. 1954

Pravda 3/18/54

793 2 Vazgen, I
see under
Baldzhian, Armenian Catholicos. 1/1

1/1 [cf. cat. 116, p. 689 -- Analyst]

7: Columbia U.S-4, 5 1956 RH1 Caucasia

RH1

538 3 Vekilov (pseud)
see
Vurgun, Samed Iosif (Vekilov) 1/1

665 2 Velibekov, D. M.
Member CC CP Arm. SSR, 17.-18. s'ezd, 1954, 1956.

Kom. Er. 1/22/56

2 Velibekov, R. Kh.
Member CC CP Arm. SSR, 17.-18. s'ezd, 1954, 1956.

Kom. Er. 1/22/56

646 3 Veli-Zade, Almas Gusein kyzy
Deputy to Sov. Nats. VS SSSR (4 sozyv, 1954)

Bak. Rab. 3/19/54

538 1 Vepkhvadze, Aleksei Ivanovich, 1921-
Georgian landscape painter. Rec'd Stalin prize in 1950 for Vysylka I. V. Stalina iz Batuma v 1903 goda.

Laur. Stalin. prem. 1950, p. 74
BE II 7:472

1/1 [Cf. cat. 116, p. 828 -- Analyst]

7: Columbia U. S-4, 5 1956 RHI Caucasia

RHI

532
1 Vepkhvadze, Ivan Alekseevich, 1888-
Landscape painter. Did: Na tammerforsskoi konferentsii, 1936; I. V. Stalin sredi zheleznodorozhnikov, 1949; painted many portraits (Kirov, Beriia, etc.)

BE II 7:472

646
665 3 Verdieva, Gilas Shamil kyzy
Deputy to Sov. Soiuz VS SSSR (4. s'ezd, 1954) Born in Salakhly, 1930- Cotton-picker with high quota; Member of CP since 1953. Member of presidium CC CP Azerb SSR, 21. s'ezd, 1956.

Bak. Rab. 3/18/54
2/18/54
1/26/56

665
3 Vezirov, Kh. G.
CC CP Azerb. SSR, 20. s'ezd, 1954.

3 Vezirov, S. A.
Member of presidium CC CP Azerb. SSR, 21. s'ezd, 1956.

Bak. Rab. 1/26/56

7: Columbia U, S-4, 5 1956 RHl Caucasia

RH1

646
2422 Virabian, Ninel' Avetisovna
Deputy to Sov. Nats. VS SSSR 4. sozyv, 1954. In 1948 completed Erevan agriculture inst.; increased vegetable production in kolkhoz im. Stalina where she is employed.

Kom Er. 3/19/54
2/19/54

535 3(?) Virsaladze, Simon Bagratovich, 1909-
Choreographer of various ballets. Stalin prize in 1949 for staging Glazunov's Raimonda, and also in 1951 for Kabalevskii's Sem'ia Tarasa. Did sets to operas W. Tell, E. Onegin.

BE II 8:152-3
Laur. Stalin. prem. 1950, p. 79

665
3 Vorob'ev, P. F.
CC CP Azerb. SSR, 20.s'ezd, 1954

2 Voskanian, S. A.
Member CC CP Arm. SSR, 18.s'ezd, 1956.

Kom. Er. 1/22/56

538
646 3
665

Vurgun, Samed Iosif (Vekilov)
Born at Salakhli (Azerb), 1906-
Poet; Gek Gel, collection of poetry in 1926; play Vagif (1939); drama Farkhad i Shirin (based on lines by old poet Nizami) won him Stalin prize in 1942. Translated Pushkin, Gorkii into Azerb. Deputy to 1.-3. sozyv VS SSSR and in 1954 again to Sov. Nats. VS SSSR (4.sozyv); Member of CC CP SSSR (before 1956); member of Akad. nauk Azerb. SSR. Member of presidium CC CP Azerb. SSR, 21.s'ezd, 1956.

Bak. Rab. 3/19/54
BE II 1:470 9:406-7
Bak. Rab. 1/26/56

665 2

Zakharian, V. S.
Member CC CP Arm. SSR, 17.-18. s'ezd, 1954, 1956.

Kom. Er. 1/22/56

538 2

Zarian, Nairi Egiazarovich, 1900
Armenian poet. Member of CP since 1930. Born in Turkish Armenia. Studied at Erevan univ. Wrote: V goluboi strane kanalov, 1926; Stalin, 1935; Armeniia 1937. His themes are world peace, socialism. Influenced by Maiakovskii. Comedy: Priusadebnyi uchastok, about the return home of Armenians.
BE II 16:477

RHI

646
665 2 Zarobian, Iakov Nikich

Deputy Sov. Nats. VS SSSR, 4. sozyv, 1954. Member CC CP Arm. SSR, 17.-18. s'ezd, 1954, 1956.

Kom. Er. 3/19/54
1/22/56

646
5 Zashakueva, Shaimat Zalimgerivan

Kab. deputy Sov. Nats. VS SSSR 4. sozyv, 1954.

Pravda 3/18/54

665
3 Zevin, C. Ia.

CC CP Azerb. SSR, 20.s'ezd, 1954.

646
2 Zhiba, Zabet Mustafovich

Abkhaz, deputy Sov. Nats. VS SSSR, 4. sozyv, 1954. Born in Lidzava, 1914-kolkhoz worker; CP member since 1943.

Bak. Rab. 3/18/54

7: Columbia U.S -4, 5 1956 RHI Caucasia

RHI

Zorian, Stefan Egiiaevich
Deputy to Sov. Nats. VS SSSR, 4. sozyv, 1954. Born in Kirovakan, 1890. Writer, influenced by Chekhov; Translated Tolstoi, Turgenev into Armenian. Wrote:
Predsedatel' revkoma, 1926
Devushka iz biblioteki, 1926
and autobiographical novel in 1934–1937 Istoriia odnoi zhizni.

Kom. Er. 3/19/54
BE II 3:87 17:210

538 temporary life. Cherkessian.

BE I 61:254

5 Khavpachev, Amirkhan
1882-. Kabardian poet; wrote: Partizany Kabardy, My pobediteli, Slava Stalinu.

BE II 19:216

•647 1 Khazan, A. S.
Former investigator of Georgian Commissariat of Int. Aff. Executed Nov. 1955.

NYT
Zar. Vost.

646 4 Khetagurova, Tamara Soltanovna
Sev. Os. deputy Sov. Nats. VS SSSR 4. sozyv, 1954.

Pravda, 3/18/54

6 Khoruzhenko, Ol'ga Petrovna
Member of Sov. Soiuz VS SSSR, 4. sozyv, 1954; Krasnodar. krai

Bak. Rab. 3/18/54

646 5 Komarov, Pavel Timofeevich
Kab. deputy Sov. Nats VS SSSR
4. sozyv, 1954.

Pravda 3/18/54

533 2 Komitas
1869-1935 (real name: Sogomonian, Sogomon Gevorkovich) Born in Kuti, Turkey. Armenian composer; studied at Echmiadzin seminary. In 1910 went to Constantinople and finally died in Paris. Buried in Soviet Armenia. Wrote down over 3000 Armenian folk songs.

BE II 20:159-160

665 3 Kremleva, E. A.
CC CP Azerb. SSR, 20.s'ezd, 1954

647 1 Krimian, N. A. --Nov. 1955
Executed as possible Beriia accomplice. Former investigator in Georgian Commissariat of Internal Affairs.

NYT

Zaria Vostoka

646 1 Kuchava, Mitrofan Ionovich
Deputy to Sov. Nats. VS SSSR
(4. s'ezd, 1954)

Bak. Rab. 2/19/54

646 1 Kudzhiashvili, Ivan Petrovich
Iugo-Os. deputy Sov. Nats. VS SSSR
4. sozyv, 1954

Pravda 3/18/54

646 665 3 Kuliev, Makhmud Kuli ogly
Deputy to Sov. Nats. VS SSSR
(4. s'ezd, 1954) Member CC CP
Azer. SSR, 20.s'ezd, 1954

Bak. Rab. 2/19/54

646 5 Kulik, Georgii Tarasovich
Kab. deputy Sov. Nats. VS SSSR
4. sozyv, 1954

Pravda 3/18/54

647 3 Kuloshvili, Irodion Semenovich
Stalin prize 2. class, 1950 for better
production of cotton. Head of a
division in the ministry of water
transport.

Laur. Stalin prem. 1950
p. 55

665 3 Kurbanov, M. K.
CC CP Azer. SSR, 20.s'ezd, 1954.

RHl

646
665 2

Savoian, Andranik Israelovich
Deputy Sov. Nats. VS SSSR, 4 sozyv, 1954. Member CC CP Arm. SSR, 17.-18. s'ezd 1954, 1956

Kom. Er. 3/19/54 and 1/22/56

536 2

Sazandarian, Tatevik Tigranovna
Stalin prize 3. class for performance in opera Geroinia.

Laur. Stalin. prem. 1950
p. 80

646
665
647 3

Seidov, Gasan ogly
Deputy to Sov. Nats. VS SSSR (4. sozyv, 1954) Born in 1906- . 1937- head of Azerb. nauchno-issled. inst. khlopkovodstva in Kirovabad. 1946-2nd. sect. CC CP Azerb. SSSR; 1953- president of Gosplan Azerb. SSR. Member of CC CP Azerb. SSR, 20.-21. s'ezd, 1954, 1956

Bak. Rab. 3/19/54, 3/2/54, 1/26/56

242
643 3
645

Seidov, Mamed Mir Aziz ogly
Born in Sadarak, 1907- . Agriculture expert, partly official; deputy-president of Council of Ministers. 1954-minister of agriculture Azerb. SSR; Deputy VS Nakhichevanskaia ASSR; Unsuccessful candidate to VS SSSR (Sov. Nats., 1954)

Bak. Rab. 2/25/54

7: Columbia U. S-4,5 1956 RHl Caucasia
RHl

815
759 1 Tsinamzgvarishvili, M. D., 1884-
Member of Akad. nauk Gruz. SSR; cardiologist.

Knizh. Let. 1955, No. 5:59

646
1 Tsitlidze, Givi Akakievich
Deputy to Sov. Nats. VS SSSR (4. s'ezd, 1954)

Bak. Rab. 3/19/54

665
204 1
647 Tsivtsivadze, Il'ia Venediktovich, 1881-. Soviet party official; organized illegal typography in Batum and Tiflis during revolution. Edited Bolshevik paper Dro. 1917-1920 member of Moskovskii komitet. 1930-31 president of Mosmiasoprom.

BE I 60:675

665
204 1 Tskhakaia, Mikhail Grigor'evich (also, Mikha, Barsov, Leonov, Gurgen), 1865- Party member since 1898. 1917-1920 member of Tiflis komitet CP. Member of Tsentre. ispol. komitet of Transcaucasus; Member of 11, 13, 15-16 party congresses. Was one of the editors of Kavkazskii rabochii, in 1917-8.

BE I 60:779-781

21: Kolarz J-4 (no date) 1952 R1 Soviet Union R1
Caucasia R#1



S.U. 634 523 Ca. 672 547

duction of their languages for official use. In other words, the Soviet nationalities policy in the Northern Caucasus remained unsuccessful, and an endless stream of statements, ordinances and recommendations issued by the Presidium of the Central Executive Committee (TsIK) in Moscow had been unable to remedy the situation to any major extent. On May 10th, 1931, for instance, TsIK circulated a decree to the effect that Soviet nationalities policy in the Northern Caucasus should operate at a quicker pace. The decree stipulated that by the end of 1932 at least 70 per cent of officials in the Autonomous Provinces should be recruited from among the local nationalities, and that local languages should be introduced into the administration. On July 5th, 1934, TsIK issued a statement recognizing that the decree put into force over three years earlier had remained a dead letter. A further decree which Kalinin signed on January 7th, 1936, again denounced the non-implementation of the Soviet nationalities policy in the Northern Caucasus and revealed that the Russian language dominated everywhere in local government bodies, from the provincial administration down to the village councils. Of 1,310 officials in the Northern Caucasus Territory only seventeen belonged to the mountain peoples. According to the new decree the local languages were supposed to come into official use in 1936 and 1937, but it is open to doubt whether that order had any greater practical results than its predecessors.

## THE SECOND EXODUS OF THE MOUNTAINEERS

Ca. 669 S.U. 687 672

The Russo-German War fully revealed the discrepancy existing between propaganda and reality with regard to conditions in the Northern Caucasus. One could hardly find a better example of the former than the optimistic and distorted picture which Mikhail Kalinin gave in October 1942 when the German troops were approaching the Caucasus Mountains. Kalinin then said: 'The Caucasus is the most enlightening demonstration of the reforming, beneficial effect of the Soviet sytem on the psychology and character of people who, not without reason, saw danger to themselves everywhere. The Caucasians have now become a social people who see in the collective system their bulwark, the foundation of material prosperity and a higher intellectual life. . . . The whole Caucasus has become one mountain village for its peoples. The whole Soviet land, from border to border, has become their beloved home. National enmity has given way to mutual understanding, estrangement to co-operation. . . . Is not everything that has taken place in the Caucasus during the twenty-five years of Soviet power a miracle? Yes, it is a miracle. It is that for which Lenin fought all his life, that for which Stalin fought and is fighting, that to which our party has always aspired.' And Kalinin went on to say that the peoples of the Northern Caucasus were

Ca 771 [870] during the summer holidays all that the Soviet authorities wished them to disregard. A number of Ingush party and Communist Youth League members, instead of working against the influence of religion, used themselves to go to the mosques to pray.[7]

Ca 647 191 The difficulties existing between the Soviet authorities and the Chechens and Ingush[1] were not exclusively due to the Bolshevik failure to understand the importance of the religious factor in the life of the mountaineers. There were also extraordinary difficulties of a technical nature, due to the fact that the directives of the central administration were issued in the Russian language and therefore did not reach the Chechen-Ingush masses. Being unable fully to understand the orders received, the local Soviet organs either could not carry them out, or falsified the decisions of the party and of the administration.[8]

## GROZNY – THE OIL CITY

Ca 178 It was the tremendous dead weight of the predominantly Russian capital of Chechenia that prevented the implementation of any genuine Chechen autonomy and finally spelled the doom of the Chechen people. The actual liquidation of the Chechens would probably not have occurred had not the largest town in their homeland become an oil city, and indeed, one of the most important oil centres of the U.S.S.R.

Ca 815 S.U. 315 This oil city had developed out of the little fortress of Grozny.[2] Although Grozny oilfields had been discovered as early as 1833, they were hardly exploited at all in the nineteenth century. In 1912, however, they already supplied 11·5 per cent of the entire Russian oil. Between 1913 and 1917 this figure had risen to 16·7 per cent, and in the following four years to nearly 25 per cent. By 1937 the proportion of Grozny oil to total Russian oil production had fallen to 9·25 per cent, but in terms of absolute figures this output represented an increase of 234 per cent, compared to that before the First World War. The development of Grozny as an oil centre made for an increase of the population on an 'American scale'. In 1890 the place had no more than 6,000 inhabitants, against 34,067 in 1913, 97,095 in 1926 and 172,468 in 1939. It need hardly be added that the Chechens and Ingush, peoples consisting of shepherds and peasants, could not contribute anything worth mentioning to the rise of the town which was styled, almost ironically, 'Capital of the Chechen-Ingush A.S.S.R.'. Among the oilworkers of Grozny there were probably at no time more than one-tenth of 'natives', and until 1936 there were but 9·7 per cent.

Ca 361 162

Ca 177 S.U. 563 Unlike so many cities in the Soviet Union, Grozny never changed its name under the Soviet régime, despite the imperialistic history connected with it. As a matter of fact, it was the Soviet oil city of Grozny which spelled the doom of the Chechens and not the little fortress which

1 [Cf. category 116, pp. 186-188, R1 Sov. Union: 21: Kolarz--Analyst]
2 [Cf. category 116, p. 186, R1 Sov. Union 121: Kolarz--Analyst]

5: Allen H-4 (no date) 1923 RH1 Caucasia RH 1



Western Caucasus among the Cherkesses by Byzantine, Russian and Latin influence. It was not until the sixteenth century, when Turkish influence was strong in the Caucasus, and when the Russians were approaching from the north, that religion, as a political force, became a serious issue.

The relations between the Turks and the Cherkesses, Kabardans and Abkhazians were confined to the exchange of merchandise for slaves and raw materials. Such relations were mutually beneficial, for while the Turks obtained from the Caucasus brave recruits for their Janissary Corps and beautiful wives for their harîms, the young men of the mountains grasped eagerly at the opportunity of a brilliant military career in foreign lands, and the young women forwent with little misgiving the hard domesticity of the mountain huts for the lives of luxurious ease which lay beyond the slave-markets of Trebizond, Akhaltsikh or Constantinople. Militarily the Turks made no attempt to force their hegemony on the mountain tribes, while the latter for their part would have been quick to resent any encroachment on their independence. If Islam spread among the mountaineers, Cherkesses, Kabardans and Abkhazians, it was rather the result of casual but continuous contact with the Mussulman merchants and sailors than of any deliberate policy of proselytisation on the part of the Turks. And it was an easy faith, in the practice of which were mingled many old pagan superstitions and forgotten rites of Zoroastrian and Christian, and which lay as lightly on the mountaineers as had Christianity during the period of Bagratid influence. Klaproth, commenting on the propagation of the Muhammadan faith among the Kabardans during the latter half of the eighteenth century, remarks that "the Porte had endeavoured to spread the religion of Mohammed by means of ecclesiastical emissaries. . . . Their [the Kabardans'] *mullahs* or priests are generally freedmen of the princes or *usden* who go to the Tatars of Tabasseran or to Ender, where they learn to read and write a little, assume the title of *Effendi*, and return to their native country to instruct the people in the Mohammedan faith, and to detach them more and more from the connection with Russia." [1]

In Daghestan Islam had been maintained and consolidated, since the days of the Arabs, by constant contact with the Persians and Tatars of Shirvan. The Daghestanli were for the most part Sunni and, at times, vented their fanaticism on the Shiah townsmen of Derbend and Shemakha.

[1] Klaproth, p. 317.

5: Allen H-4 (no date) 1923 RH1 Caucasia RH 1



At that time anti-Russian feeling was strong in England
175 and a number of fantastic propositions for the dismemberment
648 of the Muscovite Empire were being published. So influential a man as Lord Stratford de Redcliffe advocated the creation of an independent Circassia at the time of the Treaty of Paris, and in 1862 a number of enthusiastic public meetings at Dundee, Preston and elsewhere welcomed Cherkess deputies, who had come to England to petition the intervention of the Queen. But these efforts were of no avail. The Kars and Ingur campaigns had convinced responsible British statesmen that it was too late to attempt to retard the Russian absorption of the Caucasus, and the Treaty of Paris, by ignoring "the Circassian Question," gave the sanction of Europe to the Russian
175 position in those regions.

[668] In 1859 Shamil, deserted by his followers, and surrounded
[59] by Russian forts, was driven from his last stronghold, Veden. Accompanied only by a hundred faithful *murtazeks*, he fled to the mountainous aul of Gunib in Southern Daghestan, where he subsequently surrendered.[1] The war-weary mountaineers had everywhere laid down their arms; the Russian conquest of the Eastern Caucasus was complete.

Five years later, in 1864, the last resistance of the Cherkesses
175 and Abkhazians was crushed. Nearly 500,000 of these un-
727 fortunate people, together with 100,000 Chechens, emigrated subsequently to Turkey, where the greater number died of disease and starvation.[2] They left their mountain homes a desert, but their place was gradually filled by Bohemian and Cossack immigrants.

During the Russo-Turkish War of 1877–8 there was some unrest amongst the remnants of the western tribes, but Turkish attempts to raise a general insurrection of the Mussulman mountaineers were ineffectual. As a result of the war, the Russians, by the Treaty of Berlin (1878), obtained almost the last remaining areas inhabited by the Caucasian races, Batum and the Ajar hills.

[1] After exile at Kaluga and Kiev, he died on a pilgrimage, at Medina, in 1871.

[2] Some thousand Cherkesses—Chapsughs, Ulikhs, Kabardans and Abkhazians
[066] —are settled in the vilayet of Sivas, others in that of Bitlis. The Chechens, after causing much trouble in the vilayets of Kars and Erzerum, finally scattered about the region of Bitlis, Van and Mush, while others settled in the vilayet of Diarbakr.

2 [i.e., during the Crimean War -- Analyst]

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[1811-1917]



669 of their youths had been drawn to the oil-wells at Maikop, Grozni and Baku, and those who remained were no match for disciplined troops armed with rifles and machine-guns. After the Young Turkish Revolution of 1908 an effort was made by the many Caucasians in Turkey to revivify the hostility to the Russian Government, and an "Association of Political Émigrés from the Caucasus in Turkey" was formed at Constantinople, to be replaced later by a "Committee of the Caucasus." The movement was no doubt encouraged by the Young Turkish Government as a part of their general Pan-Turanian—Pan-Islamic policy, but it had little strength or significance.

*The War and the Revolution* (1914–17).—On the outbreak of 669 the European War the Young Turks made an attempt to de- 648 tach from Russia some of the Caucasian national groups. The attempt was to a great extent abortive. The Social Democratic leaders of opinion in the Caucasus were in theory loyal to the Empire. A Georgian, a certain Leo Kerezelidze, did indeed form a "Committee for the Liberation of Georgia" at Constantinople, which proceeded to sign a secret treaty with Turkey, but it was entirely unrepresentative of any Georgian political group. Among the Muhammadan mountain-tribes the Turks found a limited degree of support. The Ajars rose in an unsuccessful attempt to support Enver's Sarikamish offensive (December 1914), and at the end of 1915 a Delegation, including the Georgian Machabeli, the Tatar Selim Beg Bebutov and two Turkish officers, Issa Pasha, a Lesghian, and Ali Fuad Pasha, a Circassian, proceeded to Berlin, to present a Memorandum demanding the assistance of the Central Powers in the formation of a quadruple Caucasian Confederation.

The outbreak of the Russian Revolution in March 1917 was welcomed with enthusiasm in the Transcaucasus. The Social Democrats, who represented the mass of public opinion, were theoretically anti-nationalist, and supported the conception of a Federated Russian Republic. Indeed the most prominent of them were interested rather in Russian than in Transcaucasian politics. A "Special Transcaucasian Committee" representing the four principal nationalities replaced the Viceroy, the Grand Duke Nicholas Nicholaevich, at Tiflis, but the real power reposed in the newly-formed Councils of Workmen's and Soldiers' Deputies, dominated by the Social Democrats.

669 As the disintegration of the central power in Russia proceeded, disunion developed in the Caucasus. The Social

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669 In the Transcaucasus a Social Democratic "Commissariat" had superseded the "Caucasian Committee" at Tiflis. This
642 body, which represented all nationalities (three Georgians, three Armenians, three Tatars and two Russians) was presided over by the Georgian Gegéchkori. It drew its authority from a "Transcaucasian Seim" composed of the Caucasian members of the recently elected All-Russian Constituent Assembly, with the further addition of two members for each original one, the various parties increasing their membership in proportion to the last election figures. Further, the Commissariat and Seim worked in conjunction with the various Workmen's, Soldiers' and Municipal Councils, and with Georgian, Armenian and Tatar "National Committees."

In spite, however, of this inevitable organisation on nationalist lines, the Commissariat still endeavoured to maintain the co-operation of the different races and the principle of unity with Russia; and at the Georgian National Congress in November 1917 the Georgian Social Democratic leaders Jordania and Chenkeli emphasised these principles.

## VI

### RECENT HISTORY

726 As in Russia, the most urgent necessity for Georgia was the conclusion of an early peace. The Turkish commander on the
648 Turko-Caucasian front, Ferik Mehmed Vehib Pasha, proposed a cessation of hostilities at the beginning of December, in accordance with the action of the German General Staff on the Polish front, and on December 14 General Prjevalski, who still held nominal command of the Russo-Caucasian troops, signed an armistice at Erzinjan. During the following month the anarchy behind the Russian lines increased. Turkish agents were active in the Muhammadan districts of Transcaucasia, encouraging the Tatars and Ajars to attack the disorganised bodies of Russian troops who were making their way home through Transcaucasia. Armenian bands were attacking Turkish villages in the Russian area, and were preparing a desperate resistance to the Turkish advance.

In mid-January 1918 the Ottoman Government made a further *démarche*, addressing itself now to the "Independent Transcaucasian Government," which it invited to participate in the Brest-Litovsk negotiations. It was a development of the Turkish policy, revealed at the outbreak of war, of constructing

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a buffer-State in the Caucasus. But the Social Democrats were still loyal to their ideal of a Federal Russia, and demanded a respite "in order to combine their action with the opinions and views of other autonomous Governments in Russia."[1] They then communicated with the Ukrainian Rada at Kiev and with the South-eastern Union at Ekaterinodar. Meanwhile the Turkish Command emphasised the urgency of a settlement by a general advance, under pretext of protecting the Mussulman population behind the Russian lines from the attacks of the Armenians.

In the middle of February Turkish troops reoccupied Erzinjan (February 12), Baiburt (February 14) and Trebizond (February 24). Nevertheless, when the Seim met on February 28, all parties, including even the Tatars, maintained their attitude of co-operation with the non-Bolshevist parties in Russia, and of refusal to participate with the Bolsheviks in the negotiations at Brest-Litovsk. On March 1 they agreed on the four heads of a peace settlement which provided for the restoration of the frontiers of 1914 and the creation of an autonomous Armenia "within the frame of the Turkish State."

Next day the Tiflis Government received a telegram from the Bolshevist Commissary Karakhan, announcing the retrocession to Turkey of the districts of Batum, Ardahan and Kars. The Transcaucasian Government protested that any treaty "signed without its consent" was "void of international importance," and repeated its willingness to discuss a settlement on the basis of the proposals of March 1. But the Turkish Government replied that the cession of the territories in question had been completed, while the Transcaucasus, according to the statements of its own Government, was a part of Russia, and insisted on the immediate evacuation of the ceded districts. The Turkish Command immediately undertook a double offensive against Erzerum and Batum. Armenian troops and volunteers, under General Nazarbekian and the partisan leaders Antranik and Murad, offered a desperate resistance. But the Georgian troops, under General Odichelidze, unwilling to exhaust their strength in the defence of the Turkish Armenian districts, withdrew. On March 11 the Turks entered Erzerum; during the following month they reoccupied the remaining districts of Turkish Armenia, and approached Kars by Olti and Sarikamish. At the same time the Mussulmans rose in the Province of Kars. All communications were cut, and the

[1] Doc. & Mat., Nos. 15–25.

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insurgents seized Ardahan and Merdenik, while the panic-stricken Christian population fled towards Batum or Akhaltsikh.

Further, there was serious friction between the Georgian and Armenian commanders, the former hesitating to co-operate seriously in the defence of the Kars line. Nevertheless, when the Seim met on March 11 the Armenian and Georgian groups still worked together. Jordania opposed the Brest concessions. The Tatars, however, had already committed themselves definitely to a Turkish orientation, and it was evident that they were no longer willing to co-operate in the maintenance of Transcaucasian unity. A week later occurred the Mussavetist attempt to overthrow the Soviet at Baku, and with the departure of the Mussavetist leaders for Elisavetpol the Transcaucasian Seim lost the last semblance of control over the Eastern districts.

During the latter part of March and the beginning of April a Transcaucasian Delegation under the presidency of Mr. Chenkeli was negotiating at Trebizond with the Turkish plenipotentiary Khalil Bey. Chenkeli, more conscious at Trebizond than the Government at Tiflis of the desperate situation, at last agreed to recognise the Brest Treaty. The Turks thereupon pressed for a declaration of Transcaucasian independence, and on April 13 delivered a forty-eight hours' ultimatum. The Seim was still unwilling to yield, and the Delegation was recalled to Tiflis. On April 14 the Turks entered Batum after a feeble resistance. They then advanced to Notanebi and Ozurgeti. On April 27 they occupied Kars. The situation was desperate. The Government of Gegéchkori resigned, and Chenkeli, who had advocated the concessions, succeeded, and proclaimed the Independence of Transcaucasia.

But the Turks immediately advanced fresh demands. They now had plans far more ambitious than the restoration of the territories lost in 1878. They were in communication with the Tatar National Committee of Elisavetpol, and with a delegation from the Union of Mountaineers which had come to Trebizond. And they conceived an advance on Baku and the extension of their power over all Azerbaijan, Daghestan and North-west Persia. They therefore demanded the surrender of the Alexandropol-Julfa railway-line, "so as to prevent a British concentration in Azerbaijan," [1] and began an attack on the Armenians at Alexandropol. On May 15 Alexandropol fell, and the Turks subsequently occupied Elisavetpol (June 1) and Tabriz (June 15).

[1] *New Europe*, December 28, 1918.

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*The Georgian Social Democratic Republic* (*May* 1918–20).—726 While the Turks and the Tatars were attacking the Armenians 648 in the region of Alexandropol, Erivan and Kara Bagh, the Transcaucasian Government continued at Batum negotiations for a definite peace with Turkey. The interests of the Armenians and Georgians were now widely divergent, for whilst the very existence of the former was threatened by a Turkish control of the Eastern Caucasus, the latter, from their geographical position, were able to regard the Turkish menace with fewer misgivings, and were only anxious to save themselves from becoming involved in further hostilities. Thus, while the Armenian National Committee at Erivan directed an exclusive policy, the Transcaucasian Government at Tiflis tended more definitely each week to represent Georgian interests alone.

But Khalil Bey, at Batum, showed no intention of allowing the Georgians to assume a neutral attitude towards the Armeno-Turkish war. He demanded the right "to bring military help" to prevent the formation of bands in Transcaucasian territory; control of the railways and of Russian ships in Transcaucasian ports; free passage for Turkish troops and military stores through Transcaucasian territory; and immediate demobilisation of all the armed forces at the disposal of the Transcaucasian Government. Further, he patronised Mussulman delegations from the districts of Akhaltsikh and Akhalkalaki, who petitioned for annexation to Turkey. Meanwhile the Bolshevist dictator at Baku, Shaumian, an Armenian, was organising a Red Army of Russian and Armenian workmen, with the professed intention of marching on Tiflis and destroying "that nest of Menshevist reaction." And in the maritime region Bolshevist ships of the Black Sea Fleet bombarded Sukhum and other watering-places, while a Bolshevist force marched along the coast and occupied Sochi, Gagri and Sukhum.

In this situation the Transcaucasian Government commenced to negotiate for German intervention through the medium of the German representative at Batum, General v. Lossow. The German Government at this time had differences with the Porte on questions of general military policy, and was anxious to check Turkish aggression in the Caucasus, in order to secure the transference of Turkish troops to the Syrian front. During April the Germans had occupied Odessa, Nikolaev and Sevastopol, and had seized the bulk of the Black Sea Fleet. Accordingly they were soon in a position to intervene effectively. On May 25 8,000 German troops under General Kress v. Kressenstein landed at Poti, and German

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726 pickets appeared on all the frontiers of Georgia. On the same
648 day the Transcaucasian Seim voted its own dissolution, and in the evening Jordania announced the declaration of the Independence of the Georgian Republic. Three days later an agreement was concluded at Poti between v. Lossow and Chenkeli, by which the railways and all naval tonnage were ceded to Germany for the duration of the war. By a later agreement, signed at Batum, the Georgian Government guaranteed to Turkey the free transit of petroleum by the pipe-line from Baku to Batum.

726 The apologia of the Georgian Social Democrats for the German
648 Agreement is set forth in a memorandum to the International
728 Socialist Bureau: "We tried to unite the Transcaucasian peoples to defend the whole of the country. But our attempt was broken by the national hatred of the Armenians and Tatars, which was rending Transcaucasia. . . . We remained alone, in a ring of fire, surrounded by enemies on all sides. The Turks marched on us from west and south, the Bolsheviks menaced from the north, and the Tatars from the east. . . . Germany alone was able to tear us away from the noose of the Turkish agreement on the condition that we handed over to her the control of our railway system. . . . No other means remained to deliver us from the Turkish occupation. Our sovereignty as to the railways was, anyhow, destroyed by our defeat. And we signed the Treaty with the Germans, gave them our railways, received their regiments, on the sole condition—which they fulfilled—to defend us from Turkey and not to interfere with our internal affairs. However," they add, "during the darkest days, when German help was most needed, we did not renounce the right of pitilessly criticising German Imperialism."

The German occupation undoubtedly saved Georgia from anarchy, while the diplomatic support of the German mission allowed the Tiflis Government to pursue a policy, in relation particularly to Armenia, which was scarcely consonant with its "pitiless criticism of German Imperialism." During the spring a military force had been organised at Tiflis round the nucleus of a body of armed workmen, and was styled "The National Guard." This body, after wavering for some time between Bolshevism and a Chauvinistic form of Nationalism, was finally persuaded by its leaders to devote itself to the defence and other interests of the Georgian Republic. The first campaign of the young army was the invasion and occupation of the Armenian part of the Borchalu district,

[½ D.C., on May 28, 1918 -- Analyst]

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Akhalkalaki, and the circuit of Phambak in the government of Alexandropol, on the pretext that Armenia was "unable to build a viable State." When the Erivan Government protested to v. Kressenstein, he replied that "Germany as an ally had engaged itself to support the Georgian claims."[1]

On the north the revival of the Volunteer Army, during the late summer of 1918, enabled the National Guard to drive the Bolsheviks from Sukhum, Gagri and Sochi, and to occupy the mountain districts of the Abkhazians and Ossets, with all the western and central passes of the Caucasus, including the Mamison and Daryal, controlling respectively the Ossetian and Georgian Military Roads.

The conclusion of the armistice in November 1918 greatly modified the situation in Transcaucasia. While the Germans and Turks withdrew respectively from Georgia and Azerbaijan, the British assumed control of Batum and Baku and the line of the Transcaucasian Railway, while the Armenians proceeded to occupy Alexandropol, Kars, Ardahan and Ardanuch.

Three distinct influences must be considered in relation to the situation: (1) the mutual relations of the three national Republics; (2) The attitude of the Russian counter-revolutionary Government at Ekaterinodar; and (3) the policy of the Entente Powers.

(1) Although circumstances now favoured the Armenians, they were so exhausted by the struggle of the preceding year that the Turks at Erzerum and the Tatars at Baku still remained a real menace to their safety. Nevertheless on their Georgian frontier they undertook an offensive against Akhalkalaki and Shulaveri, with the object of regaining the territories occupied by the Georgians during the summer. The Armenians gained some initial successes, but an armistice was imposed by the Allied authorities and the ultimate allocation of the disputed territories was left to the decision of the Peace Conference at Paris. In Tiflis the Armenian offensive and the hostile attitude of the Volunteer Army on the northern frontier proved the occasion of a cruel persecution of the considerable Russian and Armenian element. During January 1919 numbers of Russians and Armenians were assaulted in the streets, and the military capacity of the National Guard was demonstrated in the systematic looting of houses in the Armenian quarter.

During the following months however the Georgian Government made a genuine effort to reconcile national differences

[1] *New Russia*, ii, 23, July 8, 1920.

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726 648 and to bring about a degree of co-operation between the national Governments. Various proposals were made for the convocation of a conference of the Transcaucasian States, but the hostility between Baku and Erivan continued to obstruct the conclusion of any common political agreement. However, the signature of the Railway and Postal Convention between the three Governments in the autumn of 1919 was hailed as the first step towards the establishment of a Transcaucasian Confederation.

(2) The counter-revolutionary leaders at Ekaterinodar bore almost as much animosity against the Georgian Socialists as against the Bolsheviks. On the other hand the Georgian Socialists did not hesitate to stigmatise the "Tsarist Generals" as reactionaries—although Mr. Gegéchkori had, in an interview with General Alexeiev, stated that "within our borders the struggle against Bolshevism is implacable"—and they further asserted a series of claims as to the possession or "self-determination" of the Sochi district. Finally, in March 1919, Denikin prepared to make an end of the Caucasian nationalist movement. On the Black Sea coast he occupied Sochi, and the Georgians retired behind the Bzib. At the same time a Russian force occupied Temir-Khan-Shura and brought to an end the "Republic of the Mountaineers."

(3) The policy of the Allies in the Caucasus had been governed by the broader consideration of the Russian Revolutionary question as a whole. While supporting the Russian counter-revolutionaries they had at the same time acquiesced in, or encouraged, the formation of autonomous governments among the border peoples. These, in principle, they were unwilling to recognise as independent, although there was a strong influence in the direction of Allied—particularly of British—policy, which favoured the erection and consistent support of a belt of independent border States. Denikin's attack on the Caucasian Republics provoked a protest from the British Black Sea Command. A small British force was landed at Gagri, between the Volunteer troops at Sochi and the Georgians near Pitsunda, and Denikin, who was dependent on British support in the campaign against the Bolsheviks, was constrained to stop his offensive.

A result of Denikin's offensive was a further effort of the Georgian Government to organise a Transcaucasian alliance—if not a confederation. On July 16, 1919 a Military Convention was signed between Georgia and Azerbaijan, with the object of combined defensive action against the Volunteer Army. But

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Erivan, careful of offence to the Allies, and fearing a Turko-Tatar rather than a Russian attack, held aloof.

*In the autumn of 1919 the combination against Denikin* developed into a formidable rising of the Daghestanli Khans, which was certainly subsidised and abetted by the Azerbaijan Government. Levies were raised to the number of about 30,000, including 1,000 Turkish *askars*, and organised by fugitive Turkish officers and Tatars, ex-officers of the Imperial Army. In conjunction with Bolshevist elements from Astrakhan the insurgents attacked Derbend and Petrovsk, and threatened other towns. Denikin, at a critical moment, was therefore forced to withdraw two Cossack divisions with armoured cars from the front in Central Russia, but he was successful after a few weeks' campaign in subduing the Khans.

In August the British evacuated all points in Transcaucasia except Batum. A first consequence of this action was a closer Turko-Tatar *rapprochement*, and a desire on the part of the Armenian Government, manifested in a Treaty of Arbitration (November 13), to arrive at a closer understanding with Georgia.

At the beginning of 1920 the collapse of the Volunteer Army and the advance of the Bolsheviks into the Kuban caused the Georgian Government to make one last attempt to achieve some form of co-operation among the Transcaucasian States. The Prime Ministers of Armenia and Azerbaijan were induced to meet and discuss the vexed Zangezur question. But the Tatars were attracted by the prospect of a military alliance with the Turkish Nationalist Government against the Armenians, and concentrated their troops in the Zangezur region. On April 27 the Bolsheviks seized Baku.

The relations of the Tiflis Government with Moscow had, until Denikin's collapse, been normal. Chicherin had, in fact, proposed a Georgian attack on Denikin at the beginning of January. But Gegéchkori had professed disinterestedness in the Russian Civil War, and had refused to permit Georgia to become involved in "a military adventure which would be far beyond her strength." Further negotiations had then taken place, and peace had been agreed upon in principle. But the Bolshevist Staff was notoriously independent of Moscow, and Georgia might expect an immediate attack. During April indeed the Bolsheviks occupied the Gagri district in spite of Georgian protests and raided the Gori district from the north. On May 1 there was a Bolshevist outbreak at Tiflis.

The Polish War however, induced the Bolsheviks to suspend all aggression in the East. Consequently a Treaty was signed

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at Moscow (June 12) by which the Soviet Government recognised the independence of Georgia, and disclaimed all interest in the internal affairs of that country. Georgia was to receive Batum, should it be evacuated by the British, and a neutral zone was established on each side of the Caucasian Mountains. But the cynical attitude of the Bolsheviks towards the Treaty, which they regarded as merely of a temporary nature, was indicated by the correspondence of Chicherin with Mustafa Kemal Pasha, in which he approved the latter's proposal to decide by plébiscite the future of Batum and other regions.

While the Moscow negotiations were in progress the Supreme Council had decided on the evacuation of Batum, and at the beginning of July 1920 the Franco-British troops were withdrawn. The Georgians had already occupied Artvin (May 6), and on July 9 the control of Batum was formally transferred to them by the British High Commissioner, Colonel Stokes.

The evacuation of Batum by the Allies was significant of their intention to abstain from all active intervention in Transcaucasia. Georgia and Armenia were left to their own resources. The situation in the two countries became extremely critical during the autumn of 1920. The people were demoralised by the long period of political crises. In Georgia economic life was disorganised by the unfavourable rate of exchange with Europe, by the impossibility of resuming normal relations with the Northern Caucasus and Azerbaijan, and by the uncertainty of the supply of oil-fuel from Baku. In Armenia the peasants were disheartened by the delay in the solution of the Turkish Armenian question, and the productive capacity of the country was strained to an extreme limit by the necessity of supporting hundreds of thousands of refugees. Thousands of deaths from malnutrition and exposure were occurring, and cholera and typhus were ravaging the crowded villages.

It was patent to all observers that both countries must succumb to a vigorous attack. Their continued independence depended on the preoccupation of the Bolsheviks in other quarters.

In November the conclusion of the Polish War and the unexpected collapse of the White Army in the Crimea precipitated the crisis. The Bolsheviks were now free to despatch troops to the Transcaucasus. At the same time the fall of Venizelos and the political changes in Greece permitted the Turks to withdraw troops from the Smyrna front for despatch to Erzerum. In the middle of September they commenced operations in the regions of Kars and Igdir, and in November the movement

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developed formidable proportions. The demoralised Armenians lacked munitions, uniforms and food, and further, they could hope for no help from the Allies. Kars fell, almost without a shot, and the inhabitants of Erivan only avoided a Turkish occupation by the establishment of a Soviet and recognition of the authority of the Moscow Government.

The Georgians were in a precarious position. Sporadic Bolshevist outbreaks occurred at Tiflis and Batum, and further, the Georgians appear to have been disheartened by the attitude of the British Government, who during the negotiations at Genoa with the Soviet Government appeared to ignore the interests of the Caucasian Governments, and failed to make any suggestion that they should be recognised by the Soviet Government or even to stipulate for their immunity from immediate attack. When the Armenians were attacked the Georgian Government hesitated to make any effort to assist them, and confined themselves, after the Turks had taken Kars and Alexandropol, to occupying the Armenian towns of Ardahan and Ardanuch, officially as a friendly and protective measure.

In the middle of February the Bolsheviks commenced an attack on Georgia. Armenian troops moved on Shulaveri, while a strong force of Bolshevist cavalry advanced up the valley of the Kur towards Tiflis, and detachments crossed the Mamison and Daryal Passes. At the same time another Bolshevist force advanced from Gagri towards Sukhum. The Armenian thrust was repulsed, but the force moving along the Kur was supported by a Bolshevist rising of Russian and Armenian elements in Tiflis, and the Georgian defence was disorganised by the defection of part of the National Guard. In the last week of February Tiflis fell, and the Georgian Government withdrew to Kutais. At the beginning of March the Bolsheviks occupied Mtzkhet and Gori.

Meanwhile the Nationalist Turks occupied Ardahan, Ardanuch and Artvin by agreement with the Georgians, and on March 9 entered Batum.

The Turko-Georgian understanding did not, however, modify the situation. A Georgian rally on the Suram ridge had been expected. But while the Bolshevist Black Sea force took Sukhum and Poti, the Kur army entered Kutais, and the Government of Jordania fled on board an Italian warship at Batum. On March 17 the Bolsheviks approached that town. The Georgian Government troops then deserted to the Bolsheviks, and attacked the small Turkish detachment, which was forced to withdraw.

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The Bolsheviks subsequently[1] established Soviets at Batum and Tiflis under the leaders of Georgian Bolshevism, and a Treaty was signed between Angora and Moscow, which confirmed the Turkish occupation of Ardahan, Artvin and Kars, and guaranteed to the Turks free goods transit to Batum.

Following the Kars Conference (October–November 1921), which regulated the relations of the Angora Government and the Caucasian Bolshevist Governments, confirmed the Turks in the possession of Kars and Ardahan, and established a special régime for the Batum Provinces, the Soviet Government abolished by decree the independence of the three Soviet Republics of Transcaucasia, and established one federal union under Russian control, with a political capital at Baku—the centre of Bolshevist influence—and an economic capital at Tiflis. It should be added that the representatives of the four exiled Caucasian Governments (Georgia, Armenia, Azerbaijan and Daghestan) have also "concluded an alliance and established an understanding" by an agreement signed in Paris on June 10, 1921, providing for co-ordination of foreign policy, compulsory arbitration in disputes, and a Customs Union.

In general the situation indicates the development of a further phase of the Russian Revolution—the failure of the separatist movement of the border races and the reconstruction of the Russian Imperial unit through the agency of the Bolshevist military machine. Such a consummation in the Caucasus was, perhaps, inevitable. For the history of the last four years has demonstrated the political instability and military weakness of the national States. And from the standpoint of Russian Imperial policy the re-establishment of control over the Caucasus was a strategic and economic necessity.

Thus for reasons political, economic and moral, it is unquestionable that the future of the Transcaucasian peoples must lie in intimate union with Russia. The actual form of association between Russia and the Transcaucasians, as also the other border races, still remains to be evolved. But it is to be hoped that a liberal autonomy will allow to Georgians, Tatars, Armenians and Mountaineers alike the opportunity for prosperous economic development, and for the preservation of their individual characteristics. In an age of standardisation the distinctive cultures of ancient races are at once a source of advantage to civilisation and of delight to the individual.

1 [for events preceding the settlement of 1921, see cont. 116, p 215 ff.--Analyst]

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## HISTORICAL SETTING

*175 Although the Caucasus is considered to be one of the ancient centers of the Eastern Hemisphere, its known history is relatively short and embraces hardly more than 3,000 years.

The history of the Caucasus as a whole shows several characteristics which are sometimes overlooked even by students of the area. This peculiar situation is due mostly to the fact that Caucasian history is complicated and seldom treated as a whole.

*175 Perhaps the most important character-
● 648 istic of Caucasian history is the intertwining of the history of two distinct groups. In the first group we have the great powers concentrated sometimes in the Caucasian area, but in the majority of cases having their headquarters far away from the Caucasus. To this group belong the Byzantine Empire, the Sassanian Empire, the Kazar Empire, the Arab Caliphate, the Ottoman Empire, Russia, etc. The second group consists of the so-called small powers whose main concentration has always been in the area. This group includes the Georgians, the Armenians, the Circassians, the Mountain Tribes, and the Azeri-Turks (a small power only during the last centuries), etc. The small powers in general have lived under the domination of the great powers, and with remarkable regularity,

*175 648 whenever the dominating great powers became weak or were seriously fighting with each other they entered into their independent periods, formed states with the attribute "Great", or lived in a "Golden Age."

*175 The second important characteristic of Caucasian history is that the South Caucasus and the North Caucasus did not in general form a unit. In the case of the small powers this is obvious. In the case of the great powers, however, it must be explained by the fact that the mountain chain of the Caucasus constituted a formidable dividing-line. It is very significant that the North and South Caucasus have formed a single unit only three times. The first case, or rather attempt, was the Mongolian one, in which both areas were subjugated by the Mongolians coming from the East. The second case was the Ottoman one when the North and South Caucasus were both occupied by them from the West. In other words, in both cases the expansion paralleled the Caucasian chain, which circumstance somewhat facilitated it. Yet only once, in the Russian case, did a great power succeed in dominating the whole area by a direct crossing of the chain of the Caucasus. This crossing was without doubt aided by a technology unknown to the previous periods. Even so it was a great achievement and gave the Russian occupation an outstanding and unique place in Caucasian history.

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## Note on the Historical Setting of Russian Foreign Policy in the Caucasus

648 As I have already mentioned,[1] the Russian occupation of the Caucasus started with the creation of the Vladikavkaz Corridor cutting through the North Caucasus and connecting Russia with Georgia. The second phase of the Russian advance was the occupation of Georgia in the south; this was followed by the occupation of the adjacent South Caucasian areas from Georgia, and finally the occupation of the Dagestan and Circassian pockets in the North Caucasus. As a result of this occupation, Russia's drive toward the Eurasian coast gained a bridgehead in the Southern Caucasus similar in importance to that of Outer Mongolia, Afghanistan, the Balkans, or satellite East Germany.

The South Caucasian bridgehead is strikingly similar on a large scale to the Vladikavkaz Corridor. The South Caucasian bridgehead is to the Near and Middle East today what the Vladikavkaz Corridor was to the South Caucasus in the 18th and 19th centuries. Like the old one, the new corridor is located on the northern, or Russian side of a mountain range, in this case the Taurus-Zagros mountain system. Like the old one, the new corridor attempts to separate the two peoples which form the anti-Russian defense line of the Near and

1 [cf. cat. 116, pp. 299-300, also map 38, p. 348 -- Analyst]

•648 Middle East. Today's "Circassians" and "Mountain Tribes" are the Turks and the Persians. The countries of these two peoples: Turkey and Iran are at the same time bordered by a western, and by an eastern Russian wedge (the Balkans and the area around Afghanistan) in the same way as the Circassians and the Mountain Tribes were bordered by the Russian strips along the Black and the Caspian Seas. Thus, the new Russian offensive makes these countries potential semi-pockets. At the southern end of the South Caucasian corridor, beyond the Taurus and the Zagros, is the Arabic World. This world with all its internal quarrels and over-emphasized issues like "Western Colonialism" or Israel, shows similar features to those which were characteristic of 18-19th century Georgia, and which made it ideal as a Russian sphere of interest.

The geopolitical structure of the Caucasus makes this area one of the favored "battlefields" of Russian foreign policy, and one of the key points in the Russian plan for "World Domination." Russia's present day Caucasian policy consists of the following three elements. First, to enlarge the width, depth and strength of the South Caucasian Corridor. (To this end Georgian, Armenian, Kurdish, Azeri Turkic, Talish, and Gilak would-be-nation movements are exploited. From time to time, a Georgian, Armenian, Kurdish irrendentist movement is put in motion

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648 against Turkey, the bastion of the Near and Middle East, or a Gilaki People's Republic, a Kurdish Republic of Mahabad, or various South Azerbaijanian Republics are created in Iran.) The second element of the Russian South Caucasian foreign policy embraces the various attempts against Turkey's and Iran's ruling peoples themselves. Among the most recent attempts, the so-called "Battle of Azerbaijan" in 1946, which brought to the fore the military aspects of Russian foreign policy, was fought against Turkey. Synchronized with the concentration of Russian troops in the Balkan area, and reinforced with Russian demands for military bases in the Straits, and the cancellation of the Russian-Turkish Friendship Treaty, the "Battle of Azerbaijan" ushered in the "Cold War." After being defeated by Turkish firmness and a reorientation of United States foreign policy, the Russians began to concentrate on Iran. The newest phase of Russo-Persian relations is an attempt at "peaceful penetration" exploiting Persian socialistic, chauvinistic, or religious disruptive forces connected with or influenced by the Persian Communist Party, the Tudeh. The third aspect of Russian Caucasian policy has to do with the Arabic areas. The Russian infiltration which has a tradition especially in Iraq and Syria has started once again with revived impetus and larger objectives. The

.648 global results of this Russian "Arabic policy" are well known by everybody.

Though the geopolitical similarites between the South Caucasian and the Vladikavkaz Corridors are striking, it is to be hoped that Arabic-Russian cooperation will not yield Russia the same results as did Georgian-Russian cooperation a century and a half ago. Similarly, it is to be hoped that Turkey and Iran, the new pocket candidates, will be able to resist the Russian thrust with their own strength and the backing of their international alliances (NATO, Baghdad Pact) much more successfully than were the Circassians and the Mountain Tribes less than a century ago. Finally, it is to be hoped that the interested Northern Tier States will create for their own sake a solution that will take into consideration the would-be-nation movements of the area, and thus deprive Russian foreign policy of its chief tool in its attempt to enlarge its corridor in the South Caucasus.

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1935-7 people's commissar of Azerb. social security. Deputy to VS SSSR 1.-2. sozyv. 1938-1948 president of VS Azerb. SSR presidium.

BE II 20:346

645 3

Kasumov, Salim Kasumovich
Minister of local industry, Azerb. 1954.

Bak. Rab. 3/10/54

669 2

Katanian, R. P.
One of the signers of a letter to Pravda. One of the old members of the 1905 revolution, formerly described in Soviet propaganda as the chief of "nationalist opposition" group in Armenia. For almost a generation his name had not appeared in the official press.

NYT 3/12/56

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Kavtaradze, S. I.
(no dates, place) Order of Lenin, of Red Labor. flag. Educated in Leningr. Univ. (law degree). Engaged in revolutionary work in Baku 1903. On editorial staff of Pravda 1913-14. Return to Caucasus in 1918. Chairman of the Council of People's Commissars of Georgia, 1921-22. Legal

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counselor to Turkey 1923-4; chief of Middle East Dept. of Ministry of Foreign Affairs 1941-3; deputy of Ministry of Foreign Affairs 1943-5; ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary to Rumania since 1945.

World Dipl. Dir. 1950, page 853

665 2 Kazarian, V. A.
Member CC CP Arm. SSR, 18.s'ezd 1956.

Kom. Er. 1/22/56

538 1 Kediashvili, D.
1862-1931. Georgian writer. Wrote: Solomon Morbeladze, 1894; Machekha Samanishvili, 1897; Nevzgody Kamushadze, 1900.

BE II 13:78

325 3(?) Kekelidze, Ivan Grigor'evich
Stalin prize 3. class, for work in metallurgy (1950).

Laur. Stalin. prem. 1950
p. 32

814 1 Kekelidze, Konrelii Samsonovich
1879-. Georgian academician, philologian. Wrote: Istoriia

3: Anonymous U-4 (no date) 1920 RH1 Caucasia RH1



439 have greatly facilitated trade by this route. A direct line from Batum to Kars would, however, effect a still greater economy of cost and time.

A part of the Russian transit trade with Transcaspia and Persia passes through Petrovsk when the Volga is frozen. No statistics of this trade are available.

## (D) FINANCE

### (1) *Public Finance*

652 As a large portion of the Caucasus has only recently been incorporated into the Russian Empire, and parts of the country have been vacated by the former inhabitants owing to their dislike for Christian rule, the country has been treated more as a colony than as an integral portion of Russia. Details of revenue and expenditure are not easily available. It would, however, seem that vast sums have been spent in the past on settling the country, building military roads, &c., and that, owing to the rapid expansion of the oil industry and to fair success in some other mining ventures, together with sound agricultural development and the repute the country has gained as a tourist resort and for its medicinal springs, the revenue was gradually being adjusted to expenditure. The revenue is stated to have risen by 35 per cent. between 1906 and 1910.

651 Taxation in Russia as a whole was mainly indirect, only about 8 per cent. of the revenue being derived from direct taxes on land and trades and industries. Excise revenue furnished about 22 per cent., duties about 8 per cent., royalties (including the profit on the spirit monopoly) about 30 per cent., and profits from State undertakings (forests, railways, State factories, &c.) about 30 per cent. For the Caucasus considered separately, these proportions might differ in certain particulars. It is not possible to trace the incidence of expenditure in the Caucasus at all.

Local taxation is either urban or rural. In 1912 nine towns were entitled to raise revenue for urban

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purposes, and in that year their aggregate revenue 651 amounted to some £1,250,000 and their aggregate debt to £1,800,000. Baku had a revenue of £670,000 in 1912, Tiflis of £218,000, and Ekaterinodar of £147,000. The remaining towns had revenues of less than £50,000 each.

Rural taxation in Russia was undertaken by the *zemstvos*. Caucasia, however, had no *zemstvos*, and local matters were administered by official boards. The Province of Stavropol acquired a *zemstvo* in 1912, but no record of its activities is available.

### (2) *Currency*

The paper money and coinage current in Caucasia 436 is that of the Russian Empire, but certain silver coins of the old Georgian currency are still in circulation, namely, the *shaur* (worth 5 kopecks, or about 1d.), the *half abaz* (10 kopecks), the *abaz* (20 kopecks), and the *two abaz* (40 kopecks).

### (3) *Banking*

The most important distinctively Caucasian bank is 453 the *Banque de Caucase*, or *Banque de Commerce de Tiflis*, which has its head office at Tiflis and branches at Baku, Batum, Elisavetopol, Erivan, Grozni, Kars, Kutais, and Nukha. Smaller Caucasian banks are the *Tiflis Agrarian Bank* at Tiflis, the *Tifliser Kaufmannsbank* at Tiflis, and the *North Caucasian Commercial Bank* at Armavir.

The following Russian banks have branches in the Caucasus: the *Imperial State Bank*,[1] at Armavir, Baku, Batum, Ekaterinodar, Erivan, Stavropol, Tiflis, and Vladikavkaz; the *Banque Russo-asiatique* (of Petrograd), at Armavir, Baku, Batum, Yeisk, Ekaterinodar, Grozni, Novorossiisk, and Vladikavkaz; the *Banque de Commerce de l'Azoff-Don* (of Petrograd), at Armavir, Elisavetopol, Erivan, Yeisk, Grozni, Novorossiisk, Poti, Stavropol, Tiflis, and Vladikavkaz; the

[1] The functions of the Imperial State Bank are described in *Don and Volga Basins*, No. 53 of this series, p. 100.

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extremity of Burun Tabia, which is the western point of the bay. 504

The harbours, though approachable in all weathers, are exposed to the violence of south-westerly gales; and in 1910 the British Consul stated that complaints were general with regard to their unsafe condition. In 1911, on the subsidence of one of the moles, [653] a scheme was framed which comprised considerable extensions and improvements. The funds provided by the Congress of Harbour Authorities were at first insufficient, but in 1913 the sum of £750,000 was provisionally assigned. The preliminary work and surveys were completed by June of the following year, but on the outbreak of war the undertaking had to be abandoned.

The dangers incurred by shipping in bad weather and the inadequacy of the port to deal with increased traffic resulting from the manganese trade have for years impeded the commercial development of Batum. From 1878 to 1886, however, it enjoyed eight years of exceptional prosperity as a 'free port'. Even after the withdrawal of this privilege in 1886, the petroleum [489] export maintained trade at a high level until the labour disturbances of 1903–5, from the disastrous effects of which the port has not yet recovered. The total value of its trade in 1913 was £5,134,732, of which £4,552,200 represented exports and £582,532 imports. Coasting trade, carried on exclusively by Russian ships, was very prosperous in that year.

*Gagri* is an open roadstead, providing anchorage for small vessels in 5–6 fathoms. The Government had in contemplation a scheme to build a harbour of refuge there, for which a sum of £211,000 was assigned in 1913.

*Gelendjik Bay*, which is 2½ miles long and 1¼ miles deep, is sheltered from the violent north-east winds. Light vessels find good anchorage in 12 ft. of water.

The open roadstead at *Gudaut* is used by coasters only.

*Novorossiisk* harbour has been artificially formed by the construction of two moles, each half a mile long. On

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*Sukhum Kale* in Sukhum Bay affords indifferent 504
anchorage in 6–8 fathoms. There is a quay, 56 yds. long, built on piles. A sum of £370,000 was assigned in 1913 for improvements to this port.

*Tuapse* roadstead, open to the south and south-west, is protected from north-west winds, and affords good anchorage in 6 fathoms. Two moles, half a mile apart, converge to form the old harbour, the depth inside the eastern mole being 23 ft. When the railway was brought to Tuapse, it was realized that the existing harbour accommodation would be inadequate. A concession to build a safe harbour was [653] granted to a French firm in 1909, but, as they failed to fulfil their agreement, the State took the work over in 1913, and it was nearing completion in the autumn of 1914.

(ii) *On the Sea of Azov.*

The Caucasian ports on the Sea of Azov are as yet undeveloped, and relatively unimportant.

*Akhtar Bay* is so shallow that steamers have to anchor 9 miles from the coast, steam barges bringing out the cargoes.

*Temryuk* stands on a peninsula dividing two shallow lakes. Its harbour is connected with the sea by a channel 12 ft. deep, navigable by light-draught steamers. There are two piers, but vessels anchor out in the bay. A considerable trade is done in grain and fish.

*Yeisk* stands at the base of a sandy spit, on the east of which an artificial harbour has been dredged to a depth of 12 ft., with an inner basin 350 yds. long. Projects have been considered for the construction of a deep water port there, to be connected with Ekaterinodar by a branch line.

(iii) *On the Caspian Sea.*

*Baku* stands on a crescent-shaped bay, 7 miles wide from point to point, protected on the south by Cape

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504 Bailov, and on the east by the Kargin Islands, which lie at the entrance to the bay, 7 miles out at sea. A line of quays extends 4 miles, and there are 14 piers, owned by various shipping companies, each company [633] having its own wharf, warehouses, and offices. In 1914 the State assigned £100,000 for the building of other wharves, although there was already ample accommodation for the steamers engaged in oil transport and in the Transcaspian trade. At Cape Bailov there is a capacious dock.

*Derbent* (Derbend), 154 miles to the north-west of Baku, is an open roadstead, affording no protection from the north and south-east winds, which blow with great violence at certain seasons. There are no harbour facilities, but various shipping lines visit the port regularly. There is a considerable local trade in fish.

*Lenkoran*, on a shallow bay, offers only exposed and indifferent anchorage. Large ships lie 3 miles out to sea. There is a considerable trade in boxwood.

*Petrovsk*, 81 miles north-west of Derbent, has a fair harbour, formed by a curved stone mole, 500 yds. long, on the south. There is a wooden pier on the north, and both mole and pier are connected by lines of rails with the railway station. There are berths for about 10 steamers. The quays and wharves are lit with electric light. The port is closed by ice in January only, and in the winter months, when the Volga is [439] frozen, Petrovsk does a considerable transit trade between Russia in Europe on the one side and Persia and Transcaspia on the other. It also exports oil from Grozni to the Volga. All the Caspian Sea steamship companies call at Petrovsk regularly.

### (*b*) *Shipping Lines*

505 (i) *Russian.*—The Russian Steam Navigation and [47] Trading Co. had almost a monopoly of the Black Sea shipping services, and, under a contract due to expire in 1928, received an annual subsidy of £98,000 from the State. It had piers at the ports of Batum and

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district); at Dzansul copper mines (1,000 horse-377
power); and two at Erivan.

Smaller electric plants are to be found at New Athos Monastery (at Goro); at Borzhom, on the Grand Ducal estates; and at Akhalkalaki, in private hands.

The electric power-stations on the Baku oil-fields have already been mentioned (see p. 73).

The water-power offered by the rapid streams of the 376
Caucasus has hitherto been almost entirely neglected, but in 1914 an important scheme was set on foot for the erection of two large power-stations, one on the Terek at Kazbek on the Georgian Military Road, and the other at Elenoffka, in Erivan, utilizing the waters of Lake Gokcha. The concession for the erection of [471]
turbines and generators for supplying power to all the industrial centres of Caucasia as well as for the lighting of cities was granted to a British company, and preliminary work had been carried out by August 1914.

A scheme was also under discussion in 1913 and 1914 for utilizing the refuse-laden overflow of the River Kvirili for generating electric power to be used in ferro-manganese furnaces.

## (C) COMMERCE

### (1) Domestic

#### (a) *Towns, Markets, and Fairs*

*Baku*, besides being the refining centre for the oil 361
produced in the neighbouring fields, is also a distribut- 439
ing centre for the imports of Central Persia and Transcaspia. The volume of trade which passed through Baku to and from Persia and Russian Central Asia in 1912 amounted to over 5,000,000 tons, and was steadily increasing in 1914 at the expense of that of the trans-Armenian and trans-Mesopotamian routes. The popu- [161]
lation of Baku and the adjacent oil-fields in 1914 amounted to nearly 380,000. In 1909 the municipality 363
raised a loan of £2,842,000 (of which £1,300,000 was 653

361 subscribed in London) for the purpose of a new water-
653 supply, drainage, and the construction of an electric station. Only the first of these three works has been carried out. A description of the port of Baku is given above, p. 45. *

361 *Ekaterinodar* is the centre of the increasingly im-
438 portant trade in tobacco. It has an annual fair, at which the value of goods exchanged is said to be about £400,000. There are several refineries, dealing with oil from the Maikop fields. As the town is both an agricultural and an industrial centre, experimental fruit-farms and technical schools have been opened there.

*Tiflis*, the seat of Government, is a fine modern town, with electric light, electric trams, and cold storage facilities. Only in the oriental quarter are there open bazaars. It is the distributing centre for Russian manufactured goods, and also does a large transit trade in Persian exports.

*Vladikavkaz* is the principal town of Ciscaucasia and an important agricultural centre. *Elisavetopol* is a centre for trade in wine, fruit, and cotton; *Erivan* and *Kutais* for trade in wine and fruit. *Stavropol*, *Akhaltsikh*, *Alexandropol*, *Kars*, *Grozni*, *Nukha*, and *Maikop* are all agricultural centres, the last especially for wine, while Nukha, Akhaltsikh, and Alexandropol are particularly concerned with fruit. Grozni and Maikop are also petroleum centres.

The principal centres of industry are *Tiflis*, *Baku*, *Batum*. *Ekaterinodar*, *Shusha*, *Novorossiisk*, and *Chavka*. Batum is declining as an industrial centre, whilst Baku and Ekaterinodar are progressing; both these last-named towns doubled their budgets between 1904 and 1909.

All Transcaucasian towns have their bazaars, and in the less populated and poorer districts monthly fairs take the place of shops.

Batum, Novorossiisk, Poti, and other ports are described above (pp. 42–46).

* [see cat. 116 -- Analyst]

3: Anonymous U-4 (no date) 1920 RH1 Caucasia RH1



the falling off of supplies from Russia since the out- 249
break of war. Up to 1914 the export of oil was
considerable.

There were 2,020 acres of land under *tea* along the 245
Black Sea coast in the Province of Batum and 75 acres
in the Government of Kutais in 1914. Of this area, [471]
1,080 acres were in the Imperial Domains, 489 acres
were the property of the firm of Popoff Brothers, and
the remaining plantations belonged to thirteen villages
near Chavka. The revenue from the sale of tea was in
1909 about £26 per acre on the Imperial plantations.
As a result of the success achieved on the Imperial [654]
Domains, tea-growing was beginning to be taken up as
a local industry, and the National Government granted
a sum of about £1,500 towards the construction of
a factory at Batum, under the management of the
Batum Agricultural Society, where locally-grown tea
could be cured. Another factory was also to be erected
at Ozurgeti, under the management of an instructor
from the Imperial plantation at Chavka. The cultiva-
tion of tea was proceeding successfully at Ozurgeti in
1914. In that year the plantations near Batum pro-
duced about 160 tons of leaf.

*Tobacco* is grown in all the provinces of Caucasia 249
except Stavropol, where its cultivation has been aban-
doned since 1911; but the most important centres are
in Kuban, Sukhum, and Chernomoria. The Kuban
plantations apparently give the heaviest crops,[1] but
the tobacco of the best quality grows on the Black Sea
coast, especially near Sukhum and Sochi. Of the
total Russian output of high quality Turkish tobacco
in 1915, 90 per cent. came from Caucasia, and of this 57·6
per cent. originated from Kuban, 21·2 per cent. from
Sukhum, and 11·2 per cent. from other districts. In
1914, out of a total cultivated area of 80,500 acres,
producing 32,600 tons of tobacco, 29,000 acres, pro-

[1] Judging by the returns for 1914; but the figures vary in different reports, and moreover the yield fluctuates considerably according to the weather, so that the figures for one season are not a safe basis for generalization.

3: Anonymous U-4 (no date) 1920 RH1 Caucasia RH1



Caucasus, in 1913 there were 803. Agricultural methods 242
were taught in some of the industrial schools. There were experimental botanical gardens, subsidized by the State, at Tiflis and Batum, and a sericultural station. The grants made by the Caucasian Board 242
of Agriculture for the promotion of rural industries in 654
1913 amounted to £100,000, an advance of 50 per cent. on the sum granted in the previous year. Of this total £61,000 was allocated to research, £2,000 to improvement of live-stock, and £5,000 to grants in aid to agricultural societies.

In 1913 a commission of agriculturists appointed by the Viceroy of the Caucasus recommended that all educational and experimental institutions should be brought under the Board of Agriculture, and that a permanent commission should be formed to control and initiate such institutions, to organize the supply of information, and to compile statistics.

Partly on account of labour difficulties (see p. 50) there was an increasing demand for agricultural machinery, but better methods of cultivation were simultaneously being introduced.

Extensive *irrigation* schemes had been carried out 312
and others were in contemplation. At Chamlik, a canal from the Laba, the largest tributary of the Kuban, irrigates several thousand acres of steppe land. There is an irrigation canal near Tiflis. In 1906, 62,100 acres of land in the Mughan steppe were reclaimed, at a cost to the State of £31,000; 14 villages were planted, and land which had been practically worthless yielded about £4 an acre. In 1913 the Irrigation Board set up a modulation section to test the rise and fall of water for irrigation purposes in the Karayaz experimental fields and the Mughan steppe. The irrigation of the Mughan steppe was completed and the adjoining Mil steppe was made fertile by means of the Romanov Irrigation Canal, which was opened in 1914; in this year a large barrage was under construction at Saalti, and was to have been completed by 1915. A total of 190,000 acres on the Mughan had been reclaimed,

3: Anonymous U-4 (no date) 1920 RH1 Caucasia RH1



133 Sea of Azov, is navigable by light-draught steamers for
505 141 miles from its mouth. On the river and the various tributaries forming its basin there are 964 miles of water suitable for floating timber. The *Terek*, which flows into the Caspian, is navigable by light vessels for 112 miles from its mouth, but there is no steamer traffic. Timber can be floated for 320 miles. It has no tributaries of importance.

In Transcaucasia the navigable rivers are the Chorokh and Rion, emptying into the Black Sea, and the Kura, emptying into the Caspian. The *Rion* is navigable for 83 miles from its mouth at Poti, but no steamers can be used. Timber is floated or rafted for 123 miles. The *Kura* is navigable for 390 miles from its mouth, and of this distance 197 miles are suitable for steamers. Including its tributaries, the basin of the Kura provides 1,098 miles of water upon which timber-floating is possible.

[656] All these navigable waters were under the care of the State, which, through the Ministry of Ways and Communications, was responsible for their maintenance and improvement.

There are no navigable canals in the Caucasus. For irrigation canals, see p. 59.

### (c) *Railways*

496 In 1912 there were 2,442 miles of railway in the Caucasus, 994 miles being in Ciscaucasia and 1,448 miles in Transcaucasia. These are generally of 5-ft. gauge, and, with certain exceptions indicated below, are of single track.

*Principal Railways.*—There are two principal railway systems—the Vladikavkaz and the Transcaucasian. [471] Both were constructed and maintained originally by private companies, but the latter was acquired by the State in 1906.

(i) The main line of the *Vladikavkaz Railway*, 819 miles in length, runs from Rostov-on-Don (where con-

312 and 20,000 settlers planted. These improvements had cost £425,000 up to 1914. The water for irrigation was to be obtained chiefly by controlling the rivers Aras and Kura, which in their lower reaches overflow their banks and form permanent marshes. The question of the regulation of all the principal rivers of the country was being officially studied.

### (c) *Forestry*

137 The total area of forest land in Caucasia cannot be [659] stated with certainty. The extent of the forests under the control of the Ministry of Forests was 12,218,000 acres, or about 11 per cent. of the total area of the country and rather more than half of its cultivated area. Kasperowicz[1] puts the total at 16,000,000 acres, and specifies as being favourably situated for commercial exploitation, 1,372,000 acres in Tiflis and Zakatali, 1,008,000 in Elisavetopol, 863,000 in Chernomoria, 807,000 in Kuban, 705,000 in Terek, 647,000 in Batum, 453,000 in Kutais, and 417,000 in Sukhum. The largest tracts of virgin forest are to be found on the mountain slopes of the Black Sea coast; there is a large forest north of Lake Gokcha, and another in the east of Elisavetopol Government; the middle course of the Kura is wooded throughout, and there are considerable forests in the Armenian Highlands. The best exploited forests in Transcaucasia are those in the Ateni valley near Gori, in the Adzhamer valley near Rion, and at Borzhom—all to the west of Tiflis or the east of Kutais.

The trees include walnut, box, beech, oak, birch, Caucasus palm, wych-elm, pine, alder, &c., of which the first five are the most valuable. The walnut and [439] box tree grow extensively in Transcaucasia; their timber formed a valuable article of export, but the quantities exported are declining, since the remaining walnut forests are remote from railways, and the boxwood is being held back to await more favourable

[1] Raffalovich, *Russia: its Trade and Commerce*, p. 94.

prices. Special varieties of conifers, birch, oak, and 137
palm grow in the Caucasus. The Caucasus palm or *samshita* is not plentiful, but is greatly valued. The commonest tree is the beech, which occupies 25 per cent. of the total forest area; the oak occupies 16·7 per cent. and the pine 8·1 per cent. Plantations of bamboo at Chavka and Sukhum have been very successful, the cane being used for industrial purposes.

The Italian firm of Sbrajavacca was in 1914 exploiting 313
the pine-forests of Svanetia and Ratce, the timber being 471
floated down the river Rion. The firm has saw-mills at Socilava and Poti.

The Russian State levied on all timber a royalty [659]
varying according to the kind of wood, &c. The State also fixed the amount of timber to be felled in each area, which was then sold to the highest bidder. The total amount of timber which might be cut in the Caucasus was fixed in 1913 at nearly 220,000,000 cubic feet, of which only a little more than a quarter was actually delivered.

### (*d*) *Land Tenure*

The Caucasus as a whole has no fixed system of land 423
tenure, nor are any of the characteristic Russian 471
features of land-holding found there. The various kinds of landowner may be divided into six classes: the old nobility of Georgia; Tatar and Armenian peasant holders; nomad pastoral tribes, who occupy large areas of steppe land, especially in Stavropol Province; Russian settlers, placed on land vacated after the conquest; the Russian State, which owned large areas, mainly forest; and the Imperial family, which had acquired valuable appanages in the Caucasus.

No figures are available to show the proportions in which the land is held by these various owners; and, as a large part of the total productive area is occupied by nomads, no exact statistics would be possible. Moreover, recent events have to a great extent obliterated the old divisions, and new claims to ownership of much valuable land will have to be settled in the course of time.

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the Armenian Church under the Ottoman rule. Its affairs and its relations with the Ottoman authorities, were regulated in the statutory regulations enacted in 1862. The Armenian Apostolic Church retained its autonomy under the head of its Patriarch. And in spiritual matters the allegiance of the Patriarch as well as of his flock to the supreme head of the Church in Echmiadzin was never in question. Thus while only a fraction (no more than a fourth) of the total number of Armenians were the tsar's subjects and therefore under the direct rule of the Catholicos in Echmiadzin, all Armenians owed spiritual allegiance to the See of Echmiadzin. Even the world-shaking events of two world wars and the Russian Revolution has not brought about much change in this respect. And today, even though the supreme head of the Church is shorn of a large number of his perquisites and prerogatives, and in many respects is not much more than a mere shadow of his predecessors, he still has his seat at the historic place and is the elected spiritual head of all Armenians everywhere in communion with the Church.

## The Church and Other Religious Institutions in the Armenian Soviet Socialist Republic

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All religious institutions in Soviet Armenia, such as churches, mosques, monastic establishments and the like, under the

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provisions of her Constitution , are free and unhampered in their work of ministering to the spiritual needs of the people. The ambiguous Article 99 of the 1936 Constitution (as amended in 1947) reads: "Freedom of religious worship and freedom of anti-religious propaganda is recognized for all citizens." While this Article seems innocuous and fair, actually its interpretation has been decidedly detrimental to all religious institutions and establishments. The Constitution provides for the separation of the Church from the State, and also for the separation of schools from the Church. This latter provision has hit the church harder than we of the West can imagine. In a land where the official slogan "religion is the opium of the people" is brazenly publicized, and where anti-religious propaganda has been deliberately and officially encouraged while clerical education as well as the preparation for religious calling has been practically proscribed, one can hardly expect to find much religious freedom. This seems to be the impression of such travellers to Armenia as Supreme Court Justice William O. Douglas and Harry Schwartz of the New York Times, whose candid views have been seriously questioned by certain Armenians of New York. Nevertheless, there are in Soviet Armenia at least the semblance of certain religious institutions which, at times covertly, try to minister to the needs of the faithful.

C. A. 793 deputy in Erivan, and the latter in turn has imams under him in communities where Azer-
C. A. 874 baijanis are numerous. Of course there are no medressehs (religious schools), and these communities must depend on the recently reopened medresseh in Baku for their future spiritual leaders. Thus even the largest and the most numerous minority group in Soviet Armenia probably does not have freedom to attend to its spiritual needs.

C. A. 795 659 The case of the Armenian Church is naturally quite different. As was stated earlier, the Church had been the principal national institutions from the very beginning, and continued as such throughout the checkered history of the Armenian people. It served the people supremely well in dispersion, and in their dire need of spiritual sustenance. Before its authority was undermined and practically shattered by the Soviet regime the Church was a most powerful force in the life of Armenian communities. It has become the beneficiary of considerable wealth, largely through bequests and gifts, and had used that wealth for the education of religious and lay leaders. In this respect the Church was practically the sole organizer and supervisor of the educational system prevailing in Armenian communities. With the advent of the new regime, and the separation of schools from the Church, the whole fabric of the old educational system crumbled. And by confiscating all Church property and thus depriving the

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Church of nearly all of its source of income, the State placed the clergy at its mercy.

Even under these unprecedented hardships the supreme head of the Church tried to exercise his spiritual authority. He assumed, and the Government did not dispute this assumption, that his spiritual leadership over all Armenian communities in Soviet Armenia, in other parts of the Soviet Union, and in all Armenian communities everywhere was unimpaired. He tried to keep the organization of dioceses intact wherever possible, and of course retained the right to approve the prelates or locum tenens in all dioceses. A tragic change had taken place under the Ottoman Empire. Instead of the large Armenian communities numbering close to 2,000,000 before the first World War, they numbered only 50,000. Still the Holy Father sitting in Echmiadzin must have been consoled by the fact that new and large Armenian communities were established in other countries, and in other parts of the Western hemisphere, even though some three-fourths of all Armenians (that is, more than 2,000,000) were still in the Soviet Union.

For more than three decades the supreme head of the Church must have lived in "captivity." During all that time there were no schools for the training of the clergy and there was an acute shortage of priests and bishops. Many dioceses in various parts of Soviet Armenia, as well as in nearby Azerbaijan and

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795 Georgia (where there are large Armenian
659 communities), were without religious leadership for many years. Since the early 1950's, however, there have been certain changes. It seems that there has been some relaxation on the part of the Government in respect to religious affairs. It has allowed the opening of a seminary in Echmiadzin where studies for the priesthood are pursured, apparently without hindrance, and probably with some aid from the Government. Last October a new Catholicos was elected, and on that occasion a number of Armenians from abroad were allowed to visit Soviet Armenia. The general impression of these observers from the West seems to be somewhat favorable, though they admit that the Government still does not allow the erection of new churches, nor permit the repair of old ones. One exception seems to have been made. The historic cathedral of Echmiadzin is reported to have been repaired recently at Government cost. Still this does not mean that the policy of the Government has changed radically towards religion and towards the Church.

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771 Armenians have always been profoundly religious. They have associated the Church so closely with the nation that without the one they can hardly think of the other. For them, as well as for most peoples of the Middle East, religious affinities run parallel to ethnic similarities. Not many Armenians think of their religion without thinking of their nationality. That perhaps is the reason why the supreme head of

C. G. 779 the life of St. Shushanik (+ 474). The Georgian text of the gospels as it is used until today in divine worship goes back to a revision after the Greek by the Hagiorite Euthymius (+ 1028); a copy of an older text shows that the Georgian gospels originally were translated from Armenian and afterwards were revised according to the Greek.

C. G. 795 659 The Georgian Orthodox church, which always represented the influence of Byzance and of the West as opposed to that of Persia and the East, has not known serious conflicts with the State, due to the continuous menace of Islam to both. The autocephaly of the Georgian Church was violated by the Russians in 1810, the office of Katholikos being abolished. It was restored in 1917; since then, the fate of the Georgian church has been the same as that of other religious organizations in the USSR.

*175 Mountaineer's Republic. With its collapse, and with the withdrawal of interested Western powers, however, all these states remained on their own and in 1920 they ceased to exist one after the other.

*175 [631] The Bolshevik Russians after the difficulties of the first years reorganized the area along the Soviet Socialistic Republic principles. Whereas the Republics were set up on the nationality basis the oblast and kray divisions had been accepted rather along the lines of economic consideration. Materially the whole area has without doubt advanced. Spiritually, however, the Caucasus remained dissatisfied and with the German advances during World War II a whole series of problems popped up and showed the real state of *175 .661 affairs. Ostensibly to punish collectively some Caucasian peoples for alleged crimes, in reality to further Russification, a whole series of peoples were exterminated by the Russians. The Czarist liquidation of Crimean Turks and Circassians was followed now by steps against the Paleocaucasian Chechen-Ingush people, and against the Balkars and Karachays of Turkic, and against the Kalmyks of Mongolian origin. There have even been accusations of Bolshevik genocide of the Crimean Turks, but this accusation is only partially justified. The overwhelming majority of the Crimean Turks

*175 had disappeared long before the Bolshevists
[661] who liquidated only those who were left them
by Czarist Russia.

In the South Caucasus the results of World War II were unimportant at least ethnically. In this relatively overpopulated area Russification proceeded at a much slower pace. These Republics, like the other densely populated borderlands of Soviet Russia may perhaps be able to maintain their ethnic character and survive.

538 3 Abashidze, Grigol (Grigorii Grigor'evich)
Stalin prize 2. class, 1950 for poetry collection: Lenin y Samgori
Na iuzhnoi granitse.

Laur. Stalin prem. 1950
BE I 1:67

646 1 Abashidze, Iraklii Vissarionovich
1st sect. Soiuz sovet. pisatelei Gruz. SSR, 1954 Abkhaz. deputy Sov. Nats. VS SSSR, 4. sozyv, 1954

Zar. Vost. 2/17/54
Bak. Rab. 3/19/54

533 3 Abbasov, A.
Azerbaidzhani musician, 20th c.

BE II 1:478

646 3
665 Abbasov, Kurban Abas Kuli ogly
Nakhichev. deputy Sov. Nats. VS SSSR 4. sozyv, 1954. Member of CC CP Azerb. SSR, 20-21 s'ezd, 1954, 1956

Bak. Rab. 3/18/54
Bak. Rab. 1/26/56

645 3 Abdullaev, Abutalyb Miragaevich
Minister of kommunal'noel Khoziaistvo Azerb. 1954

Bak. Rab. 3/10/54

645 3
665 Abdullaev, Il'ias Kerim ogly
Born in Akstaf, 1913-
Member of CC CP Azerb. SSR, 20-21 s'ezd 1954, 1956. Specialist in silk production. 1950-1954 minister of agriculture in Azerb. Nakhichevan. deputy to Sov. Nats., VS SSSR, 4. sozyv, 1954

Bak. Rab. 3/2/54, 3/18/54, 1/26/56

665 3 Abdullaev, F. A.
Member of presidium CC CP Azerb. SSR, 21. s'ezd, 1956

Bak. Rab. 1/26/56

646 2(3?) Abdullaeva, Raziia Gasan kyzy
Deputy to Sov. Nats. VS SSSR, 4. sozyv, 1954

Kom. Er. 3/19/54

665 3 Abdulragimov, A. I.
CC CP Azerb. SSR, 20. s'ezd, 1954

665 2 Abramian, R. T.
645 Member CC CP Arm. SSR. 17.-18. s'ezd, 1954, 1956. Minister of Agriculture Arm. SSR, 1956

Kom. Er. 1/22/56, 1/21/56

646 1 Abuladze, Eteri Baratalovna
Adzhar. deputy Sov. Nats. VS SSSR 4. sozyv, 1954. Born Vashlovani, 1926- No party affiliation.

Bak. Rab. 3/18/54
Zar. Vost. 2/13/54

242 3 Adibekov, Ogan Aleksandrovich
Stalin prize, 2. class, 1950 for new ways of producing agricultural plants, mainly cotton. Head of trust "Azvodstroi." (1950)

Laur. Stalin. prem. 1950
p. 55

536 2 Adzhemian, Vartan Mkrtichevich
Stalin prize, 3. class, 1950. Artist; for participation in Stepanian's opera "Geroinia."

Laur. Stalin. prem. 1950
p. 80

242 2 Agababian, Shavarsh Mnetsakonovich Stalin prize, 2. class, 1950 for his work on Kormovye rasteniia senokosov i pastbishch SSR, v. I, 1950. Armenian agronomist.

Laur. Stalin. prem. 1950 p. 11

665 2 Agadzhanian, E. M. Member CC CP Arm. SSR, 17-18. s'ezd, 1954, 1956.

Kom. Er. 1/22/56

532 2 Agadzhanian, Stepan Meliksetovich 1863-1940. Armenian landscape painter; people's artist of Armenia. "Portret matery" "Portret ottsa," both in 1900; "Portret Spandariana," 1936. Lives and teaches in Erevan.

BE II 1:286

646 3 Agaev, Sabir Bala Ali ogly (Azerbaidzhani). Deputy to Sov. Soiuz VS SSR (4. s'ezd, 1954) Born in Sarai, 1927- Began as shepherd, then became metallurgical worker.

Bak. Rab. 3/18/54, 2/18/54

• 665 3 Agaeva, G. I.
Member of presidium CC CP Azerb. SSR, 21. s'ezd, 1956.

Bak. Rab. 1/26/56

3 Agamali, B. A.
CC CP Azerb. SSR, 20. s'ezd, 1954

646 4 Agkatsev, Vladimir Mikhailovich
Sev.-Osset. deputy Sov. Soiuz VS SSSR, 4. sozyv, 1954.

Pravda 3/18/54

665 3 Agsev, N. K.
CC CP Azerb. SSR, 20. s'ezd, 1954

2 Airian, G. A.
Member of CC CP Arm. SSR, 17.-18. s'ezd, 1954, 1956; head of propaganda bureau of CC CP Arm. SSR.

Kom. Er. 1/22/56

2 Aivazian, A. R.
Member CC CP Arm. SSR, 17.-18. s'ezd, 1954, 1956

Kom. Er. 1/22/56

532 2 Akhikian, Vrtanes Galustovich
1872-1936. Armenian landscape painter. "Ataka krasnoi konnitsy," 1933.

BE II 3:565

65 3 Akhmedov, A. M.
Member of presidium CC CP Azerb. SSR. 21. s'ezd, 1956

Bak. Rab. 1/26/56

533 3 Akhmedova, Frangiz Iusuf kyzy
Born in Baku, 1928- Soloist of Azerb. state theatre and opera; sings arias from classical opera, as well as Azerb. folk-songs. Deputy of Bakinskii gorod. sovet. Unsuccessful candidate to Sov. Nats. VS SSSR in 1954.

Bak. Rab. 2/21/54

646 5 Akhokhov, Aslambi Nakhovich
Kab. deputy Sov. Nats. VS SSSR 4. sozyv, 1954

Pravda 3/18/54

532 3 Akhundov, Ismail Gusein ogly,
1907- Azerb artist. Rec'd Stalin

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532 2 Akopian, Amaiak Stepanovich
1871-1939. Armenian painter; his favorite subjects are scenes from old Tiflis; in Soviet period did many charcoal drawings. Studied in Munich.

BE II 1:607

665 2 Akopian, S. S.
Member of CC CP Arm. SSR, 18. s'ezd, 1956.

Kom. Er. 1/22/56

3 Alekperov, M. G.
CC CP Azer. SSSR, 20. s'ezd, 1954

646 3 Alekperova, Shukhiufa Alekser kyzy
Deputy to Sov. Nats. VS SSSR (4. sozyv, 1954)

Bak. Rab. 3/19/54

535 1 Aleksidze, Irina Aleksandrovna
Stalin prize 2. class for ballet performances in 1950

Laur. Stalin prem. 1950
p. 81

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665 646 3 Aliev, Firidun Ali ogly
Deputy to Sov. Nats. VS SSSR (4. sozyv, 1954) Born in Baladzhary 1921- Machinist. Member of presidium CC CP Azerb. SSR. 21. s'ezd 1956.

Bak. Rab. 3/19/54, 1/26/56

646 4 Aliev, Gadzhi-Kasum Shikhmurzaevich
Dag. deputy Sov. Nats. VS SSSR, (4. sozyv, 1954)

Pravda 3/18/54

646 665 3 Aliev, Musa Mirzoevich
Deputy to Sov. Nats. VS SSSR (4. sozyv, 1954) Born in Shemakha, 1908- ;geologist; 1941- member of CP; 1947-1950 president of Gosplan and deputy president of Azerb. SSR. 1950- member and president of Akad. nauk. Azerb. SSR. Member of CC CP Azerb. SSR. Deputy to VS SSSR 2.-3. sozyv.

Bak. Rab. 3/19/54, 2/25/54

815 2 Alikhanov, Artemie I.
1908- and brother Alikhanian, Abram Isaakovich, 1904-. Members of Akad. nauk SSSR since 1934; both worked on cosmic ray theory and rec'd Stalin prizes in 1941 and 1948 (for discovery of varitrons).

BE II 2:111 3:68 -671-

• 665 3 Alikhanov, E.N.
CC CP Azerb. SSR, 20. s'ezd, 1954

645 3 Alikperov, Aga Mekhti Salman ogly
Minister of industrial building material (1954)- Azerb.

Bak. Rab. 3/10/54

646 3 Alikulieva, Rubaba Alikuli kyzy
Nakhichev. deputy Sov. Nats. VS SSSR, 4. sozyv, 1954. Born in Garachuk, 1929 - cotton picker.

Bak. Rab. 3/18/54, 2/21/54

536 5 Alili, Mamed
Chechen 20. c. theater producer influenced by Meyerhold, Tairov.

BE I 61:535

645 4 Alimov, Tair
Deputy to Sov. Soiuz VS SSSR, 4. sozyv, 1954

Kom. Er. 3/18/54

665 2
646 Allakherian, Karapet Navasardovich
Deputy to Sov. Nats.VS SSSR, 4. sozyv, 1954. Member of CC CP Armen. SSR, 18. s'ezd, 1956

Kom. Er. 3/19/54
1/22/56

7: Columbia U. S-4, 5 1956 RHl Caucasia
RHl

646 3 Allakhiarly, Ismail Babaiar ogly
665 Deputy to Sov. Soiuz VS SSSR (4. s'ezd, 1954) Born in Shemakha, 1905- Member of CC CP Azerb. SSR

Bak. Rab. 3/18/54, 2/25/54

665 3 Allakhverdiev, T. A.
Member of presidium CC CP Azerb. SSR, 21. S'ezd, 1956.

Bak. Rab. 1/26/56

759 2 Ambartsumian, Sarkis, 1880- in Nagornyi Karabakh. Physician; since 1926 president of Armenian Sovnarkom.

BE I 2:384

815 2 Ambartsumian, Viktor Amazospovich
665 Born in 1908- ; astrophysicist (specialized in intrastellar light absorption) Stalin prize in 1950 Deputy Sov. Soiuz VS SSSR (4. sozyv, 1954) Member of CC CP Arm. SSR 17-18. s'ezd 1954 and 1956)

Kom. Er. 3/2/54 & 1/22/56
BE II 1:566, 2:217 (bibliography of works)
Vest. Akad. nauk SSSR, 1947, No. 10

7: Columbia U. S-4, 5 1956 RHl Caucasia
RHl

5331 Amiranashvili, Petr Varlamovich, 1907— Georgian baritone singer; people's artist of Georgia; since 1936 soloist with Palishvili theater and opera in Tiflis; sang Onegin, Rigoletto, Iago, as well as parts in Georgian operas: Absalom i Eteri, Daisi, Kako Kachagi; Stalin prize in 1947 for singing in Mshevelidze opera: Skazanie o Tariele.

BE 2:279

814 1 Amiranashvili, Shalva Laronovich, 1899-- Georgian art historian; corresp. member of Akad. nauk SSSR; wrote: History of Georgian Art, 1944, v. 1, Iranskaia zhivopis' 18-19 vekov.

BE II 2:219

325 3 Amiraslanov, Meibali Fridun ogly
665 Born in Balagasanlu, 1902-
Member of CC CP Azerb. SSR. Metallurgical engineer. Deputy VS Azerb. SSR Nakhichevan deputy to Sov. Nats. VS SSSR 4. sozyv in 1954.

Bak. Rab. 3/2/54. 3/18/54

7: Columbia U. S -4, 5 1956 RHl Caucasia
RHI

538 1 Aragvispireli, Shio Zakhar'evich
(Now: Dedobrishvili) 1876-1926
Georgian writer, wrote:
Vot nasha zhizn', Uzhas

BE II 2:604

646 2 Arakelian, Astkhik Sarkisovna
Deputy Sov. Soiuz VS SSSR (4. sozyv, 1954)

Kom. Er. 3/18/54

665 2 Arakelian, S. V.
Member of CC CP Arm. SSR, 17-18. s'ezd, 1954, 1956.

Kom. Er. 1/22/56

532 2 Arakelian, Sedrak Arakelovich, 1884-1942. Armenian landscape painter. During Civil War painted many inflammatory posters; among first to glorify socialism. Painted: "Artiktuk", 1930. "Kal'liura v gory", 1936. Influenced by impressionist style.

BE II 2:607

646 665 2 Arushaniian, Shmavon Minasovich
Deputy Sov. Nats. VS SSSR, 4. sozyv, 1954. Member of CC CP Armen. SSR, 17-18. s'ezd, 1954, 1956.

Kom. Er. 3/19/54
1/22/56

665 3 Arushanov, P. A.
CC CP Azerb. SSR, 20. s'ezd, 1954

532 2 Arutch'ian, Mikhail Avetovich, 1897-
Armenian theater artist; studied in Paris. Worked on Armenian pavilion for Soviet exhibit in 1939. Designed sets for operas: Lusabatsin, Otello

BE II 3:150

665 646 2 Arutinov, Griogorii Artem'evich, 1900-
Born in Telavi, Georgia. 1st sect. CC CP Arm. SSR. Rec'd three Stalin prizes. Deputy VS SSSR 1-3 sozyv; CP member 1919- ; deputy people's commissar RKI Gruzii; 1931-member of secretariat CC CP Gruz. SSR.

BE II 3:150

533 2 Arutiunian, Aleksandr Grigor'evich,
1920- Armenian composer; Stalin prize in 1948 for his Kantata o Staline. His is a well-known piano concerto.

BE II 3:150
3:99

538 2 Arutiunian, Movses
see
Arazi

665 2 Arzumanian, G. A.
Member of CC CP Arm. SSR, 18. s'ezd, 1956.

Kom. Er. 1/22/56

2 Asaturian, A. T.
Member of CC CP Arm. SSR, 18. s'ezd, 1956

Kom. Er. 1/22/56

814 5 Ashkamaf, D. A.
Grammarian; wrote on Adygei language.

BE II 1:427

536 3 Ashumov, Mageram Kiazim ogly
Azerb. actor. Stalin prize 3. class, 1950 for role in Zaria nad Kaspiem presented in Azerb. gos. teatr russkoi dramy.

Laur. Stalin prem. 1950
p. 79

[cf. cat. 116, p. 677 -- Analyst]

536 5 Askerkhanov,
Chechen 20. c. actor of comic roles.

BE I 61:535

646 3 Askerov, Ismail Nasrulla, ogly
665 Deputy to Sov.Soiuz VS SSSR (4. s'ezd, 1954) Member of CC CP Azerb. SSR. Born in Ordubad, 1914- ; head of Dom propagandista i agitatora im S. M. Kirova (in Moscow?) Since 1943 sect. of propaganda in Azerbaidzhan; 1945 1st sect. CC Komsomol Azerb. SSR. 1950- president of Azerb. Sov. Profsoiuzov; 1952-1st sect. Nakhichevan. oblast. komitet. CP Azerb. SSR.

Bak. Rab. 3/18/54, 2/21/54

665 2 Aslanian, S.K.
Member of CC CP Arm. SSR, 18. s'ezd, 1956.

Kom. Er. 1/22/56

646 3 Aslanova, Chimnaz Abdul Ali kyzy
665 Nakhichev. deputy Sov. Nats. VS SSSR, 4. sozyv, 1954. Member CC CP Azerb. SSR. Born in Mardakian, 1914- Deputy to ov. Nats. VS SSSR since 1937-

Bak. Rab.3/18/54 2/25/54

665 2 Astsatrian E. T.
Member of CC CP Arm. SSR, 17-18. s'ezd, 1954, 1956.

Kom. Er. 1/22/56

815 2 Atalian, Arfeniia Arkad'evna
Stalin prize 3. class, for work in chemistry (on lubricating fats)

Laur. Stalin prem. 1950
p. 39

2 Avakian, Artavazd Arshakovich
Stalin prize 2. degree, 1950 for the theory on development of plant organisms. Corresp. member of Akad. nauk SSSR.

Laur. Stalin . prem. 1950
p. 10

536 2 Avetisian, Avet Markosovich, 1897-
Armenian actor; portrayed about 200 roles in Sundukian theater of Erevan; Stalin prize in 1941 for movie role in Zangezur.

BE II 1:70

704 2 Avetisian, Unan Makichevich, (1914-1943) Geroi Sovet. Soiuz.; sergeant; took part and died in battle of Krasnodarskii krai.

BE II 1:70

5335 Avraamov, A. (1886-1944) Aul Batyr ouverture (first Kabardian instrumental composition) written by him. Collected folk songs (Kabardian) He is Soviet musician.

BE I 19:218
BE II

• 6653 Azaeva, Ch. A. Member of presidium CC CP Azerb. SSR, 21. s'ezd, 1956.

Bak. Rab. 1/26/56

5323 Azim-Zade, A. (1880-1943) Caricaturist, journalist; contributed to paper Molla Nasredin; drew many posters. Did the famous sketches: 100 tipov starogo Baku. Was director of Azerb. art inst.

BE II 1:490, 474.

533 2 Babadzhanian, Arno Arutiunovich
Stalin prize 3. class, 1950 for musical composition: Georgicheskaia ballada.

Laur. Stalin-prem. 1950
p. 72

381 646 2 Babadzhanian, Mariia Arakelovna
Deputy to Sov. Nats. VS SSSR, 4. sozyv, 1954. Party member; chemical engineer; rec'd Stalin prize in 1949 for perfecting glass making via electronics.

Bak. Rab. 3/18/54 & 2/19/54

646 6 Babaevskii, Semen Petrovich
Member of Sov. Soiuz VS SSSR 4. sozyv, Stavropol. krai

Bak. Rab. 3/18/54

665 2 Babaian, L. O.
Member CC CP Arm. SSR, 17-18. s'ezd, 1954, 1956

Kom. Er. 1/22/56

3 Baba-Zade, B. K.
CC CP Azerb. SSR, 20. s'ezd. 1954.

646 5 Babich, Vasilii Ivanovich (Kabardian)
Deputy to Sov. Soiuz VS SSSR
4. sozyv, 1954

Kom. Er. 3/18/54

● 665 2 Badamiants, G. A.
Member CC CP Arm. SSR, 18. s'ezd, 1956

Kom. Er. 1/22/56

536 5 Baduev, Said
Chief Chechen dramatist; wrote Krasnaia krepost', 1930.

BE I 61:535

665 3 Bagabova, S. G.
Member of presidium CC CP Azerb. SSR, 21. s'ezd, 1956

Bak. Rab. 1/26/56

646 2 Bagdasarian, Grant Bakhshievich
Deputy to Sov. Nats. VS SSSR
4. sozyv, 1954. Born in Egvard, 1925- oil-driller

Kom. Er. 3/19/54
2/19/54

7: Columbia U. S-4, 5 1956 RHl Caucasia RHl

• 665 2 Bagdasarian, O. M.
Member of CC CP Arm. SSR, 17.-18. s'ezd, 1954, 1956
Editor of Sovetakan Aiastan

Kom. Er. 1/22/56, 1/21/56

2 Bagdasarian, S. B.
Member CC CP Arm. SSR, 18. s'ezd, 1956

Kom. Er. 1/22/56

665 643 3 Bagirov, Mir Dzhafar Abbasovich, 17. Sept. 1896- in Kuba (Baku province) 1st sect. CC CP Azerb.; deputy VS SSSR 1.-3. sozyv; member of presidium of VS SSSR. Wrote: Iz istorii bol'shevistskoi organizatsii Baku i Azerbaidzhana. In 1946 was awarded Lenin order.

BE II 4:24

665 646 3 Bagirova, Basti Masim kyzy, 1906- Azerb. master cotton-picker. In 1946 became Geroi sotsialistich truda. Deputy to VS SSSR 1.-3. sozyv. Member of presidium CC CP Azerb. SSR, 21. s'ezd, 1956

BE II 4:25
Bak. Rab. 1/26/56

7: Columbia U. S-4,5 1956 RHl Caucasia
RHl

536 5 Bagrimanov
Chechen actor of tragic roles 20. c.

BE I 61:535

• 665 3 Baibakov, A. S
Member of presidium CC CP Azerb. SSR, 21. s'ezd, 1956

Bak. Rab. 1/26/56

646 665 315 3 Baibakov, Nikolai Konstantinovich
Deputy to Sov. Soiuz VS SSSR (4. s'ezd, 1954) Born in Sabunchi (near Baku) 1911- oil engineer. Was member of CC CP SSSR (before 1956) Deputy to VS SSSR 2. sozyv. Member of presidium CC CP Azerb. SSR, 21. s'ezd, 1956

Bak. Rab. 3/18/54,3/2/54 ,1/26/56

646 665 3 Bairamov, Musa Khuda Kerim ogly
Deputy to Sov. Soiuz VS SSSR (4. s'ezd, 1954) Member of CC CP Azerb. SSR.

Bak. Rab. 3/18/54

7:Columbia U. S-4,5 1956 RH1 Caucasia
RH1

646 4 Baskaev, Dzambolat Timofeevich
Sev. Osset. deputy Sov. Nats. VS SSSR,
4. sozyv, 1954

Pravda 3/18/54

535 1 Bauer, Maria Veniaminovna
Stalin prize 2. class, 1950 ballerina

Laur. Stalin prem. 1950
p. 81

646 1 Bazhunaishvili, Suleiman Dzhemalovich
Adzhar. deputy Sov. Nats. VS SSSR
4. sozyv, 1954
Born in Kveda-Sameba, 1922-
kolkhoz worker, member of CP

Bak. Rab. 3/18/54
Zar. Vost. 2/13/54

• 665 3 Begrambekov, B. L.
CC CP Azerb. SSR, 20 s'ezd, 1954

546 2 Bek-Nazarov, Amo Ivanovich
1892- Armenian film-producer;
director of Tiflis Goskinprom.
Directed films: Pepo, Zangezur, for
which he was awarded Stalin prize in
1941. People's artist of Armenia.

BE II 4:405

7:Columbia U. S-4,5 1956 RHl Caucasia
RHl

646 1 Beridze, Archil Mikhailovich
643 Adzhar. deputy Sov. Nats. VS SSSR 4. sozyv, 1954. Born in Tunadzubi, 1922- Party worker; president of presidium VS Adzhar. SSR

Bak. Rab. 3/18/54
Zar. Vost. 2/13/54

645 1 Beriia, Lavrentii Pavlovich
665 March 29, 1899-Dec. 23, 1953; born in Merkheuli, Sukhumi province. CP member since 1917. Graduated from politechn. inst. Baku in 1919. Chief of intelligence service of the Red Army in 1922. In 1931 1st sect. CC CP Gruz. SSR. 1938--people's commissar of internal affairs. Since 1945 commissar of NKVD; since July 9, 1945, called Marshal of Sovet. Soiuz. Purged Stalin's enemies in the 30-s and so rose to power. Was executed for treason himself Dec. 1953.

Wrote: K voprosu ob istorii bol'shevistskikh organizatsii v Zakavkaz'e. 7 ed. appeared in 1948.

BE II 5:22
Curr. Biogr. 1954, p. 80
NYT 1953, Dec. 24. p. 1 (obituary)

815 1 Beritashvili, Ivan Solomonovich
1884- in Vedzhin (Georgia).
Founder of physiology school of Georgia. Professor at Tiflis Univ. His works are on role of central nervous system, on theory of electric shock in treatment, etc. Wrote: Obshchaia fiziologiia myshechnoi i nervnoi systemy, for which he received Stalin prize in 1941. Had committed grave errors against Pavlov's teachings but recanted later.

BE II 5:21
Problemy nervnoi fiziologii i povedeniia, 1936, p. 8

1 Beritov, I. S.
SEE Beritashvili, I. S.

646 5 Bliagoz, Khimsad Makhmudovna
Adyg. deputy Sov. Nats. VS SSSR
4. sozyv, 1954

Pravda 3/18/54

4 Bocharov, Ivan Lazarevich
Sev. Os. deputy Sov. Nats. VS SSSR
4. sozyv, 1954

Pravda 3/18/54

665 2 Boiakhchev, S. G.
Member of CC CP Arm. SSR, 18. s'ezd, 1956.
Kom. Er. 1/22/56

646 6 Boitsov, Ivan Pavlovich
Member of Sov. Soiuz VS SSSR, 4. sozyv, 1954; Stavropol. krai

Bak. Rab. 3/18/54

5 Bondarchuk, Tat'iana Nikolaevna
Kab. deputy Sov. Nats. VS SSSR 4. sozyv, 1954

Pravda, 3/18/54

535 1 (?) Bregvadze, Boris Iakovlevich
Stalin prize 2. class, 1950; ballet dancer; for role in Ali-Batyr, performed in Leningr. gos. akad. teatr opery i baleta im. S.M. Kirova.

Laur. Stalin. prem. 1950
p. 81

•665 3 Bulyga, A. E.
CC CP Azerb. SSR, 20. s'ezd, 1954.

646 665 2 Buniatian, Artavazd Avakovich
Deputy to Sov. Nats. VS SSSR, 4. sozyv, 1954. Member CC CP Arm. SSR, 17-18. s'ezd, 1954, 1956

Kom. Er. 3/19/54, 1/22/56

377 2 Chakharch'ian, Iosif Nazarovich
Stalin prize 2. class, 1950 for production of special asynchronic electric motors.

Laur. Stalin.prem. 1950
p. 41

536 1 Chakhava, Medea Vasil'evan
Stalin prize 3. class for acting in Vasadze's Potoplennye kamni

Laur. Stalin. prem. 1950
p. 78

331 1 (?) Chankotadze, Vakhtang Lavrent'evich
Stalin prize 2. class, 1950
Construction engineer; director of trust Khramgesstroi.

Laur. Stalin. prem. 1950
p. 44

665 2 Charchian, Z. V.
Member CC CP Arm. SSR, 17.-18. s'ezd, 1954, 1956

Kom. Er. 1/22/56

538 1 (2?) Charents
-1937. Armenian poet killed by Bolsheviks. See Kocharian for more information.

538 1 Chikovani, Simon
1901-. Georgian writer; began as a futurist, now representative of proletarian ideology in literature. While he is against glorification of past, he defends revolutionary romanticism in his works. Wrote: Makholod Lekseti, Bedi respublika, Ot Kavkaza do Taganroga (poem)

BE I 61:579
BE II 13:78

815 1 Chitaia, Trofim Levonovich
Stalin prize 3. class for directing certain Georgian geological undertaking.

Laur. Stalin. prem. 1950
p. 35

532 1 Chkheidze, Konstantin Viacheslavovich
Stalin prize 2. class, 1950 for architectural decorations in the theater in Chiaturi (?).

Laur. Stalin. prem. 1950
p. 76

665 1 Chkheidze, Nikolai Semenovich
1864-1926. Menshevik; after annexation of Georgia to USSR, went abroad, and shortly thereafter committed suicide.

BE I 61:782

204 1 Chkhikvishvili, I.
Editor of Zaria vostoka (1955)

815 1 Chkhikvishvili, Zebed Iraklievich
Stalin prize 3. class, 1950
for geological works.

Laur. Stalin. prem. 1950
p. 35

538 1 Chkhivadze, Panteleimon
1903- . Georgian, proletarian writer. Member of CP SSSR. In his works he extolls possibilities of tomorrow. Wrote: Tov. Butkhuzi, Etazhi. Both are translated into Russian.

BE I 61:782

646 1 Chochua, Andrei Maksimovich
Abkhaz. deputy Sov. Nats. VS SSSR
4. sozyv, 1954

Bak. Rab. 3/18/54

665 2 Cholakchian, G. T.
Member CC CP Arm. SSR, 18. s'ezd, 1956.

Kom. Er. 1/22/56

815 1 Dalakishvili, Mikhail Semenovich
Stalin prize 3. class. Director of Inst. polevodstva Akad. nauk. Gruz. SSR. Prize rec'd for work: Vozdelyvanie pshenitsy v nizmennoi zone Zapadnoi Gruzii, publ. in Trudy Adzhametskoi opytnoi stantsii polevodstva Akad. nauk Gruz. SSR, 1949/50

Laur. Stalin. prem. 1950
p. 11

665 4
646 Danialov, Abdurakhmin Daniialovich
1st sect. CC CP Dagestan
Member CC CP SSSR 1956- (20. s'ezd). Member Sov. Soiuz VS SSSR 1954- (4. s'ezd)

NYT 2/27/56
Bak. Rab. 3/18/54

533 2
646 Danielian, Aikanush Bagdasarovna, 1893- Armenian singer. Born in Tiflis. Made debut in St. Petersburg. Now soloist with Erevan opera im. Spendiarov since 1932. Sings in Armenian operas mostly, but occasionally in Glinka and Meyerbeer operas also. Deputy to VS SSSR 2. sozyv.

BE II 13:338

7: Columbia U. S-4, 5 1956 RHI Caucasia
RHI

815 1 Daraseliia, Mikhail Konstantinovich
Stalin prize 3. class, 1950 for his: Krasnozemnye i podzolistye pochvy Gruzii i ikh ispol'zovanie pod subtropicheskie kul'tury, 1949. Geologist; head of Vsesoiuz. nauchn. issled. inst. chaia i subtropich. kul'tur.

Laur. Stalin. prem. 1950
p. 11

536 5 Daud, Tsei, 1900-
Cherkessian dramatist

BE I 61:254

•665 3 Davidian, O. G.
CC CP Azerb. SSR, 20. s'ezd, 1954

815 1 Davitshvili, Leo Shioevich, 1895-
Paleontologist; member of Akad. nauk. Gruz. SSR since 1944. Wrote: Razvitie idei i metodov v paleontologii posle Darvina, 1940 and and Istoriia evoliutsionnoi paleontologii ot Darvina do nashikh dnei, 1948. Rec'd Stalin prize for the latter.

BE II 13:260
19:279

• 665 2 Davtian, G. S.
Member CC CP Arm. SSR, 18. s'ezd, 1956. Editor of Doklady Akad. nauk Arm. SSR.

Kom. Er. 1/22/56

536 3 Davudova, Marziia Iusif kyzy, 1901-
Actress; member of CP SSSR since 1942. Deputy VS Azerb. SSR 2. -3. sozyv. Acted in Azizbekov theater in Baku. Stalin prize in 1948 for role Giul'zar in play Utro Vostoka E. Mamedkhanlyi.

BE II 13:266

538 1 Dedobrishvili
see Aragvispireli, S. Z. 1

1 [cf. Cat. 116, p. 676 -- Analyst]

7: Columbia U. S-4, 5 1956 RHl Caucasia
RHl

538 2 Demirchian, Derenik Karapetovich
1877- Armenian writer; born in Akhalkalaki in Georgia. Began as poet in 1893, later influenced by Gorkii. Wrote short story Sato in 1929, comedy Khrabryi Nazar in 1942, historical novel Vartanidy (2 vols. 1943/44)

BE II 3:87
13:652

646 1 Dgebuadze, Nina Kalistratovna
Deputy to Sov. Nats. VS SSSR (4. s'ezd, 1954)

Bak. Rab. 2/19/54

665 2 Dilanian, A. O.
Member CC CP Arm. SSR, 17.-18. s'ezd, 1954, 1956

Kom. Er. 1/22/56

3 Dmitriev, A. P.
CC CP Azerb. SSR, 20. s'ezd, 1954

• 665 3 Dun'iamaliev, K. G.
CC CP Azerb. SSR, 20. s'ezd, 1954

536 3 Dzhabarly, Dzafar, 1899-1934
Azerb. dramatist. His best known drama is V 1905 godu; Aidyn, 1922 Iashar, 1932, Almas, 1930. Stands for emancipation of women in Azerb. Born in Khizy near Baku

BE II 14:197

665 3 Dzhafarov, A. A.
CC CP Azerb. SSR, 20. s'ezd, 1954.

643 3
665 Dzhafarov, S. M
Sect. of presidium VS SSR Azerb. (5. s'ezd, 1954) Member CC CP Azerb.

Bak. Rab. 3/10/54

814 1 Dzhanashia, Simon Nikolaevich, 1900-1947. Historian of Georgia. Deputy to VS SSSR 2. sozyv. Member of CP SSSR since 1940. Wrote dissertation on: feudalism in Georgia. Since 1943 director of Inst. istorii Akad. nauk Gruz. SSR. Wrote on genetic resemblance between Georgians and Orientals. Twice rec'd Stalin prize, 1942, 1947.

BE II 14:211

7:Columbia U. S-4, 5 1956 RHl Caucasia
RHI

5:2 646 1 Dzhaparidze, Ucha Malakievich 1906- in Tiflis. Painter; member CP SSSR 1944- Painted portraits of Shota Rustaveli, Chavchavadze (1937), Paliashvili (1941). Beriia (1950). Most known painting: "l. maiskaia demonstratsiia v Tbilise." Deputy VS Gruz. SSR l. 3. sozyv; people's artist of Georgia. Studied under Toidze, Lansere.

BE II 14:214

815 1 Dzhavakhishvili, Aleksandr Nikolaevich, 1875- Geographer and anthropologist; member of Akad. nauk Gruz. SSR. Organized cartography inst. Wrote Antropologiia Gruzii, 1908-1914, in 2 vols. Also: Geografiia Gruzii in 1926.

BE II 14:198

643 665 1 Dzhavakhishvili, Givi Dmitrievich Premier of Georgia. Member CC CP SSSR 1956 - (20. s'ezd) Member Sov. Soiuz, VS SSSR 1954- (4. s'ezd)

NYT 2/27/56
Bak. Rab. 3/18/54
Zar. Vost. 2/17/54

377 3 (?) Ebralidze, Mirian Silovanovich
Stalin prize 2. class, 1950 for collaborating in the building of hydroelectrical plant.

Laur. Stalin. prem. 1950

665 3 Efendiev, A. O.
Member of presidium CC CP Azerb. SSR, 21. s'ezd, 1956

Bak. Rab. 1/26/56

3 Efendiev, G. Sh.
Member of presidium CC CP Azerb. SSR, 21. s'ezd, 1956

Bak. Rab. 1/26/56

3 Efendiev, Kh. S
CC CP Azerb. SSR, 20. s'ezd, 1954.

538 1 Eristavi-Khoshtariia, Anastasii
1868-1951. Belonged to realist school; wrote long novels in which he portrayed the decadence of aristocracy, and the coming up of the bourgeoisie. Best novel: Na skol'zkom puti (in the original: Molipul gzaze, 1897). Also Vokrug tserkvi, against imperalist aim of orthodox church.

BE I 64:595

7: Columbia U. S-4, 5 1956 RHl Caucasia RHl

646 2 Eslian, Ruben Osipovich
Deputy Sov. Nats. VS SSSR,
4. sozyv, 1954.

Kom. Er. 3/19/54

665 2 Erzinkian, A. G.
Member CC CP Arm. SSR, 18. s'ezd,
1956.

Kom. Er. 1/22/56

331 2 Etmekdzhiian, Ashot Arutiunovich
Stalin prize 1950 for certain iron-
work construction. Head of
Glaviugstroi.

Laur. Stalin.prem. 1950
p. 49

646 4 Farzinova, Zareta Baloevna
Sev. Os. deputy Sov. Nats. VS SSSR
4. sozyv, 1954

Pravda 3/18/54

665 3 Fediuninskii, I. I.
Member of presidium CC CP Azerb.
SSR, 21. s'ezd, 1956

Bak. Rab. 1/26/56

7:Columbia U. S-4, 5 1956 RH1 Caucasia
RH1

• 665 3 Filiashkin, K. I.
CC CP Azerb. SSR, 20. sezd, 1954

669 3 Fioletov, Ivan Timofeevich (Vania) 1884-1918. Azerb. revolutionary. One of the 26 Bakinskie komissary, organizer of Bakinskaia kommuna. Bol'shevik since 1903. After February revolution elected to Ispol. komit. sovet. Fought against Mensheviks, dashnaky and mussavisty. Komissar and president of Sovet narod. khoziaist. in Baku; member of Kavkazskii krai. kometet bol'shevikov. Executed in 1918.

BE I 57:630

641 5 Firsov, Vasilii Nikiforovich
Cherkes. deputy Sov. Nats. VS SSSR
4. sozyv, 1954

Pravda 3/18/54

4 Fomicheva, Efrosin'ia Alekseevna
Dag. deputy Sov. Nats. VS SSSR
4. sozyv, 1954
Pravda 3/18/54

538 1 Gabashvili, Ekaterina Revazovna 1851-1938. Born in Gori. Wrote on peasant themes and stood for feminist movements.
BE II 13:77

665 3 Gadzhiev, N. M.
Member of presidium CC CP Azerb. SSR, 20.-21. s'ezd, 1954, 1956.

Bak. Rab. 1/26/56

646 759 3 Gadzhi-Kasumov, Mustafa
Makhmud ogly. Nakhichev. deputy Sov. Nats. VS SSSR, 4. sozyv, 1954. Finished med. faculty of Kharkov in 1910; professor of gynecology of Azerb. inst. of medicine since 1938. Was member of Zakavkaz. ispolnit. kom. Deputy to VS Azerb. SSR.

Bak. Rab. 3/18/54
2/20/54

538 4 Gafurov, Abutalid, 1883-
Dagestani poet; at 18. s'ezd of CP SSSR read poem about Stalin Reki stremiatsia k moriu.

BE II 13:288

646 1 Gagiev, Aleksei Davidovich
Iugo-Os. deputy Sov. Nats. VS SSSR 4. sozyv, 1954

Pravda 3/18/54

538 2
204

Gaidar (pseud. of Golikov, Arkadii) 1904-1941. Armenian writer, born in L'gov. Wrote: Shkola, Chuk i Gek, Timur i ego komanda; was military correspondent in World War II, and died in war.

Kom. Er. 2/21/54

401 2

Galfaian, Markar Karapetovich
Stalin prize 3. class, 1950 for work on a three-phase generator.

Laur. Stalin.prem. 1950
p. 43

646 2

Galoian, Aslan Akopovich
Deputy to Sov. Nats. VS SSSR, 4. sozyv, 1954

Kom. Er. 3/19/54

665 2

Galstian, N. S
Member CC CP Arm. SSR, 17.-18. s'ezd, 1954, 1956.

Kom. Er. 1/22/56

7: Columbia U. S-4, 5 1956 RHI Caucasia RHI

646 3 Gasanova, Gyzgaid Salman kyzy
Deputy to Sov. Nats. VS SSSR
(4. sozyv, 1954)

Bak. Rab. 3/19/54

3 Gasanova, Shamama Makhmudali kyzy
Deputy to Sov. Soiuz VS SSSR.
(4. s'ezd, 1954) Born in 1923-
Cotton-worker; Geroi sotsial. truda.

BE II 10:257
Bak. Rab. 3/18/54

• 665 2 Gasparian, D. A
Member CC CP Arm. SSR, 17.-18.
s'ezed, 1954, 1956.

Kom. Er. 1/22/56

5332 Gasparian, Goar Mikaelovna
Stalin prize 3. class, 1950 for operatic
role in Stepanian's Geroinia.

Laur. Stalin.prem. 1950
p. 80

665 2 Gazarian, V. R.
Member of CC CP Arm. SSR, 18. s'ezd,
1956

Kom. Er. 1/22/56

7: Columbia U. S-4, 5 1956 RHl Caucasia RHl

•665 2 Gevondian, S. A.
Member CC CP Arm. SSR, 17.-18. s'ezd, 1954, 1956

Kom. Er. 1/22/56

3 Gidaiatov, E. I.
CC CP Azerb. SSR, 20. s'ezd, 1954.

816 645 3 Giulmamedov, Ibragim Alekper ogly
Stalin prize 2. class, 1950 for new ways of agricultural plant production. Minister of vodnoe khoziaistvo Azerb. SSR.

Luar. Stalin.prem. 1950
p. 55

532 646 2 Giurdzhian, Gabriel Mikhailovich, 1892- Armenian painter; deputy to VS SSSR 1st and 3rd sozyv. Professor of Erevan art academy.
Zavodskii peizazh, 1949.
Ukladka kolkhoznogo sena v stoga, 1944, Vesna v Armenii, 1945

BE II 3:390
13:252

646 1 Gogitidze, Naziko Khasanovna
Adzhar, deputy Sov. Nats. VS SSSR 4. sozyv, 1954.

Bak. Rab. 3/18/54

7: Columbia U, S -4, 5 1956 RH1 Caucasia RH1

•665 646 3 Grigorian, Egishe Petrosovich
Born in Magavuz, 1902-
Member of CC CP Azerb. SSR, 20.-21. s'ezd, 1954, 1956. 1942-1952 1st sect. Nagorno-Karabakhskii obkom CP Azerb. SSR. Deputy VS SSSR 2. sozyv; Deputy VS Azerb. SSR. Unsuccessful candidate to Sov. Nats. VS SSSR 4. sozyv in 1954.

Bak. Rab. 2/24/54
1/26/56

341 2 Grigorian, Mark Vladimirovich, 1900-
Armenian architect; built the offices of CC CP Arm. SSR in Erevan. Member of CP since 1945. 1938-1950 chief architect of Erevan. Builds in traditional Armenian style, but shows traces of Italian renaissance, too. Stalin prize, 3. class, 1950.

BE II 12:608
Laur. Stalin prem. 1950
p. 76

665 2 Grigorian, V. KH.
Member CC CP Arm. SSR, 18.s'ezd, 1956.

Kom. Er. 1/22/56

669 2 Gukasian, Gukas Ogasenovich, 1899-1920 Armenian revolutionary; born in Kalara, near Erevan. Since 1917 Bol'shevik. Fought Mensheviks and dashnaks. His monument in Erevan.

BE II 13:189

• 665 2 Gukasian, Z.O.
Member CC CP Arm. SSR, 17.-18. s'ezd, 1954, 1956

Kom. Er. 1/22/56

536 2 Gulakian, Armen Karapetovich, 1899- Armenian producer and dramatist. People's artist of Armenia. Deputy to VS SSSR 2.-3. sozyv. Member of CP since 1941. Born in Tiflis. Chief producer of Sundukian theater in Erevan. Produced there: Lermontov's Maskarad, Gorkii's Na dne. Stalin prize in 1946 and 1950.

BE II 13:190

792 2 Gulian, M. T.
Member of Collegium of Armenian Supreme Court.

401 2 Guliants, Enovk Airapetovich
Stalin prize, 3. degree 1950 machine engineer.

Laur. Stalin prem. 1950 p. 25

646 1 Gulieva, Ol'ga Maksimovna
Iugo-Os. deputy Sov. Nats.
VS SSR 4. sozyv, 1954
Born in Tbeti, 1923-
Ossetian language instructor; no
party affiliation.

Pravda 3/18/54
Zar. Vost. 2/13/54

1 Guniia, Avtandil Levanovich
Deputy to Sov. Nats. VS SSSR
(4. s'ezd, 1954) Minister of
culture of Georgia.

Bak. Rab. 2/19/54
Zar. Vost. 2/17/54

814 3 Guseinov, G.
Russko-azerbaidzhanskii slovar',
v. 1-4, Baku, 1940-1946
Stat'i po istorii razvitiia filosofskoi
i obshchestvennoi mysli v Azer-
baidzhane. Baku, 1948

BE II 1:486 & 452

•665 3 Guseinov, K. A.
Member of presidium CC CP Azerb.
SSR, 20.-21. s'ezd, 1954, 1956

Bak. Rab. 1/26/56

646 665 3 Gus'kov, Anatolii Mikhailovich
Deputy to Sov. Soiuz. VS SSSR
(4. s'ezd, 1954)
Member of CC CP Azerb. SSR.,
20.-21. s'ezd, 1954, 1956
Born in Moscow, 1914-
Member of Internal Affairs Azerb.
SSR since 1953.

Bak. Rab. 3/18/54, 2/25/54, 1/26/56

538 1 Gvetadze, Razhden Matveevich
1897- . Georgian writer, symbolist
Belonged to group Golubye rogi,
Georgian symbolist poets. Translated Chanson de Roland and Ramayana into Georgian.

BE II 10:290

665 3 Iakovlev, D. D.
Member of presidium CC CP Azerb.
SSR, 21. s'ezd, 1956

Bak. Rab. 1/26/56

3 Ibragimov, A. I.
CC CP Azerb. SSR, 20. s'ezd, 1954

646 4 Ibragimov, Davud
Dag. deputy Sov. Nats. VS SSR
4. sozyv, 1954

Pravda, 3/18/54

646
643
538 3 Ibragimov, Mirza Azhdar ogly
(born in 1911- no place found)
Deputy to Sov. Nats. VS SSSR
(4. sozyv, 1954) President of
Presidium VS Azerb. SSR since
1954- President of Soiuz sovet.
pisat. Azerb. Member of CC CP
Azerb. SSR 20-21 s'ezd 1954, 1956.
Philologian, writer; member of
Akad. nauk Azerb. SSR. Dramas:
Khaiat (1937), Madrid (1938),
Nastupit den' (1948; rec'd Stalin
prize for it in 1951).

Bak. Rab. 3/19/54 and 3/10/54; 2/28/54,
1/26/56, 12/28/55

Laur. Stalin. prem. 1950
p. 66

646 1 Ignitian, Sergei Mezovich
Deputy to Sov. Nats. VS SSSR
(4. s'ezd, 1954)

Bak. Rab. 2/19/54

• 665 3 Ignatov, I. P.
Member of presidium CC CP Azerb.
SSR, 21. s'ezd, 1956

Bak. Rab. 1/26/56

646 1 Inauri, Aleksei Nikolaevich
Deputy to Sov. Soiuz VS SSSR
(4. s'ezd, 1954)

Bak. Rab. 2/18/54

•665 2 Ioannesian, K. I.
693 Member of CC CP Arm. SSR, 17.-18. s'ezd, 1954, 1956. Public prosecutor of Armenian Supreme Court.

Kom. Er. 1/22/56

538 2 Isaakian, Avetik Saakovich
646 1875-, Aleksandropol (now Leninakan). President of writers' union of Armenia. Since 1946 member of Akad. nauk Arm. SSR. Deputy to VS SSR 3. sozyv. Studied in Leipzig. Stalin prize 1946. Lyric poet; studied in ecclesiastic. seminary. Famous poem: Abu-Lala-Maari translated into many European languages. 1930-36 lived in Paris where he worked against enemies of Armenian dashnaky. Very nationalistically inclined.

BE II 3:86 18:471-2
I 29:280-1

7:Columbia U. S-4,5 1956 RH1 Caucasia
RH1

706 1 Iskaov, Admiral Ivan Stepanovich 1894-, Tiflis. Naval officer, educated in technol. institute. Taught Soviet mil. acad. till 1937. Commander of Baltic fleet; flag officer 2nd rank; 2nd vice-commissar of Navy. Admiral in 1939. Same year visited USA as member of commission placing an order. Navy chief of staff in 1941; admiral of fleet since 1944. Deputy to VS SSSR (1936). Head of editorial board: Marine Atlas. Wrote: The Navy in the Patriotic War, 1944.

World biogr. 1954, p. 577

645 665 3 Iskenderov, Gusein Nadzhaf Minister of automobile transportation (1954) - Azerb. Member of CC CP Azerb. SSR, 20. s'ezd, 1954.

Bak. Rab. 3/10/54

665 3 Iskenderov, M. S. CC CP Azerb. SSR, 20. s'ezd, 1954

815 665 646 3 Iskenderov, Mamed Abdul ogly Deputy to Sov. Soiuz VS SSSR 4. s'ezd, 1954. Born in Eivazlar, 1915-. Geologist; 1953- 1st. sect. Bakinskii gorodskoi komitet; 1954, 1956, member of CC CP Azerb. SSR 20.-21. s'ezd. Deputy to VS Azerb. SSR.

Bak. Rab. 3/18/54, 1/26/54

646 3
816

Islam-Zade, Islam Mamedovich
Deputy to Sov. Nats. VS SSSR (4. sozyv, 1954). Born in Baku, 1910-; Engineer; deputy to VS Azerb. SSR

Bak. Rab. 3/19/54

•665 3

Ismailov, K. G.
CC CP Azerb. SSR, 20. s'ezd, 1954

646 5

Kade, Khalid Batkerievich
Adyg. deputy Sov. Nats. VS SSSR 4. sozyv, 1954

Pravda 3/18/54

532 3
(1?)

Kakabadze, Silovan Iakimovich
1895-. Azerb. sculptor; studied under Nikoladze. Did busts of Geladze, a socialist worker and Dzhanashi, academician. Stalin prize in 1941 for his Stalin monument in Tiflis.

BE II 19:392

646 1

Kakhadze, Rusudana Davidovna
Deputy to Sov. Soiuz VS SSSR (4. s'ezd, 1954)

Bak. Rab. 2/18/54

665
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643

1935-7 people's commissar of Azerb. social security. Deputy to VS SSSR 1.-2. sozyv. 1938-1948 president of VS Azerb. SSR presidium.

BE II 20:346

645 3

Kasumov, Salim Kasumovich
Minister of local industry, Azerb. 1954.

Bak. Rab. 3/10/54

669 2

Katanian, R. P.
One of the signers of a letter to Pravda. One of the old members of the 1905 revolution, formerly described in Soviet propaganda as the chief of "nationalist opposition" group in Armenia. For almost a generation his name had not appeared in the official press.

NYT 3/12/56

669 3(1?)
645
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Kavtaradze, S. I.
(no dates, place) Order of Lenin, of Red Labor flag. Educated in Leningr. Univ. (law degree). Engaged in revolutionary work in Baku 1903. On editorial staff of Pravda 1913-14. Return to Caucasus in 1918. Chairman of the Council of People's Commissars of Georgia, 1921-22. Legal

669
645
648

counselor to Turkey 1923-4; chief of Middle East Dept. of Ministry of Foreign Affairs 1941-3; deputy of Ministry of Foreign Affairs 1943-5; ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary to Rumania since 1945.

World Dipl. Dir. 1950, page 853

• 665 2 Kazarian, V. A.
Member CC CP Arm. SSR, 18.s'ezd 1956.

Kom. Er. 1/22/56

538 1 Kediashvili, D.
1862-1931. Georgian writer. Wrote: Solomon Morbeladze, 1894; Machekha Samanishvili, 1897; Nevzgody Kamushadze, 1900.

BE II 13:78

325 3(?) Kekelidze, Ivan Grigor'evich
Stalin prize 3. class, for work in metallurgy (1950).

Laur. Stalin. prem. 1950
p. 32

814 1 Kekelidze, Konrelii Samsonovich
1879-. Georgian academician, philologian. Wrote: Istoriia

814 drevnegruzinskoi literatury. 2 vols. 1923-24. 3. ed. 1951-52. Did some work on Byzantine literature as reflected in Georgian translation, and unavailable in the original.

BE II 20:491

646 1 Kemoklidze, Parten Georgevich
Deputy to Sov. Soiuz VS SSSR (4. s'ezd, 1954).

Bak. Rab. 2/18/54

538 5 Kerashev, Tembot Magometovich
1903- . Adygeian prose-writer. Translated "International" into Adygeian. Novel Shambul about collectivization of Adygeia. Rec'd Stalin prize in 1948 for Doroga k schast'iu.

BE II 20:551, I 61:254

316 3(?) Kereselidze, Konstantin Georgievich
Stalin prize 3. class, 1950. Mining engineer.

Laur. Stalin. prem. 1950
p. 35

•665 3 Kerimov, A. G.
CC CP Azerb. SSR, 20. s'ezd, 1954.

•665 3 Kerimova, Z. A.
CC CP Azerb. SSR, 20. s'ezd, 1954

538 5 Keshokov, A.
1914-
Kabardian author; wrote poem
U podnozh'ia gor, 1941

BE II 19:216

815 1
875
646 Ketskhoveli, Nikolai Nikolaevich
1897-. Botanist; member of Akad. nauk Gruz. SSR since 1941; rector of Tiflis univ. since 1945. Collected material on Georgian forests. Published: Atlas kul'turnoi flory Gruzii, Flora Gruzii. Deputy to VS SSR I. 3. sozyv. Head of agricult. div. Akad. nauk Gruz. SSR.

BE II 20:578
Zar. Vost. 2/17/54

645 1 Ketsoveli, Z. N.
Minister of food industry Gruz. SSR, 1954.

Zar. Vost. 2/17/54

533 2 Khachaturian, Aram Il'ich
1904-, Tiflis. Finished conservatory in Moscow 1934. Began with

533 cello studies; then worked under Gnessin; influenced by Armenian poet minstrels: ashugs. Wrote his piano concerto in 1935 (1st British performance in 1940). His 2nd symphony was performed in USSR in 1943, for which he rec'd Stalin prize. Authority on oriental music. In Feb. 1948 along with Shostakovich and Prokofiev was accused by CC CP SSSR of "... formalistic distortions and anti-democratic tendencies... passion for muddled neuropathic combinations.." He admitted to charges (published in Daily Worker, Mar. 24, 1948). In Feb. 1956 he seems to be back in favor. His wife, Nina Makarova, writes songs. Wrote Dance of the Rose Maidens, ballet Schast'e. President of Union of Soviet composers since 1948. For further refs. see: Mod. Music, Ja. / Fe. 1936, 13:21; International Who's Who, 1955, p. 502. Thompsen's: Internat'l Cycl. Music & Musicians, 1943.

BE I 59:474, II 3:73, 99
Current Biogr. 1948, p. 344-46
World Biogr. 1954, p. 633

•665 2 Khachaturian, R. G.
Member of CC CP Arm. SSR, 17.-18. s'ezd, 1954, 1956.

Kom. Er. 1/22/56

692 2 Khurshudian, A. A.
Member of Collegium of Armenian Supreme Court.

533 1 Kiladze, Grigorii Varfolomeevich, 1902- Composer; artist of Georgia; prof. since 1941, director since 1945 of Tiflis conservatory im. Saradzhishvili. 1940- CP member; Composes mainly symphonies; Wrote: Gandegili, bases on poem by Chavchavadze, for which he rec'd Stalin prize in 1941. Wrote opera Bakhtrioni and ballet Sinatle (Stalin prize in 1948.) Wrote music to films: Poslednyi maskarad, Arsen.

BE II 20:617

652 Kirakosian, A. M.
Member CC CP Arm. SSR, 17.-18. s'ezd, 1954, 1956

Kom. Er. 1/22/56

3 Kislin, S. I.
Member of presidium CC CP Azerb. SSR, 21. s'ezd, 1956

Bak. Rab. 1/26/56

815 2 Knuniants, Ivan Liudvigovich, 1906-
Stalin prizes in 1943, 1948, and 1950 for his achievements in chemistry. Member of Akad. nauk SSSR since 1946. Synthesized pyrimidine analogs of dyes.

BE II 21:482

538 5 Koble, Bitlestan, 1902
Cherkessian author of historical drama Khimsad; written both in Adygei and Russian

BE I 61:254

532 1 Kobuladze, Sergei Solomonovich, 1909- Stalin prize in 1947 for sets to Mshvelidze's opera: Skazanie o Tarieli, and prize in 1948 for sets to Kiladze's ballet Sinatle. CP member since 1947. Studied art, drawing at univ. Tiflis. Illustrated Slovo o polku Igoreve (1939-1942); also illustrated Rustaveli's Vitiaz' v tigrovoi shkure.

BE II 21:496

665 2 Kocharian, L. M.
Member CC CP Arm. SSR, 17.-18. s'ezd, 1954, 1956

Kom. Er. 1/22/56

7: Columbia U. S-4, 5 1956 RHl Caucasia RHl

533 2(3?) Kocharian, A. Armianskaia Narodnaia muzyka-obshchii obzov. M. 1939

BE I 3:99

2 Kocharian, Suren Akimovich
People's artist of Armenia; member of Moscow's philharmonia orchestra. Stalin prize 3. class, 1950

Laur. Stalin.prem. 1950
p. 73

646 6 Kochergov, Vasilii Nikitovich
Member of Sov. Soiuz VS SSSR, Krasnodar. krai, 4. sozyv, 1954

Bak. Rab. 3/18/54

646 2
665 Kochinian, Anton Ervandovich
Deputy to Sov. Soiuz VS SSSR 4. sozyv, 1954. Member CC CP Arm. SSR, 18. s'ezd, 1956. Might be the chairman of the Council of Ministers of Armenia, 1955

Kom. Er. 3/18/54, 1/22/54

532 2 (3?) Kodzhoian, A. G.
"Prazdnik urozhaia" Armenian painting 1947.

BE II 3:90

7: Columbia U. S-4, 5 1956 RHI Caucasia RHI

646 5 Komarov, Pavel Timofeevich
Kab. deputy Sov. Nats VS SSSR
4. sozyv, 1954.

Pravda 3/18/54

533 2 Komitas
1869-1935 (real name: Sogomonian, Sogomon Gevorkovich) Born in Kuti, Turkey. Armenian composer; studied at Echmiadzin seminary. In 1910 went to Constantinople and finally died in Paris. Buried in Soviet Armenia. Wrote down over 3000 Armenian folk songs.

BE II 20:159-160

665 3 Kremleva, E. A.
CC CP Azerb. SSR, 20.s'ezd, 1954

647 1 Krimian, N. A. --Nov. 1955
Executed as possible Beriia accomplice. Former investigator in Georgian Commissariat of Internal Affairs.

NYT

Zaria Vostoka

646 1 Kuchava, Mitrofan Ionovich
Deputy to Sov. Nats. VS SSSR
(4. s'ezd, 1954)

Bak. Rab. 2/19/54

646 1 Kudzhiashvili, Ivan Petrovich
Iugo-Os. deputy Sov. Nats. VS SSSR
4. sozyv, 1954

Pravda 3/18/54

646 665 3 Kuliev, Makhmud Kuli ogly
Deputy to Sov. Nats. VS SSSR
(4. s'ezd, 1954) Member CC CP
Azer. SSR, 20.s'ezd, 1954

Bak. Rab. 2/19/54

646 5 Kulik, Georgii Tarasovich
Kab. deputy Sov. Nats. VS SSSR
4. sozyv, 1954

Pravda 3/18/54

647 3 Kuloshvili, Irodion Semenovich
Stalin prize 2. class, 1950 for better
production of cotton. Head of a
division in the ministry of water
transport.

Laur. Stalin prem. 1950
p. 55

665 3 Kurbanov, M. K.
CC CP Azer. SSR, 20.s'ezd, 1954.

341 646 1 Kurdiani, Archil Grigor'evich
1903 - Georgian architect; 1936-1944 chief architect of Tiflis; rec'd Stalin prize for the Georgia pavilion at the All-Union agricultural exhibit in Moscow, 1941. Deputy to VS SSSR.

BE II 24:90

538 1 (2?) Kurginian, Shushanik Arutiunovna
1875-1927. Armenian poetess; proletarian themes.

BE II 24:89-90

646 4 Kurmagomedova, Patimat
Dag. deputy Sov. Nats. VS SSSR 4. sozyv, 1954.

Pravda 3/18/54

665 3 Kuz'min, A. V
CC CP Azerb. SSR, 20. s'ezd, 1954.

3 Kuzovenkov, I. E.
CC CP Azerb. SSR, 20. s'ezd, 1954.

646 1 Labakhua, Ketevana Vissarionovna
Abkhaz. deputy Sov. Nats. VS SSSR 4. sozyv, 1954.

Bak. Rab. 3/18/54

7: Columbia U.S-4, 5 1956 RHI Caucasia RHI

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65

3 Magomaev, Dzamal Eddin Muslimovich, Deputy to Sov. Nats. VS SSSR (4. sozyv, 1954) Deputy president of VS Azerb. SSR. 1948- Born in Lenkorani, 1910- 1952-2nd sect. Bakinskii oblast. komitet, 1953 minister of local industry Azerb Member of CC CP Azerb. SSSR.

Bak Rab. 3/19/54
3/10/54
2/24/54

646 4 Magomedov, Dzhamaludin Makhmudovich, Dag. deputy Sov. Nats. VS SSSR 4 sozyv, 1954.

Pravda 3/18/54

533 1(3?) Magomaev, Muslim Magometovich, 1885-1937, Operatic composer; wrote Shakh Ismail, 1916. Lived in Baku, where he conducted most of his operas. Wrote opera Negriz, 1935 extolling in it the Soviet power in Azerbaidzhan.

BE II 26:43

646 4 Magomedova, Aishat Gamzatovna Dag. deputy Sov. Nats. VS SSSR 4. sozyv, 1954.

Pravda 3/18/54

645 1 Makharadze, Filipp Ieseevich, 1868-1941. Born in Karis-Kure. Since 1903 active among Caucasian proletariat. Translated Lenin's K derevenskoi bednote. Delegate to 2. congress of Komintern. 1921- president of Revkom of Georgia. 1938 deputy president of VS SSSR, and president of VS Gruz. SSR.

BE II 26: 545

693 2 Maksudian, E. E.
State prosecutor, deputy republic prosecutor and senior legal adviser to Collegium of Armenian Supreme Court.

646 5 Mal'bakov, Timbora Kubatievich
Deputy (Kabardian) Sov. Nats. VS SSSR 4. sozyv, 1954

Pravda 3/18/54

665 3 Maliutin, A. M.
CC CP Azerb. SSR, 20. s'ezd, 1954.
Editor: Bakinskii rabochii-organ tsentral'nogo i Bakinskogo komitetov kompartii Azerbaidzhana.

814
2 Malkhasian, S.
Worked on Tolkovyi slovar' armianskogo iazyka, in 4 vol.
Stalin prize.

BE II 3:80

65
2 Maltsev, E. E.
Member CC CP Arm. SSR, 18.s'ezd, 1956.

Kom. Er. 1/22/56

815
665 3 Mamedaliev, Iu. G.
President of Azerb. Akad. nauk; Member of presidium CC CP Azerb. SSR 21.s'ezd, 1956.

BE II 26:189
Bak. Rab. 1/26/56

669 3 Mamed'iarov, Mamed, 1875-1933.
Professional revolutionary born near Baku. Took part in Baku strikes in 1903, organized Baku proletarians. 1922-27 narodnyi komissar of social security of Azerb. 1922-29 head of propaganda bureau of Azerb. oil industry.

BE II 26:190

58
3 Mamedkulidze, Dzhalil, 1869-1932. Azerb. realist school writer; born in Nakhichevan. Studied at Gori seminary. Edited satirical journal Molla Nasredin since 1906. On the pattern of Revizor, he wrote comedy Mertvetsy.

BE II 26:189

•65
3 Mamedli, R. I.
Member of presidium CC CP Azerb. SSR, 21. s'ezd, 1956.

Bak. Rab. 1/26/56

66
3 Mamedov, Gusein Kurban ogly
Born in Dyrnis, 1900-
1951-sect. Nakhichevanskii oblast. komitet partii. 1952-president of presidium VS Nakhichevan. ASSR Deputy VS Azerb. SSR of all 3 sozyv. In 1954 was candidate for Sov. Nats. VS SSSR, and got elected as Nakhichevan deputy.

Bak. Rab. 3/10/54 & 3/18/54
2/24/54

65
3 Mamedov, Kh. B
Member of CC CP Azerb. SSR, 20.-21. s'ezd, 1954, 1956.

Bak. Rab. 1/26/56

401 1 (?) Mamedzade, Ali Geidar Aga Usein
Stalin prize 2. class, 1950 for better cotton production; Head of machine-building inst. im. Beriia.

Laur. Stalin. prem. 1950
p. 55

646 1 Mamuladze, David Mikhailovich
Adzhar. deputy Sov. Nats. VS SSSR 4. sozyv, 1954.

Bak. Rab. 3/18/54

538 1 Mamulaishvili, I. G.
see
Grishashvili 1

84 2 Manandian, Iakov Amazaspovich, 1873-1951. Armenian academician since 1939. Historian; teaches ancient history of Armenia. Wrote: Kriticheskii obzor istorii armianskogo naroda, v. 1, 1945.

BE II 26: 194-5

665 2 Manasarian, A. B.
Member CC CP Arm. SSR, 17.-18. s'ezd, 1954, 1956.

Kom. Er. 1/22/56

1 [cf. cat. 116, p. 727 -- Analyst]

815 1 Margalitadze, Apollon Vladimirovich
Stalin prize 3. class, 1950 geologist.

Laur. Stalin. prem. 1950
p. 35

646
665 2 Margarian, Grach Khachaturovich
Deputy Sov. Nats. VS SSSR
4. sozyv, 1954. Member CC CP
Arm. SSR, 17.-18. s'ezd 1954,
1956.

Kom. Er. 3/19/54
1/22/56

646 4 Margiev, Nester Amzorovich
Sev. Os. deputy Sov. Nats. VS SSSR
4. sozyv, 1954.

Pravda 3/18/54

692 2 Markarian, M. S.
Member of criminal collegium of
Armenian supreme court.

Curr. digest 1956

665 2 Mârtirosian, B. G.
Member CC CP Arm. SSR, 17.-18.
s'ezd, 1954, 1956.

Kom. Er. 1/22/56

7: Columbia U.S-4, 5 1956 RHI Caucasia RHI

646

2 Matnishian, Suren Khachaturovich
Deputy Sov. Nats. VS SSSR,
4. sozyv, 1954.

Kom. Er. 3/19/54

4 Medzhidov, Magomed Medzhidovich
Deputy to Sov. Soiuz VS SSSR
4. sozyv, 1954.

Kom. Er. 3/18/54

646
665 1 Megrelishvili, Mamiia Amberkovich
Deputy to Sov. Nats. VS SSSR
(4.s'ezd, 1954) Born in Shua-Partskhma, 1922- Essentially party official; 1st sect. Batumskii Gorkom CP Gruzii; was deputy to VS SSSR 3. sozyv.

Bak. Rab. 3/19/54
Zar. Vost. 2/13/54

3 Mekhtiev, Mageram Rukhullaevich
Deputy to Sov. Nats. VS SSSR
(4. sozyv, 1954) Born in Baku, 1919- ;
oil worker. 1949-sect. Bakinskii komitet Komsomola. Member of CC CP Azerb. SSR, 20-21 s'ezd, 1954, 1956.

Bak. Rab. 3/19/54
2/21/54
1/26/56

7:Columbia U. S-4, 5 1956 RHl Caucasia
RHl

665 3 Mekhi - Zade, M. M.
CC CP Azerb. SSR, 20. s'ezd, 1954

325 1 Meladze, Vladimir Aleksandrovich
Stalin prize 3. class, 1950
metallurgical engineer

Laur. Stalin. prem. 1950
p. 32

533 2 Melikian, Romanos
1882-1935. Armenian composer, brother of Spiridon Melikian. Wrote down many folk songs. Composed Armenian romance Roza, Osennie dni and set to music songs of Isaakian, Tumanian. 1921- director of what later became Erevan conservatory by the name of Komitas.

BE II 27:100

2 Melikian, Spiridon
1881-1933. Armenian composer; in 1912 organized Armianskoe muzykal'noe obshchestvo in Tiflis. Wrote down about 1000 folk songs, dances. Wrote: Gammy armianskoi narodnoi muzyki, 1935. 1930-31 director of Erevan conservatory.

BE II 27:100

875
1 Melikishvili, P. G. 1850-1927
1st rector of Tbilisi university.

BE II 13:70

665
2 Melkonian, G.O.
Member of CC CP Arm. SSR, 17.-18. s'ezd, 1954, 1956.

Kom. Er. 1/22/56

2 Melkumian, S. A.
Member CC CP Arm. SSR, 17.-18. s'ezd, 1954, 1956.

Kom. Er. 1/22/56

2 Meloian, A. M.
Member CC CP Arm. SSR, 17.-18. s'ezd, 1954, 1956.

Kom. Er. 1/22/56

532
1 Merabishvili, Konstantin Mikhailovich, 1906-sculptor; in 1930 finished Tiflis art academy, studied under Nikoladze. Did bust of Stalin in 1936, also the Rustaveli moument in Tiflis, for which he rec'd Stalin prize in 1943. Did monuments to Eristavi in Gori 1950. Teaches now.

BE II 27:164

7: Columbia U. S-4, 5 1956 RHI Caucasia RHI

643
665 2
645

Mikoian, Anastas Ivanovich

Nov. 25, 1895- in Sanain (Armenian village near Georgian border. 1st deputy premier (March 1955-) one of 5 in council of ministers. Member CC CP SSSR. Member Sov. Nats. VS SSSR (represents the Stalin district of Erevan) One of 9 members of the Presidium of CC CP SSSR. Graduated from Tiflis eccles. seminary in 1915. In same year joined CP. After revolution member of Baku party committee; ed. of Bakinskii Rabochii; 1926- People's Commissar of Trade of SSSR. 1930-People's Commissar of Food Supply Industry. Was in USA in 1936 where for 3 months he studied American methods of food production: subsequently introduced corn flakes, tomato juice, eskimo pie, frozen corn-on-the-cob, etc. to SSSR. 1938- People's Commissar of Foreign Trade. 1943- awarded title: Hero of Socialist labor for war efforts. After 1945 clashed with Malenkov over German reparations. Bid unsuccessfully for a $6. billion reconstruction loan from USA and led unsuccessfully effort for Russia to participate in Marshall plan (cf. Curr. Biogr.). After Stalin's death in 1953 named head of combined Ministry of Domestic & Foreign Trade. Stood for increased consumer goods production.

643
665
645

Jan. 24, 1955 resigned as minister of domestic trade (construed as consequence to Russia's orientation toward heavy industry). An ice cream factory, bread-factory, and village in Armenia named after Mikoian (cf. Curr. Biogr.). Mr. Mikoian called for new textbooks of early Bolshevik history that would no longer attempt to explain some "complex and contradictory events by the allegedly subversive activity of some former party leaders who many years after the events described were wrongly declared enemies of the people." In this connection Mr. Mikoian referred particularly to Vladimir Antonov-Ovseyenko, who supervised military affairs in Lenin's first Government, and Stanislav Kosier, veteran Politburo member and former leader of the Ukrainian Bolsheviks.

NYT 2/27/56, 2/20/56
Pravda 2/18/56
Bak. Rab. 3/18/54
Current Biogr. 1955, p. 419-21
World Biogr. 1954 (5. ed) p.808
BE I 39:343-7
BE II 27:430-1

7:Columbia U. S-4, 5 1956 RHl Caucasia RHl

507 2 Mikoian, Artem, 1905-
Aircraft designer; studied in Tiflis; graduated from Zhukovskii air academy. Designed under Polikarpov; built the first fighter plane, MIK-I, 1939, and built many new types of speed planes. Designed jet plane in 1947. Stalin prizes in 1941, 1947, 1952. Now with ministry of Air Craft Industry in Erevan.

BE II 27:431
World Biogr. 1954, p. 808

645
665 3 Mirzoev, Sultan Abas ogly
Minister of sovkhozy (Azerb., 1954). Member CC CP Azerb. SSR.

Bak. Rab. 3/10/54

538 3 Mir-Dzhalal (pseud of Pashaev, Mir-Dzhalal Ali ogly), 1908-. Azerb. writer. Wrote: Voskresshii chelovek, 1935, Manifest molodogo cheloveka, 1939.

BE II 27:565

759
646 3 Mir-Kasimov, Mir Asadulla Mir Alekper ogly, 1883- . surgeon; president of Azerb. Akad. nauk, 1945-7. Deputy of VS SSSR 1.-3. sozyv. 1931- prof. of Azerb. Med. inst.

BE II 27:571

815 1 Modebadze, Tamara Razhdenovna
Deputy to Sov. Soiuz VS SSSR (4. s'ezd, 1954). Born in Chiatura 1912- chemist; no party affiliation.

Bak. Rab. 2/18/54
Zar. Vost. 2/13/54

538 1 Mosashvili, Il'o Onisimovich, 1896-1954. Georgian poet, dramatist Deputy VS SSSR 1.-3. sozyv. Born in Chargali. Since 1926 worked on various Georgian newspapers. Paid tribute to Michurin adherents in poem: Ego zvezda, 1950. Won Stalin prize in 1950 for his drama Potoplennye kamni.

Laur. Stalin prem. 1950, p. 68
BE II 28:360

665 2 Movsesian, K. M.
Member CC CP Arm. SSR, 18. s'ezd, 1956.

Kom. Er. 1/22/56

2 Movsesian, S. A.
Member CC CP Arm. SSR, 17.-18. s'ezd, 1954, 1956.

Kom. Er. 1/22/56

665
3 Muliavko, A. D.
Member of presidium CC CP Azerb. SSR, 21. s'ezd, 1956.

Bak. Rab. 1/26/56

533
5 Muradeli, Vano Il'ich, 1908-
Kabardian composer; studied in Tiflis. Wrote: Gimn Mezhdunarodnogo soiuza studentov, 1949.

BE II 28: 564

665
2 Muradian, B. A.
Member CC CP Arm. SSR, 18. s'ezd, 1956

Kom. Er. 1/22/56

646
803 1 Muskhelishvili, Nikolai Ivanovich, 1891- Deputy to Sov. Soiuz VS SSSR (4. s'ezd, 1954) President of Akad. nauk Gruz. SSR, 1941-; mathematician; Stalin prizes in 1941, 1947. Since 1922 professor of polytech. inst. Tiflis. Expert on theory of resilience. Instrumental in creating Tiflis math inst. in 1935. His chief works: Matematika SSSR za let 1917-1947. Mekhanika v SSSR za let 1917-1947. Uspekhi matemat. nauk, 1951, 4.6 vyp. 2 contains his works.

7: Columbia U. S-4, 5 1956 RH1 Caucasia
RH1

646
803

Bak. Rab. 2/18/54
Zar. Vost. 2/17/54
BE II 13:70
BE I 28:568

665
646 3
242

Mustafaev, Imam Dashdemir ogly (1910-Kakhi) 1st sect. CC CP Azerb. 1954- (20. s'ezd). Member CC CP SSSR 1956- (20.s'ezd). Member Sov. Soiuz VS SSSR 1954- (4. s'ezd). Agronomist; Michurin follower; introduced new type of wheat; 1947- min. agriculture of Azerb. Member presidium CC CP Azerb. SSR, 21. s'ezd, 1956.

NYT 2/27/56 & 1/26/56
Bak. Rab. 3/18/54
Bak. Rab. 3/2/54

665
646 1

Mzhavanadze, Vasilii Pavlovich 1st. sect. CC CP Georgia 1954- (16. s'ezd). Member CC CP SSSR 1956 - (20. s'ezd). Member Sov. Soiuz VS SSSR 1954 -(4. s'ezd)

NYT 2/27/56 also 12/29/55
Pravda 2/18/56
Bak. Rab. 3/18/54
Internatl. Yearb. 1955:538

7: Columbia U. S-4,5 1956 RHl Caucasia
RHl

532
2 Nalbandian, Dmitrii Arkad'evich, 1906- Born in Tiflis; painter of landscapes. During World War II depicted war themes. Vlast' sovetam-mir narodam, Stalin prize in 1951. The picture of Stalin in 1945, got him Stalin prize in 1946. Nakanune Batumskoi demonstratsii v 1902, painted in 1950-2.

BE II 29:75

• 665
2 Nalbandian, V.S.
Member CC CP Arm. SSR, 17.-18. s'ezd, 1954, 1956.

Kom. Er. 1/22/56

3 Namazov, R.A.
CC CP Azerb. SSR, 20. s'ezd, 1954.

538
2 Nar-Dos (pseud. of Ovanisiian, Mikael) 1867-1933. Born in Tiflis. Portrays decadence of bourgeois class, Smert', Ubityi golub, etc. Was influenced by Turgenev, Tolstoy, Goncharov.

BE II 29:123

816
65 3 Novruzov, Neimat Guseinovich
645 Born in Nakhichevani, 1908-
643 Engineer, cotton-expert; 1950 - minister of Azerb. cotton industry. Member of CC CCP Azerb. SSR. 1952 - deputy-minister of goskontrol Azerb. SSR. 1953- president of Council of Minister Nakhichevanskaia ASSR. Unsuccessful candidate in 1954 for Sov. Nats. VS SSSR.

Bak. Rab. 2/25/54

331
3(?) Oboladze, Iraklii Onisimovich
Stalin prize 2. class, 1950, construction engineer.

Laur. Stalin. prem. 1950
p. 44

665
2 Oganesian, G. V.
Member CC CP Arm. SSR, 17. - 18. s'ezd, 1954, 1956.

Kom. Er. 1/22/56

759
2 Oganesian, L. A., 1885-
Physician, Armenian scientist.

Kom. Er. 12/20/55

467

2 Oganesian, O.
Stalin prize winner, profsoiuz innovator.

BE II 3:73

665

3 Oleinik, G. G.
Member of presidium CC CP Azerb. SSR, 21. s'ezd, 1956.

Bak. Rab. 1/26/56

814

1 Orbeli, Iosif Abragovich, 1887-
Member of Akad. nauk Arm. SSR 1943- Director of Ermitazh 1934-1951. 1943-47 president of Akad. nauk Arm. SSR. Edited text: David Sasunskii. Orientalist of Georgia.

BE II 31:134

815

1 Orbeli, Leon Agarovich, 1882-
Physiologist, member of Akad. nauk Arm. SSR and of Akad. nauk SSSR; col. general in medical military service. Stalin prize in 1941, pupil of Pavlov. Director of physiological inst. of Akad. nauk SSSR; 1942-46 vice-president of Akad. nauk SSSR. For his overemphasizing of the sympathetic nervous system, was criticized by Akad. med. nauk in 1950

BE II 31:134

7: Columbia U. S-4, 5, 1956 RHl Caucasia
RHl

538 3 Ordubady, Mamed Said, 1872-1950. Azerb. novelist, born in Ordubad. Collaborated on paper Molla Nasredin. Translated Pushkin's Bakhchisaraiskii fontan, Boris Godunov. Wrote: Tebriz tumannyi, 1933-48 4 vols. Early work: Neschastnyi millioner in 1914.

BE II 31:177

645 1 Ordzhonikidze, Grigorii Konstantinovich, 1886-1937. Born in Goresha. Member of Bolshevik party since 1903. Carried out Stalin plan to defeat Denikin. 1926-30 people's commissar of the workers and peasants' inspection of USSR. 1930- chairman of Supreme council of national economy of USSR. Later people's commissar of heavy industry. 1930- member of Politbureau. His obituary appears in Pravda, Feb. 17, 1937.

Soviet Calendar, Feb. 18
BE II 31:171-3

665 3 Orudzhev, M. B.
Member of presidium CC CP Azerb. SSR, 20.-21.s'ezd, 1954, 1956.

Bak. Rab. 1/26/56

7: Columbia U. S-4,5 1956 RHl Caucasia

RHl

665 2 Pakhlevanian, G. A.
Member CC CP Arm. SSR, 17.-18. s'ezd, 1954, 1956

Kom. Er. 1/22/56

814 3 Pakhomov, Evgenii Aleksandrovich, 1880- Historian; member of Inst. istorii Akad. nauk Azerb. SSR.

Bak. Rab. 12/28/55

533 1 Paliashvili, Ivan Petrovich, 1868-1934. Brother of Zakharii Paliashvili. Produced opera in Kiev, Kharkov, Tiflis; taught opera courses at Tiflis conservatory.

BE II 31:606

1 Paliashvili, Zakharii Petrovich, 1871-1933, born in Kutaisi. Classical music composer. Taught in Tiflis; director of Georgian philharmonic orchestra 1908-1917. Romance: Iunoi poliubiv dushoi. Opera: Abesalom i Eteri, Daisi. The opera and ballet theater of Tiflis is named after him.

BE II 31:604-6

RHl

538

3 Pashaev, Mir-Dzhalal ogly
see
Mir- Dzhalal (pseud.) 1/1

665

2 Pavlovskii, I. G.
Member CC CP Arm. SSR, 18. s'ezd, 1956

Kom. Er. 1/22/56

523

? Peiko, Nikolai Ivanovich, 1916-
Kab. composer. 1940 finished Moscow conservatory where he now teaches. Composes themes from nationalities like "Prazdnichnaia uvertiura na kabardinskie temy" (1951), "Moldavskaia suita" (Stalin prize 1947, 1951)

BE I 19:218; BE II 32:283

646

1 Pervukhin, Mikhail Georgevich
Deputy to Sov. Soiuz VS SSSR (4. s'ezd, 1954)

Bak. Rab. 2/18/54

6 Petukhov, Boris Fedorovich
Member of Sov. Soiuz Krasnodar. krai, VS SSSR, 4. sozyv, 1954.

Bak. Rab. 3/18/54

7: Columbia U. S-4, 5 1956 RHl Caucasia
RHl

535 2 Petrosian, Avak Gegamovich
Stalin prize 3. class, 1950 for performing in opera Geroinia.

Laur. Stalin. prem. 1950
p. 80

646
665 2
815
875 Petrosian, Garegin Bakhshievich
Deputy Sov. Nats. VS SSSR, 4 sozyv, 1954. Member CC CP Arm. SSR, 17.-18. s'ezd, 1954, 1956. Rector of Erevan univ. since 1949. Physicist-mathematician; wrote Matematika v drevnei i srednevekov. Armenii.

Kom. Er. 3/19/54, 1/22/56, 2/27/54

815 2 Piotrovskii, Boris Borisovich, 1908-
Chlen-korrespondent Akad. nauk. Arm. SSSR (1945). Archeologist. Specialist on Zakavkaze. 1930 Archeological research in Teishebiani on hill Karmir-Blur near Erevan, and contributes source material on history of Urartu state 6-8 c. BC. 1946 Stalin prize. Interested in Scythian problem and origin of Armenians.

BE I 3:80, BE II 33:58

RHl

646
665 2 Piskunov, Petr Vasilievich
Deputy Sov. Nats. VS SSSR, 4. sozyv, 1954. Member CC CP Arm. SSR, 17.-18. s'ezd, 1954, 1956

Kom. Er. 3/19/54, 1/22/56

646
665
701 3 Pliev, Issa Aleksandrovich
Deputy to Sov. Soiuz VS SSSR (4. s'ezd, 1954) Born in Sev. Ost. ASSR, 1902- Col. gen., fought in Hungary, Austria, Japan, in World War II; deputy VS SSSR 2.-3. sozyv. Member CC CP Azerb. SSR.

Bak. Rab. 3/18/54

665
3 Plotnikov, A. K.
CC CP Azerb. SSR, 20. s'ezd, 1954.

646
4 Podvarko, Aleksei Grigor'evich
Dag. deputy Sov. Nats. VS SSSR 4. sozyv, 1954

Pravda 3/18/54

665
2 Poladian, A. K.
Member CC CP Arm. SSR, 18. s'ezd, 1956

Kom. Er. 1/22/56

646
6 Proshunin, Nikolai Emmanuilovich
Member of Sov. Soiuz VS SSSR, 1954, 4. sozyv, Stavropol. krai

Bak. Rab. 3/18/54

665
3 Prusskii, A. L.
Member of presidium CC CP Azerb. SSR, 21. s'ezd, 1956

Bak. Rab. 1/26/56

646
1 Purtskhvanidze, Shalva Estatievich
Deputy to Sov. Nats. VS SSSR (4. s'ezd, 1954)

Bak. Rab. 3/19/54

538
2 Rachiia Kochar (pseud. of Gabrielian, Rachiia Kocharovich) 1910-
Armenian writer; member of CP 1939- Wrote humorous novels: Puteshestviia Ogesena Vaspura, 1937; Deti bol'shogo doma, 1952.

BE II 36:133

3 Ragim, Mamed
Azerb. poet; rec'd Stalin prize in 1949 for poem: Nad Leningradom

BE II 1:471

7: Columbia U. S-4, 5 1956 RH1 Caucasia

RH1

646
242 3 Ragimov, Iunus Iskender ogly
Deputy to Sov. Nats. VS SSSR (4. sozyv, 1954) Born in Agdash, 1907-. 1938 - chief agronomist of Bardinskaia mashino-traktornaia stantsiia; 1950 - director of Agzhabedinsk.lesozashchitnaia stantsiia. On record for overfulfilling the work quota, especially in clearing of lands.

Bak. Rab. 3/19/54, 2/18/54

646
665 3 Ragimov, Makhmud Dzafar Kuli ogly
Deputy to Sov. Nats. VS SSSR (4. sozyv, 1954) Born in Baku, 1905- Commander of "Kasptanker" (oil-transport boat); member of CC CP Azerb. SSR.

Bak. Rab. 3/19/54 and 3/2/54

665
3 Ragimov, R. K.
Member of CC CP Azerb. SSR, 21. s'ezd, 1956

Bak. Rab. 1/26/56

643
665 3
145

Ragimov, Sadykh Gadzhi Iaralievich (1914-Balakhany); engineer Premier of Azerb. Member CC CP Azerb. 1954-1956 (20.-21. s'ezd). Member CC CP SSSR 1956- (20. s'ezd). Member Sov. Nats. VS SSSR 1954- (4. s'ezd) 1953 - min. promyshlennykh tovarov shirokogo potrebleniia Azerb.

NYT 2/27/56
Zar. Vost. 12/28/55
Bak. Rab. 3/2/54, 2/17/54, 3/19/54, 1/26/56

646
4

Ramonov, Boris Grigor'evich
Sev. Os. deputy Sov. Nats. VS SSSR 4. sozyv, 1954

Pravda 3/18/54

645
625 1

Rapava, A.N., - Nov. 22 ? 1955
Former deputy and later head People's Commissar for Int Affairs in Georgia. Executed for having conducted "terroristic annihilation of honest Soviet citizens."

NYT
Zaria Vostoka

665
1

Rigvava, S.S.
2nd sect. of 1st plenum CC LKSM Gruz. SSR

Zar. Vost. 12/27/55

538
3 Rustamo, Suleiman Aliabbas ogly
1906- Azerb. poet; deputy to VS Azerb. SSR. In 1927 published collection of poems: K radosti. Translated from Georgian Rustaveli's Vitiaz' v tigrovoi shkure.

BE I 49:906

665
2 Saakian, S.M.
Member of CC CP Arm. SSR, 17.-18. s'ezd, 1954, 1956

Kom. Er. 1/22/56

815
1 Sabashvili, M.
Director of soil science institute of Akad. nauk Gruz. SSR, 1954

Zar. Vost 2/17/54

532
3 Sabsaem, P.
Azerb. sculptor; member of Akad. nauk. Azerb. SSR; Stalin prize for S.M. Kirov statue in Baku park.

BE II 1:475

665
3 Sadykov, R.N.
CC CP Azerb. SSR, 20. s'ezd, 1954

3 Safaraliev, R.K.
CC CP Azerb. SSR, 20. s'ezd, 1954

RHl

377
2 Safrazbekian, Gurgen Sadatovich
Stalin prize 2. class, 1950, for telemechanization of Mosenergosistem.

Laur. Stalin. prem. 1950
p. 41

646
4 Safronov, Arsenii Mikhailovich
Sev. Os. deputy Sov. Nats. VS SSSR 4. sozyv, 1954

Pravda 3/18/54

536
1 Sagaradze, Georgii Illarionovich
People's artist of Georgia. Stalin prize 3. class, 1950, for role in drama Potoplennye kamni.

Laur. Stalin. Prem. 1950
p. 78

665
3 Samedov, K. A.
Member of presidium CC CP Azerb. SSR, 21. s'ezd, 1956

Bak. Rab. 1/26/56

646
8123 Samedov, Vitalii Iunusovich
Deputy to Sov. Nats. VS SSSR (4. sozyv, 1954). Born 1919- Went to party schools; holds doctorate in philosophy; 1950-director of Institut istorii i filosofii Akad. nauk

7: Columbia U. S-4, 5 1956 RH1 Caucasia

RH1

532 2 Sar'ian, Martiros Sergeevich, 1880-
Armenian painter born in Nakhichevan. Worked under Serov and Korovin. In the beginning painted themes from fables; middle period is devoted to landscapes with oriental coloring; 1911- post-impressionistic. Did portrait of Simonov. Received Stalin prize for sets of opera Almast. Deputy to Sov. Soiuz VS SSSR 4. sozyv, 1954.

BE I 50:307
Kom. Er. 3/18/54

• 665 2 Sarkisov, B. E.
Member CC CP Arm. SSR, 18. s'ezd, 1956

Kom. Er. 1/22/56

625 1 Savitskii, K. S.
Former investigator for Georgian Commissariat of Int. Aff. Executed Nov. 1955.

NYT
Zaria Vostoka

646
665 2 Savoian, Andranik Israelovich
Deputy Sov. Nats. VS SSSR, 4. sozyv, 1954. Member CC CP Arm. SSR, 17.-18. s'ezd 1954, 1956

Kom. Er. 3/19/54 and 1/22/56

56 2 Sazandarian, Tatevik Tigranovna
Stalin prize 3. class for performance in opera Geroinia.

Laur. Stalin. prem. 1950
p. 80

646
665
647 3 Seidov, Gasan ogly
Deputy to Sov. Nats. VS SSSR (4. sozyv, 1954) Born in 1906- . 1937- head of Azerb. nauchno-issled. inst. khlopkovodstva in Kirovabad. 1946-2nd. sect. CC CP Azerb. SSSR; 1953- president of Gosplan Azerb. SSR. Member of CC CP Azerb. SSR, 20.-21. s'ezd, 1954, 1956

Bak. Rab. 3/19/54, 3/2/54, 1/26/56

242
643 3
645 Seidov, Mamed Mir Aziz ogly
Born in Sadarak, 1907- . Agriculture expert, partly official; deputy-president of Council of Ministers. 1954-minister of agriculture Azerb. SSR; Deputy VS Nakhichevanskaia ASSR; Unsuccessful candidate to VS SSSR (Sov. Nats., 1954)

Bak. Rab. 2/25/54

7:Columbia U. S-4,5 1956 RH1 Caucasia
RH1

646
1 Sekhniashvili, Emil Alekseevich
Deputy to Sov. Nats. VS SSSR
(4. s'ezd, 1954)

Bak. Rab. 3/19/54

4 Sevast'ianov, Mikhail Mikhailovich
Sev. Os. Deputy Sov. Nats. VS
SSSR 4. sozyv, 1954

Pravda, 3/18/54

242
2 Sevumian, Grigorii Ivanovich
Stalin prize 2. class, 1950 for new
ways to produce cotton

Laur. Stalin. prem. 1950
p. 55

• 665
2 Shaginian, A. Kh.
Member CC CP Arm. SSR, 17.-18.
s'ezd, 1954, 1956

Kom. Er. 1/22/56

815
2 Shaginian, Marietta Sergeevna, 1888-
Stalin prize 3. class, 1950 for work
Puteshestvie po sovetskoi Armenii
Wrote also: Svoia sud'ba peremena.
Studied mineralogy in Moscow.

Laur. Stalin. prem. 1950, p. 67
BE I 61:788-90

7: Columbia U. S-4, 5 1956 RHI Caucasia

RHI

665

2 Shakhbazian, L. T.
Member CC CP Arm. SSR, 17.-18. s'ezd, 1954, 1956

Kom. Er. 1/22/56

3 Shakhramanian, R. T.
Member of presidium CC CP Azerb. SSR, 21. s'ezd, 1956

Bak. Rab. 1/26/56

556

1 Shanshiashvili, Sandro, 1888-
Georgian dramatist, symbolist poet. Dramas: Nekoronovannye tsari, Berdo Zmaniia, Anzor. His work Zakavkazskie narody shows sketchiness (rather than profoundness?)

BE I 61:832-3

146

4 Shaposhnikova, Aleksandra Andreevna
Sev. Os. deputy Sov. Nats. VS SSSR 4. sozyv, 1954

Pravda 3/18/54

4 Sharifov, Nazhmutdin Sharifovich
Dag. deputy Sov. Nats. VS SSSR 4. sozyv, 1954

Pravda 3/18/54

RHl

316
646 1 Sheklashvili, Shalva Spiridonovich
Deputy to Sov. Nats. VS SSSR (4. s'ezd, 1954). Born in Gorisa, 1908- ; mining engineer; since 1949 head of "Chiaturmarganets" trust. Deputy of VS Gruz. SSR since 1951.

Bak. Rab. 3/19/54

445 2 Shekoian, A. A.
Member CC CP Arm. SSR, 17.-18. s'ezd, 1954, 1956

Kom. Er. 1/22/56

538 1 Shengelaia, Demma, 1896-
Georgian writer, symbolist; His big work is Sanavardo, 1924-5 (on how capitalism replaced feudalism). Put' portrays counter-revolutionary heroes. 1927 he wrote Tiflis in which he shows affinity to proletarian ideology.

BE I 62:288

1 Shengelaia, Leon Mikhailovich
see
Kiacheli, Leo 1

1 [cf. cat. 116, p. 747 -- Analyst]

7: Columbia U. S-4,5 1956 RHl Caucasia
RHl

538
5 Shogentsukov, Ali, 1900-1942
Kabardian poet; introduced classic metric system into Kabardian poetry. Wrote novel: Kambot i Liatsa, 1932-6

BE I 30:419

5 Shortanov, A., 1916-
Kabardian novelist

BE II 19:216

665
2 Simonian, Sh. S.
Member CC CP Arm. SSR, 18. s'ezd, 1956

Kom. Er. 1/22/56

2 Sochinskii, I. I.
Member CC CP Arm. SSR, 17.-18. s'ezd, 1954, 1956

Kom. Er. 1/22/56

533
2 Sogomonian, Sogomon Gevorkovich
see
Komitas (pseud.) 1/n

816
3 Spanaki, Evgenii Akhillesovich
Stalin prize 2. class, engineer

Laur. Stalin. prem. 1950
p. 55
1/n [cf. cat. 116, 751 -- Analyst]

7: Columbia U. S-4, 5 1956 RHl Caucasia
RHl

533 2 Spendiarov, Aleksandr Afanas'evich 1871-1928. Armenian composer born in Kakhovka. Studied under Rimskii-Korsakov, Glazunov. Used Armenian themes in his compositions. Almast his best opera on poem by Tumanian. First shown in Moscow in 1930, now in repertory of Erevan opera house.

BE I 52:392

643
665 1 Stalin (Dzhugashvili) Iosif Vissarionovich. Dec. 21, 1879 in Gori-March 5, 1953. Studied in Gori ecclesiastic seminary, 1888-1894. 1898 joined Rossiisk. sots. demokr. raboch. partiia of Tiflis. Met Lenin at Tammersfors in 1905; frequently imprisoned during 1903-7.

Founded Pravda in 1911, worked on revolutionary paper Brdzola (Bor'ba) with Ketskhoveli, as well as on Lenin's Iskra. 1917- Commissar of nationalities; 1922- gen. sect. CC CP SSSR; Lenin's successor as chairman of Politbureau in 1924; exiled Trotskii in 1928; purge trial of enemies in 1934-38; Marshal of SSSR in 1943; initiated the first 5 year plan; member of supreme Soviet; people's commissar for the defense of SSSR until

7: Columbia U. S-4,5 1956 RHI Caucasia
RHI

643
665

Feb. 1947. Generalissimo in 1945; took part in Teheran (1943), Yalta (1945) Potsdam (1945) conferences. Wrote: October Revolution, Marxism and the National and Colonial Question, Leninism, Problems of Leninism, etc. Attacked at the 1956 Party congress by Krushchev.

BE I 52:535-622
BE II only X-ref. from Dzhugashvili to yet unpublished volume
Curr. Biogr. 1953, p. 584 & 1942, p. 790-7
Obituary NYT 3/6/53
International Who's Who, 1948/49, p. 1615

538
6654

Stal'skii, Suleiman ashug, 1869-1937 Lezgin poet; people's artist of Dagestan. Member of CC CP Dag. SSR. Born in Ashaga-Stal'. Was not educated and transmitted his songs orally, telling about the difficult life of the peasants. 1934- deputy to 1. vsesoiuz. s'ezd sovet. pisateli. Best work: Poema o Sergo. Buried in Makhachkala. His Pesnia o Staline, Krasnaia Armiia set to music.

BE I 52:670-1
BE II 13:288

7: Columbia U. S-4, 5 1956 RHl Caucasia
RHI

533
2 Stepanian, Aro Leonovich, 1897-
Born in Kirovabad. 1940- president of Soiuz sovet. kompozitorov Armenii. For opera Geroinia Stalin prize 3. class in 1950. Wrote: operas, Khrabryi Nazar, David Sasunskii, Lusabatin; also Simfonia pamiati 26. komissarov. Deputy of VS SSSR I. -2. sozyv.

BE I 52:840-1
Laur. Stalin. prem. 1950, p. 80

665
2 Stepanian, L. A.
Member CC CP Arm. SSR, 18. s'ezd, 1956

Kom. Er. 1/22/56

707
2(?) Stepanian, Nel'son
Geroi Sov. soiuza (flyer), fought in battle of Moscow, Sevastopol

BE I 3:68

532
2 Stepanian, Suren L., 1895-
Armenian sculptor; did famous monument to Gukas Gukasian, 1935, also Azizbekov's statue in Tiflis, 1933

BE I 52:851

646
1 Sukhin, Gavriil Petrovich
Deputy to Sov. Soiuz VS SSSR (4. s'ezd) 1954

Bak. Rab. 2/18/54

665
2 Sukiasian, G. Kh.
Member CC CP Arm. SSR, 17.-18. s'ezd, 1954, 1956

Kom. Er. 1/22/56

3 Suleimanov, G. A.
CC CP Azerb. SSR, 20. s'ezd, 1954

3 Suleimanov, M. I.
Member of presidium CC CP Azerb. SSR, 21. s'ezd, 1956

Bak. Rab. 1/26/56

3 Suleimanov, S. S.
CC CP Azerb. SSR, 20. s'ezd, 1954

3 Sultanova, A. I.
CC CP Azerb, SSR, 20. s'ezd, 1954

646 6 Svechnikov, Petr Nikolaevich
Member of Sov. Soiuz, VS SSSR, Krasnodar. krai, 4. sozyv, 1954

Bak. Rab. 3/18/54

6 Svinareva, Natal'ia Ivanovna
Member of Sov. Soiuz VS SSSR, 4. sozyv, 1954, Krasnodar. krai.

Bak. Rab. 3/18/54

665
2042 Syrtsev, V. A.
Member CC CP Arm. SSR, 17.-18. s'ezd, 1954, 1956. Editor of Kommunist; organ tsentral'nogo i erevanskogo komitetov KP Armenii.

Kom. Er. 1/22/56

538
1 Tabidze, Galaktion, 1892-
Georgian symbolist poet. Wrote: Ia i noch', Veter; later poems extoll proletarian way of life Epokha, Patsifism; Revoliutsionnaia Gruziia. 1944- member of Akad. nauk Gruz. SSR. His novels are: Rodnaia moia zemlia, Rodina-zhiz'n moia. Since 1933 people's poet of Georgia.

BE I 53:391

7: Columbia U. S-4,5 1956 RH1 Caucasia RH1

533 2 Tigranian, Armen Tigranovich, 1879-
Armenian composer: pioneer of national Armenian opera. Wrote: Anush, Turk opera based on poem by Tumanian. It was played in Moscow in 1937, and received Lenin prize.

BE I 54: 242

2 Tigranian, Nikolai Fadeevich, 1856-
Armenian composer; blind since 9. year. Studied in St. Petersburg, Vienna. Concentrated on folk-songs of Armenia, Turkey, 1939 received order trudovogo krasnogo znameni.

BE I 54: 242

.665 3 Titarenko, A. I.
CC CP Azerb. SSR, 20. s'ezd, 1954

645 1 Tkhilaishvili, Aleksandr Dursunovich
Adzhar, deputy Sov. Nats. VS SSSR 4. sozyv, 1954

Bak. Rab. 3/18/54

5 Tlostanov, Kalimet Tutovich
Kab. deputy Sov. Nats. VS SSSR 4. sozyv, 1954

Pravda 3/18/54

532 1 Toidze, Iraklii Mosevich, 1902-
Finished Tiflis art academy in 1930. Revolutionary paintings: Podarok k oktiabriu, 1930; Stalin na Riongese, 1935; did illustrations to Rustaveli's Vitiaz' v tigrovoi shkure, for which he received Stalin prize in 1941; Stalin prize 3. class in 1950 for illustration to Istoriia Gruzii.

BE I 54: 410
Laur. Stalin. prem. 1950, p. 75

646
665 3 Tolstikov, Oleg Viktorovich
Deputy to Sov. Nats. VS SSR (4. sozyv, 1954). Member of CC CP Azerb. SSR.

Bak. Rab. 3/19/54

646
2 Topchian, E. S.
Member CC CP Arm. SSR, 18. s'ezd, 1956

Kom. Er. 1/22/56

643
204 3 Toptsibashev, M. A.
President of VS Azerb. SSR (5. s'ezd, 1954). Editor in chief of Dokl. Akad. Nauk. Azerb. SSR

Bak. Rab. 3/10/54

7: Columbia U. S-4, 5 1956 RHI Caucasia

RHI

693

1 Topuridze, M. E.
Prokuror Gruz. SSR, 1954

Zar. Vost. 2/18/54

533

1 Toradze, David Aleksandrovich
Georgian composer; Stalin prize 2. class in 1950 for his ballet Gorda

Laur. Stalin. prem. 1950
p. 81
Zar. Vost. 2/18/54

646
665 2 Tovmasian, Suren Akopovich
Member Sov. Soiuz VS SSSR 1954- (4. s'ezd). Member CC CP SSSR 1956- . 1st Sect. CC CP Armeniia 1954- (17. s'ezd)

NYT 2/27/56
Kom. Er. 3/18/54, 2/17/54, 1/22/56

665

3 Tret'iakova, A. N.
Member of presidium CC CP Azerb. SSR, 21. s'ezd, 1956.

Bak. Rab. 1/26/56

7: Columbia U. S-4, 5 1956 RHl Caucasia

RHl

645
625 1 Tsereteli, S.S.
Former deputy People's Commissar and deputy Minister for Internal Affairs. Executed Nov. 1955, for alleged treason, counter-revolutionary crimes, for bringing false accusations ("slanderous evidence" against Ordzhonikidze); tried under Soviet criminal code 58 (high treason) in Sept. 1955 in Tiflis by military collegium of Soviet Supreme Court, headed by Lieut. Gen. A.A Cheptsov.

NYT
Zaria Vost.

535
1 Tsignadze, Vera Varlamovna
Stalin prize 2. class, 1950 for ballet role in Gorda ballet.

Laur. Stalin. prem. 1950
p. 81

646
645 1
665 Tsimakuridze, Kondratii Sokratovich
Deputy to Sov. Nats. VS SSSR (4. s'ezd, 1954). Born in Tlukhi, 1904-1937-1947 narodnyi komissar finansov Gruz. SSR. 1953- minister finansov Gruz. SSR. Member CC CP Gruz. SSR.

Bak. Rab. 2/19/54
Zar. Vost. 2/13/54

7: Columbia U: S-4,5 1956 RHl Caucasia
RHl

815
759 1 Tsinamzgvarishvili, M.D., 1884-
Member of Akad. nauk Gruz. SSR; cardiologist.

Knizh. Let. 1955, No. 5:59

646
1 Tsitlidze, Givi Akakievich
Deputy to Sov. Nats. VS SSSR (4. s'ezd, 1954)

Bak. Rab. 3/19/54

665
204 1
647 Tsivtsivadze, Il'ia Venediktovich, 1881-. Soviet party official; organized illegal typography in Batum and Tiflis during revolution. Edited Bolshevik paper Dro. 1917-1920 member of Moskovskii komitet. 1930-31 president of Mosmiasoprom.

BE I 60:675

665
2041 Tskhakaia, Mikhail Grigor'evich (also, Mikha, Barsov, Leonov, Gurgen), 1865- Party member since 1898. 1917-1920 member of Tiflis komitet CP. Member of Tsentre. ispol. komitet of Transcaucasus; Member of 11, 13, 15-16 party congresses. Was one of the editors of Kavkazskii rabochii, in 1917-8.

BE I 60:779-781

7: Columbia U. S-4, 5 1956 RHl Caucasia

RHl

331
3(1?) Tsuleiskir, Georgii Vasil'evich
Stalin prize 2. class, 1950 for certain type of construction work.

Laur. Stalin. prem. 1950
p. 44

536
5 Tubaev, M.
20. c. Kabardian playwright.

BE II 19:218

646
6652 Tukhikian, Nunik Mesropovna
Deputy Sov. Nats. VS SSSR, 4. sozyv, 1954. Member CC CP Arm. SSR, 18 s'ezd, 1956.

Kom. Er. 3/19/54
1/22/56

552
5 Tukhuzhev, A.
20. c. Kabardian artist.

BE II 19:218

538
2 Tumanian, Ovannes, 1869-1923.
Armenian poet, humanist, dramatist. Wrote poem: Anush, Gikor, etc. Many of his songs were used in operatic themes.

BE I 55:146

242
1 Ugrekhelidze, Petr Pavlovich
Stalin prize 2. class, 1950 for better cotton production.

Laur. Stalin. prem. 1950
p. 55

165
3 Unanov, B. T.
CC CP Azerb. SSR, 20. s'ezd, 1954.

646
341 3 Useinov, Mikhael Aleskerovich
Deputy to Sov. Nats. VS SSSR (4. sozyv, 1954). Born in Baku, 1905-; architect, representative of Azerb. intelligentsiia (sic!); member of Akad. nauk SSSR and Akad. nauk Azerb. SSR.; since 1940 professor of architect. design. Built movie-house "Nizami", museum, state conservatorium, etc. in Baku. Stalin prize winner. Now building Akad. nauk Azerb. SSSR bldgs. in Baku; director of art and architect. inst. of Akad. nauk Azerb. SSR.

Bak. Rab. 3/19/54
2/18/54

7: Columbia U.S-4, 5 1956 RH1 Caucasia

RH1

538 3 Vekilov (pseud)
see
Vurgun, Samed Iosif (Vekilov)[1]

• 665 2 Velibekov, D. M.
Member CC CP Arm. SSR, 17.-18. s'ezd, 1954, 1956.

Kom. Er. 1/22/56

2 Velibekov, R. Kh.
Member CC CP Arm. SSR, 17.-18. s'ezd, 1954, 1956.

Kom. Er. 1/22/56

646 3 Veli-Zade, Almas Gusein kyzy
Deputy to Sov. Nats. VS SSSR (4 sozyv, 1954)

Bak. Rab. 3/19/54

538 1 Vepkhvadze, Aleksei Ivanovich, 1921-
Georgian landscape painter. Rec'd Stalin prize in 1950 for Vysylka I. V. Stalina iz Batuma v 1903 goda

Laur. Stalin. prem. 1950, p. 74
BE II 7:472

[1] [Cf. cat. 116, p. 828 -- Analyst]

7: Columbia U. S-4, 5 1956 RHl Caucasia

RHl

532
1 Vepkhvadze, Ivan Alekseevich, 1888-
Landscape painter. Did:
Na tammerforsskoi konferentsii, 1936; I. V. Stalin sredi zheleznodorozhnikov, 1949; painted many portraits (Kirov, Beriia, etc.)

BE II 7:472

646
665 3 Verdieva, Gilas Shamil kyzy
Deputy to Sov. Soiuz VS SSSR (4. s'ezd, 1954) Born in Salakhly, 1930- Cotton-picker with high quota; Member of CP since 1953. Member of presidium CC CP Azerb SSR, 21. s'ezd, 1956.

Bak. Rab. 3/18/54
2/18/54
1/26/56

665
3 Vezirov, Kh. G.
CC CP Azerb. SSR, 20. s'ezd, 1954.

3 Vezirov, S. A.
Member of presidium CC CP Azerb. SSR, 21. s'ezd, 1956.

Bak. Rab. 1/26/56

7: Columbia U, S-4, 5 1956 RH1 Caucasia

RH1

646
2422 Virabian, Ninel' Avetisovna
Deputy to Sov. Nats. VS SSSR 4. sozyv, 1954. In 1948 completed Erevan agriculture inst.; increased vegetable production in kolkhoz im. Stalina where she is employed.

Kom Er. 3/19/54
2/19/54

535 3(?) Virsaladze, Simon Bagratovich, 1909-
Choreographer of various ballets. Stalin prize in 1949 for staging Glazunov's Raimonda, and also in 1951 for Kabalevskii's Sem'ia Tarasa. Did sets to operas W. Tell, E. Onegin.

BE II 8:152-3
Laur. Stalin. prem. 1950, p. 79

665
3 Vorob'ev, P. F.
CC CP Azerb. SSR, 20.s'ezd, 1954

2 Voskanian, S. A.
Member CC CP Arm. SSR, 18.s'ezd, 1956.

Kom. Er. 1/22/56

RH1

538
646 3
665

Vurgun, Samed Iosif (Vekilov)

Born at Salakhli (Azerb), 1906- Poet; Gek Gel, collection of poetry in 1926; play Vagif (1939); drama Farkhad i Shirin (based on lines by old poet Nizami) won him Stalin prize in 1942. Translated Pushkin, Gorkii into Azerb. Deputy to 1.-3. sozyv VS SSSR and in 1954 again to Sov. Nats. VS SSSR (4.sozyv); Member of CC CP SSSR (before 1956); member of Akad. nauk Azerb. SSR. Member of presidium CC CP Azerb. SSR, 21.s'ezd, 1956.

Bak. Rab. 3/19/54
BE II 1:470 9:406-7
Bak. Rab. 1/26/56

665 2

Zakharian, V. S.

Member CC CP Arm. SSR, 17.-18. s'ezd, 1954, 1956.

Kom. Er. 1/22/56

538 2

Zarian, Nairi Egiazarovich, 1900

Armenian poet. Member of CP since 1930. Born in Turkish Armenia. Studied at Erevan univ. Wrote: V goluboi strane kanalov, 1926; Stalin, 1935; Armeniia 1937. His themes are world peace, socialism. Influenced by Maiakovskii. Comedy: Priusadebnyi uchastok, about the return home of Armenians.

BE II 16:477

7: Columbia U. S-4,5 1956 RHl Caucasia

RHl

646
665 2 Zarobian, Iakov Nikich

Deputy Sov. Nats. VS SSSR, 4. sozyv, 1954. Member CC CP Arm.SSR, 17.-18. s'ezd, 1954,1956.

Kom. Er. 3/19/54
1/22/56

646
5 Zashakueva, Shaimat Zalimgerivan

Kab. deputy Sov. Nats. VS SSSR 4. sozyv, 1954.

Pravda 3/18/54

665
3 Zevin, C. Ia.

CC CP Azerb. SSR, 20.s'ezd, 1954.

646
2 Zhiba, Zabet Mustafovich

Abkhaz, deputy Sov. Nats. VS SSSR, 4. sozyv, 1954. Born in Lidzava, 1914-kolkhoz worker; CP member since 1943.

Bak. Rab. 3/18/54

of the Assyrians, who had led the great migration. These platonic expressions of sympathy were of little help to the Assyrians. Transcaucasia was soon drawn into the turmoil of revolution and civil war and there was no Russian authority in existence which could be interested in the fate of the Assyrian people. S.U. 563 Ca. 563

It is not our task to follow up the further calvary of the Assyrians in Iraq, their recruitment into the famous Assyrian levies and the massacres of 1933 – we are concerned here only with the Russian aspect of the problem. Whilst the centre of gravity of the Assyrian nation was in Iraq, where the Mar Shimun had his residence, Soviet government circles claimed that the largest single group of Assyrians lived in the U.S.S.R. and thus, from the Russian point of view, the Assyrians had become one of the peoples of the Soviet Union.[51]

In 1935 the number of Assyrians in Russia was officially estimated at 50,000-60,000, but the 1939 census recorded not more than 20,000. They occupied eight villages in Transcaucasia and had also small colonies in Krasnodar, Rostov, Kiev, Leningrad and Moscow, where at one time over 2,000 Assyrians were counted. In all these places the Assyrians had their own national schools, and a special Assyrian section was established in the Teachers' Training College in the North Caucasus town of Armavir. Soviet Assyrians were looked after by a special Assyrian organization, 'Khoyadto', which both attended to their cultural needs and directed their mobilization for socialistic reconstruction work. S.U. 563 162

The Soviet Government found it a hard task to reconcile the Assyrian people with Bolshevik ideology, in view of their deep attachment to their ancient Nestorian Church. In April 1933, a statement of the Presidium of the Central Executive Committee complained about 'undermining activities' which class-alien exploiting elements were alleged to have carried out amongst Soviet Assyrians. These 'elements' were said to have penetrated into Assyrian collective farms and co-operatives in an attempt to dominate them. S.U. 563 771 Ca. 563 771

The régime also found fault with the communists and Communist Youth League members who had been recruited amongst the Assyrians in 'considerable numbers', for even Assyrian communists seemed to have kept faith with their nation and its rich traditions. In the middle of the thirties the authorities turned against a number of Assyrian communists who had proved to be 'prisoners of family ties', and who had defended 'class enemies' because of their Assyrian nationality. These 'communists' had denied the necessity of class struggle inside the Assyrian people since they could not see any class divisions within a nation which had concentrated all its energies on its survival.[52] Ca. 563 665 186

Soviet philologists also tried to replace the 'archaic' Syriac alphabet of the Assyrians. At first they gave them a Russian alphabet, then, in 1930, a Latin alphabet. This had to be revised two years later because it was 'unsuitable' and in the end the Russian alphabet was re-introduced. S.U. 563 212

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[1811 - 1917]



and at Batum there was trouble between the Gurian and Mingrelian workmen and the Ajars, whom the authorities proposed to employ as "blacklegs." Finally, there was a serious Armeno-Tatar outbreak at Tiflis (December 1905), and for a time the city was threatened by Tatar bands who had advanced from the Borchalu district. On the countryside the troubles assumed still more serious proportions. The Guriel[1] and Prince Eristavi were murdered on their estates, and many landowners were forced to take to flight. The railway-line was cut at various points and troop-trains were wrecked. At Ozurgeti the "Gurian Republic" was proclaimed. For several months the Government lost all control of the country between Kutais and Batum. At last, in the first months of 1906, the reaction having triumphed in Russia, a powerful force of Cossacks under the Tatar General Alikhanov marched through Mingrelia, Imeretia and Guria, and suppressed the insurrection after some difficult fighting. 669

The revolutionary movement as a whole had failed, but its suppression indicated but the end of a phase in the struggle, and, for the Caucasus, it had not been without its meagre results. The Viceroyalty was revived, and the Caucasus was accorded twenty-nine seats in the Duma.[2] The Socialists did not—as in Russia proper—boycott the elections to the first Duma, to which were elected their most prominent representatives, Jordania, Irakli Tsereteli and G. Makharadze. 643 666

The tribes of the Northern Caucasus were naturally little affected by the revolutionary movement in Russia. But the old free spirit still survived in the mountain auls in spite of the bitter suffering and ruin of Shamil's wars. The Russo-Turkish War of 1877–8 had come too soon to rouse an active response among the exhausted tribes, but in the last decade of the nineteenth century the governmental policy of expropriating the mountaineers from the most fertile districts in favour of Cossack immigrants began to revive the warlike spirit. In 1898 a serious outbreak occurred among the Chechens, and four years later the Ossets rose. The disturbances of 1904–6 occasioned a recrudescence of the old raiding habits of the mountaineers. Trains were wrecked along the railway from Vladikavkaz to Baku, and bands of Ingush Chechens threatened the environs of Vladikavkaz and Grozni. But with the reaction in Russia, order was restored in the mountains. The tribesmen in reality retained little of their former strength. The best 669

[1] Chief Prince of Guria.
[2] Reduced to nineteen at the elections for the Third Duma.

 [see cat. 116, pp 207-9 -- Analyst]

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with a wooden bar or portcullis, making passage impossible until the defenders posted there had been ousted or killed." [1] 726 361

In 1818–20 Yermolov commenced operations against the Chechens by the construction of the forts of Grozni ("Threatening") and Vnezapnaia ("Fort Surprise"), while the Armenian General Madatov reduced the Lesghian Khanates of Sheki (with Nukha), Kiuri (with Akhti), Tabasseran, Kara-Kaitagh, Kazi-Kumukh, Khuntzakh (the capital of the Avar), and Akusha (the capital of the Dargo) Khans. In 1822 the central part of the Line was advanced into the Kabardan country, and the tribesmen, ravaged by a fourteen-years' plague, were reduced with cruel severity. Two years later the Chechens were attacked, but succeeded in inflicting several small defeats on the Russians. 175

The tribes were thoroughly roused by the brutal methods of the Russians, who had marched over their hills, burning auls, carrying off flocks, destroying crops and levelling trees, and there now arose at Ghimri in Avar Daghestan two preachers, Kazi [2] Mullah and Sheikh Shamil, who initiated a movement, Muridism, which at first advocated religious reform, temperance and the cessation of blood-feuds, but soon developed into a fierce agitation, at once religious and political, against the Russians. A common danger had at last united the warring tribes, and the leaders of the movement appealed to that fanatical religious feeling which alone could bind together peoples lacking common national traditions and ideals. Shamil was the more remarkable, although Kazi Mullah, until his death, overshadowed him as Imam, or secular head of the Murids. Desperately brave, a devoted husband and father, Shamil was at the same time cruel, treacherous, and jealous of the success of his subordinate chiefs. He frequently showed himself not only a skilful partisan-leader but a clever strategist, while his success in uniting the tribes was due as much to his administrative and organising ability as to his personal magnetism and power of rousing the religious fervour of the mass of the mountaineers by rhetoric and by a clever assumption of religious sanctity. In the latter respect he has been compared to Muhammad, for he showed a deep knowledge of psychology and an understanding of dramatic effect in the mysterious ceremonies, personal flagellations and supposed communings with the Prophet by which he imposed on the credulity and ignorance of his followers. But as his courage, organising ability and cunning laid the foundations of his 175 668 159

[1] Baddeley, ch. xxxii.

[2] Properly Ghazi.

5: Allen H-4 (no date) 1923 RH1 Caucasia RH1



175 success, so his cruelty, tyranny, injustice, jealousy and nepotism encompassed his downfall. He alone was responsible for the
●668 resistance against the best troops and generals of Russia during
159 more than twenty-five years, but he too by his exactions and merciless discipline destroyed the *moral* of the mountaineers and the prestige of the Murids, and brought about the development of that state of mind which eventually made the tribes whom he had led in victory and defeat ready to desert him and to submit to Russian rule.

175 The history of the Russian war against the mountaineers is largely one of raids and counter-raids, of cruel destruction
726 of crops and villages, of massacres and desperate sieges. In
668 outline it may be divided into three phases: (1) 1829–39—including the campaigns of the first and second Imams, Kazi Mullah (1825–32) and Hamzad Beg (1832–4), the election of Shamil as third Imam and the apparent extinction of his power after the Russian capture of his stronghold Akhulgo (1839): (2) 1840–49—covering the period of Shamil's greatest victories, when his authority extended from the Caspian to the Daryal and from Elisu to the walls of Grozni; and (3) 1850–59—when Shamil's popularity was gradually waning, and when the Russians were encroaching into the hitherto impassable mountains by a plan of campaign directed rather against nature than against Shamil, which comprehended the systematic levelling of forests and building of roads and bridges.

Space fails us wherein to describe the operations and the desperate fighting that took place during the first two of these periods. But an account of an eye-witness of the destruction of the great aul of Germenchug may be taken as showing the typical and magnificent courage of the mountaineers and the difficulties with which the Russians had to contend. "When the aul was in flames," says the narrator, "the Russian commander proposed to grant quarter to the survivors. The defenders listened to the proposal, conferred together for some minutes, and then a half-naked Chechen, black with smoke, came out and made a short speech, followed by a volley from all the loopholes. What he said was to this effect: 'We want no quarter; the only grace we ask of the Russians is to let our families know that we died as we lived, refusing submission to a foreign yoke.' Orders were now given to fire the houses from all sides. The sun had set and the picture of destruction and ruin was lighted only by the red glow of the flames. The Chechens, firmly resolved to die, set up their death-song, loud at first, but sinking lower and lower as their

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numbers diminished under the influence of fire and smoke." "With hearts like stones," concludes the narrator, "the victors sought the refuge of their tents; and maybe more than one in the depth of his being asked himself, why must such things be? Is there no room for all on this earth, without distinction of speech or faith?" [1]

During the third period (1850–59) the Russians confined themselves to the reduction of the Murids by slower but very efficacious means. In the south they built forts to protect the native States from all invasions; on the north they gradually advanced through Chechnia, and pursued a persistent policy of destroying the forests and of removing the mountain population to the northern steppe. At the same time Shamil's influence was waning. His tyranny bore heavily upon the villagers who, further, were weary of the constant warfare of a nature very different from their traditional raids; and his jealousy and nepotism alienated his lieutenants, the most famous of whom, Haji Murad, deserted to the Russians in 1851, as the result of a plot formed by Shamil against his life.

Simultaneously with the campaign against the eastern tribes the Russians had been engaged in long and tedious hostilities with the Cherkesses and Abkhazians. But the fighting in the Western Caucasus at no time attained to the intensity of that in Daghestan.

The Crimean War, which broke out in 1853, failed even to revive the fortunes of Shamil. The gross incompetence of the Turkish commanders in Armenia gave him little opportunity for co-operation, and he confined himself to two inconsiderable raids into Kakhetia. On the west the British fleet bombarded the Cossack posts along the coast, which afforded some relief to the Cherkesses, who still maintained a guerrilla war there.

In the autumn of 1855 a Turkish army of 20,000 men, under Omar Pasha, landed at Sukhum Kale, and after defeating a small Russian force on the Ingur advanced on Kutais. But the autumn rains made further operations by the badly-equipped Turkish army impossible, while the Mingrelians—much to the disgust of Laurence Oliphant, who was accompanying Omar—received the Turks with marked lack of enthusiasm. Omar reached Sugdidi, but was compelled to retire into winter quarters at Sukhum, whence his troops were withdrawn on the conclusion of the war.

At that time anti-Russian feeling was strong in England,

[1] Baddeley, pp. 373–4.

At that time anti-Russian feeling was strong in England
175 and a number of fantastic propositions for the dismemberment
648 of the Muscovite Empire were being published. So influential a man as Lord Stratford de Redcliffe advocated the creation of an independent Circassia at the time of the Treaty of Paris, and in 1862 a number of enthusiastic public meetings at Dundee, Preston and elsewhere welcomed Cherkess deputies, who had come to England to petition the intervention of the Queen. But these efforts were of no avail. The Kars and Ingur campaigns had convinced responsible British statesmen that it was too late to attempt to retard the Russian absorption of the Caucasus, and the Treaty of Paris, by ignoring "the Circassian Question," gave the sanction of Europe to the Russian
175 position in those regions.

[66] In 1859 Shamil, deserted by his followers, and surrounded
[59] by Russian forts, was driven from his last stronghold, Veden. Accompanied only by a hundred faithful *murtazeks*, he fled to the mountainous aul of Gunib in Southern Daghestan, where he subsequently surrendered.[1] The war-weary mountaineers had everywhere laid down their arms; the Russian conquest of the Eastern Caucasus was complete.

Five years later, in 1864, the last resistance of the Cherkesses
175 and Abkhazians was crushed. Nearly 500,000 of these un-
727 fortunate people, together with 100,000 Chechens, emigrated subsequently to Turkey, where the greater number died of disease and starvation.[2] They left their mountain homes a desert, but their place was gradually filled by Bohemian and Cossack immigrants.

During the Russo-Turkish War of 1877–8 there was some unrest amongst the remnants of the western tribes, but Turkish attempts to raise a general insurrection of the Mussulman mountaineers were ineffectual. As a result of the war, the Russians, by the Treaty of Berlin (1878), obtained almost the last remaining areas inhabited by the Caucasian races, Batum and the Ajar hills.

[1] After exile at Kaluga and Kiev, he died on a pilgrimage, at Medina, in 1871.

[66] [2] Some thousand Cherkesses—Chapsughs, Ulikhs, Kabardans and Abkhazians—are settled in the vilayet of Sivas, others in that of Bitlis. The Chechens, after causing much trouble in the vilayets of Kars and Erzerum, finally scattered about the region of Bitlis, Van and Mush, while others settled in the vilayet of Diarbakr.

2 [i.e., during the Crimean War -- Analyst]

5: Allen H-4 (no date) 1923 RH1 Caucasia RH2

[181.-1917]



Machabeli, who founded a daily paper. The style of this school was for the most part romantically patriotic, and it appealed primarily to the large and impoverished aristocratic class; but of all its disciples Ilia Chavchavadze alone had a following among the people. In general, the Russian Government had little to fear from the patriotic movement of the nobles; the majority of them served faithfully, some with distinction, in the Georgian regiments which played an important part in the Caucasian Campaign of 1877–8. Finally, the incorporation, in 1884, of the hitherto distinct Georgian army in the general military organisation of the Russian Empire marked the disappearance of the last remnant of the independence of the Georgian kingdom.

With the economic development of Transcaucasia the subversive social doctrines already spreading among the workmen of European Russia reached the Caucasus, and the Tiflis administration was confronted with a movement more real and more dangerous than the sentimental romanticism of the native princes. In 1870 European capital began to exploit Baku, and in the same year operations were begun at the great manganese deposits of Chiaturi. The construction of a railway line from Poti to Tiflis had been begun in 1867, and in 1883 this line was continued to Baku. In 1884 foreign capital, chiefly that of the Rothschilds, began to build a port at Batum. During the following thirty years the industrialisation of the Caucasus proceeded. Baku became one of the greatest petroleum centres of the world; further deposits of oil were exploited at Maikop and Grozni; another railway soon linked these towns with the Black Sea, the Caspian and Baku, and Russian, Armenian and foreign companies hastened to undertake the working of the rich manganese and copper deposits and the export of the silk, cotton, timber and wine of the country.

This sudden development soon produced the most complicated problems; antagonisms social and racial were presented in an acute form. The oil-towns were the foci of these antagonisms and the scene of the more sanguinary events of 1904–6, but the conditions there reacted on, and were reproduced in a lesser degree in, Georgia. Foreign capitalism was more than usually aggressive, as it believed itself to be operating in a new country where it was in a position to exploit cheap and inexhaustible supplies of uneducated native labour; and a sudden transition from feudalism to industrialism had created a labouring class the more dangerous because it could

5: Allen ~~11-4~~ (no date) 1923 RH1 Caucasia RH2

[1911-1917]



177.66 668 receive without assimilating all the latest doctrines of the semi-emancipated workers of Western Europe. And the great mass of casual labour—Gurians, Imeretians and Mingrelians—which flocked back to the villages every few months from the copper and manganese mines or the docks and oilcase factories at Batum, carried with them into the countryside the ill-comprehended doctrines of Marx and Engels which some agitator had muttered into their bucolic ears a few days before.

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[see cat. 116, pp 206-7 -- Analyst]

Chechens. They at first accepted the leadership of the Sheikh Uzun 669
Hadji who proclaimed himself Imam and Emir of the Northern Caucasus. The Emir was the ally of the communists in the struggle against the White Guards of General Denikin. Having vanquished the White armies, the Bolsheviks dropped the Imam, but they were unable to cope with Chechen nationalism. The Chechens demanded the expulsion of all Russians who in the course of the last century had settled in their 'living space'. Pending a positive answer to this request Chechen nationalist bands terrorized the Russian population of the area beyond endurance. In the early twenties the Russian settlers in Chechenia sent a complaint to Moscow on account of the endless raids and murders perpetrated by Chechen bands, and petitioned that they be disarmed. Mikhail Kalinin went personally to the Caucasus and attempted to calm down both Russians and Chechens. With carefully chosen words he tried to persuade them to live together in peace, to intermarry and to respect each other's customs.[6]

Whilst in consequence of Kalinin's personal intervention banditry 668
stopped in Chechenia, it would seem that Moslem opposition to the Soviet régime was never quite suppressed. In 1931 the little country still had 2,675 mosques and Arab schools, as well as 1,250 mullahs, 34 sheikhs and 250 religious elders. The mullahs who were powerful opponents of the Soviet régime even managed to keep alive the illegal [692]
Shariah courts which were camouflaged as 'reconciliation commissions'.

The hostile attitude of the Chechens towards the Soviet Russian régime was often manifested in the readiness to credit the most fantastic anti-Russian rumours. Thus, in the early thirties, there existed a widespread belief that Kunta Hadji – the head of a popular Moslem sect who [695]
had died at the end of the nineteenth century – was still alive and was soon to return to Chechenia, where he would found a State based on Moslem religious law. Apparently the Chechens did not differentiate between Czarist and Bolshevik Russia in their hopes that Kunta Hadji would appear as Messiah, for it was he who had led them in the risings against Czarism in 1864 and 1877, for which he was exiled to Novgorod.

The Ingush, whose fate Soviet policy had coupled with that of the 771
Chechens, showed themselves no less loyal to Islam. A delegate who 871
represented Ingushetia at the 'Second All-Union Conference of Godless Pedagogists' in 1931, stated that the influence of the Moslem clergy was still so strong among the Ingush that children refused to learn from books which they believed to be anti-religious. Whenever a teacher tried to introduce anti-religious propaganda he encountered a hostile attitude among school children and there were cases in which teachers had even to leave the school for having criticized Islam. The work of the secular Soviet schools, where the children were taught in the winter, was counteracted by the Moslem schools where the young Ingush would learn

21: Kolarz J-4 (no date) 1952 R1 Soviet Union R1
[Osset] Caucasia RH1


Ca. 175 177
actions against the Turks. An Ossetin Major-General, K. Zankisov, fought in Poland against the insurgents of 1863–4 and he was by no means the only Ossetin Major-General of that epoch. Furthermore, an 'Ossetin Division' became famous in the course of the Russo-Turkish War in 1877–8, when General Skobelev described its 'chivalrous gallantry' as being 'above any praise'.[12]

Ca. 177 538
Russian cultural work among the Ossetins started much earlier than among other mountain peoples. The first book to appear in the Ossetin language was printed in Moscow in 1798; its object was to serve as a kind of introduction to the study of the Bible. A long period of fruitful association with the Russians and the general peaceful approach of the Ossetins towards Russian military and political rule made them more open to the acceptance of Russian preponderance. The Ossetins were, as a matter of fact, the only people of the Northern Caucasus to produce a great writer in the person of Kosta Khetagurov (1859-1906) who was half Russianized himself and wrote in both the Ossetin and Russian languages. The Soviet régime greatly popularized Khetagurov as a symbol of Russian-Ossetin synthesis, which he undoubtedly was. He had a complete Russian education, had studied at St. Petersburg and was strongly influenced by such progressive Russian writers as Herzen and Chernishevsky, which makes him particularly acceptable from the Soviet point of view.

Ca. 423 648 474 681
Until the Ossetins gave proof of their loyalty to Russia during the war the Soviet régime had had to overcome Ossetin resistance to both the establishment of collective farms and the suppression of tribal customs. During the period of the collectivization Ossetin peasants waged a sort of guerilla warfare against 'socialist property' and while outwardly accepting collectivization, tried to transform the Kolkhoz into an instrument of their respective clans. Ossetin chairmen of collective farms and officials of local Soviets seem to have acted on the principle 'I decide who is a kulak and an enemy of the State and who is not'. Thus, at least during its initial stage, collectivization in Ossetia became a downright farce. Persons belonging to a rival clan were rendered innocuous by being denounced as kulaks; real kulaks, on the other hand, were promoted to the rank of respectable Soviet citizens if they happened to belong to the clan dominating the local village council or the collective farm concerned.[13]

Ca. [725] 631 162 S.U. 563 634
All such 'incidents' were forgotten when the Ossetins redeemed their reputation by their brilliant war record. In the fighting which resulted in the dislodgement of the Germans from the approaches to the Caucasus, Ossetin partisans operating from behind the enemy lines greatly assisted the Red Army.[14] As a mark of appreciation for their loyalty, the Soviet Government allowed the Ossetins to increase substantially the territory of their national republic. A decree of April 8th, 1944, stipulated

5: Allen H-4 (no date) 1923 RH1 Caucasia RH1

[1811 - 1917]



643 power, which gave him in effect the position of an autocratic
631 monarch during the period of his viceroyalty. From 1882 to 1905 the administration was yet further centralised by the substitution for the Viceroy of a Governor-General, directly controlled by a Caucasian Committee at St. Petersburg. A civil Governor subordinate to the Viceroy or Governor-General ruled each Province, with the exception of those of Daghestan, Sukhum, Batum and Kars, where the Governor was a military officer. The Provinces were divided into districts, governed by officials bearing the title *nachalnik*, and the districts were divided into communes (*volost*), where the chief authority was a native elder (*volostnoi starshina*) elected by the community and assisted by a headman of each village (*starosh*). With regard to the law, small cases were tried by local magistrates; those involving more than 2,000 roubles by Russian judges in the district courts.

It will thus be seen that while the Russian administrative
186 machine provided for a degree of local autonomy, the natives
469 had no influence on the conduct of Caucasian or even of provincial affairs. But this system was suitable enough to the mass of the peasantry who, under native rule, had lain in still deeper servitude. The Tatar peasantry, particularly, after the termination of the national struggle for independence, reconciled themselves to Russian rule. The Georgian aristocracy, still inspired by some glimmerings of sentimental patriotism, and resenting at once the supremacy of the Russian bureaucracy, the decline of their own feudal powers, and the steady growth of an Armenian bourgeoisie, alone of all the elements in the Transcaucasus continued to foster a vivid resentment against the existing régime. The Russian policy of Russification, the chief incidents of which were the subjecting of the Georgian Autocephalous Church to the Holy Synod (1811) and the abolition of the autonomy of Svanetia (1833) and of Mingrelia (1867), roused them more than once to sporadic revolt. Thus risings, partly nationalist and partly agrarian in character, in which members of the nobility led the peasant bands, took place at different dates—in Imeretia (1821), in Guria (1822) and in Mingrelia (1857).

During the same period, and parallel with the political
538 discontent, the patriotic literary revival, initiated during the
186 previous century by Vakhtang VI and Prince Vakhusht, was developed, and a school arose of aristocratic journalists and poets, chief of whom were Alexander and Ilia Chavchavadze, Giorgi Eristavi (a Decabrist), Grigor Orbelian and Ivané

5: Allen H-4 (no date) 1923 RH1 Caucasia RH2

[1911-1917]



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[see cat. 116, pp 206-7 -- Analyst]

5: Allen H-4 (no date) 1923 RH1 Caucasus RH1

[1811 - 1917]



and at Batum there was trouble between the Gurian and Mingrelian workmen and the Ajars, whom the authorities proposed to employ as "blacklegs." Finally, there was a serious Armeno-Tatar outbreak at Tiflis (December 1905), and for a time the city was threatened by Tatar bands who had advanced from the Borchalu district. On the countryside the troubles assumed still more serious proportions. The Guriel[1] and Prince Eristavi were murdered on their estates, and many landowners were forced to take to flight. The railway-line was cut at various points and troop-trains were wrecked. At Ozurgeti the "Gurian Republic" was proclaimed. For several months the Government lost all control of the country between Kutais and Batum. At last, in the first months of 1906, the reaction having triumphed in Russia, a powerful force of Cossacks under the Tatar General Alikhanov marched through Mingrelia, Imeretia and Guria, and suppressed the insurrection after some difficult fighting. 669

The revolutionary movement as a whole had failed, but its suppression indicated but the end of a phase in the struggle, and, for the Caucasus, it had not been without its meagre results. The Viceroyalty was revived, and the Caucasus was accorded twenty-nine seats in the Duma.[2] The Socialists did not—as in Russia proper—boycott the elections to the first Duma, to which were elected their most prominent representatives, Jordania, Irakli Tsereteli and G. Makharadze. 643 666

The tribes of the Northern Caucasus were naturally little affected by the revolutionary movement in Russia. But the old free spirit still survived in the mountain auls in spite of the bitter suffering and ruin of Shamil's wars. The Russo-Turkish War of 1877–8 had come too soon to rouse an active response among the exhausted tribes, but in the last decade of the nineteenth century the governmental policy of expropriating the mountaineers from the most fertile districts in favour of Cossack immigrants began to revive the warlike spirit. In 1898 a serious outbreak occurred among the Chechens, and four years later the Ossets rose. The disturbances of 1904–6 occasioned a recrudescence of the old raiding habits of the mountaineers. Trains were wrecked along the railway from Vladikavkaz to Baku, and bands of Ingush Chechens threatened the environs of Vladikavkaz and Grozni. But with the reaction in Russia, order was restored in the mountains. The tribesmen in reality retained little of their former strength. The best 669

[1] Chief Prince of Guria.
[2] Reduced to nineteen at the elections for the Third Duma.

 [see cat. 116, pp 207-9 -- Analyst]

5: Allen H-4 (no date) 1923 RH1 Caucasia RH1

[1811-1917]



669 of their youths had been drawn to the oil-wells at Maikop, Grozni and Baku, and those who remained were no match for disciplined troops armed with rifles and machine-guns. After the Young Turkish Revolution of 1908 an effort was made by the many Caucasians in Turkey to revivify the hostility to the Russian Government, and an "Association of Political Émigrés from the Caucasus in Turkey" was formed at Constantinople, to be replaced later by a "Committee of the Caucasus." The movement was no doubt encouraged by the Young Turkish Government as a part of their general Pan-Turanian—Pan-Islamic policy, but it had little strength or significance.

*The War and the Revolution* (1914–17).—On the outbreak of 669 the European War the Young Turks made an attempt to de- 648 tach from Russia some of the Caucasian national groups. The attempt was to a great extent abortive. The Social Democratic leaders of opinion in the Caucasus were in theory loyal to the Empire. A Georgian, a certain Leo Kerezelidze, did indeed form a "Committee for the Liberation of Georgia" at Constantinople, which proceeded to sign a secret treaty with Turkey, but it was entirely unrepresentative of any Georgian political group. Among the Muhammadan mountain-tribes the Turks found a limited degree of support. The Ajars rose in an unsuccessful attempt to support Enver's Sarikamish offensive (December 1914), and at the end of 1915 a Delegation, including the Georgian Machabeli, the Tatar Selim Beg Bebutov and two Turkish officers, Issa Pasha, a Lesghian, and Ali Fuad Pasha, a Circassian, proceeded to Berlin, to present a Memorandum demanding the assistance of the Central Powers in the formation of a quadruple Caucasian Confederation.

The outbreak of the Russian Revolution in March 1917 was welcomed with enthusiasm in the Transcaucasus. The Social Democrats, who represented the mass of public opinion, were theoretically anti-nationalist, and supported the conception of a Federated Russian Republic. Indeed the most prominent of them were interested rather in Russian than in Transcaucasian politics. A "Special Transcaucasian Committee" representing the four principal nationalities replaced the Viceroy, the Grand Duke Nicholas Nicholaevich, at Tiflis, but the real power reposed in the newly-formed Councils of Workmen's and Soldiers' Deputies, dominated by the Social Democrats.

669 As the disintegration of the central power in Russia proceeded, disunion developed in the Caucasus. The Social

5: Allen H-4 (no date) 1923 RH1 Caucasia RH1

[1811-1917]



Democrats, Georgians, Armenians and Tatars, in spite of their internationalist ideals, soon became involved in the real and bitter racial antagonisms of the uneducated mass of the Christian and Mussulman peasantry. And the situation was further complicated, on the one hand by the intrigues of the Mussulman parties with the Turkish Command and by the effects of the propaganda of Turkish agents; on the other by the anti-Mussulman violence of the Armenian Dashnakists and by the reflex on Tatar-Armenian relations of the reciprocal atrocities committed by Mussulmans and Christians in the war-area of Turkish Armenia. 669

It was in the Northern Caucasus that a separatist movement first assumed definite form in the proclamation of the autonomous "Union of the Peoples of the Northern Caucasus" at Vladikavkaz in May 1917. But in Transcaucasia separatist tendencies were soon afterwards manifested in the demand for the reunion of all Armenian and Georgian contingents on the Polish front, and their concentration in the Caucasus.

The Bolshevist *coup d'état* at Petrograd in October 1917 marked the opening of the next phase of the Revolution. In the Northern Caucasus the conservative leaders of the North Caucasus Union naturally repudiated the Soviet Government, and associated themselves with the "South-eastern Union" formed by Messrs. Miliukov, Guchkov and Kharlamov, Gen. Alexeiev, and the Hetman of the Don Cossacks, Gen. Kalédin. The South-eastern Union made a desperate effort to reconcile the growing differences of the Cossacks and the mountaineers —differences which had already resulted in fighting—by engaging the former to cede certain disputed districts. The result was the defection of the Terek Cossacks who, in conjunction with Bolshevist troops returning from the Turkish front, attacked the mountaineers. On December 2, the independence of the "Union of the Mountaineers" was proclaimed, and a Provisional Government, at the head of which was a wealthy Chechen landowner, Colonel Tapa Chermoiev, was formed pending the convocation of a Russian Constituent Assembly. An organisation of local tribal autonomy was established, and the seat of the central authority was fixed at Vladikavkaz. 669 642

At the beginning of 1918, however, Bolshevist and Cossack forces advanced along the railway-line from Mineralnaia Vody to Beslan, and the mountaineers, who lacked munitions, were forced, after some severe fighting, to withdraw from Vladikavkaz and Grozni, and to remove their capital first to Nazran and later to Temir-Khan-Shura.

5: Allen H-4 (no date) 1923 RH1 Caucasia RH1



669 In the Transcaucasus a Social Democratic "Commissariat" had superseded the "Caucasian Committee" at Tiflis. This
642 body, which represented all nationalities (three Georgians, three Armenians, three Tatars and two Russians) was presided over by the Georgian Gegéchkori. It drew its authority from a "Transcaucasian Seim" composed of the Caucasian members of the recently elected All-Russian Constituent Assembly, with the further addition of two members for each original one, the various parties increasing their membership in proportion to the last election figures. Further, the Commissariat and Seim worked in conjunction with the various Workmen's, Soldiers' and Municipal Councils, and with Georgian, Armenian and Tatar "National Committees."

In spite, however, of this inevitable organisation on nationalist lines, the Commissariat still endeavoured to maintain the co-operation of the different races and the principle of unity with Russia; and at the Georgian National Congress in November 1917 the Georgian Social Democratic leaders Jordania and Chenkeli emphasised these principles.

## VI

### RECENT HISTORY

726 As in Russia, the most urgent necessity for Georgia was the conclusion of an early peace. The Turkish commander on the
648 Turko-Caucasian front, Ferik Mehmed Vehib Pasha, proposed a cessation of hostilities at the beginning of December, in accordance with the action of the German General Staff on the Polish front, and on December 14 General Prjevalski, who still held nominal command of the Russo-Caucasian troops, signed an armistice at Erzinjan. During the following month the anarchy behind the Russian lines increased. Turkish agents were active in the Muhammadan districts of Transcaucasia, encouraging the Tatars and Ajars to attack the disorganised bodies of Russian troops who were making their way home through Transcaucasia. Armenian bands were attacking Turkish villages in the Russian area, and were preparing a desperate resistance to the Turkish advance.

In mid-January 1918 the Ottoman Government made a further *démarche*, addressing itself now to the "Independent Transcaucasian Government," which it invited to participate in the Brest-Litovsk negotiations. It was a development of the Turkish policy, revealed at the outbreak of war, of constructing

7:Columbia U. S-4, 5 1956 RH1 Caucasia
RH1

665 3 Filiashkin, K. I.
CC CP Azerb. SSR, 20. sezd, 1954

669 3 Fioletov, Ivan Timofeevich (Vania)
1884-1918. Azerb. revolutionary. One of the 26 Bakinskie komissary, organizer of Bakinskaia kommuna. Bol'shevik since 1903. After February revolution elected to Ispol. komit. sovet. Fought against Mensheviks, dashnaky and mussavisty. Komissar and president of Sovet narod. khoziaist. in Baku; member of Kavkazskii krai. kometet bol'shevikov. Executed in 1918.

BE I 57:630

641 5 Firsov, Vasilii Nikiforovich
Cherkes. deputy Sov. Nats. VS SSSR 4. sozyv, 1954

Pravda 3/18/54

4 Fomicheva, Efrosin'ia Alekseevna
Dag. deputy Sov. Nats. VS SSSR 4. sozyv, 1954
Pravda 3/18/54

538 1 Gabashvili, Ekaterina Revazovna
1851-1938. Born in Gori. Wrote on peasant themes and stood for feminist movements.
BE II 13:77

•669 2 Gukasian, Gukas Ogasenovich, 1899-1920 Armenian revolutionary; born in Kalara, near Erevan. Since 1917 Bol'shevik. Fought Mensheviks and dashnaks. His monument in Erevan.

BE II 13:189

665 2 Gukasian, Z.O.
Member CC CP Arm. SSR, 17.-18. s'ezd, 1954, 1956

Kom. Er. 1/22/56

536 2 Gulakian, Armen Karapetovich, 1899- Armenian producer and dramatist. People's artist of Armenia. Deputy to VS SSSR 2.-3. sozyv. Member of CP since 1941. Born in Tiflis. Chief producer of Sundukian theater in Erevan. Produced there: Lermontov's Maskarad, Gorkii's Na dne. Stalin prize in 1946 and 1950.

BE II 13:190

792 2 Gulian, M. T.
Member of Collegium of Armenian Supreme Court.

401 2 Guliants, Enovk Airapetovich
Stalin prize, 3. degree 1950 machine engineer.

Laur. Stalin prem. 1950 p. 25

316 3(?) Kamladze, Aleksandr Artem'evich
Stalin prize 1. class
Mining engineer

Laur. Stalin. prem. 1950
p. 34

• 669 3(?) Kamo (pseud.) Party-pseudonym of Ter-Petrosian, Semën Arshakovich Born in Gori, 1882-1922. Prof. revolutionary. Died in car accident. Collaborated with Stalin.

BE II 19:543

242 1 Kanchaveli, L.
Director of the Institute of plant protection of Akad. nauk, SSR Gruz., 1954

Zar. Vost. 2/17/54

538 2 Kaputikian, Sil'va Barunakovna 1919- . Armenian poetess, born in Erevan. Stalin prize in 1952. Wrote Vera, Esli vdrug pozuvut menia, etc.

BE II 20:90

646 2 Karapetian, Sashibek Airapetovich
Deputy Sov. Nats. VS SSSR, 4. sozyv, 1954.

Kom. Er. 3/19/54

665
646
643

1935-7 people's commissar of Azerb. social security. Deputy to VS SSSR 1.-2. sozyv. 1938-1948 president of VS Azerb. SSR presidium.

BE II 20:346

645 3

Kasumov, Salim Kasumovich
Minister of local industry, Azerb. 1954.

Bak. Rab. 3/10/54

• 669 2

Katanian, R. P.
One of the signers of a letter to Pravda. One of the old members of the 1905 revolution, formerly described in Soviet propaganda as the chief of "nationalist opposition" group in Armenia. For almost a generation his name had not appeared in the official press.

NYT 3/12/56

669 3(1?)
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648

Kavtaradze, S. I.
(no dates, place) Order of Lenin, of Red Labor flag. Educated in Leningr. Univ. (law degree). Engaged in revolutionary work in Baku 1903. On editorial staff of Pravda 1913-14. Return to Caucasus in 1918. Chairman of the Council of People's Commissars of Georgia, 1921-22. Legal

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648

counselor to Turkey 1923-4; chief of Middle East Dept. of Ministry of Foreign Affairs 1941-3; deputy of Ministry of Foreign Affairs 1943-5; ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary to Rumania since 1945.

World Dipl. Dir. 1950, page 853

665 2 Kazarian, V. A.
Member CC CP Arm. SSR, 18.s'ezd 1956.

Kom. Er. 1/22/56

538 1 Kediashvili, D.
1862-1931. Georgian writer. Wrote: Solomon Morbeladze, 1894; Machekha Samanishvili, 1897; Nevzgody Kamushadze, 1900.

BE II 13:78

325 3(?) Kekelidze, Ivan Grigor'evich
Stalin prize 3. class, for work in metallurgy (1950).

Laur. Stalin. prem. 1950
p. 32

814 1 Kekelidze, Konrelii Samsonovich
1879-. Georgian academician, philologian. Wrote: Istoriia

814 2 Malkhasian, S.
Worked on Tolkovyi slovar' armianskogo iazyka, in 4 vol.
Stalin prize.

BE II 3:80

665 2 Maltsev, E. E.
Member CC CP Arm. SSR, 18.s'ezd, 1956.

Kom. Er. 1/22/56

815 665 3 Mamedaliev, Iu. G.
President of Azerb. Akad. nauk; Member of presidium CC CP Azerb. SSR 21.s'ezd, 1956.

BE II 26:189
Bak. Rab. 1/26/56

• 669 3 Mamed'iarov, Mamed, 1875-1933.
Professional revolutionary born near Baku. Took part in Baku strikes in 1903, organized Baku proletarians. 1922-27 narodnyi komissar of social security of Azerb. 1922-29 head of propaganda bureau of Azerb. oil industry.

BE II 26:190

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S.U. 631 563 Ca. 692 E47

duction of their languages for official use. In other words, the Soviet nationalities policy in the Northern Caucasus remained unsuccessful, and an endless stream of statements, ordinances and recommendations issued by the Presidium of the Central Executive Committee (TsIK) in Moscow had been unable to remedy the situation to any major extent. On May 10th, 1931, for instance, TsIK circulated a decree to the effect that Soviet nationalities policy in the Northern Caucasus should operate at a quicker pace. The decree stipulated that by the end of 1932 at least 70 per cent of officials in the Autonomous Provinces should be recruited from among the local nationalities, and that local languages should be introduced into the administration. On July 5th, 1934, TsIK issued a statement recognizing that the decree put into force over three years earlier had remained a dead letter. A further decree which Kalinin signed on January 7th, 1936, again denounced the non-implementation of the Soviet nationalities policy in the Northern Caucasus and revealed that the Russian language dominated everywhere in local government bodies, from the provincial administration down to the village councils. Of 1,310 officials in the Northern Caucasus Territory only seventeen belonged to the mountain peoples. According to the new decree the local languages were supposed to come into official use in 1936 and 1937, but it is open to doubt whether that order had any greater practical results than its predecessors.

## THE SECOND EXODUS OF THE MOUNTAINEERS

Ca. 669 S.U. 687 672

The Russo-German War fully revealed the discrepancy existing between propaganda and reality with regard to conditions in the Northern Caucasus. One could hardly find a better example of the former than the optimistic and distorted picture which Mikhail Kalinin gave in October 1942 when the German troops were approaching the Caucasus Mountains. Kalinin then said: 'The Caucasus is the most enlightening demonstration of the reforming, beneficial effect of the Soviet sytem on the psychology and character of people who, not without reason, saw danger to themselves everywhere. The Caucasians have now become a social people who see in the collective system their bulwark, the foundation of material prosperity and a higher intellectual life. . . . The whole Caucasus has become one mountain village for its peoples. The whole Soviet land, from border to border, has become their beloved home. National enmity has given way to mutual understanding, estrangement to co-operation. . . . Is not everything that has taken place in the Caucasus during the twenty-five years of Soviet power a miracle? Yes, it is a miracle. It is that for which Lenin fought all his life, that for which Stalin fought and is fighting, that to which our party has always aspired.' And Kalinin went on to say that the peoples of the Northern Caucasus were

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[Chechen]

displaying worthy resistance to the enemy, derailing trains, blowing up bridges, destroying ammunition and fuel depots.[3]

Ca. 669 S.U. 687 672

Only a few weeks after Kalinin had made his panegyric statement little was left of the Caucasian 'miracle', and of the idyllic situation which the Soviet President had depicted. When the German armies occupied the Northern Caucasus region many mountaineers manifested their hostility towards the Soviet régime. They attempted to use the retreat of the Red Army to free themselves from what they considered the 'Russian yoke'. Over twenty years of Soviet rule had not altered their ingrained conviction that Russia's foes were their friends. These peoples apparently thought that they owed as little loyalty to Russia as the Indonesians deemed themselves to owe to the Dutch and the Vietnamese to the French when their respective countries were occupied by Japan. In the official Soviet view, of the seven peoples who in 1920 had formed the Mountain Republic four had shown themselves particularly unreliable in the crucial winter of 1942–43. They were the Chechens (407,600 according to the 1939 census), the Ingush (92,074), the Balkars (42,660) and the Karachay (75,737). After the North Caucasus region had been cleared of the invaders, the Soviet Government found itself unable to forgive these nationalities for their disloyalty or even their indifference. It also abandoned all further attempts to transform them into good citizens of the U.S.S.R.[1] and expelled them from the 'happy family of Soviet peoples'. All of them lost the special territorial administrative[2] units which the Stalin Constitution of 1936 had bestowed on them. Early in 1944 they were rounded up and deported to far away places in Siberia. For all practical purposes they ceased to exist. Thus were abolished the Chechen-Ingush Autonomous S.S.R. and the Autonomous Province of the Karachay. The Kabardinian-Balkar A.S.S.R. was transformed into the Kabardinian A.S.S.R. after having been relieved of the 'burden' of the Balkar traitors.

Soviet policy in the Northern Caucasus differed to some extent from Czarist policy since it resulted in the building of schools, theatres, libraries and hospitals, but for the four deported nationalities all this had been of little use. From their point of view there is hardly any difference between the policy of General Yermolov and that of Generalissimo Stalin. Indeed, the Soviet régime deprived at least as many Caucasian mountaineers of their homes as did the Czarist régime.

## CONTINUITY OF RUSSIAN CAUCASUS POLICY: THE CHECHENS

Ca. 563 175

The Chechens, as the most numerous nationality left in the Northern Caucasus after the emigration of the Circassians, offer a particularly good example of the continuity of Russian policy. The Large Soviet Encyclopædia rightly summed up the historical role of the Chechens by

1 [Cf. category 116, pp. 182-184, R1 Sov. Union; 21: Kolarz -- Analyst]
2 [Cf. category 116, p. 183, R1 Sov. Union; 21: Kolarz -- Analyst]

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563 175 describing them as the 'most active and strongest opponents of the Czarist Government during the conquest of the Caucasus'. The Russians suffered extensive and costly disasters at the hands of this people, who were unequalled in forest warfare.

Ever since the time of Peter the Great, the Chechens have challenged the Russian Empire, but from 1818 onwards their resistance to Russian rule assumed major proportions. In that year General Yermolov built [103] a fortress to subjugate more easily the land of the Chechens. He called the new fortress 'Grozny', meaning 'menacing' and 'formidable'. The name of Grozny had a deeper meaning than might appear at the first glance: it was the symbol of a political programme that Yermolov defined in the following words: 'I wish that the terror of my name should guard our frontiers more potently than chains of fortresses, that my word should be for the natives a law more inevitable than death'. Grozny became Yermolov's headquarters, and it was from Grozny that countless Russian expeditions set out 'to punish raiders, avenge defeats, establish new posts, relieve beleaguered garrisons, or rescue retreating bands and armies'.[4] The Russian campaign against Chechenia reached its climax in 1840, at the time of the great Chechen rising under the leadership of Imam Shamil. The breakdown of Shamil's fanatical Moslem movement led to the gradual submission of the Chechens in the years 1857-59.

175 167 The Russian authorities knew well that these new subjects of the Czar, after all the trouble they had caused, would not easily reconcile themselves to the loss of their freedom; so an attempt was made to settle the 'Chechen problem' by a double transfer of population. Immediately after the conquest the inhabitants of forty-four auls (mountain villages) were transplanted from the mountains to the plains, where they could more easily be controlled. The more rebellious ones were forced to emigrate to Turkey, where they were given hospitality on the express demand of the Russian Government. In the summer of 1865, 39,000 Chechens, one-fifth of the entire Chechen population at that date, left Russia. Those who stayed behind did not remain quiescent. In 1877 there was another wave of unrest following the outbreak of the Russo-Turkish War, and more trouble in 1886. A Russian monograph on the Chechens, published in 1894, said that they could not yet be considered 'fully pacified'; they still looked across the border to Turkey whither many more dreamed of emigrating.[5] The emigration of the 39,000 had not eliminated the 'Chechen problem', for the birthrate of these Chechens was particularly high, far above the average in the Russian Empire.

## CHECHEN-INGUSH MOSLEM OPPOSITION

669 The immediate consequence of the October Revolution in Chechenia was a revival of violent nationalism and religious fanaticism among the

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Chechens. They at first accepted the leadership of the Sheikh Uzun 669
Hadji who proclaimed himself Imam and Emir of the Northern Caucasus. The Emir was the ally of the communists in the struggle against the White Guards of General Denikin. Having vanquished the White armies, the Bolsheviks dropped the Imam, but they were unable to cope with Chechen nationalism. The Chechens demanded the expulsion of all Russians who in the course of the last century had settled in their 'living space'. Pending a positive answer to this request Chechen nationalist bands terrorized the Russian population of the area beyond endurance. In the early twenties the Russian settlers in Chechenia sent a complaint to Moscow on account of the endless raids and murders perpetrated by Chechen bands, and petitioned that they be disarmed. Mikhail Kalinin went personally to the Caucasus and attempted to calm down both Russians and Chechens. With carefully chosen words he tried to persuade them to live together in peace, to intermarry and to respect each other's customs.[6]

Whilst in consequence of Kalinin's personal intervention banditry 668
stopped in Chechenia, it would seem that Moslem opposition to the Soviet régime was never quite suppressed. In 1931 the little country still had 2,675 mosques and Arab schools, as well as 1,250 mullahs, 34 sheikhs and 250 religious elders. The mullahs who were powerful opponents of the Soviet régime even managed to keep alive the illegal Shariah courts which were camouflaged as 'reconciliation commissions'. [692]

The hostile attitude of the Chechens towards the Soviet Russian régime was often manifested in the readiness to credit the most fantastic anti-Russian rumours. Thus, in the early thirties, there existed a widespread belief that Kunta Hadji – the head of a popular Moslem sect who [695]
had died at the end of the nineteenth century – was still alive and was soon to return to Chechenia, where he would found a State based on Moslem religious law. Apparently the Chechens did not differentiate between Czarist and Bolshevik Russia in their hopes that Kunta Hadji would appear as Messiah, for it was he who had led them in the risings against Czarism in 1864 and 1877, for which he was exiled to Novgorod.

The Ingush, whose fate Soviet policy had coupled with that of the 771
Chechens, showed themselves no less loyal to Islam. A delegate who 871
represented Ingushetia at the 'Second All-Union Conference of Godless Pedagogists' in 1931, stated that the influence of the Moslem clergy was still so strong among the Ingush that children refused to learn from books which they believed to be anti-religious. Whenever a teacher tried to introduce anti-religious propaganda he encountered a hostile attitude among school children and there were cases in which teachers had even to leave the school for having criticized Islam. The work of the secular Soviet schools, where the children were taught in the winter, was counteracted by the Moslem schools where the young Ingush would learn

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671 Among the moutaineers the rights and duties of each individual and penalties for offences were regulated in detail by an unwritten body of rules (adat), which remained largely unchanged among the Christian Kartvelians, and which never quite yielded to
628 Muslim law (shariate). Among the North Caucasians, a killing - whether deliberate or accidental -- resulted in a blood feud, which could last for generations. The revenge had to be carried out by a close male relative, usually a brother or son. Friends of the blood-guilty could try to arrange a peace, and the injured family could then accept a "blood-price," which varied according to the social rank of the victim.
[608] Also, the milk-relationship[1] was considered so sacred that its establishment could end a feud. Thus among the Circassians a person guilty of blood could kidnap a young child from the injured family and bring it up; he thus became the child's atalyk and a milk-relationship was established between him and the family.

Besides manslaughter, blood feuds also resulted from abduction of married women, adultery, and from certain grave insults, e. g. throwing out of the house the kettle that was suspended over the hearth; among the Tush, who were seminomadic pastoralists, also from cattle-stealing.

681 For less serious injuries the adat prescribed in detail compensations in kind. E. g.

[1] [Cf. cat. 116, pp. 527-528 -- Analyst]

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[For a detailed comparative analysis of the customary laws (Adats) of the peoples of Northern Caucasus, particularly with respect to marriage and the family as a social-economic entity, see category 116, entire source.]

595 from polygyny is, above all, a shortage of rubles.[43] The same holds for the
593 Avars,[44] and, as we learn from Svěčin,[45] for the other Lesghians as well: the economic factor plays an important part in making polygyny relatively rare. Klaproth found the institution a veritable luxury in Ossetia, being only for the richest of the rich,[46] in full harmony with the Ossetine *adats* which reserve the
[587] right for the two richest classes, the princes and the *aldars*.[47] Grabovskij's report[48] that even the *poor* Ingushi were polygamists we have partially explained by obligatory levirate, which was just as much obligatory for the rich as for
[605] the poor. Moreover social stratification (which generally coincides with wealth and poverty) was practically non-existent during Grabovskij's visit in Ingushetia (*infra*, pp. 60 f); therefore, if polygyny is to be found among the Ingushi at all, it must be found also among the "poor" class.

[586] Easy divorce may do away with plural marriages as it did in Khevsuria and Svanetia, but in North Caucasia easy divorce plays only a very insignificant rôle compared with economic and biological factors.

## § 2. THE RULES OF ENDOGAMY AND EXOGAMY

000 Lowie defines exogamy as "the rule which prescribes that an individual must find a mate outside of his own group, whether that group be the family, the village or some other social unit."[49] The opposite rule "which makes it compulsory for a man to mate within his group is labeled endogamy." Lowie rightly stresses that it is not the *de facto* marriage within one's own group but the *prohibition* of marrying outside it that constitutes endogamy.[50]

### 1. The Impediment of Consanguinity

582 Consanguineous marriages are strictly prohibited throughout NORTH-
[614] WEST Caucasus. In his expedition of 1927 Ladyženskij ascertained that the reports of earlier writers about the abhorrence of incest among the tribes of Northwest Caucasia still exists today. Marriages between members of the same sib, regardless of the degree of remoteness, are considered incestuous.[51]

671 Among the NORTHEASTERN peoples the practice is not uniform. Ing-
582 ushian adats are by far stricter than Islamic law in regard to marriages between

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[43] *ibid.*

[44] L'vov, "Domalnjaja i semejnaja žizn Dagestanskich gorcev avarskago plemeni," SSKG, III (1870), p. 20.

[45] D. Svěčin, "Očerk narodonaselenija nravov, i obyčaev Dagestancev," ZKO, II (1853), p. 64.

[46] J. Klaproth, *Voyage au Mont Caucase et en Géorgie*, II, p. 249.

[47] *Leontovič, Adaty kavkazskich gorcev*, II, p. 12, § 10; p. 14, § 27; p. 16, § 40.

[48] "Ekonomičeskij i domalnij byt žitelej gorskago učastka inguševskago okruga," SSKG, III (1870), p. 21.

[49] R. Lowie, *Primitive Society*, p. 16.

[50] *op. cit.*, pp. 16 f.

[51] J. Reineggs, *Allgemeine historisch-topographische Beschreibung des Kaukasus*, II, p. 9; Ladyženskij, FT, p. 198.

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blood-relatives, and although the Ingushi are now Mohammedans they still insist on observing their ancient customary laws rather than the *šarī'a*.[52] The other Chechen tribes are likewise strict exogamists.[53]

The Lesghians however, unlike all other North Caucasians, are, or at least have been till recently, strict endogamists. In their insistance on marriages exclusively within the sib, the Lesghians differ not only from the other North Caucasians but also from the mountain tribes of SOUTH CAUCASIA: the Khevsurs,[54] the Pshavs,[55] the Tushi,[56] and the Svans.[57]

In this regard the Lesghians differ also from their non-Caucasian neighbours. Among the OSSETES even the remotest blood-relationship (usually all living in the same village and bearing the same family name)[58] impedes marriage.[59]

The neighbouring TARTAR tribes are also exogamous.[60] The KALMUCKS may indeed marry within their community but only with non-relatives.[61]

To come back to the Lesghians—the reliability of the reports about their still being strictly endogamous in the nineteenth century is unquestionable. Klaproth, despite his many literary thefts, is generally reliable. He assures us that the Dido "disregard all degrees of consanguinity."[62] L'vov[63] and Abercromby[64] observed the same custom among the Avars. The latter author writes, "With regard to degrees of consanguinity, an Avar is permitted to marry his first cousin or two sisters." Our most reliable sources are Kovalevskij and Egiasarov, on whom Kovalevskij largely depends.[65] In Kovalevskij's *Zakon i obyčaj na Kavkazě* we read that Cvětkov, a government official in Daghestan in 1869, maintained that in the Kurin Province absolutely no marriage was possible outside of one's own *tukhum* (sib). Sotnikov claims that such is the case

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[52] N. Jakovlev, *Ingušli*, (Moscow, 1925), p. 49.

[53] M. Kovalevskij, *Coutume contemporaine et loi ancienne*, p. 196.

[54] Essad-Bey, *Der Kaukasus. Seine Berge, Völker und Geschichte*, p. 267.

[55] M. Kovalevskij, *Zakon i Obyčaj na Kavkazě*, II, p. 142.

[56] M. Kovalevskij, *Coutume contemp.*, p. 196.

[57] *ibid.*

[58] When a family breaks from its sib and moves into a strange village, it gradually begins to feel closely related to its new neighbours, sometimes even more closely than to actual blood-relatives who live farther away. Such a family may even change its name and begin to call itself after the sib in whose community it now lives. The tendency of local solidarity to supplant the solidarity of the sib is noticeable throughout the Caucasus. Cf. A. Ladyženskij, "Entstehung und Entwicklung des Staates bei den Bergvölkern des Kaukasus," *Zeitschrift für Völkerpsychologie und Soziologie*, VI (1930), pp. 436, 439, 444. How soon such families would become "blood-relatives" to such a degree that intermarriage would be considered incestuous has still to be investigated by the fieldworkers.

[59] M. Kovalevskij, *Coutume contemp.*, pp. 196, 335.

[60] M. Kovalevskij, l. c.

[61] R. Erckert, *Der Kaukasus*, p. 37.

[62] *Voyage au Mont Caucase et en Géorgie*, II, p. 74.

[63] "Domašnjaja i semejnaja žizn Dagestanskich Gorcev Avarskago Okruga," SSKG, III (1870), p. 18.

[64] *A Trip through the Eastern Caucasus*, p. 97. Unfortunately Abercromby fails to specify whether they were only *permitted* to marry blood-relatives or actually obliged to do so.

[65] M. Kovalevskij, *Zakon*, II, p. 142; *Coutume contemp.*, l. c. Egiasarov's article is not at my disposal, hence I am relying on Kovalevskij's faithful citation of the author.

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trace of this epoch. He goes on to say that the *kalym* was originally a form of 591
bloodwite demanded for bride-stealing, which later evolved into a means of 583
compensating the family of the bride for the loss of a worker. Although Ladyženskij's interpretations are generally good, we connot agree with him in this particular point. It has never been proven that bride-stealing was the original form of marriage anywhere in the world. Moreover, it seems to be much more probable that bride-stealing resulted from the practice of bride purchase rather than vice versa. That *kalym* evolved from bloodwite is very improbable, especially in the Caucasus, because reconciliation by means of bloodwite seems to be a relatively recent substitution for actual blood vengeance.

(2) The various husband-wife avoidances, such as not mentioning the name 593
of one's husband or wife, not using the second person, avoiding all conversation 562
in public, etc. may be an expression of the superior position of the male sex in 602
Caucasian society (cf. *supra*, pp. 152—159).[40]

(3) The parent and parent-in-law avoidance, the obligatory avoidance of 606
older male relatives of the husband, the prohibition of inquiring about the health 602
of the wife's or husband's relatives, and similar practices are difficult to explain.

Parent-in-law avoidances are certainly among the most universal practices [671]
known to man. In fact, this form of avoidance is so universal that Lowie does not hesitate to write, "From the extremely wide range of parent-in-law avoidance, the absolute universality of these rules might be conjectured on the ground that, where unrecorded, the customs have merely eluded notice."[41] In Australia, for example, "it was formerly death for a man to speak to his mother-in-law."[42] In New Britain if a man were speaking accidently with his mother-in-law, the horror of the "crime" would most likely lead to suicide.[43]

The interpretation of parent-in-law taboos has baffled all ethnologists, and a satisfactory answer still has not been given. The parent-in-law avoidance has been connected with exogamy and bride-capture;[44] it has been considered a vestige of matriarchy, an expression of awe for the mistress of the household;[45] it has also been considered as a means to prevent improper intercourse. We may have here a case of convergence, based more on human psychology than on any particular institution; nor is there any reason to attribute the same cause for the practice in all parts of the world. This is but another important ethnological problem that waits to be solved.

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[40] The Caucasians seem to be of the opinion that separation is the best means of fostering conjugal love (cf. Leontovič, II, pp. 254 f, § 176).

[41] *Primitive Society*, p. 88.

[42] Howitt, *The Native Tribes of South East Australia*, p. 267.

[43] H. H. Romilly, "The Islands of the New Britain Group," *Proceedings of the Royal Geographical Society*, n. s. IX, p. 9.

[44] Cf. A. H. Post, "Ueber die Sitte, nach welcher Verlobte und Ehegatten ihre gegenseitigen Verwandten meiden," *Globus*, LXVII (1895), pp. 176 f.

[45] Cf. R. Briffault, *op. cit.*, I, pp. 266 f.

### 6. Impediment Arising from Failure to Carry Out an Obligation of Vengeance

628 Vengeance is a sacred obligation among all the Mountain Tribes of Caucasus.
614 If a member of the sib is murdered or killed accidentally,[183] if a member of the family is raped or abducted, if the sacred hearth-chain is violated, or if the sib is offended seriously in any other way, the injured party incurs the strict and sacred obligation of vengeance. Self-defense calls for vengeance, for in the eyes of the mountaineers there is no competent authority common to the offender and the offended, who might compel the culprit's sib to repair the injury done. The blood of the victim, self-respect, and respect for the ancestors call for vengeance. Usually the nearest male relative of the victim has the obligation to kill the offender or one or more of his sib, depending on the local *adat*. Although the vendetta has become more a thing of the past, it still does occur now and then in our own days. Even today reconciliation (bloodwite) is regarded as a disgraceful exchange for the noble blood of a member of the family and at [582] times is refused.[184] Blood calls for blood alone! Even today, if a young mountaineer fails to carry out his sacred obligation of avenging an enemy (regardless of Soviet laws), he may have to remain single for the rest of his life, for no respectable girl would wish to marry him.[185]

[672] [183] If a passer-by is killed by a stone kicked down a cliff by a sheep or goat, the owner of the animal becomes the blood-enemy *(qanly)* of the victim's sib. For other examples of similar customary laws see Dirr, AGKB, p. 107. Even in our own days accidents may be punished by death. See A. H. Günther, "Zusammenstöße zwischen Gesetz und Gewohnheitsrecht im nördlichen Kaukasus," *Zeitschr. f. vergl. Rechtsw.*, XLVI (1931), pp. 332 ff.

[184] Günther, *op. cit.*, p. 329.

[185] Günther, *op. cit.*, p. 327. For blood-feuds in the Caucasus see the works of Dirr and Günther just cited, S. Karginov, "Krovavaja mest' u Osetin," SMOMPK, XLIV (1914), No. 3, and Berže, *Čečnja i Čečency*.

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• 681 For less serious injuries the adat prescribed in detail compensations in kind. E. g.

[1] [Cf. cat. 116, pp. 527-528 -- Analyst]

681 among the Khevsur, the loss of an arm or leg was valued at twenty-four cows, that of a finger, from five cows for the thumb down to one cow for the little finger. Face wounds were measured with grains of wheat, and the fine calculated accordingly. Theft (usually involving horses or cattle) inside one's own community was punished by the obligation to repay the value of the stolen property several times over, or to pay an indemnity to the ruling prince. Stealing from other groups was regarded as an accomplishment rather than a crime, and a young man who had never managed to steal a horse would not easily find a wife.

695 Justice was administered by community courts in which the oldest sat in judgment, or by specially elected mediators (Georg. shuak'atsi) who had the confidence of both plaintiff and defendant, and whose decision was always accepted as final. Witnesses were called and oaths were taken upon sacred objects (in the N. W. Caucasus, often a blacksmith's anvil, later replaced by the Koran), or in the name of ancestors, sanctuaries, etc. In difficult cases, various types of ordeals were resorted to.

577 As characteristic traits of a more general nature in Caucasian life, hospitality, respect for superior age, and--especially among the mountaineers--susceptibility to offence and vengefulness must be mentioned.

58 171 (14) Then there is the fact that *a woman constitutes an asylum* for any murderer,[27] a fact found among the North Caucasians as well as among the Asiatic nomads.

(15) The *adats regarding divorce*,[28]

(16) the *penalties for sexual offenses*,[29]

(17) the *division of labour*,[30] allowing men plenty of time for loafing, sport, and raids,

(18) and many other *adats which place the female sex at a great disadvantage*[31] remind us very much of a pastoral society.

171 596 614 (19) Then, of course, there are the many other features of the North Caucasian marriage and family *adats* which we have been able only to touch upon rather superficially, for they refer to the joint-family and kinship in general rather than to the biological family. The North Caucasian society, for example, has had till recently a *patriarchal joint-family organization*[32] very similar to that found among pastoral nomads. Just as among the Indo-Europeans and the Turco-Mongols the central interest of the North Caucasian has been, and in places still is, the joint-family. According to the *adats*, the individual family, till it becomes independent, plays a very subordinate part in society. The tribe and state mean but little. Crimes, criminals, and penalties in the strict sense of the word are of very recent origin: any damage done to the sib (not so much to any individual !), whether accidental or intentional, are the only form [681] of "crime" found in the *adats*. The reparation of the damages made by the "offending" sib (not the individual who inflicted the harm) corresponds to our [428] concept of penalty. We have also said very little about the *inheritance rights* of the mountaineers of North Caucasia, for to speak of inheritance without first describing the joint-family and kinship *adats* would be impossible. It seems that originally, just as is the case in pastoral nomadic societies, the rights were restricted to the male children with special privileges reserved for the first-born [628] son. Finally, there is hardly another place in the world where *blood-feuds* are so common as in the Caucasus; and, we know, pastoral nomadic peoples have always been fond of settling their quarrels in this particular manner, more so than any other people. In a word, we are dealing with a "pastoral nomadic" marriage and family when we deal with North Caucasian marriage and family *adats*.

171 We must however, keep in mind that there are different zones of intensity of nomadic traits: in North Caucasia the most pastoral nomadic in character are the marriage and family of the Cherkess; then perhaps follow those of the Abkhaz, then the Chechens, and finally the Lesghians. The Ossetine *adats* are perhaps even more typically pastoral nomadic than those of the Cherkess. The Kumykian and Nogain *adats*, as well as those of other Turco-Mongols of North Caucasus,

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[27] *Supra*, pp. 159 f.
[28] *Supra*, pp. 132—137.
[29] *Supra*, pp. 168—179, 182.
[30] *Supra*, pp. 156—159.
[31] *Supra*, pp. 152—156.
[32] *Supra*, pp. 44 f.

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## § 2. PREGNANCY

An expectant mother is no longer an ordinary woman in the eyes of the North Caucasians. She has assumed an entirely new value. The mountaineers of Caucasia look upon a murder of a pregnant woman as doubly serious, pregnancy being considered an aggravating circumstance. Thus in Sirgua District of the Province of Dargwa, the murderer must pay an additional 30 silver rubles to the mother's relatives besides the usual bloodwite for murder.[8] In many places an assault causing abortion is considered as serious as murder, and full bloodwite must be paid for the death of the foetus. If the mother dies too, a double bloodwite is demanded by the *adats*.[9] Or again, two persons will become blood-enemies (*qanly*) instead of one—the murderer and one of his kin—one to atone for the death of the mother and the other for the death of the unborn child.[10] Sometimes such cases are dealt with according to two distinct laws, the Islamic and customary.[11] In Ossetia, a pregnant woman becomes exempt from the more strenuous tasks, evidently, as a precaution against miscarriage.[12] 843 [L82]

## § 3. BIRTH AND PREFERENCE FOR BOYS

Since the Caucasians, all without exception, are strictly patrilocal, patriarchal and patrilineal, we need not wonder at the preference for boys that prevails throughout the Caucasus. It is the boy who perpetuates the family economically. He also perpetuates the family cult and gives the family prestige. 842

The NORTHWESTERN CAUCASIANS say "He who has no sons has no children."[13] But even girls are welcome,[14] though perhaps not without some disappointment. The girls are an asset to the family in as far as they are workers and a source of considerable income especially through the *kalym*. Hence, after the young wife becomes a mother of a boy or girl, she takes on a new character and is proud of becoming "fully a wife." She visits her father after her first child and on this occasion he gives her the rest of her bridal portion. Now she is permitted to take off her girl's cap and put on her matron's veil.[15]

The NORTHEASTERN CAUCASIANS. When an Ingush couple have become the parents of a baby boy there is indescribable rejoicing in the *aul*, and 842 844

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[8] "Adaty Darginskich Obščestv," SSKG, VII (1873), p. 73.

[9] "Adaty Južno-Dagestanskich Obščestv," SSKG, VIII (1875), pp. 35, 43, 47, 49.

[10] Cf. "Adaty Južno-Dagestanskich Obščestv," pp. 43, 47, 49.

[11] Cf. "Adaty Darginskich Obščestv," pp. 15, 36, 76. On page 15 we read: "Za ubijstvo beremennoj ženščiny, sverch obyknovennago vzyskanija po adatu, opredeljaetsja vzyskanie po šariatu."

[12] Pčelina, "Rodil'nye obyčai u Osetin," SE, 1937, No. 4, p. 89 ff, who deals with the Ossetine pregnancy customs at length. Many are the questions we might suggest to the Caucasologists regarding pregnancy, which have not yet been investigated. To mention but one important problem: What is the extent on "uncleanness" incurred through pregnancy? (Cf. Eristov, *op. cit.*, p. 114.)

[13] Ladyženskij, FT, p. 202.

[14] Mačavriani, "Nekotorija čerty iz žizni Abchazcev," SMOMPK, IV (1884), No. 2, p. 45.

[15] Pallas, *Bemerkungen auf einer Reise in die südl. Statth. des russ. Reichs, etc.*, I, p. 388.

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Women are generally excluded from being conjurors. One of the most common forms of evidence in the *adat* courts is conjury, an oath taken by an established number of relatives of the defendant or plaintiff. Any hesitation, refusal of one of the conjurors to swear, or failure to find the required number of conjurors are considered undeniable evidence. The oath is taken by each of the conjurors either on the Koran, or sometimes toe *khatun-tallkh* must be sworn. The practice of conjury is found among all Caucasian mountain tribes: Cherkess, Chechens, Lesghians, Georgians, neighbouring Tartars, Kumyks, etc.[24] The number of conjurors required depends on the gravity of the crime, the penalty connected with it, and on the social position of the contending parties and conjurors. The following is an example of a catalogue of conjurors established for theft in Mikakhi District.

562 695 [685]

*For stealing sheep:*

| | |
|---|---|
| one sheep | 3 conjurors |
| two sheep | 4 conjurors |
| three sheep | 5 conjurors |
| four sheep | 6 conjurors |
| more than four | 6 conjurors |

*For stealing cows:*

| | |
|---|---|
| one cow | 5 conjurors |
| two cows | 10 conjurors |
| three cows | 12 conjurors |
| more than three | 12 conjurors |

*For stealing young domestic animals:*

| | |
|---|---|
| one colt less than three years old | 6 conjurors |
| one one-year-old calf | 3 conjurors |
| one two-year-old heifer | 5 conjurors |
| one two-year-old ox | 5 conjurors |
| one three-year-old ox | 6 conjurors |

This catalogue has been taken from the "Adat collection for the Districts of Dargwa Province."[25] For murder and crimes considered as serious as murder[26] the number of conjurors may be as high as 40. Generally only relatives may be conjurors. This requirement is evidently a reflection of the strong solidarity of the Caucasian sib: to swear falsely would bring ruin to the swearer, and should a large number of conjurors be required, the entire sib, living and dead, may be doomed. [682]

The proof by conjury is recognized by Islamic law, but its existence in the Caucasus need not be attributed to Mohammedanism. (1) Even in Arabia, it pre-existed Islamism. In fact Mohammed merely borrowed and incorporated the *kazama* into his system.[27] (2) Moreover, it is a widespread institution among

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[24] See the various *adat* collections. See also Kovalevskij, *Coutume contemp.*, especially pp. 443 f: *Code of King Vakhtang VI*, Karst edition, pp. 60, 179.

[25] "Adaty Darginskich Obščestv," SSKG, VII (1873), p. 53.

[26] *Supra*, Chapters XII and XIII.

[27] Goldziher, "Muhammedanisches Recht in Theorie und Wirklichkeit," *Zeitsch. f. vergl. Rechtw.*, VIII (1889), No. 3, p. 412.

562 peoples having a patriarchal organization, regardless of religion. We find it
695 among the ancient Indo-European Slavs, Germans, and Ossetes.[28] (3) We also find it among non-Mohammedans of Caucasus.

After this lengthy degression we can offer a few examples to illustrate the relation of conjury to the unequal status of women. In Mugn District (Dargwa Province) women are not allowed to be conjurors. If less than 12 conjurors are required by any *adat*, not only must all conjurors be *male* relatives, but relatives of the *father*.[29] In Hyuraki District[30] and elsewhere[31] female relatives may participate in the conjury only if they are necessary to complete the required number of 40.[32]

[582] The inferior position of the female sex is further expressed in the *adats* determining the amount of bloodwite. Sometimes, it is true, no distinction is made whether a man or a woman is the victim,[33] but sometimes a definite distinction *is* made. The Kurins, for instance, have an established bloodwite of Rs. 250 for the death of a man and only Rs. 125 for the death of a woman.[34] The Ossetine bloodwite for the murder of a man is twice as high as that for a woman.[35]

## § 2. DIVISION OF LABOUR

462 The NORTHWESTERN CAUCASIANS. It is no longer true that all the work must be done by the female members of the family.[36] The men do the ploughing, woodchopping, hunting, and in general all the heavy work; the women do the usual housework, cook, wash, sew and mend clothes, and work in the garden.[37] Formerly, of course, the situation was quite different. The reports of the 18th and 19th century picture the Cherkess and the Abkhaz

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[28] Kovalevskij, *Coutume contemp.*, p. 460.

[29] "Adaty Darginskich Obščestv," p. 60. For *adats* of the Tsudakhar District, see "Adaty Darginskich Obščestv," pp. 111 f.

[30] "Adaty Darginskich Obščestv," p. 84.

[31] "Adaty Darginskich Obščestv," p. 71.

[32] If there are still not enough conjurors, the oath must be repeated till the required number of oaths is reached. ("Adaty Darginskich Obščestv," p. 84.)

[33] "Adaty Južno-Dagestanskich Obščestv," SSKG, VIII (1875), p. 47. When we use the words "crime" and "murder" we understand them in the sense of the *adats*. To be more exact we should rather say "damage" and "homicide." Customary law is not interested in *guilt*. It aims to repair damages done to the family and sib, whether that damage be intentional or accidental. If a horse accidentally kicks and kills a passer-by, both the rider and the owner of the horse become blood-enemies of the victim's sib (Leontovič, II, pp. 45 ff). Since customary law is not interested in guilt, it is not interested in *punishing*. It aims to *repair* the damages, hence it matters little whether the "criminal" himself or another member of his family or sib is "punished."

[34] "Adaty Južno-Dagestanskich Obščestv," p. 7.

[35] Dubrovin, *Istorija*, I, i, p. 340.
The position of the female sex in Khevsuria is somewhat better than elsewhere in the mountains (Požidaev, 106 f). She may even take her meals with her husband (Požidaev, *Gorcy severnogo Kavkaza*, p. 107). The Kumyks allow their wives more rights than are granted to women by the *adats* of the true Caucasians (Dubrovin, *Istorija*, I, ii, p. 639).

[36] Ladyženskij, FT, pp. 199 f.

[37] Ladyženskij, FT, p. 201.

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593 for some Persian cloth worth Rs. 240. While the deal was still going on, the
567 girl fled and hanged herself.[7]

We have found no purely Lesghian *adats* prohibiting or sanctioning the selling of children into slavery, in spite of the despotic authority of the father.[8] Although we do not know the attitude of customary law in this regard, we do know that the *šarî'a* strictly forbids not only the selling of a fellow-Mohammedan into slavery, but expressly condemns the selling of one's own children.[9]

The SOUTHERN CAUCASIANS. In times of famine the mountain tribes of Georgia used to sell their children; the Svans, for example, "for 700 to 1,200 francs each" (Mourier, *Guide au Caucase*, I, p. 147).

It was this same poverty that led their neighbours, the Tualti (SOUTHERN OSSETES), to kill their girls and sell their boys.[10]

In short, everywhere in the Caucasus the *right* to sell children is not disputed; the practice, however, is *rare*, except in time of absolute necessity or in regard to children who are not considered fully members of the family.

## § 2. JUS VITAE NECISQUE

593 The NORTHWESTERN CAUCASIANS. The *adats* expressly mention
● 682 that a father does not have the right over life and death of his children.[11]
[627] However, he may condemn a *perverse* member of the family to death: he must, of course, first chastize him, then disinherit him, and finally, if all these means fail and the son remains incorrigeable, the father, acting as supreme judge of the family, may hand him over to a servant to be killed.[12] In spite of these *adats* it seems that formerly the father actually had the right to kill his child at will.[13]

The NORTHEASTERN CAUCASIANS. The Chechen adat collection of 1843 tells us that "there is no customary law defining or limiting the authority of the father over his children."[14] However, in practice, he enjoys this unlimited
[858] authority only as long as the children are small. Once his sons have grown up, they may take vengeance on their own father for killing one of their brothers.[15] It is quite possible that at one time the father actually possessed the *jus vitae necisque*, a right that had disappeared long before the *adat* collections of the past century were made. By no means does a husband have a right over the

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[7] *Voyage dans les steps d'Astrakhan et du Caucase*, II, p. 123.

[8] Cf. Omarov, "Kak živut Laki," SSKG, IV (1871), p. 18.

[9] G. Bergsträsser, *Grundzüge des islamischen Rechts*, p. 39.

[10] Kovalevskij, *Coutume contemp.*, p. 189.

[11] Leontovič, II, p. 250, § 138.

[12] *ibid.* See also Leontovič, I, p. 152, § 81.

[13] Dubrovin, *Istorija*, I, i, pp. 168 f; P. I. Kovalevskij, *Kavkaz, Narody Kavkaza*, p. 56.

[14] Leontovič, II, p. 112, § 8.

[15] M. O. Kosven, "Avunkulat," SE, 1948, No. 1, p. 18; Leontovič, II, pp. 112 (§ 8), 251 (§ 143), 258 (§ 206); Berže, *Čečnja i Čečency*, p. 96.

life of his wife.[16] According to a customary law of 1844 for Vladikavkaz District (Dzher, Kist, Galgai, Tsori, Ingushi, and Karabulak tribes), if a husband kills his wife, he must pay a bloodwite of 12 cows to her relatives if she has a child, and 85 cows if she has no children. Besides this payment he becomes a social outcast.[17]

The *adats* of the Lesghian mountaineers regarding the penalty for filicide and uxoricide fall into four distinct classes: (1) no penalty, (2) a very small fine, (3) conditional or optional death penalty, (4) obligatory death penalty.

If the father kills a son or daughter he goes unpunished in Gamri and in Mahallen Terekeme (Kaitago-Tabassaran Province),[18] in Tilitl-Hidatl (Gunib Province),[19] in the Naibate of Kuyada (Gunib Province), [20] and in other parts of Daghestan.

He is obliged to pay a relatively small fine, for example, in Sirgua District (Dargwa Province),[21] in Upper Kaitago,[22] Andalal (Gunib Province),[23] Bashli (Kaitago-Tabassaran Province),[24] Ratlu Akhvakh,[25] etc.

A few examples of a conditional death penalty would be: for instance, in Kurin Province a father who has killed one of his sons is obliged to pay a bloodwite only if the victim happened to have his own economically independent family, the bloodwite going to his children (if he has killed a daugther, he becomes a blood-enemy only if she happened to be married, the bloodwite in this latter case going to her husband);[26] or again, in Hyuraki District of the Province of Dargwa, a father becomes a blood-enemy only if the son he murdered is himself married and has children.[27]

By "optional death penalty" we understand all those *adats* which leave it to the children or heirs of the victim as to whether the murderer should be considered a *qanly* ("blood-enemy") or not. Such adats are found in the naibates of Tleiserukh,[28] Tilitl-Hidatl,[29] and Mikah (Dargwa Province).[30]

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[16] Berže, *op. cit.*, p. 99. Even in case of adultery the husband generally may only divorce and at most mutilate her (cf. Table 19).

[17] Leontovič, II, p. 115, § 6. It is an interesting fact that sometimes, as in this case, the wife becomes more detached from her own sib and more attached to that of her husband by giving birth to a child. In the latter case the bloodwite is only a third as high as the former.

[18] "Adaty Južno-Dagestanskich Obščestv," SSKG, VIII (1875), p. 49. Adaty Dagestanskoj Oblasti i Zakatal'skago Okruga, pp. 588, § 10; Cf. Dirr, AGKB, p. 58. We shall abreviate this collection of *adats* by ADOiZO.

[19] ADOiZO, p. 337, 12; cf. Dirr, AGKB, p. 58. Some villages of Tilitl-Hidatl impose capital punishment on a murderer of a son or daughter.

[20] ADOiZO, p. 313, § 12; cf. Dirr, AGKB, p. 58.

[21] "Adaty Darginskich Obščestv," SSKG, VII (1873), p. 73.

[22] "Adaty Južno-Dagestanskich Obščestv," p. 34: the murderer is obliged to pay a fine of one three-year-old ox to the district.

[23] The fine is only Rs. 6.

[24] ADOiZO, p. 597, § 10; cf. Dirr, AGKB, p. 58.

[25] ADOiZO, p. 178, § 38; cf. Dirr, AGKB, p. 58.

[26] ADOiZO, p. 510, § 13; cf. Dirr, AGKB, p. 61.

[27] "Adaty Darginskich Obščestv," p. 86.

[28] ADOiZO, p. 388 f, § 12; cf. Dirr, AGKB, p. 64 f.

[29] ADOiZO, pp. 337 f, §§ 31 f.

[30] ADOiZO, p. 136, § 42; cf. Dirr, AGKB, p. 67.

The last class of *adats* demand blood for blood. Such customary laws are found, for example, in the Dargwa Province : in Usisha District,[31] Tsudakhar,[32] Akusha District,[33] and in some towns of the naibate of Tilitl-Hidatl,[34] and in the Samur District.[35] The same holds if a husband kills his wife : he becomes a blood-enemy of the wife's relatives and sometimes of his own children. In Bashli (Kaitago-Tabassaran Province),[36] Mahallen Terekeme (Kaitago-Tabassaran Province),[37] Mahal Gamri (Kaitago-Tabassaran Province),[38] and in the Province of Samur,[39] a husband who has murdered his wife becomes a blood-enemy of her relatives. In Mahal Gamri he becomes a blood-enemy of his children as well.[40]

Ancient GEORGIAN *adats* permit the murderer to go unpunished, the crime being "left to the judgement of God."[41] A Khevsur who murders his wife is obliged to pay a bloodwite of five cows to her relatives.[42] The Svan custom of tying a large stone about the neck of a person who murdered one of his own kin (as a sign of excommunication) is most likely of Christian origin. It reminds us very much of a similar penalty for parricide in the Old Testament. It may, less probably though, have come to Svanetia through Islamism, for Mohammedanism has borrowed this form of excommunication from the Old Testament.[43]

The neighbouring KUMYKS do not punish a man for murdering his child either.[44] Uxoricide, however, never goes unpunished ; the murderer becomes *a qanly* of the victim's sib.[45]

The ancient Indo-Europeans used to place the newborn child on the ground and then invite the father to pick it up, as an official recognition of the child as his own and at the same time expressing his wish not to use his right to kill it.[46] According to OSSETINE customary law, a father may kill his child with

[31] ADOiZO, p. 225, § 47 ; cf. Dirr, AGKB, p. 61 ; "Adaty Darginskich Obščestv," p. 102.
[32] ADOiZO, p. 244, § 40 ; cf. Dirr, AGKB, pp. 61 f ; "Adaty Dauginskich Obščestv," pp. 113 f.
[33] "Adaty Darginskich Obščestv," p. 35. Also in Balhar, Tsumkan, according to ADOiZO, p. 115, § 43 ; cf. Dirr, p. 61.
[34] ADOiZO, p. 337, § 12 ; cf. Dirr, AGKB, p. 60.
[35] ADOiZO, p. 530, § 16 ; cf. Dirr, AGKB, p. 61.
[36] ADOiZO, pp. 597 f, §§ 14 f ; cf. Dirr, AGKB, p. 65.
[37] ADOiZO, p. 583, § 9 ; cf. Dirr, AGKB, p. 65.
[38] ADOiZO, pp. 588 f, § 14 ; cf. Dirr, AGKB, pp. 65 f.
[39] ADOiZO, p. 530, § 14 ; cf. Dirr, AGKB, p. 66.
[40] ADOiZO, pp. 599 f, § 14 ; cf. Dirr, AGKB, pp. 65 f.
[41] Haxthausen, *Transcaucasia*, II, p. 205 ; Post, *Grundriß der ethnol. Jurisprudenz*, II, p. 340 ; cf. Dirr, AGKB, p. 59. These three authors base their assertion on King Vakhtang's Code. In § 78 we read : "... the case must be judged according to the *sdzhuli-kanoni*". Perhaps in the last analysis "sdzhuli-kanoni" can be identified with God ; but actually these two words refer to the ecclesiastical laws codified by Patriarch John the Scholastic under Emperor Justinian (cf. Code of King Vakhtang VI, ed. Karst, p. 119, *note* 1).
[42] Hahn, *Bilder aus dem Kaukasus*, p. 184.
[43] Kovalevskij, *Zakon*, I, p. 40.
[44] Leontovič, II, p. 212, § 35 (an *adat* of 1865).
[45] "Adaty žitelej kumykskoj ploskosti," SSKG, VI (1872), p. 5.
[46] Schmidt-Koppers, *Völker und Kulturen*, p. 309.

[i.e. blood-enemy --Analyst]

impunity, just as their ancestors could.[47] A husband may not sell or give his wife away.[48] Sometimes he may not kill his wife[49] even as a well deserved punishment. At the most he may in such a case chastize and mutilate her.[50]

## § 3. MATERNAL AUTHORITY

What authority does the mother enjoy in a North Caucasian family? We have already touched upon this question, when speaking about the education of children (*supra*, pp. 147 f) and the rights and privileges of women (*supra*, pp. 159 f). As a general rule throughout the Caucasus[51] the mother has by far more authority over her daughters than over her sons, more over her small boys than those of age.[52]

That is doubtless the case with the NORTHWESTERN CAUCASIANS. The *adats* expressly say that the mother enjoys much more authority over her daughters than over her sons.[53] That she has less authority or none at all with her grown-up boys is clear from the "Adat Collection of the Black Sea Line, Kuban and Terek Territories" (§ 135). In spite of the exaggeration contained in this particular *adat* it is worth quoting: as soon as the sons become of age, the mother "hardly enjoys the respect which nature herself implanted in man's heart, the respect for her to whom the sons owe their very existence."[54]

In NORTHEAST CAUCASIA, a Chechen mother, though exerting much influence on her children, enjoys absolutely no *right* over their person.[55] The relation between mother and child among the Lesghians is regulated by Islamic law,[56] which however differs very little from that of the other North Caucasians. According to Islamic law, the mother has more rights over her girls than over her boys; the girls are subject to her till they become of age; the boys, only till they are seven or nine years old.[57] Her authority can be compared to that of a tutor, and generally the father will not interfere. The right over the person of the child is everywhere in the Caucasus a right exclusively enjoyed by the father.

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[47] Leontovič, II, p. 26, § 98.

[48] Leontovič, II, p. 27, § 103.

[49] Kovalevskij, *Coutume contemp.*, p. 348.

[50] Leontovič, II, p. 26, § 101.

[51] Leontovič, II, p. 251, § 145: "Čto kasaetsja prav roditelej nad dočer'mi, to takovyja kak u čečencev, tak i u vsech drugich gorskich plemen, soverlenno odinakovy."

[52] Leontovič, II, pp. 250 (§ 134), 251 (§ 147).

[53] Leontovič, II, p. 251, § 147.

[54] Leontovič, II, p. 250 (§ 135), II, p. 112 (8).

[55] Leontovič, II, p. 112, § 8.

[56] Kovalevskij, *Zakon*, II, p. 201.

[57] Bergstrasser, *Grundzüge des islamischen Rechts*, p. 87.

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# TABLE 12
## Lesghian Adats Regarding Abduction

| Province (Okrug) | District (Obščestvo) or other division | Penalties for abducting an unmarried woman (girl, divorcée, or widow): Death penalty | Banishment | Bloodwite | Marriage: Obligatory for abductor* | Marriage: If father of bride consents ‡ | engaged woman: Usual penalties | Additional penalty | married woman: Death penalty | Banishment | Blood wite | "No case on record" § | Penalties for coöperating with abductor: By harbouring abductor | By coöp. in actual capture | Number of Foot note | Sources† |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Avar | | | + | + | | + | + | | + | | | — | | | (1) | L'vov. p. 21 |
| Gunib | | | | + | | + | + | | + | | | — | | | (1) | L'vov, p. 21 |
| Andi | | + | | | | + | + | | + | | | — | | | | Baddeley, II, 88 |
| Lak | | + | | | | + | + | | + | | | — | | | | Kovalevskij, Zakon II, 176 f. Omarov, p. 21. |
| Kurin | Mahal Urdzhamul | | | | | | + | + | | | + | — | | | (2) | AJuDO, 48 |
| Kaitago-Tabassaran | Mahal Karakaitag | | | + | | + | + | + | | | | | | | (3) | AJuDO, 44 |
| | North Tabassaran | | | + | | + | | + | | | | | | | (4) | AJuDO, 24 |
| Dargwa | Mikakhi | | | | | | | | | | | + | One ox | Various Penalties | (5) | ADO, 50 |
| | Tsudakhar | + | | | | | + | | + | | | — | One Ox | | (6) | ADO, 116 f. |
| | Akusha | | | + | | + | + | | | | | + | One Ox | | (7) | ADO, 37 |
| | Mugn | — | + | | | | + | | | | | | One ox (Rs. 4) | One ox | (8) | ADO, 63 f. |
| | Sirgua | | | + | | + | | | | | | + | | Rs. 3 | (9) | ADO, 77 |
| | Hyuraki | | + | + | | + | + | | | | | + | One ox (Rs. 8) | One ox | (10) | ADO, 90 f. |
| | Usisha | + | | + | | + | | | | | | + | Rs. 3 | Rs. 3 | | ADO, 104 f. |

583 of the Soviet Government on perfect freedom in mating, certainly contributed, especially psychologically, to the change from frequent marriage by capture to elopement.

An important problem, which perhaps will remain a problem for some time to come, is that regarding the origin of Caucasian marriage by capture. At least negatively we can unhesitatingly affirm that abduction is not a survival of *the* original form of marriage.[88] It seems rather to be the most logical result of marriage by purchase. The origin of the practice is more easily explained by high *kalym* rather than primitive "savagery." The main occasion for kidnapping a wife, formerly as well as in recent times, has always been the inability of the groom's family to amass the enormous bride wealth demanded.[89] The refusal of the girl's family to give her in marriage to her lover is often occasion for bride capture or elopement; but the ultimate reason for the refusal is almost always an economic one. When a sib or family cannot afford [581] the required *kalym*, the only means of acquiring a wife is to capture her. To remain unmarried is as unthinkable as the extinction of a family. When the *kalym* is too high, the lover, accompanied by his friends, organizes an attack, kidnaps the girl he loves, and generally deflowers her on the very first occasion. Even if afterwards the abducted girl be allowed to return to her family (and sometimes the *adats* insist on her return), she no longer can expect to find another husband. Her choice is therefore between remaining unmarried all her life or to be the wife of her capturer. Once the girl has been abducted, the young man has the girl's family, so to speak, at his mercy. To borrow Baddeley's words, "With the mountaineers the accomplished fact meant much. Once bedded, though not yet wedded, the quarrel, till then deadly, became, as a rule, mere matter for adjustment—mainly financial adjustment."[90] Her family realize that the girl has lost her economic value and that now, after all, the best thing to do is to let her ravisher have his way. To marry her off to another man would disgrace the family. The capturer has the upper hand and can set the *kalym* more or less according to his limited means.[91]

We do not deny the possibility of other motives for bride capture. We can very well imagine how an Ingush "dare-devil" might organize a raid and kidnap a girl just to prove his mettle.[92] We can also very well imagine how a romantic Kabardian might kidnap his beloved just to add a bit of zest and charm to courtship. But such motives are extremely rare and insignificant compared to the inability to pay the *kalym* demanded.

583 Although bride capture and elopement are general, as general as high *kalym* 683 and poverty, nowhere in the Caucasus are they regarded as a legitimate means. The *adats* of all Caucasians classify marriage by capture and elopement as an offense equal to murder. They are an offense against the bride's relatives, living

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[88] Cf. J. F. McLennan, *Studies in Ancient History*, pp. 9 ff.

[89] Cf. Dirr, AGKB, p. 125; Leontovič, II, p. 252, § 150; Jakovlev, *Inguši*, pp. 52 f.

[90] Baddeley, *The Rugged Flanks of Caucasus*, II, p. 224, *note*.

[91] Cf. Günther, *op. cit.*, pp. 331—340; N. F. Grabovskij, "Očerk suda i ugolovnych prestuplenij v Kabardinskom okrugě," pp. 39, 41 f; Leontovič, II, p. 257, § 198; Leontovič, II, p. 118, § 18.

as well as departed, a degradation of her womanly dignity, a serious usurpation of the inviolable *patria potestas*.[93] To borrow Baddeley's words again: "Woe betide the gay lover should the fleetness of his horse fail to place between him and his pursuers the barrier of a black night . . . if caught in the first hot pursuit, the hero of the escapade paid for his love and daring with his life, the daggers of the vengers sheathed in his heart . . ."[94] 583 [683]

When a daughter elopes (runs away or is "captured") she too is in constant danger of being killed by her own family, till, of course, reconciliation takes place. Fortunately, everywhere among the mountain tribes the customary law requires all to give shelter and protection to the "bride" and "groom," however in separate *saklias* (houses) or rooms.[95] [574]

Besides seriously endangering his life, the capturer is obliged to pay certain additional fines, as is the case in the NORTHWEST, for example, among the Kabardians,[96] and in the NORTHEAST among the Lesghians[97] and Ingushi.[98] In Ingushetia the *adats* demand the liberation of the abducted woman and a fine of Rs. 50 from the abductor and Rs. 15 from all who cooperated with him.[99] On account of the many details and repetitions involved we present the Leshian *adats* in the form of a table (Table 12). The SOUTHERN CAUCASIANS, the Khevsurs, have an additional penalty known as *banse shekhtoma*, i. e., reconciliation "by jumping on the roof," which consists in a special feast for the relatives and neighbours of the abducted woman, and a fine of a one- or two-year-old ox and a kettle.[100] The *adats* of the TURKIC peoples of the Caucasus likewise impose additional fines for abduction. The Kumykian and Nogaian *adats* demand full bloodwite as a condition for reconciliation.[101] If the bride refuses to remain with the kidnapper, she must be allowed to return, and, besides, he must give her the full *kebin-khak* (the usual guarantee given to the wife in case of divorce).[102]

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[93] Grabovskij, "Ekonomičeskij i domalnij byt etc.," p. 21.

[94] Cf. Dirr, FT, pp. 125 f; Castagné, *op. cit.*, pp. 271 f; Grabovskij, "Očerk suda i uglovnych prestuplenij v Kabardinskom okrugě," p. 36.

[95] Baddeley, *op. cit.*, II, pp. 88 f.

[96] Dirr, FT, p. 126; "Adaty Darginskich Obščestv," SSKG, VII (1873), p. 50.

[97] Grabovskij, "Očerk suda etc." pp. 39, 41 f.

[98] See Table 12.

[99] Leontovič, II, p. 170, § 127.

[100] *ibid.*

[101] Seidlitz, "Gemeinde- und Familienleben der Chewsuren," *Das Ausland* (1891), No. 16, p. 318.

[102] Semenov, "Očerki narodnych obyčaev Kumykov Terskoj Oblasti," *Terskij Sbornik*, II (1892), No. 2, Part 2, p. 77, § 12.

[103] "Adaty žitelej Kumyskoj ploskosti," SSKG, VI (1872), pp. 15 f.

# POSITION OF WOMEN

C. G. 562 The position of women in the Caucasus was in many respects subordinate to that of men: male children were preferred, descent was patrilineal, residence patrilocal, women were excluded from inheritance rights; in case the headwoman was unable to reconcile a quarrel among the female members of the family, the case was put before the headman; divorces were in general more easily obtained by men than by women, and in the case of adultery the husband had the right to kill or disfigure his wife. The Circassian code of behavior forbade women to sit down while men were standing, and the husband was addressed in terms of respect by his wife. In most areas the women led a life of hard work; besides doing the housework, they also assisted in the work in the field, though certain activities such as tending horses and in most cases ploughing were performed by men only. Among the Georgian mountaineers, women were regarded from a religious point of view as unclean, and were forbidden to enter the walled precincts of the sanctuaries; the Svan had sexual avoidance rules to ensure success in hunting expeditions; in Mingrelia a woman may not kill a chicken or animal she is going to prepare, as this would spoil the food.

C G [684]

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C. G. [834]

The SOUTHERN CAUCASIANS. According to Eristov, about a century ago, bride capture was almost an every day affair in Khevsuria. In 1855 he wrote: "Bride-stealing is very common among these primitive people. You are not regarded as brave unless you steal the girl you are fond of, and she must, of course, come from a good family. Such an action will infallibly cause terrible quarrels, murders and feuds."[70] The Pshavs formerly resorted to bride capture too, but only rarely.[71] Dubrovin believes, however, that abduction occured frequently among the Pshavs and Tushi,[72] while Hahn claims the same in regard to the Ingiloi.[73] 583

For some reason or other, the collections of OSSETINE *adats* claim that abduction has either been always foreign and unknown in Ossetia or that it has disappeared leaving not a trace behind. Kovalevskij rightly criticizes Leontovič's collection, for even during Kovalevkij's time one could come across occasional instances of genuine bride-stealing.[74] Other explorers of the late 19th and early 20th century (e. g., Karginov, Baddeley, Pfaf, Šanaev) leave no doubt about the existence of actual kidnapping in Ossetia.[75] Finally, if bride-stealing were unknown in Ossetia, why would special legislation against bride-stealing be necessary as late as 1911? The inhabitants of Mizur, Sadon, Dagom, Arkhon and Nuzal had to promise not to kidnap or cooperate in abducting women, under the penalty of Rs. 300, not including the bride-price which the offended family had the right to set as high as they wished.[76] [584]

[70] Eristov, *op. cit.*, p. 113; Seidlitz "Gemeinde- und Familienleben der Chewsuren," *Ausland*, (1891), No. 16, p. 328.

[71] S. I. Makalatija, "Iz starogo narodnogo byta Pšavov," SE, 1938, No. 1, p. 102.

[72] *Istorija*, I, i, p. 310.

[73] "Putešestvie v Kachetiju i Dagestan," SMOMPK, XXXI (1902), No. 2, p. 60.

[74] *Coutume contemp.*, p. 167.

[75] S. Karginov, "Krovavaja mest' u osetin," SMOMPK, XLIV (1913), pp. 209 f. Baddeley, *op. cit.*, I, pp. 75, 265; II, p. 124.

V. Pfaf, "Narodnoe pravo osetin," Sbornik Svědenij o Kavkazě, I (1871).

D. Šanaev, "Svad'ba u sěvernych Osetin," SSKG, IV (1870), pp. 1—30.

[76] *Tifliskij Listok*, July 17, 1911, cited by Dirr, AGKB, p. 115.

# Chapter XII

# Sexual Offenses

## § 1. CRIMES AND PENALTIES

684 628 The ancient customary law of the NORTHWESTERN CAUCASIANS imposes a death penalty on the adulteress, allowing the adulterer to go unpunished. According to Cherkess *adats* she might be killed in the act or anytime afterwards,[1] while the male partner had always to be spared. It is true, Leontovič's excellent collection of customary laws maintains the very contrary, expressly stating that the adulterer had to be punished too,[2] but the penalty imposed on him is doubtless an Islamic innovation.[3]

[585] According to ancient customary law, the lot of the unfortunate bride found unchaste on her wedding night did not differ from that of the adulteress caught in the act. If the bride did not pass the virginity test, the angry groom would at once dismiss her, hand her over to her disgraced and furious father to be mutilated and finally killed.[4]

[836] In case of pregnancy before marriage, the penalty imposed on the lover was somewhat less than the equivalent of bloodwite,[5] about twenty-five head of cattle, as Longworth found it in the beginning of the last century.[6]

Customary law hardly distinguishes between rape and abduction, although the collections do, for rape generally has the same purpose as bride capture. Rape is severely punished, as severely as murder. If the ravisher's life has been spared, he is obliged to pay as much as Rs. 150 in reparation for the insult suffered by the victim's sib, and besides this fine, he is forced to pay the usual *kalym*. He is also forced to marry the girl, for, generally, once raped, she has no hope of finding another mate. If the victim happens to be of a higher social class than the attacker, there is no reconciliation possible. Vengeance alone can atone for such a hideous crime.[7]

Incest is considered a qualified crime and is sanctioned by the severest penalties. Formerly if a Cherkess dared to marry a girl of his fraternity (*tleush*)[8]

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[1] Dubrovin, *Istorija*, I, i, p. 171.

[2] Leontovič, I, p. 234, § 109: "Imějuščij ženu i uličennyj v preljubodějanii, po zakonu lišaetsja žizni, no tot že postupok, soverlennyj cholopom, podvergaet ego nakazaniju sta udarami; èto nazyvaetsja chod-tazir."

[3] Dirr, AGKB, p. 82.

[4] Byhan, *La civilisation caucasienne*, p. 155.

[5] Post, *Grundriß der ethnol. Jurispr.*, II, p. 378.

[6] *A Year among the Circassians*, I, p. 217.

[7] Grabovskij, "Očerk suda i ugolovnych prestuplenij v Kabardinskom okrugě," SSKG, IV (1870), pp. 42 f.

[8] *Supra*, p. 55.

p. 168

he would be sentenced to death by drowning. In the nineteenth century a heavy fine of 200 oxen and immediate separation were insisted upon instead.[9] 684 628

The penalty for raping a boy before puberty is death. Of course, such cases of perversion are very rare.[10] Likewise extremely rare are cases of homosexuality and bestiality,[11] except among certain Cherkess horse-breeders among whom bestiality is more common and the penalty trivial or none at all.[12] [839]

The *adats* have evidently gone through a distinct evolution, from unusual severity imposed exclusively on the adulteress to a more moderate form of punishment affecting both partners. Dubois de Montpéreux observed how a husband, who would clip his wife's hair for adultery, then cut off her ear, arm, or nose and finally kill her, fully in accord with ancient *adats*,[13] would thereby become a blood-enemy of his wife's relatives. He therefore usually preferred to divorce her instead[14] and have the *kalym* refunded.[15] Vasil'kov reported in the beginning of this century that among the Temirgoi illicit intercourse was extremely rare and that *both* partners would be punished very severely. If caught in the act, they would be buried up to their necks and then stoned to death.[16]

The NORTHEASTERN CAUCASIANS. The Chechen customary law likewise imposes very severe penalties for adultery, as the following table clearly shows (Table No. 19).

The most serious sex offenses are those of rape and incest. If an Ingush woman (married or single) is raped, the attacker may be killed on the spot. If he manages to escape, a bitter blood-feud breaks out between the sibs of the offended and offender. In *adat* courts confession of the culprit or the accusation of the victim are considered undeniable evidence. The accused can prove himself not guilty by taking an oath, which must then be confirmed by the statements of five conjurors,[17] two of whom must be relatives. If the defendant hesitates to take the oath or fails to find sufficient conjurors who are convinced of his innocence (and hence who are not afraid of the supernatural sanction attached to such an oath), he must pay a fine of 24 cows if the victim happened to be a married woman,[18] and a horse worth 30 silver rubles, a ram and four kettles of *arrack* if she happened to be unmarried.[19] The ravisher, as usual, must marry the girl he attacked.[20] If the girl has already been engaged to someone, 684 695 [628] 684 584

[9] McLennan, *Studies in Ancient History*, p. 76.
[10] At least in Kabardia, according to Grabovskij, *op. cit.*, p. 43.
[11] *ibid.*
[12] Grabovskij, *op. cit.*, p. 44.
[13] Amputation of the adulteress' ears and nose is a punishment found throughout the Caucasus; today, of course, it is rare. It is indeed interesting to note that a Hittite code (about 1350 B. C.) engraved on a stele has been dug up, which legalized such mutilation in case of adultery (cf. H. C. E. Zacharias, *Protohistory*, p. 258).
[14] Dubois de Montpéreux, *Voyage autour du Caucase*, I, p. 132.
[15] Dubrovin, *l. c.*
[16] "Očerk byta Termirgoevcev," SMOMPK, XXIX (1901), No. 1, p. 102.
[17] For the institution of *conjury* see above, pp. 155 f.
[18] Leontovič, II, p. 172, §§ 140, 142.
[19] Leontovič, II, p. 172, § 144.
[20] Leontovič, II, p. 120, § 24. Other adat collections claim the very opposite, cf. Leontovič, II, p. 172, § 147.

the *adats* give the engaged partner the right to dissolve the betrothal promises and to reclaim the *kalym* and engagement gifts.[21]

Seduction and attempted seduction are crimes almost as serious as rape and are punished accordingly.[22]

[835] The Chechens harbour an unusual abhorrence of incest. If an illegitimate child is born of an incestuous union, a heap of dirt is brought to the yard of the persons concerned, or sometimes to a public place, as a special protest of the community.[23] Generally speaking, penalties for sex offenses are inflicted on the culprit by the family, but, in the case of incest, the whole *community* protests. It is a crime that goes beyond the interests of the individual and joint-family.

A closer study of Table 19 will bring out three important facts regarding Chechen penalties for sexual offenses: (1) *both* the adulteress and adulterer are punished,[24] (2) they are killed on the spot, but the avenger thereby becomes a blood-enemy of the family of the person he kills, and (3) pardon and reconciliation are more or less the rule today, but not without heavy reparation and divorce.

## TABLE 19

### Penalty for Adultery according to Chechen Adats

| Tribe Chechen | Penalty | | Sources |
|---|---|---|---|
| | Adulteress | Adulterer | |
| Dzherakh and Nazranians | Recently: adulteress is divorced, must refund *kalym*, plus 48 cows to husband. | Husband may kill him in the act. | Leontovič, II, pp. 116 f, § 6; II, p. 118, § 14. Grabovskij, "Inguši," SSKG, IX (1876), pp. 53 f. |
| | Formerly: husband cut adulteress' nose off, divorced her, received 23 head of cattle from her family. | Might be killed in act; if escaped, had to pay 23 head of cattle to offended husband. | |
| Terek Chechens | Husband may not kill adulteress; may bite nose off, divorce her. | Husband may kill adulterer in act; if pardons him, husband has right to 70 head of cattle. | Leontovič, II, p. 122, § 2. Dirr, AGKB, p. 77. Leontovič, II, p. 113, § 9. |
| Kists | May not kill adulterous wife; may cut her nose off and divorce her; he receives 24 cows from her family. | Husband may kill adulterer in act, but obliged to pay bloodwite of 12 cows; if adulterer's sib takes vengeance on husband, must pay bloodwite of 24 cows. If adulterer escapes, he must pay husband 24 cows. | Leontovič, II, p. 120, § 23. Dirr, AGKB, p. 77. Leontovič, II, p. 113, § 9. |
| Salati Aukh Ichkerians | Husband may cut her nose off and divorce her. He may not kill her. | | Leontovič, II, p. 139, § 63; II, p. 113, § 9. Dirr, *l. c.* |

[21] Leontovič, II, p. 172, § 145.

[22] Leontovič, II, p. 173, § 149.

[23] Berže, Čečnja i Čečency, pp. 86 f.

[24] This seems to be a further evolution of the *adat* permitting the offended husband to punish his wife *with impunity*. The right to kill the adulterers most likely was not limited to the

If we now pass on to the Lesghian peoples we shall learn that each province, each district, and even each village has its own customary laws, but the differences are only accidental. Everywhere the *adats* agree at least in one point—in their severity. Death or its equivalent for any sex crime is the general rule. [84

To avoid useless repetitions and to facilitate comparison we present the Daghestanian *adats* in form of a table (Table 20).

Homosexual rape is doubtless a rare crime among these mountaineers, but laws referring to these offenses are a great help in interpreting the sanctions against sexual transgressions. If homosexual rape is punished as severely as natural rape, we have indubitable evidence that sexual taboos do not exist exclusively to safeguard the integrity of the hymen and to prevent bastard births, as one might perhaps be inclined to think from what we have said about virginal integrity.[25] We suspect, however, that laws regarding such rare sexual perversity as homosexuality and bestiality have not arisen from any special need for such sanctions but rather introduced through Islamic influence.[26] [839]

The table shows that throughout Daghestan (1) the *adats* expressly appoint the nearest male relatives to punish the culprits. [696]

(2) Adultery, fornication, rape, homosexuality—all are capital crimes, punishable with death, but admit of degrees. The most abhorred crimes are incest and rape, followed by adultery, fornication, homosexuality, and finally bestiality. "Incest" must, naturally, be understood in the Lesghian sense. We must not forget that when these *adats* were in force, the Lesghians were endogamists and that at most brother-sister and parent-child marriages were forbidden.

(3) Another remarkable agreement in the *adats* of the various Lesghian peoples is the obligation of killing *both* partners or *none* at all. If only one offender is avenged, the avenger himself becomes a blood-enemy of the relatives of the lover he happens to kill.

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husband. In the official report of May 28, 1870 we read: "May 28, a native of Netsi [in Chechnia] of this district, a boy 13 years of age, Nika-Akhma Kurban-ogdy, having caught his mother in an adulterous union with a co-villager, Suleyman Mahomed-ogdy, stabbed the adulterer, who later died from the wounds received." Cf. "Iz gorskoj kriminalistiki," SSKG, IV (1870), p. 80.

[25] *Supra*, p. 126.

[26] Islamic law goes into the smallest details and rarest forms of sexual transgressions.

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TABLE 20

**Lesghian Adats regarding**

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| Locality | | Customary penalty for adultery and fornication | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | Death Penalty Possible | | Conditions for the lawful killing of offenders | | | | |
| Province | Naibate or District | Male Offender | Female | Lawful Avenger* | In flagranti | Must kill both offenders or none | Other Conditions | In only one partner is killed, avenger = murderer** |
| Avar | Tsatanykh Naibate | + | + | Husband, father, brother, or son | + | + | | + |
| | Bakhlukh N. | + | + | Husband, father, brother, son | + | — | | |
| | Koisubulun N. | + | + | Husband, father, son, grandson, nephew, uncle | + | — | | + — |
| | Khunsakh N. | + | + | Husband, father, son, grandson, nephew, uncle | + | — | | + — |
| Gunib | Tilitl-Hidatl N. | + | + | Husband, father, son | + | — | | + — |
| | Kuyada N. | + | + | Husband, brother, son, cousin | + | — | | + — |
| | Tleiserukh N. | + | + | Husband, father, brother | + | + | | + — |
| | Andalal N. | + | + | Husband, brother, son, father | + | + | | + — |
| Samur | | + | + | Husband, father, brother, son | — | + | | + |
| Dargwa | Usisha District | + | + | Husband or relative | + | + | | + |
| | Mikakhi D. | + | + | Husband or relative | + | + | | + |
| | Hyuraki D. | + | + | Husband or relative | + | + | | + |
| | Mugn D. | + | + | Husband or relative | — | + | | + |
| | Akusha D. | + | + | Husband or relative | + | + | | + |
| | Tsudakhar D. | + | + | Husband or relative | + | + | | + |
| | Balchar D. | + | + | | | | | |
| | Tsumkan | + | + | | | | | |
| Kurin | | + | + | Husband, father, brother | + | + | | + — |
| Kaitago-Tabassaran | Mahal Kara-kaitag | + | + | Husband | + | + | + | + |
| | North Tabassaran | + | + | Husband | | | + | + |
| | Mahal Terekeme | | | | | | | |
| | Mahal Urdzhamul | | | | | | + | |

* The LAWFUL AVENGER is always a relative of the *female* offender, or in the case of rape, the person attacked.

** By IF ONLY ONE PARTNER IS KILLED, AVENGER = MURDERER we mean that

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## Adultery, Fornication, and Rape

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| Customary Penalty for Rape | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Natural Rape | | | | Homosexual | | | | |
| See supra, Table on abduction*** | Offender may be killed | Banishment | Must pay a fine | May be killed | Banishment | Must pay fine | Number of footnote | Sources (Adat Collections) |
| + | | | | | | | | ADOiZO, 472 f, §§ 24 f; Dirr, AGKB, 71. |
| + | | | | | | | 1 | ADOiZO, 455, §§ 17 f; AGKB, 70. |
| + | | | | | | | 2 | ADOiZO, 439, § 20; AGKB, 70. |
| + | | | | | | | 2 | ADOiZO, 439, § 20; AGKB, 70. |
| + | | | | | | | 3 | ADOiZO, 338 f, § 20; AGKB, 73. |
| + | | | | | | | 4 | ADOiZO, 914, § 54; 303 f, § 18, AGKB, 72 f. |
| + | | | | | | | 5 | ADOiZO, 391, § 19; AGKB, 72. |
| + | | | | | | | 6 | ADOiZO, 278, §§ 24 f; AGKB, 71. |
| | | | | | | | | ADOiZO, 546 f, §§ 17—20; 530, § 15; AGKB, 74. |
| + | | | | + | | + | 7 | ADO, 16, 105. |
| | + | + | + | + | + | + | 8 | ADO, 16, 51 f. |
| | | | | | | | 9 | ADO, 16, 21, 91 f, 105. |
| | | | | + | | + | 10 | ADO, 16, 52, 65, 105. |
| | + | | + | + | | | 11 | ADO, 16, 38, 105. |
| + | + | | + | + | | + | 12 | ADO, 16, 105, 117 f. |
| | | | | | | | | ADO, 16, 65, 105; ADOiZO, 88, § 116; 121, § 82. |
| | | | | | | | | ADO, 16, 65, 105; ADOiZO, 88, § 116; 121, § 82. |
| | + | | | + | | | 13 | AJuDO, 8 f. |
| | | | | | | | 14 | AJuDO, 43 f; ADOiZO, 575, §§ 10—13; AGKB, 75. |
| | + | | + | | | | 15 | AJuDO, 26. |
| | | | | | | | 16 | ADOiZO, 548, § 19; AGKB, 75. |
| | + | | | | | | 17 | ADOiZO, 48. |

if the husband, father, son, etc. of the woman kills only one of the offenders, he is regarded as a murderer and therefore incurs the same penalty.

*** *Supra*, p. 94, Table 12.

684 (1) The partner that is spared is banished for 10 years. ADOiZO, pp. 472 f, §§ 24 f.

(2) If one partner is killed, the other must at least be wounded. If one partner is totally spared, the avenger becomes a blood-enemy (*qanly*) of the relatives of the person he killed unless he can find 25 conjurors who will swear that the two were caught in the act. ADOiZO, p. 455, §§ 17 f.

(3) If the adulterer is killed while the adulteress manages to escape, the avenger becomes a *qanly* if he fails to declare his wife guilty. Cf. ADOiZO, p. 338 f, § 20.

(4) The cousin referred to in the *adat* as a lawful avenger is meant any cousin to the third degree on father's or mother's side. If a husband kills only the male partner, declaring his wife innocent, the avenger becomes a *qanly*; if he declares her guilty of adultery, he is free. Cf. ADOiZO, p. 914, § 54; 303 f, § 18; Dirr, AGKB, p. 72 f.

(5) If the avenger kills one partner, he must at least wound the other. ADOiZO, p. 391, § 19; Dirr, AGKB, p. 72.

(6) If one partner escapes, he or she, as the case may be, is fined and banished, and his (or her) property destroyed. The avenger may spare one partner if later on he can prove that *both* were guilty. ADOiZO, p. 278, §§ 24 f; Dirr, AGKB, p. 71.

(7) If both partners are spared, the adulteress becomes a blood-enemy of her husband as well as her own family. All her property goes over to her husband (ADO, pp. 16, 105), and a fine of one ox must be paid to the *dzhamat* (community). The adulterer in this case becomes a blood-enemy of the husband and of the adulteress' sib (ADO, p. 105), and just as the adulteress he too is obliged to pay a fine of one ox to the community (*ibid*). In case of fornication, the offenders are punished according to the *adats* regarding elopement (ADO, p. 105). Penalty for homosexual rape is blood-enmity and a fine of one ox to the sib of the person attacked (ADO, pp. 105 f). The other cases of rape are treated as a case of bride capture (ADO, p. 105). A woman is obliged to scream when she is attacked, otherwise she is suspected of adultery or fornication. She may free herself of this suspicion and the penalty involved by finding six male relatives who are willing to take the *khatun-tallikh* (an oath, the sanction for perjury being an obligatory divorce). Attempted rape and even a "suspicious approach" is punished like actual rape (ADO, p. 105).

(8) The penalty imposed on the adulterer is the same as that imposed on a person who has raped a married woman (ADO, p. 52). In case of fornication, both partners must pay a fine of four oxen each to the community (*ibid.*).

(9) If both partners are spared, each must pay a fine of one ox to the *turgak* ("police" department) and two oxen to the community, and both are banished for a year. The offended husband has a right to divorce his adulterous wife; if he makes use of the right, the adulterer is obliged to pay an additional Rs. 100 as compensation to her husband. (Cf. ADO, pp. 16, 91 f, 105.)

(10) The adulterous woman must pay a fine of four oxen. The penalty imposed on the adulterer is the same as in rape (ADO, p. 52). Homosexual rape is punished with death (blood-enmity), and one ox must be given the relatives of the person attacked (ADO, p. 65).

(11) If the adulterer and adulteress are spared, they must each pay a fine of seven oxen to the community. If the husband uses his right to divorce his unfaithful wife, she and her lover become blood-enemies of her family (ADO, pp. 16, 38, 105). In case of fornication, the man must marry the girl, otherwise he will become a *qanly* of her sib (ADO, p. 38). Anyone who rapes a woman is obliged to give one ox to the relatives of the victim and pay a fine of seven oxen to the community, besides incurring blood-enmity (ADO, p. 38).

(12) If the avenger did not catch the two offenders in the act, one eye-witness is sufficient to inflict the same penalty as for elopement; both must pay a fine of two oxen to the community and seven kettles each worth Rs. 2 to the *turgak* (ADO, pp. 16, 105, 118).

(13) If the woman escapes, her husband may divorce her for adultery; if her partner escapes, he becomes a *qanly* of the offended husband and is obliged to pay a bloodwite of Rs. 250. A husband may spare the life of his adulterous wife provided that later on he can prove her guilt (AJuDO, pp. 8 f). In case of fornication, the avenger may spare the life of the girl, leaving vengeance or mercy to her own family (*ibid.*). The penalty is the same when

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the person raped is a minor or an adult: blood-enmity or bloodwite of Rs. 250 (AJuDO, p. 9). 684

(14) If the adulteress escapes, she becomes the blood-enemy of her husband as well as of her own family. The same holds for her lover. The offended husband is allowed to kill his wife and spare the adulterer, but not vice versa, without becoming a *qanly*. In case of fornication, if both partners are not killed, they have the strict obligation of marrying or else become outcasts and are banished (AJuDO, pp. 43 f).

(15) If a man is accused of adultery and fails to justify himself by an oath taken together with 40 conjurors, the adulteress may be killed by her husband. If a husband decides to kill his adulterous wife, her lover automatically becomes a blood-enemy. The adulterer can choose to pay a bloodwite of Rs. 60 and a fine of six head of cattle instead. The fine is paid to the district (AJuDO, p. 26). If the father of a girl insists, the man who had intercourse with her must marry her, otherwise he must pay a fine of six oxen and becomes a blood-enemy of the girl's family (AJuDO, p. 26). The penalty for raping a widow is three head of cattle. If the woman attacked is married, the offender becomes a blood-enemy if he fails to justify himself by an oath taken together with 40 conjurors (Cf. AJuDO, p. 26).

(16) The adulteress may be divorced (ADOiZO, p. 548, § 19; Dirr, AGKB, p. 75). If the offended husband makes use of this right, the adulterer must pay a bloodwite and is banished for 20—30 days (*ibid.*).

(17) The fornicators are obliged to marry, otherwise they may be killed by the girl's family. Anyone who rapes a girl, widow, divorcée, or a married woman is obliged to marry her, otherwise he too may be killed (AJuDO, p. 48).

In pre-Russian times it was sufficient if the husband had learned by mere hearsay that his wife had been unfaithful: he could at once inflict the death-blow without further investigation.[27] Although during the Russian occupation the right to kill one's adulterous wife still existed (namely, if the wife had been caught in the act or if she had fled with her lover on being detected, or if she had been found guilty by the people's court), the husband seldom made use of his right. A wife was generally divorced, and as compensation, the offended husband kept all her property.[28] We say that she was "generally" divorced, for, if we go through the various criminalogical reports of the Russian (pre-Soviet) times, we find not a few cases where the right to kill has been actually made use of. To mention but a few of these official reports: "December 28, 1869, a citizen of the aul Orot, of the Province of Avaria, by the name of Gamzat Labazan-ogdy, stabbed his brother to death because Ali (his brother) had committed adultery with Gamzat's wife, whose name is Patimat Mutalilov-kizy."[29] Or again, "December 12, 1869, a native of the aul Arsug . . . having caught his wife, Kifi Rodzheb-kizy, in an adulterous union with his co-villager, Ramazan Adzhab-Palay-ogdy, killed her with the help of her own kinsman, Dzhabrank Tseyd-ogdy."[30] [586]

The Lesghians love to repeat the ballad of Nika Bulat. It is a tragic tale indeed, but a tale that clearly conveys the deep conviction of these mountaineers of the heinousness of adultery. Nika Bulat, we must remember, was a righteous 684 538 837

[27] Kovalevskij, *Zakon*, II, pp. 195 f.

[28] Similar changes are noticeable throughout the Caucasus.

[29] "Iz gorskoj kriminalistiki," SSKG, III (1870), p. 19.

[30] *ibid.*

684 man. He loved his mother as every faithful son should. In fact, he loved her
[538] with an exceptionally deep filial love. But alas! How painful it must have
been for him to learn that his mother, whom he so worshipped, had an illicit
[837] lover! His heart burst with grief and rage. Nika Bulat at once rushed to the adulterer's home; his eyes flashed with rage as he whipped out his dagger and plunged it into the lover's heart. Nika Bulat then hacked off his head and hands, and took these gory limbs and head to his mother, and staring at her for a moment as if he had gone mad, dropped them at her feet. On seeing her furious son and especially the gruesome sight before her, she burst into tears, but tears that only served to make Nika Bulat's blood boil with rage even still more violently. With one thrust of his dagger, his mother lay dying beside the head and hands she once so wrongfully loved to clasp. But that is not the end of the tragedy. Nika Bulat's sisters were present and witnessed all. They fell down on their knees, weeping bitterly on their mother's breast, as she bled and gasped. But Nika Bulat did not allow his sisters to weep. That same dagger was whipped out once again, and like a flash plunged into the heart of one of his sisters, and then into the heart of the other, thus putting an end to their sobs, sobs that were, in eyes of Nika Bulat, an approval of their mother's crime. For this great act of heroism Nika Bulat was admired by all and proclaimed the head of the village.[31]

[834] This abhorrence of sexual crimes is brought out further by the fact that any accidental touch of the bare hand of a strange woman is considered a violation, and both are regarded as "unclean."[32] Especially in dances all physical contact must be scrupulously avoided, no matter how small and crowded the room may be. Baddeley describes how the dancers curve in and out within a few inches of each other, but never is there even the slightest bodily contact, "the breach of this observance, even inadvertently, leading to many a fatal quarrel. A husband, brother or lover, looking on with jealous eye, would whip out his 'kinjal' at the mere suspicion of a touch..."[33] A further reflexion of this extreme sensitivity is the considerably large number of *adats* which make no distinction between mere contact and actual rape. In the Districts of Hyuraki, Usisha, and Mugn, for example, actual rape, attempted rape, and a mere suspicious touch or approach are all equally punished.[34]

684 Homosexuality is punished as severely as voluntary illicit relations between
838 persons of the opposite sex. To mention but a few examples: in Hyuraki District, the two persons caught in the act may be killed on the spot by their relatives, or else, if spared, each must pay a fine of three oxen to the community, and both persons are banished for a year, not to mention other penalties;[35] in

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[31] Cf. Dirr, AGKB, pp. 75 f.

[32] L'vov, "Domašnjaja i semjnaja žizn Dagestanskich gorcev Avarskago plemeni," SSKG, III (1870), p. 21.

[33] Baddeley, *op. cit.*, II, p. 13.

[34] Cf. "Adaty Darginskich Obščestv," SSKG, VII (1873), pp. 65, 91, 105.

[35] "Adaty Darginskich Obščestv," p. 92. To free one's self from a charge of homosexuality 40 conjurors are required just as in the case of murder *(ibid.)*.

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Akusha, Tsudakhar, Mugn, Nikakhya, Hyuraki, Usisha, and Sirgua the penalty for homosexual rape is the same as that for murder.[36] 684 [838]

Bestiality is not punished as severely as other sexual crimes. Generally, the person is merely fined ; he is never killed for the act.[37] [839]

If a maiden or a widow becomes pregnant, she may secretly break into the home of her seducer, give birth to the child, and as a result, he must marry her. This practice, however, is not an *adat* but a practice encouraged by the Šâfi'itic school.[38]

The SOUTHERN CAUCASIANS. In ancient Georgia a husband had the right to kill his adulterous wife as well as her lover ; a father had the right to kill the accomplice of any of his children.[39] In more recent times, the male partner was generally spared by the Pshavs,[40] Khevsurs,[41] and the Tushi,[42] otherwise the avenger himself would become a blood-enemy. In Svanetia illicit intercourse was not punished with death if the lovers happened to be of the same village.[43] Among the Svans, later on, the avenger of an act of illicit intercourse was obliged to pay half of the usual *tsor* (bloodwite),[44] and this very sum (besides a refund of the *kalym*) had to be paid to him by the family of his adulterous wife,[45] so that to become a blood-enemy in such a case did not involve great inconvenience. In Khevsuria, for example, if the life of the adulteress was spared, she would be subjected to indescribable torture. Her cheeks would be slit, her nose, ears or arms would be amputated and hair cut off.[46] This sort of punishment has not yet completely disappeared, though it has become very rare. Baddeley speaking of his host in Georgia writes : "Our host told us that his own uncle, having served a sentence of imprisonment in Tiflis, came back to find his wife living with another man ... He cut off one of her ears, her nose and her right hand ; but that was some time ago."[47] Today the penalty for adultery is not half as severe : generally the wife is divorced and the *kalym* must be refunded to the husband together with half of the usual bloodwite.

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[36] "Adaty Darginskich Obščestv," p. 21.

[37] Cf. "Adaty Darginskich Obščestv," pp. 52, 92, 106, 119.

[38] Kovalevskij, *Zakon*, II, p. 168.

[39] Code of King Vakhtang VI, § 42, Karst ed. p. 92 f.

[40] Kovalevskij, *Zakon*, II, p. 94.

[41] Kovalevskij, *op. cit.*, II, p. 120.

[42] *ibid.*

[43] Kovalevskij, *Zakon*, II, p. 94 : "Pravilo, po kotoromu preljubodĕi i soblazniteli podležali krovnoj mesti, terpĕlo u plavov isključenie v tom slučae, kogda vinovnymi javjalis' odnosel'čane — rodstveniki. Mĕsto ubijstva v etom slučae zanimala prekraščenie vsjakago obščenija i nerĕdko istreblenie ličnoj sobstvennosti." Just why should illicit intercourse be more severely punished if persons of different villages are in question ? It would seem that the Svanian rule of local endogamy lessens the guilt ; that is, the intercourse takes place between two *possible* mates. Moreover, blood-feuds between relatives are, as a general rule, impossible.

[44] Dirr, AGKB, p. 83.

[45] *ibid.*

[46] Makalatija, "Iz starogo narodnogo byta Plavov," SE, 1938, No. 1, p. 109 ; Baddeley, *op. cit.*, I, p. 237 ; Dubrovin, *Istorija*, I, ii, p. 312.

[47] Baddeley, *l. c.*

684 This relatively mild punishment has been introduced mainly through Christian influence and on account of the dearth of women caused by female infanticide.[48]

[847] The reports regarding the OSSETINE penalties are indeed confusing, until the proper local and temporal distinctions are made. Thus according to an ancient *adat* of the "frontier" Ossetes, as some Russian writers call them, the avenger of adultery would become the blood-enemy of the relatives of the adulterer. Later on a new customary law arose, giving the husband full right to kill the adulterer as well as the adulteress, with impunity.[49] The Ossetes of Tagaursk and Kurtalinsk usually killed the adulterer and threw the unfaithful wife out of the house.[50] The Alaghirs, on the contrary, were more merciful toward the adulterer and less so toward the adulteress. He was obliged to give the offended husband a horse and saddle, and then give him a feast, whereas the woman was mutilated (her nose was cut off) and then sent back to her father. If her husband forgave her, her family had to give him a horse and a gun.[51] In the collection of *adats* of 1841 (§ 41), the adulterer could be killed with impunity if caught *in flagranti*, whereas in the last decades of the nineteenth century Kovalevskij learned that the adulterer might indeed be wounded but not killed.[52] Inspite of these variations, *all* Ossetes have always believed that adultery was a very serious crime.

Formerly even mere suspicion justified the jealous husband to kill his wife and the suspected lover.[53] If he spared her life, he punished her publicly, bound her naked to a donkey and drove her through the village, whipping both the donkey and the miserable culprit, while the children and the girls of the *aul* would throw filth at her and sing jeering songs.[54]

Formerly to accept anything less than blood (that is, bloodwite) was considered a disgrace and even unlawful.[55]

The penalties for fornication were also very severe. The girl was set upon a donkey, her face to the tail and thus publicly driven through the village, jeered [848] and spat upon by her fellow-villagers. And if she gave birth to an illegitimate child, the baby would be killed. If the mother's life was spared, she could marry only a widower,[56] or, of course, her lover.[57] Sometimes the lover was even forced to marry her or at least pay the usual *kalym*.[58]

684 The TURKS of the Caucasus are also very merciless when it comes to punishing adultery. If a Kumyk or Nogai husband or near relative catches a woman in the act of adultery, he may kill both culprits on the spot. If the

[48] Dirr, *l. c.*

[49] Pfaff's article in SSKG, II, pp. 274 f., cited by Dirr, AGKB, p. 80.

[50] Leontovič, II, p. 41

[51] Leontovič, II, pp. 44, 38.

[52] Kovalevski, *Coutume contemp.*, p. 349, *note* 1.

[53] S. Karginov, "Krovavaja mest' u osetin," SMOMPK, XLIV (1914), No. 3, pp. 204 f.

[54] Dirr, *l. c.*

[55] Karginov, *l. c.*

[56] Baddeley, *op. cit.*, I, p. 237.

[57] A. H. Post, *Grundriß der ethnol. Jurispr.*, II, p. 378.

[58] Dubrovin, *Istorija*, I, i, p. 339.

1 [usually divorce, refund of bride price, and half of usual bloodwite -- Analyst]

2 [in Georgia -- Analyst]

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adulterer and the adulteress escape, they both become blood-enemies of the husband and must pay a bloodwite of Rs. 100.[59] 684

In case of fornication, marriage between the two lovers becomes obligatory. The lover may divorce his wife immediately after marriage, but by so doing he incurs the obligation of paying the customary *kebin-khak*.[60] If the girl is too young to marry, the man must wait till she becomes old enough.[61] In case of incest, the regulations set down in the *šarî'a* are followed rather than the *adats*.[62]

Pederasty and sodomy occur very seldom among the North Caucasians and Ossetes, whereas they are rather frequent among the neighbouring Karachai and Taulu.[63] 338]

The KURDS also have the practice of cutting off the adulteress' ears and nose.[64]

## § 2. PROBLEMS AND GENERAL CONCLUSIONS

### 1. Historical Reconstruction

Despite the many dissimilarities we have noticed in the customary penal laws of the various peoples of North Caucasus, it is quite possible that the differences are merely different *stages* of one and the same *adat*. (1) According to the oldest customary laws, the adulteress had to be punished, and she alone. She was punished if she had been caught in the act, or even if the husband had learned of her infidelity from others. Sometimes mutilation (nose, ears or arms were cut off, hair clipped, cheeks slit, etc.) preceded the execution; sometimes, after thus being mutilated, she was sold into slavery. (2) It seems that later on, at least in some parts of North Caucasus, she might be mutilated, but not killed. If the jealous husband would nevertheless take her life, he would become a blood-enemy of her relatives. (3) Later still, especially, but not exclusively, through Islamic influence, the adulterer too had to be punished. He would have to pay a certain sum to the offended husband, a sum sufficient to reconcile himself with the relatives of his adulterous wife, whom he had slain and thereby become their blood-enemy. The *adats* which insist on the *death* of the adulterer seem to be relatively recent. (4) As a precaution against over-hasty and unjunst action, the husband was obliged to kill both partners or none at all. To slay only the adulteress or only the adulterer was now looked upon as suspicious and even unjust, and therefore the avenger himself became a blood-enemy of the relatives of the partner he happened to kill. The insistence on killing the culprits *in the act* seems also to be a later innovation, a means to check false suspicion and [567]

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[59] "Adaty žitelej kumyskoj ploskosti," SSKG, VI (1872), p. 13; Leontovič, II, p. 205, § 13. See also N. Semenov, "Očerki narodnych obyčaev Kumykov Terskoj Oblasti," *Terskiij Sbornik* II (1892), No. 2, Part 2, pp. 75 f.

[60] The *kebin-khak* is generally Rs. 100. Cf. Semenov, *op. cit.*, p. 75.

[61] "Adaty žitelej kumyskoj ploskosti," p. 15, § 10.

[62] "Adaty žitelej kumyskoj ploskosti," p. 13.

[63] Kovalevskij, *Coutume contemp.*, p. 340.

[64] Jankó, "Néprajzi, etc.," Zichy's *Kaukázusi és középázsiai utazásai*, p. 61.

[Sic.. Analyst]

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684 unjust death penalty. (5) Finally, the adulteress was merely divorced; she lost her right to the *kebin*, while the *kalym* had to be returned to the husband. The adulterer was obliged to pay a fine.

Amputation of the adulteress' ears and nose is a punishment found in the *adats* of all Caucasians. It is interesting to note that a Hittite code (about 1350 B. C.) engraved on a stele has been dug up, which expressly legalized such mutilation in case of adultery.[65] This code may be based on a substratum of customary laws which are now preserved in the isolated *auls* of the Caucasus.

## 2. Motives

The main motives for punishing sexual offenses seem to be: (1) in case of defloration, the girl loses her value and consequently the family suffers a great economic loss;[66] (2) there is a serious danger of a stranger being born into the sacred sanctuary of the home and later treated as a legitimate member and even as head of the family (*supra*, p. 126).

## 3. Reports regarding Sexual Laxity of the Caucasians

834 In view of such severe penalties as we have described above, we cannot
[832] help being suspicious about some of the reports regarding laxity of morals among the mountain tribes of the Caucasus. The Kuban Cherkess are supposed to have formerly been proud of the fact that their wives attracted other men. Every
[836] woman had to have a lover to prove her true value.[67] Longworth's report, to mention but another example, contrasts the scrupulousness after marriage with "their unconstrained demeanor before marriage."[68] "The maidens of Circassia are allowed a latitude in their behaviour which is elsewhere unknown; not only do they talk and dance with the other sex, but when they please, they exercise their blandishments to an extent that to a stranger is no less perplexing than
[796] agreeable."[69] Then there are the many reports about public religious hetaerism. Interiano claims that at funerals of prominent personages a very strange sort
[764] of sacrifice takes place: a girl of 12 to 14 years of age is placed upon a skin of an ox that has just been slaughtered and in the presence of men and women a robust young man of the community must try to deflower her. After several failures, the young man promises to marry her (or makes some other promises), and then the girl usually consents.[70] There are also the reports about sexual
837 hospitality, for example, in the "Relation du Sieur Ferrand médicin du Khan
836 des Tatares, touchant la Crimée, les Tartares-Nogaies et ce qui se passe au serail
574 du dit Khan,"[71] in *Voyage historiques et géographique dans les pays situé entre la Mer Caspienne par Edouard Barbier du Bocage et de Baert*, as well as in the

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[65] H. C. E. Zacharias, *Protohistory*, p. 258.
[66] *Supra*, pp. 126 f.
[67] Dirr, AGKB, pp. 81 f.
[68] Longworth, *A Year among the Circassians*, I, p. 286.
[69] Longworth, *op. cit.*, I, p. 216.
[70] Ladyženskij, FT, p. 183, Dirr's note.
[71] In *Recueil des Voyages au Nord*, Amsterdam, 1718.

837 to the general rule. This village is inhabited by a degraded Avarian tribe or,
836 as Baddeley suggests, "perhaps the remnant of an older race absorbed by the
574 latter."[81] But even here, among this "degraded" Avarian tribe, the girl "might only be touched from waist upwards; in Shamyl's time a too-ardent lover was stabbed to death, for a breach of this adat, by his own beloved, and the deed was not only not punished but even greatly applauded."[82]

936 There are also similar conflicting reports regarding the neighbouring mountain tribes of Georgia. Klaproth, for instance, speaking of the Tushi, says, "Le commerce illicite entre les deux sexes est très rare chez eux..."[83] Klaproth's claim is in full accord with the severe penalties for fornication as described by Baddeley: "If a girl was unchaste, she was set upon a donkey, face to tail, and carried through the 'aoul', spat upon and jeered at." He goes on to say that "if a girl had a child, she was driven out of the community and the child killed, unless some charitable person took pity on it. A young man could not marry a girl once seduced by another man, but an old man or widower might."[84] Other reports, however, maintain the very contrary and say that the mountain tribes of Georgia are extremely lax. A few distinctions will, I believe, clarify these contradictions. The Khevsurs[85] and the Pshavs[86] have an institution called *tsatsali*, that is, "brother" or "sister" but actually legal lovers. It is only freedom with non-*tsatsalis* and pregnancy that seems to have been discountenanced by these tribes. As long as the girl restricted her relations to her *tsatsali* and avoided pregnancy she was "chaste." One of the main reasons for the
[582] relatively late marriage age among the mountain tribes of Georgia (*supra*, p. 67) is this institution.[87]

### 4. Relation of Penalties for Sexual Offenses to the Economic and Social Organization of the Caucasian Mountaineers

182 All that we have said about the severity of the penal laws of the North
687 Caucasians is in perfect harmony with their general economic and social organization. It is a known fact that lower hunters discountenance sexual liberty more than the higher hunters; the lower agrarians more than the higher; the pastoralists more than the agrarians; the father-right family more than the mother-right.[88] Our North Caucasians have a strongly pastoral and father-right organization.

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[81] Baddeley, *op. cit.*, II, p. 13.

[82] *ibid.* Baddeley's source is Komarov's article "Adaty i sudoproizvodstvo po nim," SSKG, I, p. 57. Dubrovin, *Istorija*, I, i, p. 564 has the incident too, but he fails to mention his source.

[83] Klaproth, *Voyage au Mont Caucase et en Géorgie*, II, p. 72.

[84] Baddeley, *op. cit.*, I, p. 237.

[85] Kovalevskij, "La famille matriarcale au Caucase," *L'Anthropologie*, IV (1893), p. 273.

[86] Makalatija, "Iz starogo narodnogo byta Pšavov," SE, 1938, No. 1, p. 98.

[87] Since the *tsatsali* in Pshavia are always chosen from among relatives and marriage is possible only between non-relatives, marriage would mean that the two would have to separate and love another person, a fact that makes them reluctant to marry. In fact, they sometimes do not marry at all. For a detailed exposition of the institution, see Makalatija, *op. cit.*, pp. 98—102.

[88] H. Günther, *Formen und Urgeschichte der Ehe*, p. 90.

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# IV. CONCLUSION

## Chapter XIV

## Conclusion

### § 1. MARRIAGE AND THE FAMILY OF THE CAUCASIANS IN THE LIGHT OF HISTORY

#### 1. Russian (Soviet and Pre-Soviet) Influence

That the Russian military, political, and cultural influence has greatly affected, changed and unified, the marriage and family customs of the various peoples of the Caucasus cannot be denied. We need but recall some of the many facts we have pointed out in our comparative study. 177.58 583

(1) The Russians, we have seen, severely prosecute *polygyny* (*supra*, p. 39) and not without success. The relative scarcity of polygamous unions throughout North Caucasus and the neighbourhood, regardless of how ethnically different the tribes may be, must be attributed, at least in part, to Russian legislation. 177.59 595

(2) In recent times both mates have begun to enjoy greater *freedom of choice*, (*supra*, p. 76), thanks to the Russian insistance on freedom in mating as a *conditio sine qua non* for a legally valid marriage. [584]

(3) We have also observed how rapidly *bride purchase* was disappearing or assuming an entirely different significance throughout the Caucasus, again, at least in part, owing to Russian legislation, industrialization, and education (*supra*, pp. 83, 87, 90). [583]

(4) *Bride price, bloodwite*, etc. were formerly measured in cows, horses, sheep, and oxen, but now they are measured in money : not in live stock but in Russian rubles ! (*Supra*, pp. 82—89, 95, 168—179).

(5) The Russian opposition to *bride capture* has helped to make the practice become rare (*supra*, pp. 97 f). It was Russian positive law gaining ascendency over the *patria potestas* and its insistance on freedom of choice that encouraged and even defended elopement (*supra*, p. 98).

(6) The general disappearance of slavery and the associated sociological consequences, e. g., *the marriage impediments*, [583] [587]

(7) the *less severe penalties for sex crimes* which are gradually being adopted by all tribes of Caucasia (*supra*, pp. 175, 180). 177.68 684

(8) and the improvement in the *status of the female sex*, all must be reckoned among the effects of Russian and Soviet influence. 177.56 562

p.189

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Women are generally excluded from being conjurors. One of the most common forms of evidence in the *adat* courts is conjury, an oath taken by an established number of relatives of the defendant or plaintiff. Any hesitation, refusal of one of the conjurors to swear, or failure to find the required number of conjurors are considered undeniable evidence. The oath is taken by each of the conjurors either on the Koran, or sometimes toe *khatun-tallkh* must be sworn. The practice of conjury is found among all Caucasian mountain tribes: Cherkess, Chechens, Lesghians, Georgians, neighbouring Tartars, Kumyks, etc.[24] The number of conjurors required depends on the gravity of the crime, the penalty connected with it, and on the social position of the contending parties and conjurors. The following is an example of a catalogue of conjurors established for theft in Mikakhi District. 562 695 [685]

*For stealing sheep:*

| | |
|---|---|
| one sheep | 3 conjurors |
| two sheep | 4 conjurors |
| three sheep | 5 conjurors |
| four sheep | 6 conjurors |
| more than four | 6 conjurors |

*For stealing cows:*

| | |
|---|---|
| one cow | 5 conjurors |
| two cows | 10 conjurors |
| three cows | 12 conjurors |
| more than three | 12 conjurors |

*For stealing young domestic animals:*

| | |
|---|---|
| one colt less than three years old | 6 conjurors |
| one one-year-old calf | 3 conjurors |
| one two-year-old heifer | 5 conjurors |
| one two-year-old ox | 5 conjurors |
| one three-year-old ox | 6 conjurors |

This catalogue has been taken from the "Adat collection for the Districts of Dargwa Province."[25] For murder and crimes considered as serious as murder[26] the number of conjurors may be as high as 40. Generally only relatives may be conjurors. This requirement is evidently a reflection of the strong solidarity of the Caucasian sib: to swear falsely would bring ruin to the swearer, and should a large number of conjurors be required, the entire sib, living and dead, may be doomed. [682]

The proof by conjury is recognized by Islamic law, but its existence in the Caucasus need not be attributed to Mohammedanism. (1) Even in Arabia, it pre-existed Islamism. In fact Mohammed merely borrowed and incorporated the *kazama* into his system.[27] (2) Moreover, it is a widespread institution among

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[24] See the various *adat* collections. See also Kovalevskij, *Coutume contemp.*, especially pp. 443 f: *Code of King Vakhtang VI*, Karst edition, pp. 60, 179.

[25] "Adaty Darginskich Obščestv," SSKG, VII (1873), p. 53.

[26] *Supra*, Chapters XII and XIII.

[27] Goldziher, "Muhammedanisches Recht in Theorie und Wirklichkeit," *Zeitsch. f. vergl. Rechtsw.*, VIII (1889), No. 3, p. 412.

21: Kolarz J-4 (no date) 1952 R1 Soviet Union R1
[Osset]
[Kabardin]
Caucasia RH1



that three districts were to be added to the Northern Ossetin A.S.S.R. in their entirety as well as parts of three other districts. The major portion of this new Ossetin territory was sliced off the Stavropol Territory, but a section of it came from Ingushetia, which had occupied the western border area of the Chechen-Ingush A.S.S.R. In this way the Northern Ossetin A.S.S.R. grew from 2,390 square miles before the war to 3,250 square miles. This territorial change altered the ethnographic character of the Republic, for together with its new territories Ossetia received a fairly large number of Russians who mostly lived in the two new 'Ossetin' towns, Mozdok and Malgobek. Russian communists thus obtained a greater say in the running of the Northern Ossetin A.S.S.R. at the expense of their Ossetin comrades. In the small Northern Ossetin Republic of the inter-war period (an Autonomous Province until 1936) the Ossetins had formed 84 per cent of the entire population against 13·4 per cent Russians and Ukrainians. In 'Greater Ossetia' however, the percentage of the Ossetins may have dropped to about 60 per cent while the Slav share may have increased accordingly.

Ca. 631 162 S.U. 563 634 Ca. [131]

In addition to the territorial expansion of Ossetia the Soviet Government made still another 'concession' to the Ossetins. The capital of the republic, Vladikavkaz, was allowed to assume the Ossetin name of Dzaudzhikau – a worthless gesture since Russian predominance in the town was not affected by the change of its name. Dzaudzhikau remained that which was implied in its former name of Vladikavkaz, meaning 'Ruler of the Caucasus'. It continues to be one of the centres from which Russian administration exercises its control over the mountaineers.

Ca. 103 633

## RE-EDUCATION OF THE KABARDINIANS

The Chechens and the Ossetins represent the two extremes in the attitude of the local Caucasus peoples towards the Russians – the most irreconcilable resistance in the case of the Chechens, and the most far-reaching appeasement in the case of the Ossetins. The Kabardinians, forming part of the once powerful Circassian group which had been broken up by Russian colonization and conquest, stand between these extremes. In the Second World War their attitude was not beyond reproach. The Kabardinians had their deserters and traitors, but the Soviet Government did not consider they were bad enough to justify the abolition of their Autonomous Republic.

Ca. 609 687

During the important administrative reorganization which took place in the Caucasus towards the end of the Second World War, the Kabardinian A.S.S.R. was diminished by only 300 square miles, which were incorporated into Georgia. This, however, was not meant to be a punishment for the Kabardinians, but was directed against the Balkars who had inhabited the area in question. The small administrative reform

Ca. [631] [131] S.U. 563 634 687

[Cf. category 116, pp. 185 ff., R1 Sov. Union — Analyst]

3: Anonymous U-4 (no date) 1920 RH1 Caucasia RH1



## (2) Political

631 The title and powers of Viceroy of the Caucasus were revived in 1905; the Viceroyalty had been abolished in 1882 in favour of a Governor-Generalship, directed and controlled by a Caucasian Committee at Petersburg.

The Viceroy's powers comprised:—the supreme civil administration of the Provinces and Governments making up the Caucasus region, the command of all the troops quartered in the Caucasus, the framing of any new regulations necessary in his administration, together with a seat on the Council of the Empire and the title of Ataman of the Cossacks in the Caucasus. There was a civil Governor at the head of each Province or Government (*gubernie*), except those of Daghestan, Sukhum, Batum, and Kars, where the Governor was a military official. The *gubernies* were divided into districts, governed by *nachalniks*, and the districts were divided into communes (*volosts*), each presided over by an elder (*volostnoi starshina*), elected by the community. The *volosts* were made up of villages under elected headmen (*starosts*), assistants to the communal elder. In each village every tenth man had to take his turn in assisting in the preservation of law and order; these were known as tenth men (*desyatniks*).

631 692 There were District Courts (*okrujni sud*) in five Transcaucasian Governments—Tiflis, Kutais, Elisavetopol, Erivan, and Baku. These also constituted courts of appeal from the lower courts. Each minor division had two stipendiary magistrates; civil cases, to the value of 2,000 roubles (£200), appeared before one, and minor police cases before the other. The rural judges (*selskiya sudya*), or the *kandidati* in their stead, investigated all complaints and settled disputes; the number of these *selskiya sudya* could not exceed twelve in each district, and their decisions were subject to the *volostnoi starshina's* approval. Beneath these officials again were elected arbitrators, to settle questions of trespass or damage to property. Appeals

3: Anonymous U-4 (no date) 1920 RH1 Caucasia RH1



from the District Courts' decisions could be taken to the 631
Supreme Court at Tiflis, and from that to Peters- 692
burg. The Courts were accessible and cheap, and there was no discrimination between Russian subjects and foreigners in legal proceedings; but judgements given in Russian Courts had no effect in England, nor decisions obtained in England in Russia.

The Cossack communities are divided into *stanitzas* 631
or villages, each *stanitza* having an elected assembly of 563
30 members; in populous *stanitzas* one man is elected from every ten households. These assemblies have wider powers than the usual *mir* or commune, viz. division of land, assessment of taxes, regulation of schools, grain stores, cultivation, &c., and the election of elders (*ataman*) and judges.

When the Revolution occurred in 1917, the Viceroy was recalled, and the various nationalities in the Caucasus arranged representative National Assemblies; but, as chaos in the Empire increased, relations were broken off with the Central Government. A separate [412]
Transcaucasian Republic was formed, in the Government of which Armenians, Tatars, and Georgians were equally represented; and another new state called the Republic of Daghestan, under the presidency of a Lesghian of the Mohammedan faith, also emerged. The Cossacks, however, remained aloof.

## (3) Educational

Public education was in the hands of the State, or was 871
directly controlled by it. The number of persons able [212]
to read or write in the Caucasus in 1912 was only 17 per cent., and the percentage of schools to the population was very low. Some progress was made in the provision of instruction during 1912 and 1913, but the outbreak of war hindered the completion of the various schemes put forward, in particular by the towns of Anapa, Novorossiisk, Yeisk, Temryuk, Maikop, Grozni, Georgievsk, Pyatigorsk, and Stavropol in

7: Columbia U. S-4,5 1956 RH1 Caucasia RH1

642 accordance with the conditions of the district
645 ..." The same is found in the Georgian Constitution (Article 103), while according to the Azerbaidzhan Constitution (Article 101) this work devolves upon the Ministry of Internal Affairs and the Ministry of State Security.

642 Chapter VII of the Armenian Constitution (Articles 81-92) as well as Chapters X of
.692 the Azerbaidzhan (Articles 110-124) and of the Georgian (Articles 117-130) Constitutions deal with the courts and the procurator's office. Article 86 of the Armenian Constitution states that court proceedings are to be conducted in Armenian, and when necessary in the Russian and Azerbaidzhan languages. The Azerbaidzhan Constitution (Article 117) is just as explicit on this matter: proceedings are to be conducted in Azerbaidzhan, and when necessary in the Russian and Armenian languages. But the provision under this head in the Georgian Constitution (Article 124) is not set forth as explicitly. Therein the said Article reads:

> Judicial proceedings in the Georgian SSR are conducted in the Georgian language, or in the languages of the Autonomous Republics or of the Autonomous Region, persons not knowing these languages being guaranteed the opportunity of fully acquainting themselves with the material in the case through an interpreter and likewise the right to use their own language in court.

532 1 Akhvlediani, Elena Dmitrievna
1901- Georgian landscape painter; Studied in Paris; her themes are on World War II.

BE II 3:564

814 1 Akhvlediani, Georgii Saridanovich
1887- Georgian linguist; member of Akad. nauk Gruz. SSR. Writes on general phonetics, especially in Caucasian languages. Voprosy obshchei i gruzinskoi fonetiki, 1938

BE II 3:563

692 2 Akopian, A. A.
Member of Armenian Supreme Court Collegium

538 2 Akopian, Akop
1866-1937 in Kirovabad. Founder of Armenian proletarian lit. Collection of poems appeared in 1899. Party member since 1904. In 1923 was named: people's poet of Armenia and Georgia. Wrote: Novoeutro, Shirkanal (praising Bolshevik electrification).

BE I 2:19
II 1:607

815 1 Bakhtadze, Kseniia Ermolaevna
Adzhar Deputy Sov. Nats. VS SSSR 4. sozyv, 1954. Born 1899- in Tiflis; seed specialist. Wrote: Morfologicheskii sostav chaia v Gruzii

Bak. Rab. 3/18/54
Zar. Vost. 2/27/54

533 1 Bakhutashvili, Ol'ga Aleksandrovna, 1876-1950 Georgian coloratura singer. People's artist of Georgia; was first to sing in Paliashvili operas. Taught at Tiflis conservatory.

BE II 4:331

692 2 Bakoev, U. B.
Chairman of criminal collegium of the Armenian Supreme Court

Curr. digest 1956

533 1 Balanchivadze, Andrei Melitonovich 1905- Rec'd three Stalin prizes for his musical compositions. Wrote: Zhizn', comic opera

BE II 4:115

• 692 2 Khurshudian, A. A.
Member of Collegium of Armenian Supreme Court.

533 1 Kiladze, Grigorii Varfolomeevich, 1902- Composer; artist of Georgia; prof. since 1941, director since 1945 of Tiflis conservatory im. Saradzhishvili. 1940- CP member; Composes mainly symphonies; Wrote: Gandegili, bases on poem by Chavchavadze, for which he rec'd Stalin prize in 1941. Wrote opera Bakhtrioni and ballet Sinatle (Stalin prize in 1948.) Wrote music to films: Poslednyi maskarad, Arsen.

BE II 20:617

665 2 Kirakosian, A. M.
Member CC CP Arm. SSR, 17.-18. s'ezd, 1954, 1956

Kom. Er. 1/22/56

3 Kislin, S. I.
Member of presidium CC CP Azerb. SSR, 21. s'ezd, 1956

Bak. Rab. 1/26/56

815 1 Margalitadze, Apollon Vladimirovich
Stalin prize 3. class, 1950 geologist.

Laur. Stalin. prem. 1950
p. 35

646
665 2 Margarian, Grach Khachaturovich
Deputy Sov. Nats. VS SSSR
4. sozyv, 1954. Member CC CP
Arm. SSR, 17.-18. s'ezd 1954,
1956.

Kom. Er. 3/19/54
1/22/56

646 4 Margiev, Nester Amzorovich
Sev. Os. deputy Sov. Nats. VS SSSR
4. sozyv, 1954.

Pravda 3/18/54

692 2 Markarian, M. S.
Member of criminal collegium of
Armenian supreme court.

Curr. digest 1956

665 2 Martirosian, B. G.
Member CC CP Arm. SSR, 17.-18.
s'ezd, 1954, 1956.

Kom. Er. 1/22/56

7: Columbia U. S-4, 5 1956 RH1 Caucasia

RH1

646 1 Osin, Nikolai Lavrent'evich
Adzhar. deputy Sov. Nats. VS SSSR 4. sozyv, 1954.

Bak. Rab. 3/18/54

377 2 Ovanesian, Levon Tigranovich
Stalin prize 3. class, 1950 for new type of three-phase synchronic generator.

Laur. Stalin. prem. 1950
p. 43

538 2 Ovanisiian, Mikael
see
Nar-Dos (pseud.) 1/1

• 692 2 Ovsepian, Melik R.M.
Member of the criminal collegium of the Armenian Supreme Court

Curr. Digest 1956.

538 5 Pachev, Bekmurza, 1854-1936.
Kabardian poet, born in Nartan. Wrote: Pesnia o Lenine, Pesn' ob Alikhane Kashirgove, Kabarda, Stalin, etc.

BE II 32:251

1/1 [cf. ost. 116, p. 776 -- Analyst]

21: Kolarz J-4 (no date) 1952 R1 Soviet Union
[Chechen-Ingush] Caucasia RH1



Chechens. They at first accepted the leadership of the Sheikh Uzun 669
Hadji who proclaimed himself Imam and Emir of the Northern Caucasus. The Emir was the ally of the communists in the struggle against the White Guards of General Denikin. Having vanquished the White armies, the Bolsheviks dropped the Imam, but they were unable to cope with Chechen nationalism. The Chechens demanded the expulsion of all Russians who in the course of the last century had settled in their 'living space'. Pending a positive answer to this request Chechen nationalist bands terrorized the Russian population of the area beyond endurance. In the early twenties the Russian settlers in Chechenia sent a complaint to Moscow on account of the endless raids and murders perpetrated by Chechen bands, and petitioned that they be disarmed. Mikhail Kalinin went personally to the Caucasus and attempted to calm down both Russians and Chechens. With carefully chosen words he tried to persuade them to live together in peace, to intermarry and to respect each other's customs.[6]

Whilst in consequence of Kalinin's personal intervention banditry 668
stopped in Chechenia, it would seem that Moslem opposition to the Soviet régime was never quite suppressed. In 1931 the little country still had 2,675 mosques and Arab schools, as well as 1,250 mullahs, 34 sheikhs and 250 religious elders. The mullahs who were powerful opponents of the Soviet régime even managed to keep alive the illegal [692]
Shariah courts which were camouflaged as 'reconciliation commissions'.

The hostile attitude of the Chechens towards the Soviet Russian régime was often manifested in the readiness to credit the most fantastic anti-Russian rumours. Thus, in the early thirties, there existed a widespread belief that Kunta Hadji – the head of a popular Moslem sect who [695]
had died at the end of the nineteenth century – was still alive and was soon to return to Chechenia, where he would found a State based on Moslem religious law. Apparently the Chechens did not differentiate between Czarist and Bolshevik Russia in their hopes that Kunta Hadji would appear as Messiah, for it was he who had led them in the risings against Czarism in 1864 and 1877, for which he was exiled to Novgorod.

The Ingush, whose fate Soviet policy had coupled with that of the 771
Chechens, showed themselves no less loyal to Islam. A delegate who 871
represented Ingushetia at the 'Second All-Union Conference of Godless Pedagogists' in 1931, stated that the influence of the Moslem clergy was still so strong among the Ingush that children refused to learn from books which they believed to be anti-religious. Whenever a teacher tried to introduce anti-religious propaganda he encountered a hostile attitude among school children and there were cases in which teachers had even to leave the school for having criticized Islam. The work of the secular Soviet schools, where the children were taught in the winter, was counteracted by the Moslem schools where the young Ingush would learn

646 1 Inauri, Aleksei Nikolaevich
Deputy to Sov. Soiuz VS SSSR
(4. s'ezd, 1954)

Bak. Rab. 2/18/54

665 2 Ioannesian, K. I.
693 Member of CC CP Arm. SSR, 17.-18. s'ezd, 1954, 1956. Public prosecutor of Armenian Supreme Court.

Kom. Er. 1/22/56

538 2 Isaakian, Avetik Saakovich
646 1875-, Aleksandropol (now Leninakan). President of writers' union of Armenia. Since 1946 member of Akad. nauk Arm. SSR. Deputy to VS SSR 3. sozyv. Studied in Leipzig. Stalin prize 1946. Lyric poet; studied in ecclesiastic. seminary. Famous poem: Abu-Lala-Maari translated into many European languages. 1930-36 lived in Paris where he worked against enemies of Armenian dashnaky. Very nationalistically inclined.

BE II 3:86 18:471-2
I 29:280-1

693 1 Makharadze, Filipp Leseevich, 1868-1941. Born in Karis-Kure. Since 1903 active among Caucasian proletariat. Translated Lenin's K derevenskoi bednote. Delegate to 2. congress of Komintern. 1921-president of Revkom of Georgia. 1938 deputy president of VS SSSR, and president of VS Gruz. SSR.

BE II 26:545

693 2 Maksudian, E. E.
State prosecutor, deputy republic prosecutor and senior legal adviser to Collegium of Armenian Supreme Court.

696 5 Mal'bakov, Timbora Kubatievich
Deputy (Kabardian) Sov. Nats. VS SSSR 4. sozyv, 1954

Pravda 3/18/54

665 3 Maliutin, A. M.
CC CP Azerb. SSR, 20. s'ezd, 1954. Editor: Bakinskii rabochii organ tsentral'nogo i Bakinskogo komitetov kompartii Azerbaidzhana.

RH1

893

1 Topuridze, M. E.
Prokuror Gruz. SSR, 1954

Zar. Vost. 2/18/54

533

1 Toradze, David Aleksandrovich
Georgian composer; Stalin prize 2. class in 1950 for his ballet Gorda

Laur. Stalin. prem. 1950
p. 81
Zar. Vost. 2/18/54

646
665 2 Tovmasian, Suren Akopovich
Member Sov. Soiuz VS SSSR 1954- (4. s'ezd). Member CC CP SSSR 1956- . 1st Sect. CC CP Armeniia 1954- (17. s'ezd)

NYT 2/27/56
Kom. Er. 3/18/54, 2/17/54, 1/22/56

665
3 Tret'iakova, A. N.
Member of presidium CC CP Azerb. SSR, 21. s'ezd, 1956.

Bak. Rab. 1/26/56

681 among the Khevsur, the loss of an arm or leg was valued at twenty-four cows, that of a finger, from five cows for the thumb down to one cow for the little finger. Face wounds were measured with grains of wheat, and the fine calculated accordingly. Theft (usually involving horses or cattle) inside one's own community was punished by the obligation to repay the value of the stolen property several times over, or to pay an indemnity to the ruling prince. Stealing from other groups was regarded as an accomplishment rather than a crime, and a young man who had never managed to steal a horse would not easily find a wife.

695 Justice was administered by community courts in which the oldest sat in judgment, or by specially elected mediators (Georg. shuak'atsi) who had the confidence of both plaintiff and defendant, and whose decision was always accepted as final. Witnesses were called and oaths were taken upon sacred objects (in the N. W. Caucasus, often a blacksmith's anvil, later replaced by the Koran), or in the name of ancestors, sanctuaries, etc. In difficult cases, various types of ordeals were resorted to.

577 As characteristic traits of a more general nature in Caucasian life, hospitality, respect for superior age, and--especially among the mountaineers--susceptibility to offence and vengefulness must be mentioned.

586 of a husband never justifies a wife to divorce him.[21] In fact, the inequality was
837 even far greater: although a husband's wilful act of adultery was not sufficient grounds for a divorce, rape suffered by an innocent wife was.[22] Other legal
[842] grounds for a divorce were sterility of the wife or the fact that she was "capable" of giving birth only to girls,[23] which is but another form of "sterility."

586 A divorcée has no right to a special alimony. Instead, she has her own personal property and especially her *kebin*.[24]

If a wife abandons her husband for any reason other than the few legal grounds granted her, she not only must return all engagement and wedding gifts received from her husband, but her family must also return the entire *kalym*. In fact, she may not re-marry till the *kalym* is refunded. Sometimes the husband out of mere malice refuses the *kalym*, so that the divorcée must remain unmarried for the rest of her life.[25]

[429] The children remain in the father's household, even if he should soon die after the divorce,[26] the guardianship always remaining in the male line.

According to Lesghian customary divorce laws, which, on the whole, are in harmony with the *šarī'a*,[27] the female mate is again at a disadvantage. An *adat* for North Tabassaran says that "the husband has the right to divorce his wife at any time... But a wife may abandon her husband only if he is impotent, or if he has a contagious disease, or, finally, if he is unable to support her."[28] The disadvantage lies in the restricted legal grounds justifying the women to abandon their husbands and the almost unlimited possibilities of a justified divorce of the men. However, the expression "at any time" in this *adat* is an exaggeration. If a husband divorces his wife unjustifiably, he must pay the sum promised (*kebin*) and forfeits the *kalym*. If the wife abandons her husband for any other reason than the three grounds enumerated, she loses her right to the *kebin* and her family is obliged to refund the *kalym*.[29] Of course, if the husband is willing to pay the *kebin* and lose his right to a refund of the *kalym*, he may divorce her, literally, at any time.

586 Another occasion for divorce is the so-called *khatun-tallkh*. It is a com-
695 mon form of oath in Daghestan, which only a married man can take. The husband declares himself ready to dismiss his wife if he swear falsely. If he has several wives, he must specify which wife he will dismiss in case of perjury.

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[21] Leontovič, II, p. 173, §§ 150, 152.

[22] Leontovič, II, p. 172, § 143.

[23] Grabovskij, "Ekonomičeskij i domašnij byt, etc.," p. 21.

[24] Leontovič, II, p. 169 f, § 119; p. 176, § 172. The special decision of 1862 in this regard seems to be an imitation of the Islamic *kebin*.

[25] Leontovič, II, p. 175, § 166: "čtoby razvedennaja žena ne byla 'ni emu, ni drugomu.'" See also Grabovskij, *op. cit.*, pp. 51 f.

[26] Grabovskij, *op. cit.*, p. 53.

[27] Kovalevskij, *Zakon*, II, pp. 199 f.

[28] "Adaty Južno-Dagestanskich Obščestv," SSKG, VIII (1875), pp. 32
Kovalevskij, *Zakon*, II, p. 199.

[29] "Adaty Južno-Dagestanskich Obščestv," *l. c.*

[among the Northeaste: Caucasians-- Analyst]

9: Lušbetak E-4 (no date) 1951 RH1 Caucasia RH1



The *khatun-tallkh* is a much stronger oath than any other in Daghestan, even 586
stronger than an oath on the Koran. The wife, therefore, may be the innocent 695
victim of her husband's falsehood.

The *khatun-tallkh*, according to Robertson-Smith (*Kinship in Early Arabia*, [171]
p. 77) and Kohler ("Ueber das vorislamitische Recht der Araber," *Zeitschr. f. vergl. Rechtsw.*, VIII [1888], pp. 246, 251) is a pre-Islamic oath incorporated into Islamic law. Kovalevskij, who cites both authors, maintains that Islamic missionaries are responsible for the practice in Daghestan.[30] We cannot deny the possibility of Islamic origin, but mere similarity is no sufficient proof. If such argumentation were methodologically indisputable, we should be justified in concluding that the levirate, polygyny, divorce, and other institutions have been imported from Arabia. All that we wish to say is that it is not at all so certain that the Caucasian *khatun-tallkh* is of Islamic origin, as Kovalevskij would have us believe. An oath, by its very nature, seeks the strongest sanction possible. Now, we have shown, when treating of the attitude of the Caucasians toward plurality of wives, how highly a wife is esteemed. She is, we said, the best family investment. To be forced to surrender her would therefore be a very efficient sanction against perjury. It may very well be the high esteem for the value of a wife and the need of a strong sanction that gave rise to the *khatun-tallkh* long before Islamism appeared on Caucasian soil, and perhaps belongs to a common substratum of ancient Arabian culture and Caucasian customary law.

Although the question regarding the guardianship of children after divorce 586
has not been studied, we may conjecture that Lesghian *adats* restrict the right [428]
to the father alone. Guardianship, as a general rule, in primitive societies, follows the norms of inheritance: in patrilineal families the children remain with the father, in matrilineal, with their divorced mother. Since inheritance is fundamentally patrilineal according to ancient customary law of the Lesghians, we feel justified in making this hypothetical assumption.[31]

The women of the neighbouring peoples enjoy about the same rights of divorce as do the North Caucasian women. Everywhere they are at a disadvantage.

SOUTHERN CAUCASIANS. Eristov tells us that during his time the Georgian mountain tribes would divorce their wives for the least provocation. It happened now and then that a week after marriage the bride would not turn out to be as pleasing as the groom had imagined, or as good a housekeeper as the groom's family hoped for; such a disappointment was sufficient to occasion a divorce.[32] She could also be dismissed for superficiality, theft, or laziness.[33]

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[30] Kovalevskij, *Zakon*, II, p. 127.

[31] Cf. Abercromby, *op. cit.*, p. 97, who believes that the Avars do not have a fixed rule in this regard.

[32] Eristov, *op. cit.*, pp. 112 f.

[33] Seidlitz, "Gemeinde- und Familienleben der Chewsuren," Das Ausland, 1891, No. 17, p. 336. If the woman had a son, it was much more difficult to divorce her (a custom of the Pshavs), cf. Makalatija, "Iz starogo narodnago byta Pšavov," p. 109.

593 562a "The Lesghian husband is, at times, very cruel to his wife," says Omarov, a Lak by birth, who describes in his excellent article (written 1870) what his own mother had to suffer, how husbands mercilessly beat up their helpless wives, and brothers their sisters.[14]

L'vov, describing the conditions prevailing about 75 years ago, writes of the Avars: "She is considered a mere slave. She is placed on the same level as a domestic beast, in spite of the fact that Islamic law gives her not a few rights. Even the possessions she brings along on her wedding day are hers only theoretically; practically, it is her husband who owns them. She is unable to dispose of her own property, whereas her husband may do with it whatever he wishes. All this is considered a sin neither in the eyes of God nor of man. If his wife proposes to bring the case up before the authorities, her husband will act at once: he either flatters her and so wins her over by 'love', and she out of gratitude concedes her rights to him, or, if she does not, he threatens to divorce her and to keep the *kebin* and thus to dismiss her without any security for the future."[15]

562 695 Another clear proof of the inferiority of Caucasian women is the insignificant participation allowed her in religious matters and law processes.[16] Many of these customs are, doubtless, of Islamic origin; many, however, are not, and the spirit behind such regulations is certainly pre-Islamic.[17]

Often women cannot be witnesses, unless there is at least one male witness present. In this case one male witness plus two female witnesses makes two legal witnesses. That may be poor arithmetic; but that is the actual practice, for example, in Dargwa.[18] Sometimes they cannot be witnesses at all.[19]

Sometimes women are not allowed to take an oath, for example in the District of Hyuraki,[20] or, at most, they may swear on the Koran as is the case in Sirgua.[21] In Hyuraki, the husband takes the oath instead, or, if the woman is not married, her nearest male relative takes it for her.[22] Never has she the right to take the *khatun-tallkh*, an oath, with an obligatory divorce as sanction (*supra*, pp. 134 f).[23]

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[14] "Kak živut Laki," SSKG, III (1870), pp. 4 f.

[15] "Domašnjaja i semejnaja žizn Dagestanskich gorcev Avarskago plemeni," SSKG, III (1870), pp. 31 f. Alichanov claimed that the women of Avaria were very independent (Cf. Hahn, "Putešestvie v Kachetiju i Dagestan (lětom 1898 goda)," SMOMPK, XXXI [1902], p. 93.) However there is no reason to suppose that their condition is more favourable than that of the women in other parts of Daghestan (Cf. Baddeley, *op. cit.*, II, p. 72).

[16] Kovalevskij, *Zakon*, I, p. 141.

[17] Although some of the customs have been influenced by Roman-Byzantine law (e. g., in Chechnia, Khevsuria, Svanetia, and Ossetia, as Kovalevskij believes, *l. c.*), it cannot be denied that laws regulating the position of women in religious and inter-tribal (or legal!) matters are mostly purely-Caucasian adats.

[18] "Adaty Darginskich Obščestv," SSKG, VII (1873), pp. 71, 83 f.

[19] "Adaty Darginskich Obščestv," p. 99.

[20] "Adaty Darginskich Obščestv," p. 83.

[21] "Adaty Darginskich Obščestv," p. 70.

[22] "Adaty Darginskich Obščestv," pp. 83, 70, 99.

[23] The *khatun-tallkh* is in itself another form of inequality. A wife may be divorced simply because her husband has sworn falsely. She, however, may never take such an oath.

Women are generally excluded from being conjurors. One of the most common forms of evidence in the *adat* courts is conjury, an oath taken by an established number of relatives of the defendant or plaintiff. Any hesitation, refusal of one of the conjurors to swear, or failure to find the required number of conjurors are considered undeniable evidence. The oath is taken by each of the conjurors either on the Koran, or sometimes toe *khatun-tallkh* must be sworn. The practice of conjury is found among all Caucasian mountain tribes: Cherkess, Chechens, Lesghians, Georgians, neighbouring Tartars, Kumyks, etc.[24] The number of conjurors required depends on the gravity of the crime, the penalty connected with it, and on the social position of the contending parties and conjurors. The following is an example of a catalogue of conjurors established for theft in Mikakhi District.

562 695 [685]

*For stealing sheep:*

| | |
|---|---|
| one sheep | 3 conjurors |
| two sheep | 4 conjurors |
| three sheep | 5 conjurors |
| four sheep | 6 conjurors |
| more than four | 6 conjurors |

*For stealing cows:*

| | |
|---|---|
| one cow | 5 conjurors |
| two cows | 10 conjurors |
| three cows | 12 conjurors |
| more than three | 12 conjurors |

*For stealing young domestic animals:*

| | |
|---|---|
| one colt less than three years old | 6 conjurors |
| one one-year-old calf | 3 conjurors |
| one two-year-old heifer | 5 conjurors |
| one two-year-old ox | 5 conjurors |
| one three-year-old ox | 6 conjurors |

This catalogue has been taken from the "Adat collection for the Districts of Dargwa Province."[25] For murder and crimes considered as serious as murder[26] the number of conjurors may be as high as 40. Generally only relatives may be conjurors. This requirement is evidently a reflection of the strong solidarity of the Caucasian sib: to swear falsely would bring ruin to the swearer, and should a large number of conjurors be required, the entire sib, living and dead, may be doomed. [682]

The proof by conjury is recognized by Islamic law, but its existence in the Caucasus need not be attributed to Mohammedanism. (1) Even in Arabia, it pre-existed Islamism. In fact Mohammed merely borrowed and incorporated the *kazama* into his system.[27] (2) Moreover, it is a widespread institution among

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[24] See the various *adat* collections. See also Kovalevskij, *Coutume contemp.*, especially pp. 443 f.; *Code of King Vakhtang VI*, Karst edition, pp. 60, 179.

[25] "Adaty Darginskich Obščestv," SSKG, VII (1873), p. 53.

[26] *Supra*, Chapters XII and XIII.

[27] Goldziher, "Muhammedanisches Recht in Theorie und Wirklichkeit," *Zeitsch. f. vergl. Rechtw.*, VIII (1889), No. 3, p. 412.

562 peoples having a patriarchal organization, regardless of religion. We find it
695 among the ancient Indo-European Slavs, Germans, and Ossetes.[28] (3) We also find it among non-Mohammedans of Caucasus.

After this lengthy degression we can offer a few examples to illustrate the relation of conjury to the unequal status of women. In Mugn District (Dargwa Province) women are not allowed to be conjurors. If less than 12 conjurors are required by any *adat*, not only must all conjurors be *male* relatives, but relatives of the *father*.[29] In Hyuraki District[30] and elsewhere[31] female relatives may participate in the conjury only if they are necessary to complete the required number of 40.[32]

[682] The inferior position of the female sex is further expressed in the *adats* determining the amount of bloodwite. Sometimes, it is true, no distinction is made whether a man or a woman is the victim,[33] but sometimes a definite distinction *is* made. The Kurins, for instance, have an established bloodwite of Rs. 250 for the death of a man and only Rs. 125 for the death of a woman.[34] The Ossetine bloodwite for the murder of a man is twice as high as that for a woman.[35]

## § 2. DIVISION OF LABOUR

462 The NORTHWESTERN CAUCASIANS. It is no longer true that all the work must be done by the female members of the family.[36] The men do the ploughing, woodchopping, hunting, and in general all the heavy work; the women do the usual housework, cook, wash, sew and mend clothes, and work in the garden.[37] Formerly, of course, the situation was quite different. The reports of the 18th and 19th century picture the Cherkess and the Abkhaz

[28] Kovalevskij, *Coutume contemp.*, p. 460.

[29] "Adaty Darginskich Oblčestv," p. 60. For *adats* of the Tsudakhar District, see "Adaty Darginskich Oblčestv," pp. 111 f.

[30] "Adaty Darginskich Oblčestv," p. 84.

[31] "Adaty Darginskich Oblčestv," p. 71.

[32] If there are still not enough conjurors, the oath must be repeated till the required number of oaths is reached. ("Adaty Darginskich Oblčestv," p. 84.)

[33] "Adaty Južno-Dagestanskich Oblčestv," SSKG, VIII (1875), p. 47. When we use the words "crime" and "murder" we understand them in the sense of the *adats*. To be more exact we should rather say "damage" and "homicide." Customary law is not interested in *guilt*. It aims to repair damages done to the family and sib, whether that damage be intentional or accidental. If a horse accidentally kicks and kills a passer-by, both the rider and the owner of the horse become blood-enemies of the victim's sib (Leontovič, II, pp. 45 ff). Since customary law is not interested in guilt, it is not interested in *punishing*. It aims to *repair* the damages, hence it matters little whether the "criminal" himself or another member of his family or sib is "punished."

[34] "Adaty Južno-Dagestanskich Oblčestv," p. 7.

[35] Dubrovin, *Istorija*, I, i, p. 340.
The position of the female sex in Khevsuria is somewhat better than elsewhere in the mountains (Požidaev, 106 f). She may even take her meals with her husband (Požidaev, *Gorcy severnogo Kavkaza*, p. 107). The Kumyks allow their wives more rights than are granted to women by the *adats* of the true Caucasians (Dubrovin, *Istorija*, I, ii, p. 639).

[36] Ladyženskij, FT, pp. 199 f.

[37] Ladyženskij, FT, p. 201.

he would be sentenced to death by drowning. In the nineteenth century a heavy fine of 200 oxen and immediate separation were insisted upon instead.[9] 684 628

The penalty for raping a boy before puberty is death. Of course, such cases of perversion are very rare.[10] Likewise extremely rare are cases of homosexuality and bestiality,[11] except among certain Cherkess horse-breeders among whom bestiality is more common and the penalty trivial or none at all.[12] [839]

The *adats* have evidently gone through a distinct evolution, from unusual severity imposed exclusively on the adulteress to a more moderate form of punishment affecting both partners. Dubois de Montpéreux observed how a husband, who would clip his wife's hair for adultery, then cut off her ear, arm, or nose and finally kill her, fully in accord with ancient *adats*,[13] would thereby become a blood-enemy of his wife's relatives. He therefore usually preferred to divorce her instead[14] and have the *kalym* refunded.[15] Vasil'kov reported in the beginning of this century that among the Temirgoi illicit intercourse was extremely rare and that *both* partners would be punished very severely. If caught in the act, they would be buried up to their necks and then stoned to death.[16]

The NORTHEASTERN CAUCASIANS. The Chechen customary law likewise imposes very severe penalties for adultery, as the following table clearly shows (Table No. 19).

The most serious sex offenses are those of rape and incest. If an Ingush woman (married or single) is raped, the attacker may be killed on the spot. If he manages to escape, a bitter blood-feud breaks out between the sibs of the offended and offender. In *adat* courts confession of the culprit or the accusation of the victim are considered undeniable evidence. The accused can prove himself not guilty by taking an oath, which must then be confirmed by the statements of five conjurors,[17] two of whom must be relatives. If the defendant hesitates to take the oath or fails to find sufficient conjurors who are convinced of his innocence (and hence who are not afraid of the supernatural sanction attached to such an oath), he must pay a fine of 24 cows if the victim happened to be a married woman,[18] and a horse worth 30 silver rubles, a ram and four kettles of *arrack* if she happened to be unmarried.[19] The ravisher, as usual, must marry the girl he attacked.[20] If the girl has already been engaged to someone, 684 695 [628] 684 584

[9] McLennan, *Studies in Ancient History*, p. 76.
[10] At least in Kabardia, according to Grabovskij, *op. cit.*, p. 43.
[11] *ibid.*
[12] Grabovskij, *op. cit.*, p. 44.
[13] Amputation of the adulteress' ears and nose is a punishment found throughout the Caucasus; today, of course, it is rare. It is indeed interesting to note that a Hittite code (about 1350 B. C.) engraved on a stele has been dug up, which legalized such mutilation in case of adultery (cf. H. C. E. Zacharias, *Protohistory*, p. 258).
[14] Dubois de Montpéreux, *Voyage autour du Caucase*, I, p. 132.
[15] Dubrovin, *l. c.*
[16] "Očerk byta Termirgoevcev," SMOMPK, XXIX (1901), No. 1, p. 102.
[17] For the institution of *conjury* see above, pp. 155 f.
[18] Leontovič, II, p. 172, §§ 140, 142.
[19] Leontovič, II, p. 172, § 144.
[20] Leontovič, II, p. 120, § 24. Other adat collections claim the very opposite, cf. Leontovič, II, p. 172, § 147.

If we now pass on to the Lesghian peoples we shall learn that each province, each district, and even each village has its own customary laws, but the differences are only accidental. Everywhere the *adats* agree at least in one point—in their severity. Death or its equivalent for any sex crime is the general rule. [684]

To avoid useless repetitions and to facilitate comparison we present the Daghestanian *adats* in form of a table (Table 20).

Homosexual rape is doubtless a rare crime among these mountaineers, but laws referring to these offenses are a great help in interpreting the sanctions against sexual transgressions. If homosexual rape is punished as severely as natural rape, we have indubitable evidence that sexual taboos do not exist exclusively to safeguard the integrity of the hymen and to prevent bastard births, as one might perhaps be inclined to think from what we have said about virginal integrity.[25] We suspect, however, that laws regarding such rare sexual perversity as homosexuality and bestiality have not arisen from any special need for such sanctions but rather introduced through Islamic influence.[26] [839]

The table shows that throughout Daghestan (1) the *adats* expressly appoint the nearest male relatives to punish the culprits. [696]

(2) Adultery, fornication, rape, homosexuality—all are capital crimes, punishable with death, but admit of degrees. The most abhorred crimes are incest and rape, followed by adultery, fornication, homosexuality, and finally bestiality. "Incest" must, naturally, be understood in the Lesghian sense. We must not forget that when these *adats* were in force, the Lesghians were endogamists and that at most brother-sister and parent-child marriages were forbidden.

(3) Another remarkable agreement in the *adats* of the various Lesghian peoples is the obligation of killing *both* partners or *none* at all. If only one offender is avenged, the avenger himself becomes a blood-enemy of the relatives of the lover he happens to kill.

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husband. In the official report of May 28, 1870 we read: "May 28, a native of Netsi [in Chechnia] of this district, a boy 13 years of age, Nika-Akhma Kurban-ogdy, having caught his mother in an adulterous union with a co-villager, Suleyman Mahomed-ogdy, stabbed the adulterer, who later died from the wounds received." Cf. "Iz gorskoj kriminalistiki," SSKG, IV (1870), p. 80.

[25] *Supra*, p. 126.

[26] Islamic law goes into the smallest details and rarest forms of sexual transgressions.

8: Lužbetak E-4 (no date) 1951 RHl Caucasia RHl



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TABLE 20
**Lesghian Adats regarding**

| Locality | | Customary penalty for adultery and fornication | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | Death Penalty Possible | | Conditions for the lawful killing of offenders | | | | |
| Province | Naibate or District | Male Offender | Female | Lawful Avenger* | In flagranti | Must kill both offenders or none | Other Conditions | In only one partner is killed, avenger = murderer** |
| Avar | Tsatanykh Naibate | + | + | Husband, father, brother, or son | + | + | | + |
| | Bakhlukh N. | + | + | Husband, father, brother, son | + | − | | |
| | Koisubulun N. | + | + | Husband, father, son, grandson, nephew, uncle | + | − | | + − |
| | Khuneakh N. | + | + | Husband, father, son, grandson, nephew, uncle | + | − | | + − |
| Gunib | Tilitl-Hidatl N. | + | + | Husband, father, son | + | − | | + − |
| | Kuyada N. | + | + | Husband, brother, son, cousin | + | − | | + − |
| | Tleiserukh N. | + | + | Husband, father, brother | + | + | | + − |
| | Andalal N. | + | + | Husband, brother, son, father | ◆ | + | | + − |
| Samur | | + | + | Husband, father, brother, son | − | + | | + |
| Dargwa | Usisha District | + | + | Husband or relative | + | + | | + |
| | Mikakhi D. | + | + | Husband or relative | + | + | | + |
| | Hyuraki D. | + | + | Husband or relative | + | + | | + |
| | Mugn D. | + | + | Husband or relative | − | + | | + |
| | Akusha D. | + | + | Husband or relative | + | + | | + |
| | Tsudakhar D. | + | + | Husband or relative | + | + | | + |
| | Balchar D. | + | + | | | | | |
| | Tsumkan | + | + | | | | | |
| Kurin | | + | + | Husband, father, brother | + | + | | + − |
| Kaitago-Tabassaran | Mahal Karakaitag | + | + | Husband | + | + | + | + |
| | North Tabassaran | + | + | Husband | | | + | + |
| | Mahal Terekeme | | | | | | | |
| | Mahal Urdzhamul | | | | | | + | |

* The LAWFUL AVENGER is always a relative of the *female* offender, or in the case of rape, the person attacked.

** By IF ONLY ONE PARTNER IS KILLED, AVENGER = MURDERER we mean that

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## Adultery, Fornication, and Rape

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| Customary Penalty for Rape | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Natural Rape | | | | Homosexual | | | | |
| See supra, Table on abduction*** | Offender may be killed | Banishment | Must pay a fine | May be killed | Banishment | Must pay fine | Number of footnote | Sources (Adat Collections) |
| + | | | | | | | | ADOiZO, 472 f, §§ 24 f; Dirr, AGKB, 71. |
| + | | | | | | | 1 | ADOiZO, 455, §§ 17 f; AGKB, 70. |
| + | | | | | | | 2 | ADOiZO, 439, § 20; AGKB, 70. |
| + | | | | | | | 2 | ADOiZO, 439, § 20; AGKB, 70. |
| + | | | | | | | 3 | ADOiZO, 338 f, § 20; AGKB, 73. |
| + | | | | | | | 4 | ADOiZO, 914, § 54; 303 f, § 18, AGKB, 72 f. |
| + | | | | | | | 5 | ADOiZO, 391, § 19; AGKB, 72. |
| + | | | | | | | 6 | ADOiZO, 278, §§ 24 f; AGKB, 71. |
| | | | | | | | | ADOiZO, 546 f, §§ 17—20; 530, § 15; AGKB, 74. |
| + | | | | + | | + | 7 | ADO, 16, 105. |
| | + | + | + | + | + | + | 8 | ADO, 16, 51 f. |
| | | | | | | | 9 | ADO, 16, 21, 91 f, 105. |
| | | | | + | | + | 10 | ADO, 16, 52, 65, 105. |
| | + | | + | + | | | 11 | ADO, 16, 38, 105. |
| + | + | | + | + | | + | 12 | ADO, 16, 105, 117 f. |
| | | | | | | | | ADO, 16, 65, 105; ADOiZO, 88, § 116; 121, § 82. |
| | | | | | | | | ADO, 16, 65, 105; ADOiZO, 88, § 116; 121, § 82. |
| | + | | | + | | | 13 | AJuDO, 8 f. |
| | | | | | | | 14 | AJuDO, 43 f; ADOiZO, 575, §§ 10—13; AGKB, 75. |
| | + | | + | | | | 15 | AJuDO, 26. |
| | | | | | | | 16 | ADOiZO, 548, § 19; AGKB, 75. |
| | + | | | | | | 17 | ADOiZO, 48. |

if the husband, father, son, etc. of the woman kills only one of the offenders, he is regarded as a murderer and therefore incurs the same penalty.

*** *Supra*, p. 94, Table 12.

44 The manpower necessary to run these new industries[1] is mostly secured from the local population. The North Caucasus, strongly Russified, easily meets its needs. In those industrial areas from which the autochtonous population has been removed in recent periods, as around Groznyy, several hundred thousand new Russian colonists have been brought in and a new economic-administrative unit, the Groznyy Oblast, was formed. The South Caucasus, a densely populated area (at several places over 300 persons per square mile) has even less need of immigrant manpower. Baku has since Czarist times been overfilled with Russians, and to a smaller extent with Armenian workers, who with the local Azeri population are able to run the oilfields, the oil and other industries located around the city. The speedy development of Armenian industry is also connected with the fact that the Armenian SSR has a large number of skilled workers, a circumstance which, in conjunction with the cheap power available, makes this state ideal for industrial development. The fact that the Armenian SSR is on the border is not important with so powerful a country as the USSR.

[697] In addition to "free" labor, there is a presumably large forced labor component in the area; its size is unknown. According to the available data there are three concentration camps in the North Caucasus (Astrakhan', Makhachkala, Nal'chik), and four (Baku, Sal'yany, Sukhumi, Tbilisi) in the South Caucasus.

[1] [cf. cat. 116, pp 842-846 -- Analyst]

## $a^{-1}.3$ Concentration Camps

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5: Allen H-4 (no date) 1923 RH1 Caucasia RH1

[181.-1917]



Machabeli, who founded a daily paper. The style of this school was for the most part romantically patriotic, and it appealed primarily to the large and impoverished aristocratic class; but of all its disciples Ilia Chavchavadze alone had a following among the people. In general, the Russian Government had little to fear from the patriotic movement of the nobles; the majority of them served faithfully, some with distinction, in the Georgian regiments which played an important part in the Caucasian Campaign of 1877–8. Finally, the incorporation, in 1884, of the hitherto distinct Georgian army in the general military organisation of the Russian Empire marked the disappearance of the last remnant of the independence of the Georgian kingdom. 538 186 701 177.70

With the economic development of Transcaucasia the subversive social doctrines already spreading among the workmen of European Russia reached the Caucasus, and the Tiflis administration was confronted with a movement more real and more dangerous than the sentimental romanticism of the native princes. In 1870 European capital began to exploit Baku, and in the same year operations were begun at the great manganese deposits of Chiaturi. The construction of a railway line from Poti to Tiflis had been begun in 1867, and in 1883 this line was continued to Baku. In 1884 foreign capital, chiefly that of the Rothschilds, began to build a port at Batum. During the following thirty years the industrialisation of the Caucasus proceeded. Baku became one of the greatest petroleum centres of the world; further deposits of oil were exploited at Maikop and Grozni; another railway soon linked these towns with the Black Sea, the Caspian and Baku, and Russian, Armenian and foreign companies hastened to undertake the working of the rich manganese and copper deposits and the export of the silk, cotton, timber and wine of the country. 471 178 668

This sudden development soon produced the most complicated problems; antagonisms social and racial were presented in an acute form. The oil-towns were the foci of these antagonisms and the scene of the more sanguinary events of 1904–6, but the conditions there reacted on, and were reproduced in a lesser degree in, Georgia. Foreign capitalism was more than usually aggressive, as it believed itself to be operating in a new country where it was in a position to exploit cheap and inexhaustible supplies of uneducated native labour; and a sudden transition from feudalism to industrialism had created a labouring class the more dangerous because it could 177.66 668

# C. MISCELLANEOUS

## DEFENCE

701 Georgia and Azerbaijan have no troops of their own; all troops in Transcaucasia are at the disposal of Soviet Russia.

There is a Special Caucasus Army at present in Transcaucasia (H.Q., Tiflis), composed of 1 Independent Cavalry Brigade (H.Q. uncertain), strength estimated at 1,000 sabres, and 8 Divisions (H.Q. Kutais, Baku or Lenkoran, Erivan or Alexandropol), each Division estimated at 4,700 rifles.

The above information is given for what it may be worth but, as formations are constantly changing, this Special Caucasus Army cannot be considered as of a definite composition. It merely corresponds to one of the 9 Military Districts into which Russia is at present divided.

7: Columbia U. S-4, 5 1956 RHl Caucasia
RHl

532 2 Abegian, Mger Manukovich
1909- Armenian painter; studied in Erevan and Moscow. Famous works "Makravanskii peizazh, "1939; "V sadakh Armenii," 1945; "Vstuplenie I. V. Stalina na rabochem sobranii v Tiflise 18. okt. 1905 g."

BE II 1:16
v. 3, p. 90 (picture)

536 2 Abelian, Ovanes Artem'evich
1865-1936. Armenian actor; people's artist of Armenia and Azerbaidzhan; portrayed about 52 different roles in the famed Sundukian theater of Erevan (Oedipus rex; Egor Bulichev; Dr. Stockman, etc.).

BE II 1:16

646 5 Abidokova, Mar'ian Magometovna
Cherkes. deputy Sov. Nats. VS SSSR 4. sozyv, 1954

Pravda, 3/18/54

701 646 3 Abilov, Makhmud Abdul-Rza ogly
Deputy to Sov. Nats. VS SSSR (4. sozyv, 1954). Born in Ukur, 1898- Rose from ordinary private to general of Red Army. Fought at Smolensk, Berlin. Rec'd Orders of Krasnoe znamia, Surorov, Kutuzov and foreign decorations.

Bak. Rab. 3/19/54. 2/20/54

701 2 Avetisian, Unan Makichevich, (1914-1943) Geroi Sovet. Soiuz.; sergeant; took part and died in battle of Krasnodarskii krai.

BE II 1:70

5335 Avraamov, A. (1886-1944) Aul Batyr ouverture (first Kabardian instrumental composition) written by him. Collected folk songs (Kabardian) He is Soviet musician.

BE I 19:218
BE II

665 3 Azaeva, Ch. A. Member of presidium CC CP Azerb. SSR, 21. s'ezd, 1956.

Bak. Rab. 1/26/56

5323 Azim-Zade, A. (1880-1943) Caricaturist, journalist; contributed to paper Molla Nasredin; drew many posters. Did the famous sketches: 100 tipov starogo Baku. Was director of Azerb. art inst.

BE II 1:490, 474.

538 4 Bagraev, Sozur Kurmanovich
1888-1928. Poet of Sev. Oset. oblast'. Wrote in Digor dialect Dver' serdtsa, lyric poems, 1908

BE II 4:25

• 701 2 Bagramian, Ivan Khristoforovich
646 1897- in Kirovabad. Began as squadron commander in Ararat valley, 1922. Finished Frunze acad. mil. in Moscow. 1941 col. in Ukraine; 1943 cracked Bryansk front; became asst. chief of Timoshenko; fought at Khar'kov. Order of Kutuzov; commander of Baltic army (the only non-Russian to command a Red Army front-Curr. Biogr.) Won victory at Vitebsk, January 27, 1944. Deputy to VS SSSR 1-3 sozyv. Deputy chief of staff 1941 1945.

BE II 4:25
Curr. Biogr. 1944, p. 27-28
Curr. Digest news 9'55, 8-10

232 2 Bagratian, Malkhas Galustovich
645 Stalin prize 3. class, 1950 for new breed of rabbits. Minister of Agriculture Arm. SSR, 1950

Laur. Stalin prem. 1950
p. 59

7: Columbia U. S-4,5 1956 RHl Caucasia

RHl

646
665 2 Piskunov, Petr Vasilievich
Deputy Sov. Nats. VS SSSR, 4. sozyv, 1954. Member CC CP Arm. SSR, 17.-18. s'ezd, 1954, 1956

Kom. Er. 3/19/54, 1/22/56

646
665
701 3 Pliev, Issa Aleksandrovich
Deputy to Sov. Soiuz VS SSSR (4. s'ezd, 1954) Born in Sev. Ost. ASSR, 1902- Col. gen., fought in Hungary, Austria, Japan, in World War II; deputy VS SSSR 2.-3. sozyv. Member CC CP Azerb. SSR.

Bak. Rab. 3/18/54

665
3 Plotnikov, A. K.
CC CP Azerb. SSR, 20. s'ezd, 1954.

646
4 Podvarko, Aleksei Grigor'evich
Dag. deputy Sov. Nats. VS SSSR 4. sozyv, 1954

Pravda 3/18/54

665
2 Poladian, A. K.
Member CC CP Arm. SSR, 18. s'ezd, 1956

Kom. Er. 1/22/56

• 706 1 Iskaov, Admiral Ivan Stepanovich 1894-, Tiflis. Naval officer, educated in technol. institute. Taught Soviet mil. acad. till 1937. Commander of Baltic fleet; flag officer 2nd rank; 2nd vice-commissar of Navy. Admiral in 1939. Same year visited USA as member of commission placing an order. Navy chief of staff in 1941; admiral of fleet since 1944. Deputy to VS SSSR (1936). Head of editorial board: Marine Atlas. Wrote: The Navy in the Patriotic War, 1944.

World biogr. 1954, p. 577

645 665 3 Iskenderov, Gusein Nadzhaf Minister of automobile transportation (1954) - Azerb. Member of CC CP Azerb. SSR, 20. s'ezd, 1954.

Bak. Rab. 3/10/54

665 3 Iskenderov, M. S. CC CP Azerb. SSR, 20. s'ezd, 1954

815 665 646 3 Iskenderov, Mamed Abdul ogly Deputy to Sov. Soiuz VS SSSR 4. s'ezd, 1954. Born in Eivazlar, 1915-. Geologist; 1953- 1st. sect. Bakinskii gorodskoi komitet; 1954, 1956, member of CC CP Azerb. SSR 20.-21. s'ezd. Deputy to VS Azerb. SSR.

Bak. Rab. 3/18/54, 1/26/54

7: Columbia U. S-4,5 1956 RHl Caucasia
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533
2 Stepanian, Aro Leonovich, 1897-
Born in Kirovabad. 1940- president of Soiuz sovet. kompozitorov Armenii. For opera Geroinia Stalin prize 3. class in 1950. Wrote: operas, Khrabryi Nazar, David Sasunskii, Lusabatin; also Simfonia pamiati 26. komissarov. Deputy of VS SSSR I. -2. sozyv.

BE I 52:840-1
Laur. Stalin. prem. 1950, p. 80

665
2 Stepanian, L. A.
Member CC CP Arm. SSR, 18. s'ezd, 1956

Kom. Er. 1/22/56

707
2(?) Stepanian, Nel'son
Geroi Sov. soiuza (flyer), fought in battle of Moscow, Sevastopol

BE I 3:68

532
2 Stepanian, Suren L., 1895-
Armenian sculptor; did famous monument to Gukas Gukasian, 1935, also Azizbekov's statue in Tiflis, 1933

BE I 52:851

491 Derbent, and Makhach-Kala, or Temir-Khan Shura (Buynaksk): and even this road can be sealed off successfully at the narrow point where the city of Derbent ("the closing of the [912] doors") is situated. The Great Caucasus Wall began at Derbent. This wall is a counterpart of the limes romanus in Europe or the Great Chinese Wall, and was built in the 6th century by the Byzantine and Sassanian Empires at their joint, and not insignificant, expense, in order to create an unconquerable defense line against the dangerous nomad tribes of the vast northern plains. At Derbent, the eastern extremity of the wall can still be seen submerged in the Caspian waters; it extended as far west as the Darial Gorge. The western half of the Caucasus was evidently considered to be naturally safe. Surprisingly enough, the communication lines between Trans-Caucasia and the north are still very few in number today, and there exist only two railroad lines, along both coasts, and one major road across the Caucasian range -- the so-called Georgian Army Road from Tiflis to Ordzhonikidze (Vladikaukaz, Dzaudjyqau). The other roads across the Caucasus are not of the same quality as the Georgian Army Road, and are unsuitable for modern heavier traffic. [496] Not a single railroad line has been built across the Great Caucasus, even though as early as the 1870s a number of projects for a railroad crossing the Caucasus between Tiflis and Vladikavkaz were in preparation.

C. 342 building; the floor consisted of packed earth and contained a firepit, above which was placed a high chimney of straw coated with clay. Outside the enclosure containing living quarters, horse-stable, and sheepfold, there was a special lodging for guests (R. kunatskaia). The C. G. 342 dwellings of the Abkhaz were the most primitive in the Caucasus: They were rectangular structures with walls of wattle, in cold weather sometimes covered with ferns. The thatched roof rested on a beam supported at the rear by a pole, and in front by two slanting poles which touched at the top. In the back there was a partition which served several purposes: storeroom, guest room, winter stable.

C. 342 361 In the mountains of Dagestan the houses are clustered close together into villages which rise terrace-like on inaccessible and easily defended mountain slopes. The houses stand in rows, so that the roofs of one row serve as the front yards of the houses in the row above. The most common building material is rough stone; the houses consist of two or more stories, the lower one being used as stable and storeroom, the upper one containing the rooms for men, for women and for guests.

C. G. 712 A typical feature of the Caucasian mountaineers' settlements are the defense towers, which in the Svan villages are built near almost every house and are also common in the settlements of the Khevsur, Tush and Pshav. On the northern slopes of the Caucasus mountains they are found in Ossete territory and also in the

E. 712

regions which belonged to the Karachai, Balkar and Chechen. These towers, in which the inhabitants with their cattle sought a refuge in case of an armed attack, have a square groundplan; they are built of rough stones and are from 30-60 ft. high. The wall contains loopholes on each floor, and a single entrance opening high above the ground. The Svan towers have perpendicular walls with a projection decorated with arches at the top, and a saddle-shaped roof; those of the Khevsur taper towards the top and have a pyramidal roof. In other areas both types are found. In Dagestan defense towers are not found, but many villages have watch towers.

[824 cont.]

443
291

Fig. 503. Persian fruit-seller in Baku.

563 through the Tatars, have exerted a strong influence from the
[177] earliest times on southern and eastern Caucasia with regard to mental culture, art, warfare, etc. As a landmark of their power, the great stone wall, which extends from the national portal on the Caspian Sea, from the city [825] of Derbend
[103] (Persian = gate-lock; Tatar, Demír-kapú = iron door; Arabic, Bāb-el-abwāb = gate of gates), to the west 60 to 70 kilometers into the mountains, still stands today. It was erected by the Sassanid king, Khosrau Anōšarvān (531-579 A.D.), for protection against the invasions of the Khazar and Alan, against whom his father, Kobad (491-531), had already built a wall
• [512] of mud bricks that was strengthened by many towers and small citadels (kalé). Except for indigenous tribes, Khosrau entrusted the defense of the wall primarily to Iranian settlers whom he had brought over from Persia and the land of Sogd, that is Kharezmia and Samarkand. The inhabitants of the Kaitakh region, the Tabassaran, seem to be descendants of these settlers, and their name may be a contraction of Tabor-i-Khorassan (= host, people from Khorassan); likewise the Tāt between Baku, Kuba, and the Babadagh and near Derbend. The former may have sprung from a mixture of Lezgin with

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C.
G.
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101

and east of the Rioni) are Georgian, and Imeret'ian and other west Georgian dialects are spoken there. To the Georgian area belongs also Adjaristan (Adžaristan), the valley of the Acharis-Tskhali, which borders in the south and west on Azerbaidjanian and Osman speaking peoples, and in the west, with the Laz people. The Adjarians (Acharians), like their neighbors, are of Mohammedan faith.

## T'ushuri, Khevsuri and P'shaveli

The northeasternmost Georgians, living in the alpine parts of the central Caucasus, are an interesting and distinct people. Although they speak East-K'art'velian dialects and are Orthodox Christians, the Georgians do not consider them as the same nation. The reasons are not only their inaccessibility and age-long seclusion and independence, but also customs and manners which in this way have been preserved from by-gone times. These remote people make up three tribes: the T'ushuri, Khevsuri, and P'shaveli, who live in the high valleys of the source rivers of the Andi-Koisu, Aragvi, and Argun, and of the Iora. In sharp contrast to other Caucasian peoples, blue eyes are not rare with them. Shields, spears, straight long swords, iron or steel helmets, coats of mail and armor were worn by many of them (usually the Khevsurs) as late as the nineteenth century, and in a few instances, even after the Russian Revolution.

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G.
[142]
411
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Georgia RI1
Khevsur, Pschv,
Tushin

C. G. [713] Some had the sign of the cross upon their shields, so that they looked exactly like medieval European knights and Crusaders.

C. G. 764 171 Up in the country of the Khevsurs a few very ancient churches can be found; near these, often isolated, stand some typically Khevsurian tomb structures or burial chapels unique in the Caucasus. Funeral ceremonies held by the Khevsurs are (or were ?) often accompanied by horse races, an ancient custom of horse-breeding nomads of the steppes. (This custom is reminiscent of the "dokhia" [δόχια] of some Turkic tribes in the plains near the Altai, described by the Byzantine envoy Menandros Protector, who was sent in 568 to the Great-Khan of the Türküt in the Altai region, a territory which is now part of northwestern Mongolia.) Perhaps the Khevsurs borrowed this custom from the Alans, the nomadic ancestors of the present-day Oset'i.

## S'vanet'ians

C. G. 162 101 Another K'art'velian group which in its mountainous seclusion has preserved numerous ancient customs and traditions is the Svans (or Shvan, Strabon's Soanes [Σοάνες]), who live in the high valleys of the Ingur and Ts'khenis-Tskhali, just south of the central high massifs of the Caucasus, between Gvandra and Shkhara. Their language is the most archaic of all the K'art'velian tongues. The Svans are

C. G. [141] outstanding for their height; two meters is not rare.

C. G. 291 is used sparingly and limited to patterns in white on shoes and boots, and silver mountings on the belt. The Pshav have adopted Georgian attire.

C. G. 411 Not only is the Caucasian sober in the use of embellishments on his clothing, which is in itself quite elegant; he also does not wear any ornaments or trinkets. His esthetic sense finds an outlet in the decoration of his arms, however. The sheaths and hilts of daggers and sabers and the grips of pistols were often made of gold or silver, and adorned with precious stones or with niello-work (the latter also on the barrels). The Caucasian dagger--considered as important a part of the attire as is a tie in the West--has a straight, broad, double-edged blade with a groove (blood trough) running down the middle. Formerly, the armature consisted of one or two pistols, tucked behind the belt, a rifle, which the mountaineers always carried in a cover, and a saber. On the belt, various accessories (powderhorn, grease container, flint, etc.) were worn. Only C. G. [713] the Khevsur preserved until quite recently full medieval armor: helmets, coats of mail, shields, swords, clubs and toothed thumb-C. G. [292] rings. The armor was worn on festive occasions and also whenever a man might expect to be attacked because he was involved in a blood-feud, which was usually the case.

C. G. 291 The costume of the Caucasian women shows much more local variation than that of

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Of these the Kubachins,[1] skilled armourers, the Kurins and the Tabasserans—the two latter tribes probably descendants of Persian colonists—were the most peaceable, industrious and civilised, while the Avars were the most warlike. All the Daghestanli tribes were organised on a patriarchal and extremely democratic basis—the chiefs being elective and controlled by councils of elders. To quote Hanway—"as they live under a kind of republican government, the distinction paid to him (the chief) is not very considerable."[2] 180 [622]

Distinct, racially and politically, from the other mountain tribes were the Ossets, who, divided into four main tribes—Digurins, Tagaurs, Kutatins and Alaghirs—were settled over the southern slopes of the Central Caucasus and in the valley of the Upper Araghva. Their social organisation, with its divisions into classes of nobles and serfs, corresponded in many respects to that of the western tribes.

The mountaineers possessed the accepted characteristics of all semi-civilised peoples: on the one hand reckless courage, extreme generosity, hospitality, loyalty, respect for the aged and love of animals; on the other hand a sensibility to offence and a childish vindictiveness which was expressed in perpetual and blood-thirsty vendettas, extreme personal vanity, a disinclination to submit to discipline or to undertake regular work, cruelty, callousness and violence. 181

All travellers unite in praising the hospitality of the mountaineers. "They fulfil the duties of hospitality with the most scrupulous attention, and both the host and his guest style one another *conacco*,[3] which is synonymous with *hospes* in Latin. On the departure of the latter, his host escorts him to another lodging, protects him, and, if necessary, risks his own life in defence of his guest. Though it has been observed that robbery is so general in this country that it may be considered as a regular profession, they nevertheless manifest the utmost fidelity to their conacci or guests.[4] Of the Ingushes Klaproth says, "At entertainments the host always waits upon his guests, and eats only what the latter throw him."[5] 574

The chief occupation and interest of the tribes lay in perpetual raids against their neighbours, or against the inhabitants 721

[1] Chantre, basing himself on Kubachin legends, suggests that this community was of Greek origin, the descendants of a colony of armourers settled by the Persian Kings at Derbend (Chantre, iv, 228).

[2] Hanway, i. 373.

[3] The Italianised form of "kunakh."

[4] Klaproth, p. 336, Dubois de Montpereux, i, 88, both quoting Interiano.

[5] Klaproth, p. 349.

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721 of the lowlands to the north and south. Spring and autumn were their favourite periods, and much ingenuity was exercised in spying out the land. Fighting was only resorted to in extreme cases; and on the whole we may look upon these raids as merely low-class robbery resorted to for the purpose of obtaining cattle, supplies and slaves, which were either absorbed by the raiders themselves or bartered with other tribes or merchants from other countries.

105 Some interesting descriptions of their daily life in the fifteenth to eighteenth centuries are in existence. By these we learn that in the west their houses were all built of straw or wood. No towers or houses of stone existed, for that would show that the owner was in fear and did not know how to protect himself. They lived mostly on meat, millet, water and mead, and wore long silk or linen tunics with wide trousers tucked into long boots, the whole covered with a cloak of felt, and crowned by a conical cap. They wore long moustaches and shaved their heads, and their arrows, leather work and embroidery were of very fine execution. The eastern tribes, on the other hand, lived in stone fortified villages; their food consisted of barley bread, roots and a little meat, and their weapons included not only guns and spears but wooden shields as well. The Lesghians appear to have been much better off than most of the other tribes, but the Ossets and other Daghestanlis lived often in a condition of great poverty and hardship.

795 In the history of the religion of the various tribes can be traced the effects of the influence of neighbouring civilisations.
177.79 The primitive paganism of the tribes, tree, idol and animal worship, survived as a living force until the end of the eighteenth century. On the foundation of this paganism were grafted the various faiths of the different races, who successively invaded or traded with the mountain regions. The Persians introduced fire-worship; the early Georgian Kings propagated Christianity among the Abkhazians, Ossets and Lesghians. Even during the period of Arab hegemony in the Caucasus many districts were Christian which are now fanatically Muhammadan.

The Arabs were successful in converting large portions of Daghestan to Islam, and their influence survives, not only in religious practices but in the writing and the methods of gardening and irrigation used by the eastern tribes.[1]

During the Middle Ages Christianity was spread by the Bagratids among the Kabardans and Chechens, and in the

[1] Chantre, iv, 218.

[i.e., of the caucasian mountain tribes--Analyst]

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the towns of Akhaltsikh, Akhalkalaki and Khertvis; and 175
advanced as far as Erzerum and Baiburt. By the Treaty of Adrianople (1828) Russia remained in possession of Anapa, and all Guria and the Pashalik of Akhaltsikh.

Thus, in three-quarters of a century of war the Russian frontiers had been advanced from the Kuban and the Terek to the Chorokh and the Araxes, and she came into the possession of a territory whose economic possibilities had yet to be realised and whose strategic position gave to her the opportunity of dominating the policies both of Persia and of Turkey.

## IV

### THE MOUNTAIN WAR (1816–1864)

DURING the thirty years in which the conquest of Transcau- 175
casia was in process, the Russians were engaged simultaneously 563
in organising the vast territories in the North Caucasus which 721
had come under their rule through the gradual settlement of Cossack bands, the expulsion of the native nomad tribes, and the exclusion of the Turks. Until the middle of the eighteenth century the Cossacks of the Terek had been virtually independent and associated freely with the native tribes, with whom they came into conflict in mutual raids, but with whom their relations were no more hostile than were those of the tribes with each other. But as the power of the central authority increased, the dividing line between the Cossacks and the Caucasian tribes became more distinct. On the one hand the Cossacks were organised into *voiskos* or military divisions, and in 1816 forfeited the right of electing their own *atamans*. On the other hand the native tribes, who had fraternised with the free Cossack communities, regarded with suspicion that Muscovite Government which had treated with such harshness the Lowland Tatars and which seemed determined to check the raiding expeditions which had been their occupation for centuries.

Further, the Turkish wars and the constant propaganda 175
of Mussulman mullahs tended to accentuate their distrust 721
and to arouse their fanaticism. The continued independence and hostility of the mountaineers were intolerable to the Russian Government. On the one hand the raids of the mountaineers caused considerable harm to the prosperity of the colonists;

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175 on the other the military power of the tribes was a constant menace to the difficult line of communications with Trans-
721 caucasia, a menace the more dangerous when considered in conjunction with the friendly relations between the mountaineers and the Turks, and the latter's naval control of the Black Sea. In 1816 therefore, when Yermolov became Viceroy of the Caucasus, Russia's military obligations in Europe and in Persia being for the moment eased, it was decided to undertake the reduction of the mountain tribes.

726 The operations[1] which extended along the whole length of
175 the Cossack Line, a length of over 450 miles, were divided into three groups. On the right flank, the Cherkesses and Abkhazians were to be attacked; on the centre, the Kabards and Ossets; on the left flank the Chechens and the tribes of Daghestan. Of these three groups, the task allotted to the troops on the left flank was the most difficult. The western tribes though brave were not numerous; their strength had been sapped by a plague originally introduced by Turkish sailors, while the central tribes, Kabards and Ossets, had already received some severe lessons and gave little further trouble. The Chechen tribes, however, were numerous and capable guerrilla fighters, while the thick forests covering their hills made difficult any general advance. Daghestan presented still more formidable obstacles. The area inhabited by the troublesome tribes consisted, as we have seen, of a narrow strip of littoral along the Caspian coast and an elevated table-land, through which a large number of streams had cut channels of a great depth, the whole rising south and west to lofty mountain chains, with several peaks of over
726 13,000 feet in height. The Lesghians, further, were the most
361 numerous—at the beginning of the war they are estimated to have numbered nearly 2,000,000—and the most highly
175 organised of all the tribes. And when threatened by superior forces, they would retire into their *auls* or fortified villages, situated on the most inaccessible parts of the mountains. These villages were so placed that the artillery of those days could seldom be brought to bear with effect on them, and their capture was only possible by storm—" a formidable business when every individual house has its garrison of desperate men, and still more desperate women. . . . The houses were of stone, two stories high; . . . they were disposed, as far as possible, amphitheatre-wise, so as to enfilade one another, the streets being tortuous and barely wide enough for two horsemen to ride abreast; straddled, too, in places by a house furnished

[1] [i.e., in the Mountain War of 1816-64; see cat 116, p 199 -- Analyst]

21: Kolarz J-4 (no date) 1952 R1 Soviet Union R1
[Osset] Caucasia RH1



Ca. 175 177 actions against the Turks. An Ossetin Major-General, K. Zankisov, fought in Poland against the insurgents of 1863–4 and he was by no means the only Ossetin Major-General of that epoch. Furthermore, an 'Ossetin Division' became famous in the course of the Russo-Turkish War in 1877–8, when General Skobelev described its 'chivalrous gallantry' as being 'above any praise'.[12]

Ca. 177 538 Russian cultural work among the Ossetins started much earlier than among other mountain peoples. The first book to appear in the Ossetin language was printed in Moscow in 1798; its object was to serve as a kind of introduction to the study of the Bible. A long period of fruitful association with the Russians and the general peaceful approach of the Ossetins towards Russian military and political rule made them more open to the acceptance of Russian preponderance. The Ossetins were, as a matter of fact, the only people of the Northern Caucasus to produce a great writer in the person of Kosta Khetagurov (1859-1906) who was half Russianized himself and wrote in both the Ossetin and Russian languages. The Soviet régime greatly popularized Khetagurov as a symbol of Russian-Ossetin synthesis, which he undoubtedly was. He had a complete Russian education, had studied at St. Petersburg and was strongly influenced by such progressive Russian writers as Herzen and Chernishevsky, which makes him particularly acceptable from the Soviet point of view.

Ca. 423 668 474 691 Until the Ossetins gave proof of their loyalty to Russia during the war the Soviet régime had had to overcome Ossetin resistance to both the establishment of collective farms and the suppression of tribal customs. During the period of the collectivization Ossetin peasants waged a sort of guerilla warfare against 'socialist property' and while outwardly accepting collectivization, tried to transform the Kolkhoz into an instrument of their respective clans. Ossetin chairmen of collective farms and officials of local Soviets seem to have acted on the principle 'I decide who is a kulak and an enemy of the State and who is not'. Thus, at least during its initial stage, collectivization in Ossetia became a downright farce. Persons belonging to a rival clan were rendered innocuous by being denounced as kulaks; real kulaks, on the other hand, were promoted to the rank of respectable Soviet citizens if they happened to belong to the clan dominating the local village council or the collective farm concerned.[13]

Ca. [725] 631 142 S.U. 563 634 All such 'incidents' were forgotten when the Ossetins redeemed their reputation by their brilliant war record. In the fighting which resulted in the dislodgement of the Germans from the approaches to the Caucasus, Ossetin partisans operating from behind the enemy lines greatly assisted the Red Army.[14] As a mark of appreciation for their loyalty, the Soviet Government allowed the Ossetins to increase substantially the territory of their national republic. A decree of April 8th, 1944, stipulated

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175 the Cossack Line, a length of over 450 miles, were divided into three groups. On the right flank, the Cherkesses and Abkhazians were to be attacked; on the centre, the Kabards and Ossets; on the left flank the Chechens and the tribes of Daghestan. Of these three groups, the task allotted to the troops on the left flank was the most difficult. The western tribes though brave were not numerous; their strength had been sapped by a plague originally introduced by Turkish sailors, while the central tribes, Kabards and Ossets, had already received some severe lessons and gave little further trouble. The Chechen tribes, however, were numerous and capable guerrilla fighters, while the thick forests covering their hills made difficult any general advance. Daghestan presented still more formidable obstacles. The area inhabited by the troublesome tribes consisted, as we have seen, of a narrow strip of littoral along the Caspian coast and an elevated table-land, through which a large number of streams had cut channels of a great depth, the whole rising south and west to lofty mountain chains, with several peaks of over
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[1 D.C., in the Mountain Wars of 1824-64; see cat 116, p 199 -- Analyst]

5: Allen H-4 (no date) 1923 RH1 Caucasia RH1



with a wooden bar or portcullis, making passage impossible until the defenders posted there had been ousted or killed." [1] 726 361

In 1818–20 Yermolov commenced operations against the Chechens by the construction of the forts of Grozni ("Threatening") and Vnezapnaia ("Fort Surprise"), while the Armenian General Madatov reduced the Lesghian Khanates of Sheki (with Nukha), Kiuri (with Akhti), Tabasseran, Kara-Kaitagh, Kazi-Kumukh, Khuntzakh (the capital of the Avar), and Akusha (the capital of the Dargo) Khans. In 1822 the central part of the Line was advanced into the Kabardan country, and the tribesmen, ravaged by a fourteen-years' plague, were reduced with cruel severity. Two years later the Chechens were attacked, but succeeded in inflicting several small defeats on the Russians. 175

The tribes were thoroughly roused by the brutal methods of the Russians, who had marched over their hills, burning auls, carrying off flocks, destroying crops and levelling trees, and there now arose at Ghimri in Avar Daghestan two preachers, Kazi [2] Mullah and Sheikh Shamil, who initiated a movement, Muridism, which at first advocated religious reform, temperance and the cessation of blood-feuds, but soon developed into a fierce agitation, at once religious and political, against the Russians. A common danger had at last united the warring tribes, and the leaders of the movement appealed to that fanatical religious feeling which alone could bind together peoples lacking common national traditions and ideals. Shamil was the more remarkable, although Kazi Mullah, until his death, overshadowed him as Imam, or secular head of the Murids. Desperately brave, a devoted husband and father, Shamil was at the same time cruel, treacherous, and jealous of the success of his subordinate chiefs. He frequently showed himself not only a skilful partisan-leader but a clever strategist, while his success in uniting the tribes was due as much to his administrative and organising ability as to his personal magnetism and power of rousing the religious fervour of the mass of the mountaineers by rhetoric and by a clever assumption of religious sanctity. In the latter respect he has been compared to Muhammad, for he showed a deep knowledge of psychology and an understanding of dramatic effect in the mysterious ceremonies, personal flagellations and supposed communings with the Prophet by which he imposed on the credulity and ignorance of his followers. But as his courage, organising ability and cunning laid the foundations of his 175 668 159

[1] Baddeley, ch. xxxii.

[2] Properly Ghazi.

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175 success, so his cruelty, tyranny, injustice, jealousy and nepotism
668 encompassed his downfall. He alone was responsible for the
159 resistance against the best troops and generals of Russia during more than twenty-five years, but he too by his exactions and merciless discipline destroyed the *moral* of the mountaineers and the prestige of the Murids, and brought about the development of that state of mind which eventually made the tribes whom he had led in victory and defeat ready to desert him and to submit to Russian rule.

175 The history of the Russian war against the mountaineers is largely one of raids and counter-raids, of cruel destruction
● 726 of crops and villages, of massacres and desperate sieges. In
668 outline it may be divided into three phases: (1) 1829–39—including the campaigns of the first and second Imams, Kazi Mullah (1825–32) and Hamzad Beg (1832–4), the election of Shâmil as third Imam and the apparent extinction of his power after the Russian capture of his stronghold Akhulgo (1839): (2) 1840–49—covering the period of Shamil's greatest victories, when his authority extended from the Caspian to the Daryal and from Elisu to the walls of Grozni; and (3) 1850–59—when Shamil's popularity was gradually waning, and when the Russians were encroaching into the hitherto impassable mountains by a plan of campaign directed rather against nature than against Shamil, which comprehended the systematic levelling of forests and building of roads and bridges.

Space fails us wherein to describe the operations and the desperate fighting that took place during the first two of these periods. But an account of an eye-witness of the destruction of the great aul of Germenchug may be taken as showing the typical and magnificent courage of the mountaineers and the difficulties with which the Russians had to contend. "When the aul was in flames," says the narrator, "the Russian commander proposed to grant quarter to the survivors. The defenders listened to the proposal, conferred together for some minutes, and then a half-naked Chechen, black with smoke, came out and made a short speech, followed by a volley from all the loopholes. What he said was to this effect: 'We want no quarter; the only grace we ask of the Russians is to let our families know that we died as we lived, refusing submission to a foreign yoke.' Orders were now given to fire the houses from all sides. The sun had set and the picture of destruction and ruin was lighted only by the red glow of the flames. The Chechens, firmly resolved to die, set up their death-song, loud at first, but sinking lower and lower as their

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numbers diminished under the influence of fire and smoke." 175
"With hearts like stones," concludes the narrator, "the victors 726
sought the refuge of their tents; and maybe more than one 668
in the depth of his being asked himself, why must such things be? Is there no room for all on this earth, without distinction of speech or faith?"[1]

During the third period (1850–59) the Russians confined 175
themselves to the reduction of the Murids by slower but very 668
efficacious means. In the south they built forts to protect the native States from all invasions; on the north they gradually advanced through Chechnia, and pursued a persistent policy of destroying the forests and of removing the mountain population to the northern steppe. At the same time Shamil's influence was waning. His tyranny bore heavily upon the villagers who, further, were weary of the constant warfare of a nature very different from their traditional raids; and his jealousy and nepotism alienated his lieutenants, the most famous of whom, Haji Murad, deserted to the Russians in 1851, as the result of a plot formed by Shamil against his life.

Simultaneously with the campaign against the eastern 175
tribes the Russians had been engaged in long and tedious hostilities with the Cherkesses and Abkhazians. But the fighting in the Western Caucasus at no time attained to the intensity of that in Daghestan.

The Crimean War, which broke out in 1853, failed even to [668]
revive the fortunes of Shamil. The gross incompetence of [159]
the Turkish commanders in Armenia gave him little opportunity for co-operation, and he confined himself to two inconsiderable raids into Kakhetia. On the west the British fleet bombarded the Cossack posts along the coast, which afforded some relief to the Cherkesses, who still maintained a guerrilla war there.

In the autumn of 1855 a Turkish army of 20,000 men, under Omar Pasha, landed at Sukhum Kale, and after defeating a small Russian force on the Ingur advanced on Kutais. But the autumn rains made further operations by the badly-equipped Turkish army impossible, while the Mingrelians—much to the disgust of Laurence Oliphant, who was accompanying Omar—received the Turks with marked lack of enthusiasm. Omar reached Sugdidi, but was compelled to retire into winter quarters at Sukhum, whence his troops were withdrawn on the conclusion of the war.

At that time anti-Russian feeling was strong in England,

[1] Baddeley, pp. 373–4.

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669 In the Transcaucasus a Social Democratic "Commissariat" had superseded the "Caucasian Committee" at Tiflis. This 642 body, which represented all nationalities (three Georgians, three Armenians, three Tatars and two Russians) was presided over by the Georgian Gegéchkori. It drew its authority from a "Transcaucasian Seim" composed of the Caucasian members of the recently elected All-Russian Constituent Assembly, with the further addition of two members for each original one, the various parties increasing their membership in proportion to the last election figures. Further, the Commissariat and Seim worked in conjunction with the various Workmen's, Soldiers' and Municipal Councils, and with Georgian, Armenian and Tatar "National Committees."

In spite, however, of this inevitable organisation on nationalist lines, the Commissariat still endeavoured to maintain the co-operation of the different races and the principle of unity with Russia; and at the Georgian National Congress in November 1917 the Georgian Social Democratic leaders Jordania and Chenkeli emphasised these principles.

## VI

## RECENT HISTORY

● 726 As in Russia, the most urgent necessity for Georgia was the conclusion of an early peace. The Turkish commander on the 648 Turko-Caucasian front, Ferik Mehmed Vehib Pasha, proposed a cessation of hostilities at the beginning of December, in accordance with the action of the German General Staff on the Polish front, and on December 14 General Prjevalski, who still held nominal command of the Russo-Caucasian troops, signed an armistice at Erzinjan. During the following month the anarchy behind the Russian lines increased. Turkish agents were active in the Muhammadan districts of Transcaucasia, encouraging the Tatars and Ajars to attack the disorganised bodies of Russian troops who were making their way home through Transcaucasia. Armenian bands were attacking Turkish villages in the Russian area, and were preparing a desperate resistance to the Turkish advance.

In mid-January 1918 the Ottoman Government made a further *démarche*, addressing itself now to the "Independent Transcaucasian Government," which it invited to participate in the Brest-Litovsk negotiations. It was a development of the Turkish policy, revealed at the outbreak of war, of constructing

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a buffer-State in the Caucasus. But the Social Democrats were still loyal to their ideal of a Federal Russia, and demanded a respite "in order to combine their action with the opinions and views of other autonomous Governments in Russia."[1] They then communicated with the Ukrainian Rada at Kiev and with the South-eastern Union at Ekaterinodar. Meanwhile the Turkish Command emphasised the urgency of a settlement by a general advance, under pretext of protecting the Mussulman population behind the Russian lines from the attacks of the Armenians.

In the middle of February Turkish troops reoccupied Erzinjan (February 12), Baiburt (February 14) and Trebizond (February 24). Nevertheless, when the Seim met on February 28, all parties, including even the Tatars, maintained their attitude of co-operation with the non-Bolshevist parties in Russia, and of refusal to participate with the Bolsheviks in the negotiations at Brest-Litovsk. On March 1 they agreed on the four heads of a peace settlement which provided for the restoration of the frontiers of 1914 and the creation of an autonomous Armenia "within the frame of the Turkish State."

Next day the Tiflis Government received a telegram from the Bolshevist Commissary Karakhan, announcing the retrocession to Turkey of the districts of Batum, Ardahan and Kars. The Transcaucasian Government protested that any treaty "signed without its consent" was "void of international importance," and repeated its willingness to discuss a settlement on the basis of the proposals of March 1. But the Turkish Government replied that the cession of the territories in question had been completed, while the Transcaucasus, according to the statements of its own Government, was a part of Russia, and insisted on the immediate evacuation of the ceded districts. The Turkish Command immediately undertook a double offensive against Erzerum and Batum. Armenian troops and volunteers, under General Nazarbekian and the partisan leaders Antranik and Murad, offered a desperate resistance. But the Georgian troops, under General Odichelidze, unwilling to exhaust their strength in the defence of the Turkish Armenian districts, withdrew. On March 11 the Turks entered Erzerum; during the following month they reoccupied the remaining districts of Turkish Armenia, and approached Kars by Olti and Sarikamish. At the same time the Mussulmans rose in the Province of Kars. All communications were cut, and the

[1] Doc. & Mat., Nos. 15–25.

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insurgents seized Ardahan and Merdenik, while the panic-stricken Christian population fled towards Batum or Akhaltsikh.

Further, there was serious friction between the Georgian and Armenian commanders, the former hesitating to co-operate seriously in the defence of the Kars line. Nevertheless, when the Seim met on March 11 the Armenian and Georgian groups still worked together. Jordania opposed the Brest concessions. The Tatars, however, had already committed themselves definitely to a Turkish orientation, and it was evident that they were no longer willing to co-operate in the maintenance of Transcaucasian unity. A week later occurred the Mussavetist attempt to overthrow the Soviet at Baku, and with the departure of the Mussavetist leaders for Elisavetpol the Transcaucasian Seim lost the last semblance of control over the Eastern districts.

During the latter part of March and the beginning of April a Transcaucasian Delegation under the presidency of Mr. Chenkeli was negotiating at Trebizond with the Turkish plenipotentiary Khalil Bey. Chenkeli, more conscious at Trebizond than the Government at Tiflis of the desperate situation, at last agreed to recognise the Brest Treaty. The Turks thereupon pressed for a declaration of Transcaucasian independence, and on April 13 delivered a forty-eight hours' ultimatum. The Seim was still unwilling to yield, and the Delegation was recalled to Tiflis. On April 14 the Turks entered Batum after a feeble resistance. They then advanced to Notanebi and Ozurgeti. On April 27 they occupied Kars. The situation was desperate. The Government of Gegéchkori resigned, and Chenkeli, who had advocated the concessions, succeeded, and proclaimed the Independence of Transcaucasia.

But the Turks immediately advanced fresh demands. They now had plans far more ambitious than the restoration of the territories lost in 1878. They were in communication with the Tatar National Committee of Elisavetpol, and with a delegation from the Union of Mountaineers which had come to Trebizond. And they conceived an advance on Baku and the extension of their power over all Azerbaijan, Daghestan and North-west Persia. They therefore demanded the surrender of the Alexandropol-Julfa railway-line, "so as to prevent a British concentration in Azerbaijan," [1] and began an attack on the Armenians at Alexandropol. On May 15 Alexandropol fell, and the Turks subsequently occupied Elisavetpol (June 1) and Tabriz (June 15).

[1] *New Europe*, December 28, 1918.

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*The Georgian Social Democratic Republic* (*May* 1918–20).—726 While the Turks and the Tatars were attacking the Armenians 648 in the region of Alexandropol, Erivan and Kara Bagh, the Transcaucasian Government continued at Batum negotiations for a definite peace with Turkey. The interests of the Armenians and Georgians were now widely divergent, for whilst the very existence of the former was threatened by a Turkish control of the Eastern Caucasus, the latter, from their geographical position, were able to regard the Turkish menace with fewer misgivings, and were only anxious to save themselves from becoming involved in further hostilities. Thus, while the Armenian National Committee at Erivan directed an exclusive policy, the Transcaucasian Government at Tiflis tended more definitely each week to represent Georgian interests alone.

But Khalil Bey, at Batum, showed no intention of allowing the Georgians to assume a neutral attitude towards the Armeno-Turkish war. He demanded the right "to bring military help" to prevent the formation of bands in Transcaucasian territory; control of the railways and of Russian ships in Transcaucasian ports; free passage for Turkish troops and military stores through Transcaucasian territory; and immediate demobilisation of all the armed forces at the disposal of the Transcaucasian Government. Further, he patronised Mussulman delegations from the districts of Akhaltsikh and Akhalkalaki, who petitioned for annexation to Turkey. Meanwhile the Bolshevist dictator at Baku, Shaumian, an Armenian, was organising a Red Army of Russian and Armenian workmen, with the professed intention of marching on Tiflis and destroying "that nest of Menshevist reaction." And in the maritime region Bolshevist ships of the Black Sea Fleet bombarded Sukhum and other watering-places, while a Bolshevist force marched along the coast and occupied Sochi, Gagri and Sukhum.

In this situation the Transcaucasian Government commenced to negotiate for German intervention through the medium of the German representative at Batum, General v. Lossow. The German Government at this time had differences with the Porte on questions of general military policy, and was anxious to check Turkish aggression in the Caucasus, in order to secure the transference of Turkish troops to the Syrian front. During April the Germans had occupied Odessa, Nikolaev and Sevastopol, and had seized the bulk of the Black Sea Fleet. Accordingly they were soon in a position to intervene effectively. On May 25 8,000 German troops under General Kress v. Kressenstein landed at Poti, and German

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726 648 pickets appeared on all the frontiers of Georgia. On the same day the Transcaucasian Seim voted its own dissolution, and in the evening Jordania announced the declaration of the Independence of the Georgian Republic. Three days later an agreement was concluded at Poti between v. Lossow and Chenkeli, by which the railways and all naval tonnage were ceded to Germany for the duration of the war. By a later agreement, signed at Batum, the Georgian Government guaranteed to Turkey the free transit of petroleum by the pipe-line from Baku to Batum.

726 648 728 The apologia of the Georgian Social Democrats for the German Agreement is set forth in a memorandum to the International Socialist Bureau: "We tried to unite the Transcaucasian peoples to defend the whole of the country. But our attempt was broken by the national hatred of the Armenians and Tatars, which was rending Transcaucasia. . . . We remained alone, in a ring of fire, surrounded by enemies on all sides. The Turks marched on us from west and south, the Bolsheviks menaced from the north, and the Tatars from the east. . . . Germany alone was able to tear us away from the noose of the Turkish agreement on the condition that we handed over to her the control of our railway system. . . . No other means remained to deliver us from the Turkish occupation. Our sovereignty as to the railways was, anyhow, destroyed by our defeat. And we signed the Treaty with the Germans, gave them our railways, received their regiments, on the sole condition—which they fulfilled—to defend us from Turkey and not to interfere with our internal affairs. However," they add, "during the darkest days, when German help was most needed, we did not renounce the right of pitilessly criticising German Imperialism."

The German occupation undoubtedly saved Georgia from anarchy, while the diplomatic support of the German mission allowed the Tiflis Government to pursue a policy, in relation particularly to Armenia, which was scarcely consonant with its "pitiless criticism of German Imperialism." During the spring a military force had been organised at Tiflis round the nucleus of a body of armed workmen, and was styled "The National Guard." This body, after wavering for some time between Bolshevism and a Chauvinistic form of Nationalism, was finally persuaded by its leaders to devote itself to the defence and other interests of the Georgian Republic. The first campaign of the young army was the invasion and occupation of the Armenian part of the Borchalu district,

[i.e., on May 28, 1918 -- Analyst]

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Akhalkalaki, and the circuit of Phambak in the government of Alexandropol, on the pretext that Armenia was "unable to build a viable State." When the Erivan Government protested to v. Kressenstein, he replied that "Germany as an ally had engaged itself to support the Georgian claims."[1]

On the north the revival of the Volunteer Army, during the late summer of 1918, enabled the National Guard to drive the Bolsheviks from Sukhum, Gagri and Sochi, and to occupy the mountain districts of the Abkhazians and Ossets, with all the western and central passes of the Caucasus, including the Mamison and Daryal, controlling respectively the Ossetian and Georgian Military Roads.

The conclusion of the armistice in November 1918 greatly modified the situation in Transcaucasia. While the Germans and Turks withdrew respectively from Georgia and Azerbaijan, the British assumed control of Batum and Baku and the line of the Transcaucasian Railway, while the Armenians proceeded to occupy Alexandropol, Kars, Ardahan and Ardanuch.

Three distinct influences must be considered in relation to the situation: (1) the mutual relations of the three national Republics; (2) The attitude of the Russian counter-revolutionary Government at Ekaterinodar; and (3) the policy of the Entente Powers.

(1) Although circumstances now favoured the Armenians, they were so exhausted by the struggle of the preceding year that the Turks at Erzerum and the Tatars at Baku still remained a real menace to their safety. Nevertheless on their Georgian frontier they undertook an offensive against Akhalkalaki and Shulaveri, with the object of regaining the territories occupied by the Georgians during the summer. The Armenians gained some initial successes, but an armistice was imposed by the Allied authorities and the ultimate allocation of the disputed territories was left to the decision of the Peace Conference at Paris. In Tiflis the Armenian offensive and the hostile attitude of the Volunteer Army on the northern frontier proved the occasion of a cruel persecution of the considerable Russian and Armenian element. During January 1919 numbers of Russians and Armenians were assaulted in the streets, and the military capacity of the National Guard was demonstrated in the systematic looting of houses in the Armenian quarter.

During the following months however the Georgian Government made a genuine effort to reconcile national differences

[1] *New Russia*, ii, 23, July 8, 1920.

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726 648 and to bring about a degree of co-operation between the national Governments. Various proposals were made for the convocation of a conference of the Transcaucasian States, but the hostility between Baku and Erivan continued to obstruct the conclusion of any common political agreement. However, the signature of the Railway and Postal Convention between the three Governments in the autumn of 1919 was hailed as the first step towards the establishment of a Transcaucasian Confederation.

(2) The counter-revolutionary leaders at Ekaterinodar bore almost as much animosity against the Georgian Socialists as against the Bolsheviks. On the other hand the Georgian Socialists did not hesitate to stigmatise the "Tsarist Generals" as reactionaries—although Mr. Gegéchkori had, in an interview with General Alexeiev, stated that "within our borders the struggle against Bolshevism is implacable"—and they further asserted a series of claims as to the possession or "self-determination" of the Sochi district. Finally, in March 1919, Denikin prepared to make an end of the Caucasian nationalist movement. On the Black Sea coast he occupied Sochi, and the Georgians retired behind the Bzib. At the same time a Russian force occupied Temir-Khan-Shura and brought to an end the "Republic of the Mountaineers."

(3) The policy of the Allies in the Caucasus had been governed by the broader consideration of the Russian Revolutionary question as a whole. While supporting the Russian counter-revolutionaries they had at the same time acquiesced in, or encouraged, the formation of autonomous governments among the border peoples. These, in principle, they were unwilling to recognise as independent, although there was a strong influence in the direction of Allied—particularly of British—policy, which favoured the erection and consistent support of a belt of independent border States. Denikin's attack on the Caucasian Republics provoked a protest from the British Black Sea Command. A small British force was landed at Gagri, between the Volunteer troops at Sochi and the Georgians near Pitsunda, and Denikin, who was dependent on British support in the campaign against the Bolsheviks, was constrained to stop his offensive.

A result of Denikin's offensive was a further effort of the Georgian Government to organise a Transcaucasian alliance—if not a confederation. On July 16, 1919 a Military Convention was signed between Georgia and Azerbaijan, with the object of combined defensive action against the Volunteer Army. But

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Erivan, careful of offence to the Allies, and fearing a Turko-Tatar rather than a Russian attack, held aloof.

In the autumn of 1919 the combination against Denikin developed into a formidable rising of the Daghestanli Khans, which was certainly subsidised and abetted by the Azerbaijan Government. Levies were raised to the number of about 30,000, including 1,000 Turkish *askars*, and organised by fugitive Turkish officers and Tatars, ex-officers of the Imperial Army. In conjunction with Bolshevist elements from Astrakhan the insurgents attacked Derbend and Petrovsk, and threatened other towns. Denikin, at a critical moment, was therefore forced to withdraw two Cossack divisions with armoured cars from the front in Central Russia, but he was successful after a few weeks' campaign in subduing the Khans.

In August the British evacuated all points in Transcaucasia except Batum. A first consequence of this action was a closer Turko-Tatar *rapprochement*, and a desire on the part of the Armenian Government, manifested in a Treaty of Arbitration (November 13), to arrive at a closer understanding with Georgia.

At the beginning of 1920 the collapse of the Volunteer Army and the advance of the Bolsheviks into the Kuban caused the Georgian Government to make one last attempt to achieve some form of co-operation among the Transcaucasian States. The Prime Ministers of Armenia and Azerbaijan were induced to meet and discuss the vexed Zangezur question. But the Tatars were attracted by the prospect of a military alliance with the Turkish Nationalist Government against the Armenians, and concentrated their troops in the Zangezur region. On April 27 the Bolsheviks seized Baku.

The relations of the Tiflis Government with Moscow had, until Denikin's collapse, been normal. Chicherin had, in fact, proposed a Georgian attack on Denikin at the beginning of January. But Gegéchkori had professed disinterestedness in the Russian Civil War, and had refused to permit Georgia to become involved in "a military adventure which would be far beyond her strength." Further negotiations had then taken place, and peace had been agreed upon in principle. But the Bolshevist Staff was notoriously independent of Moscow, and Georgia might expect an immediate attack. During April indeed the Bolsheviks occupied the Gagri district in spite of Georgian protests and raided the Gori district from the north. On May 1 there was a Bolshevist outbreak at Tiflis.

The Polish War however, induced the Bolsheviks to suspend all aggression in the East. Consequently a Treaty was signed

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at Moscow (June 12) by which the Soviet Government recognised the independence of Georgia, and disclaimed all interest in the internal affairs of that country. Georgia was to receive Batum, should it be evacuated by the British, and a neutral zone was established on each side of the Caucasian Mountains. But the cynical attitude of the Bolsheviks towards the Treaty, which they regarded as merely of a temporary nature, was indicated by the correspondence of Chicherin with Mustafa Kemal Pasha, in which he approved the latter's proposal to decide by plébiscite the future of Batum and other regions.

While the Moscow negotiations were in progress the Supreme Council had decided on the evacuation of Batum, and at the beginning of July 1920 the Franco-British troops were withdrawn. The Georgians had already occupied Artvin (May 6), and on July 9 the control of Batum was formally transferred to them by the British High Commissioner, Colonel Stokes.

The evacuation of Batum by the Allies was significant of their intention to abstain from all active intervention in Transcaucasia. Georgia and Armenia were left to their own resources. The situation in the two countries became extremely critical during the autumn of 1920. The people were demoralised by the long period of political crises. In Georgia economic life was disorganised by the unfavourable rate of exchange with Europe, by the impossibility of resuming normal relations with the Northern Caucasus and Azerbaijan, and by the uncertainty of the supply of oil-fuel from Baku. In Armenia the peasants were disheartened by the delay in the solution of the Turkish Armenian question, and the productive capacity of the country was strained to an extreme limit by the necessity of supporting hundreds of thousands of refugees. Thousands of deaths from malnutrition and exposure were occurring, and cholera and typhus were ravaging the crowded villages.

It was patent to all observers that both countries must succumb to a vigorous attack. Their continued independence depended on the preoccupation of the Bolsheviks in other quarters.

In November the conclusion of the Polish War and the unexpected collapse of the White Army in the Crimea precipitated the crisis. The Bolsheviks were now free to despatch troops to the Transcaucasus. At the same time the fall of Venizelos and the political changes in Greece permitted the Turks to withdraw troops from the Smyrna front for despatch to Erzerum. In the middle of September they commenced operations in the regions of Kars and Igdir, and in November the movement

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developed formidable proportions. The demoralised Armenians lacked munitions, uniforms and food, and further, they could hope for no help from the Allies. Kars fell, almost without a shot, and the inhabitants of Erivan only avoided a Turkish occupation by the establishment of a Soviet and recognition of the authority of the Moscow Government.

The Georgians were in a precarious position. Sporadic Bolshevist outbreaks occurred at Tiflis and Batum, and further, the Georgians appear to have been disheartened by the attitude of the British Government, who during the negotiations at Genoa with the Soviet Government appeared to ignore the interests of the Caucasian Governments, and failed to make any suggestion that they should be recognised by the Soviet Government or even to stipulate for their immunity from immediate attack. When the Armenians were attacked the Georgian Government hesitated to make any effort to assist them, and confined themselves, after the Turks had taken Kars and Alexandropol, to occupying the Armenian towns of Ardahan and Ardanuch, officially as a friendly and protective measure.

In the middle of February the Bolsheviks commenced an attack on Georgia. Armenian troops moved on Shulaveri, while a strong force of Bolshevist cavalry advanced up the valley of the Kur towards Tiflis, and detachments crossed the Mamison and Daryal Passes. At the same time another Bolshevist force advanced from Gagri towards Sukhum. The Armenian thrust was repulsed, but the force moving along the Kur was supported by a Bolshevist rising of Russian and Armenian elements in Tiflis, and the Georgian defence was disorganised by the defection of part of the National Guard. In the last week of February Tiflis fell, and the Georgian Government withdrew to Kutais. At the beginning of March the Bolsheviks occupied Mtzkhet and Gori.

Meanwhile the Nationalist Turks occupied Ardahan, Ardanuch and Artvin by agreement with the Georgians, and on March 9 entered Batum.

The Turko-Georgian understanding did not, however, modify the situation. A Georgian rally on the Suram ridge had been expected. But while the Bolshevist Black Sea force took Sukhum and Poti, the Kur army entered Kutais, and the Government of Jordania fled on board an Italian warship at Batum. On March 17 the Bolsheviks approached that town. The Georgian Government troops then deserted to the Bolsheviks, and attacked the small Turkish detachment, which was forced to withdraw.

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The Bolsheviks subsequently[1] established Soviets at Batum
● 726 and Tiflis under the leaders of Georgian Bolshevism, and a
648 Treaty was signed between Angora and Moscow, which confirmed the Turkish occupation of Ardahan, Artvin and Kars,
728. and guaranteed to the Turks free goods transit to Batum.

Following the Kars Conference (October–November 1921), which regulated the relations of the Angora Government and the Caucasian Bolshevist Governments, confirmed the Turks in the possession of Kars and Ardahan, and established a special régime for the Batum Provinces, the Soviet Government abolished by decree the independence of the three Soviet Republics of Transcaucasia, and established one federal union under Russian control, with a political capital at Baku—the centre of Bolshevist influence—and an economic capital at Tiflis. It should be added that the representatives of the four exiled Caucasian Governments (Georgia, Armenia, Azerbaijan and Daghestan) have also "concluded an alliance and established an understanding" by an agreement signed in Paris on June 10, 1921, providing for co-ordination of foreign policy, compulsory arbitration in disputes, and a Customs Union.

ooo In general the situation indicates the development of a further phase of the Russian Revolution—the failure of the separatist movement of the border races and the reconstruction of the Russian Imperial unit through the agency of the Bolshevist military machine. Such a consummation in the Caucasus was, perhaps, inevitable. For the history of the last four years has demonstrated the political instability and military weakness of the national States. And from the standpoint of Russian Imperial policy the re-establishment of control over the Caucasus was a strategic and economic necessity.

Thus for reasons political, economic and moral, it is unquestionable that the future of the Transcaucasian peoples must lie in intimate union with Russia. The actual form of association between Russia and the Transcaucasians, as also the other border races, still remains to be evolved. But it is to be hoped that a liberal autonomy will allow to Georgians, Tatars, Armenians and Mountaineers alike the opportunity for prosperous economic development, and for the preservation of their individual characteristics. In an age of standardisation the distinctive cultures of ancient races are at once a source of advantage to civilisation and of delight to the individual.

1 [for events preceding the settlement of 1921, see cont. 116, p 215 ff.--Analyst]

At that time anti-Russian feeling was strong in England
175 and a number of fantastic propositions for the dismemberment
648 of the Muscovite Empire were being published. So influential a man as Lord Stratford de Redcliffe advocated the creation of an independent Circassia at the time of the Treaty of Paris, and in 1862 a number of enthusiastic public meetings at Dundee, Preston and elsewhere welcomed Cherkess deputies, who had come to England to petition the intervention of the Queen. But these efforts were of no avail. The Kars and Ingur campaigns had convinced responsible British statesmen that it was too late to attempt to retard the Russian absorption of the Caucasus, and the Treaty of Paris, by ignoring "the Circassian Question," gave the sanction of Europe to the Russian
175 position in those regions.

[668] In 1859 Shamil, deserted by his followers, and surrounded
[59] by Russian forts, was driven from his last stronghold, Veden. Accompanied only by a hundred faithful *murtazeks*, he fled to the mountainous aul of Gunib in Southern Daghestan, where he subsequently surrendered.[1] The war-weary mountaineers had everywhere laid down their arms; the Russian conquest of the Eastern Caucasus was complete.

Five years later, in 1864, the last resistance of the Cherkesses
175 and Abkhazians was crushed. Nearly 500,000 of these un-
727 fortunate people, together with 100,000 Chechens, emigrated subsequently to Turkey, where the greater number died of disease and starvation.[1] They left their mountain homes a desert, but their place was gradually filled by Bohemian and Cossack immigrants.

During the Russo-Turkish War of 1877–8 there was some unrest amongst the remnants of the western tribes, but Turkish attempts to raise a general insurrection of the Mussulman mountaineers were ineffectual. As a result of the war, the Russians, by the Treaty of Berlin (1878), obtained almost the last remaining areas inhabited by the Caucasian races, Batum and the Ajar hills.

[1] After exile at Kaluga and Kiev, he died on a pilgrimage, at Medina, in 1871.

[66] [2] Some thousand Cherkesses—Chapsughs, Ulikhs, Kabardans and Abkhazians—are settled in the vilayet of Sivas, others in that of Bitlis. The Chechens, after causing much trouble in the vilayets of Kars and Erzerum, finally scattered about the region of Bitlis, Van and Mush, while others settled in the vilayet of Diarbakr.

[1 [i.e., during the Crimean War -- Analyst]

162 central T'erek, and a larger southern one
167 along the tributaries of the Sundja. Along the T'erek, below Vladikavkaz, the Oset'is have been split in a similar way, and many more examples could be adduced here. During the most hectic years of Stalin's absolutism, the bigger towns and cities having industrial enterprises were filled with Russians sent there as workers and specialists of all kinds, often only as specialists in national coercion
[127] in the event of war. In the Northwest and North Caucasian area, the people finally showed such an overwhelming enthusiasm for Hitler and his victorious "supermen" that entire nations, and not surprisingly quite a number of Russians with them, went over to the Nazi side, even before the spearheads of the German armies had reached them. Thus later on, after Hitler's defeat at Stalingrad, their defection had the well-known consequences: the "culprit nations" were punished in true Stalinist fashion, with the result that the ethnic map of the area was changed to a considerable degree.

Russian peasant villages were found even in the Anti-Caucasus; most of them are scattered all over the northern part of the area, mainly in valleys of the northern border mountains. But single Russian villages can be found as far as the two provinces of Kars and Ardahan, where the Russian population seems to have remained after their reannexation by Turkey, as suggested by a few place names.

726 pickets appeared on all the frontiers of Georgia. On the same
648 day the Transcaucasian Seim voted its own dissolution, and in the evening Jordania announced the declaration of the Independence of the Georgian Republic. Three days later an agreement was concluded at Poti between v. Lossow and Chenkeli, by which the railways and all naval tonnage were ceded to Germany for the duration of the war. By a later agreement, signed at Batum, the Georgian Government guaranteed to Turkey the free transit of petroleum by the pipe-line from Baku to Batum.

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648 Agreement is set forth in a memorandum to the International Socialist Bureau: "We tried to unite the Transcaucasian
728 peoples to defend the whole of the country. But our attempt was broken by the national hatred of the Armenians and Tatars, which was rending Transcaucasia. . . . We remained alone, in a ring of fire, surrounded by enemies on all sides. The Turks marched on us from west and south, the Bolsheviks menaced from the north, and the Tatars from the east. . . . Germany alone was able to tear us away from the noose of the Turkish agreement on the condition that we handed over to her the control of our railway system. . . . No other means remained to deliver us from the Turkish occupation. Our sovereignty as to the railways was, anyhow, destroyed by our defeat. And we signed the Treaty with the Germans, gave them our railways, received their regiments, on the sole condition—which they fulfilled—to defend us from Turkey and not to interfere with our internal affairs. However," they add, "during the darkest days, when German help was most needed, we did not renounce the right of pitilessly criticising German Imperialism."

The German occupation undoubtedly saved Georgia from anarchy, while the diplomatic support of the German mission allowed the Tiflis Government to pursue a policy, in relation particularly to Armenia, which was scarcely consonant with its "pitiless criticism of German Imperialism." During the spring a military force had been organised at Tiflis round the nucleus of a body of armed workmen, and was styled "The National Guard." This body, after wavering for some time between Bolshevism and a Chauvinistic form of Nationalism, was finally persuaded by its leaders to devote itself to the defence and other interests of the Georgian Republic. The first campaign of the young army was the invasion and occupation of the Armenian part of the Borchalu district,

[1 D.C., on May 28, 1918 -- Analyst]

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Akhalkalaki, and the circuit of Phambak in the government of Alexandropol, on the pretext that Armenia was "unable to build a viable State." When the Erivan Government protested to v. Kressenstein, he replied that "Germany as an ally had engaged itself to support the Georgian claims."[1]

On the north the revival of the Volunteer Army, during the late summer of 1918, enabled the National Guard to drive the Bolsheviks from Sukhum, Gagri and Sochi, and to occupy the mountain districts of the Abkhazians and Ossets, with all the western and central passes of the Caucasus, including the Mamison and Daryal, controlling respectively the Ossetian and Georgian Military Roads.

The conclusion of the armistice in November 1918 greatly modified the situation in Transcaucasia. While the Germans and Turks withdrew respectively from Georgia and Azerbaijan, the British assumed control of Batum and Baku and the line of the Transcaucasian Railway, while the Armenians proceeded to occupy Alexandropol, Kars, Ardahan and Ardanuch.

Three distinct influences must be considered in relation to the situation: (1) the mutual relations of the three national Republics; (2) The attitude of the Russian counter-revolutionary Government at Ekaterinodar; and (3) the policy of the Entente Powers.

(1) Although circumstances now favoured the Armenians, they were so exhausted by the struggle of the preceding year that the Turks at Erzerum and the Tatars at Baku still remained a real menace to their safety. Nevertheless on their Georgian frontier they undertook an offensive against Akhalkalaki and Shulaveri, with the object of regaining the territories occupied by the Georgians during the summer. The Armenians gained some initial successes, but an armistice was imposed by the Allied authorities and the ultimate allocation of the disputed territories was left to the decision of the Peace Conference at Paris. In Tiflis the Armenian offensive and the hostile attitude of the Volunteer Army on the northern frontier proved the occasion of a cruel persecution of the considerable Russian and Armenian element. During January 1919 numbers of Russians and Armenians were assaulted in the streets, and the military capacity of the National Guard was demonstrated in the systematic looting of houses in the Armenian quarter.

During the following months however the Georgian Government made a genuine effort to reconcile national differences

[1] *New Russia*, ii, 23, July 8, 1920.

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The Bolsheviks subsequently[1] established Soviets at Batum
726 and Tiflis under the leaders of Georgian Bolshevism, and a
648 Treaty was signed between Angora and Moscow, which confirmed the Turkish occupation of Ardahan, Artvin and Kars,
728 and guaranteed to the Turks free goods transit to Batum.

Following the Kars Conference (October–November 1921), which regulated the relations of the Angora Government and the Caucasian Bolshevist Governments, confirmed the Turks in the possession of Kars and Ardahan, and established a special régime for the Batum Provinces, the Soviet Government abolished by decree the independence of the three Soviet Republics of Transcaucasia, and established one federal union under Russian control, with a political capital at Baku—the centre of Bolshevist influence—and an economic capital at Tiflis. It should be added that the representatives of the four exiled Caucasian Governments (Georgia, Armenia, Azerbaijan and Daghestan) have also "concluded an alliance and established an understanding" by an agreement signed in Paris on June 10, 1921, providing for co-ordination of foreign policy, compulsory arbitration in disputes, and a Customs Union.

000 In general the situation indicates the development of a further phase of the Russian Revolution—the failure of the separatist movement of the border races and the reconstruction of the Russian Imperial unit through the agency of the Bolshevist military machine. Such a consummation in the Caucasus was, perhaps, inevitable. For the history of the last four years has demonstrated the political instability and military weakness of the national States. And from the standpoint of Russian Imperial policy the re-establishment of control over the Caucasus was a strategic and economic necessity.

Thus for reasons political, economic and moral, it is unquestionable that the future of the Transcaucasian peoples must lie in intimate union with Russia. The actual form of association between Russia and the Transcaucasians, as also the other border races, still remains to be evolved. But it is to be hoped that a liberal autonomy will allow to Georgians, Tatars, Armenians and Mountaineers alike the opportunity for prosperous economic development, and for the preservation of their individual characteristics. In an age of standardisation the distinctive cultures of ancient races are at once a source of advantage to civilisation and of delight to the individual.

1 [for events preceding the settlement of 1921, see cat. 116, p 215 ff.--Analyst]

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 SU 137 C 137

steppe, extending as far as the Kuban' River; north of that stream it follows the fertile black-earth steppe, which continues to the lower Don. In the northeast, however, the decrease in precipitation is evidenced by a gradual change to the dry wormwood steppe, with salt flats, shifting sands, and bitter-salt lakes, forerunners of the Caspian semi-desert in the east.

SU 162 C 162

The population of the Lower Don and Northern Caucasus is more than 9 millions, giving an average density of 65 per square mile. The greatest concentration of the population is north of the Kuban'-Terek line, in the steppes, where Russians and Ukrainians predominate. These two ethnic groups came to this region from the north in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries and constitute at present nine tenths of the total population. The Russians settled mainly in the eastern steppes, the Ukrainians along the Kuban' River. South of the Kuban'-Terek line live the indigenous mountain peoples of the Greater Caucasus; the Adyge (Cherkess or Circassians), Kabardinians, Ossetians, Avars, Laks, and others. The Slavic groups live in large administrative divisions, such as Rostov and Groznyy oblasts, Krasnodar and Stavropol' krays, while the many mountain peoples are organized in autonomous units, varying in importance and size, on the northern slope of the Greater Caucasus.

SU 728 C 728

Four ethnic groups of the Northern Caucasus lost their national identity and were resettled in other parts of the USSR following their alleged collaboration with the Germans during the Second World War. The autonomous oblast of the Karachay was dissolved in 1943, and part of its territory was given to Stavropol' Kray, while the southern portion, including the capital, Mikoyan-Shakhar (now Klukhori), was ceded to the Georgian SSR. The Balkar nationality, which constituted 16 percent of the population of the Kabardino-Balkar Autonomous SSR, was dissolved in 1943, and a section of its territory, in the southwest of the republic, was transferred to the Georgian SSR. The republic became the Kabardinian Autonomous SSR. The Chechen-Ingush Autonomous SSR was also dissolved in 1943 because of the alleged fifth-column activities of its two main ethnic groups, the Chechen and the Ingush. The greater portion of the territory became part of the newly created Groznyy Oblast and the adjacent North Ossetian Autonomous SSR (west), Georgian SSR (south), and Dagestan Autonomous SSR (east) each received strips of land along the frontiers.

The Kuban' steppes are among the chief grain-producing regions of

23: Shabad N-4 (no date) 1951 R1 Soviet Union R1
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SU 438* A 438

Maykop, on the Belaya River, at the north foot of the Caucasus, is the center of the oil field of Neftegorsk and Apsheronsk, more than 30 miles southwest. The city has a small-scale metallurgical industry and produces machine tools, agricultural and lumbering machinery, furniture, tobacco, canned goods, and meat.

## Stavropol' Kray

**Capital, Stavropol'; area, 29,600, population, 1,500,000**

SU 133* C 133

Stavropol' Kray reaches to the crest of the Greater Caucasus only in its extreme southwestern portion along the upper Urup, a left affluent of the Kuban'. The basic portion of the region lies in the northern foothills of the Caucasus, the so-called Stavropol' upland, and in the dry steppes to the northeast. The watershed between the Caspian and the Black Sea basins passes roughly along the Stavropol' meridian, near the western border of the kray. Due to this circumstance, only a narrow strip of territory along the western boundary receives the benefit of the humid westerly winds blowing from the Black Sea. The rest of the area, east of the Stavropol' upland, is characterized by a dry climate. The yearly precipitation decreases from 16 inches in the west to 8 inches in the east; insolation and summer heat are very pronounced. Consequently, water courses are poorly developed, and trees are entirely absent. In the western and central portions fertile black-earth and chestnut soils predominate; only in the extreme east does the region have a semi-desert character.

SU 162 631 C 162 631

The population of the region is predominantly Russian, with a strong Ukrainian admixture. In the southwest lives another section of the Cherkess, or Circassian, ethnic group, which is organized into the Cherkess Autonomous Oblast. This region, now known as Stavropol' Kray, was first organized within its present approximate limits in 1924, when it was called North Caucasus Kray. In 1937 it was renamed Ordzhonikidze Kray; it received its present designation in 1943. Prior to the Second World War, it also included the Karachay Autonomous Oblast, a division located in the southwest on the slopes of the Greater Caucasus. This autonomous unit, with an area of 3,800 square miles and a population of 150,000, had been constituted in 1926, when it was separated from the original Karachay-Cherkess Autonomous Oblast (formed in 1922). The Karachay, a Turkic people who constituted about one half of the population of the autonomous unit, were among those accused of collaboration with the Germans during the Second World War. In 1943 the nationality was abrogated, the people were dis-

SU 728 621 C 728 631

23: Shabad N-4 (no date) 1951 Rl Soviet Union Rl
Caucasia RH1



SU 631 928 C 631 728

persed and resettled, and the Karachay lost official recognition. The autonomous unit was abolished. Its major portion, including the capital, Mikoyan-Shakhar, now Klukhori, and the resort Teberda, and the village Uchkulan, now Madniskhevi, were ceded to the Georgian SSR, the strip along the upper Laba River passed to Krasnodar Kray; another portion, including the village Pregradnaya, was annexed to Cherkess Autonomous Oblast; the remainder became part of Stavropol' Kray proper.

SU 241 C 241

The climatic and soil conditions of the region are favorable to the development of grain farming and the raising of livestock for wool and meat, activities which prevail for similar reasons in the dry steppes of the Lower Volga Region, in northern Kazakhstan, and in Western Siberia. The main crops are winter wheat, sunflowers in the west, and cotton in the east. In the section bordering on the upper and middle Kuma River, irrigated farming is devoted to the raising of orchards, garden crops, and vineyards, the latter particularly in the Budennovsk–Georgiyevsk area. With the construction of the Nevinnomyssk Canal, to be completed during the current Five-Year Plan, the glacier-fed Kuban' River will be linked with the Yegorlyk, an affluent of the Manych, and new areas will be put under irrigation in the western part of Stavropol' Kray. Truck produce is grown intensively in the relatively urban areas of the health resorts (Pyatigorsk, Kislovodsk, and others) in the south and in the southwestern mountain area garden and dairy farming is carried on. In the northern and eastern steppes the raising of sheep is most important. On specially organized state farms two major breeds predominate: the merino sheep for the production of fine wool and the *volosh* sheep, which furnishes meat and coarse wool. The Alpine pastures in the southwest support the so-called Karachay sheep, which also is used mainly for meat. Dairy cattle are raised in the health resort district, and hogs and horses on the mountains slopes.

SU 236 C 236

SU [135] C [135] SU 438* C 438

The mineral resources of the region consist only of coal, which is worked in small amounts at Khumarinskoye and Ordzhonikidzevskiy, just north of Klukhori, of raw material for the chemical industry of Cherkess Autonomous Oblast, and of the mineral springs in the Pyatigorsk-Kislovodsk area. The products of agriculture and of the pastoral economy are partly processed within the region; some are exported in semi-processed form to other areas of the USSR. The principal export items are grain, vegetable oil, meat, tallow, dairy products, raw wool, fruits, and vegetables. The local industries are scattered

847 married life (in Pshavia, not before the third year[36]). The second child may not see the light of day till the seventh year after marriage, and the third child (just as in Pshavia[37]) must be the last.[38] We called the practice "thoroughly un-Georgian" because it is resorted to only when the mountaineers consider it unavoidable. The indescribable poverty of their land "drove" them to this painful extinction of baby girls. It was this same poverty that led the neighbouring South Ossetes (the Tualti, inhabitants of Nar, Tib, Mamisson and other *auls*) in the eighteenth century to expose or strangle their infant girls and to sell their boys into slavery in spite of their great longing for male children.[39] In Ossetia, [132] before the Revolution, physically deformed babes would be choked to death immediately after birth, without even being shown to the mother. Such deformed infants were killed regardless of sex, for the Ossetes believed that such infants owe their existence to evil spirits. Similarly, even today, deformed colts, calves and lambs are killed immediately after birth, because "they come from the evil spirits."[40] We have already mentioned that some Georgian mountaineers kill their baby girls in the belief that the next child will infallibly be a boy.[41]

## § 5. OTHER BIRTH CUSTOMS

### 1. The Couvade

846 The couvade, to my knowledge,[42] is not practiced anywhere in North Caucasia. We do find it among the SOUTHERN CAUCASIANS, where not a few traces of an ancient mother-right culture have survived. The couvade is upposed to be practiced by the Yassai of Sakataly primeval forest, southwest of Daghestan,[43] and according to Strabo by the West Iberians.[44]

### 2. Circumcision

304 This custom, wherever it is found in the Caucasus, is doubtless of Islamic origin.[45] The Mohammedan Ossetes were greatly averse to the practice till the mullahs succeeded in convincing them that all uncircumcised persons would have to spend their eternity without a head.[46]

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[36] Makalatija, *op. cit.*, p. 110.

[37] *ibid.*

[38] Hahn. *Bilder aus dem Kaukasus*, pp. 73 f.

[39] Kovalevskij, *Coutume contemp.*, p. 189.

[40] Pčelina, *op. cit.*, p. 93.

[41] *Sagva*, p. 140.

[42] Unfortunately L. M. Melikset-Bekov's study on the couvade in the Caucasus (*K voprosu ob obyčae kuvady na Kavkaze v svjazi s jazykovymi perežitkami matriarchata*) is not at my disposal.

[43] Essad-Bey, *Der Kaukasus, Seine Berge, Völker und Geschichte*, p. 103.

[44] Strabo, iii, 4, 17. Cf. N. Marr, *Der japhetische Kaukasus und das dritte ethnische Element im Bildungsprozess der mittelländischen Kultur*, p. 72; A. Baschmakoff, *Cinquante siècles d'évolution ethnique, etc.*, p. 85.

[45] For example, in Daghestan (cf. Reineggs, *op. cit.*, I, p. 191).

[46] Pčelina, *op. cit.*, p. 97.

has (or at least has had) the same significance among all North Caucasian mountain tribes, the explorers pass over the relation between birth and the fire-place without a single word. This may be a serious oversight. 851

## § 6. RESPECT OF CHILDREN FOR THEIR ELDERS

The NORTHWESTERNERS. The *adats* inform us that the children have a strict obligation of acknowledging the authority of their father. They must respect him and carry out all his commands. To disobey him or even to oppose his wishes would be, "according to customary law, the greatest abomination, and according to Islamic law, the greatest of sins."[68] This respect must continue even when old-age renders their parents helpless. When a joint-family is divided, the sons must set aside a definite amount of property for the support of their parents and for their funeral.[69] The sons have the strict obligation of erecting a tombstone for their parents. The *adats* also demand that Rs. 300 should be set aside for an elaborate funeral feast. Formerly such feasts would often bring complete financial ruin to the family.[70] This great respect for parents is extended to elders in general, and especially to elder brothers.[71] 593 [888] [737] [765]

The NORTHEASTERN CAUCASIANS. The Lesghians show an unusually great respect for their parents.[72] If the children fail to care for their aged parents, they may be summoned before the *kâḍî*, who will force them to do so.[73] Some excellent examples of this deep respect can be found in the official criminological reports of Kaitago-Tabassaran. "On August 3, 1869, a native of the village of Myura, Kaitago-Tabassaran, Mahomet Omar, after having been scolded by his mother for laziness shot himself."[74] Or again, "On October 2, 1869, a native of the *aul* of Kulidzha, Kaitago-Tabassaran, Ali-bek Salig, quarreled with his son, Murtuzali. After some time his son returned to his father and begged forgiveness. His father, however, refused to listen to his son's repentent words, coldly showing him the door and telling him never to return again. On hearing these words, Murtuzali took out his pistol and shot himself. His father, on seeing that he was the cause of his son's grief and death, took his own life by falling on his *kinjal*."[75] 593 762 888

The reports concerning the Avars being contradictory demand special attention. Some claim that the Avars have just as much respect for their elders as do the other Lesghians. If a son is unable to fulfill the wishes of his father,

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[68] Leontovič, II, p. 250, § 134.

[69] Ladyzenskij, FT, p. 206.

[70] Ladyzenskij, FT, p. 208.

[71] Dubrovin, *Istorija*, I, i, p. 169.

[72] Dubrovin, *Istorija*, I, i, p. 441 is certainly exaggerating when he says that the Chechens "deny their mothers even the respect Nature has implanted in the hearts of all men." This very sentence has been copied and re-copied from the *adat* collections by a number of pre-Soviet authors without inquiring into the reliability of the report. Svěčin, *op. cit.*, pp. 61 f, regarding Lesghians.

[73] Kovalevskij, *Zakon*, II, p. 203. For details regarding the kind of support demanded by the *Ierf'a* in Dargwa, see Kovalevskij, *op. cit.*, pp. 203 f.

[74] "Iz gorskoj kriminalistiki," SSKG, III (1870), p. 7.

[75] "Iz gorskoj kriminalistiki," p. 8.

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132 vegetation is abundant, and near the sea semi-tropical in its luxuriance.

East of the Suram Mountains the climate is dry, with extremes of heat and cold. The summer is oppressively hot, particularly in the Kura valley. The Caspian basin, as a whole, suffers from drought, and in the Baku district violent sand and dust storms are common.

The climate in the Armenian Highlands shows characteristics similar to those of the two areas above described. At Alexandropol snow lies till the middle of April, spring lasts a fortnight, and the summer parches the country to the condition of a desert. The Aras valley has a somewhat less rigorous climate.

Recent climatic statistics for the three areas are shown in the table given on p. 7.

### (4) Sanitary Conditions

[144] Sanitation in anything like the modern sense of the 164 word is practically unknown in Transcaucasia. Medical facilities, except in the larger towns, are practically non-existent. Constant epidemics of malaria are caused by the marshy conditions prevailing on the Black Sea coast, and in the valleys of the Rion, Aras, and Kura. Goitre and epilepsy are common among the natives of Svanetia. Leprosy occurs among the poorer classes of the Persian population. Elisavetopol is notorious for the so-called Sartian sickness, a kind of skin eruption.

### (5) Race and Language

563 Of the numerous peoples represented in Caucasia, 197 some belong to the white race, others to the Mongolian 10 or yellow race.

I. The inhabitants who are of white race belong to the Indo-European, Semitic, or Caucasian families.

*Indo-European Family.*—Everywhere there are *Russian* officials, merchants, and soldiers, and there are also large numbers of peasants, who are either voluntary colonists or religious exiles from European Russia. They speak both Great and Little Russian.

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own homes, and a rise of from 10 per cent. to 50 per cent. in the rates of pay. A promise of improved housing had been obtained when war broke out, and the men returned to work.

In the matter of wages, the demand at Baku was for a minimum of £3 10*s.* a month; in 1908 an ordinary labourer on the oil-fields had earned only from 32*s.* to 40*s.* a month. In other industries ordinary labourers received from 2*s.* 6*d.* to 5*s.* a day, artisans from 5*s.* to 7*s.* 6*d.*, and miners from 5*s.* to 8*s.* 4*d.* Italian masons were paid from 3*s.* 4*d.* to 6*s.* 8*d.* a day. Agricultural labourers in 1913 were receiving from about 1*s.* 7*d.* to about 2*s.* 2*d.* a day, wages being highest in Kutais and lowest in Terek. Female labour, which is much used both in agriculture and in industry, is very poorly paid.

Since 1912 accident and sickness insurance has been compulsory for large industrial concerns. Medical attendance, maintenance during illness, and pensions for totally disabled workmen and for the dependants of workmen accidentally killed in their employers' service, have to be provided by the employers.

## (2) Agriculture

### (*a*) *Products of Commercial Value.*

*Vegetable Products.*—*Cereals* grow well in the soil of Ciscaucasia, which is a continuation of the 'black earth' of southern Russia. The area planted with *wheat* in 1914 throughout the country was 12,700,000 acres, yielding nearly 3,000,000 tons of grain; nearly 5,000,000 acres were in Kuban and over 4,000,000 in Stavropol. The area under *barley* in the two divisions of Caucasia in 1914 was about 5,500,000 acres (yielding 1,600,000 tons), and of these more than 4,000,000 were in Ciscaucasia—2,000,000 in Kuban, 1,600,000 in Stavropol, and the rest in Terek. Between 1911 and 1915 Ciscaucasia produced on an average one-third of the total output of winter wheat in the whole Russian Empire and about 15 per cent. of the entire yield of

c. o. 776 naive and primitive way of thinking. These are popular creations, mainly tutelary deities and spirits of various realms of nature, such as Fälwära, the guardian of domestic animals; Buduri-Usad, the god of the fields; Khualar-Dar, the god of the harvest: Ävsati, the protector of the deer, the ibex and other game; Donbettyr (Donbettär), the guardian spirit of the waters, the fish and fishermen; Safa, the tutelary spirit of the chain which hangs about the hearth and is so holy an object in an Osset's house, that its removal can bring about the death of the inhabitants of the house and its c. o. theft can lead to a blood feud; Runibari, a god [753] of health (who brings disease and wards it off); c. o. the Geniata or Fazbadata, the guardian spirits [769] of families and the spirits (ghosts) of deceased souls, who are supposed to watch over, and further the well-being of, their families on earth. It is characteristic of the mentality of the Ossets that one of their guardian spirits, Saureg-Gsua by name, protects even thieves and robbers.

However, functions of guardianship are also attributed to some of the Christian saints who have become prominent figures in the religion of the Ossets. Vastyrdzhi (Digor Vasgergi), Saint George, protects travelers, controls military roads and mountain paths, and in contrast to the spirit Saurge-Gsua mentioned above, persecutes thieves and robbers and punishes perjurers and murderers. Vatsilla,

C. G. 776 thunder), often identified with Christian saints (e.g. the god of thunder with St. Elias or St. George); patrons of agriculture, of cattle breeding, of horsemen, of thieves, etc.; and also a large array of spirits, angels, witches, and wood-giants; and finally a variety C. G. of superstitions, of which may be mentioned [754] the fear of the "evil eye."

The religious worship of the Georgian C G mountain tribes has reverted to their ancient tribal religion, veiled by Christian terminology. [778] Their places of worship, called khat'i "icon" or dzhvari "cross," are small huts of rough stones, mostly standing in sacred groves. Their only adornment are pieces of cloth or horns of the Caucasian capricorn as votive offerings. The same words denote also the supernatural power residing in these huts; it is conceived as a sort of mediator between mankind and the supreme god called Morige "he who allots, distributes." Each village and each clan have their khat'i, and each tribe, too, had a common khat'i; e.g., that of the Pshav is called Lashris dzhvari, that of the Mtiul Lomisas dzhvari. Every member of the clan considers himself a "serf" (q'ma) of the khat'i, which may send him success, or disease and death. Each khat'i possessed pastures, arable land and woods where it was C. forbidden to fell a single tree. Attached to G. it was a body of functionaries who were 793 appointed temporarily or held their office by

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In the 'black earth' steppes of Ciscaucasia the maxi- 132
mum rainfall is at the beginning of summer; on the eastern steppes, which extend along the Caspian Sea, the maximum is reached in March.

### (4) Sanitary Conditions

The science of hygiene is unknown in Caucasian villages, 758
and medical aid is absent or inaccessible in country dis- 164
tricts. Malaria is the characteristic disease of Caucasia, but small-pox, scarlet fever, measles, dysentery, typhus, and pneumonia are prevalent and cause many deaths.

In the fashionable health resorts, such as Kislovodsk, 529
Jelieźnovodsk and Pyatigozsk, there are very up-to-date sanatoria established on the latest German lines, to which people come from all parts of Russia to take the waters and the cure.

### (5) Race and Language

Russians form 34 per cent. of the people of Ciscau- 162
casia, and in the Government of Stavropol amount to 90 per cent. In the Province of Kuban 109 per 1,000 are Cossacks; in Terek the proportion is 179 per 1,000. Tatars live in the east and south-east, where they form 19·3 per cent. of the inhabitants. The remainder consists of Kalmucks, Turcomans, Nogai-Tatars, Armenians, Georgians, Germans, Poles, &c. (See also p. 8.)

### (6) Population

The population of the three Ciscaucasian provinces on January 1, 1913, was 5,470,600, distributed as follows:

| | *Rural Population.* | *Urban Population.* | *Total.* |
|---|---|---|---|
| Kuban . . | 2,667,000 | 244,800 | 2,911,800 |
| Stavropol . | 1,232,400 | 79,700 | 1,312,100 |
| Terek . . | 1,015,100 | 231,600 | 1,246,700 |

#### *Towns*

*Ekaterinodar* (population in 1897, 65,697, now about 161
107,000), the capital of the Province of Kuban, is 361

646 3 Allakhiarly, Ismail Babaiar ogly
665 Deputy to Sov. Soiuz VS SSSR (4. s'ezd, 1954) Born in Shemakha, 1905- Member of CC CP Azerb. SSR

Bak. Rab. 3/18/54, 2/25/54

665 3 Allakhverdiev, T. A.
Member of presidium CC CP Azerb. SSR, 21. S'ezd, 1956.

Bak. Rab. 1/26/56

• 759 2 Ambartsumian, Sarkis, 1880- in Nagornyi Karabakh. Physician; since 1926 president of Armenian Sovnarkom.

BE I 2:384

·815 2 Ambartsumian, Viktor Amazospovich
665 Born in 1908- ; astrophysicist (specialized in intrastellar light absorption) Stalin prize in 1950 Deputy Sov. Soiuz VS SSSR (4. sozyv, 1954) Member of CC CP Arm. SSR 17-18. s'ezd 1954 and 1956)

Kom. Er. 3/2/54 & 1/22/56
BE II 1:566, 2:217 (bibliography of works)
Vest. Akad. nauk SSSR, 1947, No. 10

7:Columbia U. S-4,5 1956 RH1 Caucasia
RH1

875 1 Burchuladze, E. E.
Rector of Tiflis Univ. im. Stalina, 1954.

Zar. Vost. 2/18/54

646 1 Burchuladze, Mariia Ivlianovna
Adzhar. deputy Sov. Nats. VS SSSR 4. sozyv, 1954

Bak. Rab. 3/18/54

1 Burdzhanadze, Magdana Davidovna
Deputy to Sov. Nats. VS SSSR (4. s'ezd) 1954

Bak. Rab. 2/19/54

535 1 Chabukiani, Vakhtang Mikhailovich
Stalin prize 2. class, 1950
Choreographer of ballet Gorda, performed in Gruz. gos. teatr opery i baleta im. Paliashvili.

Laur. Stalin. prem. 1950
p. 81

• 759 1 Chachava, Mikhail Konstantinovich
646 Adzhar. deputy Sov. Nats. VS SSSR 4. sozyv, 1954. Born in Lanchkhuti 1902- Military physician; since 1930 surgeon in Tiflis. No party affiliation

Bak. Rab. 3/18/54
Zar. Vost. 2/13/54

7:Columbia U. S-4, 5 1956 RHl Caucasia
RHl

815 1
646

Dzhanelidze, Aleksandr Illainovich 1888-. Georgian geologist; member of Akad. nauk Gruz. SSR; deputy to VS Gruz. SSR 1.-3. sozyv. Writes on paleontology. 1951- vice president of Akad. nauk Gruz. SSR; professor at Tiflis univ. Head of Inst. geol. Akad. nauk Gruz. SSR. Specialist in regional tectonics of Georgia.

BE II 13:70
14:212

759 1 (3?)

Dzhanelidze, Justin Ivlianovich 1883-1950. Surgeon; member of Akad. med. nauk SSR; editor of Vestnik khirugriiim. Grekova, 1937-1941. Stalin prize in 1949. Specialist on heart wound surgery. Pres. of 25. Vsesoiuz. s'ezd khirurgov. Encycl. does not mention that he is Azerb. or Georgian in origin.

BE II 14:212

816 1
646

Dzhanelidze, Tamaz Vissarionovich Adzhar. deputy Sov. Nats. VS SSSR 4. sozyv, 1954. Born in Tiflis, 1926- Engineer, party official of Komsomol. 1st sect. CC LKSM of Georgia (Zar. Vost. 29. Dec. 1955, p. 4)

Bak. Rab. 3/18/54
Zar. Vost. 2/13/54

665 3 Gadzhiev, N. M.
Member of presidium CC CP Azerb. SSR, 20.-21. s'ezd, 1954, 1956.

Bak. Rab. 1/26/56

646 3
759
Gadzhi-Kasumov, Mustafa Makhmud ogly. Nakhichev. deputy Sov. Nats. VS SSSR, 4. sozyv, 1954. Finished med. faculty of Kharkov in 1910; professor of gynecology of Azerb. inst. of medicine since 1938. Was member of Zakavkaz. ispolnit. kom. Deputy to VS Azerb. SSR.

Bak. Rab. 3/18/54
2/20/54

538 4 Gafurov, Abutalid, 1883-
Dagestani poet; at 18. s'ezd of CP SSSR read poem about Stalin Reki stremiatsia k moriu.

BE II 13:288

646 1 Gagiev, Aleksei Davidovich
Iugo-Os. deputy Sov. Nats. VS SSSR 4. sozyv, 1954

Pravda 3/18/54

232 3 Khachaturovna, Mosesian Margo
Born in Nagorno-Karabakhskaia oblast, 1925. Veterinarian; since 1953 in kolkhoz im. Stalin in Martuninskii raion. Unsuccessful candidate Sov. Nats. VS SSSR 4. sozyv, 1954.

Bak. Rab. 2/18/54.

536 5 Khadzhieva, Tashu
20. c. Chechen actress

BE II 61:535

538 5 Chakurate, S.
Famous Cherkessian author; head of Gorskii ispolkom 1921.

BE I 61:254

759 5 Khanene, Filipp Semenovich
815
Stalin prize 3. class, 1950, for combatting bacillary dysentery. Head of laboratory of Vsesoiuz, nauch. issled. khimiko-farmatseut. inst. im. S. Ordzhonikidze.

Laur. Stalin. prem. 1950
p. 65

538 5 Khatkov, Akhmet 1902-
Rec'd prizes at the North-Caucasian Olympics of national arts; writes poems, stories of con-

507 2 Mikoian, Artem, 1905-
Aircraft designer; studied in Tiflis; graduated from Zhukovskii air academy. Designed under Polikarpov; built the first fighter plane, MIK-I, 1939, and built many new types of speed planes. Designed jet plane in 1947. Stalin prizes in 1941, 1947, 1952. Now with ministry of Air Craft Industry in Erevan.

BE II 27:431
World Biogr. 1954, p. 808

645
665 3 Mirzoev, Sultan Abas ogly
Minister of sovkhozy (Azerb., 1954). Member CC CP Azerb. SSR.

Bak. Rab. 3/10/54

538 3 Mir-Dzhalal (pseud of Pashaev, Mir-Dzhalal Ali ogly), 1908-. Azerb. writer. Wrote: Voskresshii chelovek, 1935, Manifest molodogo cheloveka, 1939.

BE II 27:565

759
646 3 Mir-Kasimov, Mir Asadulla Mir Alekper ogly, 1883- . surgeon; president of Azerb. Akad. nauk, 1945-7. Deputy of VS SSSR 1.-3. sozyv. 1931- prof. of Azerb. Med. inst.

BE II 27:571

816
65
645
643

3 Novruzov, Neimat Guseinovich
Born in Nakhichevani, 1908-
Engineer, cotton-expert; 1950 - minister of Azerb. cotton industry. Member of CC CCP Azerb. SSR. 1952- deputy-minister of goskontrol Azerb. SSR. 1953- president of Council of Minister Nakhichevanskaia ASSR. Unsuccessful candidate in 1954 for Sov. Nats. VS SSSR.

Bak. Rab. 2/25/54

331

3(?) Oboladze, Iraklii Onisimovich
Stalin prize 2. class, 1950, construction engineer.

Laur. Stalin. prem. 1950
p. 44

665

2 Oganesian, G. V.
Member CC CP Arm. SSR, 17. - 18. s'ezd, 1954, 1956.

Kom. Er. 1/22/56

759

2 Oganesian, L. A., 1885-
Physician, Armenian scientist.

Kom. Er. 12/20/55

759
1 Pantsulaia, Zinaida Illarionovich
Abkhaz. deputy Sov. Nats. VS SSSR 4. sozyv, 1954. Born in Sukhumi 1920. Physician; no party affiliation.

Bak. Rab. 3/18/54
Zar. Vost. 2/14/54

536
2 Papazian, Vagram Kamerovich, 1888-
Born in Istambul; people's artist of Armenia, Georgia. Finished Armenial lyceum in Venice, Italy. Actor in various Caucasian theaters. Protagonist of many tragic roles chiefly in dramas of Armenian Adamian.

BE II 32:18

646
2 Papian, Matsak Petrosovich
Deputy Sov. Nats. VS SSSR 4. sozyv, 1954.

Kom. Er. 3/19/54

625
1 Paramonov, G. I., -1955
Executed for treason; was investigator of NKVD of Georgia.

NYT

815
759 1 Tsinamzgvarishvili, M.D., 1884-
Member of Akad. nauk Gruz.SSR; cardiologist.

Knizh. Let. 1955, No. 5:59

646
1 Tsitlidze, Givi Akakievich
Deputy to Sov. Nats. VS SSSR (4. s'ezd, 1954)

Bak. Rab. 3/19/54

645
204 1
647 Tsivtsivadze, Il'ia Venediktovich, 1881-. Soviet party official; organized illegal typography in Batum and Tiflis during revolution. Edited Bolshevik paper Dro. 1917-1920 member of Moskovskii komitet. 1930-31 president of Mosmiasoprom.

BE I 60:675

665
204 1 Tskhakaia, Mikhail Grigor'evich (also, Mikha, Barsov, Leonov, Gurgen), 1865- Party member since 1898. 1917-1920 member of Tiflis komitet CP. Member of Tsentre. ispol. komitet of Transcaucasus; Member of 11, 13, 15-16 party congresses. Was one of the editors of Kavkazskii rabochii, in 1917-8.

BE I 60:779-781

8:
771 their deities, their ways of worship and their
177 festivals, shows clearly that it is a rather sober and primitive pagan religion with a thin surface of a few superficially adopted features of Christianity and Islam. It is most significant, that it is almost entirely devoid of the conception and the worship of God as a Supreme Being, and that only guardian spirits are invoked to grant protection, happiness and prosperity. It is moreover noteworthy that in this religion of tribes of Iranian origin, who have preserved a richly developed Iranian language partly archaic in character, there are to be found scarcely any distinct traits of an older form of Iranian religion. On the other hand, it can be stated that some of the characteristic conceptions of the Ossetic religion are similar to those of the religions of neighboring Caucasian tribes.

8: An essential part of any religious belief
769 is represented by the conception of death and
775 the fate of the soul in the life to come. We have already mentioned that the soul of the deceased continues its existence as the guardian spirit of its former family. He takes care of the well-being of the family, and according to an old custom, the Ossets twice a year arrange a feast in the woods in honor of the spirit, which is accompanied by the offering of food and drink. They believe that at the time when a
8: 761 person is sick, a tribunal of six men is formed in Heaven to decide whether this person should die. If the decision is in the affirmative, death

C. O. [761] 775 appears in the shape of a wolf, and the sick person dies. As long as the body lies in the house, the soul hovers over it. But immediately after burial, it re-enters the body, which then rises up three times in the grave. Thereafter, the soul flies up to Heaven, and there is has to fly through seven circles, until it is received by the Barastyr, the lord of the realm of the dead, who sends it either to Paradise (dzänät) or to Hell (zyndon). In the world of the dead, souls again assume the shape of human beings, live and grow old like human beings. But when they reach old age, they are rejuvenated by eating the flesh of the dragon Ruimon who was born blind on the earth and frightens human beings by roaring and makes them die. It is Vatsilla, Saint Elijah, who saves them by letting down a chain, binding him and pulling him up, whereupon the spirits in Heaven hack pieces of flesh from his body and distribute them among the dead.

There is a judge functioning in the world of the dead, whose name issaid to be Aminon. At the bridge where its fate is decided, he asks the soul about the good and evil deeds it has done and shows the good soul the way to Paradise, whereas the evil soul is sent to Hell.

C. O. 773 It seems appropriate in this context to mention the Ossetic legends which describe and extol the wonderful deeds of the Narti, a tribe of mighty heroes, who fight innumerable

# Chapter VIII

# Dissolution of Marriage

## § 1. BY DEATH

Marriages of widows and widowers are looked upon by all Caucasians as inferior to nuptials between partners who have never been married before. For example, the bride price for a widow is smaller than that for a maiden,[1] except among the Nazranian Chechens and the Ingiloi of Sakataly ; or again, the very marriage ceremonies are simplified when one of the partners happens to be a widow or widower.[2] The Pshavs[3] and the Khevsurs[4] consider a second marriage shameful if the widow has a child, especially, as is the case with the Khevsurs, a son. Our present problem is : Are there any indications in ancient customary law that at one time not even death could dissolve the marriage bond ? 587

### 1. Suttee

The custom of committing suttee on the funeral pyre was very probably a relatively widespread custom in the Caucasus in ages past. The funeral rites of today still bear traces of widows being burnt together with their husbands' corpses.[5] Al-Mas'ûdî, in his "Golden Meadows and Mines of Precious Stones" (A.D. 943) mentions that the Khazars of Caucasus "burn the dead with their cattle, instruments, and ornaments. If the husband dies, the wife is burnt alive together with the corpse of her husband."[6] An example of what might be a survival of widow cremation is the now meaningless but constantly repeated wail of the Ossetine widow, "I'll kill myself and cast myself into the fire," mentioned by Gatiev in his "Beliefs and Prejudices of the Ossetes."[7] Another possible vestige of former suttee is the custom of burying a plait of the widow's hair together with the corpse of her husband. Herodotus expressly mentions (ch. v.) that the Scythian women were eager to be immolated on the grave of their husbands. The probable existence of widow cremation in the 764 [762] 581

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[1] Cf. *supra*, Table, p. 89.

[2] Cf. *supra*, p. 121.

[3] Makalatija, "Iz starogo narodnogo byta pšavov," SE, 1938, No. 1, p. 110.

[4] Erisov, *op. cit.*, p. 113.

[5] R. Bleichsteiner, "Rossweihe und Pferdesennen im Totenkult der kaukasischen Völker," *Wiener Beiträge*, IV (1936), p. 414. "Daß in längst verflossenen Zeiten die Frau ihrem dahingegangenen Gatten als Opfer nachgesendet wurde, dafür gibt es im Totenritual der Kaukasusvölker eine Reihe beachtenswerter Anhaltspunkte."

[6] Translation from Abich, Klaproth, Beschreibung der russ. Provinzen, etc., p. 197.

[7] Gatiev, *op. cit.*, p. 3.

p. 151

8: Lučbetak E-4 (no date) 1951 RH1 Caucasia RH1



has (or at least has had) the same significance among all North Caucasian mountain tribes, the explorers pass over the relation between birth and the fireplace without a single word. This may be a serious oversight. 851

## § 6. RESPECT OF CHILDREN FOR THEIR ELDERS

The NORTHWESTERNERS. The *adats* inform us that the children have a strict obligation of acknowledging the authority of their father. They must respect him and carry out all his commands. To disobey him or even to oppose his wishes would be, "according to customary law, the greatest abomination, and according to Islamic law, the greatest of sins."[68] This respect must continue even when old-age renders their parents helpless. When a joint-family is divided, the sons must set aside a definite amount of property for the support of their parents and for their funeral.[69] The sons have the strict obligation of erecting a tombstone for their parents. The *adats* also demand that Rs. 300 should be set aside for an elaborate funeral feast. Formerly such feasts would often bring complete financial ruin to the family.[70] This great respect for parents is extended to elders in general, and especially to elder brothers.[71] 593 [888] [737] [765]

The NORTHEASTERN CAUCASIANS. The Lesghians show an unusually great respect for their parents.[72] If the children fail to care for their aged parents, they may be summoned before the *kâḍi*, who will force them to do so.[73] Some excellent examples of this deep respect can be found in the official criminological reports of Kaitago-Tabassaran. "On August 3, 1869, a native of the village of Myura, Kaitago-Tabassaran, Mahomet Omar, after having been scolded by his mother for laziness shot himself."[74] Or again, "On October 2, 1869, a native of the *aul* of Kulidzha, Kaitago-Tabassaran, Ali-bek Salig, quarreled with his son, Murtuzali. After some time his son returned to his father and begged forgiveness. His father, however, refused to listen to his son's repentent words, coldly showing him the door and telling him never to return again. On hearing these words, Murtuzali took out his pistol and shot himself. His father, on seeing that he was the cause of his son's grief and death, took his own life by falling on his *kinjal*."[75] 593 762 888

The reports concerning the Avars being contradictory demand special attention. Some claim that the Avars have just as much respect for their elders as do the other Lesghians. If a son is unable to fulfill the wishes of his father,

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[68] Leontovič, II, p. 250, § 134.

[69] Ladyzenskij, FT, p. 206.

[70] Ladyzenskij, FT, p. 208.

[71] Dubrovin, *Istorija*, I, i, p. 169.

[72] Dubrovin, *Istorija*, I, i, p. 441 is certainly exaggerating when he says that the Chechens "deny their mothers even the respect Nature has implanted in the hearts of all men." This very sentence has been copied and re-copied from the *adat* collections by a number of pre-Soviet authors without inquiring into the reliability of the report. Svečin, *op. cit.*, pp. 61 f, regarding Lesghians.

[73] Kovalevskij, Zakon, II, p. 203. For details regarding the kind of support demanded by the *šarf'a* in Dargwa, see Kovalevskij, *op. cit.*, pp. 203 f.

[74] "Iz gorskoj kriminalistiki," SSKG, III (1870), p. 7.

[75] "Iz gorskoj kriminalistiki," p. 8.

8: Lužbetak E-4 (no date) 1951 RH1 Caucasia RH1


888 he may become so disheartened that he may even commit suicide as a result.[76]
593 L'vov, on the contrary, says that once the parents become old, they are no longer
[162] respected. In fact, their sons and daughters become very disrespectful, even refusing to sit at the same table with them. The aged mother must suffer from this ingratitude most of all.[77] The correct explanation for the attitude of the Avars toward their aged parents is that as long as the children are still economically and administratively subject to the father of the household, whether the sons have their own families or not, they have unusually great respect for them; but as soon as the joint-family breaks up, this respect diminishes to an astounding degree.

The neighbouring mountain tribes of GEORGIA show great deference toward their elders too.[78]

The OSSETES have an adage which clearly conveys their attitude toward elders. As Kovalevskij's translation has it, "*Que le taureau boive de l'eau, disent-ils, et que le veau lèche la glace.*" In other words, the Ossete is convinced that "the best morsels are always for the elders."[79]

The great reverence shown toward the father of the family (individual or joint-family) throughout the North Caucasus is to be expected, for the mountaineers are (or have been) strictly patriarchal. Moreover, being family-worshippers, they revere not only their departed (ancestors) but also their living parents, for to both the family owes its existence. Mohammedanism too has encouraged love and respect for one's mother, and not without success. There is a beautiful story told of the Caucasian prophet, Shamyl. The Chechens had been fighting desperately against the "infidels." To continue the battle was futile. They therefore sent a messenger to Shamyl, asking permission to capitulate, but Shamyl answered, "It is not lawful for the children of Allah to compromise with the infidels." The Chechens realized that to continue would mean complete annihilation. Nevertheless, the Chechens continued to fight, bleed, and die. They again appealed to Shamyl, but in vain, for "Allah's words are unchangeable." Realizing that Shamyl never had refused his mother any request, they turned to her. When she approached her son, Shamyl at first listened, then grew pale and speechless. Allah demands that a son should never refuse his mother anything, but on the other hand, He says, "Compromise not with the infidels. Whoever dares to suggest such a perfidious thing shall receive 40 strokes." Shamyl loved his mother and he loved Allah's precepts. Should he now condemn his mother to 40 strokes? He was greatly perplexed. For three days and three nights he prayed and fasted in the hope that Allah would come to his assistance and enlighten him. When he finally came out of the mosque, pale and feeble, he said slowly, "Allah has spoken. His words are unchangeable. The Chechens must continue to fight to the last man; I must

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[76] Hahn, "Putešestvie v Kachetiju i Dagestan (letom 1898 goda), SMOMPK, XXXI (1902), No. 2, p. 94.

[77] "Domašnjaja i semejnaja žizn Dagestanskich gorcev Avarskago plemeni," SSKG, III (1870), pp. 17 f.

[78] For example, the Khevsurs (Cf. Hahn, *Bilder aus dem Kaukasus*, p. 81).

[79] Kovalevskij, *Coutume contemp.*, p. 192, *note* 2.

Georgia RI1
Khevsur, Pschv,
Tushin

C. G. [713] Some had the sign of the cross upon their shields, so that they looked exactly like medieval European knights and Crusaders.

C. G. 764 171 Up in the country of the Khevsurs a few very ancient churches can be found; near these, often isolated, stand some typically Khevsurian tomb structures or burial chapels unique in the Caucasus. Funeral ceremonies held by the Khevsurs are (or were ?) often accompanied by horse races, an ancient custom of horse-breeding nomads of the steppes. (This custom is reminiscent of the "dokhia" [δόχια] of some Turkic tribes in the plains near the Altai, described by the Byzantine envoy Menandros Protector, who was sent in 568 to the Great-Khan of the Türküt in the Altai region, a territory which is now part of northwestern Mongolia.) Perhaps the Khevsurs borrowed this custom from the Alans, the nomadic ancestors of the present-day Oset'i.

## S'vanet'ians

C. G. 162 101 Another K'art'velian group which in its mountainous seclusion has preserved numerous ancient customs and traditions is the Svans (or Shvan, Strabon's Soanes [Σοάνες]), who live in the high valleys of the Ingur and Ts'khenis-Tskhali, just south of the central high massifs of the Caucasus, between Gvandra and Shkhara. Their language is the most archaic of all the K'art'velian tongues. The Svans are

C. G. [141] outstanding for their height; two meters is not rare.

## DEATH

764 765 Throughout the Caucasus, the dead were held in high regard, and the funeral and memorial customs were quite elaborate. More or less ubiquitous features were wailing-women who wept not only over the deceased, but also over his clothing and arms, scratching their faces and tearing out their hair; further, funeral receptions, and a number of memorial repasts (among the Khevsur up to twelve) held at different intervals after the death, among the mountaineers usually accompanied by various contests on horseback. Among the mountaineers, in spite of the general spread of Christianity or Islam, many features of the pagan past survived, among others the [775] belief that the deceased had to make a long trip to the other world, that over there he needed food, his horse, the care of his wife, etc. The horse of the deceased played an important role in the funeral rites; among the Khevsur it was further cared for by a relative for the benefit of the deceased. Food and sometimes weapons were buried along with the dead; among the Circassians his wife would serve a portion for him at meals for a year; and the Ossetian widow for the same period would bring food to the grave of her husband every Friday, besides numerous other observances.

The *Lesghians*, who are geographically and linguistically related to the Chechens, likewise countenance polygamous marriages, but, here polygyny is a privilege that has always been reserved for a few. It is to be noted that these privileged personages seldom espouse more than two women.[13] 595 [101]

The largest and the most important people of the Lesghian group are the Avars. Speaking of these people, L'vov tells us expressly that only relatively few men can boast of two or at most three wives.[14]

The Lesghians were the first to be Islamized and their conversion was the most thorough. The Laks, for example, accepted the Koran as early as the 116th year of the hegira A. D. 777. By the end of the ninth century Mohammedanism was firmly rooted among the Daghestanian mountaineers.[15] 797

Hence, to discover the pre-Islamic condition of the Lesghians, we must go to the early Persian and Arabian writers. They inform us that when Islamism was introduced into Daghestan, the people were all followers of Zoroastrianism. These reports are confirmed by the fact that today there are still not a few traces of Avestic teaching in the Caucasus and in Daghestan in particular.[16] Attempts to Christianize the Daghestanians had been made at first by Armenian, Georgian, and Byzantine missionaries, then, in the thirteenth century by the Roman Catholic Church.[17] But in spite of all Christian missionary activity, pre-Islamic Daghestan must be classified as Avestic.

Polygyny is in full accord with Zoroastrianism, no less than with Mohammedanism, and therefore there is no reason why we should place plural marriages in the Mohammedan period and exclude them from Avestic times. Ahura Mazda Himself is supposed to have had a number of wives, and Zoroaster, his Prophet, according to tradition, had three. In fact, Avesta (Vend. iii. 3) actually encourages polygyny by teaching that in the household of the just, "both women and children abound" (Geiger, *Ostiranische*, pp. 244, 247). Polygyny was ex- 595

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[13] M. Kovalevskij, *Zakon*, II, p. 166.

[14] N. L'vov, "Domašnaja i semejnaja žizn dagestanskich gorcev avarskago plemeni," SSKG, III (1870), p. 20.

[15] For the Islamization of Daghestan see R. Erckert, *Der Kaukasus*, pp. 152—156; for the conversion of the Laks see Said Gabiev, "Laki, ich prolloe i byt," SMOMPK, XXXVI (1906), p. 14.

[16] Abû Ḥamîd el-Andalûsî writes about the Lesghians: "They have no religion, and pay no taxes. If a man dies they hand him over to men in houses under the earth, who cut up the members of the deceased, remove the flesh entirely from the bones, collect it together on one side, and give it to ravens to devour; they stand near with bows to keep off other birds from eating any of the flesh. If a woman dies they hand her over to other men (*var.* women) under the earth, who remove her bones, and give her flesh to vultures, while they stand by with knives to hinder other birds from approaching the flesh." Abû Ḥamîd el-Andalûsî is here referring to the Kubachi, a Dargwa-speaking people. J. Abercromby, *A Trip through the Eastern Caucasus*, p. 290. Of the Colchi Aelian writes in his *Historical Miscellanies*, iv. 1 (c. A. D. 200), "The Colkhi place their dead into skins and sew them up and then hang them up in trees." Both of these practices are traces of Zoroastrianism. "To bury a body," according to Sir Denison Ross, "would defile the pure earth, which is one of the gifts of Ahuramazda, and to burn it would defile his symbol, the Sacred Fire. Bodies are therefore exposed on towers (*dkhma*) specially constructed for the purpose, to be devoured by birds of prey." (Cited by Henry Field, *Contributions to the Anthropology of Iran*, Anthropological Series Field Museum of Natural History, Chicago, December 15, 1939.) [764]

[17] J. F. Baddeley, *op. cit.*, II, p. 39.

# Chapter VIII

# Dissolution of Marriage

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Marriages of widows and widowers are looked upon by all Caucasians as inferior to nuptials between partners who have never been married before. For example, the bride price for a widow is smaller than that for a maiden,[1] except among the Nazranian Chechens and the Ingiloi of Sakataly; or again, the very marriage ceremonies are simplified when one of the partners happens to be a widow or widower.[2] The Pshavs[3] and the Khevsurs[4] consider a second marriage shameful if the widow has a child, especially, as is the case with the Khevsurs, a son. Our present problem is: Are there any indications in ancient customary law that at one time not even death could dissolve the marriage bond? 587

### 1. Suttee

The custom of committing suttee on the funeral pyre was very probably a relatively widespread custom in the Caucasus in ages past. The funeral rites of today still bear traces of widows being burnt together with their husbands' corpses.[5] Al-Mas'ûdî, in his "Golden Meadows and Mines of Precious Stones" (A.D. 943) mentions that the Khazars of Caucasus "burn the dead with their cattle, instruments, and ornaments. If the husband dies, the wife is burnt alive together with the corpse of her husband."[6] An example of what might be a survival of widow cremation is the now meaningless but constantly repeated wail of the Ossetine widow, "I'll kill myself and cast myself into the fire," mentioned by Gatiev in his "Beliefs and Prejudices of the Ossetes."[7] Another possible vestige of former suttee is the custom of burying a plait of the widow's hair together with the corpse of her husband. Herodotus expressly mentions (ch. v.) that the Scythian women were eager to be immolated on the grave of their husbands. The probable existence of widow cremation in the 764 [762] 581

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[1] Cf. *supra*, Table, p. 89.

[2] Cf. *supra*, p. 121.

[3] Makalatija, "Iz starogo narodnogo byta pšavov," SE, 1938, No. 1, p. 110.

[4] Eristov, *op. cit.*, p. 113.

[5] R. Bleichsteiner, "Rossweihe und Pferderennen im Totenkult der kaukasischen Völker," *Wiener Beiträge*, IV (1936), p. 414. "Daß in längst verflossenen Zeiten die Frau ihrem dahingegangenen Gatten als Opfer nachgesendet wurde, dafür gibt es im Totenritual der Kaukasusvölker eine Reihe beachtenswerter Anhaltspunkte."

[6] Translation from Abich, Klaproth, Beschreibung der russ. Provinzen, etc., p. 197.

[7] Gatiev, *op. cit.*, p. 3.

p. 151

581 764 Caucasus clearly shows that the peoples of North Caucasia believed that a marriage tie could continue in the next world. However, since we do not have the slightest evidence that suttee was *obligatory*, the most we can say is that *perhaps*, at one time, death could not dissolve marriage.

## 2. Levirate

58 587 Once an Ossetine woman was married, she was considered bound to her husband forever unless divorced, as is evident from the following remarkable facts. (1) The widow was not allowed to marry outside her husband's family; the father or brother or son of the deceased man was obliged to take her to wife, but this second marriage was considered merely a *continuation* of the first. (2) The children of the second marriage were regarded as the sons and daughters of the *deceased*. (3) The children received the name of the deceased. (4) If the [589] widow had no brother-in-law, father-in-law or step-son, she had to remain unmarried, or live in concubinage, the children born becoming the sons and daughters of the deceased, even the legal heirs of the deceased. The marriage and concubinage had only one purpose: to "raise seed" and "build up the house" of the deceased till the wife would once again join him in the other world. These facts seem to be sufficient proof for the indissolubility of marriage even by death! Unfortunately, we do not have such details about the ancient levirate of the other peoples living in the Caucasus. However, when treating of preferential mating we did find obligatory levirate among the Ingushi and came to the conclusion that most probably the levirate was formerly obligatory also among the other mountain tribes.[8] In a word, it is quite *possible* that at one time death did not dissolve a marital bond.

## § 2. BY DIVORCE

586 The *adats* of all mountain peoples of Caucasus permit divorce. When speaking of divorce we must make a very clear distinction between the rights of the *husband* and those of the *wife*, between a *valid* divorce and a *justifiable* divorce.

[842] The NORTHWESTERN CAUCASIANS. According to reports of the eigtheenth century, a wife might be desmissed in Abkhazia if she were "sterile," that is, if she did not give birth to a child before she was 30, or if she remained childless for five successive years.[9] However, a *valid* divorce is possible at will. The Temirgoi, for example, may divorce their wives "if they do not please their husbands."[10] Such is the case throughout Abkhazia and among the Cherkess today.[11] Although formerly the women in Northwest Caucasus were at a very great disadvantage in regard to divorce, today, they too may abandon their husbands without any special legal grounds. However, in such arbitrary

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[8] Cf. *supra*, p. 73.
[9] Reineggs, *op. cit.*, Part II, p. 9.
[10] Vasil'kov, "Očerk byta Temirgoevcev," SMOMPK, XXIX (1901), p. 101.
[11] Cf. Ladvlenskij, FT, p. 199.

684 unjust death penalty. (5) Finally, the adulteress was merely divorced; she lost her right to the *kebin*, while the *kalym* had to be returned to the husband. The adulterer was obliged to pay a fine.

Amputation of the adulteress' ears and nose is a punishment found in the *adats* of all Caucasians. It is interesting to note that a Hittite code (about 1350 B. C.) engraved on a stele has been dug up, which expressly legalized such mutilation in case of adultery.[65] This code may be based on a substratum of customary laws which are now preserved in the isolated *auls* of the Caucasus.

## 2. Motives

The main motives for punishing sexual offenses seem to be: (1) in case of defloration, the girl loses her value and consequently the family suffers a great economic loss;[66] (2) there is a serious danger of a stranger being born into the sacred sanctuary of the home and later treated as a legitimate member and even as head of the family (*supra*, p. 126).

## 3. Reports regarding Sexual Laxity of the Caucasians

834 In view of such severe penalties as we have described above, we cannot help being suspicious about some of the reports regarding laxity of morals among [832] the mountain tribes of the Caucasus. The Kuban Cherkess are supposed to have formerly been proud of the fact that their wives attracted other men. Every [836] woman had to have a lover to prove her true value.[67] Longworth's report, to mention but another example, contrasts the scrupulousness after marriage with "their unconstrained demeanor before marriage."[68] "The maidens of Circassia are allowed a latitude in their behaviour which is elsewhere unknown; not only do they talk and dance with the other sex, but when they please, they exercise their blandishments to an extent that to a stranger is no less perplexing than [766] agreeable."[69] Then there are the many reports about public religious hetaerism. Interiano claims that at funerals of prominent personages a very strange sort [764] of sacrifice takes place: a girl of 12 to 14 years of age is placed upon a skin of an ox that has just been slaughtered and in the presence of men and women a robust young man of the community must try to deflower her. After several failures, the young man promises to marry her (or makes some other promises), 837 and then the girl usually consents.[70] There are also the reports about sexual 836 hospitality, for example, in the "Relation du Sieur Ferrand médicin du Khan 574 des Tatares, touchant la Crimée, les Tartares-Nogaies et ce qui se passe au serail du dit Khan,"[71] in *Voyage historiques et géographique dans les pays situé entre la Mer Caspienne par Edouard Barbier du Bocage et de Baert*, as well as in the

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[65] H. C. E. Zacharias, *Protohistory*, p. 258.
[66] *Supra*, pp. 126 f.
[67] Dirr, AGKB, pp. 81 f.
[68] Longworth, *A Year among the Circassians*, I, p. 286.
[69] Longworth, *op. cit.*, I, p. 216.
[70] Ladyženskij, FT, p. 183, Dirr's note.
[71] In *Recueil des Voyages au Nord*, Amsterdam, 1718.

## DEATH

764 765 Throughout the Caucasus, the dead were held in high regard, and the funeral and memorial customs were quite elaborate. More or less ubiquitous features were wailing-women who wept not only over the deceased, but also over his clothing and arms, scratching their faces and tearing out their hair; further, funeral receptions, and a number of memorial repasts (among the Khevsur up to twelve) held at different intervals after the death, among the mountaineers usually accompanied by various contests on horseback. Among the mountaineers, in spite of the general spread of Christianity or Islam, many features of the pagan past survived, among others the [775] belief that the deceased had to make a long trip to the other world, that over there he needed food, his horse, the care of his wife, etc. The horse of the deceased played an important role in the funeral rites; among the Khevsur it was further cared for by a relative for the benefit of the deceased. Food and sometimes weapons were buried along with the dead; among the Circassians his wife would serve a portion for him at meals for a year; and the Ossetian widow for the same period would bring food to the grave of her husband every Friday, besides numerous other observances.

8: Lužbetak E-4 (no date) 1951 RH1 Caucasia RH1



has (or at least has had) the same significance among all North Caucasian mountain tribes, the explorers pass over the relation between birth and the fire-place without a single word. This may be a serious oversight. 851

## § 6. RESPECT OF CHILDREN FOR THEIR ELDERS

The NORTHWESTERNERS. The *adats* inform us that the children have a strict obligation of acknowledging the authority of their father. They must respect him and carry out all his commands. To disobey him or even to oppose his wishes would be, "according to customary law, the greatest abomination, and according to Islamic law, the greatest of sins."[68] This respect must continue even when old-age renders their parents helpless. When a joint-family is divided the sons must set aside a definite amount of property for the support of their parents and for their funeral.[69] The sons have the strict obligation of erecting a tombstone for their parents. The *adats* also demand that Rs. 300 should be set aside for an elaborate funeral feast. Formerly such feasts would often bring complete financial ruin to the family.[70] This great respect for parents is extended to elders in general, and especially to elder brothers.[71] 593 [888] [737] [765]

The NORTHEASTERN CAUCASIANS. The Lesghians show an unusually great respect for their parents.[72] If the children fail to care for their aged parents, they may be summoned before the *kâḍî*, who will force them to do so.[73] Some excellent examples of this deep respect can be found in the official criminological reports of Kaitago-Tabassaran. "On August 3, 1869, a native of the village of Myura, Kaitago-Tabassaran, Mahomet Omar, after having been scolded by his mother for laziness shot himself."[74] Or again, "On October 2, 1869, a native of the *aul* of Kulidzha, Kaitago-Tabassaran, Ali-bek Salig, quarreled with his son, Murtuzali. After some time his son returned to his father and begged forgiveness. His father, however, refused to listen to his son's repentent words, coldly showing him the door and telling him never to return again. On hearing these words, Murtuzali took out his pistol and shot himself. His father, on seeing that he was the cause of his son's grief and death, took his own life by falling on his *kinjal*."[75] 593 762 888

The reports concerning the Avars being contradictory demand special attention. Some claim that the Avars have just as much respect for their elders as do the other Lesghians. If a son is unable to fulfill the wishes of his father,

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[68] Leontovič, II, p. 250, § 134.

[69] Ladyzenskij, FT, p. 206.

[70] Ladyzenskij, FT, p. 208.

[71] Dubrovin, *Istorija*, I, i, p. 169.

[72] Dubrovin, *Istorija*, I, i, p. 441 is certainly exaggerating when he says that the Chechens "deny their mothers even the respect Nature has implanted in the hearts of all men." This very sentence has been copied and re-copied from the *adat* collections by a number of pre-Soviet authors without inquiring into the reliability of the report. Svěčin, *op. cit.*, pp. 61 f, regarding Lesghians.

[73] Kovalevskij, *Zakon*, II, p. 203. For details regarding the kind of support demanded by the *larf'a* in Dargwa, see Kovalevskij, *op. cit.*, pp. 203 f.

[74] "Iz gorskoj kriminalistiki," SSKG, III (1870), p. 7.

[75] "Iz gorskoj kriminalistiki," p. 8.

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Saint Elijah, (Surrian Il'ia), is the lord of thunder and lightning. Anyone who has been struck by lightning, is thought to have offended this saint and therefore to have been hit by his bullet. Here Elijah has taken the place of the original pagan god of the thunderstorm who hurls his thunderbolt, the lightning, against the dragon which is the cloud, and releases the waters which the demon had kept imprisoned. This is proved by the fact that the same function has been assigned to Elijah and especially to the angel Gabriel in the popular belief of Armenia, where this old Indo-Iranian myth of the slaying of the dragon by the god of the thunderstorm is preserved in a form that is still more complete than that of the rather simplified and less colorful Ossetic version. (Cf. Manuk Abeghian, Der armenische Volksglaube, [Leipsig, 1890], pp. 78ff., and B. Geiger, Die Amesha Spentas, Sitzungsberichte der Wiener Akad. d. Wiss., Vol. 176 [1916], pp. 65ff.) The relatives and friends of a person killed by a lightning express joy and sing and dance, suppressing all tears and sadness over the death of the person, from fear of making Vatsilla angry; this strange custom is obviously the result of a later development of this version of the myth. Like this attitude towards the deceased, the manner in which he is buried also belongs to the sphere of pagan popular belief. The body is either buried at the place of the accident, or it is placed on a

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C. O. 766 two-wheeled carriage drawn by two goats, and the place where the animals stop is thought to have been chosen by Vatsilla. At the grave a black male goat is slaughtered and his skin is hung up on a long pole.

C. O. 776 It is noteworthy that there exists a strange discrepancy between these two saints and the Vastyrdzhi and Vatsilla of the legends of the Narti.[1] Apart from the fact that these legends tell of groups of seven Vastyrdzhi and seven Vatsilla, we are confronted here not only with a difference of numbers, but also with an essential contrast between the characters and functions of the saints and their namesakes in the legends. There appears in the legends, in addition to the groups of seven, two single Vastyrdzhi who is involved in a very un holy affair. He attempts to seduce the mother of one of the Narti families and having been rejected, he waits until her death, visits her grave together with a stallion and a dog, and she gives birth to a girl, a col' and a dog's whelp. The behavior which is ascribed to the Vastyrdzhi in this story is fantastic and repelling. However, the role which the groups of seven Vastyrdzhi and seven Vatsilla play in the legends of the Narti, is no less surprising, though it is free from actions of obscene character. Some of the mightiest heroes of the Narti show an extremely hostile attitude towards these two groups and kill some of them at accidental encounters. They act in the same way against the Zäd (Izäd) and Daväg (Idaväg), who

1 [i.e. a tribe of mythical heroes, cf. cat. 116, pp. 576-582-- Analyst]

C. G. 793 hereditary rights. The priest, called khevis beri "elder of the valley," khutsi "priest" or dek'anozi "dean," pronounced the ceremonial C. G. [782] prayers and sacrificed the sheep and cows offered as victims. The kadagi or dzhvaris C. G. [791] meene "interpreter," "tongue of the dzhvari," a kind of shaman, pronounced the will of the khat'i. The medroshe "standard bearer" or khat'is pekhi "foot of the khat'i" carried the sacred banner (drosha) on festive days. A special functionary attended to the brewing of the sacred beer, a custom borrowed from the C. G. [796] Ossetes. The beer was drunk at the annual festivals which were attended by all the "serfs" of the khat'i.

In Svanetia the functions of the Khevsur khevis beri were performed by priests not regularly ordained and without any theological training; they were called bap (from Greek C. G. [771] pappas). The numerous ancient churches were neglected and were only used for storing the vessels, vestments and books relating to the divine service; these were jealously C. G. 796 guarded from alienation. Many originally Christian feasts and Saint's days were celebrated with prayers, drinking of home-made brandy and eating of sacrificed animals and C. G. [769] fancy bread of different traditional shapes. Similar rites were observed on the commemoration days of the dead which were performed at fixed intervals.

c. o. 776 naive and primitive way of thinking. These are popular creations, mainly tutelary deities and spirits of various realms of nature, such as Fälwära, the guardian of domestic animals; Buduri-Usad, the god of the fields; Khualar-Dar, the god of the harvest: Ävsati, the protector of the deer, the ibex and other game; Donbettyr (Donbettär), the guardian spirit of the waters, the fish and fishermen; Safa, the tutelary spirit of the chain which hangs about the hearth and is so holy an object in an Osset's house, that its removal can bring about the death of the inhabitants of the house and its c. o. theft can lead to a blood feud; Runibari, a god [753] of health (who brings disease and wards it off); c. o. the Geniata or Fazbadata, the guardian spirits [769] of families and the spirits (ghosts) of deceased souls, who are supposed to watch over, and further the well-being of, their families on earth. It is characteristic of the mentality of the Ossets that one of their guardian spirits, Saureg-Gsua by name, protects even thieves and robbers.

However, functions of guardianship are also attributed to some of the Christian saints who have become prominent figures in the religion of the Ossets. Vastyrdzhi (Digor Vasgergi), Saint George, protects travelers, controls military roads and mountain paths, and in contrast to the spirit Saurge-Gsua mentioned above, persecutes thieves and robbers and punishes perjurers and murderers. Vatsilla,

771 177 their deities, their ways of worship and their festivals, shows clearly that it is a rather sober and primitive pagan religion with a thin surface of a few superficially adopted features of Christianity and Islam. It is most significant, that it is almost entirely devoid of the conception and the worship of God as a Supreme Being, and that only guardian spirits are invoked to grant protection, happiness and prosperity. It is moreover noteworthy that in this religion of tribes of Iranian origin, who have preserved a richly developed Iranian language partly archaic in character, there are to be found scarcely any distinct traits of an older form of Iranian religion. On the other hand, it can be stated that some of the characteristic conceptions of the Ossetic religion are similar to those of the religions of neighboring Caucasian tribes.

769 775 An essential part of any religious belief is represented by the conception of death and the fate of the soul in the life to come. We have already mentioned that the soul of the deceased continues its existence as the guardian spirit of its former family. He takes care of the well-being of the family, and according to an old custom, the Ossets twice a year arrange a feast in the woods in honor of the spirit, which is accompanied by the offering of food and drink. They believe that at the time when a 761 person is sick, a tribunal of six men is formed in Heaven to decide whether this person should die. If the decision is in the affirmative, death

595 (1) Custom permits *all* North Caucasians and their neighbours, whether Christian or Mohammedan, to marry more than one wife. The Tartars near the city of Derbend in the eighteenth century are the only exception, but even in this single case, it is not certain whether they were monogamists *de jure* or only *de facto*.

[177] (2) Everywhere polygyny is *pre-Islamic*, even if previous to their conversion to Islamism the particular tribe happened to be Christian. We might rightly, therefore, inquire into the possible origin of polygyny in the Caucasus. Polygyny, if borrowed at all, was not borrowed as an *isolated* institution. On the contrary, it seems to be a North Caucasian possession, first of all, as old as the practice [594] of levirate (*infra*, pp. 71—75). Furthermore, it seems to be a North Caucasian [614] cultural possession as old as the economic, social, and religious structure of the North Caucasian family itself. Here we understand "family" in its broad sense, including the joint-family and sib. We cannot now describe this family structure in detail. Briefly, by "the economic, social, and religious structure of the family" we understand that the family in North Caucasia has been and in many places still is the *raison d'être* of the individual.[30a] Whatever the individual does or whatever is done to him or for him has only one aim, the perpetuation and prosperity of the family. Now, in the mind of the North Caucasian, polygyny [581] is an immense asset and at times absolutely indispensable for the economic, social, and religious life of the all-important and solely-important family.

593 *Economically* considered, the wife is extremely important. In the North 562 Caucasus it is the wife who does most of the work (*infra*, pp. 156—159). In fact, sometimes a rich Avar will marry a son to a poor girl or to a widow of a lower class, with whom he is forbidden all communication, in order to have an additional worker in the house.[31] Moreover, a wife is not only a *worker*; she 842 is the "*worker-producing*" organ of the family. Even though boys are preferred (*infra*, pp. 159 ff), girls prove to be good and valuable workers and bring in, at times, a large brideprice (*infra*, pp. 82—91). Now, the more wives there are in the household, the more "worker-producing" organs there are, and by that very fact, at least in the mind of the natives, the family becomes so much the more economically healthy and secure.

The *religious* structure of the family may have contributed just as much to [769] the rise of polygyny as did the economic form of life. The most sacred duty of the individual and of the individual family is, or at least has been, to perpetuate itself, and thus to perpetuate the cult of the ancestors. It is a fact throughout North Caucasus that only a *son* can perpetuate the family and prevent the greatest calamity imagineable, its extinction. But a wife is precisely the "*boy-producing*" organ. If this organ is lacking or fails to function the family is doomed. Today one of the main motives for taking a second wife is sterility.[32] Or again, a second wife will be acquired if the first gives birth only to girls.

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[30a] According to ancient customary laws.

[31] L'vov, *op. cit.*, p. 19.

[32] Cf. K. Mažavriani, "Nekotoryja čerty iz žizni Abchazcev. Položenie ženščiny v Abchazii," SMOMPK, IV (1884), No. 2, p. 42. E. G. Pčelina, "Rodil'nye obyčai u osetin," SE, 1937, No. 4, p. 88.

turn, must have stimulated the entire family to watch most carefully over the conduct of their daughters; and this watchfulness, again, must have been responsible for *adats* threatening the girl as well as any lover with the most severe sanctions not only for an actual perforation of the hymen but also, as the *adats* frequently express it, for any "suspicious approach."[109] 585 836

There have been other explanations offered for the virginity test. Westermarck, for instance, suggested masculine jealousy.[110] But this explanation is not applicable to the peoples of North Caucasia, for, as we have already mentioned, the sexual factor has very little significance in the selection of mates compared to the all-important economic, social, and religious factors. Such a jealousy, where mutual attraction matters so little, is unthinkable.[111] [152]

(6) The custom of the bride thrice walking round the fireplace is an ancient wedding ceremony frequently found among pastoral tribes. As is well known, it was also the custom of the ancient Indo-Europeans. That one of the main wedding ceremonies in the Caucasus should take place at the fireplace is quite in keeping with the deep religious significance of the hearth. Among a large number of Caucasian mountain tribes, especially in North Ossetia, Ingushetia, and Daghestan, we find the custom of never allowing the fire in the hearth to die out, this practice being a form of cult for the dead.[112] The fire and especially the chain above it constitute a connection between the living and the departed. It forms a sacred asylum for any murderer, because as soon as he touches the chain the ancestors of the victim approve of the murderer's adoption into the family. The chain is the symbol of the family: to tear it down is regarded as one of the most abominable crimes imagineable, an insult to the living and dead members of the sib, which must be punished with death. The chain is a symbol of the family and therefore it must be buried with the last member of an extinct sib. To swear by the hearth-chain is an infallible sign that the person is saying the truth, for to do so falsely is unthinkable.[113] Such an oath would be a curse upon the entire sib and their ancestors. In other words, the ancient solidarity of the sib is intimately connected with the ancient religion of the North Caucasians, and the sanctuary of this religion is the hearth. Now, marriage is an act by which a stranger is taken into the family, and one of the most natural means, most in harmony with the ancient Caucasian form of life, is the hearth and hearth-chain. It is indeed striking that in Daghestan the cult of the fireplace still exists today but not the wedding ceremony. This fact confirms rather than disproves our explanation, for in Daghestan the wife was not a stranger: she had to be chosen from within the sib! (Cf. *supra*, pp. 51 f.) 585 614 [778] [769] [372] [605] [189] 582

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[109] *Infra*, Chapter XII, p. 176.

[110] The History of Marriage, I, p. 163.

[111] The jealousy would have to be so great that the disappointed husband would insist that the bride's nose be cut off or that she be otherwise mutilated and even killed, for such are the ancient adats!

[112] Günther, "Zusammenstöße zwischen Gesetz und Gewohnheitsrecht im nördlichen Kaukasus," *Zeitschrift f. vergl. Rechtsw.*, XLVI (1931), p. 324.

[113] *Ibid.*

[sic.. Analyst]

585 [776] (7) In a number of instances we have noticed that the dagger or sword was used in connection with the marriage ceremony. The best-man took the bride around the hearth and each time he struck the chain with his dagger. The bride had to enter her new home under an arch of swords or with a dagger or club held above her head. This wedding custom, too, has a religious basis. The household gods of the bride's family have become exceedingly jealous of the bride, because by marrying she has united herself to another family and will now worship other ancestors, abandoning her own. These jealous godlets realize that the best time to enter her new home and to cause countless harm is simultaneously with the bride. Fortunately, these household gods are afraid of dagger[s].[114] [846] Among the Georgian mountaineers, a mother after having given birth to a child will keep a sword under the pillow as a protection against aerial spirits.[115] Spirits are afraid of the sword for several reasons—at least such is our conjecture. The God of Iron, of the Sword, and of the Hearth-Chain is one and the same god, called Safa. This sword ceremony may perhaps insure [823] Safa's protection against jealous godlets. It may also insure the protection of [769] the departed because *iron* is a means of contacting ancestors. In Ossetia on the [787] "feast of the dedication of clothing" clothes are consecrated and sent to the netherworld by means of an iron knife.[116] The Ingushi get in contact with their departed by means of iron tongs.[117]

(8) The other marriage ceremonies are likewise mainly pastoral in character: horse-racing, submission to the husband, wishes for a rich progeny but always with a disproportion of "nine boys to every blue-eyed girl." Finally, the long elaborate and expensive wedding itself is typical of pastoral peoples.

[606] There are, however, a few traces of a so-called mother-right culture. The rôle played by the mother-in-law in the ceremonies, as we have stressed (*supra*, p. 125), is indeed not inconsistent with the position of the mother of the household in a patriarchal family, but, we must admit that their astounding importance gives them a suspiciously matriarchal colouring: in the ceremonies described, it is the Lesghian mother who welcomes the bride into the house as if she were the head of the family. It is the mother who holds her by the hand as she crosses the threshold. It is the mother's brother who led the bride's horse in the Ingiloi procession from her home to that of her groom. It is the mother who puts the honey into the mouth of the bride as a sign that the bride has a sweet life ahead of her under such an amiable mistress as her mother-in-law. And we should not forget that in the Lesghian engagement it was the mother who presented the engagement gifts which concluded the betrothal contract.[118]

595 585 114 We cannot conclude this chapter without briefly refuting some of Kovalevskij's assumptions. Like so many anthropologists of his day, he was inclined to find traces of an epoch older than that of patriarchy, and older than that of

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[114] For the custom among the Ossetes see Kovalevskij, *Coutume contemp.*, pp. 170 f.

[115] Cf. Reineggs, *op. cit.*, II, p. 112 f.

[116] Kokiev, *Slepovye soeruženinija*, (Vladikavkaz, 1928), p. 38.

[117] Baddeley, *op. cit.*, II, p. 120.

[118] *Supra*, p. 103.

8: Lužbetak E-4 (no date) 1951 RHl Caucasia RHl



essential parallels—characteristic of the Turco-Mongolian family are: the 174
almost complete absence of mother-right and totemistic practices, the emphasis 58
placed on the joint-family and the male members, special rights for the first- 59
born son, importance of the male head of the family and the *patria potestas*, the disadvantageous position of the female sex, blood-feuds, exogamy, the *kalym*, which is usually paid in live-stock, the dread of incest, the severe penalties for sexual offenses, fireplace ceremony at weddings, the high esteem for the bride's virginity, the unusual craving for male children, the importance of the bridal procession, etc.

There is also a religious connection between the North Caucasians, the [177]
Indo-Europeans, and the Turco-Mongols, a connection that confirms our claim of the existence of a social connection between the three groups. It is not only the *similarity* of the religions of the three groups that we must keep in mind but also the intimate connection, the *organic* connection, between the nomadic social and religious forms. The solidarity which exists among the members of a sib, the great longing for male children, blood-feuds, the levirate, the *patria* [769] ●
*potestas*, the wedding custom of walking around the fireplace, and many other practices are fundamentally connected with ancestor worship and cult for the dead. Ancestor worship is one of the essential features of the religion of the Indo-Europeans, the Turco-Mongols, and the North Caucasians. Moreover, [152]
among all three groups ancestor worship is linked up with the worship of the fireplace. Another very essential part of the pastoral nomadic religion was the custom of sacrificing horses. W. Koppers has shown the great similarity between [171]
the horse-sacrifices of the Indo-European and Altai peoples;[48] R. Bleichsteiner proved beyond question the existence of the practice throughout the highlands of Caucasia.[49] Horse-sacrifices among the Indo-Europeans and the North Caucasians are certainly of Inner Asiatic origin.

Thus we see that even though the North Caucasians are not pastoral nomadic in the economic sense—the economy of the steppes is impossible in the mountains, especially in the unfertile valleys of the Caucasus—they are pastoral nomadic in their social organization. *A connection between the North Caucasian society and that of Inner Asia is beyond question.*

### 3. Vestiges of More Ancient Cultures In the Marriage and Family Customary Laws of the North Caucasians

As is only natural, the deeper we delve into the history of the marriage 611
and family *adats* the more obscure the history becomes. 562

First of all there are the so-called mother-right vestiges which we must consider. It is interesting to note that the intensity of these vestiges among the three different groups of Caucasians (Northwestern, Northeastern, and Southern)

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[48] W. Koppers, *op. cit.*, pp. 12 f, 18—22. See also W. Koppers, "Pferdeopfer und Pferdekult der Indogermanen," *Wiener Beiträge zur Kulturgeschichte und Linguistik*, IV (1936), pp. 280—411.

[49] "Rossweihe und Pferderennen im Totenkult der kaukasischen Völker," *Wiener Beiträge zur Kulturgeschichte und Linguistik*, IV (1936), pp. 412—495.

C. G. 361 342 over the wooden lattice of the horizontal roof frame. These flat roofs are also much used for growing cereals, vegetables, curing meat, etc. The sakhli is also the common type of house in most parts of Anatolia and Iran, where we also find the staircase-like arrangement of the sakhlis on the mountain slopes.

C. G. 628 These are the lands where the kings of Sak'art'velo or the Emirs and Khans of Shirvan and Arran had no say, nor did the Caliph in Baghdad or the Roman Emperor have any authority, with the result that feuds were fought right on the spot. Thus, there were times when not only one aul fought another, but even one clan or family fought another within the same aul. Hence the many small castles; hence a man always carried his kinzhal; hence such customs as the vendetta, the qan-alma (Turkic: "taking of blood"), which have been preserved C. G. 631 there down to the present time. Svanet'ia consists of three small lands: Free Svanet'ia, Svanet'ia of the Dadishkeliani, and Svanet'ia of the Dadiani, the latter two named after the C. families of their former overlords. Many C. G. 771 pagan elements are found in the Eastern Orthodox religion of these valiant mountaineers, although to a lesser degree than is true of the Oset'i, as mentioned above, or some of the Dagestanians, who were later converted to Islam.

# FOLK RELIGION

C. G. 771 177 The major religions in the Caucasus are Christianity (Georgians except Adzhar and Ingilo; Armenians except Hemshily; Ossetes except Digor; Udi) and Islam (all the rest, except the Mountain Jews and Yezid). But many traces of the older pagan religious view remain. Among the mountaineers in the N. W. Caucasus Islam was introduced comparatively recently (seventeenth century), and in many cases reached only the upper classes. In Dagestan, with its stronger Islamic tradition, the ancient beliefs have disappeared to a much larger extent. In Georgia, Christianity has absorbed many pagan features, and among the Kartvelian mountaineers it was rather paganism that adopted certain outward characteristics of Christianity. In the N. W. Caucasus, the pre-Islamic pagan religion preserved curious vestiges of Christianity which had been introduced from Georgia in the time of queen Tamar, and perhaps even earlier. Here and there in the Caucasus there are remains of the influence of Zoroastrianism.

C. G. 778 The old Caucasian religion was closely connected with family and sib organization. It centered around the house-hearth, above which hung the cooking pot, suspended from an iron chain (Georg. sak'ide(be)li), which had a symbolic value and was believed to be endowed with supernatural powers. It could not

C. G. 793 hereditary rights. The priest, called khevis beri "elder of the valley," khutsi "priest" or dek'anozi "dean," pronounced the ceremonial C. G. [782] prayers and sacrificed the sheep and cows offered as victims. The kadagi or dzhvaris C. G. [791] meene "interpreter," "tongue of the dzhvari," a kind of shaman, pronounced the will of the khat'i. The medroshe "standard bearer" or khat'is pekhi "foot of the khat'i" carried the sacred banner (drosha) on festive days. A special functionary attended to the brewing of the sacred beer, a custom borrowed from the C. G. [796] Ossetes. The beer was drunk at the annual festivals which were attended by all the "serfs" of the khat'i.

In Svanetia the functions of the Khevsur khevis beri were performed by priests not regularly ordained and without any theological training; they were called bap (from Greek C. G. [771] pappas). The numerous ancient churches were neglected and were only used for storing the vessels, vestments and books relating to the divine service; these were jealously C. G. 796 guarded from alienation. Many originally Christian feasts and Saint's days were celebrated with prayers, drinking of home-made brandy and eating of sacrificed animals and C. G. [769] fancy bread of different traditional shapes. Similar rites were observed on the commemoration days of the dead which were performed at fixed intervals.

7: Columbia U. S-4, 5 1956 RHl Caucasia RHl
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C. G. 771 [783] Traces of Zoroastrianism are preserved in the idea of the uncleanness of women, especially when menstruating or with child, and of corpses, as found among the Georgian mountaineers; further in some Georgian words, e. g. dzhodzhokheti "hell" (cf. M. Pers. dushakhw). C. G. [778] Remnants of Christianity in the N. W. Caucasus were the custom of planting a cross in the ground near a sacred grove, or hanging it in a sacred tree before a ceremony; C. G. [805] further the seven-day week and the names of the days, which are partly translations or mutilations of Greek names. In Abkhazia a number of Byzantine churches have been preserved.

# THE RELIGION OF THE OSSETS

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The majority of the Ossets profess the orthodox Christian religion. Only a small minority, the Digors, in the western part of the country, are Mohammedans. However, both religions appear mixed to a large extent with old pagan conceptions, rites and customs. The Christians know the names of Christ (Digor Kiriste, Iran Tshysysti), the "Mother Mary" and some of the Christian saints; they go to church and observe certain Christian rites, holidays and fasts; but at the same time they worship and pray to their pagan gods and spirits, sacrificing oxen, goats and sheep, and keep their old pagan holidays.

In a similar way the Mohammedans have a very superficial connection with the Mohammedan religion. They know the name of the prophet, perform the prescribed ablutions, keep Friday as a holiday and Ramazan, the month of fasting. However, like the Christians, they also worship their old pagan gods and celebrate their own traditional festivals.

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Both Christian and Mohammedan Ossets believe in the existence of a high God, an invisible Supreme Being, ruling the world from heaven. His name is Khutsau, and he is often called "the God of the Gods." But the Ossets have only a very vague idea of his nature. They are primarily devoted to the cult of deities which are closer to their hearts and to their

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796 hearth-fire, and the master of the house recites a long prayer in which he gives thanks to God and asks for blessings for the coming year. During the night the young people go from house to house, throwing corn into the houses, singing and expressing good wishes for prosperity and happiness. At daybreak of New Year's day the master of the house kindles a fire of straw in the courtyard in honor of his deceased parents, who thereby are provided with the necessary fire for the whole year. The day is spent in much merry making. eating and drinking.

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796 Only one day, the Wednesday between
782 Christmas and New Year, is dedicated to the worship of an evil spirit, the Devil. The
776 ceremony starts in the evening with the killing of a lamb in front of the door of the house. The spirit is invoked not to do any harm to the cattle and to the other property of the master of the house and to accept an offering of a piece of roasted meat of a lamb and a glass of brandy. During that night one should strictly avoid mentioning the name of the Supreme God, lest the wrath of the evil spirit be provoked. The Devil proper of the Ossets, who is called Khairag is like the well-known figure of the devil of other countries, a good-natured foolish fellow who can easily be duped (der dumme Teufel in German).

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771 This survey* of the most characteristic
177 features of the religion of the Ossets,

*[cf. cat. 116, pp. 565-574-- Analyst]

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771 their deities, their ways of worship and their
177 festivals, shows clearly that it is a rather sober and primitive pagan religion with a thin surface of a few superficially adopted features of Christianity and Islam. It is most significant, that it is almost entirely devoid of the conception and the worship of God as a Supreme Being, and that only guardian spirits are invoked to grant protection, happiness and prosperity. It is moreover noteworthy that in this religion of tribes of Iranian origin, who have preserved a richly developed Iranian language partly archaic in character, there are to be found scarcely any distinct traits of an older form of Iranian religion. On the other hand, it can be stated that some of the characteristic conceptions of the Ossetic religion are similar to those of the religions of neighboring Caucasian tribes.

8: An essential part of any religious belief
769 is represented by the conception of death and
775 the fate of the soul in the life to come. We have already mentioned that the soul of the deceased continues its existence as the guardian spirit of its former family. He takes care of the well-being of the family, and according to an old custom, the Ossets twice a year arrange a feast in the woods in honor of the spirit, which is accompanied by the offering of food and drink. They believe that at the time when a
761 person is sick, a tribunal of six men is formed in Heaven to decide whether this person should die. If the decision is in the affirmative, death

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Georgia (where there are large Armenian communities), were without religious leadership for many years. Since the early 1950's, however, there have been certain changes. It seems that there has been some relaxation on the part of the Government in respect to religious affairs. It has allowed the opening of a seminary in Echmiadzin where studies for the priesthood are pursued, apparently without hindrance, and probably with some aid from the Government. Last October a new Catholicos was elected, and on that occasion a number of Armenians from abroad were allowed to visit Soviet Armenia. The general impression of these observers from the West seems to be somewhat favorable, though they admit that the Government still does not allow the erection of new churches, nor permit the repair of old ones. One exception seems to have been made. The historic cathedral of Echmiadzin is reported to have been repaired recently at Government cost. Still this does not mean that the policy of the Government has changed radically towards religion and towards the Church.

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Armenians have always been profoundly religious. They have associated the Church so closely with the nation that without the one they can hardly think of the other. For them, as well as for most peoples of the Middle East, religious affinities run parallel to ethnic similarities. Not many Armenians think of their religion without thinking of their nationality. That perhaps is the reason why the supreme head of

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the Armenian Apostolic Church, although his seat is in Soviet Armenia, can lay claim to the spiritual allegiance of all Armenians everywhere, and all Armenians feel that such allegiance is their duty to the incumbent of that office.

21: Kolarz J-4 (no date) 1952 R1 Soviet Union
[Chechen-Ingush] Caucasia RH1



Chechens. They at first accepted the leadership of the Sheikh Uzun 669
Hadji who proclaimed himself Imam and Emir of the Northern Caucasus. The Emir was the ally of the communists in the struggle against the White Guards of General Denikin. Having vanquished the White armies, the Bolsheviks dropped the Imam, but they were unable to cope with Chechen nationalism. The Chechens demanded the expulsion of all Russians who in the course of the last century had settled in their 'living space'. Pending a positive answer to this request Chechen nationalist bands terrorized the Russian population of the area beyond endurance. In the early twenties the Russian settlers in Chechenia sent a complaint to Moscow on account of the endless raids and murders perpetrated by Chechen bands, and petitioned that they be disarmed. Mikhail Kalinin went personally to the Caucasus and attempted to calm down both Russians and Chechens. With carefully chosen words he tried to persuade them to live together in peace, to intermarry and to respect each other's customs.[6]

Whilst in consequence of Kalinin's personal intervention banditry 668
stopped in Chechenia, it would seem that Moslem opposition to the Soviet régime was never quite suppressed. In 1931 the little country still had 2,675 mosques and Arab schools, as well as 1,250 mullahs, 34 sheikhs and 250 religious elders. The mullahs who were powerful opponents of the Soviet régime even managed to keep alive the illegal Shariah courts which were camouflaged as 'reconciliation commissions'. [692]

The hostile attitude of the Chechens towards the Soviet Russian régime was often manifested in the readiness to credit the most fantastic anti-Russian rumours. Thus, in the early thirties, there existed a widespread belief that Kunta Hadji – the head of a popular Moslem sect who [795]
had died at the end of the nineteenth century – was still alive and was soon to return to Chechenia, where he would found a State based on Moslem religious law. Apparently the Chechens did not differentiate between Czarist and Bolshevik Russia in their hopes that Kunta Hadji would appear as Messiah, for it was he who had led them in the risings against Czarism in 1864 and 1877, for which he was exiled to Novgorod.

The Ingush, whose fate Soviet policy had coupled with that of the 771 ●
Chechens, showed themselves no less loyal to Islam. A delegate who 871
represented Ingushetia at the 'Second All-Union Conference of Godless Pedagogists' in 1931, stated that the influence of the Moslem clergy was still so strong among the Ingush that children refused to learn from books which they believed to be anti-religious. Whenever a teacher tried to introduce anti-religious propaganda he encountered a hostile attitude among school children and there were cases in which teachers had even to leave the school for having criticized Islam. The work of the secular Soviet schools, where the children were taught in the winter, was counteracted by the Moslem schools where the young Ingush would learn

Ca 771 [870] during the summer holidays all that the Soviet authorities wished them to disregard. A number of Ingush party and Communist Youth League members, instead of working against the influence of religion, used themselves to go to the mosques to pray.[7]

Ca 447 191 The difficulties existing between the Soviet authorities and the Chechens and Ingush[1] were not exclusively due to the Bolshevik failure to understand the importance of the religious factor in the life of the mountaineers. There were also extraordinary difficulties of a technical nature, due to the fact that the directives of the central administration were issued in the Russian language and therefore did not reach the Chechen-Ingush masses. Being unable fully to understand the orders received, the local Soviet organs either could not carry them out, or falsified the decisions of the party and of the administration.[8]

## GROZNY – THE OIL CITY

Ca 178 It was the tremendous dead weight of the predominantly Russian capital of Chechenia that prevented the implementation of any genuine Chechen autonomy and finally spelled the doom of the Chechen people. The actual liquidation of the Chechens would probably not have occurred had not the largest town in their homeland become an oil city, and indeed, one of the most important oil centres of the U.S.S.R.

Ca 315 S.U. 315 This oil city had developed out of the little fortress of Grozny.[2] Although Grozny oilfields had been discovered as early as 1833, they were hardly exploited at all in the nineteenth century. In 1912, however, they already supplied 11·5 per cent of the entire Russian oil. Between 1913 and 1917 this figure had risen to 16·7 per cent, and in the following four years to nearly 25 per cent. By 1937 the proportion of Grozny oil to total Russian oil production had fallen to 9·25 per cent, but in terms of absolute figures this output represented an increase of 234 per cent, compared to that before the First World War. The development of Ca 361 162 Grozny as an oil centre made for an increase of the population on an 'American scale'. In 1890 the place had no more than 6,000 inhabitants, against 34,067 in 1913, 97,095 in 1926 and 172,468 in 1939. It need hardly be added that the Chechens and Ingush, peoples consisting of shepherds and peasants, could not contribute anything worth mentioning to the rise of the town which was styled, almost ironically, 'Capital of the Chechen-Ingush A.S.S.R.'. Among the oilworkers of Grozny there were probably at no time more than one-tenth of 'natives', and until 1936 there were but 9·7 per cent.

Ca 177 S.U. 583 Unlike so many cities in the Soviet Union, Grozny never changed its name under the Soviet régime, despite the imperialistic history connected with it. As a matter of fact, it was the Soviet oil city of Grozny which spelled the doom of the Chechens and not the little fortress which

1 [Cf. category 116, pp. 186-188, R1 Sov. Union; 21: Kolarz--Analyst]
2 [Cf. category 116, p. 186, R1 Sov. Union; 21: Kolarz--Analyst]

of the Assyrians, who had led the great migration. These platonic expressions of sympathy were of little help to the Assyrians. Transcaucasia was soon drawn into the turmoil of revolution and civil war and there was no Russian authority in existence which could be interested in the fate of the Assyrian people. S.U. 563 Ca. 563

It is not our task to follow up the further calvary of the Assyrians in Iraq, their recruitment into the famous Assyrian levies and the massacres of 1933 – we are concerned here only with the Russian aspect of the problem. Whilst the centre of gravity of the Assyrian nation was in Iraq, where the Mar Shimun had his residence, Soviet government circles claimed that the largest single group of Assyrians lived in the U.S.S.R. and thus, from the Russian point of view, the Assyrians had become one of the peoples of the Soviet Union.[51]

In 1935 the number of Assyrians in Russia was officially estimated at 50,000-60,000, but the 1939 census recorded not more than 20,000. They occupied eight villages in Transcaucasia and had also small colonies in Krasnodar, Rostov, Kiev, Leningrad and Moscow, where at one time over 2,000 Assyrians were counted. In all these places the Assyrians had their own national schools, and a special Assyrian section was established in the Teachers' Training College in the North Caucasus town of Armavir. Soviet Assyrians were looked after by a special Assyrian organization, 'Khoyadto', which both attended to their cultural needs and directed their mobilization for socialistic reconstruction work. S.U. 563 162

The Soviet Government found it a hard task to reconcile the Assyrian people with Bolshevik ideology, in view of their deep attachment to their ancient Nestorian Church. In April 1933, a statement of the Presidium of the Central Executive Committee complained about 'undermining activities' which class-alien exploiting elements were alleged to have carried out amongst Soviet Assyrians. These 'elements' were said to have penetrated into Assyrian collective farms and co-operatives in an attempt to dominate them. S.U. 563 771 Ca. 563 771

The régime also found fault with the communists and Communist Youth League members who had been recruited amongst the Assyrians in 'considerable numbers', for even Assyrian communists seemed to have kept faith with their nation and its rich traditions. In the middle of the thirties the authorities turned against a number of Assyrian communists who had proved to be 'prisoners of family ties', and who had defended 'class enemies' because of their Assyrian nationality. These 'communists' had denied the necessity of class struggle inside the Assyrian people since they could not see any class divisions within a nation which had concentrated all its energies on its survival.[52] Ca. 563 665 186

Soviet philologists also tried to replace the 'archaic' Syriac alphabet of the Assyrians. At first they gave them a Russian alphabet, then, in 1930, a Latin alphabet. This had to be revised two years later because it was 'unsuitable' and in the end the Russian alphabet was re-introduced. S.U. 563 212

C. O. [761] 775 appears in the shape of a wolf, and the sick person dies. As long as the body lies in the house, the soul hovers over it. But immediately after burial, it re-enters the body, which then rises up three times in the grave. Thereafter, the soul flies up to Heaven, and there is has to fly through seven circles, until it is received by the Barastyr, the lord of the realm of the dead, who sends it either to Paradise (dzänät) or to Hell (zyndon). In the world of the dead, souls again assume the shape of human beings, live and grow old like human beings. But when they reach old age, they are rejuvenated by eating the flesh of the dragon Ruimon who was born blind on the earth and frightens human beings by roaring and makes them die. It is Vatsilla, Saint Elijah, who saves them by letting down a chain, binding him and pulling him up, whereupon the spirits in Heaven hack pieces of flesh from his body and distribute them among the dead.

There is a judge functioning in the world of the dead, whose name issaid to be Aminon. At the bridge where its fate is decided, he asks the soul about the good and evil deeds it has done and shows the good soul the way to Paradise, whereas the evil soul is sent to Hell.

C. O. 773 It seems appropriate in this context to mention the Ossetic legends which describe and extol the wonderful deeds of the Narti, a tribe of mighty heroes, who fight innumerable

C. O. 773

battles with supernatural strength and wild cruelty. Although these legends are more mythological than strictly religious in character, they sometimes contain details which belong to the sphere of religion in the proper sense of the word. It would not be feasible here to give a detailed or even an abridged account of the great variety of stories, events, adventures and fabulous deeds, with which we are confronted in these legends. The following brief remarks will be sufficient to provide an insight into the character and the spirit of these legends, though these remarks refer only to one of the Narti heroes, the most powerful of them. His name is Batraz. He was born in a miraculous way from a tumor between the shoulders of his father after the time required for a normal human pregnancy. The tumor had been produced when his mother had breathed upon the place between his father's shoulders. After his birth, Batraz was thrown into the sea where he appeared as huge as a mountain. When he had mounted his father's horse in order to go home, he broke the horse's ribs by the pressure of his knees, and it died. After he had been carried home by another horse, he asked the heavenly blacksmith Kurdalagon to expose him to the fire of the forge, so that he would become as hard as steel and be better fit for combating enemies. When after two weeks his body had been thoroughly heated by the fire without having suffered any harm, Batraz asked the blacksmith to throw him into the ocean. The blacksmith complied with his

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request, and as soon as the hot body reached the sea, the water began to seethe and dried out completely for two weeks. The water came back after Bertraz had left the sea: he had become steel.

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There are many more similar fantastic stories, which extoll the deeds of, and to a large extent mirror the life and way of thinking, of the rough-mannered inhabitants of one of the wild rugged mountain regions of the Caucasus. However, it is very uncertain whether those legends of the Narti which have been transmitted in the Ossetic language represent, as has been asserted, the original version and the source of the essentially coincident versions transmitted in some of the non-Iranian languages of the Caucasus. As a matter of fact, neither the names of the heroes nor the character of the stories seem to point to an Iranian origin. (The attempt made by Georges Dumézil in "Légendes sur les Nartes" [Bibliothèque de l'Institut Français de Leningrad, Tome XI] to identify Batraz and another figure of the legends with two figures of the Indo-Iranian mythology is far from convincing.)

There is only one rather loose and obviously not original connection of the cycle of Narti legends with a genuine Iranian motif. It is the figure of the mighty bird Sīmurgh, the Eagle, well-known from the Shāhnāma of the Persian poet Firdousī, which has been attached to the story of the extermination of the Narti.

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After God had destroyed them by fire because of their disobedience and arrogance, the earth was populated by small human beings, and the bird Sīmurgh looks down upon them from his lofty throne which stands on the immeasurably high Mt. Elburz. In one of the most famous episodes of the Persian epic poem, Simurgh's nest on the peak of the Elburz plays an important role.

Even more conspicuous is the Iranian element in certain other stories handed down in non-Iranian languages, such as the two stories presented in German translation by A. Dirr in Kaukasische Märchen, (Jena, 1920, pp. 210ff., No. 58 [in the Udin language], and pp. 219ff. No. 59 [in Tater],) in which we meet the figure of Rustam, the most celebrated hero of the Shāhnāma. It is true that the whole setting of the stories, the kind of deeds performed by the hero and the circumstances under which he acts are largely different from those of the Persian epic, by far more fantastic and often out of all proportion. But the Iranian influence is nevertheless striking. For the two non-Iranian narratives do not have only the name and the supernatural strength of the hero in common with the Persian epic poem. We also find in them a very characteristic and essential feature of the Iranian Rustam legend, i.e. the important part which Sīmurgh, the eagle, plays in the life of the hero. In the Shāhnāma, Rustam's father, Zāl, who had been exposed on Mt. Elburz as a baby, was brought up by Sīmurgh together with his young ones in a nest

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on the top of the mountain. When he had grown up and had to return to his family, the eagle gave him one of his feathers, with the advice to set fire to it in case of imminent danger. Then the eagle would appear at once and bring help. In fact, this need for help arose, when the birth of Rustam caused great difficulties and danger to his mother's life. As soon as his father had kindled the feather, the eagle appeared, foretold the birth of a huge heavy child, a future hero, and declared the necessity of performing a Caesarian operation. Among the instructions for treating the mother's wound, rubbing it with the feather of the eagle is mentioned. The appearance of the eagle immediately after one of his feathers has been set on fire at a time of peril, and the magical healing power of the feather when a wound is rubbed with it, are distinctly reflected in the two stories handed down in non-Iranian languages. It is noteworthy that this motif of the eagle and his magical feather also occurs in a story of an Iranian tribe, the Bakhtiyaris. But it is also found in a passage of the Avesta, the holy stripctures of the Zoroastrians, and it has been previously stated by the present author that this conception played an important part in the ritual of ancient India and is also widespread in the folklore of modern India. (See Bernhard Geiger, Die Amesha Spentas, pp. 73f.)

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The legend of Prometheus also deserves our special attention. It is transmitted in Ossetic and in some of the Caucasian languages.

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(See the German translations in A. Dirr's Kaukasische Märchen, [Jena 1920], pp. 236-248.) According to the Ossetic version, a godless oppressor by the name of Amiran was punished by God, who ordered him placed in chains and closed up in a cave. A shepherd who was wandering around in the mountains heard the cried of pain uttered by the titan Amiran who was trying deparately, but in vain, to free himself from the fetters. After some time, the shepherd suddenly found an opening leading into the inside of the cave. He made futile attempts to hand to the titan the extremely heavy sword which was lying at his side. Then the shepherd was asked by Amiran to fetch from his own house the hearth chain by which the kettle hangs over the fire, and he is warned not to speak a single word on his way back to the mountain; for otherwise his help would be in vain. However, the shepherd's wife, plagued by curiosity, urged him incessantly to tell her the purpose of carrying the hearth chain to the mountains. (For a chain above the hearth and the sinfulness of its removal, see above.[1] He remained silent, but at last could not refrain from telling her to keep quiet; he would tell her the reason later. Because he broke the proscribed silence, the entrance of the cave in which he had found the titan, closed up, and the titan could no longer be freed. He remained chained to the rock. Food and water were brought to him by a raven. Whenever

[1] [cf. cat. 116, p. 566 -- Analyst]

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Prometheus attempts to break his fetters, groaning and wailing, the mountains shake, the earth shivers, thunder rumbles and rocks fall down into the valleys. He will remain imprisoned and suffering until God delivers him.

## DEATH

764 765 Throughout the Caucasus, the dead were held in high regard, and the funeral and memorial customs were quite elaborate. More or less ubiquitous features were wailing-women who wept not only over the deceased, but also over his clothing and arms, scratching their faces and tearing out their hair; further, funeral receptions, and a number of memorial repasts (among the Khevsur up to twelve) held at different intervals after the death, among the mountaineers usually accompanied by various contests on horseback. Among the mountaineers, in spite of the general spread of Christianity or Islam, many features of the pagan past survived, among others the [775] belief that the deceased had to make a long trip to the other world, that over there he needed food, his horse, the care of his wife, etc. The horse of the deceased played an important role in the funeral rites; among the Khevsur it was further cared for by a relative for the benefit of the deceased. Food and sometimes weapons were buried along with the dead; among the Circassians his wife would serve a portion for him at meals for a year; and the Ossetian widow for the same period would bring food to the grave of her husband every Friday, besides numerous other observances.

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771 their deities, their ways of worship and their
177 festivals, shows clearly that it is a rather sober and primitive pagan religion with a thin surface of a few superficially adopted features of Christianity and Islam. It is most significant, that it is almost entirely devoid of the conception and the worship of God as a Supreme Being, and that only guardian spirits are invoked to grant protection, happiness and prosperity. It is moreover noteworthy that in this religion of tribes of Iranian origin, who have preserved a richly developed Iranian language partly archaic in character, there are to be found scarcely any distinct traits of an older form of Iranian religion. On the other hand, it can be stated that some of the characteristic conceptions of the Ossetic religion are similar to those of the religions of neighboring Caucasian tribes.

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769 An essential part of any religious belief is represented by the conception of death and
775 the fate of the soul in the life to come. We have already mentioned that the soul of the deceased continues its existence as the guardian spirit of its former family. He takes care of the well-being of the family, and according to an old custom, the Ossets twice a year arrange a feast in the woods in honor of the spirit, which is accompanied by the offering of food and drink. They believe that at the time when a
761 person is sick, a tribunal of six men is formed in Heaven to decide whether this person should die. If the decision is in the affirmative, death

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appears in the shape of a wolf, and the sick person dies. As long as the body lies in the house, the soul hovers over it. But immediately after burial, it re-enters the body, which then rises up three times in the grave. Thereafter, the soul flies up to Heaven, and there is has to fly through seven circles, until it is received by the Barastyr, the lord of the realm of the dead, who sends it either to Paradise (dzänät) or to Hell (zyndon). In the world of the dead, souls again assume the shape of human beings, live and grow old like human beings. But when they reach old age, they are rejuvenated by eating the flesh of the dragon Ruimon who was born blind on the earth and frightens human beings by roaring and makes them die. It is Vatsilla, Saint Elijah, who saves them by letting down a chain, binding him and pulling him up, whereupon the spirits in Heaven hack pieces of flesh from his body and distribute them among the dead.

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It seems appropriate in this context to mention the Ossetic legends which describe and extol the wonderful deeds of the Narti, a tribe of mighty heroes, who fight innumerable

587 (4) We must disagree with Kovalevskij in his interpretation of the levirate as a vestige of former group marriage.[20] Without offering us any evidence, he takes up the theories of Morgan and Frazer and applies them to the Caucasus. Such an institution as "group marriage" exists nowhere in the world, and to imagine that it has ever existed is mere fancy. In an attempt to explain the origin of preferential mating in the Caucasus we should lay aside all guesswork [562] and study the culture before us. For example: the unbearably low position of the North Caucasian woman (*infra*, pp. 152—159) may have made her appear as inheritable chattel. After all, the family purchased her, paid a high price for her, and now she constitutes a part of the family property no less than do the horses, cows, and sheep. Moreover, as we have explained above (pp. 44 f), she is more than *ordinary* family property: she is the best family investment, for she is the "worker-producing" and especially the "boy-producing" organ on which depends the economic, religious, and social life of the family. This realization would only too naturally disincline the family to give her up after her husband's [581] death. As we shall see in the following chapter, mating is not a private affair; it is a strictly family affair, the prime purpose of marriage being the good of the family or sib. She, as it were, belongs more to the *family* that purchased her than to the individual member whose wife she is. Finally, if we consider the pre-Islamic, pre-Christian, and pre-Avestic religion of the mountaineers, we are almost forced to postulate such an institution as widow-inheritance. [725] The life beyond does not differ from the present, and consequently the departed will need his wife in the nether world just as much as in this life. (We shall have occasion to speak of posthumous marriages! Cf. *infra*, p. 85.) We shall even show that suttee was not unknown in North Caucasus (Cf. *infra*, [842] pp. 131 f). The wife therefore must remain in the family. Moreover, the deceased needs offspring, a large progeny, just as much after death as during life, for his happiness and honour in the other world depend upon the cult he receives from his descendents. The widow, therefore, must remain in the family and another member must "raise up seed for his brother" and "build up his brother's house." In other words, the levirate is not a survival of a *primitive* culture but rather an institution very intimately connected with the economic, social and religious life of a relatively highly developed culture such as that of pastoral peoples.

595 As a confirmation of what we have just now said about the origin of [842] Caucasian preferential mating, we wish to describe another institution, still found today in various parts of Caucasus, the so-called *snohačestvo*. A boy-child is married to an adult girl with whom the father may have sexual intercourse as freely as with his own wife. The father is considered as living in lawful concubinage with his son's wife and may do so until the child becomes of age. We wish to stress that this practice is a perfect parallel to widow inheritance. The father "must raise seed" for his son and "build up his house" till he is himself able to do so. The children born of this concubinage belong to the childhusband, sometimes half to him and half to the progenitor. This is

[20] Kovalevskij, *Coutume contemp.*, p. 181.

C. G. 778 be sold; touching chain or kettle gave one the status of a guest; to throw the kettle out of the hut was a supreme insult which could even require blood vengeance.

Besides the cult of the hearth, the veneration of trees was widespread in the Caucasus. The pagan cult had its rites and community prayers and offerings, and these were usually performed near a sacred grove or tree. In all Georgia there are sacred groves and trees near the Christian churches and sanctuaries. No one was allowed to cut down these trees, or to cut off a single branch, even in areas where wood was scarce, as this would entail the wrath of God.

C. G. • 776 In Georgia there are traces of the worship of a Mother-god; under the name "mother of the soil" (adgilis deda) a female deity of the earth is worshipped. In the many legends about Queen Tamar, who has a place in the pantheon of the Pshav, elements of the same cult have been preserved. A deity of the woods, protector of wild animals, is called T'q'ashi mapa ("king of the woods") by the Mingrelians, Apsat (borrowed from Osset Äwsati) by the Svan, Ochop'int'e by the Khevsur, Azhvepsha by the Abkhaz, Mezith ("forest-god") by the Circassians. The latter two peoples also knew a patron of the smiths, fire and iron (Abkh. Shoshu, Circ. Tlepsh). There were numerous other deities: of natural phenomena (sun, moon,

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The religious worship of the Georgian C G mountain tribes has reverted to their ancient tribal religion, veiled by Christian terminology. [778] Their places of worship, called khat'i "icon" or dzhvari "cross," are small huts of rough stones, mostly standing in sacred groves. Their only adornment are pieces of cloth or horns of the Caucasian capricorn as votive offerings. The same words denote also the supernatural power residing in these huts; it is conceived as a sort of mediator between mankind and the supreme god called Morige "he who allots, distributes." Each village and each clan have their khat'i, and each tribe, too, had a common khat'i; e.g., that of the Pshav is called Lashris dzhvari, that of the Mtiul Lomisas dzhvari. Every member of the clan considers himself a "serf" (q'ma) of the khat'i, which may send him success, or disease and death. Each khat'i possessed pastures, arable land and woods where it was C. forbidden to fell a single tree. Attached to G. it was a body of functionaries who were 793 appointed temporarily or held their office by

# THE RELIGION OF THE OSSETS

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The majority of the Ossets profess the orthodox Christian religion. Only a small minority, the Digors, in the western part of the country, are Mohammedans. However, both religions appear mixed to a large extent with old pagan conceptions, rites and customs. The Christians know the names of Christ (Digor Kiriste, Iran Tshysysti), the "Mother Mary" and some of the Christian saints; they go to church and observe certain Christian rites, holidays and fasts; but at the same time they worship and pray to their pagan gods and spirits, sacrificing oxen, goats and sheep, and keep their old pagan holidays.

In a similar way the Mohammedans have a very superficial connection with the Mohammedan religion. They know the name of the prophet, perform the prescribed ablutions, keep Friday as a holiday and Ramazan, the month of fasting. However, like the Christians, they also worship their old pagan gods and celebrate their own traditional festivals.

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Both Christian and Mohammedan Ossets believe in the existence of a high God, an invisible Supreme Being, ruling the world from heaven. His name is Khutsau, and he is often called "the God of the Gods." But the Ossets have only a very vague idea of his nature. They are primarily devoted to the cult of deities which are closer to their hearts and to their

c. o. 776 naive and primitive way of thinking. These are popular creations, mainly tutelary deities and spirits of various realms of nature, such as Fälwära, the guardian of domestic animals; Buduri-Usad, the god of the fields; Khualar-Dar, the god of the harvest: Ävsati, the protector of the deer, the ibex and other game; Donbettyr (Donbettär), the guardian spirit of the waters, the fish and fishermen; Safa, the tutelary spirit of the chain which hangs about the hearth and is so holy an object in an Osset's house, that its removal can bring about the death of the inhabitants of the house and its c. o. theft can lead to a blood feud; Runibari, a god [753] of health (who brings disease and wards it off); c. o. the Geniata or Fazbadata, the guardian spirits [769] of families and the spirits (ghosts) of deceased souls, who are supposed to watch over, and further the well-being of, their families on earth. It is characteristic of the mentality of the Ossets that one of their guardian spirits, Saureg-Gsua by name, protects even thieves and robbers.

However, functions of guardianship are also attributed to some of the Christian saints who have become prominent figures in the religion of the Ossets. Vastyrdzhi (Digor Vasgergi), Saint George, protects travelers, controls military roads and mountain paths, and in contrast to the spirit Saurge-Gsua mentioned above, persecutes thieves and robbers and punishes perjurers and murderers. Vatsilla,

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Saint Elijah, (Surrian Il'ia), is the lord of thunder and lightning. Anyone who has been struck by lightning, is thought to have offended this saint and therefore to have been hit by his bullet. Here Elijah has taken the place of the original pagan god of the thunderstorm who hurls his thunderbolt, the lightning, against the dragon which is the cloud, and releases the waters which the demon had kept imprisoned. This is proved by the fact that the same function has been assigned to Elijah and especially to the angel Gabriel in the popular belief of Armenia, where this old Indo-Iranian myth of the slaying of the dragon by the god of the thunderstorm is preserved in a form that is still more complete than that of the rather simplified and less colorful Ossetic version. (Cf. Manuk Abeghian, Der armenische Volksglaube, [Leipsig, 1890], pp. 78ff., and B. Geiger, Die Amesha Spentas, Sitzungsberichte der Wiener Akad. d. Wiss., Vol. 176 [1916], pp. 65ff.) The relatives and friends of a person killed by a lightning express joy and sing and dance, suppressing all tears and sadness over the death of the person, from fear of making Vatsilla angry; this strange custom is obviously the result of a later development of this version of the myth. Like this attitude towards the deceased, the manner in which he is buried also belongs to the sphere of pagan popular belief. The body is either buried at the place of the accident, or it is placed on a

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two-wheeled carriage drawn by two goats, and the place where the animals stop is thought to have been chosen by Vatsilla. At the grave a black male goat is slaughtered and his skin is hung up on a long pole.

C.O. 776

It is noteworthy that there exists a strange discrepancy between these two saints and the Vastyrdzhi and Vatsilla of the legends of the Narti.[1] Apart from the fact that these legends tell of groups of seven Vastyrdzhi and seven Vatsilla, we are confronted here not only with a difference of numbers, but also with an essential contrast between the characters and functions of the saints and their namesakes in the legends. There appears in the legends, in addition to the groups of seven, two single Vastyrdzhi who is involved in a very unholy affair. He attempts to seduce the mother of one of the Narti families and having been rejected, he waits until her death, visits her grave together with a stallion and a dog, and she gives birth to a girl, a colt and a dog's whelp. The behavior which is ascribed to the Vastyrdzhi in this story is fantastic and repelling. However, the role which the groups of seven Vastyrdzhi and seven Vatsilla play in the legends of the Narti, is no less surprising, though it is free from actions of obscene character. Some of the mightiest heroes of the Narti show an extremely hostile attitude towards these two groups and kill some of them at accidental encounters. They act in the same way against the Zäd (Izäd) and Daväg (Idaväg), who

1 [i.e. a tribe of mythical heroes, cf. cat. 11b, pp. 576-582--Analyst]

C.O. 776 seem to be the same sort of angel. Strangely enough, God hesitated for some time before granting the requests of these groups to punish the brutal attackers.

It seems evident that the original conception of the Vastyrdzhi and Vatsilla in the popular religion of the Ossets was that of two members of the host of tutelary spirits and this conception is still distinctly recognizable, although they have been elevated to the rank of Christian saints. There is very little doubt that the relation between the Narti heroes and these two tutelary spirits, as it appears in the Narti legends, is the result of an arbitrary distortion of the original conception.

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C.O. 776 Besides their Christian and Mohammedan holidays, the Ossets celebrate a number of festivals of pagan character which are dedicated to their popular gods, or rather, spirits. They make the distinction between "male" and "female C.O. festivals. The male festivals are attended only [782] by men offering bloody sacrifices, whereas at the female festivals which are celebrated only by women, the sacrificial gifts consist of milk C.O. and cheese. Some of the feasts are celebrated at 776 home, others at or near places considered 778 sacred, such as mountain plateaus, caves, groves, or trees. Among the sacred places and

c. o. 796 hearth-fire, and the master of the house recites a long prayer in which he gives thanks to God and asks for blessings for the coming year. During the night the young people go from house to house, throwing corn into the houses, singing and expressing good wishes for prosperity and happiness. At daybreak of New Year's day the master of the house kindles a fire of straw in the courtyard in honor of his deceased parents, who thereby are provided with the necessary fire for the whole year. The day is spent in much merry making. eating and drinking.

c. a 796 Christmas and New Year, is dedicated to the 782 worship of an evil spirit, the Devil. The 776 ceremony starts in the evening with the killing of a lamb in front of the door of the house. The spirit is invoked not to do any harm to the cattle and to the other property of the master of the house and to accept an offering of a piece of roasted meat of a lamb and a glass of brandy. During that night one should strictly avoid mentioning the name of the Supreme God, lest the wrath of the evil spirit be provoked. The Devil proper of the Ossets, who is called Khairag is like the well-known figure of the devil of other countries, a good-natured foolish fellow who can easily be duped (der dumme Teufel in German).

c. o. 771 177 This survey* of the most characteristic features of the religion of the Ossets,

*[cf. cat. 116, pp. 565-574-- Analyst]

sheep is slaughtered and a second feast is given at which the husband- and wife-to-be are present. The elder of the village *(khevis-beri)*[4], presides and then recites the special engagement prayer: "Glory to you, George, Angel of the Oak, Lasharis-Dzhbari, and Queen Tamara! George, Angel of the Oak, bless this young couple! Make them happy, rich and prosperous!"[35] After this the *mkepari*[36] are chosen from among the relatives of both partners, whose task it is to collect gifts for the betrothed. The Pshavs do not give their daughters a special dowry, these gifts and the *satavno* taking its place.[37] From now on the suitor is allowed to pay his future wife frequent visits.[38]

There is very little difference to be noted in the OSSETINE matchmaking and betrothal.[39] At first a good friend (generally a woman) of the young man's family is sent to the parents of the girl to learn, unnoticed if possible, about the possiblity of a marriage. If the "spy" returns with a favourable answer, two official matchmakers are sent, generally elderly friends of the family. All dealings are kept secret until the girl's father consents. The town-crier is then notified, for it is his duty and privilege to publicize all engagements. Then the matchmakers bring to the girl's family gifts and the *kalym*, and, as usual, the engagement is celebrated by a feast.[40]

The engagement customs of the KUMYKS are about the same as those of the Chechens.[41] In Balkaria it is the agreement regarding the *kalym* that constitutes the essence of the betrothal.[42]

## 2. Conclusions regarding Matchmaking and Betrothal

(1) All North Caucasians and immediate neighbours have the custom of formal betrothal of one sort or another. (2) Nowhere is the marriage arrangement a private affair. The two persons concerned are either passive, or if they do act, they are simply cooperating in a family matter. (3) Official go-betweens are usually employed. (4) The initiative is taken among all North Caucasians and neighbouring peoples by the male side. (5) Although the mother plays a surprisingly important part in the engagement customs, the final decision rests with the father.

The premarital arrangements of the Caucasians have a strongly patriarchal character. It is the father who has the final word in matchmaking. Moreover,

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[35] Makalatija, *l. c.* The sacred oak referred to is supposed to be on Mount Lashari in the central part of Pshavia and is tied to heaven with a golden chain (Makalatija, *op. cit.*, p. 103).

[36] Makalatija, *l. c.*

[37] Every girl, while still small, receives a calf as her own property. All the profit she makes by raising the calf becomes her property too.

[38] Makalatija, *l. c.*

[39] Dubrovin, I, i, pp. 329—332.

[40] Hahn, *Bilder aus dem Kaukasus*, pp. 40 f.

[41] For a fine description of Kumykian matchmaking and engagement see Semenov, "Očerki narodnych obyčaev Kumykov Terskoj Oblasti," *Terskij Sbornik*, II (1892), No. 2, Part 2 pp. 68—71; Dubrovin, *Istorija*, I, i, p. 637.

A. Karzulov, "Bolkari na Kavkazě," SMOMPK, XXXVIII (1908), No. 1, p. 146.

4. [in Pshavia, southern Caucasia -- Analyst]

585 [776] (7) In a number of instances we have noticed that the dagger or sword was used in connection with the marriage ceremony. The best-man took the bride around the hearth and each time he struck the chain with his dagger. The bride had to enter her new home under an arch of swords or with a dagger or club held above her head. This wedding custom, too, has a religious basis. The household gods of the bride's family have become exceedingly jealous of the bride, because by marrying she has united herself to another family and will now worship other ancestors, abandoning her own. These jealous godlets realize that the best time to enter her new home and to cause countless harm is simultaneously with the bride. Fortunately, these household gods are afraid of dagger[s.][114] [847] Among the Georgian mountaineers, a mother after having given birth to a child will keep a sword under the pillow as a protection against aerial spirits.[115] Spirits are afraid of the sword for several reasons—at least such is our conjecture. The God of Iron, of the Sword, and of the Hearth-Chain is one and the same god, called Safa. This sword ceremony may perhaps insure [823] Safa's protection against jealous godlets. It may also insure the protection of [769] the departed because *iron* is a means of contacting ancestors. In Ossetia on the [787] "feast of the dedication of clothing" clothes are consecrated and sent to the netherworld by means of an iron knife.[116] The Ingushi get in contact with their departed by means of iron tongs.[117]

(8) The other marriage ceremonies are likewise mainly pastoral in character: horse-racing, submission to the husband, wishes for a rich progeny but always with a disproportion of "nine boys to every blue-eyed girl." Finally, the long elaborate and expensive wedding itself is typical of pastoral peoples.

[606] There are, however, a few traces of a so-called mother-right culture. The rôle played by the mother-in-law in the ceremonies, as we have stressed (*supra*, p. 125), is indeed not inconsistent with the position of the mother of the household in a patriarchal family, but, we must admit that their astounding importance gives them a suspiciously matriarchal colouring: in the ceremonies described, it is the Lesghian mother who welcomes the bride into the house as if she were the head of the family. It is the mother who holds her by the hand as she crosses the threshold. It is the mother's brother who led the bride's horse in the Ingiloi procession from her home to that of her groom. It is the mother who puts the honey into the mouth of the bride as a sign that the bride has a sweet life ahead of her under such an amiable mistress as her mother-in-law. And we should not forget that in the Lesghian engagement it was the mother who presented the engagement gifts which concluded the betrothal contract.[118]

595 585 114 We cannot conclude this chapter without briefly refuting some of Kovalevskij's assumptions. Like so many anthropologists of his day, he was inclined to find traces of an epoch older than that of patriarchy, and older than that of

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[114] For the custom among the Ossetes see Kovalevskij, *Coutume contemp.*, pp. 170 f.

[115] Cf. Reineggs, *op. cit.*, II, p. 112 f.

[116] Kokiev, *Slepovye soeružeinija*, (Vladikavkaz, 1928), p. 38.

[117] Baddeley, *op. cit.*, II, p. 120.

[118] *Supra*, p. 103.

563 all over the Soviet Union. These communities, recognizable not only for their German names, were nationally very exclusive (this for economic considerations to a large degree), and had preserved many features of 18th century German peasant life. It is improbable that the German communities exist today.

## Multanis

• 778 177 On the peninsula of Apsheron, near Surakhany, 20 km. east of Baku, a small old fire temple is found, in the midst of a pentagon which once was a kind of monastery for the fire worshippers. This pentagon, with a little square grey temple, is usually called Ātashgāh ("Place of the Fire"), as the Persians designate the Zoroastrian sanctuaries. All around this Atashgah, the oil derricks rise to the sky, in the midst of surface piping and oil puddles. During the 18th century and the first half of the 19th, the Atashgah was a much-visited goal of pilgrims from western India, which for a long time—at least from the 16th century on—had maintained very close commercial relations with Azerbaidjan. Thus, the Parsis seem to have rediscovered the Sacred Spot where the Holy Fire leaps forth from the earth, as had been known from times immemorial. Hence the name Azerbaidjan, meaning in Pahlavi (in the form of Ādar-baθgān) "The home of the fire"; hence the erection of the little temple in which the Holy Flame could be venerated. Not long

778 after the oil industry had begun to exploit the
177 wells of Apsheron, natural gas was also made use of, with the result that after 1887, the regular religious services at the temple were discontinued. Above the entrance to the fire temple there is a Sanskrit inscription set into the wall, although upside down; however, the inscription does not contain any data as to the erection of the temple or of the particular place in India with which it was intimately connected.
101 The fire worshippers of Surakhany were called
177 Multani, and though no literary sources on this name have come to my attention, this is a hint as to the origin of these fire worshippers, who may have come from the city of Multan on the Chenab, a tributary of the Indus in present-day Pakistan. Evidently, this city was the home of the Parsi founders of that trading colony in or near Baku. These Multānī could hardly be called a national minority in the Caucasus; they are to be considered rather as temporary residents, unlike the Greeks of the ancient Ionian colonies.

## Conclusion. Ethnical History

174 Thus, we see the older inhabitants of the Caucasus living in the higher regions of the Great Caucasus and in Dagestan and the southern and southwestern parts of Trans-Caucasia. These peoples have been living in the Caucasus since pre-historic times. In many instances, we can distinguish among them early and more

7: Columbia U. S-4, 5 1956 RH1 Caucasia RH1
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# FOLK RELIGION

C. G. 771 177 The major religions in the Caucasus are Christianity (Georgians except Adzhar and Ingilo; Armenians except Hemshily; Ossetes except Digor; Udi) and Islam (all the rest, except the Mountain Jews and Yezid). But many traces of the older pagan religious view remain. Among the mountaineers in the N. W. Caucasus Islam was introduced comparatively recently (seventeenth century), and in many cases reached only the upper classes. In Dagestan, with its stronger Islamic tradition, the ancient beliefs have disappeared to a much larger extent. In Georgia, Christianity has absorbed many pagan features, and among the Kartvelian mountaineers it was rather paganism that adopted certain outward characteristics of Christianity. In the N. W. Caucasus, the pre-Islamic pagan religion preserved curious vestiges of Christianity which had been introduced from Georgia in the time of queen Tamar, and perhaps even earlier. Here and there in the Caucasus there are remains of the influence of Zoroastrianism.

C. G. 778 The old Caucasian religion was closely connected with family and sib organization. It centered around the house-hearth, above which hung the cooking pot, suspended from an iron chain (Georg. sak'ide(be)li), which had a symbolic value and was believed to be endowed with supernatural powers. It could not

C. G. 778 be sold; touching chain or kettle gave one the status of a guest; to throw the kettle out of the hut was a supreme insult which could even require blood vengeance.

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7: Columbia U. S-4, 5 1956 RH1 Caucasia RH1
Georgia RI1

C. G. 771 [783] Traces of Zoroastrianism are preserved in the idea of the uncleanness of women, especially when menstruating or with child, and of corpses, as found among the Georgian mountaineers; further in some Georgian words, e. g. dzhodzhokheti "hell" (cf. M. Pers. dushakhw). C. G. [778] Remnants of Christianity in the N. W. Caucasus were the custom of planting a cross in the ground near a sacred grove, or hanging it in a sacred tree before a ceremony; C. G. [805] further the seven-day week and the names of the days, which are partly translations or mutilations of Greek names. In Abkhazia a number of Byzantine churches have been preserved.

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C. O. 796 778 objects the dzuar enjoys the highest degree of reverence. The word dzuar is of Georgian origin and means "the cross," then "the saint," and further "a sanctuary." Churches are often built at the side of, or in the place of, such old sanctuaries, the most famous of which, Rekom, is situated between the village Zai and the Zai glacier. It is described as a very small, low, square room with two tiny windows. The roof is covered with straw, the walls and ceilings are adorned with old rugs and priestly garments. There are all kinds of things on the floor, such as images of saints, candles, jewelry, arrows, etc., and similar things are also to be seen outside of the sanctuary. In the immediate neighborhood there are numerous stone houses covered with plant roofs serving as shelters for the pilgrims who stay there for two weeks from the first Saturday in May, sacrificing, eating. dancing and singing.

C. O. 796 782 At the Ossets' festivals the killing of animals is accompanied by appropriate sacrificial hymns. The sacrifice is performed by the eldest member of the assembly who, before the slaughtering, burns the sign of the cross on the animal's muzzle and behind its right ear with a glowing coal. C. O. [273] A special feature of festivals is the drinking of K'umäl, the native beverage of millet, araq, brandy, and bägäny, beer. The flesh of the animal is eaten, the bones piled up in a heap, the blood is collected in a vessel and buried, and the animal's head is hung on a tree. The sacrifice in honor of

turn, must have stimulated the entire family to watch most carefully over the conduct of their daughters; and this watchfulness, again, must have been responsible for *adats* threatening the girl as well as any lover with the most severe sanctions not only for an actual perforation of the hymen but also, as the *adats* frequently express it, for any "suspicious approach."[109] 585 886

There have been other explanations offered for the virginity test. Westermarck, for instance, suggested masculine jealousy.[110] But this explanation is not applicable to the peoples of North Caucasia, for, as we have already mentioned, the sexual factor has very little significance in the selection of mates compared to the all-important economic, social, and religious factors. Such a jealousy, where mutual attraction matters so little, is unthinkable.[111] [152]

(6) The custom of the bride thrice walking round the fireplace is an ancient wedding ceremony frequently found among pastoral tribes. As is well known, it was also the custom of the ancient Indo-Europeans. That one of the main wedding ceremonies in the Caucasus should take place at the fireplace is quite in keeping with the deep religious significance of the hearth. Among a large number of Caucasian mountain tribes, especially in North Ossetia, Ingushetia, and Daghestan, we find the custom of never allowing the fire in the hearth to die out, this practice being a form of cult for the dead.[112] The fire and especially the chain above it constitute a connection between the living and the departed. It forms a sacred asylum for any murderer, because as soon as he touches the chain the ancestors of the victim approve of the murderer's adoption into the family. The chain is the symbol of the family: to tear it down is regarded as one of the most abominable crimes imagineable, an insult to the living and dead members of the sib, which must be punished with death. The chain is a symbol of the family and therefore it must be buried with the last member of an extinct sib. To swear by the hearth-chain is an infallible sign that the person is saying the truth, for to do so falsely is unthinkable.[113] Such an oath would be a curse upon the entire sib and their ancestors. In other words, the ancient solidarity of the sib is intimately connected with the ancient religion of the North Caucasians, and the sanctuary of this religion is the hearth. Now, marriage is an act by which a stranger is taken into the family, and one of the most natural means, most in harmony with the ancient Caucasian form of life, is the hearth and hearth-chain. It is indeed striking that in Daghestan the cult of the fireplace still exists today but not the wedding ceremony. This fact confirms rather than disproves our explanation, for in Daghestan the wife was not a stranger: she had to be chosen from within the sib! (Cf. *supra*, pp. 51 f.) 585 614 [778] [769] [372] [605] [789] 582

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[109] *Infra*, Chapter XII, p. 176.

[110] The History of Marriage, I, p. 163.

[111] The jealousy would have to be so great that the disappointed husband would insist that the bride's nose be cut off or that she be otherwise mutilated and even killed, for such are the ancient adats!

[112] Günther, "Zusammenstöße zwischen Gesetz und Gewohnheitsrecht im nördlichen Kaukasus," *Zeitschrift f. vergl. Rechtsw.*, XLVI (1931), p. 324.

[113] *ibid.*

1/n [Sic. Analyst]

Summing up the results of our comparitive[1] study we may say :

(1) It seems that at one time divorce was an exclusive right of the husband, almost everywhere in North Caucasus. 586

(2) Throughout the Caucasus, the husband has the right to dismiss his wife *at will*. The most arbitrary divorces are recognized by customary law as valid.

(3) The *adats* always make a distinction between a merely *valid* divorce and a divorce that is both valid and *justifiable*.

(4) Although the divorce rights enjoyed by the women do not equal those enjoyed by the men, the rights of the former have greatly increased, mainly through Islamic and Russian influence.

(5) The inequality lies mainly in the grounds which render a divorce justifiable.

(6) After a divorce the children remain with the father. In a word, the divorce laws are again typical of a patriarchal society.

In conclusion, it may be interesting to note how the fireplace, which played such an important part in the marriage ceremonies of the North Caucasians, is not overlooked when a marriage is dissolved. By walking round the hearth three times, the new bride got in touch with the groom's ancestors and thus officially became a member of the household. Though the fireplace ceremony is very rare in Northeastern Caucasia, it seems to play an important part in the dissolution of marriage. Thus in certain localities of Daghestan, when a woman is declared divorced, she goes to the hearth, takes a handful of ashes and throws them into the wind.[44] It may very well be that the relation of the fireplace and divorce has been overlooked by the explorers. By scattering the ashes she is perhaps trying to undo what she did by walking round the fireplace on her wedding day or shortly after. Even though the two practices may not coincide today (i. e., locally), the possibility that they did coexist formerly is not excluded. [778]

Finally, a word about an institution closely resembling divorce, mentioned by J. G. Georgi in his *Beschreibung aller Nationen des russischen Reichs, ihrer Lebensart, Religion, Gebräuche, Wohnungen, Kleidung und übrigen Merkwürdigkeiten* (1776) which includes among the "Merkwürdigkeiten" the so-called *trial marriages* of the Cherkess. Within a given time the wife had to prove her fertility, otherwise the union would be dissolved. Recently similar temporary or trial marriages have been discovered in Ossetia.[45] 582

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[44] Cf. Kovalevskij, *Zakon*, II, p. 201.

[45] Ladyženskij, "Zur Erforschung der Rechtsgewohnheiten der Bergvölker des Kaukasus," *Zeitsch. f. Ethnologie*, LXII (1930), p. 232, note 1.

[1] [Sic -- Analyst]

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## NOTE ON THE GEORGIAN CHURCH

C. G. 795

Christianity spread into Georgia by two routes: into Western Georgia from Greece, and into Eastern Georgia, i.e. ancient Iberia, from Syria and Armenia; this dualism is still apparent in the religious terminology of Georgian. The new religion was opposed not only by indigenous paganism--as everywhere--but also by Zoroastrianism, which was widespread in the Caucasus. According to legend, in the 4th century, the Iberian king Mirian was converted to Christianity by a woman prisoner from Armenia, St. Nino, who is worshipped as Illuminatrix of Georgia. The primate of the Georgian church, who bore the title of Katholikos, was at first subordinated to Antiochia, though ritual and dogma were more closely influenced by the Armenian church. After the council of Chalkedon (451) the Georgians broke with the Monophysite churches of the Orient and attached themselves to Byzantine Orthodoxy; the Armenians remained in the other camp, which led to a long and often politically disastrous feud with the latter. By the 11th century the autocephalous patriarch of the Georgian church, residing in Mtskheta, was completely independent.

C. G. 779

In Georgian monasteries, including those founded by Georgian monks in Jerusalem, on Mt. Sinai, Mt. Athos and elsewhere, much ecclesiastical literature was translated, and some works are preserved only in the Georgian translation. Original hagiography is considered to begin with

G. 779

the life of St. Shushanik († 474). The Georgian text of the gospels as it is used until today in divine worship goes back to a revision after the Greek by the Hagiorite Euthymius († 1028); a copy of an older text shows that the Georgian gospels originally were translated from Armenian and afterwards were revised according to the Greek.

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The Georgian Orthodox church, which always represented the influence of Byzance and of the West as opposed to that of Persia and the East, has not known serious conflicts with the State, due to the continuous menace of Islam to both. The autocephaly of the Georgian Church was violated by the Russians in 1810, the office of Katholikos being abolished. It was restored in 1917; since then, the fate of the Georgian church has been the same as that of other religious organizations in the USSR.

C. G. 793 hereditary rights. The priest, called khevis beri "elder of the valley," khutsi "priest" or dek'anozi "dean," pronounced the ceremonial C. G. [782] prayers and sacrificed the sheep and cows offered as victims. The kadagi or dzhvaris C. G. [791] meene "interpreter," "tongue of the dzhvari," a kind of shaman, pronounced the will of the khat'i. The medroshe "standard bearer" or khat'is pekhi "foot of the khat'i" carried the sacred banner (drosha) on festive days. A special functionary attended to the brewing of the sacred beer, a custom borrowed from the C. G. [796] Ossetes. The beer was drunk at the annual festivals which were attended by all the "serfs" of the khat'i.

In Svanetia the functions of the Khevsur khevis beri were performed by priests not regularly ordained and without any theological training; they were called bap (from Greek C. G. [771] pappas). The numerous ancient churches were neglected and were only used for storing the vessels, vestments and books relating to the divine service; these were jealously C. G. 796 guarded from alienation. Many originally Christian feasts and Saint's days were celebrated with prayers, drinking of home-made brandy and eating of sacrificed animals and C. G. [769] fancy bread of different traditional shapes. Similar rites were observed on the commemoration days of the dead which were performed at fixed intervals.

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776 seem to be the same sort of angel, Strangely enough, God hesitated for some time before granting the requests of these groups to punish the brutal attackers.

It seems evident that the original conception of the Vastyrdzhi and Vatsilla in the popular religion of the Ossets was that of two members of the host of tutelary spirits and this conception is still distinctly recognizable, although they have been elevated to the rank of Christian saints. There is very little doubt that the relation between the Narti heroes and these two tutelary spirits, as it appears in the Narti legends, is the result of an arbitrary distortion of the original conception.

The Ossets worship two other saints: Tutyr, the protector and ruler of wolves, who obviously is identical with Saint Theodore, and the wonderworking, miraculous killer Nikkola who corresponds to Saint Nicholas.

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776 Besides their Christian and Mohammedan holidays, the Ossets celebrate a number of festivals of pagan character which are dedicated to their popular gods, or rather, spirits. They make the distinction between "male" and "female"
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O. festivals. The male festivals are attended only
[782] by men offering bloody sacrifices, whereas at the female festivals, which are celebrated only by women, the sacrificial gifts consist of milk
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O. and cheese. Some of the feasts are celebrated at
776 home, others at or near places considered
778 sacred, such as mountain plateaus, caves, groves, or trees. Among the sacred places and

c. o. 796 778 objects the dzuar enjoys the highest degree of reverence. The word dzuar is of Georgian origin and means "the cross," then "the saint," and further "a sanctuary." Churches are often built at the side of, or in the place of, such old sanctuaries, the most famous of which, Rekom, is situated between the village Zai and the Zai glacier. It is described as a very small, low, square room with two tiny windows. The roof is covered with straw, the walls and ceilings are adorned with old rugs and priestly garments. There are all kinds of things on the floor, such as images of saints, candles, jewelry, arrows, etc., and similar things are also to be seen outside of the sanctuary. In the immediate neighborhood there are numerous stone houses covered with plant roofs serving as shelters for the pilgrims who stay there for two weeks from the first Saturday in May, sacrificing, eating. dancing and singing.

c. o. 796 782 At the Ossets' festivals the killing of animals is accompanied by appropriate sacrificial hymns. The sacrifice is performed by the eldest member of the assembly who, before the slaughtering, burns the sign of the cross on the animal's muzzle and behind its right ear c. o. with a glowing coal. A special feature of festi- [273] vals is the drinking of K'umäl, the native beverage of millet, araq, brandy, and bägäny, beer. The flesh of the animal is eaten, the bones piled up in a heap, the blood is collected in a vessel and buried, and the animal's head is hung on a tree. The sacrifice in honor of

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c. o. 796 All the festivals which are dedicated to guardian spirits, are characterized by old popular customs and special rituals which have no bearing whatsoever upon the two religions adopted later. At the celebration in autumn of the harvest festival in honor of Khualar-Dar, the god of the harvest, the master of the house ties together and carries home a sheaf of different grains (wheat, rye, millet, barley, etc.), which weighs more than 200 pounds. At home, in the midst of his family, he thanks the god of the harvest for the rich crop, prays for a similar cop in the coming years, and then after this prayer he rejoices in his family in the god's honor. The sheaf is taken apart, the single stalks of the different kinds of grain are carefully laid together and different beverages are brewed from the seeds. At one time of the day the mistress of the house walks up and down with a wooden vessel containing several kinds of grain, and prays to the god to send more millet and other kinds of grain to the house and to drive away the rats and all other noxious rodents.

c. o. 796 785 In honor of Tutyr, the guardian spirit of the wolves (and sheep), a day of fasting is observed on a Monday by the whole family. In the evening, after they break their fast, a shepherd appears and recites a prayer in which he invokes the spirit to bestow, as a reward for the strict

c. o. 796 fasting, the favor that the wolves be deaf and
785 voiceless, immova ble and weak, and that the sheep of the worshippers be the ghosts of the spirit and enjoy his mercy. (From the wording of the prayer we may conclude that in his capacity as ruler of the wolves, Tutyr is also thought to possess the power of keeping the wolves from the sheep.)

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562 has recovered, the woman of the house and those of neighboring families go to a tree which is considered sacred. They take cheese cakes and a jug of milk along and a dried sturgeon (Käf), which had been hanging above the head of the sick person, with a silver coin fastened to the fish. The oldest of the women, followed by the others, puts the cheese cakes down under the tree, which she sprinkles with milk while

C. O. 796 782 562 while singing sacred songs. After this ceremony they sit down under the tree, eat the cheese cake and the fish and hang on a few perforated coins on the tree as a votive offering to Kuni-Bara. Any person daring to steal these coins, would be affected with the disease of the former patient.

C. O. 796 562 Another festival with which only women are concerned, is the "feast of the virgins," which is celebrated at the end of autumn in the house of some old woman. It is only superficially linked with the Christian religion, insofar as it is celebrated in honor of Mary (Mairäm), "the Mother of God." The girls bake cakes with different fillings in the house of the old woman. The oldest girls takes one and prays first to Mary and then to the guardian spirit of the house and to other spirits for a bridegroom and for protection against sickness and wicked women. Afterwards, each girl takes one of the cakes and looks at its filling. When the filling is cheese, it means that her husband will be a rich owner of cattle, when it is a corn filling, the girl is destined to marry a rich farmer, and so on.

C O 796 On New Year's eve, the last, or next to the last, Friday of December, the Ossets start celebrating the New Year. For the holiday the housewife prepares beverages, a large cake and a number of small cakes formed in the shapes of ploughs, harrows, wheels and other utensils which give expression to their hope for a good harvest. At the approach of dusk the whole family sits down around the

c. o. 796 hearth-fire, and the master of the house recites a long prayer in which he gives thanks to God and asks for blessings for the coming year. During the night the young people go from house to house, throwing corn into the houses, singing and expressing good wishes for prosperity and happiness. At daybreak of New Year's day the master of the house kindles a fire of straw in the courtyard in honor of his deceased parents, who thereby are provided with the necessary fire for the whole year. The day is spent in much merry making, eating and drinking.

c. a. 796 782 776 Only one day, the Wednesday between Christmas and New Year, is dedicated to the worship of an evil spirit, the Devil. The ceremony starts in the evening with the killing of a lamb in front of the door of the house. The spirit is invoked not to do any harm to the cattle and to the other property of the master of the house and to accept an offering of a piece of roasted meat of a lamb and a glass of brandy. During that night one should strictly avoid mentioning the name of the Supreme God, lest the wrath of the evil spirit be provoked. The Devil proper of the Ossets, who is called Khairag is like the well-known figure of the devil of other countries, a good-natured foolish fellow who can easily be duped (der dumme Teufel in German).

c. o. 771 177 This survey of the most characteristic features of the religion of the Ossets,

* [cf. cat. 116, pp 565-574-- Analyst]

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essential parallels—characteristic of the Turco-Mongolian family are: the 174
almost complete absence of mother-right and totemistic practices, the emphasis 58
placed on the joint-family and the male members, special rights for the first- 59
born son, importance of the male head of the family and the *patria potestas*, the disadvantageous position of the female sex, blood-feuds, exogamy, the *kalym*, which is usually paid in live-stock, the dread of incest, the severe penalties for sexual offenses, fireplace ceremony at weddings, the high esteem for the bride's virginity, the unusual craving for male children, the importance of the bridal procession, etc.

There is also a religious connection between the North Caucasians, the [177]
Indo-Europeans, and the Turco-Mongols, a connection that confirms our claim of the existence of a social connection between the three groups. It is not only the *similarity* of the religions of the three groups that we must keep in mind but also the intimate connection, the *organic* connection, between the nomadic social and religious forms. The solidarity which exists among the members of [769]
a sib, the great longing for male children, blood-feuds, the levirate, the *patria potestas*, the wedding custom of walking around the fireplace, and many other practices are fundamentally connected with ancestor worship and cult for the dead. Ancestor worship is one of the essential features of the religion of the Indo-Europeans, the Turco-Mongols, and the North Caucasians. Moreover, [782]
among all three groups ancestor worship is linked up with the worship of the fireplace. Another very essential part of the pastoral nomadic religion was the custom of sacrificing horses. W. Koppers has shown the great similarity between [171]
the horse-sacrifices of the Indo-European and Altai peoples;[48] R. Bleichsteiner proved beyond question the existence of the practice throughout the highlands of Caucasia.[49] Horse-sacrifices among the Indo-Europeans and the North Caucasians are certainly of Inner Asiatic origin.

Thus we see that even though the North Caucasians are not pastoral nomadic in the economic sense—the economy of the steppes is impossible in the mountains, especially in the unfertile valleys of the Caucasus—they are pastoral nomadic in their social organization. *A connection between the North Caucasian society and that of Inner Asia is beyond question.*

### 3. Vestiges of More Ancient Cultures In the Marriage and Family Customary Laws of the North Caucasians

As is only natural, the deeper we delve into the history of the marriage 611
and family *adats* the more obscure the history becomes. 562

First of all there are the so-called mother-right vestiges which we must consider. It is interesting to note that the intensity of these vestiges among the three different groups of Caucasians (Northwestern, Northeastern, and Southern)

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[48] W. Koppers, *op. cit.*, pp. 12 f, 18—22. See also W. Koppers, "Pferdeopfer und Pferdekult der Indogermanen," *Wiener Beiträge zur Kulturgeschichte und Linguistik*, IV (1936), pp. 280—411.

[49] "Rossweihe und Pferderennen im Totenkult der kaukasischen Völker," *Wiener Beiträge zur Kulturgeschichte und Linguistik*, IV (1936), pp. 412—495.

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C. 771 [783] Traces of Zoroastrianism are preserved in the idea of the uncleanness of women, especially when menstruating or with child, and of corpses, as found among the Georgian mountaineers; further in some Georgian words, e. g. dzhodzhokheti "hell" (cf. M. Pers. dushakhw). C. G. [778] Remnants of Christianity in the N. W. Caucasus were the custom of planting a cross in the ground near a sacred grove, or hanging it in a sacred tree before a ceremony; C. G. [805] further the seven-day week and the names of the days, which are partly translations or mutilations of Greek names. In Abkhazia a number of Byzantine churches have been preserved.

551 (" Lion "), *Vari* (" Vulture "), etc. are intended to deceive the evil spirits, who are able to take the life of the child only if they can call it by its true name.[58]

### 4. Segregation

814 784 A Lesghian woman becomes unclean through childbirth, and hence the father may not be present at the birth nor during the entire period of uncleaness, which lasts for several weeks.[59] Child-bearing renders the mother unclean in Ossetia as well. The Mountain Georgians have special birthhouses for expectent mothers. In Svanetia the mother is unclean for 40 days,[60] in Khevsuria and Pshavia, a few days longer.[61] A woman can be cleansed (in Khevsuria and Pshavia) by washing her hair in cow's urine.[62] In Ossetia a woman is considered unclean for six weeks after childbirth. During this period she is not allowed to work, except to sweep the floor and look after the children. The marital act is likewise forbidden.[63] [833]

### 5. Weaning

862 Very little data is available regarding weaning of children and taboos during the period of lactation. As a general rule, the Lesghians wean their children at the age of five or six.[64] The Avars usually do not wean them before they have reached the use of reason.[65] Pshav children are weaned at the age of four.

### 6. Fire-place Ceremony

851 We have seen what an important part the hearth played in the marriage ceremonies of the Northwestern Caucasians, the Ingushi and Ossetes. By circling round the hearth the bride officially became a member of the family. We should also expect a birth ceremony of some sort or other at the fire-place, by which the infant would likewise be officially recognized as a fully fledged member of the family and by which the newborn would come in contact with the ancestors and receive their protection. We find such a ceremony among the neighbouring peoples of Iranian stock, the Ossetes[66] and the Kurds.[67] Though the hearth

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[58] Pčelina, " Rodil'nye obyčai u Osetin," SE, 1937, No. 4, p. 98.
For Ossetine naming ceremony, see *op. cit.*, pp. 96 ff.
Could not this fondness for animal names be a vestige of individual totemism ?

[59] Kovalevskij, " Iranian Culture in the Caucasus," *The Archaeological Review*, June, 1888, cited by Kovalevskij, *Zakon*, II, p. 202. See also *op. cit.*, I, pp. 97 f, 139 f.

[60] Dubrovin, *Istorija*, I, ii, p. 110.

[61] G. Demidov, *V učželijach pervobytnoj gruzii (Chevsuretija)*, Moscow-Leningrad, 1930, p. 16. Polidaev (*Gorcy severnago kavkaza*, p. 107) says that the Khevsur mother is " unclean " for 30 days.

[62] Demidov, *l. c.* After delivery, the mother must remain in the birth-hut for two weeks ; after that she must live in the stable for about five weeks. S. I. Makalatija, *op. cit.*, p. 112. Today the Pshavs use holy water instead of urine (*ibid.*).

[63] Pčelina, *op. cit.*, p. 99.

[64] Nansen, *op. cit.*, p. 104.

[65] Erckert, *op. cit.*, p. 268.

[66] Pčelina, *op. cit.*, p. 95.

[67] Jankó, *Néprajzi, etc.* Zichy's *Kaukázusi és középázsiai utazásai*, p. 63.

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writings of the Arabs al-Mas ûdî and Abu-El-Kasim. They claim that the father offers one of his daughters to his guest as a mere point of hospitality. Stählin[72] claimed that illegitimate children were treated the same as legitimate. On the other hand, a large number of authors, such as Struys, Lamberti,[73] Neumann,[74] and others, claim that the Cherkess women are extremely modest. The true solution to these conflicting reports is the one suggested by Ladyženskij.[75] "Den richtigsten Standpunkt nimmt in der Frage Garni ein (Reisen in den Ländern der asiatischen Türkei und des Kaukasus, 1854). Er betont die Keuschheit der freien Frauen und den Hetärismus der Sklavinnen." This is also Dirr's opinion.[76] In other words, the reports are true only to a certain extent: the freewomen are exceptionally modest, while the slaves exceptionally immodest, religious prostitution and sexual hospitality being restricted to slaves. Such conduct in regard to freewomen would be impossible considering the great economic loss the family would suffer from defloration, considering also the virginity test, and, finally, the fear of illegitimate children. On the other hand, defloration, virginity, and illegitimate children in the case of *slaves* would offer no serious difficulty.

We have a similar problem in regard to some of the Lesghians. As we have mentioned above, Herodotus wrote of the Lesghians that "they copulate in public as beasts are wont to do."[77] Przewalski reported that at Tsunta-Akhvakh unmarried couples were allowed to sleep together.[78] Baddeley confirms Przewalski's report: "It is the custom for a host to give his guest one of his daughters or some other girl to sleep with. The couple may . . . do what they like provided the maidenhead remains intact; and even that depends on the fair one's goodwill. But should the guest so far forget himself as to force her, he will pay for it with his life. Those people think meanly of a girl who has never slept with an honoured guest."[79] Baddeley's guide, a native of Ossetia, "accepted this as a fact, and added that something of the same sort went on in certain of the older Cossack 'stanitsas' on the Terek, instancing Tchervlennaya."[80] Herodotus' report is useless, for we do not know exactly who is meant, but there is no reason to doubt Przewalski and Baddeley. However, we wish to stress that this is a custom found exclusively in Tsunta-Akhvakh and is, by no means, the picture of entire Daghestan. Tsunta-Akhvakh is only a *village* (in 1901 it had only 415 inhabitants), which constitutes an *exception*

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[72] Jacob v. Stählin, *Nachrichten von Tschirkassien oder von dem Karbardinischen Lande*, 1771, referred to by Ladyženskij, FT, p. 185.

[73] Cf. Ladyženskij, *l. c.*

[74] Neumann, *Rußland und die Tscherkessen*, cf. Ladyženskij, *l. c.*

[75] Ladyženskij, *l. c.* Ladyženskij, "Zur Erforschung der Rechtsgewohnheiten, etc.," pp. 243 f.

[76] Ladyženskij, FT, p. 184. Cf. Castagné, "Le droit coutumier familial des montagnards du Caucase," p. 252: "Supposer que le montagnard adighé pût proposer sa fille ou sa femme a un hôte, serait comprehensible si la femme des montagnards avait été esclave, mais cela n'étant pas, une supposition de ce genre doit être considéré comme sans fondement aucun."

[77] Cited by Potocki, *Voyage dans les steps d'Astrakhan et du Caucase*, I, p. 240; to which Potocki adds, "Celle de quelques vallées du Caucase sont encore très libres."

[78] Kovalevskij, *Zakon*, II, p. 189.

[79] Baddeley, *op. cit.*, II, pp. 13 f.

[80] Baddeley, op. *cit.*, *II*, p. 14.

8: Lužbetak E-4 (no date) 1951 RHl Caucasia RHl



585 [776] (7) In a number of instances we have noticed that the dagger or sword was used in connection with the marriage ceremony. The best-man took the bride around the hearth and each time he struck the chain with his dagger. The bride had to enter her new home under an arch of swords or with a dagger or club held above her head. This wedding custom, too, has a religious basis. The household gods of the bride's family have become exceedingly jealous of the bride, because by marrying she has united herself to another family and will now worship other ancestors, abandoning her own. These jealous godlets realize that the best time to enter her new home and to cause countless harm is simultaneously with the bride. Fortunately, these household gods are afraid of dagger[844]s.[114] Among the Georgian mountaineers, a mother after having given birth to a child will keep a sword under the pillow as a protection against aerial spirits.[115] Spirits are afraid of the sword for several reasons—at least such is our conjecture. The God of Iron, of the Sword, and of the Hearth-Chain is one and the same god, called Safa. This sword ceremony may perhaps insure [823] Safa's protection against jealous godlets. It may also insure the protection of [769] the departed because *iron* is a means of contacting ancestors. In Ossetia on the [787] "feast of the dedication of clothing" clothes are consecrated and sent to the netherworld by means of an iron knife.[116] The Ingushi get in contact with their departed by means of iron tongs.[117]

(8) The other marriage ceremonies are likewise mainly pastoral in character: horse-racing, submission to the husband, wishes for a rich progeny but always with a disproportion of "nine boys to every blue-eyed girl." Finally, the long elaborate and expensive wedding itself is typical of pastoral peoples.

[606] There are, however, a few traces of a so-called mother-right culture. The rôle played by the mother-in-law in the ceremonies, as we have stressed (*supra*, p. 125), is indeed not inconsistent with the position of the mother of the household in a patriarchal family, but, we must admit that their astounding importance gives them a suspiciously matriarchal colouring: in the ceremonies described, it is the Lesghian mother who welcomes the bride into the house as if she were the head of the family. It is the mother who holds her by the hand as she crosses the threshold. It is the mother's brother who led the bride's horse in the Ingiloi procession from her home to that of her groom. It is the mother who puts the honey into the mouth of the bride as a sign that the bride has a sweet life ahead of her under such an amiable mistress as her mother-in-law. And we should not forget that in the Lesghian engagement it was the mother who presented the engagement gifts which concluded the betrothal contract.[118]

595 585 114 We cannot conclude this chapter without briefly refuting some of Kovalevskij's assumptions. Like so many anthropologists of his day, he was inclined to find traces of an epoch older than that of patriarchy, and older than that of

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[114] For the custom among the Ossetes see Kovalevskij, *Coutume contemp.*, pp. 170 f.

[115] Cf. Reineggs, *op. cit.*, II, p. 112 f.

[116] Kokiev, *Slepovye soeružeinija*, (Vladikavkaz, 1928), p. 38.

[117] Baddeley, *op. cit.*, II, p. 120.

[118] *Supra*, p. 103.

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turn, must have stimulated the entire family to watch most carefully over the conduct of their daughters; and this watchfulness, again, must have been responsible for *adats* threatening the girl as well as any lover with the most severe sanctions not only for an actual perforation of the hymen but also, as the *adats* frequently express it, for any "suspicious approach."[109] 585 886

There have been other explanations offered for the virginity test. Westermarck, for instance, suggested masculine jealousy.[110] But this explanation is not applicable to the peoples of North Caucasia, for, as we have already mentioned, the sexual factor has very little significance in the selection of mates compared to the all-important economic, social, and religious factors. Such a jealousy, where mutual attraction matters so little, is unthinkable.[111] [152]

(6) The custom of the bride thrice walking round the fireplace is an ancient wedding ceremony frequently found among pastoral tribes. As is well known, it was also the custom of the ancient Indo-Europeans. That one of the main wedding ceremonies in the Caucasus should take place at the fireplace is quite in keeping with the deep religious significance of the hearth. Among a large number of Caucasian mountain tribes, especially in North Ossetia, Ingushetia, and Daghestan, we find the custom of never allowing the fire in the hearth to die out, this practice being a form of cult for the dead.[112] The fire and especially the chain above it constitute a connection between the living and the departed. It forms a sacred asylum for any murderer, because as soon as he touches the chain the ancestors of the victim approve of the murderer's adoption into the family. The chain is the symbol of the family: to tear it down is regarded as one of the most abominable crimes imagineable, an insult to the living and dead members of the sib, which must be punished with death. The chain is a symbol of the family and therefore it must be buried with the last member of an extinct sib. To swear by the hearth-chain is an infallible sign that the person is saying the truth, for to do so falsely is unthinkable.[113] Such an oath would be a curse upon the entire sib and their ancestors. In other words, the ancient solidarity of the sib is intimately connected with the ancient religion of the North Caucasians, and the sanctuary of this religion is the hearth. Now, marriage is an act by which a stranger is taken into the family, and one of the most natural means, most in harmony with the ancient Caucasian form of life, is the hearth and hearth-chain. It is indeed striking that in Daghestan the cult of the fireplace still exists today but not the wedding ceremony. This fact confirms rather than disproves our explanation, for in Daghestan the wife was not a stranger: she had to be chosen from within the sib! (Cf. *supra*, pp. 51 f.) 585 614 [778] [769] [372] [605] [789] 582

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[109] *Infra*, Chapter XII, p. 176.

[110] The History of Marriage, I, p. 163.

[111] The jealousy would have to be so great that the disappointed husband would insist that the bride's nose be cut off or that she be otherwise mutilated and even killed, for such are the ancient adats!

[112] Günther, "Zusammenstöße zwischen Gesetz und Gewohnheitsrecht im nördlichen Kaukasus," *Zeitschrift f. vergl. Rechtsw.*, XLVI (1931), p. 324.

[113] *ibid.*

1/n [sic.. Analyst]

C. G. 793 hereditary rights. The priest, called khevis beri "elder of the valley," khutsi "priest" or dek'anozi "dean," pronounced the ceremonial C. G. [782] prayers and sacrificed the sheep and cows offered as victims. The kadagi or dzhvaris C. G. meene "interpreter," "tongue of the dzhvari," [791] a kind of shaman, pronounced the will of the khat'i. The medroshe "standard bearer" or khat'is pekhi "foot of the khat'i" carried the sacred banner (drosha) on festive days. A special functionary attended to the brewing of the sacred beer, a custom borrowed from the C. G. Ossetes. The beer was drunk at the annual [795] festivals which were attended by all the "serfs" of the khat'i.

In Svanetia the functions of the Khevsur khevis beri were performed by priests not regularly ordained and without any theological training; they were called bap (from Greek C. G. pappas). The numerous ancient churches [771] were neglected and were only used for storing the vessels, vestments and books relating to the divine service; these were jealously C. G. guarded from alienation. Many originally 796 Christian feasts and Saint's days were celebrated with prayers, drinking of home-made brandy and eating of sacrificed animals and fancy bread of different traditional shapes. C. G. Similar rites were observed on the commem- [769] oration days of the dead which were performed at fixed intervals.

669 2 Gukasian, Gukas Ogasenovich, 1899-1920 Armenian revolutionary; born in Kalara, near Erevan. Since 1917 Bol'shevik. Fought Mensheviks and dashnaks. His monument in Erevan.

BE II 13:189

665 2 Gukasian, Z.O.
Member CC CP Arm. SSR, 17.-18. s'ezd, 1954, 1956

Kom. Er. 1/22/56

536 2 Gulakian, Armen Karapetovich, 1899- Armenian producer and dramatist. People's artist of Armenia. Deputy to VS SSSR 2.-3. sozyv. Member of CP since 1941. Born in Tiflis. Chief producer of Sundukian theater in Erevan. Produced there: Lermontov's Maskarad, Gorkii's Na dne. Stalin prize in 1946 and 1950.

BE II 13:190

• 792 2 Gulian, M. T.
Member of Collegium of Armenian Supreme Court.

401 2 Guliants, Enovk Airapetovich
Stalin prize, 3. degree 1950 machine engineer.

Laur. Stalin prem. 1950 p. 25

C. G. 776 thunder), often identified with Christian saints (e.g. the god of thunder with St. Elias or St. George); patrons of agriculture, of cattle breeding, of horsemen, of thieves, etc.; and also a large array of spirits, angels, witches, and wood-giants; and finally a variety of superstitions, of which may be mentioned the fear of the "evil eye."

C. G. [754]

C G [778] The religious worship of the Georgian mountain tribes has reverted to their ancient tribal religion, veiled by Christian terminology. Their places of worship, called khat'i "icon" or dzhvari "cross," are small huts of rough stones, mostly standing in sacred groves. Their only adornment are pieces of cloth or horns of the Caucasian capricorn as votive offerings. The same words denote also the supernatural power residing in these huts; it is conceived as a sort of mediator between mankind and the supreme god called Morige "he who allots, distributes." Each village and each clan have their khati, and each tribe, too, had a common khat'i; e.g., that of the Pshav is called Lashris dzhvari, that of the Mtiul Lomisas dzhvari. Every member of the clan considers himself a "serf" (q'ma) of the khat'i, which may send him success, or disease and death. Each khat'i possessed pastures, arable land and woods where it was forbidden to fell a single tree. Attached to it was a body of functionaries who were appointed temporarily or held their office by

C. G. 793

C. G. hereditary rights. The priest, called khevis
• 793 beri "elder of the valley," khutsi "priest" or
dek'anozi "dean," pronounced the ceremonial
C. G. prayers and sacrificed the sheep and cows
[782] offered as victims. The kadagi or dzhvaris
C. G. meene "interpreter," "tongue of the dzhvari,"
[791] a kind of shaman, pronounced the will of the
khat'i. The medroshe "standard bearer" or
khat'is pekhi "foot of the khat'i" carried the
sacred banner (drosha) on festive days. A
special functionary attended to the brewing of
the sacred beer, a custom borrowed from the
C. G. Ossetes. The beer was drunk at the annual
[776] festivals which were attended by all the "serfs"
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C. G. guarded from alienation. Many originally
796 Christian feasts and Saint's days were cele-
brated with prayers, drinking of home-made
brandy and eating of sacrificed animals and
C. G. fancy bread of different traditional shapes.
Similar rites were observed on the commem-
[769] oration days of the dead which were performed
at fixed intervals.

7:Columbia U. S-4,5 1956 RH1 Caucasia RH1
Armenia RJ1

C.
A.
795
162

The population of Soviet Armenia is estimated to be close to 1,500,000 (1939 census, 1,280,000; 1947 estimate, 1,345,000). Of this total a little more than 85 per cent are Armenians, nearly all presumably in communion with the Armenian Apostolic Church. There are some 130,000 Azerbaijani Turks of the Shiite sect, and about 50,000 Kurds of the Shafiite sect. In addition, there are several thousand Yezidis (devil-worshippers), Nestorians, Russians and Georgians. No information is available concerning these minor groups and their religious institutions. Whatever places of worship the Russians, Nestorians, Georgians and Yezidis might have had prior to the Russian Revolution, they certainly are not in existence now.

C.
A.
346

The more numerous Kurds perhaps did have certain places of worship but none seem to remain today; at least there is nothing to indicate that they have such places. For the Azerbaijani Turks there was an old imposing and historic mosque in Erivan, a landmark in the city for centuries. It was still there twenty years ago, a relic of the old era. If still intact, it may be used by the several thousand Azerbaijanis of that city as well as by the Turks. Judging by the old order or organization, the titular spiritual head of the Azerbaijani Turks in Soviet Armenia and his followers there owe allegiance to the Grand Mufty (or the Chief Imam) in Baku. The Grand Mufty probably has his

C.
A.
793

C: A: 793 deputy in Erivan, and the latter in turn has imams under him in communities where Azer-
C: A: 874 baijanis are numerous. Of course there are no medressehs (religious schools), and these communities must depend on the recently reopened medresseh in Baku for their future spiritual leaders. Thus even the largest and the most numerous minority group in Soviet Armenia probably does not have freedom to attend to its spiritual needs.

C: A: 795 659 The case of the Armenian Church is naturally quite different. As was stated earlier, the Church had been the principal national institutions from the very beginning, and continued as such throughout the checkered history of the Armenian people. It served the people supremely well in dispersion, and in their dire need of spiritual sustenance. Before its authority was undermined and practically shattered by the Soviet regime the Church was a most powerful force in the life of Armenian communities. It has become the beneficiary of considerable wealth, largely through bequests and gifts, and had used that wealth for the education of religious and lay leaders. In this respect the Church was practically the sole organizer and supervisor of the educational system prevailing in Armenian communities. With the advent of the new regime, and the separation of schools from the Church, the whole fabric of the old educational system crumbled. And by confiscating all Church property and thus depriving the

7: Columbia U. S-4, 5 1956 RHl Caucasia
RHl

533 1 Balanchivadze, Meliton Antonovich 1862-1937 Georgian composer of romances. People's artist of Georgia. Father of composer Andrei Melit. Balanchivadze. Wrote opera: Kovarnaia Daredzhan, 1937

BE II 4:115

793 2 Baldzhian, Vazgen I, Catholicos, formerly BISHOP BALDZHIAN Elected Sept. 30, 1955. Born in 1908, Bucharest, Rumania. Graduate of philosophical and theological faculties of Bucharest Univ. Headed Arm. diocese in Rumania while the country was allied to Germany and continued to do so after Soviet occupation of Rumania. Had visited Soviet Armenia in 1945, 1948, 1951, 1954 and in his book: Under the Sun of the Motherland, he strictly conformed to Soviet propaganda. Head of Armenian Church in SSSR. For the first time in 1956 Catholicos Edzhmiazin came to Jerusalem with the intention of anointing a new Patriarch of Cilicia (Bishop Sareh of Aleppo, supported by the Dashnag Natl. party appeared certain to win election)

NYT 2/20/56
Bull. Inst. Munich, 3, No. 2, Feb. 1956, 42-46

793 2 Chorekchian, Georg VI
Only asst. until 1938. 1945 he was elected Catholicos of all Armenians. Under his era much propaganda was made to induce Armenians from abroad to come back to Armenia. He was looked on by Soviet regime with tolerance for his activities in the cause of peace.

Armenian Catholicos 1955?
Khoren 1938
Bull. Inst. Munich v. 3, No. 2, Feb. 1956, 42-46.

814 1 Chubinashvili, Georgii Nikolaevich
1885- . Prof. at Tiflis univ.; historian of Georgian architecture. Protagonist of idea that Georgian architecture developed independently from Armenian influence. Wrote: Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der georgischen Baukunst, 1921.

BE I 61:698

646 1 Chubinidze, Miron Dmitrievich
643 Deputy to Sov. Nats. VS SSSR (4. s'ezd, 1954). President of Presidium VS Gruz. SSR.

Bak. Rab. 3/19/54
Internatl. Yearbk. 1955:538

7:Columbia U. S-4, 5 1956 RH1 Caucasia
RH1

316 2 Vartanian, Konstantin Tigranovich
Stalin prize 3. class, 1950 mining engineer.

Laur. Stalin. prem. 1950
p. 35

536
646 1 Vasadze, Akakii Alekseevich
1899-. Actor; CP member since 1939, deputy to VS Gruz, SSR 1.-2. sozyv. Since 1935 director of Rustaveli theatre in Tiflis; he also acted as Iago, Franz, Vasilli Shuiskii, etc. Worked under influence of Mardzhanishvili. For roles in Kidivdze by Daraseli in 1941, Velikii gosudar' by Solov'ev in 1945 and Potoplennye kamni by Mosashvili rec'd. Stalin prizes.

Laur. Stalin. prem. 1950 p. 78
BE II 7:24

646 5 Vas'kov, Aleksei Ivanovich
Cherkes, Deputy Sov. Nats. VS SSSR 4. sozyv. 1954

Pravda 3/18/54

793 2 Vazgen, I
see under
Baldzhian, Armenian Catholicos. 1/1

1/1 [cf. cat. 116, p. 689 -- suspect]

[24] (1) Most of the Lesghian peoples were ruled by their own freely-elected elders independently of any prince. Of course, the Avars and the Laks had their khans,[121] while the Andi were subject to Kumykian and Avarian rulers.[122] After the Russian conquest of the Caucasus, chief native officials approved by the Military Government were known as *nā'ibs*.[123]

565 [614] (2) Despite the fact that the Lesghian peoples have been subject to a more or less foreign aristocracy—the gradation being khan, bek, uzden, commoner and slave—[124] the people themselves remained essentially classless. Interest centred mainly around one's own sib. What generally determined precedence among the different sibs was, just as among the Chechens, not noble birth but the size of the sib.[125]

(3) Commoners.

[567] (4) Slaves. Lesghian slaves were usually prisoners taken in war or raids.[126] On paying a ransom or after a 10-year service or on marrying a Mohammedan the slave would be emancipated.[127]

The SOUTHERN CAUCASIANS. The complexity of the Georgian social classes surpasses even that of the Cherkess, a fact of which a mere glance through King Vakhtang's Code will convince us.[128] It should be noted that the [793] clergy do not form a distinct class; rather their class is determined by their ecclesiastical rank. In the following outline we shall also indicate the approximate social rank connected with the various ecclesiastical dignities.

(1) The King. The crown is inherited by the first-born male child. The *Catholicos* i. e., Patriarch of Iberia, ranks immediately after the King. (King Vakhtang's Code § 25.)

(2) Princes:

(a) The princes of the first order *(didebuli thavadi)*. Archbishops. (§ 26)
(b) Princes of the second order. Bishops. (§ 27)
(c) Princes of the third order and archimandrites. (§ 28)

(3) Nobles *(Aznauri)*:

(a) *Aznauri* of the first order and priors with the function of an abbot. (§ 29)

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[121] Cf. Gadži-Ali, "Skazanie očevidca o Šamilě," SSKG, VII (1873), pp. 6.

[122] Potocki, *Voyage dans les steps d'Astrakhan et du Caucase*, II, p. 165.

[123] The word is derived from the Arabic *nā'ib*. The territory over which the naib was in charge we shall call "naibate". For an excellent description of a naib family see Halil Beg Mussayassul, *Das Land der letzten Ritter*, München, 1936.

[124] Cf. Svěčin, "Očerk narodonaselenija, nravov i obyčaev Dagestancev," ZKO, II (1853), p. 64.

[125] Cf. Essad-Bey, *Der Kaukasus, seine Berge, Völker und Geschichte*, p. 130.

[126] Klaproth, *Beschreibung der russ. Prov.*, p. 117.

[127] Reineggs, *op. cit.*, I, p. 87.
The social stratification of Daghestan has been treated in: A. Tomai, "Materialy k voprosu o feodalizme v istorii Dagestana," *Revoljucionnyj Vostok*, (Moscow, 1935), No. 5, pp. 116—137.

[128] Cf. Karst's edition, pp. 81—85.

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(b) *Aznauri* of the second order. Regular priests and monks. Merchants of the first order (mok'alak'is, i. e., "inhabitants of the city," usually rich Armenian families of merchants living in Tiflis.[139] 565 [141]

(c) *Aznauri* of the third order and landowners. Here we must include also the merchants of the second order and parish priests. (§ 31) [193]

(d) Merchants of the third order and archdeacons. (§ 32)

(e) Merchants of the fourth order, peasants and artisans *(glekhi)*.[140]

East of the Cherkess, separating them from the Northeastern Caucasians, are the probable descendents of the Alans known as OSSETES. Social differentiation was practically unknown in Ossetia. The rank of "nobles" (*aldars* and *badilyats*) was found only among certain Ossete tribes such as those of Kurtatinsk and Tagaursk, and even in these cases the "nobles" did not enjoy any essential privileges. Among the other tribes there existed at the most an initial stage of social stratification.[141] The Alaghir were specially averse to social classes.[142]

Since it is quite probable that the Ossetes are a remnant of the Alans and Sarmatians, we might rightly ask whether social classes disappeared only in their later history or whether it is an ancient tradition. Moses of Chorene (A. D. 370—490) speaks in his *History of the Armenians* of the son of an Ossetine ruler. This prince, we are told, was captured in a battle between the Ossetes and the Armenians. This report, however, is not reliable, being based on mere legend.[143] Ammianus Marcellus (*Rerum gestarum*, xxxi. 2) seems to be closer to the truth when he writes: "All the Alans are equally of noble descent. They have no slaves." Tacitus indeed says that the Alans were "divided into small tribes and groups, each having a chief or prince," but, as Ladyženskij rightly points out, Tacitus is most likely referring here to the *elders* of each sib and not to princes in the strict sense.[144] [101]

Before the abolition of slavery in the Caucasus the following four distinct classes could be found among the Tagaurians:[145]

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[139] Karst, p. 82, *note* 7.

[140] These classes existed in pre-Soviet times. The *eristhavi* or "heads of the people" (a class of nobles who held the position of provincial governors) disappeared much sooner. They used to be appointed by the King; the office however, once bestowed, could be passed down from father to son. Cf. Mourier, *Guide au Caucase*, I, p. 102.
The history of Georgian social classes has been studied by S. Danelia, *Fedaluri revoluthia Sakarthveloši. Narkvevi tarmoiobis istoridan Sakarthveloši* (Feudal Revolution in Georgia. A Historical Sketch of the Origin of Feudalism in Georgia), Tiflis, 1935.

[141] N. F. Takoeva, "Kosta Chetagurov etc.," SE, 1949, No. 2, p. 121. Ladyženskij, "Entstehung und Entwicklung des Staates bei den kaukasischen Bergvölkern," *Zeitschr. f. Völkerpsych. u. Soz.*, VI (1930), pp. 428 f.

[142] A. H. Günther, "Zusammenstöße zwischen Gesetz und Gewohnheitsrecht im nördlichen Kaukasus," *Zeitschr. f. vergl. Rechtsw.*, XLVI (1931), p. 325.

[143] Ladyženskij, "Entstehung und Entwicklung des Staates bei den kaukasischen Bergvölkern," *Zeitschr. f. Völkerpsych. u. Soz.*, VI (1930), p. 443.

[144] *ibid.*

[145] Dirr, AGKB, p. 79, *note* 117. Kovalevskij, *Coutume contemp.*, pp. 17—20. Leonovič, II, p. 9. B. V. Skitskij, *K voprosu o feodalisme v Digorii*, Ordžonikidze, 1933.

1/n [Georgian noble -- Analyst]

3: Anonymous U-4 (no date) 1920 RH1 Caucasia RH1



# III. SOCIAL AND POLITICAL CONDITIONS

## (1) Religious

The State religion of Russia is the Orthodox Faith, 795 to which the Georgians conform. Their independent Church, which broke off from the Armenian in A. D. 542, was absorbed into the Russian Orthodox Church in 1811, and the existing Georgian Church property, amounting to some 700,000,000 roubles, confiscated. The twenty Georgian bishoprics were reduced to six. The Katholikos Patriarch was officially known as the Exarch of Georgia and Archbishop of Karthli and Kakhetia; he had a seat in the Holy Synod at Petersburg.

Since the revolution of 1917 the independence of the Georgian Church has been re-established, and Bishop Kirion has been consecrated Katholikos Patriarch of Georgia.

The Armenians form an independent Church with a Katholikos at Echmiadzin.

There are numerous sects among the Russian settlers (Dukhobortsi, Molokani, or 'milk-eaters', and Skoptsi), who are for the most part nonconformists exiled from Russia. There are also various sects among the Cossacks.

The German colonists are Protestants and sectarians.

The Svanetians, Khevsurs, and Ossetes are nominally Christians of the Orthodox Faith.

The Tates and Azarbaijan Tatars are Shiah Mohammedans.

Chechens, Lesghians, Kabards, Lazis, Cherkess, or Adighé, Abkhasians, Kumyks, and Karachai Tatars are, with rare exceptions, Sunni Mohammedans.

5: Allen H-4 (no date) 1923 RH1 Caucasia RH1



perpetual wars between the Eastern Roman and Persian Empires which for so many years ravaged the fair lands of Asia Minor.

The first important period in Caucasian history is the latter half of the fifth century, when a powerful local king, Vakhtang Gurgaslan (434–467), finally established the supremacy of the new Christian religion, and removed his capital from Mtskhet to its present site at Tiflis. A hundred years later Western Georgia[1] became a Roman province under Justinian; and in 622 the severe defeat of the Persians by the Emperor Heraclius bred hopes of a long period of tranquillity.

But in vain. Only fifteen years later an invasion of Arabs from the south overran the country, and the Moslem conquerors penetrated even into the mountain-ranges of the Caucasus itself. They failed, however, to establish themselves west of the Suram ridge, and under the rule of their own Bagratid Kings the Georgians to the west and south-west flourished amazingly. The next invasion was that of the Seljuks in 1072; but the First Crusade attracted these unwelcome visitors away to defend the south-west, and a Golden Age of comparative prosperity ensued for Georgia, lasting for 120 years and more. Of the monarchs who reigned during that era none is more celebrated than the wonderful Queen Thamara, of whom legend has made an almost celestial figure of beauty, wisdom and virtue. And indeed she appears to have been a woman remarkable for her moderation, humanity and personal culture. At her death in 1212 Georgia was predominant in the Caucasus, her authority extending from the Black Sea almost to the Caspian, and from the main range of the Caucasus to the Araxes and the Upper Chorokh.

Her successors were not so fortunate. Eight years after her death a vast horde of Mongols appeared from the south-east, where, after pursuing the fugitive Shah Ala-ud-Din to the Caspian, they had devastated all Northern Persia. In the following year they advanced on Tiflis and cut to pieces a Georgian army which had rapidly been collected by King Giorgi Lasha. In 1223 they reappeared, ravaged Southern Georgia and moved on into Russia by the gap of Derbend. On this Queen Rusudan, daughter of Thamara, took advantage of the recent Persian disaster and attacked the Persians. She was however heavily defeated by Shah Jelal-ud-Din, who advanced to Tiflis and sacked it. Five years afterwards the

[1] The name of Jorzan, a tribe in the Upper Kur Valley, appears first to have been applied by the Arabs to the whole country. The name Georgia is in no way derived from the Greek.

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721 of the lowlands to the north and south. Spring and autumn were their favourite periods, and much ingenuity was exercised in spying out the land. Fighting was only resorted to in extreme cases; and on the whole we may look upon these raids as merely low-class robbery resorted to for the purpose of obtaining cattle, supplies and slaves, which were either absorbed by the raiders themselves or bartered with other tribes or merchants from other countries.

105 Some interesting descriptions of their daily life in the fifteenth to eighteenth centuries are in existence. By these we learn that in the west their houses were all built of straw or wood. No towers or houses of stone existed, for that would show that the owner was in fear and did not know how to protect himself. They lived mostly on meat, millet, water and mead, and wore long silk or linen tunics with wide trousers tucked into long boots, the whole covered with a cloak of felt, and crowned by a conical cap. They wore long moustaches and shaved their heads, and their arrows, leather work and embroidery were of very fine execution. The eastern tribes, on the other hand, lived in stone fortified villages; their food consisted of barley bread, roots and a little meat, and their weapons included not only guns and spears but wooden shields as well. The Lesghians appear to have been much better off than most of the other tribes, but the Ossets and other Daghestanlis lived often in a condition of great poverty and hardship.

795 In the history of the religion of the various tribes can be traced the effects of the influence of neighbouring civilisations.
177.79 The primitive paganism of the tribes, tree, idol and animal worship, survived as a living force until the end of the eighteenth century. On the foundation of this paganism were grafted the various faiths of the different races, who successively invaded or traded with the mountain regions. The Persians introduced fire-worship; the early Georgian Kings propagated Christianity among the Abkhazians, Ossets and Lesghians. Even during the period of Arab hegemony in the Caucasus many districts were Christian which are now fanatically Muhammadan.

The Arabs were successful in converting large portions of Daghestan to Islam, and their influence survives, not only in religious practices but in the writing and the methods of gardening and irrigation used by the eastern tribes.[1]

During the Middle Ages Christianity was spread by the Bagratids among the Kabardans and Chechens, and in the

[1] Chantre, iv, 218.

[i.e., of the caucasian mountain tribes--analyst]

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Western Caucasus among the Cherkesses by Byzantine, Russian and Latin influence. It was not until the sixteenth century, when Turkish influence was strong in the Caucasus, and when the Russians were approaching from the north, that religion, as a political force, became a serious issue.

The relations between the Turks and the Cherkesses, Kabardans and Abkhazians were confined to the exchange of merchandise for slaves and raw materials. Such relations were mutually beneficial, for while the Turks obtained from the Caucasus brave recruits for their Janissary Corps and beautiful wives for their harîms, the young men of the mountains grasped eagerly at the opportunity of a brilliant military career in foreign lands, and the young women forwent with little misgiving the hard domesticity of the mountain huts for the lives of luxurious ease which lay beyond the slave-markets of Trebizond, Akhaltsikh or Constantinople. Militarily the Turks made no attempt to force their hegemony on the mountain tribes, while the latter for their part would have been quick to resent any encroachment on their independence. If Islam spread among the mountaineers, Cherkesses, Kabardans and Abkhazians, it was rather the result of casual but continuous contact with the Mussulman merchants and sailors than of any deliberate policy of proselytisation on the part of the Turks. And it was an easy faith, in the practice of which were mingled many old pagan superstitions and forgotten rites of Zoroastrian and Christian, and which lay as lightly on the mountaineers as had Christianity during the period of Bagratid influence. Klaproth, commenting on the propagation of the Muhammadan faith among the Kabardans during the latter half of the eighteenth century, remarks that "the Porte had endeavoured to spread the religion of Mohammed by means of ecclesiastical emissaries. . . . Their [the Kabardans'] *mullahs* or priests are generally freedmen of the princes or *usden* who go to the Tatars of Tabasseran or to Ender, where they learn to read and write a little, assume the title of *Effendi*, and return to their native country to instruct the people in the Mohammedan faith, and to detach them more and more from the connection with Russia." [1]

In Daghestan Islam had been maintained and consolidated, since the days of the Arabs, by constant contact with the Persians and Tatars of Shirvan. The Daghestanli were for the most part Sunni and, at times, vented their fanaticism on the Shiah townsmen of Derbend and Shemakha.

[1] Klaproth, p. 317.

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Georgia RI 1

C. G. 197 LANGUAGE: Georgian (Kartuli ena) belongs with Mingrelian, Laz, and Svan, to the S Caucasian (or Kartvelian) language family. It has an old literary tradition going back to the 5th century A. D., and a script of its own.

SUBDIVISIONS: The Georgian dialects fall into two groups: E and W Georgian. E dialects: Kartluri (with sub-dialects Meskh and Dzhavakh), K'akhuri, Ingilouri, Tushuri, Khevsuruli, Pshauri, Mokhev, Mtiuli, (Fereidan in Iran). W dialects: Imeruli Rach'uli, Lechkhum, Guruli (including Adzhar), Imerkhev (in Turkey).

C. G. 241 231 TRADITIONAL ECONOMY: Agriculture, cattle-breeding; horticulture; viniculture; arts and crafts.

C. G. 795 RELIGION: Eastern Orthodox; Roman Catholic minority; only the Adzhar and part of the Ingilo are Muslim. There are a number of Georgian-speaking Jewish villages in different parts of the Georgian SSR, totaling 21,471 persons (1926, Russian census), in Russian referred to as Gruzinskie evrei (Georgian Jews).

C. G. [162]

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Georgia RI I

## 2. MINGRELIANS

C. G. 101 NAME: SELF-DESIGNATION: Margali; own name of country: Odishi.

RUSSIAN DESIGNATIONS: Megrely, Megrel'tsy, Mingrel'tsy.

OTHER DESIGNATIONS: (Georgian:) Megreli, the country: Samegrelo; (Abkhaz:) Aghrwa; (Svan:) Myzan, the country: Zan

C. G. 161 NUMBER: 1897 239,625 (Russian census)
1926 242,990 (Russian census, ethn.)
284,834 (Russian census, ling.)

C. G. 162 LOCATION: Territory N of lower Rioni river and W of the Tskhenis-Tskali, extending along the Black Sea Coast from the mouth of the Rioni up to Ochemchiri (rayons Zugdidi and Senaki in W of Georgian SSR). Also in and around the cities of the Abkhaz ASSR.

C. G. 197 LANGUAGE: Mingrelian (Megreli nina) and the very closely related Laz form the so-called Zan member of the S Caucasian (Kartvelian) language group, which also includes Georgian and Svan. The language is not written, Georgian being used as the literary language.

SUBDIVISIONS: Two groups of dialects, which differ very little: West (Samurzakan-Zugdidi) and East Mingrelian (Senaki).

C. G. 241 TRADITIONAL ECONOMY: Agriculture; horticulture; viniculture; sericulture.

C. G. 795 RELIGION: Eastern Orthodox.

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Georgia RI1
(Turkish:) Lazi;
(Georgian:) Ch'ani,
the country: Ch'aneti.)

## 3. LAZ

C G 101 NAME: SELF-DESIGNATION: Lazi
RUSSIAN DESIGNATIONS: Lazy; for the language also: Chanskii iazyk.
OTHER DESIGNATIONS: (Turkish:) Lazi; (Georgian:) Ch'ani, the country: Ch'aneti.)

C G 161 NUMBER: 1926 643 (Russian census, ethn.)
730 (Russian census, ling.)
The Turkish census of 1945 lists 46,987 speakers of Laz, so that the overwhelming majority of them live in Turkish territory.

C G 162 LOCATION: Between the Chorokh river and the Black Sea coast up to the area of Pazar (Atina) on Turkish territory; also in the Chkhala basin (left tributary of the Chorokh on Russian territory), (Adzhar ASSR, within Georgian SSR).

C G 197 LANGUAGE: Laz (Ch'anuri nena) and the very closely related Mingrelian form of the so-called Zan member of the S Caucasian (Kartvelian) language-group, which includes also Georgian and Svan. The language is not written, Georgian being used as literary language in the USSR, Turkish in Turkey.

SUBDIVISIONS: Two dialect-groups; West (Vitse-Arkhava and Atina) and East Laz (Hopa, Chkhala).

C G 241 226 TRADITIONAL ECONOMY: Agriculture, fishing, trade.

C G 795 RELIGION: Islam (Sunni)

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Georgia RI I

C.
G.
241 TRADITIONAL ECONOMY: Agriculture,
231 cattle-raising, hunting, apiculture.

C.
G.
795 RELIGION: Eastern Orthodox.

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Georgia RI I

C. G. 197 LANGUAGE: Abkhaz belongs to NW Caucasian, together with Circassian and Ubykh (the latter no longer spoken in the Caucasus). Two dialects have been reduced to writing: in the Abkhaz ASSR that of the Abzhui, in the Cherkes AO that of the Tapanta. The speakers of the Abaza dialects are all bilingual and speak also the Kabardian dialect of Circassian. In the Abkhaz ASSR knowledge of Georgian is widespread.

SUBDIVISION: Abkhaz has five major dialects: Bzyb', Abzhui, Samurzakan', Ashkharwa and Tapanta. The speakers of the latter two dialects are known as Abaza (R. Abazintsy), though linguistically the first four dialects form one group, while Tapanta stands apart.

C G 101 Further tribal names (Russ. form): Tsebeldintsy, Dzhigety; (Abaza:)Beshilbei, Tam, Barakei.

C. G. 241 231 TRADITIONAL ECONOMY: Cattle-breeding; agriculture, viniculture; apiculture.

C. G. 795 RELIGION: Islam (Sunni); Eastern Orthodox.

197 as "Kabardintsy". The dialects follow old
101 tribal divisions. Other tribal names (Russ. form.): Natukhaevtsy, Gatiukai, Zhane(e)vtsy, Egerukaevtsy, Makhosh(ev)-tsy, Kiakhi, Khagak (Khegek, Shegek).

241
231 TRADITIONAL ECONOMY: Agriculture; horticulture; cattle-breeding; horse-breeding (esp. Kabardians); apiculture; home industry (Caucasian felt cloaks).

• 795 RELIGION: Islam (Sunni); only the Kabardians around Mozdok are Christians.

197 they form the Veinakh group of the NE Caucasian language family.

SUBDIVISIONS: These were more of a geographical than of a linguistic nature. Chechen tribes: Ichkeri(ntsy), Aukh(ovtsy). etc.; Ingush tribes: Dzherakh(ovtsy), Nazran(ovtsy), etc. A special dialect was spoken by the Karabulak, who had all emigrated to Turkey by 1870. The Georgians knew the Chechen with whom they came in contact as Kist; this name was later extended to the whole group and adopted by the Russians as a name for the Veinakh languages(Kistinskie iazyki).

231
241 TRADITIONAL ECONOMY: Cattle-breeding, agriculture.

795 RELIGION: Islam (Sunni).

7: Columbia U. S-4, 5 1956 RHI Caucasia RHI
Tushin

## 8. BATS

101 NAME: SELF-DESIGNATION: Batsaw, pl. Batsbi.
RUSSIAN DESIGNATIONS: Batsbiitsy, Tsova-Tush, Tush (due to incorrect naming by Güldenstädt)

161 NUMBER: 1926 7 (Russian census, ethn.)
2,459 (Russian census, ling.)

162 LOCATION: In winter and spring in the village Zemo Alvani on the Kakhetian Alazan' (near Telavi), in summer in the mountain meadows on the upper Kakhetian Alazan' and Tush Alazan' (Akhmet rayon, Georgian SSR).

197 LANGUAGE: Bats (Batsbe mot') forms, with Checheno-Ingush, the Veinakh group of the NE Caucasian languages. The language is not written, Georgian being used as literary language.

231 TRADITIONAL ECONOMY: Cattle-breeding.

• 715 RELIGION: Eastern Orthodox.

7: Columbia U. S-4,5 1956 RH1 Caucasia RH1
Dagestan RH8
Avar

CD
197

others being Veinakh, Lak-Dargwa, Samurian, Khinalug, and Udi). Avar has the status of a literary language in the Dagestan ASSR. The literary language is based on the Khunzakh dialect which was also the basis of the old "bol mats'" ("army language"), the common Avar lingua franca. Knowledge of Avar is spread well outside its own linguistic territory (Andi-Dido area, Tsakhur area, Archi, W part of Lak and Dargwa areas).

SUBDIVISIONS: There are four major dialects: Khunzakh, Gidatl' -- Andalaly-Karakh, Antsukh, and Char.

CD
231
438
241

TRADITIONAL ECONOMY: Stockbreeding; home industry (Caucasian felt cloaks, leather goods, wooden objects, metal work, tapestry-weaving, embroidery); horticulture.

CD
.795

RELIGION: Islam (Sunni).

7: Columbia U. S-4, 5 1956 RH1 Caucasia RH1
Dagestan RH 8
Andi

C.
D.
101

## 10. ANDI

NAME: SELF-DESIGNATION: Qwannaw, pl. Qwannal

RUSSIAN DESIGNATIONS: Andii, Andiitsy (this name is also used to include, besides the Andi proper, the other peoples of the Andi group; cf. below under "Language").

OTHER DESIGNATIONS: (Avar:) Handísew, pl. Handál, the country: Handí.

C.
D.
161 NUMBER: 1926 7,840 (Russian census, ethn.)
7,720 (Russian census, ling.)

C.
D.
162 LOCATION: N of the Andiiskoe Koisu, at its bend eastward (auls Andi, Ghunkha, Ghaghatl, Rik'uan, Chankho, Zilo, Muni in rayon Botlikh and auls Kvankhidatl, and Khuset in rayon Vedeno, Dagestan ASSR).

C.
D.
197 LANGUAGE: Andi (Qwannab mits·i) forms with Botlikh, Godoberi, Karata, Bagulal, Tindi, Chamalal, and Akhvakh, the so-called Andi subgroup of the Avaro-Ando-Dido group of the NE Caucasian languages. The language is not written, Avar being used as the literary language.

C.
D.
231
438 TRADITIONAL ECONOMY: Sheep-raising, home industry (Caucasian felt cloaks, tapestries, goldsmithing).

C.
D.
795 RELIGION: Islam (Sunni).

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Dagestan RH8

## 11. BOTLIKH

C.D.
101 NAME: SELF-DESIGNATION: Buykhatli (gen. of Buykhe "the village B."). RUSSIAN DESIGNATIONS: Botlikhtsy, Buiukhad.

C.D.
161 NUMBER: 1926 3,354 (Russian census, ethn.)
2,789 (Russian census, ling.)

C.D.
162 LOCATION: Just N of the bend of the Andiiskoe Koisu, SW of the Andi area (rayon Botlikh, auls Botlikh and Miarso, Dagestan ASSR).

C.D.
197 LANGUAGE: Botlikh (Buykhatli mits') forms with Andi, Godoberi, Karata, Bagulal, Tindi, Chamalal, and Akhvakh, the Andi subgroup of the Avaro-Ando-Dido group of the NE Caucasian languages. The language is not written, Avar being used as the literary language.

C.D.
231 241 TRADITIONAL ECONOMY: Cattle-breeding, home industry, agriculture.

C.D.
● 715 RELIGION: Islam (Sunni).

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Dagestan RH8

## 12. GODOBERI

CD 101 NAME: SELF-DESIGNATION: Ghibditl·i adami (i.e. "people of the village Ghidu (Godoberi").
RUSSIAN DESIGNATION: Godoberi-(ntsy).

CD 161 NUMBER: 1926 1,425 (Russian census, ethn.)
1,425 (Russian census, ling.)

CD 162 LOCATION: Just NW of the bend of the Andiiskoe Koisu, W of the Botlikh area (rayon Botlikh, aul Godoberi, Dagestan ASSR).

CD 197 LANGUAGE: Godoberi (Ghibditl·i mits·i) forms with Andi, Botlikh, Karata, Bagulal, Tindi, Chamalal, and Akhvakh, the Andi subgroup of the Avaro-Ando-Dido group of the NE Caucasian languages. The language is not written, Avar being used as the literary language.

CD 231 241 TRADITIONAL ECONOMY: Cattle-breeding; home industry; agriculture.

CD .795 RELIGION: Islam (Sunni).

## 13. KARATA

C. D. 101 NAME: SELF-DESIGNATION: Kirtl•e, pl. Kirtl•ei.
RUSSIAN DESIGNATIONS: Karatintsy, Karatai, Kirdi.
OTHER DESIGNATIONS: (Avar:) K'alalal.

C. D. 161 NUMBER: 1926 5,305 (Russian census, ethn.)
5,303 (Russian census, ling.)

C. D. 162 LOCATION: Just S of the bend of the Andiiskoe Koisu (N part of rayon Akhvakh, also rayons Andalaly and Vedeno (Dagest. ASSR). (1)

C. D. 197 LANGUAGE: Karata (Kirtl•i mats'i) forms with Andi, Botlikh, Godoberi, Bagulal, Tindi, Chamalal, and Akhvakh, the Andi subgroup of the Avaro-Ando-Dido group of the NE Caucasian languages. The language is not written, Avar being used as the literary language.

SUBDIVISIONS: Dialects: Karata proper Anchikh and Tokita.

C. D. 231 241 TRADITIONAL ECONOMY: Cattle-breeding, home industry, agriculture.

C. D. 795 RELIGION: Islam (Sunni).

(1) auls Karata, Archo, Anchikh, Tokita, Mashtada, Rachabalda, Chabakoro.

## 14. BAGULAL

C. A. 101 NAME: SELF-DESIGNATION: Kwantl hekua, or Bagolal.

RUSSIAN DESIGNATION: Bagulaly; Bagvalal, Bogulal.

OTHER DESIGNATIONS: due to their dual self-designation, referred to both as Bagulal and Kvanada.

C. D. 161 NUMBER: 1926 3,054 (Russian census, ethn.)
3,053 (Russian census, ling.)

C. D. 162 LOCATION: S of the bend of the Andiiskoe Koisu, S of the Karata area (rayon Tsumada, auls Khushtada, Tlondoda, Kvanada; rayon Akhvakh, auls Gimerso, Tisi, Tlibisho, Dagestan ASSR).

C. D. 197 LANGUAGE: Bagulal (Bagulazul mits') forms with Andi, Botlikh, Godoberi, Karata, Tindi, Chamalal, and Akhvakh, the Andi subgroup of the Avaro-Ando-Dido group of the NE Caucasian languages. The language is not written, Avar being used as literary language.

SUBDIVISIONS: Dialects: Bagulal proper and Tlisi.

C. D. 231 241 TRADITIONAL ECONOMY: Cattle-breeding; agriculture; home industry.

C. D. 795 RELIGION: Islam (Sunni).

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Dagestan RH8

## 15. TINDI

CD 101 NAME: SELF-DESIGNATION: Idaraw hekwa
RUSSIAN DESIGNATIONS: Tindii, Tindiitsy, Tindal', Inderi (ntsy), Idi.
OTHER DESIGNATIONS: (Dido:) Bogozi, pl. Bogozibi.

CD 161 NUMBER: 1926 3,812 (Russian census, ethn.)
3,704 (Russian census, ling.)
1952 5,000 (estimate Gudava)

CD 162 LOCATION: Aul Tindi, on the E tributary of the Andiiskoe Koisu which separates the Bagulal group from the Khvarshi area; (rayon Tsumada, Dagestan ASSR). (1)

CD 197 LANGUAGE: Tindi (Idara mits' ) forms with Andi, Botlikh, Godoberi, Karata, Bagulal, Chamalal and Akhvakh the Andi subgroup of the Avaro-Ando-Dido group of the NE Caucasian languages. The language is not written, Avar being used as the literary language.

CD 231 241 TRADITIONAL ECONOMY: Cattle-breeding; agriculture; home industry.

CD .795 RELIGION: Islam (Sunni)

(1) Also auls Tisi, Echeda and Akhnada (rayon Tsumada) and Qedi (rayon Vedeno)

7: Columbia U. S-4,5 1956 RH1 Caucasia RH1, Dagestan RH8

## 16. CHAMALAL

CD 101 NAME: SELF-DESIGNATION: according to separate villages; as opposed to other peoples: Ch'amalaldu, pl. Ch'amalaldube, collective: Ch'amalali.
RUSSIAN DESIGNATION: Chamalaly.

CD 161 NUMBER: 1926 3,438 (Russian census, ethn.)
3,438 (Russian census, ling.)

CD 162 LOCATION: On the E side of the Andiiskoe Koisu, just below the bend; auls Verkhnii Gakvari (with sub-villages), Nizhnii Gakvari (with sub-villages), Agvali, Tsumada, Tsumada-Urukh, Richaganik, Gadyri (with sub-villages), Gachitl', Gigatl' (with sub-villages), Kvankhi (Tsumada rayon, Dagestan ASSR).

CD 197 LANGUAGE: Chamalal (Ch'amalaldub mits'·) forms with Andi, Botlikh, Godoberi, Karata, Bagulal, Tindi, and Akhvakh, the Andi subgroup of the Avaro-Ando-Dido group of the NE Caucasian languages. The language is not written, Avar being used as the literary language.

SUBDIVISIONS: Dialects: 1a. Gakvari (incl. Gakvari, Agvali, Tsumada, Tsumada-Urukh, Richaganik); 1b. Gadyri (incl. Gachitl' ) and Kvankhi; 2. Gigatl' .

CD 231 438 241 TRADITIONAL ECONOMY: Cattle-breeding; home industry (Caucasian felt cloaks, goldsmithing); agriculture.

CD .795 RELIGION: Islam (Sunni).

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Dagestan RH8

## 17. AKHVAKH

C D 101 NAME: SELF-DESIGNATION: Atluatl'i.
RUSSIAN DESIGNATION: Akhvakhtsy.

C D 161 NUMBER: 1926 3,683 (Russian census, ethn.)
3,683 (Russian census, ling.)

C D 162 LOCATION: Between Avarskoe Koisu and Andiiskoe Koisu, just at their bend to the E (rayon Akhvakh: auls Izani, Kudiiab-Roso, Tad-Magitl', Lologonitl'; rayon Kakhib: auls Tlenob, Tsekob; rayon Andalaly: aul Ratlub; all in Dagestan ASSR).

C D 197 LANGUAGE: Akhvakh (Atluatl•i mits•i) forms with Andi Batlikh, Godoberi, Karata, Bagulal, Tindi, and Chamaiai, the Andi subgroup of the Avaro-Ando-Dido group of the NE Caucasian languages. The language is not written, Avar being used as the literary language.

C D 231 241 TRADITIONAL ECONOMY: Cattle-breeding; agriculture; home industry.

C D •795 RELIGION: Islam (Sunni).

## 18. KHVARSHI

C. D. 101 NAME: SELF-DESIGNATION: Kedaes hikwa. RUSSIAN DESIGNATIONS: Khvarshiny, Khvarshintsy.

C. D. 161 NUMBER: 1926 1,019 (Russian census, ethn.)
1,018 (Russian census, ling.)

C. D. 162 LOCATION: On a S tributary of the Andiiskoe Koisu, SW of the Bagulal area (auls Khvarshi, Inkhokari, etc., Vedeno rayon, Dagestan ASSR).

C. D. 197 LANGUAGE: Khvarshi (Kedaes mits·, Inkhies mits·, depending on village) forms with Dido, Kapucha, Khunzal, and Ginukh, the Dido subgroup of the Avaro-Ando-Dido group of the NE Caucasian languages. The language is not written, Avar being used as the literary language.

C. D. 241 231 TRADITIONAL ECONOMY: Agriculture; cattle-breeding.

C. D. 795 RELIGION: Islam (Sunni).

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Dagestan RH8
Didoi

## 19. DIDO

C. D. 101 NAME: SELF-DESIGNATION: Ts'ezi, pl. Ts'ezibi

RUSSIAN DESIGNATIONS: Didoi, Didoitsy, Tsezy.

OTHER DESIGNATIONS: (Georgian:) Dido; (Kakhetian-Georgian:) Tsunt'a " ragamuffin", a name also used by the Avar and several peoples of the Andi group.

C. D. 161 NUMBER: 1926 3,276 (Russian census, ethn.)
3,198 (Russian census, ling.)

C. D. 162 LOCATION: S of the upper Andiiskoe Koisu.

C. D. 197 LANGUAGE: Dido (Ts'ezias mets') forms with Khvarshi, Kapucha, Khunzal, and Ginukh, the so-called Dido subgroup of the Avaro-Ando-Dido group of the NE Caucasian languages. The language is not written, Avar being used as the literary language.

C. D. 231 241 326 TRADITIONAL ECONOMY: Cattle-breeding; agriculture; home industry (goldsmithing).

C. D. 795 RELIGION: Islam (Sunni).

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Dagestan RH8
Khaput

## 20. KAPUCHA

C.
D.
101 NAME: SELF-DESIGNATION: Kapuchias suko or Bezhtl·as suko, depending on the village.
RUSSIAN DESIGNATIONS: Kapuchiny, Bezhitiny.

C.
A.
161 NUMBER: 1926 1,448 (Russian census, ethn.)
1,448 (Russian census, ling.)

C.
D.
162 LOCATION: Upper basin of Avarskoe Koisu (rayon Tliarata, auls Bezhity, Khocharkhota, Tliadal', Dagestan ASSR).

C.
D.
197 LANGUAGE: Kapucha (Bezhtl·alas mits·) forms with Khvarshi, Dido, Khunzal, and Ginukh, the Dido subgroup of the Avaro-Ando-Dido group of the NE Caucasian languages. The language is not written, Avar being used as the literary language.

C.
D.
231 TRADITIONAL ECONOMY: Cattle-breeding;
241 agriculture; home industry (goldsmithing).
326

C.
D.
795 RELIGION: Islam (Sunni).

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Dagestan RH8

## 21. KHUNZAL

C. D. 101 NAME: SELF-DESIGNATION: ------
RUSSIAN DESIGNATIONS: Khunzaly, Gun(d)zaly, Nakhada.

C. D. 161 NUMBER: 1926 106 (Russian census, ethn.)
129 (Russian census, ling.)

C. D. 162 LOCATION: Auls Hunzib and Gharbutl (with former Nahada) (rayon Tlarata, Dagestan ASSR).

C. D. 197 LANGUAGE: Khunzal forms with Khvarshi, Dido, Kapucha, and Ginukh, the Dido subgroup of the Avaro-Ando-Dido group of the NE Caucasian languages. The language is not written, Avar being used as the literary language.

C. D. 231 241 TRADITIONAL ECONOMY: Cattle-breeding; agriculture; crafts.

C. D. 795 RELIGION: Islam (Sunni).

## 22. GINUKH

C.D. 101

NAME: SELF-DESIGNATION: -----
RUSSIAN DESIGNATION: Ginukhtsy

C.D. 161 NUMBER: 200 (estimate, Bokarev)

C.D. 162 LOCATION: Aul Ginukh, rayon Tliarata, (Dagestan ASSR). Majority had moved to rayon Vedeno by 1949 (village Kidero).

C.D. 197 LANGUAGE: Ginukh forms with Khvarshi, Dido, Kapuchi, and Khunzal, the Dido subgroup of the Avaro-Ando-Dido group of the NE Caucasian languages. The language is not written, Avar being used as the literary language.

C.D. 231 TRADITIONAL ECONOMY: Cattle-breeding; home industry.

C.D. 795 RELIGION: Islam (Sunni).

## 23. ARCHI

C. D. 161 NAME: SELF-DESIGNATION: Arshishuw, Arshishtuw.
RUSSIAN DESIGNATION: Archintsy.
OTHER DESIGNATIONS: (Lak:) Roch.

C. D. 161 NUMBER: 1926 863 (Russian census, ethn.)
859 (Russian census, ling.)

C. D. 162 LOCATION: Aul Ruch-Archi on the Khatar river, rayon Charoda (Dagestan ASSR).

C. D. 197 LANGUAGE: Archi (Arshatten ch'at) belongs to the Avaro-Ando-Dido group of the NE Caucasian languages; its exact position in this group is uncertain. The language is not written, Avar being used as the literary language.

C. D. 231 286 TRADITIONAL ECONOMY: Cattle-breeding; home industry (cloth and tapestry weaving).

C. 795 RELIGION: Islam (Sunni).

7:Columbia U. S-4, 5 1956 RH1 ColumbiaRH1
DagestanRH8
Lak

## 24. LAK

C. D. 101 NAME: SELF-DESIGNATION: Lak; Lakuchū
RUSSIAN DESIGNATIONS: Laki, Kazikumukhtsy.
OTHER DESIGNATIONS: (Avar:) Tumaw, pl. Tumal; Lezgian: Yakholshu

C. D. 161 NUMBER: 1926 40,380 (Russian census, ethn.)
40,336 (Russian census, ling.)
1955 well over 55,000 (estimate, Zhirkov).

C. D. 162 LOCATION: Basin of the upper Tleuserakh, Khatar, and Kazikumukhskoe Koisu (rayons Lak and Kula, separate villages in rayons Tsudakhar, Akusha, Rutul, Kurakh, Charoda, and Dakhadaev). Since 1944 also in the valley of Yaryksu river (Novo-Lak rayon, Dagestan ASSR).

C. D. 197 LANGUAGE: Lak (lakū maz) forms with the Dargwa group of languages the Lak-Dargwa subdivision of the NE Caucasian languages, which include also Veinakh, Avaro-Ando-Dido, Samurian, Khinalug, and Udi. Lak has the status of a literary language in the Dagestan ASSR; the written language is based on the Kumukh dialect.

C. D. 231 241 438 TRADITIONAL ECONOMY: Cattle-breeding; production of leather goods and pottery; metal-work (weapons); agriculture.

C. D. 795 RELIGION: Islam (Sunni).

7: Columbia U. S-4.5 1956 RH1 Caucasia RH1
Dagestan RH8
Dargin

C.D. 197 SUBDIVISIONS: Dialects: Akusha-(or Akkhusha-)Urakha and Tsudakhar, both with many sub-dialects.

C.D. 241 438 TRADITIONAL ECONOMY: Agriculture, home industry (pottery, leather work, tapestry-weaving, weapon-and tool-making).

C.D. 795 RELIGION: Islam (Sunni).

## 26. KAITAK

C. D. 101 NAME: SELF-DESIGNATION: Khaidaqlan, plur. Khaidaq.
RUSSIAN DESIGNATION: Khaidaki, Kaitagi, Kaitaki.

C. D. 161 NUMBER: 1926 14,430 (Russian census, ethn.)
14,469 (Russian census, ling.)

C. D. 162 LOCATION: Basin of Ulla-Chai, between the Dargwa and the Tabasaran areas (rayon Kaitak, S part of rayon Dakhadaev, Dagestan ASSR).

C. D. 197 LANGUAGE: Kaitak forms with the closely related Dargwa and Kubachi the so-called Dargwa subgroup of the Lak-Dargwa group of the NE Caucasian languages. The language is not written, Dargwa being used as the literary language.

C. D. 231 241 TRADITIONAL ECONOMY: Cattle-breeding; agriculture; home industry.

C. D. 795 RELIGION: Islam (Sunni).

## 27. KUBACHI

C. D. 101 NAME: SELF-DESIGNATION: Ughbug.
RUSSIAN DESIGNATION: Kubachintsy.

C. D. 161 NUMBER: 1926 2,322 (Russian cens., ethn.)
2,470 (Russian cens., ling.)

C. D. 162 LOCATION: Aul Kubachi (rayon Dakhadaev, Dagestan ASSR).

C. D. 197 LANGUAGE: Kubachi (Ughbughan hub) forms with the closely related Dargwa and Kaitak the Dargwa subgroup of the Lak-Dargwa group of the NE Caucasian languages. The language is not written, Dargwa being used as a literary language.

C. D. 231 326 TRADITIONAL ECONOMY: Cattle-breeding; goldsmithing; incrustation work.

C. D. 795 RELIGION: Islam (Sunni).

7:Columbia U. S-4,5 1956 RH1 Caucasia RH1
Dagestan RH8
Lezgin

C.
D.
231 TRADITIONAL ECONOMY: Cattle-breeding;
241 agriculture; horticulture; home industry
438 (tapesty-weaving, smith's craft).

C.
D.
795 RELIGION: Islam (Sunni).

7: Columbia U. S-4, 5 1956 RHI Caucasia RHI
Dagestan RH8

## 29. AGUL

C. D. 101 NAME: SELF-DESIGNATION: Aghul, Aghulshuy
RUSSIAN DESIGNATION: Aguly

C. D. 161 NUMBER: 1926 7,653 (Russian census, ethn.)
7,653 (Russian census, ling.)

C. D. 162 LOCATION: Basin of upper Kurakh-chai and Gyulgeri-chai (Magudere), with affluents (rayons Agul and Kurakh, Dagestan ASSR).

C. D. 197 LANGUAGE: Agul (Aghul ch'al, Aghularin ch'al) forms with Lezgian, Rutul, Tsakhur, Tabasaran, Budukh, and Dzhek, the Samurian subdivision of the NE Caucasian language group. The language is not written, Lezgian being used as the literary language.

SUBDIVISIONS: Two dialects: Agul proper and Koshan.

C. D. 231 438 TRADITIONAL ECONOMY: Cattle breeding; home industry (production of cloth, tapestries, felt cloaks).

C. D. ●795 RELIGION: Islam (Sunni).

7: Columbia U.S-4, 5 1956 RH1 Caucasia RH1
Dagestan RH8

## 30. RUTUL

C. D. 101 NAME: SELF-DESIGNATION: no general one; the inhabitants of the aul Rutul (Mykhád) call themselves Mykhashura.
RUSSIAN DESIGNATION: Rutuly, Rutul'tsy.

C. D. 161 NUMBER: 1926 10,495 (Russian census, ethn.)
10, 356 (Russian census, ling.)

C. D. 162 LOCATION: Area of confluence of Samur and Kara-Samur (18 villages) (Rutul rayon; vill. Khnov in Akhty rayon (Dagestan ASSR); Shin and Kainar in Nukha rayon, Azerbaidzhan SSR).

C. D. 197 LANGUAGE: Rutul (Mykhánidy ch'äl) forms with Lezghian, Agul, Tsakhur, Tabasaran, Budukh, and Dzhek, the Samurian subdivision of the NE Caucasian language-group. The language is not written, Lezgian being used as the literary language.

C. D. 231 438 TRADITIONAL ECONOMY: Cattle-breeding; home industry (production of cloth, tapestries, felt cloaks).

C. D. 795 RELIGION: Islam (Sunni).

## 31. TSAKHUR

C. D. 101 NAME: SELF-DESIGNATION: No general one; inhabitants of aul Tsakhur (Ts'akhur) call themselves Ts'akhighali, pl. Ts'akhby.
RUSSIAN DESIGNATION: Tsakhury.

C. D. 161 NUMBER: 1926 19,085 (Russian census, ethn.)
10,951 (Russian census, ling.)

C. D. 162 LOCATION: Samur basin W of its confluence with the Kara-Samur (Tsakhur rayon, Dagestan ASSR); also on the S slopes of the Caucasus in the area of Elisu (Azerbaidzhan SSR).

C. D. 197 LANGUAGE: Tsakhur (Ts'akhbishda miz) forms with Lezgian, Agul, Rutul, Tabasaran, Budukh, and Dzhek, the Samurian subdivision of the NE Caucasian language-group. The language is not written, Avar being used as the literary language in the Daghestan ASSR, Azeri in the Azerbaidzhan SSR.

C. D. 231 438 TRADITIONAL ECONOMY: Cattle-breeding; home industry (production of cloth, tapestries, felt cloaks).

C. D. 795 RELIGION: Islam (Sunni).

7: Columbia U.S-4, 5 1956 RHI Caucasia RHI
Dagestan RH8

## 33. BUDUKH

C.
D.
101 NAME: SELF-DESIGNATION: ----
RUSSIAN DESIGNATION: Budukhi, Budugi

C.
D.
161 NUMBER: 1926 1 (Russian census, ethn.)
1,995 (Russian census, ling.)

C.
D.
162 LOCATION: Mt. Shakhdag area, in the upper basin of the Kara-chai (Konakhkend rayon, Azerb. SSR).

C.
D.
197 LANGUAGE: Budukh forms, with Lezgian, Agul, Rutul, Tsakhur, Tabasaran, and Dzhek, the Samurian subdivision of the NE Caucasian language-group. The language is not written, Azeri being used as the literary language.

C.
D.
231
241 TRADITIONAL ECONOMY: Cattle-breeding; horticulture.

C.
D.
795 RELIGION: Islam (Sunni).

7: Columbia U. S-4, 5 1956 RH1 Caucasia RH1
Dagestan RH8

## 34. DZHEK

C.D. 101 NAME: SELF-DESIGNATION: -----
RUSSIAN DESIGNATION: According to villages; Dzheki, Kryzy, Khaputtsy, (Gaputlintsy, Khaputlintsy).

C.D. 161 NUMBER: 1926 Dzhek 590 Kryz 5 Khaput 12 (Russian census, ethn.)
All three groups together: 4,348 (Russ. census, ling.)

C.D. 162 LOCATION: Mt. Shakhdag area, in the basin of the upper right arm of the Kudial-chai (Konakhkend rayon, Azerbaidzhan SSR). Also daughter-settlements near the Caspian coast in the Khachmas area (Azerbaidzhan SSR).

C.D. 197 LANGUAGE: The Dzhek language forms with Lezgian, Agul, Rutul, Tsakhur, Tabasaran, and Budukh, the Samurian subdivision of the NE Caucasian languages. The language is not written, Azeri being used as the literary language.

SUBDIVISIONS: According to villages: Dzhek, Kryz, Khaput.

C.D. 231 241 TRADITIONAL ECONOMY: Cattle-breeding; agriculture; horticulture.

C.D. 715 RELIGION: Islam (Sunni).

7: Columbia U. S-4, 5 1956 RHI Caucasia RHI
Dagestan RH8

## 35. KHINALUG

C. D. 101 NAME: SELF-DESIGNATION: -----
RUSSIAN DESIGNATION: Khinalugi.

C. D. 161 NUMBER: 1926 105 (Russian census, ethn.)
1,540 (Russian census, ling.)

C. D. 162 LOCATION: Shakhdag area, aul Khinalug (Khynalyk) on the upper right arm of the Kudial-chai (rayon Konakhkend, Azerbaidzhan SSR).

C. D. 197 LANGUAGE: Khinalug (Kättidmits) is a member of the NE Caucasian language-group to which there belong further the Veinakh, Avaro-Ando-Dido, Lak-Dargwa, and Samurian groups, and the Udi language. Khinalug is not written, Azeri being used as the literary language.

C. D. 231 TRADITIONAL ECONOMY: Cattle-breeding.

C. D. ●795 RELIGION: Islam (Sunni).

## 36. UDI

C. 5. 101 NAME: SELF-DESIGNATION: Udi, Uti.
RUSSIAN DESIGNATION: Udiny.

C. 5. 161 NUMBER: 1897 7,100 (Russian census)
1926 2,455 (Russian census, ethn.)
2,762 (Russian census, ling.)

C. 5. 162 LOCATION: Villages Vartashen and Nidzh (rayons Vartashen and Kutkashen, Azerbaidzhan SSR), Oktomberi (Georgian SSR).

C. D. 197 LANGUAGE: Udi (Udi muz) is a member of the NE Caucasian language-group, to which there belong further the Veinakh, Avaro-Ando-Dido, Lak-Dargwa, and Samurian groups, and the Khinalug language. Though Udi was written before the revolution, it does not have the status of literary language, this function being fulfilled by Azeri.

C. 5. 244 231 TRADITIONAL ECONOMY: Agriculture; cattle-breeding.

C. 5. 795 RELIGION: Eastern Orthodox, Armenian-Gregorian.

7: Columbia U. S-4, 5 1956 RHI Caucasia RHI
Armenia

197 LANGUAGE: Armenian (Hai lezu) constitutes a separate branch of the Indoeuropean language family. The language has an old literary tradition going back to the 5th century A. D., and a script of its own. This literary language is based on the dialect of Ararat; there is now also a literary tradition for the Western dialect-group.

SUBDIVISIONS: The Armenian dialects are subdivided into an Eastern (Ararat, Karabakh, etc.) and a Western (Erzurum, Hemshin, Istanbul, etc.) group, to which Adjarian adds a third branch including the dialects of Maragha, Khoy, and Artvin.

241
231
438 TRADITIONAL ECONOMY: Agriculture; viniculture; in the mountains: cattle-breeding; commerce and art crafts.

795 RELIGION: Armenian-Gregorian; there are a Roman Catholic (Uniate) and a Protestant minority. The Khemshin (Hemshin, Hemshili) on the Black Sea coast near the Turkish border (629 in 1926, Russian census) are Muslim.

197 status of a literary language; the written language is based on the E dialect. In the North-Ossetian ASSR the Cyrillic, in the South-Ossetian AO the Georgian alphabet is used.

SUBDIVISIONS: The Ossetian dialects, which follow tribal divisions, are subdivided into a Western (Digor) and an Eastern branch (Tagaur, Kurtat, and Allagir). The dialect of the S Ossetes (Tual) is a sub-dialect of Tagaur.

231
241 TRADITIONAL ECONOMY: Cattle-breeding; some agriculture.

795 RELIGION: Eastern Orthodox, except the Digor, who are Muslim (Sunni).

## 39. TALYSH

101 NAME: SELF-DESIGNATION: Tolysh.
ENGLISH VARIANTS: Talysh, Talish.
RUSSIAN DESIGNATIONS: Talyshi, Talyshintsy.

161 NUMBER: 1897 35,291 (Russian census)
1926 77,323 (Russian census, ethn.)
80,629 (Russian census, ling.)
1931 89,398 (Azerb. upravl. nar.-khoz. ucheta.)
In Iran: 50,000 (estimate, B. V. Miller)

162 LOCATION: Along Caspian coast S of the River Viliazh-chai (rayons Lenkoran', Zuvand, Astara, and part of Massala, Azerbaidzhan SSR), extending into Persian territory up to Kepri-chal.

197 LANGUAGE: Talysh (Tolysha zyvon), like Tat, is a member of the NW subdivision of the Iranian branch of the Indo-European language-family, to which branch also belong Persian, and, in the Caucasus, Ossetian and Kurdish. The Talysh in the USSR are all bilingual and speak also Azeri, which is used as the literary language.

241 231 TRADITIONAL ECONOMY: Agriculture; horticulture; stock-raising; home industry.

795 RELIGION: Islam (Shii).

197 belong Persian and, in the Caucasus, Ossetian and Kurdish.

SUBDIVISIONS: Two main dialects, that of the Muslim and that of the Jewish Tat, the former divided into a number of sub-dialects.

24 438 TRADITIONAL ECONOMY: Agriculture; horticulture; home crafts (tapestry-weaving, metal-work).

• 795 RELIGION: Part Muslim (Sunni), part Jewish.

7:Columbia U. S-4, 5 1956 RHI Caucasia RHI
Kurd

197 LANGUAGE: Kurdish (Kurmandzhi) is a member of the SW subdivision of the Iranian branch of the Indo-European language family, to which branch belong also Persian and in the Caucasus Ossetian, Tat, and Talysh.

SUBDIVISIONS: There are two main groups of dialects, a northern (Kurmandzhi) and a southern (Kurdi).

233 241 TRADITIONAL ECONOMY: Partly nomadic pastoralism, partly agriculture.

• 795 RELIGION: Islam (Sunni, with a Shii minority); Yezidi (concentrated near Leninakan and near Echmiadzin).

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162 LOCATION: Geographical: Transcaucasia, Northern Caucasus along the Caspian Sea (northward as far as Derbent), northwestern Persia, southern Kurdistan (Iraq).

Political-Administrative: USSR: Azerbaidzhan SSR, Georgian SSR, Dagestan ASSR. Persia: Rizaiyeh, Azerbaijan, Khamseh, Kazvin, Ardelan provinces. Iraq: Erbil, Kirkuk, Sülaimaniya provinces.

197 LANGUAGE: Azeri Turkic; belongs to the Western Oghuz Turkic group and differs very little from Turkish and the Kashkay-Hamse languages; literary language since the 14th century; lingua franca in Transcaucasia, Dagestan ASSR, and northern Persia.

SUBDIVISIONS: Tribal: Settled Azeris; Nomadic Azeris (Iliyat). Dialectal: Northern (USSR); Southern (Persia).

241 231 438 TRADITIONAL ECONOMY: Agriculture; cattle-breeding; commerce; industry.

795 RELIGION: Islam (Shii, Sunni).

162 (Location, continued)

Political-Administrative: Northern Caucasus: Stavropol' Krai (northern rayons), Rostov Oblast (southeastern rayons); Central Asia: Turkmen SSR, Kara-Kalpak ASSR, Afghanistan, Persia.

197 LANGUAGE: Turkoman; constitutes Eastern Oghuz Turkic; most nearly related Turkic language group: Western Oghuz Turkic (Turkish, Azeri, Kashkay-Hamse); several dialects agreeing with tribal subdivisions; literary language based on the dialect of Yomuts; literary language since the 18th century.

SUBDIVISIONS: Tribal: Trukhmen (Northern Caucasus); Teke, Yomut, Ersari, Sarik (Turkmen SSR); Chaudur (Kara-Kalpak ASSR); Salir (Afghanistan); Göklen (Persia)

231 241 TRADITIONAL ECONOMY: Cattle-breeding; agriculture.

795 RELIGION: Islam (Sunni).

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RH1

197 SUBDIVISIONS: Geographical: Karapapak of Akhalkalaki and Leninakan (USSR); Karapapak of Sulduz (Persia).

231 TRADITIONAL ECONOMY: Cattle-breeding and some agriculture.

795 RELIGION: Islam (Shii, Sunni)

7:Columbia U. S-4, 5 1956 RH1 Caucasia RH1
Kumik

## 45. KUMUK

101 NAME: SELF-DESIGNATION: Kumuklar
ENGLISH VARIANTS: Kumyk
RUSSIAN DESIGNATION: Kumyki
TURKISH DESIGNATION: Kumuklar

161 NUMBER: 1926 94,549 (Russian cens. ethn.)
94,909 (Russian cens. ling.)

162 LOCATION: Geographical: The northeastern slopes of the Greater Caucasus along the Aksai, Sulak, Shura, and Gubden rivers, and along the Caspian coast from Adzhi-Su to Derbent.

Political-Administrative: Dagestan ASSR (Makhachkala, Buynaksk, Izberbash, and Derbent okrugs), Groznyi Oblast (southern parts of the former Kizliar Okrug).

197 LANGUAGE: Kumuk; belongs to the Kipchak Turkic group, together with Crimean Turkic, Karachay, Balkar, Noghay, Kazan Turkic, Kazak, etc.); literary language since the 19th century; lingua franca in Dagestan ASSR northward from Derbent.

241 231 226 TRADITIONAL ECONOMY: Agriculture; cattle-breeding; fishing.

795 RELIGION: Islam (Sunni).

162 between the upper Kuban' and Urup rivers. Crimean SSR (before 1945): Northern Crimea, Perekop. Bulgaria: Dobruja, Deli Orman area.

Political-Administrative: USSR: Groznyi Oblast (former Kizliar and Achikulak okrugs), Astrakhan Oblast (rayons along the Kuma and Volga rivers), Cherkes AO (Abazino-Nogai rayon), Crimean ASSR (before 1945). Bulgaria: former Shumen district.

197 LANGUAGE: Noghay; belongs to the Kipchak-Turkic language group, together with North Crimean Turkic, Karachay, Balkar, Kumuk, Kazan Turkic, Kazak, etc., literary language (since the Soviet period) based on the White Noghay, Black Noghay, and Central Noghay dialects; the other Noghay groups have given up the Noghay language.

SUBDIVISIONS: Dialectal: Black Noghay, Central Noghay (Groznyi Oblast, southern rayons of the Astrakhan Oblast); the Noghays of Crimea and those of Dobruja (Bulgaria) have given up their language in favor of South Crimean Turkic, whereas the Noghays around Astrakhan today speak Kazan Turkic.

231 241 TRADITIONAL ECONOMY: Cattle-breeding; agriculture (Bulgaria).

795 RELIGION: Islam (Sunni).

## 47. KARACHAY

101 NAME: SELF-DESIGNATION: Karachayla
RUSSIAN DESIGNATION: Karachaitsy,
TURKISH DESIGNATION: Karaçaylar

161 NUMBER: 1897 27,233 (Russian census)
1926 55,123 (Russian census, ethn.)
55,349 (Russian census, ling.)
1939 75,737 (Russian census)

162 Distribution: Deported from the Caucasus in 1943. Present location unknown.

LOCATION: Geographical: Before 1943, on the northern slopes of the Greater Caucasus along the headwaters of the Kuban', Teberda, Zelenchuk, Laba, and Podkumok rivers.

Political-Administrative: Before 1943: Karachai AO.

197 LANGUAGE: Karachay; belongs to the Kipchak Turkic language group (which includes Crimean Turkic, Kumuk, Noghay, Kazan Turkic, Kazak, etc.), and is almost identical with Balkar; as a literary language, a common Karachay-Balkar language was used which was created in the Soviet period.

231 241 TRADITIONAL ECONOMY: Cattle-breeding; agriculture; handicrafts.

• 795 RELIGION: Islam (Sunni).

## 48. BALKAR

101 NAME: SELF-DESIGNATION: Malkarla
RUSSIAN DESIGNATION: Balkary
TURKISH DESIGNATIONS: Malkarlar, Balkarlar.

161 NUMBER: 1897 34,232 (Russian census)
1926 33,307 (Russian census, ethn.)
33,276 (Russian census, ling.)
1939 42,666 (Russian census)

162 Distribution: Deported from the Caucasus in 1943, present location unknown.

LOCATION: Georgraphical: Before 1943, on the northern slopes of the Greater Caucasus along the upper course of the Baksan, Chegem, and Cherek rivers.
Political-Administrative: Before 1943: Kabardino-Balkar Autonomous SSR (Balkar rayon).

197 LANGUAGE: Balkar; belongs to the Kipchak Turkic language group, along with Crimean Turkic, Kumuk, Noghay, Kazan Turkic, Kazak etc.) and is almost identical with Karachay; as a literary language, a common Karachay-Balkar language was used, which was created in the Soviet period.

231 241 TRADITIONAL ECONOMY: Cattle-breeding and some agriculture.

79 RELIGION: Islam (Sunni).

7: Columbia U. S-4, 5 1956 RHI Caucasia RHI
European Kalmyk

162 Ala-shan area, Ch'ing Hai province, China).

197 LANGUAGE: Kalmyk (Oirot) constitutes the W group of the Mongolian family of Altaic. It has a literary tradition going back to the 16th century.

SUBDIVISIONS: Dialects: Dörwöt, Torghūt (Torgout), and Buzāwa. Tribes: Torghūt, Khoshūt, Dörwöt (Dörböt, Dürbät, divided by the Russian Administration into the Great and Little Dörwöt), Khöit (Khōt), Tsoros, Dzūn-ghar ("left-wing army", "eastern") The Torghūt have always been considered the leading tribe.

[619]

233 231 226 TRADITIONAL ECONOMY: Nomadic pastoralism; sedentary stock-raising; (on the Volga:) fishing.

795 RELIGION: Lamaist Buddhism; (Sart-Kalmyk:) Islam (Sunni).

## 50. AISOR

101 NAME: SELF-DESIGNATION: Suraj
ENGLISH VARIANTS: Chald(a)eans, Syrochald(a)eans, Assyrians.
RUSSIAN DESIGNATIONS: Aisory, Assiriitsy, Assuriitsy.
OTHER DISIGNATIONS: (Georgian:) Kaldeveli.

161 NUMBER: 1897 5,353 (Russian census)
1926 9,808 (Russian census, ethn.)
15,476 (Russian census, ling.)
1939 20,200 (Russian census)

162 LOCATION: Concentrated near Erevan', also scattered in other regions of Transcaucasia. Outside USSR: Iraq (esp. in Tur Abdin) and NW Iran.

197 LANGUAGE: Aisor is a New-Syrian dialect, belonging to the Aramaic subdivision of the Semitic language-family. Aisor has the status of a literary language in the USSR.

241 231 TRADITIONAL ECONOMY: Agriculture; cattle-breeding; crafts.

795 RELIGION: Nestorian and Jacobite Christian.

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Armenia RJ 1

# THE ARMENIAN CHURCH

## Its Beginnings and Its Place in Armenian History

C. A. 795

The beginning of the Christian Church in Armenia is dated at least as early as the second century. Though there is insufficient evidence to document this early period of the history of the Armenian Church, there is enough corroborative information on hand, considered trustworthy and authoritative, to place its beginning near the middle of the second century. Thus the Christian Church was established in various parts of Armenia more than a hundred years before Christianity was accepted as the state religion throughout the land in about the year 290 A. D. The Armenian authority on the subject, the late Patriarch Malachia Ormanian of Constantinople, carries this date even farther back, stating in his comprehensive standard work on the subject, that even during the first century Christianity was a powerful force in Armenia. He states that the activities of St. Bartholomew and of St. Thaddeus in Armenia during the fifth and sixth decades of the first century establish once and for all the apostolic origin of the Armenian church. Be that as it may, from about the middle of the second century the evidence seems more certain, and on the unrivalled

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A:
795 authority of the late Adolph Harnack one feels confident in stating that there was more than one great center of Christian activity in Armenia prior to the year 200.

The earliest known direct reference to an organized church in Armenia is found in the Ecclesiastical History of Eusebius, in which the father of church historians states that in about the year 250 Bishop Dionysius of Alexandria sent a letter to Meruzanes (Mehruzhan), a bishop in Armenia. Harnach in his most substantial work on the subject (The Expansion of Christianity during the First Three Centuries, English translation 1904-1905), states that "one of the great notable facts in all the history of the spread of Christianity is that Armenia Major was officially a Christian country by the beginning of the fourth century."

This fact, the acceptance of Christianity as the state religion by the Armenian people, as well as by the king, Tiridates, stands out as perhaps the most important landmark in the history of the Armenian people. It assumes even greater importance in the claim of the Armenians that theirs was the first state in which Christianity became the established religion. And St. Gregory, who brought about this conversion, became the Patron Saint of the Church as St. Gregory the Illuminator. The official conversion, and St. Gregory's very

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important role in it, introduced into the history of the Armenian Church an element that was at least a partial cause of the centuries-old break between the Armenian Church and the Greek Orthodox Church.

St. Gregory was a missionary from Caesarea in Cappadocia, and was of course subject to the jurisdiction of Bishop Leontius of that city. Upon the establishment of Christianity as the state religion in Armenia, but not until his consecration as bishop by Leontius, St. Gregory was raised to the new rank catholicos, or supreme head of the Armenian Church. The Greek Church, in declaring its supremacy over the Armenian Church, interpreted this fact as an indisputable sign of subservience and dependence. Moreover, by considering the conversion of King Tiridates and the establishment of Christianity as the state religion in Armenia to be the date of the beginning of Christianity there, and thus ignoring the rather widespread Christian activity as well as the existence of a traditional line of bishops (probably consecrated by the bishops of Dessa) in various parts of Armenia prior to the official conversion, the Greek Church categorically denied the apostolic origin of the Armenian Church. To the Armenians such reasoning was, and still remains, definitely inadmissible. Armenian Church leaders, from those early days on, have never wavered in their belief that their Church is of

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795 apostolic origin, and therefore the Church of Armenia is the Armenian Apostolic Church (sometimes referred to as the Armenian Gregorian Church.)

The practice of consecrating the heads of the Armenian Church by the bishops of Caesarea continued for about 100 years. Towards the end of the fourth century, however, the completely autocephalic (or autonomous) character of the Armenian Church "was thoroughly established." Thenceforth Armenians consecrated their own catholicos; the ties with "official Greek Christendom were snapped forever." And, in the considered opinion of one writer, "in subsequent ages the doctrinal preferences of the Armenians were usually determined more by antagonism to the Greeks [the Greek Church] than by reflection." In this manner the Armenian Apostolic Church became the national church, an institution of prime importance. In 428 when the reigning dynasty (the Arsacids or Artashes dynasty) fell and the Armenian kingdom seemed to be at an end, the head of the Church at once became the symbol of national unity and the rallying point of patriotism.

Tradition has it that in about the year 301 St. Gregory built the Echmiadzin Monastery (the seat of the head of the Armenian Church, a few miles from Erivan, the present capital of the Armenian Soviet Socialist Republic) and

C. thus founded the historic seat of the Church.
A. But history informs us that while the head of
.795 the Armenian Church has had his seat at the Echmiadzin Monastery since 1441 without interruption, the story prior to that date is very uneven and different. During the more than eleven centuries between the traditional date of the founding of Echmiadzin and the return of the Catholicate in 1441, the heads of the Church were there for a total of less than two hundred years. In the fifth century the seat was moved to Tvin (or Dwin, south of Erivan), and in the ninth century to Ani, the famous capital city of Armenia during the middle three centuries (ninth, tenth and eleventh) of the Middle Ages. From late in the eleventh century to 1441 the heads of the Church were without a permanently designated seat. They followed their faithful flock in Diaspora and, like itinerant justices of yore, held their own and ministered to the spiritual, and sometimes temporal, needs of their faithful in distress for more than three centuries.

During this enforced exodus from their historic seat several new seats were founded. Of these, the one showing most vitality was the Catholicate of Sis (or that of Cilicia, south of the Taurus mountains) in Armenia Minor under the Rhoopenian dynasty, founded in the late eleventh century. At the time when the titular heads of the Echmiadzin See were without head-

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quarters, and even in dire need of mere physical shelter, the heads of the Catholicate in Sis held sway over a large part of the Armenians in Asia Minor. They were also instrumental in maintaining spiritual bonds among the Armenians, bonds which at times were alone in preserving the Armenian people as a national entity.

The history of the Armenian Church in Armenia in recent and contemporary times is inevitably, and to a considerable degree, connected with the eventful history of the Armenians under the Ottoman Empire. For a long time after 1441 the preponderant majority of the people lived in countries governed by Mohammedan rulers. Until 1829 the seat of the Church was within the Persian domain. In that year that part of Armenia was conquered by Russia, and since then there has been no perceptible change in the juridical status of the area. Today communist Russians cling to it as jealously as did the imperialist officials of the tsars.

The status of the Armenian Church remained practically intact under the tsarist regime and its autonomous standing was safeguarded in the statutory rules issued in 1836. These rules did not interfere with the internal organization of the Church; nor were they meant to tamper with the doctrinal and ritual aspect of Church affairs. The same may be said of

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the Armenian Church under the Ottoman rule. Its affairs and its relations with the Ottoman authorities, were regulated in the statutory regulations enacted in 1862. The Armenian Apostolic Church retained its autonomy under the head of its Patriarch. And in spiritual matters the allegiance of the Patriarch as well as of his flock to the supreme head of the Church in Echmiadzin was never in question. Thus while only a fraction (no more than a fourth) of the total number of Armenians were the tsar's subjects and therefore under the direct rule of the Catholicos in Echmiadzin, all Armenians owed spiritual allegiance to the See of Echmiadzin. Even the world-shaking events of two world wars and the Russian Revolution has not brought about much change in this respect. And today, even though the supreme head of the Church is shorn of a large number of his perquisites and prerogatives, and in many respects is not much more than a mere shadow of his predecessors, he still has his seat at the historic place and is the elected spiritual head of all Armenians everywhere in communion with the Church.

## The Church and Other Religious Institutions in the Armenian Soviet Socialist Republic

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All religious institutions in Soviet Armenia, such as churches, mosques, monastic establishments and the like, under the

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The population of Soviet Armenia is estimated to be close to 1,500,000 (1939 census, 1,280,000; 1947 estimate, 1,345,000). Of this total a little more than 85 per cent are Armenians, nearly all presumably in communion with the Armenian Apostolic Church. There are some 130,000 Azerbaijani Turks of the Shiite sect, and about 50,000 Kurds of the Shafiite sect. In addition, there are several thousand Yezidis (devil-worshippers), Nestorians, Russians and Georgians. No information is available concerning these minor groups and their religious institutions. Whatever places of worship the Russians, Nestorians, Georgians and Yezidis might have had prior to the Russian Revolution, they certainly are not in existence now.

C. A. 346

The more numerous Kurds perhaps did have certain places of worship but none seem to remain today; at least there is nothing to indicate that they have such places. For the Azerbaijani Turks there was an old imposing and historic mosque in Erivan, a landmark in the city for centuries. It was still there twenty years ago, a relic of the old era. If still intact, it may be used by the several thousand Azerbaijanis of that city as well as by the Turks. Judging by the old order or organization, the titular spiritual head of the Azerbaijani Turks in Soviet Armenia and his followers there owe allegiance to the Grand Mufty (or the Chief Imam) in Baku. The Grand Mufty probably has his

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C. A: 793 deputy in Erivan, and the latter in turn has imams under him in communities where Azer-
C. A: baijanis are numerous. Of course there are
874 no medressehs (religious schools), and these communities must depend on the recently reopened medresseh in Baku for their future spiritual leaders. Thus even the largest and the most numerous minority group in Soviet Armenia probably does not have freedom to attend to its spiritual needs.

C. A: The case of the Armenian Church is
• 795 naturally quite different. As was stated earlier,
659 the Church had been the principal national institutions from the very beginning, and continued as such throughout the checkered history of the Armenian people. It served the people supremely well in dispersion, and in their dire need of spiritual sustenance. Before its authority was undermined and practically shattered by the Soviet regime the Church was a most powerful force in the life of Armenian communities. It has become the beneficiary of considerable wealth, largely through bequests and gifts, and had used that wealth for the education of religious and lay leaders. In this respect the Church was practically the sole organizer and supervisor of the educational system prevailing in Armenian communities. With the advent of the new regime, and the separation of schools from the Church, the whole fabric of the old educational system crumbled. And by confiscating all Church property and thus depriving the

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Church of nearly all of its source of income, the State placed the clergy at its mercy.

Even under these unprecedented hardships the supreme head of the Church tried to exercise his spiritual authority. He assumed, and the Government did not dispute this assumption, that his spiritual leadership over all Armenian communities in Soviet Armenia, in other parts of the Soviet Union, and in all Armenian communities everywhere was unimpaired. He tried to keep the organization of dioceses intact wherever possible, and of course retained the right to approve the prelates or locum tenens in all dioceses. A tragic change had taken place under the Ottoman Empire. Instead of the large Armenian communities numbering close to 2,000,000 before the first World War, they numbered only 50,000. Still the Holy Father sitting in Echmiadzin must have been consoled by the fact that new and large Armenian communities were established in other countries, and in other parts of the Western Hemisphere, even though some three-fourths of all Armenians (that is, more than 2,000,000) were still in the Soviet Union.

For more than three decades the supreme head of the Church must have lived in "captivity." During all that time there were no schools for the training of the clergy and there was an acute shortage of priests and bishops. Many dioceses in various parts of Soviet Armenia, as well as in nearby Azerbaijan and

C: A: 795 659 Georgia (where there are large Armenian communities), were without religious leadership for many years. Since the early 1950's, however, there have been certain changes. It seems that there has been some relaxation on the part of the Government in respect to religious affairs. It has allowed the opening of a seminary in Echmiadzin where studies for the priesthood are pursured, apparently without hindrance, and probably with some aid from the Government. Last October a new Catholicos was elected, and on that occasion a number of Armenians from abroad were allowed to visit Soviet Armenia. The general impression of these observers from the West seems to be somewhat favorable, though they admit that the Government still does not allow the erection of new churches, nor permit the repair of old ones. One exception seems to have been made. The historic cathedral of Echmiadzin is reported to have been repaired recently at Government cost. Still this does not mean that the policy of the Government has changed radically towards religion and towards the Church.

C: A: 771 Armenians have always been profoundly religious. They have associated the Church so closely with the nation that without the one they can hardly think of the other. For them, as well as for most peoples of the Middle East, religious affinities run parallel to ethnic similarities. Not many Armenians think of their religion without thinking of their nationality. That perhaps is the reason why the supreme head of

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## NOTE ON THE GEORGIAN CHURCH

C. G. 795

Christianity spread into Georgia by two routes: into Western Georgia from Greece, and into Eastern Georgia, i.e. ancient Iberia, from Syria and Armenia; this dualism is still apparent in the religious terminology of Georgian. The new religion was opposed not only by indigenous paganism--as everywhere--but also by Zoroastrianism, which was widespread in the Caucasus. According to legend, in the 4th century, the Iberian king Mirian was converted to Christianity by a woman prisoner from Armenia, St. Nino, who is worshipped as Illuminatrix of Georgia. The primate of the Georgian church, who bore the title of Katholikos, was at first subordinated to Antiochia, though ritual and dogma were more closely influenced by the Armenian church. After the council of Chalkedon (451) the Georgians broke with the Monophysite churches of the Orient and attached themselves to Byzantine Orthodoxy; the Armenians remained in the other camp, which led to a long and often politically disastrous feud with the latter. By the 11th century the autocephalous patriarch of the Georgian church, residing in Mtskheta, was completely independent.

C. G. 779

In Georgian monasteries, including those founded by Georgian monks in Jerusalem, on Mt. Sinai, Mt. Athos and elsewhere, much ecclesiastical literature was translated, and some works are preserved only in the Georgian translation. Original hagiography is considered to begin with

C.G. 779 the life of St. Shushanik († 474). The Georgian text of the gospels as it is used until today in divine worship goes back to a revision after the Greek by the Hagiorite Euthymius († 1028); a copy of an older text shows that the Georgian gospels originally were translated from Armenian and afterwards were revised according to the Greek.

C.G. 795 659 The Georgian Orthodox church, which always represented the influence of Byzance and of the West as opposed to that of Persia and the East, has not known serious conflicts with the State, due to the continuous menace of Islam to both. The autocephaly of the Georgian Church was violated by the Russians in 1810, the office of Katholikos being abolished. It was restored in 1917; since then, the fate of the Georgian church has been the same as that of other religious organizations in the USSR.

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## Note on Islam

795 Islam entered the Caucasus at two lifferent periods.

In the eastern part of South Caucasia Islam became the ruling religion as early as the 7th Century, conducting a continuous struggle from there against the Armenian and Georgian Churches. Though propagated under orthodox Caliphs, the Islam of South Caucasia contained many heterodox features from the very beginning. With the dissolution of the Caliphate the Muslim orthodoxy of South Caucasia found its protectors in the Seljukid and other Turkic dynasties, whereas the Muslim heterodoxy was professed rather by the common people, mostly nomads and of Turkic origin. This Muslim heterodoxy was furthered with the anti-Seljukid Shia propaganda centered from the 11th Century on in Alamut in the vicinity of Southern Caucasus. With the rise of the Turkish Safavids the Shia heterodoxy became a state religion. As the result of ensuing Ottoman-Safavid religious warfare and the changing Ottoman and Safavid sovereignties in the area, the Muslims of contemporary South Caucasia are mixed, and besides the Shii majority one finds a strong Sunni minority as well. Due to the spread of linguistic nationalism the differences between the Shii

and Sunni Muslims lost their strength. Still these religious differences explain for instance the slight disinterestedness of Sunni Turkey in this area.

In North Caucasia Islam entered relatively late. In the period of the Kazar Empire (until the 11th Century) North Caucasia was the strongest bulwark against Islam. The Turkic nations of North Caucasia began to embrace Islam in the 13th Century, whereas the Circassians and the majority of the moutain tribes embraced it as late as the 16th and 17th Centuries. Because North Caucasus as a whole was connected directly or indirectly with the Sunni-Ottoman Empire, Islam in North Caucasia is professed in its Sunni form only. This strong religious tie with Turkey explains why Turkic, Circassian and other peoples of the area preferred Ottoman sovereignty to that of Russia, and why they migrated to Turkey.

The Islam of the Caucasus is in general even today one of those few forces which maintains its strength. Yet, it is losing ground to Russification (Communization), and to the linguistic nationalism of the Caucasian peoples themselves.

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We may go a step further and say that if it is the wife who secures the family economically and religiously, the family will be respected by others in proportion to the number of mothers it has. In a word, the *social* status of the family depends on the economic and religious status, and these in turn depend very much on the number of wives. Doubtless, investment in wives is the best investment of any North Caucasian family.

Polygyny being part and parcel of the family organization of the North Caucasian peoples, we must, therefore, in seeking the origin of the institution, go back beyond Islamic times, beyond Christian and Avestic times, and perhaps beyond historical times. North Caucasian polygyny was born when the North Caucasian family organization was born.

A corollary to the question regarding the origin of polygyny in North Caucasia is the enquiry into the motives for polygynous unions. The sexual factor has relatively little significance. Not lust, not desire to have a young wife, not a surplus of women, but craving for a large family, for many labourers, for economic and religious prepetuation of the family, for the rise in social prestige—these are the motives that generally induce a man to marry a second wife.

(3) A glance at Table 5 under the columns "Usually restricted to bigyny" and "Enjoyed by rich alone" will reveal that plural marriages among the North Caucasian peoples and their neighbours are usually cases of *bigamy* and that polygyny is more the exception than the rule. This state of affairs would seem to contradict what we have just said about the importance of polygyny. Why is this all-important institution practiced only by a *few* and generally *limited* to one and at the most two additional wives? Why this difference in theory and practice? This fact is all the more striking because all our North Caucasian peoples are Mohammedans and according to the Koran, iv. 3 and Islamic tradition everyone is entitled to have up to four wives.

The first reason, and no doubt, the most important one is that Nature herself prevents universal polygyny. The relative number of males and females is dictated by a biological law, the sex ratio rarely exceeding 100:110 in favour of either sex.[33] Usually the ratio is 106 males to 100 females, but, we must remember, child mortality is far greater among boys than girls, so that in the long run the ratio of marriageable persons is about 100:100.[34] Nowhere in the world does it approximate a 1:2 ratio, which would be necessary to make bigyny a general practice.[35]

Theoretically speaking, a surplus of women could result in the Caucasus from blood-feuds, dangerous occupations, infanticide, and other major disturbances affecting the *male* population alone. Such a preponderance of female sex would necessitate many of them remaining unmarried or several women would be obliged to marry one man. But are there such major disturbances affecting the sex ratio in the Caucasus? Since the Soviet government prohibits polygyny and in recent decades polygyny has become extremely rare, it would seem much

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[33] R. H. Lowie, *An Introduction to Cultural Anthropology*, (New York, 1947), p. 243.
[34] Günther, *Formen und Urgeschichte der Ehe*, p. 100.
[35] R. H. Lowie, *Social Organization*, p. 113.

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Byzantia (iv. 4) establish the existence of endogamy in Armenia, while the present-day local endogamy of Svanetia may very well be a vestige of former in-breeding.[71] 582

There are two facts which we can deduce from the existence of endogamy in Georgia and Armenia. First of all, we are justified in looking for a *common* source of endogamy for Georgia, Armenia, and Daghestan. Secondly, we are justified in looking for this source in *pre-Christian* times, that is, before the Christianization of Georgia in the fourth century.

The origin of endogamy in all three countries must, as it seems, be sought in Iran.[72] Endogamy among the peoples of Daghestan is a survival of the ancient Avestic religion, which the Mohammedan missionaries had to combat when they came to spread the teaching of the Prophet.

In the Mazdaic creed (*Yasna* xii. 9) we find the *xvaêtvadatha* (Pahlavi *xvêtôkdas*) as an obligation. Originally the *xvaêtvadatha* ("next-of-kin marriage") aimed at preserving the purity of blood of the Iranian nobility, which was numerically weak and could be perpetuated only by in-breeding. The priests formed, in much the same way, a distinct class and cooperated with the nobility in fostering endogamous marriages. Once the custom had been firmly established, it was not difficult to attribute it to Ahura Mazda Himself and to His Prophet Zarathustra.[73]

That the *xvaêtvadatha* was an important doctrine cannot be denied and hence this all-important teaching could not have been disregarded when the Avesta was introduced into the Caucasus. It must have been taught to the converts and accepted by them, for the *xvaêtvadatha* is one of the surest marks of genuine piety in the coming days of evil; by it mortal sin is expiated; it is a bulwark against the attacks of the demons; it is the second of the seven good works; it is the ninth of the thirty-three ways of entering heaven; and lastly, Zarathustra is supposed to have prescribed it as the eighth of his ten admonitions to mankind and declared it meritorious. In fact the next-of-kin marriage is supposed to be the source of "complete progress in the world... even unto the time of the renovation of the universe." (*Dâtistân-î Dînîk* lxxvii. 6 f).[74]

If we wish to delve deeper into the history of Caucasian endogamy, we must first face a very difficult problem, a task which in fact we shall have to leave to specialists. The problem regarding the origin of next-of-kin marriages in Avestic Iran itself is controverted. Some believe it is genuinely Persian while others maintain that its ultimate source is a non-Indo-European people (perhaps of Magian origin and therefore neither Indo-European nor Semitic).[75]

That endogamy should survive in Daghestan and disappear in Georgia and Armenia is not to be wondered at. Christianization of the two latter countries was incomparably more thorough than the Islamization of the Lesghian mountain peoples. 582 [197] [195]

[71] Cf. Wesendonk, *op. cit.*, p. 62.
[72] Here we fully agree with M. Kovalevskij, *Zakon*, I, p. 89.
[73] Cf. L. H. Gray, "Marriage (Iranian)," *Hasting Encyclopedia of Religion and Ethics*, p. 458.
[74] Cf. L. H. Gray, *op. cit.*, p. 457.
[75] L. H. Gray, *op. cit.*, p. 458.

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MAP III

# Islamism in the Caucasus and Neighbouring Territory

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**Abbreviations:**

A. — Autonomous Territory of the Adyghé
Abkh. — Abkhazia
Chech. — Chechnia
K. — Karabagh
K. B. — Kabarda-Balkaria
Kch. — Karachai
O. N. — North Ossetia
O. S. — South Ossetia

Sunnites in the majority
Shiites in the majority
Islamites (Sunnites and Shiites) in the minority

After G. Zawadowski, "Situation de l'Islam en U.R.S.S. (1939—1945)," *En Terre d'Islam*, XXI (1946), No. 33.

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[Chechen-Ingush] Caucasia RH1



Chechens. They at first accepted the leadership of the Sheikh Uzun Hadji who proclaimed himself Imam and Emir of the Northern Caucasus. The Emir was the ally of the communists in the struggle against the White Guards of General Denikin. Having vanquished the White armies, the Bolsheviks dropped the Imam, but they were unable to cope with Chechen nationalism. The Chechens demanded the expulsion of all Russians who in the course of the last century had settled in their 'living space'. Pending a positive answer to this request Chechen nationalist bands terrorized the Russian population of the area beyond endurance. In the early twenties the Russian settlers in Chechenia sent a complaint to Moscow on account of the endless raids and murders perpetrated by Chechen bands, and petitioned that they be disarmed. Mikhail Kalinin went personally to the Caucasus and attempted to calm down both Russians and Chechens. With carefully chosen words he tried to persuade them to live together in peace, to intermarry and to respect each other's customs.[6] 669

Whilst in consequence of Kalinin's personal intervention banditry stopped in Chechenia, it would seem that Moslem opposition to the Soviet régime was never quite suppressed. In 1931 the little country still had 2,675 mosques and Arab schools, as well as 1,250 mullahs, 34 sheikhs and 250 religious elders. The mullahs who were powerful opponents of the Soviet régime even managed to keep alive the illegal Shariah courts which were camouflaged as 'reconciliation commissions'. 668 [692]

The hostile attitude of the Chechens towards the Soviet Russian régime was often manifested in the readiness to credit the most fantastic anti-Russian rumours. Thus, in the early thirties, there existed a widespread belief that Kunta Hadji – the head of a popular Moslem sect who had died at the end of the nineteenth century – was still alive and was soon to return to Chechenia, where he would found a State based on Moslem religious law. Apparently the Chechens did not differentiate between Czarist and Bolshevik Russia in their hopes that Kunta Hadji would appear as Messiah, for it was he who had led them in the risings against Czarism in 1864 and 1877, for which he was exiled to Novgorod. [695]

The Ingush, whose fate Soviet policy had coupled with that of the Chechens, showed themselves no less loyal to Islam. A delegate who represented Ingushetia at the 'Second All-Union Conference of Godless Pedagogists' in 1931, stated that the influence of the Moslem clergy was still so strong among the Ingush that children refused to learn from books which they believed to be anti-religious. Whenever a teacher tried to introduce anti-religious propaganda he encountered a hostile attitude among school children and there were cases in which teachers had even to leave the school for having criticized Islam. The work of the secular Soviet schools, where the children were taught in the winter, was counteracted by the Moslem schools where the young Ingush would learn 771 871

C. G. 793 hereditary rights. The priest, called khevis beri "elder of the valley," khutsi "priest" or dek'anozi "dean," pronounced the ceremonial C. G. [782] prayers and sacrificed the sheep and cows offered as victims. The kadagi or dzhvaris C. G. [791] meene "interpreter," "tongue of the dzhvaris," a kind of shaman, pronounced the will of the khat'i. The medroshe "standard bearer" or khat'is pekhi "foot of the khat'i" carried the sacred banner (drosha) on festive days. A special functionary attended to the brewing of the sacred beer, a custom borrowed from the C. G. [795] Ossetes. The beer was drunk at the annual festivals which were attended by all the "serfs" of the khat'i.

In Svanetia the functions of the Khevsur khevis beri were performed by priests not regularly ordained and without any theological training; they were called bap (from Greek C. G. [771] pappas). The numerous ancient churches were neglected and were only used for storing the vessels, vestments and books relating to the divine service; these were jealously C. G. 796 guarded from alienation. Many originally Christian feasts and Saint's days were celebrated with prayers, drinking of home-made brandy and eating of sacrificed animals and C. G. [769] fancy bread of different traditional shapes. Similar rites were observed on the commemoration days of the dead which were performed at fixed intervals.

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776 seem to be the same sort of angel, Strangely enough, God hesitated for some time before granting the requests of these groups to punish the brutal attackers.

It seems evident that the original conception of the Vastyrdzhi and Vatsilla in the popular religion of the Ossets was that of two members of the host of tutelary spirits and this conception is still distinctly recognizable, although they have been elevated to the rank of Christian saints. There is very little doubt that the relation between the Narti heroes and these two tutelary spirits, as it appears in the Narti legends, is the result of an arbitrary distortion of the original conception.

The Ossets worship two other saints: Tutyr, the protector and ruler of wolves, who obviously is identical with Saint Theodore, and the wonderworking, miraculous killer Nikkola who corresponds to Saint Nicholas.

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796 Besides their Christian and Mohammedan holidays, the Ossets celebrate a number of festivals of pagan character which are dedicated to their popular gods, or rather, spirits. They make the distinction between "male" and "female
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O. festivals. The male festivals are attended only
[782] by men offering bloody sacrifices, whereas at the female festivals, which are celebrated only by women, the sacrificial gifts consist of milk
C
O. and cheese. Some of the feasts are celebrated at
796 home, others at or near places considered
778 sacred, such as mountain plateaus. caves. groves, or trees. Among the sacred places and

C. O. 796 778 objects the dzuar enjoys the highest degree of reverence. The word dzuar is of Georgian origin and means "the cross," then "the saint," and further "a sanctuary." Churches are often built at the side of, or in the place of, such old sanctuaries, the most famous of which, Rekom, is situated between the village Zai and the Zai glacier. It is described as a very small, low, square room with two tiny windows. The roof is covered with straw, the walls and ceilings are adorned with old rugs and priestly garments. There are all kinds of things on the floor, such as images of saints, candles, jewelry, arrows, etc., and similar things are also to be seen outside of the sanctuary. In the immediate neighborhood there are numerous stone houses covered with plank roofs serving as shelters for the pilgrims who stay there for two weeks from the first Saturday in May, sacrificing, eating. dancing and singing.

C. O. 796 782 At the Ossets' festivals the killing of animals is accompanied by appropriate sacrificial hymns. The sacrifice is performed by the eldest member of the assembly who, before the slaughtering, burns the sign of the cross on the animal's muzzle and behind its right ear with a glowing coal. C. O. [273] A special feature of festivals is the drinking of K'umäl, the native beverage of millet, araq, brandy, and bägäny, beer. The flesh of the animal is eaten, the bones piled up in a heap, the blood is collected in a vessel and buried, and the animal's head is hung on a tree. The sacrifice in honor of

c. o. 796 782 Fälwära, the guardian spirit of domestic animals is performed in stables and sheds, not in the fields.

c. o. 796 All the festivals which are dedicated to guardian spirits, are characterized by old popular customs and special rituals which have no bearing whatsoever upon the two religions adopted later. At the celebration in autumn of the harvest festival in honor of Khualar-Dar, the god of the harvest, the master of the house ties together and carries home a sheaf of different grains (wheat, rye, millet, barley, etc.), which weighs more than 200 pounds. At home, in the midst of his family, he thanks the god of the harvest for the rich crop, prays for a similar cop in the coming years, and then after this prayer he rejoices in his family in the god's honor. The sheaf is taken apart, the single stalks of the different kinds of grain are carefully laid together and different beverages are brewed from the seeds. At one time of the day the mistress of the house walks up and down with a wooden vessel containing several kinds of grain, and prays to the god to send more millet and other kinds of grain to the house and to drive away the rats and all other noxious rodents.

c. o. 796 785 In honor of Tutyr, the guardian spirit of the wolves (and sheep), a day of fasting is observed on a Monday by the whole family. In the evening, after they break their fast, a shepherd appears and recites a prayer in which he invokes the spirit to bestow, as a reward for the strict

c. o. 796 fasting, the favor that the wolves be deaf and
785 voiceless, immovable and weak, and that the sheep of the worshippers be the ghosts of the spirit and enjoy his mercy. (From the wording of the prayer we may conclude that in his capacity as ruler of the wolves, Tutyr is also thought to possess the power of keeping the wolves from the sheep.)

c. o. 796 The festival devoted to the guardian spirit of the family is usually celebrated at night. After a goat has been slaughtered at midnight, the member of the family walk to the barn where they pray to the spirit, thanking him for the blessings of the past year and imploring him to grant new blessings in the year to come. Then they drink the millet beverage and eat a dish of goat's liver wrapped in the intestines and roasted on the grill, keeping completely silent during the ceremony. Afterwards, the men return home and eat their festival meal.

c. o. 796 It is of special interest that the worship of the god of health, Kuni-Bara, is exclusively
782 reserved for the women. After a sick person
562 has recovered, the woman of the house and those of neighboring families go to a tree which is considered sacred. They take cheese cakes and a jug of milk along and a dried sturgeon (Kåf), which had been hanging above the head of the sick person, with a silver coin fastened to the fish. The oldest of the women, followed by the others, puts the cheese cakes down under the tree, which she sprinkles with milk while

C. O. 796 782 562 while singing sacred songs. After this ceremony they sit down under the tree, eat the cheese cake and the fish and hang on a few perforated coins on the tree as a votive offering to Kuni-Bara. Any person daring to steal these coins, would be affected with the disease of the former patient.

C. O. 796 562 Another festival with which only women are concerned, is the "feast of the virgins," which is celebrated at the end of autumn in the house of some old woman. It is only superficially linked with the Christian religion, insofar as it is celebrated in honor of Mary (Mairäm), "the Mother of God." The girls bake cakes with different fillings in the house of the old woman. The oldest girls takes one and prays first to Mary and then to the guardian spirit of the house and to other spirits for a bridegroom and for protection against sickness and wicked women. Afterwards, each girl takes one of the cakes and looks at its filling. When the filling is cheese, it means that her husband will be a rich owner of cattle, when it is a corn filling, the girl is destined to marry a rich farmer, and so on.

C O 796 On New Year's eve, the last, or next to the last, Friday of December, the Ossets start celebrating the New Year. For the holiday the housewife prepares beverages, a large cake and a number of small cakes formed in the shapes of ploughs, harrows, wheels and other utensils which give expression to their hope for a good harvest. At the approach of dusk the whole family sits down around the

c. o. 796 hearth-fire, and the master of the house recites a long prayer in which he gives thanks to God and asks for blessings for the coming year. During the night the young people go from house to house, throwing corn into the houses, singing and expressing good wishes for prosperity and happiness. At daybreak of New Year's day the master of the house kindles a fire of straw in the courtyard in honor of his deceased parents, who thereby are provided with the necessary fire for the whole year. The day is spent in much merry making. eating and drinking.

c. o. 796 782 776 Only one day, the Wednesday between Christmas and New Year, is dedicated to the worship of an evil spirit, the Devil. The ceremony starts in the evening with the killing of a lamb in front of the door of the house. The spirit is invoked not to do any harm to the cattle and to the other property of the master of the house and to accept an offering of a piece of roasted meat of a lamb and a glass of brandy. During that night one should strictly avoid mentioning the name of the Supreme God, lest the wrath of the evil spirit be provoked. The Devil proper of the Ossets, who is called Khairag is like the well-known figure of the devil of other countries, a good-natured foolish fellow who can easily be duped (der dumme Teufel in German).

c. o. 771 177 This survey* of the most characteristic features of the religion of the Ossets,

*[cf. cat. 116, pp 565-574-- Analyst]

684 unjust death penalty. (5) Finally, the adulteress was merely divorced; she lost her right to the *kebin*, while the *kalym* had to be returned to the husband. The adulterer was obliged to pay a fine.

Amputation of the adulteress' ears and nose is a punishment found in the *adats* of all Caucasians. It is interesting to note that a Hittite code (about 1350 B. C.) engraved on a stele has been dug up, which expressly legalized such mutilation in case of adultery.[65] This code may be based on a substratum of customary laws which are now preserved in the isolated *auls* of the Caucasus.

## 2. Motives

The main motives for punishing sexual offenses seem to be: (1) in case of defloration, the girl loses her value and consequently the family suffers a great economic loss;[66] (2) there is a serious danger of a stranger being born into the sacred sanctuary of the home and later treated as a legitimate member and even as head of the family (*supra*, p. 126).

## 3. Reports regarding Sexual Laxity of the Caucasians

834 In view of such severe penalties as we have described above, we cannot [832] help being suspicious about some of the reports regarding laxity of morals among the mountain tribes of the Caucasus. The Kuban Cherkess are supposed to have formerly been proud of the fact that their wives attracted other men. Every [836] woman had to have a lover to prove her true value.[67] Longworth's report, to mention but another example, contrasts the scrupulousness after marriage with "their unconstrained demeanor before marriage."[68] "The maidens of Circassia are allowed a latitude in their behaviour which is elsewhere unknown; not only do they talk and dance with the other sex, but when they please, they exercise their blandishments to an extent that to a stranger is no less perplexing than [716] agreeable."[69] Then there are the many reports about public religious hetaerism. Interiano claims that at funerals of prominent personages a very strange sort [764] of sacrifice takes place: a girl of 12 to 14 years of age is placed upon a skin of an ox that has just been slaughtered and in the presence of men and women a robust young man of the community must try to deflower her. After several failures, the young man promises to marry her (or makes some other promises), 837 and then the girl usually consents.[70] There are also the reports about sexual 836 hospitality, for example, in the "Relation du Sieur Ferrand médicin du Khan 674 des Tatares, touchant la Crimée, les Tartares-Nogaies et ce qui se passe au serail du dit Khan,"[71] in *Voyage historiques et géographique dans les pays situé entre la Mer Caspienne par Edouard Barbier du Bocage et de Baert*, as well as in the

[65] H. C. E. Zacharias, *Protohistory*, p. 258.
[66] *Supra*, pp. 126 f.
[67] Dirr, AGKB, pp. 81 f.
[68] Longworth, *A Year among the Circassians*, I, p. 286.
[69] Longworth, *op. cit.*, I, p. 216.
[70] Ladyženskij, FT, p. 183, Dirr's note.
[71] In *Recueil des Voyages au Nord*, Amsterdam, 1718.

8: Lužbetak E-4 (no date) 1951 RHl Caucasia RHl



595 797 banner of Ghâzi-Mullah and Shamyl.[5] Before that time they were only "indifferent disciples of Mohammed," as a report from the first half of the nineteenth century has it,[6] or "without any religion," as Güldenstädt pictured the situation in the 18th century.[7] In other words, the conversion of the Cherkess to Islamism was relatively recent, while polygyny is an old institution. It is beyond the least shadow of doubt that the Cherkess were not Mohammedans when Interiano visited them in 1502. Polygyny of the Cherkess certainly antedates the introduction of the Šar'ia (Islamic law) into Northwest Caucasia.

Passing over to the NORTHEASTERN CAUCASIANS, we find polygyny a recognized institution among them also. There can be no doubt about the practice existing among the *Chechens*;[8] in fact one of the Chechen tribes (Ingushi) seemed to make use of the right rather frequently. Grabovskij claimed that plurality of wives was of "very frequent" occurrence and that "many" Ingushi had two wives and occasionally three. Moreover, he goes so far as to say that this practice was not limited to the privileged families (as was the case with the Northwestern Caucasians), but that it was rather common to see a "pauper" with two wives.[9] Count Potocki had claimed, about a hundred years earlier, that some Ingushi had as many as five wives.[10]

Although the Chechens are Mohammedans, polygyny antedates their conversion to Islamism. According to Bašir Dalgat, a Chechen by birth, Islamism dates from the time when Chechen migrated to Ichkeria (16th century A. D.) and to the highlands (17th and 18th century). It was then that they lost contact with the Christian Georgians and fell into completely Islamic surroundings (the Daghestanians, Kumyks and Kabardians). Gradually the Chechens went over to Mohammedanism. One of the Chechen tribes, the Ingushi, living near the Georgian Military Road, the only agreeable road from Christian Georgia to Christian Russia, remained unsympathetic toward the new religion. As a counteraction against Islamic proselytism, Russian missionaries in the first half of the eighteenth century began a Christian revival among the Ingushi, resulting in a bitter struggle between Mohammedanism and Christianity. Finally in 1862 the Christian Cross had to give way to the ever-expanding Crescent.[11]

Almost a hundred years before the final submission of the Ingushi to Islamic law, Güldenstädt observed that they "marry several women, just as the Mohammedans do, but unlike the latter, they eat pork." Hence, though not yet fully Islamized, the Ingushi practiced polygamy.[12]

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[5] G. Zawadowski, "Les Musilmans du Caucase," *En Terre d'Islam*, XVIII (1943), No. 23, p. 162 f.

[6] J. A. Longworth, *A Year among the Cherkess*, I, p. 239.

[7] *Beschreibung der kaukasischen Länder*, p. 135. "Das Volk lebt ohne Religion" is not to be understood literally.

[8] G. Vertepov, "Inguši," *Terskij Sbornik*, II (1892), No. 2, p. 87.

[9] N. Grabovskij, "Ekonomičeskij i domašnij byt žitelej gorskago učastka Inguševskago okruga," SSKG, III (1870), p. 21.

[10] Count J. Potocki, *Voyage dans les steps d'Astrakhan et du Caucase*, II, p. 127.

[11] B. Dalgat, "Die alte Religion der Tschetschenen," *Anthropos*, III (1908), pp. 730 f. For the Islamization of the Chechens, see Vertepov, "Inguši," *Terskij Sbornik*, II (1892), No. 2, p. 87. Počidaev, *Gorcy severnago kavkaza*, p. 18.

[12] Güldenstädt, *Beschreibung der kaukasischen Länder*, p. 151.

The *Lesghians*, who are geographically and linguistically related to the Chechens, likewise countenance polygamous marriages, but, here polygyny is a privilege that has always been reserved for a few. It is to be noted that these privileged personages seldom espouse more than two women.[13] 595 [101]

The largest and the most important people of the Lesghian group are the Avars. Speaking of these people, L'vov tells us expressly that only relatively few men can boast of two or at most three wives.[14]

The Lesghians were the first to be Islamized and their conversion was the most thorough. The Laks, for example, accepted the Koran as early as the 116th year of the hegira A. D. 777. By the end of the ninth century Mohammedanism was firmly rooted among the Daghestanian mountaineers.[15] 797

Hence, to discover the pre-Islamic condition of the Lesghians, we must go to the early Persian and Arabian writers. They inform us that when Islamism was introduced into Daghestan, the people were all followers of Zoroastrianism. These reports are confirmed by the fact that today there are still not a few traces of Avestic teaching in the Caucasus and in Daghestan in particular.[16] Attempts to Christianize the Daghestanians had been made at first by Armenian, Georgian, and Byzantine missionaries, then, in the thirteenth century by the Roman Catholic Church.[17] But in spite of all Christian missionary activity, pre-Islamic Daghestan must be classified as Avestic.

Polygyny is in full accord with Zoroastrianism, no less than with Mohammedanism, and therefore there is no reason why we should place plural marriages in the Mohammedan period and exclude them from Avestic times. Ahura Mazda Himself is supposed to have had a number of wives, and Zoroaster, his Prophet, according to tradition, had three. In fact, Avesta (Vend. iii. 3) actually encourages polygyny by teaching that in the household of the just, "both women and children abound" (Geiger, *Ostiranische*, pp. 244, 247). Polygyny was ex- 595

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[13] M. Kovalevskij, *Zakon*, II, p. 166.

[14] N. L'vov, "Domaĭnaja i semejnaja žizn dagestanskich gorcev avarskago plemeni," SSKG, III (1870), p. 20.

[15] For the Islamization of Daghestan see R. Erckert, *Der Kaukasus*, pp. 152—156; for the conversion of the Laks see Said Gabiev, "Laki, ich prošloe i byt," SMOMPK, XXXVI (1906), p. 14.

[16] Abû Ḥamîd el-Andalûsî writes about the Lesghians: "They have no religion, and pay no taxes. If a man dies they hand him over to men in houses under the earth, who cut up the members of the deceased, remove the flesh entirely from the bones, collect it together on one side, and give it to ravens to devour; they stand near with bows to keep off other birds from eating any of the flesh. If a woman dies they hand her over to other men (*var.* women) under the earth, who remove her bones, and give her flesh to vultures, while they stand by with knives to hinder other birds from approaching the flesh." Abû Ḥamîd el-Andalûsî is here referring to the Kubachi, a Dargwa-speaking people. J. Abercromby, *A Trip through the Eastern Caucasus*, p. 290. Of the Colchi Aelian writes in his *Historical Miscellanies*, iv. 1 (c. A. D. 200), "The Colkhi place their dead into skins and sew them up and then hang them up in trees." Both of these practices are traces of Zoroastrianism. "To bury a body," according to Sir Denison Ross, "would defile the pure earth, which is one of the gifts of Ahuramazda, and to burn it would defile his symbol, the Sacred Fire. Bodies are therefore exposed on towers (*dkhma*) specially constructed for the purpose, to be devoured by birds of prey." (Cited by Henry Field, *Contributions to the Anthropology of Iran*, Anthropological Series Field Museum of Natural History, Chicago, December 15, 1939.) [764]

[17] J. F. Baddeley, *op. cit.*, II, p. 39.

8: Lužbetak E-4 (no date) 1951 RHl Caucasia RHl



Byzantia (iv. 4) establish the existence of endogamy in Armenia, while the present-day local endogamy of Svanetia may very well be a vestige of former in-breeding.[71] 532

There are two facts which we can deduce from the existence of endogamy in Georgia and Armenia. First of all, we are justified in looking for a *common* source of endogamy for Georgia, Armenia, and Daghestan. Secondly, we are justified in looking for this source in *pre-Christian* times, that is, before the Christianization of Georgia in the fourth century.

The origin of endogamy in all three countries must, as it seems, be sought in Iran.[72] Endogamy among the peoples of Daghestan is a survival of the ancient Avestic religion, which the Mohammedan missionaries had to combat when they came to spread the teaching of the Prophet.

In the Mazdaic creed (*Yasna* xii. 9) we find the *xvaêtvadatha* (Pahlavi *xvêtôkdas*) as an obligation. Originally the *xvaêtvadatha* ("next-of-kin marriage") aimed at preserving the purity of blood of the Iranian nobility, which was numerically weak and could be perpetuated only by in-breeding. The priests formed, in much the same way, a distinct class and cooperated with the nobility in fostering endogamous marriages. Once the custom had been firmly established, it was not difficult to attribute it to Ahura Mazda Himself and to His Prophet Zarathustra.[73]

That the *xvaêtvadatha* was an important doctrine cannot be denied and hence this all-important teaching could not have been disregarded when the Avesta was introduced into the Caucasus. It must have been taught to the converts and accepted by them, for the *xvaêtvadatha* is one of the surest marks of genuine piety in the coming days of evil; by it mortal sin is expiated; it is a bulwark against the attacks of the demons; it is the second of the seven good works; it is the ninth of the thirty-three ways of entering heaven; and lastly, Zarathustra is supposed to have prescribed it as the eighth of his ten admonitions to mankind and declared it meritorious. In fact the next-of-kin marriage is supposed to be the source of "complete progress in the world... even unto the time of the renovation of the universe." (*Dâtistân-î Dînîk* lxxvii. 6 f).[74]

If we wish to delve deeper into the history of Caucasian endogamy, we must first face a very difficult problem, a task which in fact we shall have to leave to specialists. The problem regarding the origin of next-of-kin marriages in Avestic Iran itself is controverted. Some believe it is genuinely Persian while others maintain that its ultimate source is a non-Indo-European people (perhaps of Magian origin and therefore neither Indo-European nor Semitic).[75]

That endogamy should survive in Daghestan and disappear in Georgia and Armenia is not to be wondered at. Christianization of the two latter countries was incomparably more thorough than the Islamization of the Lesghian mountain peoples. 582 [797] [795]

[71] Cf. Wesendonk, *op. cit.*, p. 62.
[72] Here we fully agree with M. Kovalevskij, *Zakon*, I, p. 89.
[73] Cf. L. H. Gray, "Marriage (Iranian)," *Hasting Encyclopedia of Religion and Ethics*, p. 458.
[74] Cf. L. H. Gray, *op. cit.*, p. 457.
[75] L. H. Gray, *op. cit.*, p. 458.

Diphthongs occur very seldom in the Caucasian languages, the strongest tendency to form such being in Chechen. 194

On the other hand, the poverty of the vocalic system is amply compensated for by the richness of the consonantal systems of the three groups, a fact especially true in regard to the languages belonging to the Northwestern branch. The Abkhazian language, which, as we have seen, has only two basic vowels, has as many as 70 different consonants.

The aspirated tenues *p' t' k'* occur in all three branches. Similarly, in all three groups we find glottocclusive tenues and affricates *p' t' k'* (*ts'*) *č'*. Lateral consonants (l°, t°, t', k°) are represented in all three groups: in the Northwestern by the Ubykhian and Kabardian languages, in the Northeastern by the Avaro-Andi sub-group, and in the Southern by the Tushian language. There are, besides these, many other interesting and unusual consonants. To mention but a few, we find in the Caucasian languages, for example, the so-called Polish l or English *w*; then, there are interesting palatals, dorsals, labialized *ź* (something between *ž* and z, or less correctly what Dirr terms the "whistling sound" of *žzv*), reduced consonants, emphatic consonants. These are but a few examples showing the richness of the consonantal system of the Caucasic languages.[18]

## 2. The Class System

Words are divided not so much according to gender as to class, a phenomenon found in all three linguistic groups. In the Northwestern group we find the classes in Abkhazian, not however in Ubykhian or in Kabardian. The Abkhaz distinguish between rational and non-rational beings. The class system is most fully developed in the Northeastern group. Generally speaking, one class includes all rational beings male and female after puberty; whereas, one to four classes generally embrace all other beings. The language of the Bats (Chechen tribe in Tushetia)[19] and the Ingushi distinguish six classes; the Dargwa, Andi, Lak, Rutulian, Archi, Tsakhur languages have four classes in all; the Avaro-Andi sub-group has three; Tabassaranians distinguish between persons and things, while the Kurins, Aghulians and Udins no longer have the class system. In South Caucasia the system is either non-existent or is still in its initial stage of development.[20] 193

## 3. Numerals

The numerals of all Caucasic languages are based on the vigesimal system.[21] 802

## 4. Verbs

The Caucasian languages are distinguished for their extremely complicated verbal forms. In the Northwestern languages complete phrases and subordinate 193

[18] A. Dirr, *l. c.*

[19] A. Dirr, *op. cit.*, pp. 29—34. See also N. Trubetzkoj, "Die Konsonantensysteme der ostkaukasischen Sprachen," *Caucasica*, VIII.

[19] Dirr, less correctly, says eight classes are distinguishable in Bats.

[20] A. Dirr, *op. cit.*, pp. 342 f.

[21] A. Dirr, *op. cit.*, pp. 358—361.

7: Columbia U. S-4,5 1956 RHl Caucasia

RHl

665

3 Muliavko, A. D.
Member of presidium CC CP Azerb. SSR, 21. s'ezd, 1956.

Bak. Rab. 1/26/56

533

5 Muradeli, Vano Il'ich, 1908-
Kabardian composer; studied in Tiflis. Wrote: Gimn Mezhdunarodnogo soiuza studentov, 1949.

BE II 28: 564

665

2 Muradian, B. A.
Member CC CP Arm. SSR, 18. s'ezd, 1956

Kom. Er. 1/22/56

646
803 1 Muskhelishvili, Nikolai Ivanovich, 1891- Deputy to Sov. Soiuz VS SSSR (4. s'ezd, 1954) President of Akad. nauk Gruz. SSR, 1941-; mathematician; Stalin prizes in 1941, 1947. Since 1922 professor of polytech. inst. Tiflis. Expert on theory of resilience. Instrumental in creating Tiflis math inst. in 1935. His chief works: Matematika SSSR za let 1917-1947. Mekhanika v SSSR za let 1917-1947. Uspekhi matemat. nauk, 1951, 4.6 vyp. 2 contains his works.

7: Columbia U. S-4, 5 1956 RHI Caucasia
RHI

646
803

Bak. Rab. 2/18/54
Zar. Vost. 2/17/54
BE II 13:70
BE I 28:568

665
646 3
242

Mustafaev, Imam Dashdemir ogly (1910-Kakhi) 1st sect. CC CP Azerb. 1954- (20. s'ezd). Member CC CP SSSR 1956- (20.s'ezd). Member Sov. Soiuz VS SSSR 1954- (4. s'ezd). Agronomist; Michurin follower; introduced new type of wheat; 1947- min. agriculture of Azerb. Member presidium CC CP Azerb. SSR, 21. s'ezd, 1956.

NYT 2/27/56 & 1/26/56
Bak. Rab. 3/18/54
Bak. Rab. 3/2/54

665
646 1

Mzhavanadze, Vasilii Pavlovich 1st. sect. CC CP Georgia 1954- (16. s'ezd). Member CC CP SSSR 1956 - (20. s'ezd). Member Sov. Soiuz VS SSSR 1954 -(4. s'ezd)

NYT 2/27/56 also 12/29/55
Pravda 2/18/56
Bak. Rab. 3/18/54
Internatl. Yearb. 1955:538

7: Columbia U. S-4, 5 1956 RHl Caucasia RHl
Georgia RI1

C. G. 771 [783] Traces of Zoroastrianism are preserved in the idea of the uncleanness of women, especially when menstruating or with child, and of corpses, as found among the Georgian mountaineers; further in some Georgian words, e.g. dzhodzhokheti "hell" (cf. M. Pers. dushakhw). C. G. [778] Remnants of Christianity in the N. W. Caucasus were the custom of planting a cross in the ground near a sacred grove, or hanging it in a sacred tree before a ceremony; C. G. [805] further the seven-day week and the names of the days, which are partly translations or mutilations of Greek names. In Abkhazia a number of Byzantine churches have been preserved.

RHl

377
2 Safrazbekian, Gurgen Sadatovich
Stalin prize 2. class, 1950, for telemechanization of Mosenergosistem.

Laur. Stalin. prem. 1950
p. 41

646
4 Safronov, Arsenii Mikhailovich
Sev. Os. deputy Sov. Nats. VS SSSR 4. sozyv, 1954

Pravda 3/18/54

536
1 Sagaradze, Georgii Illarionovich
People's artist of Georgia. Stalin prize 3. class, 1950, for role in drama Potoplennye kamni.

Laur. Stalin. Prem. 1950
p. 78

665
3 Samedov, K. A.
Member of presidium CC CP Azerb. SSR, 21. s'ezd, 1956.

Bak. Rab. 1/26/56

646
8123 Samedov, Vitalii Iunusovich
Deputy to Sov. Nats. VS SSSR (4. sozyv, 1954). Born 1919- Went to party schools; holds doctorate in philosophy; 1950-director of Institut istorii i filosofii Akad. nauk

RHl

646
812

Azerb. SSR. Member of CC CP Azerb. SSR.

Bak. Rab. 3/19/54, 2/28/54

646

4 Sanakoev, Grigorii Georgievich
Iugo-Os. deputy Sov. Nats. VS SSSR 4. sozyv, 1954

Pravda, 3/18/54

4 Sarakaev, Vladimir Basaevich
Sev. Os. deputy Sov. Nats. VS SSSR 4. sozyv, 1954

Pravda 3/18/54

538

2 Sarian, Gegam, 1902-
Armenian poet born in Iran; wrote: Strana sovetskaia, 1930; Polden', 1935. Glorifies Civil War themes, success of socialism. His works are translated into Russian. Was one of the authors who composed Pis'ma tov. Stalinu.

BE I 50: 307

242 645 3 Abdulragimov, Tagi Abragim ogly Stalin prize 2. class, 1950 for new ways of producing agricultural plants, mainly cotton. Deputy Minister of vodnoe khoziaistvo Azerb. SSR, 1950

Laur. Stalin prem. 1950
p. 55

532 3 Abdurakhman, Fuad Gason ogly Stalin prize 3. class, 1950 for his sculpture "Chaban." Born 1915- Among famous statues are: Nizami in Baku; also portraits of Bagirov, Azi Aslanov. Corresp. member of Akad. khudozh. SSSR.

Laur. Stalin prem. 1950
p. 76
BE II 1:14

814 2 Abegian, Manuk Khachaturovich 1865-1944. Armenian folklorist, linguist; Professor of Erevan univ. Wrote: Armianskie narodnye mify, 1899; Armianskii narodnyi epos, 1908; Russko-armianskii voennyi slovar' 1925; Metrika armianskogo stikha, 1933; 2 vols. of Armenian literature from V-XVIII c. (1944-46).

BE II 1:15-16

532 1 Akhvlediani, Elena Dmitrievna
1901- Georgian landscape painter; Studied in Paris; her themes are on World War II.

BE II 3:564

• 814 1 Akhvlediani, Georgii Saridanovich
1887- Georgian linguist; member of Akad. nauk Gruz. SSR. Writes on general phonetics, especially in Caucasian languages. Voprosy obshchei i gruzinskoi fonetiki, 1938

BE II 3:563

692 2 Akopian, A. A.
Member of Armenian Supreme Court Collegium

538 2 Akopian, Akop
1866-1937 in Kirovabad. Founder of Armenian proletarian lit. Collection of poems appeared in 1899. Party member since 1904. In 1923 was named: people's poet of Armenia and Georgia. Wrote: Novoeutro, Shirkanal (praising Bolshevik electrification).

BE I 2:19
II 1:607

5331 Amiranashvili, Petr Varlamovich, 1907— Georgian baritone singer; people's artist of Georgia; since 1936 soloist with Palishvili theater and opera in Tiflis; sang Onegin, Rigoletto, Iago, as well as parts in Georgian operas: Absalom i Eteri, Daisi, Kako Kachagi; Stalin prize in 1947 for singing in Mshevelidze opera: Skazanie o Tariele.

BE 2:279

814 1 Amiranashvili, Shalva Laronovich, 1899-- Georgian art historian; corresp. member of Akad. nauk SSSR; wrote: History of Georgian Art, 1944, v. 1, Iranskaia zhivopis' 18-19 vekov.

BE II 2:219

325 3
665 Amiraslanov, Meibali Fridun ogly Born in Balagasanlu, 1902- Member of CC CP Azerb. SSR. Metallurgical engineer. Deputy VS Azerb. SSR Nakhichevan deputy to Sov. Nats. VS SSSR 4. sozyv in 1954.

Bak. Rab. 3/2/54. 3/18/54

538 2 Arutiunian, Movses
see
Arazi

665 2 Arzumanian, G. A.
Member of CC CP Arm. SSR, 18. s'ezd, 1956.

Kom. Er. 1/22/56

2 Asaturian, A. T.
Member of CC CP Arm. SSR, 18. s'ezd, 1956

Kom. Er. 1/22/56

814 5 Ashkamaf, D. A.
Grammarian; wrote on Adygei language.

BE II 1:427

536 3 Ashumov, Mageram Kiazim ogly
Azerb. actor. Stalin prize 3. class, 1950 for role in Zaria nad Kaspiem presented in Azerb. gos. teatr russkoi dramy.

Laur. Stalin prem. 1950
p. 79

[cf. cat. 116, p. 677 -- Analyst]

646 1 Chichinadze, David Alekseevich
Deputy to Sov. Nats. VS SSSR (4. s'ezd, 1954). Born in Tiflis, 1902- . Blacksmith; head of locomotive concern. Deputy VS SSSR 1.-3. sozyv.

Bak. Rab. 3/19/54
Zar. Vost. 2/14/54

325 Chikashua, David Semenovich
Stalin prize 3. class, 1950
Head of metallurgical laboratory, Zestafonskii zavod.

Laur. Stalin. prem. 1950
p. 32

814 1 Chikobava, Arn. S.
1898- Philologian; follower of Stalin's dicta on linguistics; one of group that studied Caucasian languages. Opened discussion on Marr's theories in Pravda (1950).

BE II 13:70

646 1 Chikovani, Mikhail Gerasimovich
Abkhaz. deputy Sov. Nats. VS SSSR 4. sozyv, 1954. Born in Kazandzhik (Turkmenia), 1911- .

Bak. Rab. 3/18/54
Zar. Vost. 2/13/54

793 2 Chorekchian, Georg VI
Only asst. until 1938. 1945 he was elected Catholicos of all Armenians. Under his era much propaganda was made to induce Armenians from abroad to come back to Armenia. He was looked on by Soviet regime with tolerance for his activities in the cause of peace.

Armenian Catholicos 1955?
Khoren 1938
Bull. Inst. Munich v. 3, No. 2, Feb. 1956, 42-46.

814 1 Chubinashvili, Georgii Nikolaevich
1885- . Prof. at Tiflis univ.; historian of Georgian architecture. Protagonist of idea that Georgian architecture developed independently from Armenian influence. Wrote: Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der georgischen Baukunst, 1921.

BE I 61:698

646 1
643 Chubinidze, Miron Dmitrievich
Deputy to Sov. Nats. VS SSSR (4. s'ezd, 1954). President of Presidium VS Gruz. SSR.

Bak. Rab. 3/19/54
Internatl. Yearbk. 1955:538

7: Columbia U. S-4, 5 1956 RHI Caucasia

RHI

546 1 Dolidze, Semen Vissarionovich, 1903-
Georgian artist; CP member since 1942; film-producer. Films: Poslednye krestonostsy 1933, in 1936 historical film: Dariko, and in 1944 Shchit Dzhurgaia. He rec'd Stalin prize for latter in 1950. Film proclaims brotherhood of peoples of USSR.

BE II 15:25

533 1 Dolidze, Viktor Isidorovich, 1890-1933
Born in Ozurgetash (now Makharadze in Georgia) Composer and mandolin player. Wrote opera Leila in 1922, Tsisana in 1929. His is the unfinished Ossetian opera Zamira.

BE II 13:91
15:25

53 3 (?) Dolidze, Vladimir Sergeevich
Stalin prize for acting in Vasadz's Potoplennye kamni

Laur. Stalin prem. 1950
p. 78

814 2 Drzhbashian, M. M.
Corresp. member of Akad. nauk Arm. SSR and deputy chief editor of Doklady Akad. nauk Srm. SSR

7: Columbia U. S-4, 5 1956 RHI Caucasia
RHI

665 3 Dun'iamaliev, K. G.
CC CP Azerb. SSR, 20. s'ezd, 1954

536 3 Dzhabarly, Dzafar, 1899-1934
Azerb. dramatist. His best known drama is V 1905 godu; Aidyn, 1922 Iashar, 1932, Almas, 1930. Stands for emancipation of women in Azerb. Born in Khizy near Baku

BE II 14:197

665 3 Dzhafarov, A. A.
CC CP Azerb. SSR, 20. s'ezd, 1954.

643 3
665 Dzhafarov, S. M
Sect. of presidium VS SSR Azerb. (5. s'ezd, 1954) Member CC CP Azerb.

Bak. Rab. 3/10/54

• 814 1 Dzhanashia, Simon Nikolaevich, 1900-1947. Historian of Georgia. Deputy to VS SSSR 2. sozyv. Member of CP SSSR since 1940. Wrote dissertation on: feudalism in Georgia. Since 1943 director of Inst. istorii Akad. nauk Gruz. SSR. Wrote on genetic resemblance between Georgians and Orientals. Twice rec'd Stalin prize, 1942, 1947.

BE II 14:211

7: Columbia U. S-4, 5 1956 RH1 Caucasia
RH1

814 1 Dzhavakhishvili, Ivan Aleksandrovich, 1876-1940
646
Georgian historian. Wrote on Armenian-Georgian philology in his dissertation. Was among organizers Georgian university. Deputy to VS SSSR. Wrote also: Osnovnye voprosy istorii gruzinsk. iazyka.

BE II 14:198

645 1 Dzhibladze, G. N.
Minister of education Gruz. SSR, 1954

Zar. Vost. 2/18/54

377 1 Dzhigaur, Georgii Mikhailovich
Stalin prize 2. class, 1950 chief specialist of hydrotechnical research of Tiflis Gidroenergoproekt.

Laur. Stalin. prem. 1950
p. 44

646 1 Dzhokhadze, Mariia Nikolaevich
Deputy to Sov. Soiuz VS SSSR
(4. s'ezd, 1954)

Bak. Rab. 2/18/54

643 1 Dzhugashvili *
see Stalin, Iosif Vissarionovich
* [cf. cat. 116, pp. 804-805 -- Analyst]

646 1 Gulieva, Ol'ga Maksimovna
Iugo-Os. deputy Sov. Nats.
VS SSR 4. sozyv, 1954
Born in Tbeti, 1923-
Ossetian language instructor; no
party affiliation.

Pravda 3/18/54
Zar. Vost. 2/13/54

1 Guniia, Avtandil Levanovich
Deputy to Sov. Nats. VS SSSR
(4. s'ezd, 1954) Minister of
culture of Georgia.

Bak. Rab. 2/19/54
Zar. Vost. 2/17/54

• 814 3 Guseinov, G.
Russko-azerbaidzhanskii slovar',
v. 1-4, Baku, 1940-1946
Stat'i po istorii razvitiia filosofskoi
i obshchestvennoi mysli v Azer-
baidzhane. Baku, 1948

BE II 1:486 & 452

665 3 Guseinov, K. A.
Member of presidium CC CP Azerb.
SSR, 20.-21. s'ezd, 1954, 1956

Bak. Rab. 1/26/56

669
645
648

counselor to Turkey 1923-4; chief of Middle East Dept. of Ministry of Foreign Affairs 1941-3; deputy of Ministry of Foreign Affairs 1943-5; ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary to Rumania since 1945.

World Dipl. Dir. 1950, page 853

665 2 Kazarian, V. A.
Member CC CP Arm. SSR, 18.s'ezd 1956.

Kom. Er. 1/22/56

538 1 Kediashvili, D.
1862-1931. Georgian writer. Wrote: Solomon Morbeladze, 1894; Machekha Samanishvili, 1897; Nevzgody Kamushadze, 1900.

BE II 13:78

325 3(?) Kekelidze, Ivan Grigor'evich
Stalin prize 3. class, for work in metallurgy (1950).

Laur. Stalin. prem. 1950
p. 32

• 814 1 Kekelidze, Konrelii Samsonovich
1879-. Georgian academician, philologian. Wrote: Istoriia

• 814 drevnegruzinskoi literatury. 2 vols. 1923-24. 3. ed. 1951-52. Did some work on Byzantine literature as reflected in Georgian translation, and unavailable in the original.

BE II 20:491

646 1 Kemoklidze, Parten Georgevich
Deputy to Sov. Soiuz VS SSSR (4. s'ezd, 1954).

Bak. Rab. 2/18/54

538 5 Kerashev, Tembot Magometovich
1903- . Adygeian prose-writer. Translated "International" into Adygeian. Novel Shambul about collectivization of Adygeia. Rec'd Stalin prize in 1948 for Doroga k schast'iu.

BE II 20:551, I 61:254

316 3(?) Kereselidze, Konstantin Georgievich
Stalin prize 3. class, 1950. Mining engineer.

Laur. Stalin. prem. 1950
p. 35

665 3 Kerimov, A. G.
CC CP Azerb. SSR, 20. s'ezd, 1954.

7: Columbia U. S-4, 5 1956 RH1 CaucasiaRH1

814 1
646

Lomtatidze, Ketevana Vissarionovna Born in Khidistavi, 1911- philologian; editor of v. 7 Tolkovyi slovar' gruzinskogo iazyka; Director of Inst. iazykoznaniia Akad. nauk Gruz. SSR CP member since 1952. Abkhaz. deputy Sov. Nats. VS SSSR, 4.sozyv, 1954.

Zar. Vost 2/13/54
Bak. Rab. 3/18/54

325 1

Lordkipanidze, Iraklii Semenovich Stalin prize 3. class 1950 for work in metallurgy.

Laur. Stalin. prem. 1950
p. 32

58 1

Lordkipanidze, Konstantin Aleksandrovich 1904 - Didi-Dzhikhanti Georgian writer. Wrote: Novye krest'iane, 1930. Doloi kukuruznüiu respubliku, 1934. Zaria Kolkhidy, 1949 (extols CP of Georgia in this)

BE II 25:412

814 2 Malkhasian, S.
Worked on Tolkovyi slovar' armianskogo iazyka, in 4 vol.
Stalin prize.

BE II 3:80

65 2 Maltsev, E. E.
Member CC CP Arm. SSR, 18.s'ezd, 1956.

Kom. Er. 1/22/56

815 665 3 Mamedaliev, Iu. G.
President of Azerb. Akad. nauk; Member of presidium CC CP Azerb. SSR 21.s'ezd, 1956.

BE II 26:189
Bak. Rab. 1/26/56

669 3 Mamed'iarov, Mamed, 1875-1933.
Professional revolutionary born near Baku. Took part in Baku strikes in 1903, organized Baku proletarians. 1922-27 narodnyi komissar of social security of Azerb. 1922-29 head of propaganda bureau of Azerb. oil industry.

BE II 26:190

401 1 (?) Mamedzade, Ali Geidar Aga Usein
Stalin prize 2. class, 1950 for better cotton production; Head of machine-building inst. im. Beriia.

Laur. Stalin. prem. 1950
p. 55

646 1 Mamuladze, David Mikhailovich
Adzhar. deputy Sov. Nats. VS SSSR 4. sozyv, 1954.

Bak. Rab. 3/18/54

538 1 Mamulaishvili, I. G.
see
Grishashvili 1/1

• 84 2 Manandian, Iakov Amazaspovich, 1873-1951. Armenian academician since 1939. Historian; teaches ancient history of Armenia. Wrote: Kriticheskii obzor istorii armianskogo naroda, v. 1, 1945.

BE II 26: 194-5

665 2 Manasarian, A. B.
Member CC CP Arm. SSR, 17.-18. s'ezd, 1954, 1956.

Kom. Er. 1/22/56

1/1 [cf. cat. 116, p. 727 -- Analyst]

467

2 Oganesian, O.
Stalin prize winner, profsoiuz innovator.

BE II 3:73

665

3 Oleinik, G. G.
Member of presidium CC CP Azerb. SSR, 21. s'ezd, 1956.

Bak. Rab. 1/26/56

• 814

1 Orbeli, Iosif Abragovich, 1887-
Member of Akad. nauk Arm. SSR 1943- Director of Ermitazh 1934-1951. 1943-47 president of Akad. nauk Arm. SSR. Edited text: David Sasunskii. Orientalist of Georgia.

BE II 31:134

815

1 Orbeli, Leon Agarovich, 1882-
Physiologist, member of Akad nauk Arm. SSR and of Akad. nauk SSSR; col. general in medical military service. Stalin prize in 1941, pupil of Pavlov. Director of physiological inst. of Akad. nauk SSSR; 1942-46 vice-president of Akad. nauk SSSR. For his overemphasizing of the sympathetic nervous system, was criticized by Akad. med. nauk in 1950

BE II 31:134

7: Columbia U. S-4,5 1956 RHl Caucasia

RHl

665 2 Pakhlevanian, G.A.
Member CC CP Arm. SSR, 17.-18. s'ezd, 1954, 1956

Kom. Er. 1/22/56

814 3 Pakhomov, Evgenii Aleksandrovich, 1880- Historian; member of Inst. istorii Akad. nauk Azerb. SSR.

Bak. Rab. 12/28/55

533 1 Paliashvili, Ivan Petrovich, 1868-1934. Brother of Zakharii Paliashvili. Produced opera in Kiev, Kharkov, Tiflis; taught opera courses at Tiflis conservatory.

BE II 31:606

1 Paliashvili, Zakharii Petrovich, 1871-1933, born in Kutaisi. Classical music composer. Taught in Tiflis; director of Georgian philharmonic orchestra 1908-1917. Romance: Iunoi poliubiv dushoi. Opera: Abesalom i Eteri, Daisi. The opera and ballet theater of Tiflis is named after him.

BE II 31:604-6

21: Kolarz J-4 (no date) 1952 R1 Soviet Union R1
[Kabardin] Caucasia RH 1



S.U. 563 634 687

achieved a dual purpose. In addition to punishing the Balkars it served as a warning for the Kabardinians, who from then on hastened to express their loyalty towards Soviet Russia in a very demonstrative, even effusive, way.

Ca. 177.81 814 S.U. 563 814

After the war the Soviet authorities found it advisable to provide for the Kabardinians, as a means of strengthening their allegiance to the Soviet State, a clear conception of history which would unequivocally show that the Russians had always been the protectors of the Kabardinian people. The task of formulating the details of this conception was assigned to the 'Kabardinian Research Institute', whose headquarters are in Nalchik, the capital of the Kabardinian A.S.S.R. The new conception implied the 'official recognition' of Temryuk Idarovich as the national hero of Kabarda. Kabardinian children are expected to look up to Temryuk with the same awe as Russian boys and girls to Peter the Great or Suvorov. According to the new official thesis Temryuk, a Kabardinian prince who lived around 1550, 'endeavoured to build up a strong centralized State able to resist Turkish and Crimean Tartar oppressors'. Temryuk had realized that the Kabardinians were incapable of withstanding their enemies if they were to rely on their own forces only; establishment of close contacts with Muscovy was therefore the only wise Kabardinian policy.[15]

It is the same story which is told with some variation to all the peoples of the Soviet Union in all their many languages. There is always a grain of truth in the story, but never the entire truth, since history is not so simple and so clear-cut that it would fit the purposes of a one-sided propaganda. It is a historical fact that Temryuk asked Ivan the Terrible for protection and even gave him his daughter for wife. Originally, in the days of greater internationalism, Soviet historians failed to stress this fact, and laid more emphasis on the slave trade in which the Kabardinian feudal lords had engaged with the Crimean Tartar Khanate. However, since events had proved the necessity of increasing the attachment and loyalty of the Kabardinians to the Russians and the Soviet State, Temryuk had to be brought to the forefront of Kabardinian history.

Ca. 177.53 538 Ca. 871 191

Kabardinian post-war literature also pursued the aim of re-educating the Kabardinian people. The central theme of the first Kabardinian literary almanac consisted in showing that it was 'the friendship with the Russian people that led the Kabardinians towards a better life.'[16]

While a great deal was done for 're-education' in the sense required by the Russians, education as such had been neglected during the first post-war years, at least as far as the Kabardinian language was concerned. The so-called 'national' schools in the Kabardinian A.S.S.R. were Kabardinian in the first four forms only; from the fifth form onwards teaching was in the Russian language exclusively. The Central Committee of the All-Union Communist Party issued in 1948 a state-

7 :Columbia U. S-4,5 1956 RH1 Caucasia
RH1

665 3 Aliev, Firidun Ali ogly
646 Deputy to Sov. Nats. VS SSSR (4. sozyv, 1954) Born in Baladzhary 1921- Machinist. Member of presidium CC CP Azerb. SSR. 21. s'ezd 1956.

Bak. Rab. 3/19/54, 1/26/56

646 4 Aliev, Gadzhi-Kasum Shikhmurzaevich
Dag. deputy Sov. Nats. VS SSSR, (4. sozyv, 1954)

Pravda 3/18/54

646 3 Aliev, Musa Mirzoevich
665 Deputy to Sov. Nats. VS SSSR (4. sozyv, 1954) Born in Shemakha, 1908- ;geologist; 1941- member of CP; 1947-1950 president of Gosplan and deputy president of Azerb. SSR. 1950- member and president of Akad. nauk. Azerb. SSR. Member of CC CP Azerb. SSR. Deputy to VS SSSR 2.-3. sozyv.

Bak. Rab. 3/19/54, 2/25/54

• 815 2 Alikhanov, Artemie I.
1908- and brother Alikhanian, Abram Isaakovich, 1904-. Members of Akad. nauk SSSR since 1934; both worked on cosmic ray theory and rec'd Stalin prizes in 1941 and 1948 (for discovery of varitrons).

BE II 2:111 3:68 -671-

7: Columbia U. S-4, 5 1956 RHl Caucasia
RHl

646 3
665 Allakhiarly, Ismail Babaiar ogly
Deputy to Sov. Soiuz VS SSSR
(4. s'ezd, 1954) Born in Shemakha,
1905- Member of CC CP Azerb. SSR

Bak. Rab. 3/18/54, 2/25/54

665 3 Allakhverdiev, T. A.
Member of presidium CC CP Azerb.
SSR, 21. S'ezd, 1956.

Bak. Rab. 1/26/56

759 2 Ambartsumian, Sarkis, 1880- in
Nagornyi Karabakh. Physician; since
1926 president of Armenian Sovnarkom.

BE I 2:384

• 815 2
665 Ambartsumian, Viktor Amazospovich
Born in 1908- ; astrophysicist
(specialized in intrastellar light
absorption) Stalin prize in 1950
Deputy Sov. Soiuz VS SSSR (4. sozyv,
1954) Member of CC CP Arm. SSR
17-18. s'ezd 1954 and 1956)

Kom. Er. 3/2/54 & 1/22/56
BE II 1:566, 2:217 (bibliography of works)
Vest. Akad. nauk SSSR, 1947, No. 10

665 2 Astsatrian E. T.
Member of CC CP Arm. SSR, 17-18. s'ezd, 1954, 1956.

Kom. Er. 1/22/56

815 2 Atalian, Arfeniia Arkad'evna
Stalin prize 3. class, for work in chemistry (on lubricating fats)

Laur. Stalin prem. 1950
p. 39

2 Avakian, Artavazd Arshakovich
Stalin prize 2. degree, 1950 for the theory on development of plant organisms. Corresp. member of Akad. nauk SSSR.

Laur. Stalin. prem. 1950
p. 10

536 2 Avetisian, Avet Markosovich, 1897-
Armenian actor; portrayed about 200 roles in Sundukian theater of Erevan; Stalin prize in 1941 for movie role in Zangezur.

BE II 1:70

815 1 Bakhtadze, Kseniia Ermolaevna
Adzhar Deputy Sov. Nats. VS SSSR 4. sozyv, 1954. Born 1899- in Tiflis; seed specialist. Wrote: Morfologicheskii sostav chaia v Gruzii

Bak. Rab. 3/18/54
Zar. Vost. 2/27/54

533 1 Bakhutashvili, Ol'ga Aleksandrovna, 1876-1950 Georgian coloratura singer. People's artist of Georgia; was first to sing in Paliashvili operas. Taught at Tiflis conservatory.

BE II 4:331

692 2 Bakoev, U. B.
Chairman of criminal collegium of the Armenian Supreme Court

Curr. digest 1956

533 1 Balanchivadze, Andrei Melitonovich 1905- Rec'd three Stalin prizes for his musical compositions. Wrote: Zhizn', comic opera

BE II 4:115

7:Columbia U. S-4,5 1956 RH1 Caucasia
RH1

815 1 Beritashvili, Ivan Solomonovich
1884- in Vedzhin (Georgia).
Founder of physiology school of Georgia. Professor at Tiflis Univ. His works are on role of central nervous system, on theory of electric shock in treatment, etc. Wrote: Obshchaia fiziologiia myshechnoi i nervnoi systemy, for which he received Stalin prize in 1941. Had committed grave errors against Pavlov's teachings but recanted later.

BE II 5:21
Problemy nervnoi fiziologii i povedeniia, 1936, p. 8

1 Beritov, I. S.
SEE Beritashvili, I. S.

646 5 Bliagoz, Khimsad Makhmudovna
Adyg. deputy Sov. Nats. VS SSSR
4. sozyv, 1954

Pravda 3/18/54

4 Bocharov, Ivan Lazarevich
Sev. Os. deputy Sov. Nats. VS SSSR
4. sozyv, 1954

Pravda 3/18/54

645 2 Boiakhchev, S. G.
Member of CC CP Arm.SSR, 18. s'ezd, 1956.
Kom. Er. 1/22/56

7:Columbia U. S-4, 5 1956 RH1 Caucasia
RH1

538 1 Chikovani, Simon
1901-. Georgian writer; began as a futurist, now representative of proletarian ideology in literature. While he is against glorification of past, he defends revolutionary romanticism in his works. Wrote: Makholod Lekseb̄i, Bedi respublika, Ot Kavkaza do Taganroga (poem)

BE I 61:579
BE II 13:78

815 1 Chitaia, Trofim Levonovich
Stalin prize 3. class for directing certain Georgian geological undertaking.

Laur. Stalin. prem. 1950
p. 35

532 1 Chkheidze, Konstantin Viacheslavovich
Stalin prize 2. class, 1950 for architectural decorations in the theater in Chiaturi (?).

Laur. Stalin. prem. 1950
p. 76

665 1 Chkheidze, Nikolai Semenovich
1864-1926. Menshevik; after annexation of Georgia to USSR, went abroad, and shortly thereafter committed suicide.

BE I 61:782

7:Columbia U. S-4,5 1956 RHI Caucasia
RHI

204 1 Chkhikvishvili, I.
Editor of Zaria vostoka (1955)

815 1 Chkhikvishvili, Zebed Iraklievich
Stalin prize 3. class, 1950
for geological works.

Laur. Stalin. prem. 1950
p. 35

538 1 Chkhivadze, Panteleimon
1903- . Georgian, proletarian writer. Member of CP SSSR. In his works he extolls possibilities of tomorrow. Wrote: Tov. Butkhuzi, Etazhi. Both are translated into Russian.

BE I 61:782

646 1 Chochua, Andrei Maksimovich
Abkhaz. deputy Sov. Nats. VS SSSR
4. sozyv, 1954

Bak. Rab. 3/18/54

665 2 Cholakchian, G. T.
Member CC CP Arm. SSR, 18. s'ezd, 1956.

Kom. Er. 1/22/56

538 1 Dadiani, Shalva Nikolaevich, 1874-
Georgian writer. Member of CP SSSR since 1945. People's artist of Georgia. Representative of critical realism in Georgian lit. Wrote: Iz iskry (1937) which was translated into Russian in 1940. Wrote 37 plays. Deputy to VS SSSR 1.-2. sozyv. Rec'd Lenin order.

BE II 13:299

646 4 Dagirov, Nabi Sadykovich
Dag. deputy Sov. Nats. VS SSSR, 4. soz., 1954

Pravda 3/18/54

646 2
815 Daian, Viktoriia Ovanesovna
Deputy Sov. Nats. VS SSSR, 4. sozyv, 1954. Born 1904- in Nor Baiazet. Economist; teacher

Kom. Er. 3/19/54
2/17/54

7: Columbia U. S-4,5 1956 RHl Caucasia
RHI

815 1 Dalakishvili, Mikhail Semenovich
Stalin prize 3. class. Director of Inst. polevodstva Akad. nauk. Gruz. SSR. Prize rec'd for work: Vozdelyvanie pshenitsy v nizmennoi zone Zapadnoi Gruzii, publ. in Trudy Adzhametskoi opytnoi stantsii polevodstva Akad. nauk Gruz. SSR, 1949/50

Laur. Stalin. prem. 1950
p. 11

665 4
646 Danialov, Abdurakhmin Daniialovich
1st sect. CC CP Dagestan
Member CC CP SSSR 1956- (20. s'ezd). Member Sov. Soiuz VS SSSR 1954- (4. s'ezd)

NYT 2/27/56
Bak. Rab. 3/18/54

533 2
646 Danielian, Aikanush Bagdasarovna, 1893- Armenian singer. Born in Tiflis. Made debut in St. Petersburg. Now soloist with Erevan opera im. Spendiarov since 1932. Sings in Armenian operas mostly, but occasionally in Glinka and Meyerbeer operas also. Deputy to VS SSSR 2. sozyv.

BE II 13:338

7: Columbia U. S-4, 5 1956 RHl Caucasia
RHl

•815 1 Daraseliia, Mikhail Konstantinovich
Stalin prize 3. class, 1950 for his: Krasnozemnye i podzolistye pochvy Gruzii i ikh ispol'zovanie pod subtropicheskie kul'tury, 1949. Geologist; head of Vsesoiuz. nauchn. issled. inst. chaia i subtropich. kul'tur.

Laur. Stalin. prem. 1950
p. 11

536 5 Daud, Tsei, 1900-
Cherkessian dramatist

BE I 61:254

665 3 Davidian, O. G.
CC CP Azerb. SSR, 20. s'ezd, 1954

815 1 Davitshvili, Leo Shioevich, 1895-
Paleontologist; member of Akad. nauk. Gruz. SSR since 1944. Wrote: Razvitie idei i metodov v paleontologii posle Darvina, 1940 and and Istoriia evoliutsionnoi paleontologii ot Darvina do nashikh dnei, 1948. Rec'd Stalin prize for the latter.

BE II 13:260
19:279

665 2 Davtian, G. S.
Member CC CP Arm. SSR, 18. s'ezd, 1956. Editor of Doklady Akad. nauk Arm. SSR.

Kom. Er. 1/22/56

576 3 Davudova, Marziia Iusif kyzy, 1901-
Actress; member of CP SSSR since 1942. Deputy VS Azerb. SSR 2. -3. sozyv. Acted in Azizbekov theater in Baku. Stalin prize in 1948 for role Giul'zar in play Utro Vostoka E. Mamedkhanlyi.

BE II 13:266

538 1 Dedobrishvili
see Aragvispireli, S. Z. 1/1

1/1 [cf. cat. 116, p. 676 -- Analyst]

7:Columbia U. S-4, 5 1956 RHI Caucasia
RHI

815 1
646

Dzhanelidze, Aleksandr Illainovich 1888-. Georgian geologist; member of Akad. nauk Gruz. SSR; deputy to VS Gruz. SSR 1.-3. sozyv. Writes on paleontology. 1951- vice president of Akad. nauk Gruz. SSR; professor at Tiflis univ. Head of Inst. geol. Akad. nauk Gruz. SSR. Specialist in regional tectonics of Georgia.

BE II 13:70
14:212

759 1 (3?)

Dzhanelidze, Justin Ivlianovich 1883-1950. Surgeon; member of Akad. med. nauk SSR; editor of Vestnik khirugriiim. Grekova, 1937-1941. Stalin prize in 1949. Specialist on heart wound surgery. Pres. of 25. Vsesoiuz. s'ezd khirurgov. Encycl. does not mention that he is Azerb. or Georgian in origin.

BE II 14:212

816 1
646

Dzhanelidze, Tamaz Vissarionovich Adzhar. deputy Sov. Nats. VS SSSR 4. sozyv, 1954. Born in Tiflis, 1926- Engineer, party official of Komsomol. 1st sect. CC LKSM of Georgia (Zar. Vost. 29. Dec. 1955, p. 4)

Bak. Rab. 3/18/54
Zar. Vost. 2/13/54

7:Columbia U. S-4, 5 1956 RH1 Caucasia
RH1

5:2
646

1 Dzhaparidze, Ucha Malakievich 1906- in Tiflis. Painter; member CP SSSR 1944- . Painted portraits of Shota Rustaveli, Chavchavadze (1937), Paliashvili (1941). Beriia (1950). Most known painting: "l. maiskaia demonstratsiia v Tbilise." Deputy VS Gruz. SSR l. 3. sozyv; people's artist of Georgia. Studied under Toidze, Lansere.

BE II 14:214

815 1 Dzhavakhishvili, Aleksandr Nikolaevich, 1875-
Geographer and anthropologist; member of Akad. nauk Gruz. SSR. Organized cartography inst. Wrote Antropologiia Gruzii, 1908-1914, in 2 vols. Also: Geografiia Gruzii in 1926.

BE II 14:198

643
665

1 Dzhavakhishvili, Givi Dmitrievich Premier of Georgia. Member CC CP SSSR 1956 - (20. s'ezd) Member Sov. Soiuz, VS SSSR 1954- (4. s'ezd)

NYT 2/27/56
Bak. Rab. 3/18/54
Zar. Vost. 2/17/54.

7: Columbia U, S-4, 5 1956 RHl Caucasia RHl

538 2 Gabrielian, Rachii Kocharovich
see
Rachii Kochar (pseud.) 1

815 1 Gabuniia, Evtikhii Bagratovich
Stalin prize 3. class, 1950 geologist.

Laur. Stalin.prem. 1950
p. 35

538 4(1?) Gadiev, Tsomak, Mikhail Iur'evich, 1883-1931
Ossetian revolutionary poet; son of Osset. revolutionary Seka Gadiev. The poems lash against czarist regime. Narod, Nabat; Glorification of socialism Chest' predkov, 1931, about Osset. peasants becoming collectivized. Unfinished trilogy: Idushchie k schast'iu, 1929-

BE II 9:613

646 1 Gadliia, Mariia Vladimirovna
Abkhaz. deputy Sov. Nats. VS SSSR, 4. sozyv, 1954.

Bak. Rab. 3/18/54

1 [cf. cat. 116, p. 788 -- Analyst]

533 2 Grigorian, Vagram Mkrtichevich
Stalin prize 3. class, 1950 opera artist

Laur. Stalin,prem. 1950
p. 80

538 1 Grishashvili (pseud. Iosif Grigor'evich Mamulaishvili) 1899-
Georgian poet; member of Akad. nauk Gruz. SSR. Born in Tiflis. First lyric poems: Buket roz, 1906 Proshchanie so starym Tbilisi, 1925. Stalin prize in 1950. Wrote also: Lermontov i gruzin. lit, and Ostrovskii i gruzin. teatr. Translated many Armenian works into Georgian.

BE II 12:624

• 815 3 Grossgein, Aleksandr Al'fonsovich, 1888-1948. Azerb. botanist; member of Azerb. Akad. nauk; taught in Tiflis 1917- Director of botanical inst. of Azerb. Akad. nauk; at the Azerb. Kirov univ. created chair of morphology and systematology of higher plants. Wrote Flora Kavkaza, 1928 in 4 vols. Analiz flory Kavkaza 1936 and Rastitel'nye resursy Kavkaza, 1946. The bibliography of his works appears in Botanicheskii zhurnal, 1949, No. 3

BE II 13:17-18

• 815 1 Guliashvili, Vasilii Zakhar'evich, 1903- Soviet forestry expert; member of Akad. nauk Gruz. SSR; writes on biology, ecology. Director of Forestry inst. of Akad. nauk Gruz. SSR in 1954.

BE II 13:192
Zar. Vost. 2/17/54

538 1 Gulia, Dmitrii Iosifovich
Abkhaz. deputy Sov. Nats. VS SSSR, 4. sozyv. 1954. Born in 1874-Varch; national poet of Abkaziia; founder of Abkhaz art and lit. Taught Abkhazian at Tiflis univ. Translates into Abkhaz. language Pushkin, Krylov, Nekrasov.

Bak. Rab. 3/18/54 & Zar. Vost 2/23/54
BE II 13:191-2
I 19:785

1. Gulia, Georgii Dmitrievich, 1913-
Abkhaz. artist, writer; member of CP SSR since 1940. Writes in Russian. Born in Sukhumi. Son of writer D. I. Gulia. For Vesna v Sakene rec'd Stalin prize in 1948. Wrote first Abkhazian grammar, and edited first Abkhazian periodical Apsny, (Abkhazia). Translated the "International" into Abkhazian. Member of VS Abkhaz. SSR. His first works: Abrakil and Kamachich. After revolution dedicates many of his poems to Lenin, Stalin and Beriia, and extol the wisdom of CP, the new Soviet man, etc. Wrote the first Abkhaz. short story: Pod chuzhim nebom.

BE: II 13:191

706 1 Iskaov, Admiral Ivan Stepanovich 1894-, Tiflis. Naval officer, educated in technol. institute. Taught Soviet mil. acad. till 1937. Commander of Baltic fleet; flag officer 2nd rank; 2nd vice-commissar of Navy. Admiral in 1939. Same year visited USA as member of commission placing an order. Navy chief of staff in 1941; admiral of fleet since 1944. Deputy to VS SSSR (1936). Head of editorial board: Marine Atlas. Wrote: The Navy in the Patriotic War, 1944.

World biogr. 1954, p. 577

645 665 3 Iskenderov, Gusein Nadzhaf Minister of automobile transportation (1954) - Azerb. Member of CC CP Azerb. SSR, 20. s'ezd, 1954.

Bak. Rab. 3/10/54

665 3 Iskenderov, M. S. CC CP Azerb. SSR, 20. s'ezd, 1954

• 815 665 646 3 Iskenderov, Mamed Abdul ogly Deputy to Sov. Soiuz VS SSSR 4. s'ezd, 1954. Born in Eivazlar, 1915-. Geologist; 1953- 1st. sect. Bakinskii gorodskoi komitet; 1954, 1956, member of CC CP Azerb. SSR 20.-21. s'ezd. Deputy to VS Azerb. SSR.

Bak. Rab. 3/18/54, 1/26/54

• 815 3 Kalandzade, Antifor Dmitrievich
Stalin prize 3. class, engineer, geologist

Laur. Stalin. prem. 1950
p. 35

232 2 Kalantar, Avetis Airapetovich
1859-1937. Agriculture expert; educated in Moscow; instrumental in creating dairy business in Vologda. Since 1930 head of dairy industry of Erevan zooveterinary inst.

BE II 19:393

546 1 Kalatozov, Mikhail Konstantinovich
1903-. Georgian movie producer; wrote: Litso Golivuda. Stalin prize in 1951.

BE II, 19:394

341 1 Kal'gin, Anatolii Nikolaevich
1875-1943. Lived in Georgia since 1907. Architect interested in Georgian style; built Tiflis public library along traditional Georgian forms.

BE II 19:460

665 3 Kerimova, Z. A.
CC CP Azerb. SSR, 20. s'ezd, 1954

538 5 Keshokov, A.
1914-
Kabardian author; wrote poem
U podnozh'ia gor, 1941

BE II 19:216

815 875 646 1 Ketskhoveli, Nikolai Nikolaevich
1897-. Botanist; member of Akad. nauk Gruz. SSR since 1941; rector of Tiflis univ. since 1945. Collected material on Georgian forests. Published: Atlas kul'turnoi flory Gruzii, Flora Gruzii. Deputy to VS SSR I. 3. sozyv. Head of agricult. div. Akad. nauk Gruz. SSR.

BE II 20:578
Zar. Vost. 2/17/54

645 1 Ketsoveli, Z. N.
Minister of food industry Gruz. SSR, 1954.

Zar. Vost. 2/17/54

533 2 Khachaturian, Aram Il'ich
1904-, Tiflis. Finished conservatory in Moscow 1934. Began with

232 3 Khachaturovna, Mosesian Margo
Born in Nagorno-Karabakhskaia oblast, 1925. Veterinarian; since 1953 in kolkhoz im. Stalin in Martuninskii raion. Unsuccessful candidate Sov. Nats. VS SSSR 4. sozyv, 1954.

Bak. Rab. 2/18/54.

536 5 Khadzhieva, Tashu
20. c. Chechen actress

BE II 61:535

538 5 Chakurate, S.
Famous Cherkessian author; head of Gorskii ispolkom 1921.

BE I 61:254

759 5
815 Khanene, Filipp Semenovich
Stalin prize 3. class, 1950, for combatting bacillary dysentery. Head of laboratory of Vsesoiuz, nauch. issled. khimiko-farmatseut. inst. im. S. Ordzhonikidze.

Laur. Stalin. prem. 1950
p. 65

538 5 Khatkov, Akhmet 1902-
Rec'd prizes at the North-Caucasian Olympics of national arts; writes poems, stories of con-

7: Columbia U. S-4, 5 1956 RHI Caucasia RHI

815 2 Knuniants, Ivan Liudvigovich, 1906-
Stalin prizes in 1943, 1948, and 1950 for his achievements in chemistry. Member of Akad. nauk SSSR since 1946. Synthesized pyrimidine analogs of dyes.

BE II 21:482

538 5 Koble, Bitlestan, 1902
Cherkessian author of historical drama Khimsad; written both in Adygei and Russian

BE I 61:254

5321 Kobuladze, Sergei Solomonovich, 1909- Stalin prize in 1947 for sets to Mshvelidze's opera: Skazanie o Tarieli, and prize in 1948 for sets to Kiladze's ballet Sinatle. CP member since 1947. Studied art, drawing at univ. Tiflis. Illustrated Slovo o polku Igoreve (1939-1942); also illustrated Rustaveli's Vitiaz' v tigrovoi shkure.

BE II 21:496

6652 Kocharian, L. M.
Member CC CP Arm. SSR, 17.-18. s'ezd, 1954, 1956

Kom. Er. 1/22/56

814 2 Malkhasian, S.
Worked on Tolkovyi slovar' armianskogo iazyka, in 4 vol.
Stalin prize.

BE II 3:80

665 2 Maltsev, E. E.
Member CC CP Arm. SSR, 18.s'ezd, 1956.

Kom. Er. 1/22/56

815 665 3 Mamedaliev, Iu. G.
President of Azerb. Akad. nauk; Member of presidium CC CP Azerb. SSR 21.s'ezd, 1956.

BE II 26:189
Bak. Rab. 1/26/56

669 3 Mamed'iarov, Mamed, 1875-1933.
Professional revolutionary born near Baku. Took part in Baku strikes in 1903, organized Baku proletarians. 1922-27 narodnyi komissar of social security of Azerb. 1922-29 head of propaganda bureau of Azerb. oil industry.

BE II 26:190

815 1 Margalitadze, Apollon Vladimirovich
Stalin prize 3. class, 1950 geologist.

Laur. Stalin. prem. 1950
p. 35

646
665 2 Margarian, Grach Khachaturovich
Deputy Sov. Nats. VS SSSR
4. sozyv, 1954. Member CC CP
Arm. SSR, 17.-18. s'ezd 1954,
1956.

Kom. Er. 3/19/54
1/22/56

646 4 Margiev, Nester Amzorovich
Sev. Os. deputy Sov. Nats. VS SSSR
4. sozyv, 1954.

Pravda 3/18/54

692 2 Markarian, M. S.
Member of criminal collegium of
Armenian supreme court.

Curr. digest 1956

665 2 Martirosian, B. G.
Member CC CP Arm. SSR, 17.-18.
s'ezd, 1954, 1956.

Kom. Er. 1/22/56

815 1 Modębadze, Tamara Razhdenovna
Deputy to Sov. Soiuz VS SSSR (4. s'ezd, 1954). Born in Chiatura 1912- chemist; no party affiliation.

Bak. Rab. 2/18/54
Zar. Vost. 2/13/54

538 1 Mosashvili, Il'o Onisimovich, 1896-1954. Georgian poet, dramatist Deputy VS SSSR 1.-3. sozyv. Born in Chargali. Since 1926 worked on various Georgian newspapers. Paid tribute to Michurin adherents in poem: Ego zvezda, 1950. Won Stalin prize in 1950 for his drama Potoplennye kamni.

Laur. Stalin prem. 1950, p. 68
BE II 28:360

665 2 Movsesian, K. M.
Member CC CP Arm. SSR, 18. s'ezd, 1956.

Kom. Er. 1/22/56

2 Movsesian, S. A.
Member CC CP Arm. SSR, 17.-18. s'ezd, 1954, 1956.

Kom. Er. 1/22/56

7: Columbia U. S-4, 5 1956 RHl Caucasia
RHl

815

1 Natishvili, Aleksandr Nikolaevich, 1878- Anatomist; member of Akad. nauk. Gruz. SSR since 1944. Member of CP since 1945. Teaches at med. faculty of Tiflis univ. Wrote anatomical nomenclature, and anatomy textbooks in Georgian.

BE II 29:229

646
232 1 Natroshvili, Archil Georgievich Deputy to Sov. Nats. VS SSSR (4. s'ezd, 1954) Born in Zemo-Machkhaani, 1905- Agricultural specialist; since 1949 director of Gruz. nauch. issled. inst. zhivotnovodstva; in 1952 introduced new breed of sheep for which he rec'd Stalin prize.

Bak. Rab. 3/19/54
Zar. Vost. 2/13/54

646
3 Nazirova, Mina Bashir kyzy Deputy to Sov. Nats. VS SSSR (4. sozyv, 1954.)

Bak. Rab. 3/19/54

7: Columbia U. S-4, 5, 1956 RHl Caucasia

RHl

467

2 Oganesian, O.
Stalin prize winner, profsoiuz innovator.

BE II 3:73

665

3 Oleinik, G. G.
Member of presidium CC CP Azerb. SSR, 21. s'ezd, 1956.

Bak. Rab. 1/26/56

814

1 Orbeli, Iosif Abragovich, 1887-
Member of Akad. nauk Arm. SSR 1943- Director of Ermitazh 1934-1951. 1943-47 president of Akad. nauk Arm. SSR. Edited text: David Sasunskii. Orientalist of Georgia.

BE II 31:134

• 815

1 Orbeli, Leon Agarovich, 1882-
Physiologist, member of Akad. nauk Arm. SSR and of Akad. nauk SSSR; col. general in medical military service. Stalin prize in 1941, pupil of Pavlov. Director of physiological inst. of Akad. nauk SSSR; 1942-46 vice-president of Akad. nauk SSSR. For his overemphasizing of the sympathetic nervous system, was criticized by Akad. med. nauk in 1950

BE II 31:134

7: Columbia U. S-4,5 1956 RHl Caucasia
RHl

535
2 Petrosian, Avak Gegamovich
Stalin prize 3. class, 1950 for performing in opera Geroinia.

Laur. Stalin. prem. 1950
p. 80

646
665
815
875
2 Petrosian, Garegin Bakhshievich
Deputy Sov. Nats. VS SSSR, 4 sozyv, 1954. Member CC CP Arm. SSR, 17.-18. s'ezd, 1954, 1956. Rector of Erevan univ. since 1949. Physicist-mathematician; wrote Matematika v drevnei i srednevekov. Armenii.

Kom. Er. 3/19/54, 1/22/56, 2/27/54

815
2 Piotrovskii, Boris Borisovich 1908-
Chlen-korrespondent Akad. nauk. Arm. SSSR (1945). Archeologist. Specialist on Zakavkaze. 1930 Archeological research in Teishebiani on hill Karmir-Blur near Erevan, and contributes source material on history of Urartu state 6-8c. BC. 1946 Stalin prize. Interested in Scythian problem and origin of Armenians.

BE I 3:80, BE II 33:58

RHl

538

3 Rustamo, Suleiman Aliabbas ogly
1906- Azerb. poet; deputy to VS Azerb. SSR. In 1927 published collection of poems: K radosti. Translated from Georgian Rustaveli's Vitiaz' v tigrovoi shkure.

BE I 49:906

665

2 Saakian, S.M.
Member of CC CP Arm. SSR, 17.-18. s'ezd, 1954, 1956

Kom. Er. 1/22/56

815

1 Sabashvili, M.
Director of soil science institute of Akad. nauk Gruz. SSR, 1954

Zar. Vost 2/17/54

532

3 Sabsaem, P.
Azerb. sculptor; member of Akad. nauk. Azerb. SSR; Stalin prize for S.M. Kirov statue in Baku park.

BE II 1:475

665

3 Sadykov, R.N.
CC CP Azerb. SSR, 20. s'ezd, 1954

3 Safaraliev, R.K.
CC CP Azerb. SSR, 20. s'ezd, 1954

7:Columbia U. S-4,5 1956 RHI Caucasia
RHI

646
1 Sekhniashvili, Emil Alekseevich
Deputy to Sov. Nats. VS SSSR
(4. s'ezd, 1954)

Bak. Rab. 3/19/54

4 Sevast'ianov, Mikhail Mikhailovich
Sev. Os. Deputy Sov. Nats. VS
SSSR 4. sozyv, 1954

Pravda, 3/18/54

242
2 Sevumian, Grigorii Ivanovich
Stalin prize 2. class, 1950 for new
ways to produce cotton

Laur. Stalin. prem. 1950
p. 55

665
2 Shaginian, A. Kh.
Member CC CP Arm. SSR, 17.-18.
s'ezd, 1954, 1956

Kom. Er. 1/22/56

815
2 Shaginian, Marietta Sergeevna, 1888-
Stalin prize 3. class, 1950 for work
Puteshestvie po sovetskoi Armenii
Wrote also: Svoia sud'ba peremena.
Studied mineralogy in Moscow.

Laur. Stalin. prem. 1950, p. 67
BE I 61:788-90

815
759 1 Tsinamzgvarishvili, M.D., 1884-
Member of Akad. nauk Gruz. SSR; cardiologist.

Knizh. Let. 1955, No. 5:59

646
1 Tsitlidze, Givi Akakievich
Deputy to Sov. Nats. VS SSSR (4. s'ezd, 1954)

Bak. Rab. 3/19/54

665
204 1
647 Tsivtsivadze, Il'ia Venediktovich, 1881-. Soviet party official; organized illegal typography in Batum and Tiflis during revolution. Edited Bolshevik paper Dro. 1917-1920 member of Moskovskii komitet. 1930-31 president of Mosmiasoprom.

BE I 60:675

665
2041 Tskhakaia, Mikhail Grigor'evich (also, Mikha, Barsov, Leonov, Gurgen), 1865- Party member since 1898. 1917-1920 member of Tiflis komitet CP. Member of Tsentre. ispol. komitet of Transcaucasus; Member of 11, 13, 15-16 party congresses. Was one of the editors of Kavkazskii rabochii, in 1917-8.

BE I 60:779-781

RHl

815

1 Uznadzem, Dmitrii Nikolaevich, 1886-. Psychology professor at Tiflis univ. Member of Akad. nauk Gruz. SSR. Wrote on "Psychologie der Einstellung", his thesis being: "Ustanovka - eto izmenenie lichnosti kotoroe voznikaet v rezul'tate vozdeistviia vneshnego mira na aktivno deistvuiushchii organism."

BE I 55:706

536

1 Vachnadze, Nataliia Georgievna, 1904- . People's artist of Georgia. Acted in "Arsen-Razboinik" in 1923; rec'd Stalin prize in 1941 for film role in Zolotistaia dolina.

BE II 7:67

5 Vakhtangov, Evgenii Bagrationovich, 1883-1922. Born in Dzaudzhikau, of Russian Armenian family. Famous producer; follower of Stanislavskii theories in theater. Produced Chekhov's Svad'ba in 1920. There is theater by his name in Moscow.

BE II 7:63

8: Lužbetak E-4 (no date) 1951 RH1 Caucasia RH1
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or non-Soviet ethnographers of today might be compared with such scholars as Čursin or Pčelina, to mention but two leading Soviet ethnographers. Present Soviet ethnography distinguishes itself by its exactness and scholarship in general. Another great merit of the Soviets, which cannot be over-estimated, is the encouragement given native Caucasians to study their own culture. The Georgians, of course, are the most active folklorists and the works produced by such students of Georgian culture as Nioradze and Makalatija may be compared with the best any country might offer. The centres of research are the Museums of Vladikavkaz, Petrovsk, and Tiflis. But besides these centres, a number of smaller branch institutes for specialized study of local cultures have been founded. Special training is given to future folklorists at the University of Tiflis. Folklore is being encouraged also by frequent museum exhibitions.[71] And in general, the rapid development of museums in the Caucasus is astounding. Since the Revolution they have doubled and trebled their collections. The Georgian Museum in Tiflis will serve as a good example. In 1926 small independent collections were pooled and collectors were sent out to various parts of Georgia. In 1921 the Museum had 12,500 specimens; in 1938 it could boast of 31,000, having more than doubled its collection within 17 years. The collection now includes 274 costumes, 620 amulets, 660 ornaments, 390 pieces of woodwork, 1,850 specimens of arms, 1,800 specimens of pottery, 600 musical instruments, 300 agricultural implements.[72] In recent years Tiflis has become a great centre of well-planned expeditions undertaken by trained fieldworkers. Expeditions to Svanetia were made in 1931, 1934, 1935, 1936, 1937; to Khevsuria in 1927; to Pshavia in 1929; to Tushetia in 1932; Mingrelia in 1937; Adzharia in 1933; Meskhetia in 1924; Kakhetia in 1928; Karthlia 1926 and 1936, to mention but some of the expeditions made in Transcaucasia.[73] Another great undertaking of the Soviet ethnographers is the assembling of numerous excellent manuscripts in the archives of the Russian Academy of Science and in other archives throughout the U.S.S.R., among which are the manuscripts of A. Ja. Kupfer, Güldenstädt, Montpéreux and others. Some of these manuscripts have already been published in the series *Archiv Akademii Nauk SSSR. G. A. Knjazev, Trudy Archiva* ("The Archives of the Academy of Science of the U.S.S.R. General Editor, G. A. Knjazev, The Works of the Archives") and others are still to follow.[74] Some of the more important publica-

[71] These exhibitions are not restricted to Georgia. See, for example. G. A. Nikitin, "Vystavka 'Kabardino-Balkarija' v Central'nom muzee narodov SSSR." SE, 1937, No. 1, pp. 166 ff.

[72] For the rapid development of North Caucasian museums, see, for example, L. I. Lavrov, "Kraevedčeskie muzei na Severnom Kavkazě," SE, 1936, No. 6, pp. 132 f.

[73] For the development of Georgian museums and folklore see G. S. Čitaja, "Etnografija Gruzii za sovetskij period" ("Georgian ethnography during the Soviet period"), SE, 1940, No. 3, pp. 207—213; S. I. Makalatija, "Etnografija i kraevedenie v Gruzii," SE, 1940, No. 3, pp. 214 f. For more about expeditions in North and South Caucasus see the various reports in the *Sovetskaja Etnografija*, e. g., E. Krupnov, "Severo-kavkazskaja ekspedicija gosudarstvennogo istoričeskogo muzeja 1936 g.," 1937, No. 1—2, pp. 119—122.

[74] Cf. M. O. Kosven, "Ob archivnych materialach po etnografii SSSR.," SE, 1936, No. 1, pp. 132—135. The *Archiv Akademii Nauk SSSR.* includes manuscripts dealing with all parts of the U.S.S.R.

8: Lužbetak E-4 (no date) 1951 RHl Caucasia RHl
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tions of Georgian folklorists are those of G. Nioradze, B. Bardavelidze, P. Charadze, C. Makalatija, G. Čubinašvili, G. Čitaja, I. A. Djavachišvili.

Another very important project of the Soviet ethnographers is the publication of valuable books of pre-Soviet times which are no longer available. According to a report in the *Sovetskaja Etnografija* (1936, No. 4—5), the Academy of Science then planned a six volume series containing ethnographical data gathered from M. Kovalevskij's 15 works.[75] The Cherkess Institute has re-edited Dubrovin's work.

The work being done by the Soviet ethnographers is certainly an encouragement to all interested in ethnology, for the ethnologist is dependent on the ethnographer for his material. On the other hand, we must not imagine that the activity of the Soviet ethnographer cannot be improved upon. To mention some of the shortcomings—many of the expeditions carried out are too brief; the fieldworker, though trained in folklore, often lacks the knowledge of the native tongue; the fieldworkers are too interested in the material culture of the natives, neglecting the social and religious life; Soviet publications must be made more accessible outside the U.S.S.R. (It is especially this point that tends to discourage the non-Soviet ethnologist from studying an otherwise very important field.); complete monographs of the North Caucasian tribes are still non-existent; finally, a large, detailed, exact ethnographical map is still a task of the future.[76]

## 2. A Bibliography of Bibliographies

After having made a survey of the gradual accumulation of ethnographical data from the earliest times to the present, it may be of advantage to indicate some bibliographies.

(1) A. Charitonov, "Bibliografija. Ukazatel' knig i žurnal'nych statej o Kavkazě geografičeskago statističeskago i etnografičeskago soderžanija za 1852 g." ("A bibliography. An index of books and articles for the year 1852, regarding the geography, statistics and ethnography of the Caucasus"), *Zapiski Kavkazskago Otděla Imperatorskago Russkago Geografičeskago Obščestva*, II (1853), pp. 173—187.

(2) Miansarov, *Bibliografia Caucasica et Transcaucasica*, St. Petersburg, 1874—1876. This is an immense bibliography covering all aspects of the Caucasus.

(3) *Pamjatnaja knižka i adres-kalendar Dagestanskoj Oblasti* ("Daghestan Year Book"). The volume for 1895 contains Kozubskij's bibliography of Daghestan.

(4) Th. O. Leontovič, *Adaty kavkazskich gorcev*, Odessa, 1882—1883. Volume I contains some good introductory notes on adat collections (pp. 1—81); Volume II contains a general bibliography (pp. 271—239).

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[75] "Ob izdanii etnografičeskich i soziologičeskich trudov M. M. Kovalevskogo" ("About the Publication of M. M. Kovalevskij's Ethnographical and Sociological Works"), SE, 1936, No. 4—5, pp. 227 f.

[76] The tasks still to be done in Caucasian ethnography and positive suggestions have been proposed by A. N. Genko, "Zadača etnografičeskogo izučenija Kavkaza," SE, 1936, No. 4—5, pp. 6—20. ("The Problems of Ethnographical Studies of the Caucasus.")

7:Columbia U. S-4, 5 1956 RHl Caucasia
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815 1
646

Dzhanelidze, Aleksandr Illainovich 1888-. Georgian geologist; member of Akad. nauk Gruz. SSR; deputy to VS Gruz. SSR 1.-3. sozyv. Writes on paleontology. 1951- vice president of Akad. nauk Gruz. SSR; professor at Tiflis univ. Head of Inst. geol. Akad. nauk Gruz. SSR. Specialist in regional tectonics of Georgia.

BE II 13:70
14:212

759 1 (3?)

Dzhanelidze, Justin Ivlianovich 1883-1950. Surgeon; member of Akad. med. nauk SSR; editor of Vestnik khirugriiim. Grekova, 1937-1941. Stalin prize in 1949. Specialist on heart wound surgery. Pres. of 25. Vsesoiuz. s'ezd khirurgov. Encycl. does not mention that he is Azerb. or Georgian in origin.

BE II 14:212

816 1
646

Dzhanelidze, Tamaz Vissarionovich Adzhar. deputy Sov. Nats. VS SSSR 4. sozyv, 1954. Born in Tiflis, 1926- Engineer, party official of Komsomol. 1st sect. CC LKSM of Georgia (Zar. Vost. 29. Dec. 1955, p. 4)

Bak. Rab. 3/18/54
Zar. Vost. 2/13/54

7: Columbia U, S-4, 5 1956 RHl Caucasia RHl

665 2 Gevondian, S. A.
Member CC CP Arm. SSR, 17.-18. s'ezd, 1954, 1956

Kom. Er. 1/22/56

3 Gidaiatov, E. I.
CC CP Azerb. SSR, 20. s'ezd, 1954.

•816 645 3 Giulmamedov, Ibragim Alekper ogly
Stalin prize 2. class, 1950 for new ways of agricultural plant production. Minister of vodnoe khoziaistvo Azerb. SSR.

Luar. Stalin.prem. 1950
p. 55

532 646 2 Giurdzhian, Gabriel Mikhailovich, 1892- Armenian painter; deputy to VS SSSR 1st and 3rd sozyv. Professor of Erevan art academy.
Zavodskii peizazh, 1949.
Ukladka kolkhoznogo sena v stoga, 1944, Vesna v Armenii, 1945

BE II 3:390
13:252

646 1 Gogitidze, Naziko Khasanovna
Adzhar, deputy Sov. Nats. VS SSSR 4. sozyv, 1954.

Bak. Rab. 3/18/54

646 3
816

Islam-Zade, Islam Mamedovich
Deputy to Sov. Nats. VS SSSR (4. sozyv, 1954). Born in Baku, 1910-; Engineer; deputy to VS Azerb. SSR

Bak. Rab. 3/19/54

665 3

Ismailov, K. G.
CC CP Azerb. SSR, 20. s'ezd, 1954

646 5

Kade, Khalid Batkerievich
Adyg. deputy Sov. Nats. VS SSSR 4. sozyv, 1954

Pravda 3/18/54

532 3 (1?)

Kakabadze, Silovan Iakimovich
1895-. Azerb. sculptor; studied under Nikoladze. Did busts of Geladze, a socialist worker and Dzhanashi, academician. Stalin prize in 1941 for his Stalin monument in Tiflis.

BE II 19:392

646 1

Kakhadze, Rusudana Davidovna
Deputy to Sov. Soiuz VS SSSR (4. s'ezd, 1954)

Bak. Rab. 2/18/54

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RH1

816
465
645
643

3 Novruzov, Neimat Guseinovich
Born in Nakhichevani, 1908-
Engineer, cotton-expert; 1950 - minister of Azerb. cotton industry. Member of CC CCP Azerb. SSR. 1952 - deputy-minister of goskontrol Azerb. SSR. 1953- president of Council of Minister Nakhichevanskaia ASSR. Unsuccessful candidate in 1954 for Sov. Nats. VS SSSR.

Bak. Rab. 2/25/54

331

3(?) Oboladze, Iraklii Onisimovich
Stalin prize 2. class, 1950, construction engineer.

Laur. Stalin. prem. 1950
p. 44

665

2 Oganesian, G. V.
Member CC CP Arm. SSR, 17. - 18. s'ezd, 1954, 1956.

Kom. Er. 1/22/56

759

2 Oganesian, L. A., 1885-
Physician, Armenian scientist.

Kom. Er. 12/20/55

538
5 Shogentsukov, Ali, 1900-1942
Kabardian poet; introduced classic metric system into Kabardian poetry. Wrote novel: Kambot i Liatsa, 1932-6

BE I 30:419

5 Shortanov, A., 1916-
Kabardian novelist

BE II 19:216

665
2 Simonian, Sh. S.
Member CC CP Arm. SSR, 18. s'ezd, 1956

Kom. Er. 1/22/56

2 Sochinskii, I. I.
Member CC CP Arm. SSR, 17.-18. s'ezd, 1954, 1956

Kom. Er. 1/22/56

533
2 Sogomonian, Sogomon Gevorkovich
see
Komitas (pseud.) [1]

816
3 Spanaki, Evgenii Akhillesovich
Stalin prize 2. class, engineer

Laur. Stalin. prem. 1950
p. 55

[1] [Ct. cat. 116, 751 -- Analyst]

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776
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Saint Elijah, (Surrian Il'ia), is the lord of thunder and lightning. Anyone who has been struck by lightning, is thought to have offended this saint and therefore to have been hit by his bullet. Here Elijah has taken the place of the original pagan god of the thunderstorm who hurls his thunderbolt, the lightning, against the dragon which is the cloud, and releases the waters which the demon had kept imprisoned. This is proved by the fact that the same function has been assigned to Elijah and especially to the angel Gabriel in the popular belief of Armenia, where this old Indo-Iranian myth of the slaying of the dragon by the god of the thunderstorm is preserved in a form that is still more complete than that of the rather simplified and less colorful Ossetic version. (Cf. Manuk Abeghian, Der armenische Volksglaube, [Leipsig, 1890], pp. 78ff., and B. Geiger, Die Amesha Spentas, Sitzungsberichte der Wiener Akad. d. Wiss., Vol. 176 [1916], pp. 65ff.) The relatives and friends of a person killed by a lightning express joy and sing and dance, suppressing all tears and sadness over the death of the person, from fear of making Vatsilla angry; this strange custom is obviously the result of a later development of this version of the myth. Like this attitude towards the deceased, the manner in which he is buried also belongs to the sphere of pagan popular belief. The body is either buried at the place of the accident, or it is placed on a

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585 [776] (7) In a number of instances we have noticed that the dagger or sword was used in connection with the marriage ceremony. The best-man took the bride around the hearth and each time he struck the chain with his dagger. The bride had to enter her new home under an arch of swords or with a dagger or club held above her head. This wedding custom, too, has a religious basis. The household gods of the bride's family have become exceedingly jealous of the bride, because by marrying she has united herself to another family and will now worship other ancestors, abandoning her own. These jealous godlets realize that the best time to enter her new home and to cause countless harm is simultaneously with the bride. Fortunately, these household gods are afraid of dag-[844] gers.[114] Among the Georgian mountaineers, a mother after having given birth to a child will keep a sword under the pillow as a protection against aerial spirits.[115] Spirits are afraid of the sword for several reasons—at least such is our conjecture. The God of Iron, of the Sword, and of the Hearth-Chain is one and the same god, called Safa. This sword ceremony may perhaps insure [823] Safa's protection against jealous godlets. It may also insure the protection of [769] the departed because *iron* is a means of contacting ancestors. In Ossetia on the [787] "feast of the dedication of clothing" clothes are consecrated and sent to the netherworld by means of an iron knife.[116] The Ingushi get in contact with their departed by means of iron tongs.[117]

(8) The other marriage ceremonies are likewise mainly pastoral in character: horse-racing, submission to the husband, wishes for a rich progeny but always with a disproportion of "nine boys to every blue-eyed girl." Finally, the long elaborate and expensive wedding itself is typical of pastoral peoples.

[606] There are, however, a few traces of a so-called mother-right culture. The rôle played by the mother-in-law in the ceremonies, as we have stressed (*supra*, p. 125), is indeed not inconsistent with the position of the mother of the household in a patriarchal family, but, we must admit that their astounding importance gives them a suspiciously matriarchal colouring: in the ceremonies described, it is the Lesghian mother who welcomes the bride into the house as if she were the head of the family. It is the mother who holds her by the hand as she crosses the threshold. It is the mother's brother who led the bride's horse in the Ingiloi procession from her home to that of her groom. It is the mother who puts the honey into the mouth of the bride as a sign that the bride has a sweet life ahead of her under such an amiable mistress as her mother-in-law. And we should not forget that in the Lesghian engagement it was the mother who presented the engagement gifts which concluded the betrothal contract.[118]

575 We cannot conclude this chapter without briefly refuting some of Kova-585 levskij's assumptions. Like so many anthropologists of his day, he was inclined 114 to find traces of an epoch older than that of patriarchy, and older than that of

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[114] For the custom among the Ossetes see Kovalevskij, *Coutume contemp.*, pp. 170 f.

[115] Cf. Reinegg, *op. cit.*, II, p. 112 f.

[116] Kokiev, *Slepovye soružeinija*, (Vladikavkaz, 1928), p. 38.

[117] Baddeley, *op. cit.*, II, p. 120.

[118] *Supra*, p. 103.

## § 2. PROBLEMS AND CONCLUSIONS

Though the wedding ceremonies just described are not without a few traces 585
of a mother-right culture, the wedding as a whole is doubtless typically patriarchal in character.

(1) The wedding procession clearly shows that the marriage is patrilocal, 591
a fact true of all North Caucasian as well as neighbouring tribes. The bride must move into the house of her father-in-law.

(2) The fact that the bride is humiliated before her mother-in-law (not 606
father-in-law), the fact that she is invited into the household by the mother- 592
in-law (not father-in-law), and that it is the mother-in-law (not father-in-law) who places the honey into the mouth of the bride, though very suspiciously matriarchal, is reconcilable with a strictly patriarchal society. Even in a strictly patriarchal society the mother of the household enjoys certain privileges and is looked upon as the mistress of the house with special authority over the female members of the household. In other words, in these seemingly matriarchal ceremonies the mother-in-law may perhaps be simply excercising a right of the mother of the household of a typical patriarchal family.[103]

(3) The dramatization of bride capture is a very common custom among 583
the pastoral peoples throughout the world.

Ceremonial bride capture must not be considered as a survival of actual marriage by capture. This is especially true of the Caucasians because a wedding always means a great economic loss for the bride's family—one of their workers must leave them and go over to another sib. Ceremonial bride capture expresses rather the opposition to such an heavy loss. The Dido, as we have seen, actually throw mud and filth at the bride after she has been "stolen". If the ceremony were to represent actual abduction, why should the bride be so "mistreated"? The reason why filth is thrown at her is that she has turned "traitor" to her own family.

(4) The ceremony of hiding, veiling of the face, the bride's taciturnity— 834
all these little peculiarities of the Caucasian wedding may be an expression of the bride's natural sense of modesty. Till now she had to avoid, at least in public, the slightest communication with her financé. The strict separation of engaged couples, the prohibition even to pass a glance at one's future mate in public, and the death penalty imposed on the girl for pre-marital intercourse—all this is in full accord with the high esteem of pastoral peoples for the physical integrity of virgins. At the wedding, the bride is being publicly introduced [831]
into a relationship which she has been taught to shun as disgraceful, even punishable by death. Now this once "disgraceful" thing is being done publicly! The bride's resistence, her fleeing, her veiling, her taciturnity, then, are expressions of a reaction against "the great change"[104] from maidenhood to wife, a change more sensibly felt among pastoral peoples than in any other society.

[103] For the relatively important rôle of a mother of a household in a patriarchal society see E. Pčelina, "Obrjad gostepriimstva v Osetii," SE, (1932), No. 5—6, pp. 140—163, especially p. 156, *note*.

[104] "The great change," I think, has been coined by Elsie C. Person. See her "Holding back in Crisis Ceremonialism," *American Anthropologist*, n. s. XVIII (1916), pp. 44 f.

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684 unjust death penalty. (5) Finally, the adulteress was merely divorced; she lost her right to the *kebin*, while the *kalym* had to be returned to the husband. The adulterer was obliged to pay a fine.

Amputation of the adulteress' ears and nose is a punishment found in the *adats* of all Caucasians. It is interesting to note that a Hittite code (about 1350 B. C.) engraved on a stele has been dug up, which expressly legalized such mutilation in case of adultery.[65] This code may be based on a substratum of customary laws which are now preserved in the isolated *auls* of the Caucasus.

## 2. Motives

The main motives for punishing sexual offenses seem to be: (1) in case of defloration, the girl loses her value and consequently the family suffers a great economic loss;[66] (2) there is a serious danger of a stranger being born into the sacred sanctuary of the home and later treated as a legitimate member and even as head of the family (*supra*, p. 126).

## 3. Reports regarding Sexual Laxity of the Caucasians

834 In view of such severe penalties as we have described above, we cannot help being suspicious about some of the reports regarding laxity of morals among [835] the mountain tribes of the Caucasus. The Kuban Cherkess are supposed to have formerly been proud of the fact that their wives attracted other men. Every [836] woman had to have a lover to prove her true value.[67] Longworth's report, to mention but another example, contrasts the scrupulousness after marriage with "their unconstrained demeanor before marriage."[68] "The maidens of Circassia are allowed a latitude in their behaviour which is elsewhere unknown; not only do they talk and dance with the other sex, but when they please, they exercise their blandishments to an extent that to a stranger is no less perplexing than [763] agreeable."[69] Then there are the many reports about public religious hetaerism. Interiano claims that at funerals of prominent personages a very strange sort [764] of sacrifice takes place: a girl of 12 to 14 years of age is placed upon a skin of an ox that has just been slaughtered and in the presence of men and women a robust young man of the community must try to deflower her. After several failures, the young man promises to marry her (or makes some other promises), 837 and then the girl usually consents.[70] There are also the reports about sexual 838 hospitality, for example, in the "Relation du Sieur Ferrand médicin du Khan 577 des Tatares, touchant la Crimée, les Tartares-Nogaies et ce qui se passe au serail du dit Khan,"[71] in *Voyage historiques et géographique dans les pays situé entre la Mer Caspienne par Edouard Barbier du Bocage et de Baert*, as well as in the

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[65] H. G. E. Zacharias, *Protohistory*, p. 258.
[66] *Supra*, pp. 126 f.
[67] Dirr, AGKB, pp. 81 f.
[68] Longworth, *A Year among the Circassians*, I, p. 286.
[69] Longworth, *op. cit.*, I, p. 216.
[70] Ladyženskij, FT, p. 183, Dirr's note.
[71] In *Recueil des Voyages au Nord*, Amsterdam, 1718.

# III. THE FAMILY

## Chapter IX

## The Offspring

### § 1. CONCEPTION

833 Herodotus has accused the Lesghians of copulating "in public as beasts are wont to do."[1] Such an accusation, however, is absolutely false. Even the slightest sign of affection between husband and wife is tabooed by customary law throughout the Caucasus, except, of course, in strictest secrecy.[2]

Owing to the delicate nature of the subject, very little material has been gathered by the explorers, even though these matters may have a deep sociological significance, as, for example, the extent of birth control, or a psychological and religious significance, such as, for example, the extent of sexual taboos, voluntary abstinence, etc.

841 171 Astoundingly widespread is the taboo of marital intercourse at times of menstruation. A glance at Frazer's or Westermarck's classical works[3] will suffice to convince us of the universality of this prohibition. This same horror of menstruous blood is found in the Caucasus also. However, very little data are at our disposal. We are not told how long these "monthly" periods last, nor the extent of the horror. The Pshavs and the Khevsurs have little stone hovels *(samrevlo)* situated in an open field,[4] (or now usually next to the home),[5] where the unclean woman must stay during her monthly periods. Kovalevskij attributes the practice to Zoroastrianism.[6] He does not seem to be aware that such segregation and "hovels" are found in other parts of the world, where Zoroastrianism has never been known. The fact that the "unclean" woman must wash herself in cow's urine,[7] however, most probably has been taken over from the ancient Iranian religion.

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[1] Potocki, *Voyage dans les steps d'Astrakhan et du Caucase*, I, p. 240.

[2] Cf. *infra*, pp. 63, 175 f.

[3] Frazer, *The Golden Bough* (abridged), pp. 207—210; 595—607.
Westermarck, *Ritual and Belief in Morocco*, I, p. 230.

[4] Baddeley, *op. cit.*, I, p. 236.

[5] Hahn, *Bilder aus dem Kaukasus*, pp. 72 f.

[6] *Zakon*, I, pp. 98 f.

[7] Cf. *Zakon*, I. pp. 83—122.
The ancient Iranian religion considered cows as sacred animals.

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55 (" Lion "), *Vari* (" Vulture "), etc. are intended to deceive the evil spirits, who are able to take the life of the child only if they can call it by its true name.[58]

### 4. Segregation

A Lesghian woman becomes unclean through childbirth, and hence the father may not be present at the birth nor during the entire period of uncleaness, which lasts for several weeks.[59] Child-bearing renders the mother unclean in Ossetia as well. The Mountain Georgians have special birthhouses for expectent mothers. In Svaneti the mother is unclean for 40 days,[60] in Khevsuria and Pshavia a few days longer.[61] A woman can be cleansed (in Khevsuria and Pshavia) by washing her hair in cow's urine.[62] In Ossetia a woman is considered unclean for six weeks after childbirth. During this period she is not allowed to work, except to sweep the floor and look after the children. The marital act is likewise forbidden.[63]

### 5. Weaning

862 Very little data is available regarding weaning of children and taboos during the period of lactation. As a general rule, the Lesghians wean their children at the age of five or six.[64] The Avars usually do not wean them before they have reached the use of reason.[65] Pshav children are weaned at the age of four.

### 6. Fire-place Ceremony

851 We have seen what an important part the hearth played in the marriage ceremonies of the Northwestern Caucasians, the Ingushi and Ossetes. By circling round the hearth the bride officially became a member of the family. We should also expect a birth ceremony of some sort or other at the fire-place, by which the infant would likewise be officially recognized as a fully fledged member of the family and by which the newborn would come in contact with the ancestors and receive their protection. We find such a ceremony among the neighbouring peoples of Iranian stock, the Ossetes[66] and the Kurds.[67] Though the hearth

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[58] Pčelina, " Rodil'nye obyčai u Osetin," SE, 1937, No. 4, p. 98.
For Ossetine naming ceremony, see *op. cit.*, pp. 96 ff.
Could not this fondness for animal names be a vestige of individual totemism ?

[59] Kovalevskij, " Iranian Culture in the Caucasus," *The Archaeological Review*, June, 1888, cited by Kovalevskij, *Zakon*, II, p. 202. See also *op. cit.*, I, pp. 97 f, 139 f.

[60] Dubrovin, *Istorija*, I, ii, p. 110.

[61] G. Demidov, *V uščelijach pervobytnoj gruzii (Chevsuretija)*, Moscow-Leningrad, 1930, p. 16. Polidaev (*Gorcy severnago kavkaza*, p. 107) says that the Khevsur mother is " unclean " for 30 days.

[62] Demidov, *l. c.* After delivery, the mother must remain in the birth-hut for two weeks ; after that she must live in the stable for about five weeks. S. I. Makalatija, *op. cit.*, p. 112. Today the Pshavs use holy water instead of urine (*ibid.*).

[63] Pčelina, *op. cit.*, p. 99.

[64] Nansen, *op. cit.*, p. 104.

[65] Erckert, *op. cit.*, p. 268.

[66] Pčelina, *op. cit.*, p. 95.

[67] Jankó, *Néprajzi, etc.* Zichy's *Kaukázusi és középázsiai utazásai*, p. 63.

# POSITION OF WOMEN

C. G. 562 The position of women in the Caucasus was in many respects subordinate to that of men: male children were preferred, descent was patrilineal, residence patrilocal, women were excluded from inheritance rights; in case the headwoman was unable to reconcile a quarrel among the female members of the family, the case was put before the headman; divorces were in general more easily obtained by men than by women, and in the case of adultery the husband had the right to kill or disfigure his wife. The Circassian code of behavior forbade women to sit down while men were standing, and the husband was addressed in terms of respect by his wife. In most areas the women led a life of hard work; besides doing the housework, they also assisted in the work in the field, though certain activities such as tending horses and in most cases ploughing were performed by men only. Among the Georgian mountaineers, women were regarded from a religious point of view as unclean, and were forbidden to enter the walled precincts of the sanctuaries; the Svan had sexual avoidance rules to ensure success in hunting expeditions; in Mingrelia a woman may not kill a chicken or animal she is going to prepare, as this would spoil the food.

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584 the passivity of the couple reflects their submission to the *patria potestas* and
593 perfectly agrees with all we have said about the freedom of choice. The girl is usually more passive than the young man, a fact that corresponds to the greater privilege of the latter to choose his own mate. Although the Caucasian customs of matchmaking and engagement are strongly patriarchal in colouring, we do not wish to say that betrothal as such is a patriarchal trait. On the contrary, elaborate engagement ceremonies are found especially among matriarchal peoples.[43]

## § 2. PRIVILEGES AND OBLIGATIONS ARISING FROM BETROTHAL

There are three distinct obligations that we must consider: (1) mutual avoidance especially in public, (2) mutual fidelity, (3) and the obligation of entering upon marriage with one's engaged partner.

### 1. Mutual Avoidance

The NORTHWESTERN CAUCASIANS. An *adat* for the Black Sea-
584 Cordon Line, Kuban and Terek Territories speaks of the strict obligation of the
834 betrothed to avoid one another in public. Should they accidently meet in the presence of others, they may not speak to one another; in fact, they are forbidden
[836] even to pass a glance at each other.[44] Of course, sexual intercourse is strictly forbidden and severelly punished (*infra*, pp. 168—179).

The NORTHEASTERN CAUCASIANS. In Chechnia, as soon as the father of the girl gives his consent and the suitor's family has presented their future daughter-in-law with the prescribed engagement gift of ten silver rubles and a silk kerchief, the young man has the right to meet his beloved, but only in private. If another person is present, the bride-to-be must turn her back to her lover.[45] Betrothal, however, does not give the pair the right to sexual relations.[46] When speaking of the Lesghians[47] we must distinguish between three distinct classes of *adats* regarding mutual avoidance: (1) sometimes the engaged couple is strictly forbidden to meet, be it in public or private (if they do meet, it is done stealthily), (2) among some Lesghian peoples they are permitted to meet at the girl's house, (3) among the Tsunta-Akhvakh the *adats* permit engaged
[836] couples even to sleep together (*infra*, p. 181 f).

The *adats* of some of the mountain tribes of SOUTH CAUCASUS strictly forbid engaged couples ever to meet in public or in private. It may happen that

[43] Thurnwald, "Verlöbnis," Reallexikon der Vorgeschichte, XIV, p. 133.

[44] Leontovič, II, p. 257, 194. Dubrovin, *Istorija*, I, i, p. 429: "Posle sgovora ženich imĕet pravo vidĕt'sja tajno s' svoej nevĕstoj; no pri postoronnich ljudjach priličie trebuet ne tol'ko ne govorit' meždu soboju, no i ne smotrĕt' drug na druga."

[45] Berže, *op. cit.*, pp. 97 f.

[46] *Infra*, pp. 169—176.

[47] L'vov, *op. cit.*, p. 22 f; Amirov, "Sredi gorcev severnago Dagestana," SSKG, VII (1873), p. 30; Omarov, "Kak živut Laki," SSKG, IV (1871), pp. 16 ff; Dubrovin, *Istorija*, I, i, p. 564.

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the couple does not become acquainted with one another till their wedding day.[48] 584 In Khevsuria the girl used to move into the house of her future father-in-law 834 before her marriage, and there she would take part in the family work for three to fourteen days, but all this time she was not allowed to associate with anyone [59] except the female members of the family. After that she returned to her own household and lived there for two weeks at least (sometimes two or three years), during which time she was not allowed to meet her lover. In fact, he was even forbidden to enter her village.[49] In Pshavia, as we have seen above (p. 105), the engaged couple is allowed to meet frequently.

The obligation of mutual avoidance is also observed by the neighbouring OSSETES.[50]

In this regard the neighbouring TARTARS do not differ either. The Kumyk may visit his future wife only privately and is strictly forbidden to speak to her in the presence of others.[51] The Karachai suitor is forbidden to speak not only with his beloved but also with his future parents-in-law.[52]

## 2. Mutual Fidelity

The *adats* of the North Caucasians do not tell us whether the obligation [831] is bilateral or not. The female partner, of course, is strictly bound to fidelity as will be clear from our exposition of the proof of virginity demanded of the bride on her wedding night (*infra*, p. 124) and from Chapter XII on sexual violations.

## 3. The Obligation of Entering upon Marriage

Islamic law gives both parties the right to dissolve the engagement at will.[53] 584 It will be interesting to find out whether in this particular case the *adats* are observed or the *šarî'a*.

The NORTHWESTERN CAUCASIANS. The "Collection of adats for the Black Sea-Cordon Line, Kuban and Terek Territories" (§ 195) informs us that "the man has a right to break his engagement at will; and, at the request of his fiancée or her relatives, he may permit the girl to withdraw her promises."[54] This adat clearly shows that the obligation is unilateral. "The girl [or her family] may not break the engagement without her fiancé's consent."[54]

The NORTHEASTERN CAUCASIANS. The following table will give us a good idea of the Chechen *adats*.

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[48] Dubrovin, *Istorija*, I, ii, p. 309.

[49] M. O. Korven, "Peržitki matriarchata u narodov Kavkaza," SE, 1936, No. 4—5, p. 216.

[50] Dubrovin, *Istorija*, I, i, p. 333; Byhan, *op. cit.*, p. 212.

[51] Dubrovin, *Istorija*, I, i, p. 638.

[52] Byhan, *op. cit.*, pp. 245 f.

[53] Juynboll, *op. cit.*, p. 163.

[54] Leontovič, II, p. 257, § 196.

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684 man. He loved his mother as every faithful son should. In fact, he loved her
[538] with an exceptionally deep filial love. But alas! How painful it must have
been for him to learn that his mother, whom he so worshipped, had an illicit
[837] lover! His heart burst with grief and rage. Nika Bulat at once rushed to the adulterer's home; his eyes flashed with rage as he whipped out his dagger and plunged it into the lover's heart. Nika Bulat then hacked off his head and hands, and took these gory limbs and head to his mother, and staring at her for a moment as if he had gone mad, dropped them at her feet. On seeing her furious son and especially the gruesome sight before her, she burst into tears, but tears that only served to make Nika Bulat's blood boil with rage even still more violently. With one thrust of his dagger, his mother lay dying beside the head and hands she once so wrongfully loved to clasp. But that is not the end of the tragedy. Nika Bulat's sisters were present and witnessed all. They fell down on their knees, weeping bitterly on their mother's breast, as she bled and gasped. But Nika Bulat did not allow his sisters to weep. That same dagger was whipped out once again, and like a flash plunged into the heart of one of his sisters, and then into the heart of the other, thus putting an end to their sobs, sobs that were, in eyes of Nika Bulat, an approval of their mother's crime. For this great act of heroism Nika Bulat was admired by all and proclaimed the head of the village.[31]

[834] This abhorrence of sexual crimes is brought out further by the fact that any accidental touch of the bare hand of a strange woman is considered a violation, and both are regarded as "unclean."[32] Especially in dances all physical contact must be scrupulously avoided, no matter how small and crowded the room may be. Baddeley describes how the dancers curve in and out within a few inches of each other, but never is there even the slightest bodily contact, "the breach of this observance, even inadvertently, leading to many a fatal quarrel. A husband, brother or lover, looking on with jealous eye, would whip out his 'kinjal' at the mere suspicion of a touch . . ."[33] A further reflexion of this extreme sensitivity is the considerably large number of *adats* which make no distinction between mere contact and actual rape. In the Districts of Hyuraki, Usisha, and Mugn, for example, actual rape, attempted rape, and a mere suspicious touch or approach are all equally punished.[34]

684 Homosexuality is punished as severely as voluntary illicit relations between
838 persons of the opposite sex. To mention but a few examples: in Hyuraki District, the two persons caught in the act may be killed on the spot by their relatives, or else, if spared, each must pay a fine of three oxen to the community, and both persons are banished for a year, not to mention other penalties;[35] in

[31] Cf. Dirr, AGKB, pp. 75 f.

[32] L'vov, "Domašnjaja i semjnaja žizn Dagestanskich gorcev Avarskago plemeni," SSKG, III (1870), p. 21.

[33] Baddeley, *op. cit.*, II, p. 13.

[34] Cf. "Adaty Darginskich Obščestv," SSKG, VII (1873), pp. 65, 91, 105.

[35] "Adaty Darginskich Obščestv," p. 92. To free one's self from a charge of homosexuality 40 conjurors are required just as in the case of murder *(ibid.)*.

684 unjust death penalty. (5) Finally, the adulteress was merely divorced; she lost her right to the *kebin*, while the *kalym* had to be returned to the husband. The adulterer was obliged to pay a fine.

Amputation of the adulteress' ears and nose is a punishment found in the *adats* of all Caucasians. It is interesting to note that a Hittite code (about 1350 B.C.) engraved on a stele has been dug up, which expressly legalized such mutilation in case of adultery.[65] This code may be based on a substratum of customary laws which are now preserved in the isolated *auls* of the Caucasus.

## 2. Motives

The main motives for punishing sexual offenses seem to be: (1) in case of defloration, the girl loses her value and consequently the family suffers a great economic loss;[66] (2) there is a serious danger of a stranger being born into the sacred sanctuary of the home and later treated as a legitimate member and even as head of the family (*supra*, p. 126).

## 3. Reports regarding Sexual Laxity of the Caucasians

834 In view of such severe penalties as we have described above, we cannot help being suspicious about some of the reports regarding laxity of morals among [832] the mountain tribes of the Caucasus. The Kuban Cherkess are supposed to have formerly been proud of the fact that their wives attracted other men. Every [834] woman had to have a lover to prove her true value.[67] Longworth's report, to mention but another example, contrasts the scrupulousness after marriage with "their unconstrained demeanor before marriage."[68] "The maidens of Circassia are allowed a latitude in their behaviour which is elsewhere unknown; not only do they talk and dance with the other sex, but when they please, they exercise their blandishments to an extent that to a stranger is no less perplexing than [796] agreeable."[69] Then there are the many reports about public religious hetaerism. Interiano claims that at funerals of prominent personages a very strange sort [764] of sacrifice takes place: a girl of 12 to 14 years of age is placed upon a skin of an ox that has just been slaughtered and in the presence of men and women a robust young man of the community must try to deflower her. After several failures, the young man promises to marry her (or makes some other promises), 837 and then the girl usually consents.[70] There are also the reports about sexual 836 hospitality, for example, in the "Relation du Sieur Ferrand médicin du Khan 574 des Tatares, touchant la Crimée, les Tartares-Nogaies et ce qui se passe au serail du dit Khan,"[71] in *Voyage historiques et géographique dans les pays situé entre la Mer Caspienne par Edouard Barbier du Bocage et de Baert*, as well as in the

[65] H. C. E. Zacharias, *Protohistory*, p. 258.
[66] *Supra*, pp. 126 f.
[67] Dirr, AGKB, pp. 81 f.
[68] Longworth, *A Year among the Circassians*, I, p. 286.
[69] Longworth, *op. cit.*, I, p. 216.
[70] Ladyženskij, FT, p. 183, Dirr's note.
[71] In *Recueil des Voyages au Nord*, Amsterdam, 1718.

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writings of the Arabs al-Mas'ûdî and Abu-El-Kasim. They claim that the father offers one of his daughters to his guest as a mere point of hospitality. Stählin[72] claimed that illegitimate children were treated the same as legitimate. On the other hand, a large number of authors, such as Struys, Lamberti,[73] Neumann,[74] and others, claim that the Cherkess women are extremely modest. The true solution to these conflicting reports is the one suggested by Ladyženskij.[75] "Den richtigsten Standpunkt nimmt in der Frage Garni ein (Reisen in den Ländern der asiatischen Türkei und des Kaukasus, 1854). Er betont die Keuschheit der freien Frauen und den Hetärismus der Sklavinnen." This is also Dirr's opinion.[76] In other words, the reports are true only to a certain extent: the freewomen are exceptionally modest, while the slaves exceptionally immodest, religious prostitution and sexual hospitality being restricted to slaves. Such conduct in regard to freewomen would be impossible considering the great economic loss the family would suffer from defloration, considering also the virginity test, and, finally, the fear of illegitimate children. On the other hand, defloration, virginity, and illegitimate children in the case of *slaves* would offer no serious difficulty.

We have a similar problem in regard to some of the Lesghians. As we have mentioned above, Herodotus wrote of the Lesghians that "they copulate in public as beasts are wont to do."[77] Przewalski reported that at Tsunta-Akhvakh unmarried couples were allowed to sleep together.[78] Baddeley confirms Przewalski's report: "It is the custom for a host to give his guest one of his daughters or some other girl to sleep with. The couple may ... do what they like provided the maidenhead remains intact; and even that depends on the fair one's goodwill. But should the guest so far forget himself as to force her, he will pay for it with his life. Those people think meanly of a girl who has never slept with an honoured guest."[79] Baddeley's guide, a native of Ossetia, "accepted this as a fact, and added that something of the same sort went on in certain of the older Cossack 'stanitsas' on the Terek, instancing Tchervlennaya."[80] Herodotus' report is useless, for we do not know exactly who is meant, but there is no reason to doubt Przewalski and Baddeley. However, we wish to stress that this is a custom found exclusively in Tsunta-Akhvakh and is, by no means, the picture of entire Daghestan. Tsunta-Akhvakh is only a *village* (in 1901 it had only 415 inhabitants), which constitutes an *exception*

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[72] Jacob v. Stählin, *Nachrichten von Tschirkassien oder von dem Karbardinischen Lande*, 1771, referred to by Ladyženskij, FT, p. 185.

[73] Cf. Ladyženskij, *l. c.*

[74] Neumann, *Rußland und die Tscherkessen*, cf. Ladyženskij, *l. c.*

[75] Ladyženskij, *l. c.* Ladyženskij, "Zur Erforschung der Rechtsgewohnheiten, etc.," pp. 243 f.

[76] Ladyženskij, FT, p. 184. Cf. Castagné, "Le droit coutumier familial des montagnards du Caucase," p. 252: "Supposer que le montagnard adighé pût proposer sa fille ou sa femme a un hôte, serait comprehensible si la femme des montagnards avait *été* esclave, mais cela n'étant pas, une supposition de ce genre doit être considéré comme sans fondement aucun."

[77] Cited by Potocki, *Voyage dans les steps d'Astrakhan et du Caucase*, I, p. 240; to which Potocki adds, "Celle de quelques valkées du Caucase sont encore très libres."

[78] Kovalevskij, *Zakon*, II, p. 189.

[79] Baddeley, *op. cit.*, II, pp. 13 f.

[80] Baddeley, *op. cit.*, *II*, p. 14.

(5) and the *patria potestas*[15] in the extreme form as found in North Caucasia are all typically pastoral nomadic. 58 171

(6) The father alone has the *right to choose a mate* for his children, and boys are given more consideration in the choice than the girls.[16] [593]

(7) The *bride price*, though found in other cultures also, has a typically pastoral colouring in the Caucasus, since it is measured mainly in cattle and horses.[17] Bride wealth as a *price* in the strict sense of the word is found almost exclusively among pastoral peoples.[18]

(8) *Bride stealing*[19] is a common practice among pastoral nomads. All Turco-Tartars, Indo-Europeans, and the Semites have or at least have had frequent recourse to marriage by capture.

(9) The various *engagement prohibitions*,[20]

(10) the segregation of the bride in a special hut *(amhara)*, the obligation of the young man to cover his entire head and face except for an opening for his eyes,[21] the obligation of the bride and groom to hide during the wedding,[22] the bride's veiling, taciturnity, resistence, the post-nuptial obligation of the couple not to appear together before their parents or older brethren,[23] all these customary laws are in no way a vestige of former group marriage, fraternal polyandry, bride capture and the like, as we have sufficiently refuted above, but they are most likely an expression of the *extreme modesty peculiar to pastoral peoples*, a reaction to the "great change" from single to married life, more strongly felt among pastoral nomads than any other peoples. [834]

(11) It is the *male side who proposes to the female and not vice versa*,[24] likewise a phenomenon found infallibly among pastoral nomads.

(12) The *great longing for children, especially for boys*,[25] although found in other cultures, reaches its highest point among pastoral nomads. Connected with this craving after male children is the custom of marrying a second wife in case the first is sterile or "unable" to bear male offspring. [842]

(13) The *wedding customs*[26] are typically pastoral nomadic in character: dramatization of bride capture, horse-racing, the proof of virginity with subsequent rejoicing if the bride is found "chaste," or mutilation and execution if found "unchaste," the special ceremonies and wishes for fertility, especially for the birth of many male children, the triple encircling of the fireplace, etc. are all typically pastoral nomadic.

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[15] *Supra*, pp. 183—186.
[16] *Supra*, pp. 76—81.
[17] *Supra*, pp. 82—91.
[18] *Supra*, p. 91.
[19] *Supra*, pp. 91—96.
[20] *Supra*, pp. 106—110.
[21] Seidlitz, "Die Abchasen," *Globus*, LXVI (1894), p. 40.
[22] *Supra*, p. 124.
[23] *Supra*, p. 166. For similar customs among the ancient Indo-Europeans see *infra*, p. 198.
[24] *Supra*, pp. 100—106.
[25] *Supra*, pp. 124, 139 ff.
[26] *Supra*, pp. 125—128, especially Table 16

[i.e. a trait found among the Caucasians--Analyst]

[834] the *adats* give the engaged partner the right to dissolve the betrothal promises
[834] and to reclaim the *kalym* and engagement gifts.[21]

Seduction and attempted seduction are crimes almost as serious as rape and are punished accordingly.[22]

[835] The Chechens harbour an unusual abhorrence of incest. If an illegitimate child is born of an incestuous union, a heap of dirt is brought to the yard of the persons concerned, or sometimes to a public place, as a special protest of the community.[23] Generally speaking, penalties for sex offenses are inflicted on the culprit by the family, but, in the case of incest, the whole *community* protests. It is a crime that goes beyond the interests of the individual and joint-family.

A closer study of Table 19 will bring out three important facts regarding Chechen penalties for sexual offenses: (1) *both* the adulteress and adulterer are punished,[24] (2) they are killed on the spot, but the avenger thereby becomes a blood-enemy of the family of the person he kills, and (3) pardon and reconciliation are more or less the rule today, but not without heavy reparation and divorce.

## TABLE 19

### Penalty for Adultery according to Chechen Adats

| Tribe Chechen | Penalty | | Sources |
|---|---|---|---|
| | Adulteress | Adulterer | |
| Dzherakh and Nazranians | Recently: adulteress is divorced, must refund *kalym*, plus 48 cows to husband. | Husband may kill him in the act. | Leontovič, II, pp. 116 f, § 6; II, p. 118, § 14. Grabovskij, "Inguši," SSKG, IX (1876), pp. 53 f. |
| | Formerly: husband cut adulteress' nose off, divorced her, received 23 head of cattle from her family. | Might be killed in act; if escaped, had to pay 23 head of cattle to offended husband. | |
| Terek Chechens | Husband may not kill adulteress; may bite nose off, divorce her. | Husband may kill adulterer in act; if pardons him, husband has right to 70 head of cattle. | Leontovič, II, p. 122, § 2. Dirr, AGKB, p. 77. Leontovič, II, p. 113, § 9. |
| Kists | May not kill adulterous wife; may cut her nose off and divorce her; he receives 24 cows from her family. | Husband may kill adulterer in act, but obliged to pay bloodwite of 12 cows; if adulterer's sib takes vengeance on husband, must pay bloodwite of 24 cows. If adulterer escapes, he must pay husband 24 cows. | Leontovič, II, p. 120, § 23. Dirr, AGKB, p. 77. Leontovič, II, p. 113, § 9. |
| Salati Aukh Ichkerians | Husband may cut her nose off and divorce her. He may not kill her. | | Leontovič, II, p. 139, § 63; II, p. 113, § 9. Dirr, *l. c.* |

[21] Leontovič, II, p. 172, § 145.

[22] Leontovič, II, p. 173, § 149.

[23] Berže, Čečnja i Čečency, pp. 86 f.

[24] This seems to be a further evolution of the *adat* permitting the offended husband to punish his wife *with impunity*. The right to kill the adulterers most likely was not limited to the

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584 the passivity of the couple reflects their submission to the *patria potestas* and
593 perfectly agrees with all we have said about the freedom of choice. The girl is usually more passive than the young man, a fact that corresponds to the greater privilege of the latter to choose his own mate. Although the Caucasian customs of matchmaking and engagement are strongly patriarchal in colouring, we do not wish to say that betrothal as such is a patriarchal trait. On the contrary, elaborate engagement ceremonies are found especially among matriarchal peoples.[43]

## § 2. PRIVILEGES AND OBLIGATIONS ARISING FROM BETROTHAL

There are three distinct obligations that we must consider: (1) mutual avoidance especially in public, (2) mutual fidelity, (3) and the obligation of entering upon marriage with one's engaged partner.

### 1. Mutual Avoidance

The NORTHWESTERN CAUCASIANS. An *adat* for the Black Sea-
584 Cordon Line, Kuban and Terek Territories speaks of the strict obligation of the
834 betrothed to avoid one another in public. Should they accidently meet in the presence of others, they may not speak to one another; in fact, they are forbidden
[836] even to pass a glance at each other.[44] Of course, sexual intercourse is strictly forbidden and severelly punished (*infra*, pp. 168—179).

The NORTHEASTERN CAUCASIANS. In Chechnia, as soon as the father of the girl gives his consent and the suitor's family has presented their future daughter-in-law with the prescribed engagement gift of ten silver rubles and a silk kerchief, the young man has the right to meet his beloved, but only in private. If another person is present, the bride-to-be must turn her back to her lover.[45] Betrothal, however, does not give the pair the right to sexual relations.[46] When speaking of the Lesghians[47] we must distinguish between three distinct classes of *adats* regarding mutual avoidance: (1) sometimes the engaged couple is strictly forbidden to meet, be it in public or private (if they do meet, it is done stealthily), (2) among some Lesghian peoples they are permitted to meet
[836] at the girl's house, (3) among the Tsunta-Akhvakh the *adats* permit engaged couples even to sleep together (*infra*, p. 181 f).

The *adats* of some of the mountain tribes of SOUTH CAUCASUS strictly forbid engaged couples ever to meet in public or in private. It may happen that

[43] Thurnwald, "Verlöbnis," Reallexikon der Vorgeschichte, XIV, p. 133.

[44] Leontovič, II, p. 257, 194. Dubrovin, *Istorija*, I, i, p. 429: "Posle sgovora ženich imčet pravo vidavjat tajno s' svoej nevěstoj; no pri postoronnich ljudjach priličie trebuet ne tol'ko ne govorit' meždu soboju, no i ne smotret' drug nā druga."

[45] Berže, *op. cit.*, pp. 97 f.

[46] *Infra*, pp. 169—176.

[47] L'vov, *op. cit.*, p. 22 f; Amirov, "Sredi gorcev severnago Dagestana," SSKG, VII (1873), p. 30; Omarov, "Kak živut Laki," SSKG, IV (1871), pp. 16 ff; Dubrovin, *Istorija*, I, i, p. 564.

husband gives his future spouse an engagement gift as a pledge that he will marry her. Seidlitz,[57] Eristov,[58] (writing of the Khevsurs and Pshavs respectively), and King Vakhtang's Code seem to imply that the fiancée alone is bound by the promise to enter upon marriage. In any case, there is no doubt that her obligation is, by far, more binding than that of her lover. In Pshavia the engaged girl whose lover dies before marriage is obliged to move into her deceased fiancé's house and live there for a year before she may marry another man.[59] 584

With the OSSETES, on the contrary, the suitor does not enjoy more right to dissolve the betrothal promises than the girl. He may refuse to marry only if he discovers an essential defect, such as sickness and loss of virginity,[60] which she failed to manifest before the betrothal. [836]

Among the TURCO-TARTARS of the Caucasus, the Nogai and Kumyks, the obligation of marrying is bilateral. If the male partner refuses to marry, the girl and her family may retain the bride wealth received from him so far. Moreover, he is obliged to make restitution for all the *damna emergentia.* If the female partner refuses to marry, everything received from her lover must be restored to him. If she has been deflowered by him, he must marry her. Of course, if he so wish, he may divorce her immediately after the marriage and bear the usual expenses connected with a divorce (*kebin*).[61] [586]

## TABLE 14

### Obligations Arising from Engagements

| People | Mutual Avoidance | Fidelity | | Marriage | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | Suitor | Fiancée | Suitor | Fiancée |
| Abkhaz | + | | + | − | + |
| Cherkess | + | | + | − | + |
| Chechens | + | | + | − | + |
| Lesghians | + − | | + | + − | + − |
| Georgians | + | | + | − | + |
| Ossetes | + − | | + | + | + |
| Nogai | | | + | + | + |
| Kumyks | + | | + | + | + |
| Karachai | + | | + | | |

[57] "Gemeinde- und Familienleben der Chewsuren," *Das Ausland*, XVI (1891), p. 319.

[58] *op. cit.*, p. 111.

[59] Makalatija, "Iz starogo narodnago byta Pšavov," SE, 1938, No. 1, p. 110.

[60] Kovalevskij, Coutume contemp., pp. 193 f.

[61] "Adaty žitelej kumyskoj ploskosti," SSKG, VI (1872), p .16. Cf. Dubrovin, *op. cit.*, I, i, p. 638.

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riders charge wildly, slashing their whips in all directions against their attackers whose task it is to prevent the horsemen form entering the house. The battle continues till the riders finally manage to jump over the fence or to break it down and thus force their way into the house. The "defenders of the bride" throw away their poles and begin dancing with the girls of the village. At noon they all enter the house to congratulate the parents of the groom. Dances commence again and last until midnight. 585 [526]

All this time, as we have already mentioned, the groom is absent, temporarily adopted by a neighbouring sib and guarded day and night by his *shatso-kot*. When the groom retires, the *shatso-kot* must spend the night in the yard protecting the bridegroom against any intruder. Never may he abandon his post. During the day it is his strict obligation to entertain the groom and this he usually does by horseback riding, away from the village. In the evening the two are joined by other companions. Toward midnight all leave except of course the *shatso-kot*, who must now accompany the groom to his bride.[7] [608]

The first three nights, as a part of the wedding ceremony, the groom must undo the bride's stays.[8] Her corset is a broad red leather belt, which is sewed tightly about her waist and is never removed till the wedding night. According to Pallas, the corset was donned when she was 10 or 12 years old,[9] while other explorers claim that the corset was sewed on soon after the bride was born.[10] In any case, she may never take the corset off: it must remain untouched till it bursts and then it must immediately be replaced by another. The husband alone has the right to undo it, on the wedding night. The corset renders the waist very small in proportion to the shoulders, the purpose being to prevent the growth of the breasts, an essential requirement for Cherkess beauty.[11] In some places at least, the custom of wearing such stays has been recently discarded.[12] [292] [836]

Pallas and Ellis in their reports dating from the 18th century claim that the corset is "cut with a dagger, a custom sometimes productive of very fatal accidents."[13] Today untieing and not cutting the stays is the orthodox ceremony with the Cherkess[14] and the Ossetes. To cut them would subject the groom to endless ridicule.[15] Since the custom of *cutting* was "productive of very fatal accidents" we can easily understand why the pratice has been given up. Sometimes the bride's girl-friends maliciously tie a large number of very difficult knots, so that the temptation to make use of the dagger is not slight. On the first three nights the bride is not allowed to say a word to her husband.[16]

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[7] Hahn, *op. cit.*, pp. 40—44. For a description of a wedding among the Temirgoi see Vasil'kov, *op. cit.*, pp. 89—101.

[8] Ladyženskij, FT, p. 191.

[9] P. S. Pallas, *Bemerkungen auf einer Reise in die südl. Statth. des russ. Reichs etc.*, I, pp. 380 f.

[10] Ellis, *Memoir of a map etc.*, p. 24.

[11] Pallas, *l. c.*; Ellis, *l. c.*; Dubrovin, *Istorija*, I, i, p. 127. Prof. D. Wölfel has called my attention to a similar practice in Tyrol.

[12] For example, Ladyženskij could not find the practice in Kamenomostki Aul in 1927, FT, p. 191.

[13] Pallas, *op. cit.*, I, p. 381; Ellis, *l. c.*

[14] C. Hahn, *op. cit.*, p. 44.

[15] Baddeley, *op. cit.*, I, p. 270.

[16] Hahn, *op. cit.*, p. 45.

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000 to wife, a change more sensibly felt among pastoral peoples than in any other society.

585 [17] (5) The virginity test, too, though not restricted to pastoral peoples,[105] is very characteristic of their culture. The North Caucasians, all with only the Chechens as possible exception,[106] still have, or at least have had, the virginity test as an essential part of the wedding. The marriage remained uncertain till the bride passed or failed this examination.

It would certainly be of great interest to discover the meaning of and motive behind this practice. There is, of course, no universal explanation for the custom. What motivated the Nigerian tribes to introduce the practice need not be identical with the motives of the Chinese of Kwangtong or of the tribes of Samoa, of the Sakalavas of Madagascar or of the Slavs.

585 936 To understand the Caucasian virginity test we must put aside our Western notions regarding the value of the physical integrity of a bride and try to get behind the mind of the North Caucasian, behind the economic, social, and religious standards of the *Caucasians*.

Negatively stated, the virginity test of the Caucasians is in itself no proof of a high esteem for the *virtue* of chastity, for even if it can be proven that the loss of corporal integrity was caused by an accident, the value of the bride seems not to differ from the girl who lost it through actual illicit intercourse. Among the Akhvakh (Daghestanians) a guest or lover might do to a maiden what he wished provided that the hymen remained intact.[107]

[611] Since the perpetuation of the family property and especially of the family cult depends on legitimate male children, there will always be uncertainty about the fatherhood of the first male child if the hymen is found perforated before the consummation of marriage. The groom's family would be constantly haunted by the thought that a stranger (the first-born male child) may become the head of the family. In a word, the economic and religious importance of the first-born male child may have been responsible for the high esteem for virginity and for the necessity of a proof of virginity on the wedding night.[108]

This attitude toward the inviolateness of the maidenhead has been, no doubt, responsible for many other Caucasian observances. The *kalym*, for example, is much higher for a maiden than a widow or divorcée. This fact, in

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[105] For a large number of examples and bibliography see Briffault, *The Mothers*, III, pp. 333—345. See also Schmidt-Koppers, *Völker und Kulturen*, pp. 209 f.

[106] But even here we do not have a positive proof for the non-existence of the virginity test. Mere silence of older authors is *indicative* of the absence of the practice, but it certainly is no proof. The neighbouring Ossetes, Tartars and Mountain Georgians have the custom too.

[107] An accidental rupture of the hymen is much more frequent in the Caucasus than one might be inclined to believe. From early childhood the girl is obliged to do difficult work, to carry heavy loads, to climb and slide down steep, rocky slopes, covered with briers, etc., which might at any unexpected moment rob the girl of her most valued possession. Dubrovin, after referring to these possibilities, points out that frequent ritual washing, which begins quite early in life, can explain many a case too (*Istorija*, I, i, p. 572). For the practice of the Akhvakh, see *infra*, pp. 181 f.

[108] A similar explanation has been suggested by Briffault for the custom in various parts of the world. In any case, it does explain the practice among the Caucasians.

turn, must have stimulated the entire family to watch most carefully over the conduct of their daughters; and this watchfulness, again, must have been responsible for *adats* threatening the girl as well as any lover with the most severe sanctions not only for an actual perforation of the hymen but also, as the *adats* frequently express it, for any "suspicious approach."[109] 585 896

There have been other explanations offered for the virginity test. Westermarck, for instance, suggested masculine jealousy.[110] But this explanation is not applicable to the peoples of North Caucasia, for, as we have already mentioned, the sexual factor has very little significance in the selection of mates compared to the all-important economic, social, and religious factors. Such a jealousy, where mutual attraction matters so little, is unthinkable.[111] [152]

(6) The custom of the bride thrice walking round the fireplace is an ancient wedding ceremony frequently found among pastoral tribes. As is well known, it was also the custom of the ancient Indo-Europeans. That one of the main wedding ceremonies in the Caucasus should take place at the fireplace is quite in keeping with the deep religious significance of the hearth. Among a large number of Caucasian mountain tribes, especially in North Ossetia, Ingushetia, and Daghestan, we find the custom of never allowing the fire in the hearth to die out, this practice being a form of cult for the dead.[112] The fire and especially the chain above it constitute a connection between the living and the departed. It forms a sacred asylum for any murderer, because as soon as he touches the chain the ancestors of the victim approve of the murderer's adoption into the family. The chain is the symbol of the family: to tear it down is regarded as one of the most abominable crimes imagineable, an insult to the living and dead members of the sib, which must be punished with death. The chain is a symbol of the family and therefore it must be buried with the last member of an extinct sib. To swear by the hearth-chain is an infallible sign that the person is saying the truth, for to do so falsely is unthinkable.[113] Such an oath would be a curse upon the entire sib and their ancestors. In other words, the ancient solidarity of the sib is intimately connected with the ancient religion of the North Caucasians, and the sanctuary of this religion is the hearth. Now, marriage is an act by which a stranger is taken into the family, and one of the most natural means, most in harmony with the ancient Caucasian form of life, is the hearth and hearth-chain. It is indeed striking that in Daghestan the cult of the fireplace still exists today but not the wedding ceremony. This fact confirms rather than disproves our explanation, for in Daghestan the wife was not a stranger: she had to be chosen from within the sib! (Cf. *supra*, pp. 51 f.) 585 614 [778] [769] [372] [605] [789] 582

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[109] *Infra*, Chapter XII, p. 176.

[110] The History of Marriage, I, p. 163.

[111] The jealousy would have to be so great that the disappointed husband would insist that the bride's nose be cut off or that she be otherwise mutilated and even killed, for such are the ancient adats!

[112] Günther, "Zusammenstöße zwischen Gesetz und Gewohnheitsrecht im nördlichen Kaukasus," *Zeitschrift f. vergl. Rechtsw.*, XLVI (1931), p. 324.

[113] *ibid.*

[Sic.. Analyst]

# Chapter XII

# Sexual Offenses

## § 1. CRIMES AND PENALTIES

684 628 The ancient customary law of the NORTHWESTERN CAUCASIANS imposes a death penalty on the adulteress, allowing the adulterer to go unpunished. According to Cherkess *adats* she might be killed in the act or anytime afterwards,[1] while the male partner had always to be spared. It is true, Leontovič's excellent collection of customary laws maintains the very contrary, expressly stating that the adulterer had to be punished too,[2] but the penalty imposed on him is doubtless an Islamic innovation.[3]

[585] According to ancient customary law, the lot of the unfortunate bride found unchaste on her wedding night did not differ from that of the adulteress caught in the act. If the bride did not pass the virginity test, the angry groom would at once dismiss her, hand her over to her disgraced and furious father to be mutilated and finally killed.[4]

[836] In case of pregnancy before marriage, the penalty imposed on the lover was somewhat less than the equivalent of bloodwite,[5] about twenty-five head of cattle, as Longworth found it in the beginning of the last century.[6]

Customary law hardly distinguishes between rape and abduction, although the collections do, for rape generally has the same purpose as bride capture. Rape is severely punished, as severely as murder. If the ravisher's life has been spared, he is obliged to pay as much as Rs. 150 in reparation for the insult suffered by the victim's sib, and besides this fine, he is forced to pay the usual *kalym*. He is also forced to marry the girl, for, generally, once raped, she has no hope of finding another mate. If the victim happens to be of a higher social class than the attacker, there is no reconciliation possible. Vengeance alone can atone for such a hideous crime.[7]

Incest is considered a qualified crime and is sanctioned by the severest penalties. Formerly if a Cherkess dared to marry a girl of his fraternity (*tleush*)[8]

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[1] Dubrovin, *Istorija*, I, i, p. 171.

[2] Leontovič, I, p. 254, § 109: "Imějuščij ženu i uličennyj v preljubolděljanii, po zakonu lišaetsja žizni, no tot že potupok, soveršennyj cholopom, podvergaet ego nakazaniju sta udarami; ěto nazyvaetsja chod-tazir."

[3] Dirr, AGKB, p. 82.

[4] Byhan, *La civilisation caucasienne*, p. 155.

[5] Post, *Grundriß der ethnol. Jurispr.*, II, p. 378.

[6] *A Year among the Circassians*, I, p. 217.

[7] Grabovskij, "Očerk suda i ugolovnych prestuplenij v Kabardinskom okrugě," SSKG, IV (1870), pp. 42 f.

[8] *Supra*, p. 55.

p. 168

684 unjust death penalty. (5) Finally, the adulteress was merely divorced ; she lost her right to the *kebin*, while the *kalym* had to be returned to the husband. The adulterer was obliged to pay a fine.

Amputation of the adulteress' ears and nose is a punishment found in the *adats* of all Caucasians. It is interesting to note that a Hittite code (about 1350 B. C.) engraved on a stele has been dug up, which expressly legalized such mutilation in case of adultery.[65] This code may be based on a substratum of customary laws which are now preserved in the isolated *adats* of the Caucasus.

## 2. Motives

The main motives for punishing sexual offenses seem to be : (1) in case of defloration, the girl loses her value and consequently the family suffers a great economic loss ;[66] (2) there is a serious danger of a stranger being born into the sacred sanctuary of the home and later treated as a legitimate member and even as head of the family (*supra*, p. 126).

## 3. Reports regarding Sexual Laxity of the Caucasians

834 In view of such severe penalties as we have described above, we cannot
[832] help being suspicious about some of the reports regarding laxity of morals among the mountain tribes of the Caucasus. The Kuban Cherkess are supposed to have formerly been proud of the fact that their wives attracted other men. Every
[836] woman had to have a lover to prove her true value.[67] Longworth's report, to mention but another example, contrasts the scrupulousness after marriage with "their unconstrained demeanor before marriage."[68] "The maidens of Circassia are allowed a latitude in their behaviour which is elsewhere unknown ; not only do they talk and dance with the other sex, but when they please, they exercise their blandishments to an extent that to a stranger is no less perplexing than
[796] agreeable."[69] Then there are the many reports about public religious hetaerism. Interiano claims that at funerals of prominent personages a very strange sort
[764] of sacrifice takes place : a girl of 12 to 14 years of age is placed upon a skin of an ox that has just been slaughtered and in the presence of men and women a robust young man of the community must try to deflower her. After several failures, the young man promises to marry her (or makes some other promises),
837 and then the girl usually consents.[70] There are also the reports about sexual
836 hospitality, for example, in the "Relation du Sieur Ferrand médicin du Khan
574 des Tatares, touchant la Crimée, les Tartares-Nogaies et ce qui se passe au serail du dit Khan,"[71] in *Voyage historiques et géographique dans les pays situé entre la Mer Caspienne par Edouard Barbier du Bocage et de Baert*, as well as in the

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[65] H. C. E. Zacharias, *Protohistory*, p. 258.
[66] *Supra*, pp. 126 f.
[67] Dirr, AGKB, pp. 81 f.
[68] Longworth, *A Year among the Circassians*, I, p. 286.
[69] Longworth, *op. cit.*, I, p. 216.
[70] Ladyženskij, FT, p. 183, Dirr's note.
[71] In *Recueil des Voyages au Nord*, Amsterdam, 1718.

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writings of the Arabs al-Mas'ûdî and Abu-El-Kasim. They claim that the father offers one of his daughters to his guest as a mere point of hospitality. Stählin[72] claimed that illegitimate children were treated the same as legitimate. On the other hand, a large number of authors, such as Struys, Lamberti,[73] Neumann,[74] and others, claim that the Cherkess women are extremely modest. The true solution to these conflicting reports is the one suggested by Ladyženskij.[75] "Den richtigsten Standpunkt nimmt in der Frage Garni ein (Reisen in den Ländern der asiatischen Türkei und des Kaukasus, 1854). Er betont die Keuschheit der freien Frauen und den Hetärismus der Sklavinnen." This is also Dirr's opinion.[76] In other words, the reports are true only to a certain extent: the freewomen are exceptionally modest, while the slaves exceptionally immodest, religious prostitution and sexual hospitality being restricted to slaves. Such conduct in regard to freewomen would be impossible considering the great economic loss the family would suffer from defloration, considering also the virginity test, and, finally, the fear of illegitimate children. On the other hand, defloration, virginity, and illegitimate children in the case of *slaves* would offer no serious difficulty.

We have a similar problem in regard to some of the Lesghians. As we have mentioned above, Herodotus wrote of the Lesghians that "they copulate in public as beasts are wont to do."[77] Przewalski reported that at Tsunta-Akhvakh unmarried couples were allowed to sleep together.[78] Baddeley confirms Przewalski's report: "It is the custom for a host to give his guest one of his daughters or some other girl to sleep with. The couple may . . . do what they like provided the maidenhead remains intact; and even that depends on the fair one's goodwill. But should the guest so far forget himself as to force her, he will pay for it with his life. Those people think meanly of a girl who has never slept with an honoured guest."[79] Baddeley's guide, a native of Ossetia, "accepted this as a fact, and added that something of the same sort went on in certain of the older Cossack 'stanitsas' on the Terek, instancing Tchervlennaya."[80] Herodotus' report is useless, for we do not know exactly who is meant, but there is no reason to doubt Przewalski and Baddeley. However, we wish to stress that this is a custom found exclusively in Tsunta-Akhvakh and is, by no means, the picture of entire Daghestan. Tsunta-Akhvakh is only a *village* (in 1901 it had only 415 inhabitants), which constitutes an *exception*

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[72] Jacob v. Stählin, *Nachrichten von Tschirkassien oder von dem Karbardinischen Lande*, 1771, referred to by Ladyženskij, FT, p. 185.

[73] Cf. Ladyženskij, *l. c.*

[74] Neumann, *Rußland und die Tscherkessen*, cf. Ladyženskij, *l. c.*

[75] Ladyženskij, *l. c.* Ladyženskij, "Zur Erforschung der Rechtsgewohnheiten, etc.," pp. 243 f.

[76] Ladyženskij, FT, p. 184. Cf. Castagné, "Le droit coutumier familial des montagnards du Caucase," p. 252: "Supposer que le montagnard adighé pût proposer sa fille ou sa femme a un hôte, serait comprehensible si la femme des montagnards avait été esclave, mais cela n'étant pas, une supposition de ce genre doit être considéré comme sans fondement aucun."

[77] Cited by Potocki, *Voyage dans les steps d'Astrakhan et du Caucase*, I, p. 240; to which Potocki adds, "Celle de quelques vallées du Caucase sont encore très libres."

[78] Kovalevskij, *Zakon*, II, p. 189.

[79] Baddeley, *op. cit.*, II, pp. 13 f.

[80] Baddeley, *op. cit.*, *II*, p. 14.

837 to the general rule. This village is inhabited by a degraded Avarian tribe or,
836 as Baddeley suggests, "perhaps the remnant of an older race absorbed by the
574 latter."[81] But even here, among this "degraded" Avarian tribe, the girl "might only be touched from waist upwards; in Shamyl's time a too-ardent lover was stabbed to death, for a breach of this adat, by his own beloved, and the deed was not only not punished but even greatly applauded."[82]

936 There are also similar conflicting reports regarding the neighbouring mountain tribes of Georgia. Klaproth, for instance, speaking of the Tushi, says, "Le commerce illicite entre les deux sexes est très rare chez eux . . ."[83] Klaproth's claim is in full accord with the severe penalties for fornication as described by Baddeley: "If a girl was unchaste, she was set upon a donkey, face to tail, and carried through the 'aoul', spat upon and jeered at." He goes on to say that "if a girl had a child, she was driven out of the community and the child killed, unless some charitable person took pity on it. A young man could not marry a girl once seduced by another man, but an old man or widower might."[84] Other reports, however, maintain the very contrary and say that the mountain tribes of Georgia are extremely lax. A few distinctions will, I believe, clarify these contradictions. The Khevsurs[85] and the Pshavs[86] have an institution called *tsatsali*, that is, "brother" or "sister" but actually legal lovers. It is only freedom with non-*tsatsalis* and pregnancy that seems to have been discountenanced by these tribes. As long as the girl restricted her relations to her *tsatsali* and avoided pregnancy she was "chaste." One of the main reasons for the
[582] relatively late marriage age among the mountain tribes of Georgia (*supra*, p. 67) is this institution.[87]

## 4. Relation of Penalties for Sexual Offenses to the Economic and Social Organization of the Caucasian Mountaineers

182 All that we have said about the severity of the penal laws of the North
687 Caucasians is in perfect harmony with their general economic and social organization. It is a known fact that lower hunters discountenance sexual liberty more than the higher hunters; the lower agrarians more than the higher; the pastoralists more than the agrarians; the father-right family more than the mother-right.[88] Our North Caucasians have a strongly pastoral and father-right organization.

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[81] Baddeley, *op. cit.*, II, p. 13.

[82] *ibid.* Baddeley's source is Komarov's article "Adaty i sudoproizvodstvo po nim," SSKG, I, p. 57. Dubrovin, *Istorija*, I, i, p. 564 has the incident too, but he fails to mention his source.

[83] Klaproth, *Voyage au Mont Caucase et en Géorgie*, II, p. 72.

[84] Baddeley, *op. cit.*, I, p. 237.

[85] Kovalevskij, "La famille matriarcale au Caucase," *L'Anthropologie*, IV (1893), p. 273.

[86] Makalatija, "Iz starogo narodnogo byta Pšavov," SE, 1938, No. 1, p. 98.

[87] Since the *tsatsali* in Pshavia are always chosen from among relatives and marriage is possible only between non-relatives, marriage would mean that the two would have to separate and love another person, a fact that makes them reluctant to marry. In fact, they sometimes do not marry at all. For a detailed exposition of the institution, see Makalatija, *op. cit.*, pp. 98—102.

[88] H. Günther, *Formen und Urgeschichte der Ehe*, p. 90.

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the couple does not become acquainted with one another till their wedding day.[48] In Khevsuria the girl used to move into the house of her future father-in-law before her marriage, and there she would take part in the family work for three to fourteen days, but all this time she was not allowed to associate with anyone except the female members of the family. After that she returned to her own household and lived there for two weeks at least (sometimes two or three years), during which time she was not allowed to meet her lover. In fact, he was even forbidden to enter her village.[49] In Pshavia, as we have seen above (p. 105), the engaged couple is allowed to meet frequently.

The obligation of mutual avoidance is also observed by the neighbouring OSSETES.[50]

In this regard the neighbouring TARTARS do not differ either. The Kumyk may visit his future wife only privately and is strictly forbidden to speak to her in the presence of others.[51] The Karachai suitor is forbidden to speak not only with his beloved but also with his future parents-in-law.[52]

### 2. Mutual Fidelity

The *adats* of the North Caucasians do not tell us whether the obligation is bilateral or not. The female partner, of course, is strictly bound to fidelity as will be clear from our exposition of the proof of virginity demanded of the bride on her wedding night *(infra*, p. 124) and from Chapter XII on sexual violations.

### 3. The Obligation of Entering upon Marriage

Islamic law gives both parties the right to dissolve the engagement at will.[53] It will be interesting to find out whether in this particular case the *adats* are observed or the *šarī'a*.

The NORTHWESTERN CAUCASIANS. The "Collection of adats for the Black Sea-Cordon Line, Kuban and Terek Territories" (§ 195) informs us that "the man has a right to break his engagement at will; and, at the request of his fiancée or her relatives, he may permit the girl to withdraw her promises."[54] This adat clearly shows that the obligation is unilateral. "The girl [or her family] may not break the engagement without her fiancé's consent."[54]

The NORTHEASTERN CAUCASIANS. The following table will give us a good idea of the Chechen *adats*.

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[48] Dubrovin, *Istorija*, I, ii, p. 309.

[49] M. O. Kosven, "Peržitki matriarchata u narodov Kavkaza," SE, 1936, No. 4—5, p. 216.

[50] Dubrovin, *Istorija*, I, i, p. 333; Byhan, *op. cit.*, p. 212.

[51] Dubrovin, *Istorija*, I, i, p. 638.

[52] Byhan, *op. cit.*, pp. 245 f.

[53] Juynboll, *op. cit.*, p. 163.

[54] Leontovič, II, p. 257, § 196.

dissolutions of the marriage bond, the husband forfeits the *kalym*, while the wife, on her part, must return it to the man she unjustifiably abandons.[12] On the other hand, if the husband has sufficient grounds for a divorce, the *kalym* must be refunded; or if she justly abandons her husband, she need not return it. Legal grounds for a woman are impotency of the man for over a year and cruelty,[13] whereas a man (at least among the Temirgoi) may divorce his wife for disrespectfulness toward her parents- oder brothers-in-law or laziness.[14] 586

The wife never has a right to any special alimony. In case of divorce, she may take her personal property along, that is, personal gifts, and if the divorce was not justifiable, her *kalym*. She never receives additional support, except if she has a child less than a year old, in which case she is given, in addition, 10 *puds* of flour, 10 *puds* of millet, and not more than two sheep.[15]

The children always remain with the father. If one of the children is less than a year old, the mother may keep the child and nurse it till its second year, when it must, without delay, be returned to its father's family.[16] Since divorce is relatively frequent, in some Cherkess families we find children of two, three, or even more, different mothers.[17]

A Cherkess and Abkhazian divorcée is free to re-marry, provided the regulation regarding the *kalym* has been carried out.[18] [587]

If the partners wish to reunite after a divorce, they can do so only if a marriage with another person and a subsequent divorce intervened. The intermediate marriage and divorce may have taken place only an hour before the re-union, it matters little. They are nevertheless indispensable. Of course, the "re-union" is more than a mere re-union; it is actually a second marriage between the same partners.[19] This practice evidently is of Islamic origin.

The NORTHEASTERN CAUCASIANS. The divorce regulations of the Chechens are much the same as those of the Abkhaz and Cherkess, but, owing to their greater isolation and slower acculturation, the divorce rights of the female partner have not reached the advantageous level of the Northwesterners. [177]

In pre-Soviet times, a husband had far greater rights to dismiss his wife than a wife had to abandon her husband., A husband might validly divorce his wife at will, but his wife was not allowed to abandon her husband without first having received his consent.[20] Or again, as another *adat* has it: the infidelity of a wife is considered sufficient grounds for dismissal, but the infidelity 586 837

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[12] *ibid.*

[13] *ibid.*

[14] Vasil'kov, *l. c.*

[15] Ladyženskij, FT, p. 203.

[16] *ibid.*

[17] Vasil'kov, *op. cit.*, p. 102.

[18] Byhan, *La civilisation caucasienne*, p. 155.

[19] Ladyženskij, *op. cit.*, p. 199. This is a typically Islamic custom, cf. Koran, ii, 230. Cf. Juynboll, *op. cit.*, pp. 229—232; also, A. Gren, "Kratkoe izloženie Šariata," *Terskij Sbornik*, III (1892), No. 2, Part 2, p. 16.

[20] Leontovič, II, p. 170, § 123; p. 175, § 160. "§ 123 ... žena na razvod prava ne imbet, bez soglasija muža. Mužu že dozvoljaetsja razvod vo vsjakoe vremja, ne sprašivaja soglasija ženy." [Sic -- Analyst]

586 of a husband never justifies a wife to divorce him.[21] In fact, the inequality was
●837 even far greater: although a husband's wilful act of adultery was not sufficient grounds for a divorce, rape suffered by an innocent wife was.[22] Other legal
[843] grounds for a divorce were sterility of the wife or the fact that she was "capable" of giving birth only to girls,[23] which is but another form of "sterility."

586 A divorcée has no right to a special alimony. Instead, she has her own personal property and especially her *kebin*.[24]

If a wife abandons her husband for any reason other than the few legal grounds granted her, she not only must return all engagement and wedding gifts received from her husband, but her family must also return the entire *kalym*. In fact, she may not re-marry till the *kalym* is refunded. Sometimes the husband out of mere malice refuses the *kalym*, so that the divorcée must remain unmarried for the rest of her life.[25]

[429] The children remain in the father's household, even if he should soon die after the divorce,[26] the guardianship always remaining in the male line.

According to Lesghian customary divorce laws, which, on the whole, are in harmony with the *šari'a*,[27] the female mate is again at a disadvantage. An *adat* for North Tabassaran says that "the husband has the right to divorce his wife at any time... But a wife may abandon her husband only if he is impotent, or if he has a contagious disease, or, finally, if he is unable to support her."[28] The disadvantage lies in the restricted legal grounds justifying the women to abandon their husbands and the almost unlimited possibilities of a justified divorce of the men. However, the expression "at any time" in this *adat* is an exaggeration. If a husband divorces his wife unjustifiably, he must pay the sum promised (*kebin*) and forfeits the *kalym*. If the wife abandons her husband for any other reason than the three grounds enumerated, she loses her right to the *kebin* and her family is obliged to refund the *kalym*.[29] Of course, if the husband is willing to pay the *kebin* and lose his right to a refund of the *kalym*, he may divorce her, literally, at any time.

586, 695 Another occasion for divorce is the so-called *khatun-tallkh*. It is a common form of oath in Daghestan, which only a married man can take. The husband declares himself ready to dismiss his wife if he swear falsely. If he has several wives, he must specify which wife he will dismiss in case of perjury.

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[21] Leontovič, II, p. 173, §§ 150, 152.

[22] Leontovič, II, p. 172, § 143.

[23] Grabovskij, "Ekonomičeskij i domašnij byt, etc.," p. 21.

[24] Leontovič, II, p. 169 f, § 119; p. 176, § 172. The special decision of 1862 in this regard seems to be an imitation of the Islamic *kebin*.

[25] Leonovič, II, p. 175, § 166: "čtoby razvedennaja žena ne byla 'ni ema, ni drugoma.'" See also Grabovskij, *op. cit.*, pp. 51 f.

[26] Grabovskij, *op. cit.*, p. 53.

[27] Kovalevskij, *Zakon*, II, pp. 199 f.

[28] "Adaty Južno-Dagestanskich Obščestv," SSKG, VIII (1875), pp. 32
Kovalevskij, *Zakon*, II, p. 199.

[29] "Adaty Južno-Dagestanskich Obščestv," *l. c.*

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the person raped is a minor or an adult: blood-enmity or bloodwite of Rs. 250 (AJuDO, p. 9). 684

(14) If the adulteress escapes, she becomes the blood-enemy of her husband as well as of her own family. The same holds for her lover. The offended husband is allowed to kill his wife and spare the adulterer, but not vice versa, without becoming a *qanly*. In case of fornication, if both partners are not killed, they have the strict obligation of marrying or else become outcasts and are banished (AJuDO, pp. 43 f).

(15) If a man is accused of adultery and fails to justify himself by an oath taken together with 40 conjurors, the adulteress may be killed by her husband. If a husband decides to kill his adulterous wife, her lover automatically becomes a blood-enemy. The adulterer can choose to pay a bloodwite of Rs. 60 and a fine of six head of cattle instead. The fine is paid to the district (AJuDO, p. 26). If the father of a girl insists, the man who had intercourse with her must marry her, otherwise he must pay a fine of six oxen and becomes a blood-enemy of the girl's family (AJuDO, p. 26). The penalty for raping a widow is three head of cattle. If the woman attacked is married, the offender becomes a blood-enemy if he fails to justify himself by an oath taken together with 40 conjurors (Cf. AJuDO, p. 26).

(16) The adulteress may be divorced (ADOiZO, p. 548, § 19; Dirr, AGKB, p. 75). If the offended husband makes use of this right, the adulterer must pay a bloodwite and is banished for 20—30 days (*ibid.*).

(17) The fornicators are obliged to marry, otherwise they may be killed by the girl's family. Anyone who rapes a girl, widow, divorcée, or a married woman is obliged to marry her, otherwise he too may be killed (AJuDO, p. 48).

In pre-Russian times it was sufficient if the husband had learned by mere hearsay that his wife had been unfaithful: he could at once inflict the death-blow without further investigation.[27] Although during the Russian occupation the right to kill one's adulterous wife still existed (namely, if the wife had been caught in the act or if she had fled with her lover on being detected, or if she had been found guilty by the people's court), the husband seldom made use of his right. A wife was generally divorced, and as compensation, the offended husband kept all her property.[28] We say that she was "generally" divorced, for, if we go through the various criminalogical reports of the Russian (pre-Soviet) times, we find not a few cases where the right to kill has been actually made use of. To mention but a few of these official reports: "December 28, 1869, a citizen of the aul Orot, of the Province of Avaria, by the name of Gamzat Labazan-ogdy, stabbed his brother to death because Ali (his brother) had committed adultery with Gamzat's wife, whose name is Patimat Mutalilov-kizy."[29] Or again, "December 12, 1869, a native of the aul Arsug . . . having caught his wife, Kifi Rodzheb-kizy, in an adulterous union with his co-villager, Ramazan Adzhab-Palay-ogdy, killed her with the help of her own kinsman, Dzhabrank Tseyd-ogdy."[30] [586]

The Lesghians love to repeat the ballad of Nika Bulat. It is a tragic tale indeed, but a tale that clearly conveys the deep conviction of these mountaineers of the heinousness of adultery. Nika Bulat, we must remember, was a righteous 684 538 837

[27] Kovalevskij, *Zakon*, II, pp. 195 f.

[28] Similar changes are noticeable throughout the Caucasus.

[29] "Iz gorskoj kriminalistiki," SSKG, III (1870), p. 19.

[30] *ibid.*

684 man. He loved his mother as every faithful son should. In fact, he loved her
[538] with an exceptionally deep filial love. But alas! How painful it must have
been for him to learn that his mother, whom he so worshipped, had an illicit
[837] lover! His heart burst with grief and rage. Nika Bulat at once rushed to the adulterer's home; his eyes flashed with rage as he whipped out his dagger and plunged it into the lover's heart. Nika Bulat then hacked off his head and hands, and took these gory limbs and head to his mother, and staring at her for a moment as if he had gone mad, dropped them at her feet. On seeing her furious son and especially the gruesome sight before her, she burst into tears, but tears that only served to make Nika Bulat's blood boil with rage even still more violently. With one thrust of his dagger, his mother lay dying beside the head and hands she once so wrongfully loved to clasp. But that is not the end of the tragedy. Nika Bulat's sisters were present and witnessed all. They fell down on their knees, weeping bitterly on their mother's breast, as she bled and gasped. But Nika Bulat did not allow his sisters to weep. That same dagger was whipped out once again, and like a flash plunged into the heart of one of his sisters, and then into the heart of the other, thus putting an end to their sobs, sobs that were, in eyes of Nika Bulat, an approval of their mother's crime. For this great act of heroism Nika Bulat was admired by all and proclaimed the head of the village.[31]

[834] This abhorrence of sexual crimes is brought out further by the fact that any accidental touch of the bare hand of a strange woman is considered a violation, and both are regarded as "unclean."[32] Especially in dances all physical contact must be scrupulously avoided, no matter how small and crowded the room may be. Baddeley describes how the dancers curve in and out within a few inches of each other, but never is there even the slightest bodily contact, "the breach of this observance, even inadvertently, leading to many a fatal quarrel. A husband, brother or lover, looking on with jealous eye, would whip out his 'kinjal' at the mere suspicion of a touch..."[33] A further reflexion of this extreme sensitivity is the considerably large number of *adats* which make no distinction between mere contact and actual rape. In the Districts of Hyuraki, Usisha, and Mugn, for example, actual rape, attempted rape, and a mere suspicious touch or approach are all equally punished.[34]

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838 persons of the opposite sex. To mention but a few examples: in Hyuraki District, the two persons caught in the act may be killed on the spot by their relatives, or else, if spared, each must pay a fine of three oxen to the community, and both persons are banished for a year, not to mention other penalties;[35] in

[31] Cf. Dirr, AGKB, pp. 75 f.

[32] L'vov, "Domaĭnjaja i semjnaja žizn Dagestanskich gorcev Avarskago plemeni," SSKG, III (1870), p. 21.

[33] Baddeley, *op. cit.*, II, p. 13.

[34] Cf. "Adaty Darginskich Obščestv," SSKG, VII (1873), pp. 65, 91, 105.

[35] "Adaty Darginskich Obščestv," p. 92. To free one's self from a charge of homosexuality 40 conjurors are required just as in the case of murder (*ibid.*).

684 unjust death penalty. (5) Finally, the adulteress was merely divorced; she lost her right to the *kebin*, while the *kalym* had to be returned to the husband. The adulterer was obliged to pay a fine.

Amputation of the adulteress' ears and nose is a punishment found in the *adats* of all Caucasians. It is interesting to note that a Hittite code (about 1350 B. C.) engraved on a stele has been dug up, which expressly legalized such mutilation in case of adultery.[65] This code may be based on a substratum of customary laws which are now preserved in the isolated *auls* of the Caucasus.

## 2. Motives

The main motives for punishing sexual offenses seem to be: (1) in case of defloration, the girl loses her value and consequently the family suffers a great economic loss;[66] (2) there is a serious danger of a stranger being born into the sacred sanctuary of the home and later treated as a legitimate member and even as head of the family (*supra*, p. 126).

## 3. Reports regarding Sexual Laxity of the Caucasians

834 In view of such severe penalties as we have described above, we cannot help being suspicious about some of the reports regarding laxity of morals among [832] the mountain tribes of the Caucasus. The Kuban Cherkess are supposed to have formerly been proud of the fact that their wives attracted other men. Every [836] woman had to have a lover to prove her true value.[67] Longworth's report, to mention but another example, contrasts the scrupulousness after marriage with "their unconstrained demeanor before marriage."[68] "The maidens of Circassia are allowed a latitude in their behaviour which is elsewhere unknown; not only do they talk and dance with the other sex, but when they please, they exercise their blandishments to an extent that to a stranger is no less perplexing than [716] agreeable."[69] Then there are the many reports about public religious hetaerism. Interiano claims that at funerals of prominent personages a very strange sort [764] of sacrifice takes place: a girl of 12 to 14 years of age is placed upon a skin of an ox that has just been slaughtered and in the presence of men and women a robust young man of the community must try to deflower her. After several failures, the young man promises to marry her (or makes some other promises), 837 and then the girl usually consents.[70] There are also the reports about sexual 836 hospitality, for example, in the "Relation du Sieur Ferrand médicin du Khan 574 des Tatares, touchant la Crimée, les Tartares-Nogaies et ce qui se passe au serail du dit Khan,"[71] in *Voyage historiques et géographique dans les pays situé entre la Mer Caspienne par Edouard Barbier du Bocage et de Baert*, as well as in the

[65] H. C. E. Zacharias, *Protohistory*, p. 258.
[66] *Supra*, pp. 126 f.
[67] Dirr, AGKB, pp. 81 f.
[68] Longworth, *A Year among the Circassians*, I, p. 286.
[69] Longworth, *op. cit.*, I, p. 216.
[70] Ladyženskij, FT, p. 183, Dirr's note.
[71] In *Recueil des Voyages au Nord*, Amsterdam, 1718.

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writings of the Arabs al-Mas'ûdî and Abu-El-Kasim. They claim that the father offers one of his daughters to his guest as a mere point of hospitality. Stählin[72] claimed that illegitimate children were treated the same as legitimate. On the other hand, a large number of authors, such as Struys, Lamberti,[73] Neumann,[74] and others, claim that the Cherkess women are extremely modest. The true solution to these conflicting reports is the one suggested by Ladyženskij.[75] "Den richtigsten Standpunkt nimmt in der Frage Garni ein (Reisen in den Ländern der asiatischen Türkei und des Kaukasus, 1854). Er betont die Keuschheit der freien Frauen und den Hetärismus der Sklavinnen." This is also Dirr's opinion.[76] In other words, the reports are true only to a certain extent: the freewomen are exceptionally modest, while the slaves exceptionally immodest, religious prostitution and sexual hospitality being restricted to slaves. Such conduct in regard to freewomen would be impossible considering the great economic loss the family would suffer from defloration, considering also the virginity test, and, finally, the fear of illegitimate children. On the other hand, defloration, virginity, and illegitimate children in the case of *slaves* would offer no serious difficulty.

We have a similar problem in regard to some of the Lesghians. As we have mentioned above, Herodotus wrote of the Lesghians that "they copulate in public as beasts are wont to do."[77] Przewalski reported that at Tsunta-Akhvakh unmarried couples were allowed to sleep together.[78] Baddeley confirms Przewalski's report: "It is the custom for a host to give his guest one of his daughters or some other girl to sleep with. The couple may ... do what they like provided the maidenhead remains intact; and even that depends on the fair one's goodwill. But should the guest so far forget himself as to force her, he will pay for it with his life. Those people think meanly of a girl who has never slept with an honoured guest."[79] Baddeley's guide, a native of Ossetia, "accepted this as a fact, and added that something of the same sort went on in certain of the older Cossack 'stanitsas' on the Terek, instancing Tchervlennaya."[80] Herodotus' report is useless, for we do not know exactly who is meant, but there is no reason to doubt Przewalski and Baddeley. However, we wish to stress that this is a custom found exclusively in Tsunta-Akhvakh and is, by no means, the picture of entire Daghestan. Tsunta-Akhvakh is only a *village* (in 1901 it had only 415 inhabitants), which constitutes an *exception*

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[72] Jacob v. Stählin, *Nachrichten von Tschirkassien oder von dem Karbardinischen Lande*, 1771, referred to by Ladyženskij, FT, p. 185.

[73] Cf. Ladyženskij, *l. c.*

[74] Neumann, *Rußland und die Tscherkessen*, cf. Ladyženskij, *l. c.*

[75] Ladyženskij, *l. c.* Ladyženskij, "Zur Erforschung der Rechtsgewohnheiten, etc.," pp. 243 f.

[76] Ladyženskij, FT, p. 184. Cf. Castagné, "Le droit coutumier familial des montagnards du Caucase," p. 252: "Supposer que le montagnard adighé pût proposer sa fille ou sa femme a un hôte, serait comprehensible si la femme des montagnards avait *été* esclave, mais cela n'étant pas, une supposition de ce genre doit être considéré comme sans fondement aucun."

[77] Cited by Potocki, *Voyage dans les steps d'Astrakhan et du Caucase*, I, p. 240; to which Potocki adds, "Celle de quelques vallées du Caucase sont encore très libres."

[78] Kovalevskij, *Zakon*, II, p. 189.

[79] Baddeley, *op. cit.*, II, pp. 13 f.

[80] Baddeley, *op. cit.*, *II*, p. 14.

837 836 574 to the general rule. This village is inhabited by a degraded Avarian tribe or, as Baddeley suggests, "perhaps the remnant of an older race absorbed by the latter."[81] But even here, among this "degraded" Avarian tribe, the girl "might only be touched from waist upwards; in Shamyl's time a too-ardent lover was stabbed to death, for a breach of this adat, by his own beloved, and the deed was not only not punished but even greatly applauded."[82]

836 There are also similar conflicting reports regarding the neighbouring mountain tribes of Georgia. Klaproth, for instance, speaking of the Tushi, says, "Le commerce illicite entre les deux sexes est très rare chez eux . . ."[83] Klaproth's claim is in full accord with the severe penalties for fornication as described by Baddeley: "If a girl was unchaste, she was set upon a donkey, face to tail, and carried through the 'aoul', spat upon and jeered at." He goes on to say that "if a girl had a child, she was driven out of the community and the child killed, unless some charitable person took pity on it. A young man could not marry a girl once seduced by another man, but an old man or widower might."[84] Other reports, however, maintain the very contrary and say that the mountain tribes of Georgia are extremely lax. A few distinctions will, I believe, clarify these contradictions. The Khevsurs[85] and the Pshavs[86] have an institution called *tsatsali*, that is, "brother" or "sister" but actually legal lovers. It is only freedom with non-*tsatsalis* and pregnancy that seems to have been discountenanced by these tribes. As long as the girl restricted her relations to her *tsatsali* and avoided pregnancy she was "chaste." One of the main reasons for the [582] relatively late marriage age among the mountain tribes of Georgia (*supra*, p. 67) is this institution.[87]

### 4. Relation of Penalties for Sexual Offenses to the Economic and Social Organization of the Caucasian Mountaineers

182 684 All that we have said about the severity of the penal laws of the North Caucasians is in perfect harmony with their general economic and social organization. It is a known fact that lower hunters discountenance sexual liberty more than the higher hunters; the lower agrarians more than the higher; the pastoralists more than the agrarians; the father-right family more than the mother-right.[88] Our North Caucasians have a strongly pastoral and father-right organization.

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[81] Baddeley, *op. cit.*, II, p. 13.

[82] *ibid.* Baddeley's source is Komarov's article "Adaty i sudoproizvodstvo po nim," SSKG, I, p. 57. Dubrovin, *Istorija*, I, i, p. 564 has the incident too, but he fails to mention his source.

[83] Klaproth, *Voyage au Mont Caucase et en Géorgie*, II, p. 72.

[84] Baddeley, *op. cit.*, I, p. 237.

[85] Kovalevskij, "La famille matriarcale au Caucase," *L'Anthropologie*, IV (1893), p. 273.

[86] Makalatija, "Iz starogo narodnogo byta Pšavov," SE, 1938, No. 1, p. 98.

[87] Since the *tsatsali* in Pshavia are always chosen from among relatives and marriage is possible only between non-relatives, marriage would mean that the two would have to separate and love another person, a fact that makes them reluctant to marry. In fact, they sometimes do not marry at all. For a detailed exposition of the institution, see Makalatija, *op. cit.*, pp. 98—102.

[88] H. Günther, *Formen und Urgeschichte der Ehe*, p. 90.

684 man. He loved his mother as every faithful son should. In fact, he loved her
[538] with an exceptionally deep filial love. But alas! How painful it must have
[837] been for him to learn that his mother, whom he so worshipped, had an illicit lover! His heart burst with grief and rage. Nika Bulat at once rushed to the adulterer's home; his eyes flashed with rage as he whipped out his dagger and plunged it into the lover's heart. Nika Bulat then hacked off his head and hands, and took these gory limbs and head to his mother, and staring at her for a moment as if he had gone mad, dropped them at her feet. On seeing her furious son and especially the gruesome sight before her, she burst into tears, but tears that only served to make Nika Bulat's blood boil with rage even still more violently. With one thrust of his dagger, his mother lay dying beside the head and hands she once so wrongfully loved to clasp. But that is not the end of the tragedy. Nika Bulat's sisters were present and witnessed all. They fell down on their knees, weeping bitterly on their mother's breast, as she bled and gasped. But Nika Bulat did not allow his sisters to weep. That same dagger was whipped out once again, and like a flash plunged into the heart of one of his sisters, and then into the heart of the other, thus putting an end to their sobs, sobs that were, in eyes of Nika Bulat, an approval of their mother's crime. For this great act of heroism Nika Bulat was admired by all and proclaimed the head of the village.[31]

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Bestiality is not punished as severely as other sexual crimes. Generally, the person is merely fined ; he is never killed for the act.[37]

If a maiden or a widow becomes pregnant, she may secretly break into the home of her seducer, give birth to the child, and as a result, he must marry her. This practice, however, is not an *adat* but a practice encouraged by the Šâfi'itic school.[38]

The SOUTHERN CAUCASIANS. In ancient Georgia a husband had the right to kill his adulterous wife as well as her lover ; a father had the right to kill the accomplice of any of his children.[39] In more recent times, the male partner was generally spared by the Pshavs,[40] Khevsurs,[41] and the Tushi,[42] otherwise the avenger himself would become a blood-enemy. In Svanetia illicit intercourse was not punished with death if the lovers happened to be of the same village.[43] Among the Svans, later on, the avenger of an act of illicit intercourse was obliged to pay half of the usual *tsor* (bloodwite),[44] and this very sum (besides a refund of the *kalym*) had to be paid to him by the family of his adulterous wife,[45] so that to become a blood-enemy in such a case did not involve great inconvenience. In Khevsuria, for example, if the life of the adulteress was spared, she would be subjected to indescribable torture. Her cheeks would be slit, her nose, ears or arms would be amputated and hair cut off.[46] This sort of punishment has not yet completely disappeared, though it has become very rare. Baddeley speaking of his host in Georgia writes : "Our host told us that his own uncle, having served a sentence of imprisonment in Tiflis, came back to find his wife living with another man ... He cut off one of her ears, her nose and her right hand ; but that was some time ago."[47] Today the penalty for adultery is not half as severe : generally the wife is divorced and the *kalym* must be refunded to the husband together with half of the usual bloodwite.

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[36] "Adaty Darginskich Obščestv," p. 21.

[37] Cf. "Adaty Darginskich Obščestv," pp. 52, 92, 106, 119.

[38] Kovalevskij, *Zakon*, II, p. 168.

[39] Code of King Vakhtang VI, § 42, Karst ed. p. 92 f.

[40] Kovalevskij, *Zakon*, II, p. 94.

[41] Kovalevskij, *op. cit.*, II, p. 120.

[42] *ibid.*

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[44] Dirr, AGKB, p. 83.

[45] *ibid.*

[46] Makalatija, "Iz starogo narodnogo byta Płavov," SE, 1938, No. 1, p. 109 ; Baddeley, *op. cit.*, I, p. 237 ; Dubrovin, *Istorija*, I, ii, p. 312.

[47] Baddeley, *l. c.*

he would be sentenced to death by drowning. In the nineteenth century a heavy fine of 200 oxen and immediate separation were insisted upon instead.[9] 684 628

The penalty for raping a boy before puberty is death. Of course, such cases of perversion are very rare.[10] Likewise extremely rare are cases of homosexuality and bestiality,[11] except among certain Cherkess horse-breeders among whom bestiality is more common and the penalty trivial or none at all.[12] [839]

The *adats* have evidently gone through a distinct evolution, from unusual severity imposed exclusively on the adulteress to a more moderate form of punishment affecting both partners. Dubois de Montpéreux observed how a husband, who would clip his wife's hair for adultery, then cut off her ear, arm, or nose and finally kill her, fully in accord with ancient *adats*,[13] would thereby become a blood-enemy of his wife's relatives. He therefore usually preferred to divorce her instead[14] and have the *kalym* refunded.[15] Vasil'kov reported in the beginning of this century that among the Temirgoi illicit intercourse was extremely rare and that *both* partners would be punished very severely. If caught in the act, they would be buried up to their necks and then stoned to death.[16]

The NORTHEASTERN CAUCASIANS. The Chechen customary law likewise imposes very severe penalties for adultery, as the following table clearly shows (Table No. 19).

The most serious sex offenses are those of rape and incest. If an Ingush woman (married or single) is raped, the attacker may be killed on the spot. If he manages to escape, a bitter blood-feud breaks out between the sibs of the offended and offender. In *adat* courts confession of the culprit or the accusation of the victim are considered undeniable evidence. The accused can prove himself not guilty by taking an oath, which must then be confirmed by the statements of five conjurors,[17] two of whom must be relatives. If the defendant hesitates to take the oath or fails to find sufficient conjurors who are convinced of his innocence (and hence who are not afraid of the supernatural sanction attached to such an oath), he must pay a fine of 24 cows if the victim happened to be a married woman,[18] and a horse worth 30 silver rubles, a ram and four kettles of *arrack* if she happened to be unmarried.[19] The ravisher, as usual, must marry the girl he attacked.[20] If the girl has already been engaged to someone, 684 695 [628] 694 584

[9] McLennan, *Studies in Ancient History*, p. 76.
[10] At least in Kabardia, according to Grabovskij, *op. cit.*, p. 43.
[11] *ibid.*
[12] Grabovskij, *op. cit.*, p. 44.
[13] Amputation of the adulteress' ears and nose is a punishment found throughout the Caucasus; today, of course, it is rare. It is indeed interesting to note that a Hittite code (about 1350 B. C.) engraved on a stele has been dug up, which legalized such mutilation in case of adultery (cf. H. C. E. Zacharias, *Protohistory*, p. 258).
[14] Dubois de Montpéreux, *Voyage autour du Caucase*, I, p. 132.
[15] Dubrovin, *l. c.*
[16] "Očerk byta Termirgoevcev," SMOMPK, XXIX (1901), No. 1, p. 102.
[17] For the institution of *conjury* see above, pp. 155 f.
[18] Leontovič, II, p. 172, §§ 140, 142.
[19] Leontovič, II, p. 172, § 144.
[20] Leontovič, II, p. 120, § 24. Other adat collections claim the very opposite, cf. Leontovič, II, p. 172, § 147.

If we now pass on to the Lesghian peoples we shall learn that each province, each district, and even each village has its own customary laws, but the differences are only accidental. Everywhere the *adats* agree at least in one point—in their severity. Death or its equivalent for any sex crime is the general rule. [684]

To avoid useless repetitions and to facilitate comparison we present the Daghestanian *adats* in form of a table (Table 20).

Homosexual rape is doubtless a rare crime among these mountaineers, but laws referring to these offenses are a great help in interpreting the sanctions against sexual transgressions. If homosexual rape is punished as severely as natural rape, we have indubitable evidence that sexual taboos do not exist exclusively to safeguard the integrity of the hymen and to prevent bastard births, as one might perhaps be inclined to think from what we have said about virginal integrity.[25] We suspect, however, that laws regarding such rare sexual perversity as homosexuality and bestiality have not arisen from any special need for such sanctions but rather introduced through Islamic influence.[26] [839]

The table shows that throughout Daghestan (1) the *adats* expressly appoint the nearest male relatives to punish the culprits. [696]

(2) Adultery, fornication, rape, homosexuality—all are capital crimes, punishable with death, but admit of degrees. The most abhorred crimes are incest and rape, followed by adultery, fornication, homosexuality, and finally bestiality. "Incest" must, naturally, be understood in the Lesghian sense. We must not forget that when these *adats* were in force, the Lesghians were endogamists and that at most brother-sister and parent-child marriages were forbidden.

(3) Another remarkable agreement in the *adats* of the various Lesghian peoples is the obligation of killing *both* partners or *none* at all. If only one offender is avenged, the avenger himself becomes a blood-enemy of the relatives of the lover he happens to kill.

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husband. In the official report of May 28, 1870 we read: "May 28, a native of Netsi [in Chechnia] of this district, a boy 13 years of age, Nika-Akhma Kurban-ogdy, having caught his mother in an adulterous union with a co-villager, Suleyman Mahomed-ogdy, stabbed the adulterer, who later died from the wounds received." Cf. "Iz gorskoj kriminalistiki," SSKG, IV (1870), p. 80.

[25] *Supra*, p. 126.

[26] Islamic law goes into the smallest details and rarest forms of sexual transgressions.

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[47] Baddeley, *l. c.*

## BIRTH

842 847 Except in some of the economically poorest areas any increase of the family was a cause for joy- in the country not just for the immediate family, but for the whole village. However, boys were greatly preferred, especially among the mountaineers, the birth of a girl being something of a disappointment. Among the Kartvelian mountaineers, female infanticide still occurred in the nineteenth century; the Khevsur and Pshav practiced birth control mainly by abortion, no couple being allowed to have their first child until the third year of marriage, the second after seven years, while the third must be the last. During menstruation and childbirth the Khevsur women were considered unclean and were banished to special huts (called samrevlo) outside the village.

841 844

551 The names given to children are now mostly those usual in Christian and Islamic countries, though the older custom of giving animal names to boys and terms of affection to girls has not died out, especially among the highlanders.

# III. THE FAMILY

## Chapter IX

## The Offspring

### § 1. CONCEPTION

833 Herodotus has accused the Lesghians of copulating "in public as beasts are wont to do."[1] Such an accusation, however, is absolutely false. Even the slightest sign of affection between husband and wife is tabooed by customary law throughout the Caucasus, except, of course, in strictest secrecy.[2]

Owing to the delicate nature of the subject, very little material has been gathered by the explorers, even though these matters may have a deep sociological significance, as, for example, the extent of birth control, or a psychological and religious significance, such as, for example, the extent of sexual taboos, voluntary abstinence, etc.

841 171 Astoundingly widespread is the taboo of marital intercourse at times of menstruation. A glance at Frazer's or Westermarck's classical works[3] will suffice to convince us of the universality of this prohibition. This same horror of menstruous blood is found in the Caucasus also. However, very little data are at our disposal. We are not told how long these "monthly" periods last, nor the extent of the horror. The Pshavs and the Khevsurs have little stone hovels *(samrevlo)* situated in an open field,[4] (or now usually next to the home),[5] where the unclean woman must stay during her monthly periods. Kovalevskij attributes the practice to Zoroastrianism.[6] He does not seem to be aware that such segregation and "hovels" are found in other parts of the world, where Zoroastrianism has never been known. The fact that the "unclean" woman must wash herself in cow's urine,[7] however, most probably has been taken over from the ancient Iranian religion.

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[1] Potocki, *Voyage dans les steps d'Astrakhan et du Caucase*, I, p. 240.

[2] Cf. *infra*, pp. 63, 175 f.

[3] Frazer, *The Golden Bough* (abridged), pp. 207—210; 595—607.
Westermarck, *Ritual and Belief in Morocco*, I, p. 230.

[4] Baddeley, *op. cit.*, I, p. 236.

[5] Hahn, *Bilder aus dem Kaukasus*, pp. 72 f.

[6] *Zakon*, I, pp. 98 f.

[7] Cf. *Zakon*, I, pp. 83—122.
The ancient Iranian religion considered cows as sacred animals.

p.138

# BIRTH

842 847 Except in some of the economically poorest areas any increase of the family was a cause for joy- in the country not just for the immediate family, but for the whole village. However, boys were greatly preferred, especially among the mountaineers, the birth of a girl being something of a disappointment. Among the Kartvelian mountaineers, female infanticide still occurred in the nineteenth century; the Khevsur and Pshav practiced birth control mainly by abortion, no couple being allowed to have their first child until the third year of marriage, the second after seven years, while the third must be the last. During menstruation and childbirth the Khevsur women were considered unclean and were banished to special huts (called samrevlo) outside the village.

841 844

551 The names given to children are now mostly those usual in Christian and Islamic countries, though the older custom of giving animal names to boys and terms of affection to girls has not died out, especially among the highlanders.

595 (1) Custom permits *all* North Caucasians and their neighbours, whether Christian or Mohammedan, to marry more than one wife. The Tartars near the city of Derbend in the eighteenth century are the only exception, but even in this single case, it ist not certain whether they were monogamists *de jure* or only *de facto*.

[177] (2) Everywhere polygyny is *pre-Islamic*, even if previous to their conversion to Islamism the particular tribe happened to be Christian. We might rightly, therefore, inquire into the possible origin of polygyny in the Caucasus. Polygyny, if borrowed at all, was not borrowed as an *isolated* institution. On the contrary, it seems to be a North Caucasian possession, first of all, as old as the practice [596] of levirate (*infra*, pp. 71—75). Furthermore, it seems to be a North Caucasian cultural possession as old as the economic, social, and religious structure of the [614] North Caucasian family itself. Here we understand "family" in its broad sense, including the joint-family and sib. We cannot now describe this family structure in detail. Briefly, by "the economic, social, and religious structure of the family" we understand that the family in North Caucasia has been and in many places still is the *raison d'être* of the individual.[30a] Whatever the individual does or whatever is done to him or for him has only one aim, the perpetuation and [581] prosperity of the family. Now, in the mind of the North Caucasian, polygyny is an immense asset and at times absolutely indispensable for the economic, social, and religious life of the all-important and solely-important family.

593 *Economically* considered, the wife is extremely important. In the North 562 Caucasus it is the wife who does most of the work (*infra*, pp. 156—159). In fact, sometimes a rich Avar will marry a son to a poor girl or to a widow of a lower class, with whom he is forbidden all communication, in order to have an additional worker in the house.[31] Moreover, a wife is not only a *worker*; she 842 is the "*worker-producing*" organ of the family. Even though boys are preferred (*infra*, pp. 159 ff), girls prove to be good and valuable workers and bring in, at times, a large brideprice (*infra*, pp. 82—91). Now, the more wives there are in the household, the more "worker-producing" organs there are, and by that very fact, at least in the mind of the natives, the family becomes so much the more economically healthy and secure.

The *religious* structure of the family may have contributed just as much to [769] the rise of polygyny as did the economic form of life. The most sacred duty of the individual and of the individual family is, or at least has been, to perpetuate itself, and thus to perpetuate the cult of the ancestors. It is a fact throughout North Caucasus that only a *son* can perpetuate the family and prevent the greatest calamity imagineable, its extinction. But a wife is precisely the "*boy-producing*" organ. If this organ is lacking or fails to function the family is doomed. Today one of the main motives for taking a second wife is sterility.[32] Or again, a second wife will be acquired if the first gives birth only to girls.

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[30a] According to ancient customary laws.

[31] L'vov, *op. cit.*, p. 19.

[32] Cf. K. Maĉavariani, "Nĕkotoryja čerty iz žizni Abchazcev. Položenie ženŝčiny v Abchazii," SMOMPK, IV (1884), No. 2, p. 42. E. G. Pčelina, "Rodil'nye obyčai u osetin," SE, 1937, No. 4, p. 88.

587 (4) We must disagree with Kovalevskij in his interpretation of the levirate as a vestige of former group marriage.[20] Without offering us any evidence, he takes up the theories of Morgan and Frazer and applies them to the Caucasus. Such an institution as "group marriage" exists nowhere in the world, and to imagine that it has ever existed is mere fancy. In an attempt to explain the origin of preferential mating in the Caucasus we should lay aside all guesswork [562] and study the culture before us. For example: the unbearably low position of the North Caucasian woman (*infra*, pp. 152—159) may have made her appear as inheritable chattel. After all, the family purchased her, paid a high price for her, and now she constitutes a part of the family property no less than do the horses, cows, and sheep. Moreover, as we have explained above (pp. 44 f), she is more than *ordinary* family property: she is the best family investment, for she is the "worker-producing" and especially the "boy-producing" organ on which depends the economic, religious, and social life of the family. This realization would only too naturally disincline the family to give her up after her husband's [581] death. As we shall see in the following chapter, mating is not a private affair; it is a strictly family affair, the prime purpose of marriage being the good of the family or sib. She, as it were, belongs more to the *family* that purchased her than to the individual member whose wife she is. Finally, if we consider the pre-Islamic, pre-Christian, and pre-Avestic religion of the mountaineers, we are almost forced to postulate such an institution as widow-inheritance. [723] The life beyond does not differ from the present, and consequently the departed will need his wife in the nether world just as much as in this life. (We shall have occasion to speak of posthumous marriages! Cf. *infra*, p. 85.) We shall even show that suttee was not unknown in North Caucasus (Cf. *infra*, [842] pp. 131 f). The wife therefore must remain in the family. Moreover, the deceased needs offspring, a large progeny, just as much after death as during life, for his happiness and honour in the other world depend upon the cult he receives from his descendents. The widow, therefore, must remain in the family and another member must "raise up seed for his brother" and "build up his brother's house." In other words, the levirate is not a survival of a *primitive* culture but rather an institution very intimately connected with the economic, social and religious life of a relatively highly developed culture such as that of pastoral peoples.

595 As a confirmation of what we have just now said about the origin of [842] Caucasian preferential mating, we wish to describe another institution, still found today in various parts of Caucasus, the so-called *snohačestvo*. A boy-child is married to an adult girl with whom the father may have sexual intercourse as freely as with his own wife. The father is considered as living in lawful concubinage with his son's wife and may do so until the child becomes of age. We wish to stress that this practice is a perfect parallel to widow inheritance. The father "must raise seed" for his son and "build up his house" till he is himself able to do so. The children born of this concubinage belong to the childhusband, sometimes half to him and half to the progenitor. This is

[20] Kovalevskij, *Coutume contemp.*, p. 181.

8: Lužbetak E-4 (no date) 1951 RHl Caucasia RHl

# Chapter VII

# The Wedding

## § 1. DESCRIPTION

The NORTHWESTERN CAUCASIANS. The finest descriptions of the Abkhazian wedding, to my mind, are those of Deržavin and Seidlitz.[1] Unless indicated, our data have been taken from the latter author. 585

On the appointed day the bridegroom and his attendants hasten to the home of the bride, and after having extended them a hearty welcome, her father solemnly hands her over to the groom. A procession is formed, which then proceeds towards the bride's new home. The Abkhazian bridal song, "Bedniera" ("Happiness"), and continuous pistol salutes fill the air as the horsemen suddenly break into a wild gallop and begin their famous Caucasian *dzhigirt* (riding stunts). 526

As soon as the wedding procession nears the groom's house, one of the riders gallops ahead. A pistol salute lets all know that the bride is near.

As soon as she reaches the house, an immense round loaf of millet bread is tossed over her head three times, then broken, and eaten by all present.

A bridal arch is formed at the doorway of the house by two men with crossed swords. On the threshold she is given some sugar and honey with the words "May God grant you a tongue as sweet as sugar and honey."[2]

She then crosses the threshold and receives a dish of *ghomi* (millet) and an egg. What the significance of this ceremony may be we are not told. She is then led thrice round the hearth, scattering grains of millet in all directions.

The bride then sits down and a little boy is brought to her. She takes him on her lap, in order that she too may, before long, have the happiness of becoming the mother of a boy.[3] 542

After this ceremony she is taken to the *amhara* (little house or hut).

On the following day visitors arrive to become acquainted with the bride[4] and to offer her various gifts. An attendant is always at her side to introduce the guests as they come. The veil is lifted from her face as she stands before the visitor motionless, with downcast eyes, and not uttering a single word. If

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[1] N. C. Deržavin, "Iz oblasti kavkazskoj etnografii. Svad'ba v Abchazii," SMOMPK, XXXVI (1906), No. 2, pp. 1—10. N. von Seidlitz, "Die Abchasen," *Globus*, LXVI (1894), No. 3, pp. 40 f. See also Dubrovin's description, *Istorija*, I, ii, pp. 49 ff.

[2] It is most likely the mother of the household who invites the bride to cross the threshold, a custom found also among other peoples of North Caucasus.

[3] Cf. *infra*, p. 205.

[4] Deržavin, *op. cit.*, p. 8.

p. 411

8: Lužbetak E-4 (no date) 1951 RHI Caucasia RHI



585 [B42]

The village children accompany her and then throw stones at the shrine, crying, "So many boys (as these missiles) and one blue-eyed girl grant thou, Mairem, to this our dear bride!" The groomsman must then repeat this prayer.[90]

(7) The Ossetes also have the corset-ceremony *(supra*, p. 113). The groom must *untie* the knots and not cut them.[91]

(8) The best-man takes the bride by the hand and walks round the fire-place three times, each time striking the chain with his sword.[92]

(9) The mother-in-law gives the bride some honey.[93]

(10) Feasting lasts two full days and longer. The wedding is elaborate and expensive.[94]

(11) The proof of virginity is rigorously insisted upon.[95]

(12) The bride receives gifts from her own father and guests.[96]

(13) The groomsman drives evil spirits away by holding a club over the bride's head.[97]

And now, a word about the neighbouring TURKS. The Kumykian marriage hardly differs from that of the Lesghians.[98] The dramatization of bride capture is found, for example, among the Karachai[99] and Nogai;[100] the fire-place ceremony is found as far south as the Kurds;[101] some Tartars have the custom of placing a boy on the bride's lap.[102]

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[90] Baddeley, *op. cit.*, I, p. 158. See *infra*, p. 205.
E. G. Pčelina, "Rodil'nye obyčai u Osetin," SE, 1937, No. 4, p. 86.

[91] Baddeley, *op. cit.*, I, p. 270. Older writers speak of *cutting* the knots, e. g., Klaproth, *Voyage au Mont Caucase et en Géorgie*, II, p. 250.

[92] Kovalevskij, *Costume contemp.*, pp. 49, 170 f; Gatiev, *op. cit.*, pp. 18 f; Dubrovin, *Istorija*, I, i, p. 325.

[93] Baddeley, *op. cit.*, I, p. 268.

[94] Leontovič, II, pp. 51, § 18, *note 4*. The military government tried to limit the number of guests from 120 to 15. Cf. Dirr, AGKB, p. 113.

[95] Klaproth, *op. cit.*, II, p. 249.

[96] Kovalevskij, *Costume contemp.*, pp. 198 f.

[97] Kovalevskij, *op. cit.*, p. 171.

[98] Dubrovin, *Istorija*, I, i, p. 638.

[99] Jankó, *Népraizi* etc. Zichy's *Kaukazusi és középázsiai utazásai*, p. 44.

[100] Dubrovin, *Istorija*, I, i, pp. 278 f. In Balkaria the best-man enters the bride's home to fetch the bride, but as soon as he enters the house the women present defend the bride by trying to cut the best-man's cherkesska (Caucasian outer garment), see N. A. Karaulov, "Bolkari na Kavkazě," SMOMPK, XXXVIII (1908), No. 1, p. 146.

[101] Jankó, *op. cit.*, p. 62.

[102] Mir-Galim-bek-Vezirov, Nĕskolko svĕdĕnij o Tatarskich pover'jach," SMOMPK, IX (1890), No. 2, p. 11.
For a full description of a Kumykian wedding see: N. Semenov, "Očerki narodnych obyčaev, Kumykov Terskoj Oblasti," *Terskij Sbornik*, II (1892), No. 2, Part 2, pp. 71 ff.
For Nogai wedding see: Dubrovin, *Istorija*, I, i, pp. 277 ff.
For wedding of the Turkomans see: A. A. Volodin, "Truchmenskaja step i truchmeny," SMOMPK, XXXVIII (1908), No. 1, pp. 45—49.

TABLE 16

**Marriage Ceremonies of N. Caucasians And**

| Marriage Ceremonies | Procession | | | Dramatization of capture | Horse-racing | Both sibs (families) present | Groom absent for large part of wedding | Segregation of bride during wedding | Bride's submission to husband | Wedding elaborate, expensive with much feasting & dancing | Mother-in-law † | | | Corset ceremony | Proof of Virginity | Child placed on bride's lap | Special wishes for boys |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | From groom's house to bride | Return with bride to groom's house | Groom is absent | | | | | | | | Invites bride to cross threshold | Offers bride some honey | Bride's submission to | | | | |
| Abkhaz | + | + | — | | + | + | | + | | + | + | + | | + | | + | + |
| Cherkess | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | | + | + | + | | + | + | + | + |
| Ingushi | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | | + | | + | | | ? | + | + |
| Other Chechens | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | | + | | + | | | | + | + |
| Avars | + | + | + | + | | + | + | | + | + | + | + | + | | + | | |
| Dargwa | + | + | + | + | | + | + | | + | + | + | + | + | | + | | |
| Other Lesghians | + | + | + | + | | + | + | | + | + | + | + | + | | + | | |
| Khevsurs | + | + | | + | | + | | | | | | | | | + | | |
| Pshavs * | + | + | — | | | + | | | | + | + | + | | | + | | + |
| Tushi | | | | | | | | | | | | + | | | | | |
| Ingiloi | + | + | | | | | | | | | | | | | + | | |
| Ossetes | + | + | | + | | + | + | + | + | + | | + | + | + | | + | + |
| Karachai | | | | + | | | | | | | | | | | | | |

* Cf. Makalatija. "Iz starogo narodnogo byta Pšavov," SE, 1938, No. 1, pp. 105.

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| Fire-place ceremony | Gifts to bride from own sib | "Tramping on bed" ceremony | Sword placed over bride's head | Special attendant for groom | Special attendant for bride | Mother plays important rôle | Maternal uncle important rôle | Formal religious contract | Reconciliation ceremony | Predominant Character of Ceremonies |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| + | + | − | + | | + | − | − | + | | Pastoral |
| + | + | − | + | + | + | − | − | + | + | Pastoral |
| + | + | − | | + | + | − | − | + | | Pastoral |
| ? | + | − | | + | + | − | − | + | | Pastoral |
| ? | + | + | | + | + | + | − | + | | Pastoral + Agrarian |
| ? | + | + | | + | + | + | − | + | | Pastoral + Agrarian |
| | + | + | | + | + | + | − | + | | Pastoral + Agrarian |
| + | | − | | | | + | − | + | | Pastoral + Agrarian |
| + | + | − | | + | + | + | − | + | | Pastoral + Agrarian |
| | | | | | | | + | + | | |
| | | | | | | + | − | | | |
| + | + | − | + | + | + | − | − | + | | Pastoral |
| | | | | | | | | | | |

It is usually the mother-in-law.

581 764 Caucasus clearly shows that the peoples of North Caucasia believed that a marriage tie could continue in the next world. However, since we do not have the slightest evidence that suttee was *obligatory*, the most we can say is that *perhaps*, at one time, death could not dissolve marriage.

### 2. Levirate

581 587 Once an Ossetine woman was married, she was considered bound to her husband forever unless divorced, as is evident from the following remarkable facts. (1) The widow was not allowed to marry outside her husband's family; the father or brother or son of the deceased man was obliged to take her to wife, but this second marriage was considered merely a *continuation* of the first. (2) The children of the second marriage were regarded as the sons and daughters of the *deceased*. (3) The children received the name of the deceased. (4) If the [589] widow had no brother-in-law, father-in-law or step-son, she had to remain unmarried, or live in concubinage, the children born becoming the sons and daughters of the deceased, even the legal heirs of the deceased. The marriage and concubinage had only one purpose: to "raise seed" and "build up the house" of the deceased till the wife would once again join him in the other world. These facts seem to be sufficient proof for the indissolubility of marriage even by death! Unfortunately, we do not have such details about the ancient levirate of the other peoples living in the Caucasus. However, when treating of preferential mating we did find obligatory levirate among the Ingushi and came to the conclusion that most probably the levirate was formerly obligatory also among the other mountain tribes.[8] In a word, it is quite *possible* that at one time death did not dissolve a marital bond.

## § 2. BY DIVORCE

586 The *adats* of all mountain peoples of Caucasus permit divorce. When speaking of divorce we must make a very clear distinction between the rights of the *husband* and those of the *wife*, between a *valid* divorce and a *justifiable* divorce.

[842] The NORTHWESTERN CAUCASIANS. According to reports of the eigtheenth century, a wife might be desmissed in Abkhazia if she were "sterile," that is, if she did not give birth to a child before she was 30, or if she remained childless for five successive years.[9] However, a *valid* divorce is possible at will. The Temirgoi, for example, may divorce their wives "if they do not please their husbands."[10] Such is the case throughout Abkhazia and among the Cherkess today.[11] Although formerly the women in Northwest Caucasus were at a very great disadvantage in regard to divorce, today, they too may abandon their husbands without any special legal grounds. However, in such arbitrary

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[8] Cf. *supra*, p. 73.
[9] Reineggs, *op. cit.*, Part II, p. 9.
[10] Vasil'kov, "Očerk byta Temirgoevcev," SMOMPK, XXIX (1901), p. 101.
[11] Cf. Ladvženskij, FT, p. 199.

586 of a husband never justifies a wife to divorce him.[21] In fact, the inequality was
837 even far greater: although a husband's wilful act of adultery was not sufficient grounds for a divorce, rape suffered by an innocent wife was.[22] Other legal
[842] grounds for a divorce were sterility of the wife or the fact that she was "capable" of giving birth only to girls,[23] which is but another form of "sterility."

586 A divorcée has no right to a special alimony. Instead, she has her own personal property and especially her *kebin*.[24]

If a wife abandons her husband for any reason other than the few legal grounds granted her, she not only must return all engagement and wedding gifts received from her husband, but her family must also return the entire *kalym*. In fact, she may not re-marry till the *kalym* is refunded. Sometimes the husband out of mere malice refuses the *kalym*, so that the divorcée must remain unmarried for the rest of her life.[25]

[427] The children remain in the father's household, even if he should soon die after the divorce,[26] the guardianship always remaining in the male line.

According to Lesghian customary divorce laws, which, on the whole, are in harmony with the *šari'a*,[27] the female mate is again at a disadvantage. An *adat* for North Tabassaran says that "the husband has the right to divorce his wife at any time... But a wife may abandon her husband only if he is impotent, or if he has a contagious disease, or, finally, if he is unable to support her."[28] The disadvantage lies in the restricted legal grounds justifying the women to abandon their husbands and the almost unlimited possibilities of a justified divorce of the men. However, the expression "at any time" in this *adat* is an exaggeration. If a husband divorces his wife unjustifiably, he must pay the sum promised (*kebin*) and forfeits the *kalym*. If the wife abandons her husband for any other reason than the three grounds enumerated, she loses her right to the *kebin* and her family is obliged to refund the *kalym*.[29] Of course, if the husband is willing to pay the *kebin* and lose his right to a refund of the *kalym*, he may divorce her, literally, at any time.

586 Another occasion for divorce is the so-called *khatun-tallkh*. It is a com-
695 mon form of oath in Daghestan, which only a married man can take. The husband declares himself ready to dismiss his wife if he swear falsely. If he has several wives, he must specify which wife he will dismiss in case of perjury.

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[21] Leontovič, II, p. 173, §§ 150, 152.

[22] Leontovič, II, p. 172, § 143.

[23] Grabovskij, "Ekonomičeskij i domašnij byt, etc.," p. 21.

[24] Leontovič, II, p. 169 f, § 119; p. 176, § 172. The special decision of 1862 in this regard seems to be an imitation of the Islamic *kebin*.

[25] Leontovič, II, p. 175, § 166: "čtoby razvedennaja žena ne byla 'ni ema, ni drugomu.'" See also Grabovskij, *op. cit.*, pp. 51 f.

[26] Grabovskij, *op. cit.*, p. 53.

[27] Kovalevskij, *Zakon*, II, pp. 199 f.

[28] "Adaty Južno-Dagestanskich Obščestv," SSKG, VIII (1875), pp. 32. Kovalevskij, *Zakon*, II, p. 199.

[29] "Adaty Južno-Dagestanskich Obščestv," *l. c.*

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## § 2. PREGNANCY

An expectant mother is no longer an ordinary woman in the eyes of the North Caucasians. She has assumed an entirely new value. The mountaineers of Caucasia look upon a murder of a pregnant woman as doubly serious, pregnancy being considered an aggravating circumstance. Thus in Sirgua District of the Province of Dargwa, the murderer must pay an additional 30 silver rubles to the mother's relatives besides the usual bloodwite for murder.[8] In many places an assault causing abortion is considered as serious as murder, and full bloodwite must be paid for the death of the foetus. If the mother dies too, a double bloodwite is demanded by the *adats*.[9] Or again, two persons will become blood-enemies (*qanly*) instead of one—the murderer and one of his kin—one to atone for the death of the mother and the other for the death of the unborn child.[10] Sometimes such cases are dealt with according to two distinct laws, the Islamic and customary.[11] In Ossetia, a pregnant woman becomes exempt from the more strenuous tasks, evidently, as a precaution against miscarriage.[12] 843 [L82]

## § 3. BIRTH AND PREFERENCE FOR BOYS

Since the Caucasians, all without exception, are strictly patrilocal, patriarchal and patrilineal, we need not wonder at the preference for boys that prevails throughout the Caucasus. It is the boy who perpetuates the family economically. He also perpetuates the family cult and gives the family prestige. 842

The NORTHWESTERN CAUCASIANS say "He who has no sons has no children."[13] But even girls are welcome,[14] though perhaps not without some disappointment. The girls are an asset to the family in as far as they are workers and a source of considerable income especially through the *kalym*. Hence, after the young wife becomes a mother of a boy or girl, she takes on a new character and is proud of becoming "fully a wife." She visits her father after her first child and on this occasion he gives her the rest of her bridal portion. Now she is permitted to take off her girl's cap and put on her matron's veil.[15]

The NORTHEASTERN CAUCASIANS. When an Ingush couple have become the parents of a baby boy there is indescribable rejoicing in the *aul*, and 842 844

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[8] "Adaty Darginskich Obščestv," SSKG, VII (1873), p. 73.

[9] "Adaty Jižno-Dagestanskich Obščestv," SSKG, VIII (1875), pp. 35, 43, 47, 49.

[10] Cf. "Adaty Jižno-Dagestanskich Obščestv," pp. 43, 47, 49.

[11] Cf. "Adaty Darginskich Obščestv," pp. 15, 36, 76. On page 15 we read: "Za ubijstvo beremennoj ženščiny, sverch obyknovennago vzyskanija po adatu, opredeljaetsja vzyskanie po šariatu."

[12] Pčelina, "Rodil'nye obyčai u Osetin," SE, 1937, No. 4, p. 89 ff, who deals with the Ossetine pregnancy customs at length. Many are the questions we might suggest to the Caucasologists regarding pregnancy, which have not yet been investigated. To mention but one important problem: What is the extent om "uncleaness" incurred through pregnancy? (Cf. Eristov, *op. cit.*, p. 114.)

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842 very special festivities take place. Shooting, feasting, and dancing mark the birth
[844] of a boy; whereas no special festivities take place if a girl is born. Women, of course, come to congratulate the mother, at the same time not forgetting to console her.[16]

[574] All Lesghian peoples prefer boys too. The first one to announce the good news of the birth of a *boy* receives a reward.[17] The Avars have the courious custom according to which anyone to whom a *son* (not however a daughter) was born in the past year has to give a special feast to his neighbours in spring.[18]

The SOUTHERN CAUCASIANS. The Pshavs frequently pray and offer numerous sacrifices for the blessing of a male child, and if these supernatural means fail, there is only one thing left to do—marry a second wife, who is "capable" of giving birth to boys.[19] At a Pshav wedding the *khevis-beri* ("The Elder of the Valley") prays: "George, Angel of the Oak, grant thou a boy to
[847] the parents of a girl and another boy to the parents of a boy..."[20] Dubrovin reported that among the Georgian mountaineers baby girls were killed immediately after birth because they believed that by doing so the next child would infallibly be a boy. One could come across families who had killed as many as five girls.[21]

The OSSETES have an unusual longing for male children. Thus, for example, the Digorians are greatly disappointed when a girl is born, and this disappointment is expressed sometimes in very irreverent words by the woman-attendant. "May Mairan (Mary) be struck blind for not making you a boy! May she now provide for you a speedy death!" But then, if the following child is a boy, the woman-attendant pleads for forgiveness, "Oh, Mairan, forgive me!
585 They longed for a boy. That is the reason why I scolded thee."[22] We have
842 already mentioned the marriage custom of leading the bride to a Mairem[23] Shrine, at which the children throw stones and say, "So many boys and only one blue-eyed girl grant thou Mairem, to this our dear bride!" The groomsman then must repeat this prayer.[24] At an Ossetine marriage the Ram-god (Firi-dzuar) is invoked: "Look down upon us and grant that this our bride may give birth to boys healthy and fat as sheep!"[25] We have also mentioned the marriage ceremony of placing a little boy on the lap of the bride, so that she may soon give birth to a boy (*supra*, p. 122). Or again, while the groomsman describes a triple

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[16] Grabovskij, "Ekonomičeskij i domalnij byt žitelej gorskago učastka Ingulevskago okruga," SSKG, III (1870), pp. 19 f; Dubrovin, *Istorija*, I, i, p. 439.

[17] Kovalevskij, *Zakon*, II, p. 202.

[18] Baddeley, *op. cit.*, II, p. 63. A similar custom is found in Ossetia (Pčelina, *op. cit.*, pp. 99 f.

[19] Makalatija, "Iz starogo narodnogo byt Pšavov," SE, 1938, No. 1, pp. 110 f.

[20] Makalatija, *op. cit.*, p. 108; Kovalevskij, *Zakon*, I, p. 98.

[21] *Istorija*, I, ii, p. 110.

[22] Baddeley, *op. cit.*, I, p. 158.

[23] Baddeley interprets "Mairam," "Mairem," "Mairan" as "Mary," i. e., the Virgin Mother of Jesus Christ. However, Mairam is a male god, the protector of women, the brother of Uastrdzh. (Cf. Pčelina's report on his expedition of 1934—1936, "Rodil'nye obyčai u Osetin," SE, 1937, No. 4, p. 86, *note* 2.)

[24] Baddeley, *l. c.*

[25] Baddeley, *op. cit.*, I, p. 270.

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circle in the air with his special wedding club he cries out three times, "Prosperity! Prosperity! Prosperity!" Then he explains just what is meant by "prosperity": "nine boys to every blue-eyed girl."[26] On New Year's Day the Ossetine boys go round to everyone wishing, that throughout the New Year "men might kill many stags and women might bear sons only."[27] Čursin tells us how a certain Ossete, Bergisov by name, received a vision from above. Now, in such a case, any two wishes will be granted, provided the person thus favoured make also a third wish, which, however, must be an evil one. Bergisov's good wishes were that he and his sons might live happily, while his third wish was that his daughters might die.[28] The birth of a first-born male child is celebrated with unusually great festivity and joy.[29] The happy mother returns to her father's house, where a special feast is given in honour of the baby boy.[30] After the birth of a girl, the mother goes with the baby to a Shrine of Mairem with the hope that the next child will be a boy.[31]

Some of the Caucasian TARTARS express their preference for boys in the following manner: the bride wears a garment in which nine knots are tied, a sign that she must give birth to seven boys and only two girls. They also have the custom of placing a little boy on the bride's lap.[32]

## § 4. INFANTICIDE AND BIRTH CONTROL

Since Caucasians, as a general rule, crave for children, it is only to be expected that infanticide and birth prevention should be rare. We do not find the practice of infanticide in North Caucasia, especially not in Daghestan, where Islamic influence is strong.[33] Islamism regards female infanticide as a very serious crime. Some of the mountaineers of Georgia indeed practice female infanticide, but the practice is thoroughly un-Georgian. The Svans as late as the last half of the nineteenth century would kill their baby girls immediately after birth by stuffing ashes into the mouth and then throttling the child till it suffocated,[34] or, sometimes, the infant was simply allowed to starve.[35] The Khevsurs prevented birth mainly by abortion, a practice still common today. A young couple in Khevsuria may not have a child till after the fourth year of

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[26] Kovalevskij, *Costume contemp.*, p. 17

[27] Baddeley, *op. cit.*, I, p. 194.

[28] *Osetini*, p. 82. Cf. Baddeley, *op. cit.*, I, p. 180.

[29] Dubrovin, *Istorija*, I, i, pp. 340 f.

[30] Pčelina, *op. cit.*, p. 101.

[31] Pčelina, *op. cit.*, p. 102. If a girl is born, only a very simple ceremony takes place: the *avsin* (mother of the household) brings the infant to the hearth without saying a word. (See Pčelina, *op. cit.*, p. 99.)

[32] Mir-Galim-bek Vezirov, "Neskolko svědenij o Tatarskich pover'jach," SMOMPK, IX (1890), No. 2, pp. 111 f.

[33] Kovalevskij, *Zakon*, II, p. 202.

[34] Byhan, *La civilisation caucasienne*, p. 111; Dubrovin, *Istorija*, I, ii, p. 110.

[35] Dubrovin, *l. c.*

855 a total want of manliness. On one occasion, stung by the jeers of the men in
593 his native regiment, he drew his 'kinjal' and crying: 'I love my son, but you shall see also that I don't mind killing him', was about to do so when they seized his arm and succeeded in calming him."[107] A better example to illustrate the necessary distinction between love and public manifestation of that love we can hardly offer. "I love my son, but you shall see also that I don't mind killing him!" A paradox which a Western mind finds very difficult to grasp![108]

The neighbouring SOUTHERN CAUCASIANS, the Khevsurs, have the same taboo. A father may never carry his child before others or even say a friendly word to it. The most that the father may do is hold the child by hand when it is old enough to walk.[109a]

The neighbouring OSSETES observe the same rule. Here too it is not a lack of affection but a convention, which under no condition may be violated. "Neither husband nor wife might take their children in their arms, or by hand, or give them anything, in the presence of older members of his family. 'So far is this carried,' said Ourousbi [the Author's guide, an Ossete] 'that once one of my children fell into the water and might have been drowned, but as older men of the family were present I did not dare to call attention to the fact, much less take the child out of the water myself. Luckily one of them saw what was happening and saved it.'"[109] "So, too, Kosta Khetagouroff, the Ossetine poet, saved a child from falling off a high house-roof by stamping on its garments, but called a woman to pick it up as it would have been against custom for him to do so; and one of the Abayeffs, having in identical circumstances saved a child, called to its mother—his own wife—'Here, come and pick up your puppy!' (Čursin, *Osetini*, p. 40)." Baddeley claims that in this respect a change has taken place, and as proof, points out that in several of his own photographs Ourousbi is seen carrying a friend's baby. But here Baddeley forgets that the prohibition is not to carry a *friend's* baby but to carry *one's own* child.

## § 10. CONCLUSIONS

● 842 We have already mentioned the main reason why boys are preferred to
628 girls, namely the patriarchal, patrilocal, and patrilineal structure of the North Caucasian and neighbouring societies. But there is still another reason, based on intertribal relations and on the poverty of the mountain tribes, which leads them to a life of raids and robbery. The Caucasus is a typical land of blood-feuds. In the Terek Province, for example, with a population of about 930,000, there were in one year 365 cases of homicide or attempted homicide, an average of one a day. Feuds accounted for most of them.[110] The rest were the result

[107] Baddeley, *op. cit.*, II, pp. 87 f.

[108] Cf. Dubrovin, I, i, p. 440.

[109a] Hahn, *Bilder aus dem Kaukasus*, p. 81. For the practice in the Government of Elizabethpol, see E. Melik-Šachnazarov, "Selenie Arcevanik, Zangezurskago uězda, Elisavetpol'skoj Gubernii," SMOMPK, XXV (1898), No. 2, p. 43.

[109] Baddeley, *op. cit.*, I, p. 269, from whom we borrow also the following citation of Čursin.

[110] Baddeley, *op. cit.*, I, p. 81.

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of raids and robberies. Girls are useless in these tasks, whereas, in this struggle for existence, every additional boy means greater security and prestige. 842 628

In conclusion, we may ask ourselves, just why should the *adats* prohibit the manifestation of one's affection for a child. The reason behind this customary law seems to be founded not so much on a father-child relation as on the male-female relation of the Caucasian society. If a father were to show his affection for his child, were he to fondle and carry it, he would be imitating a *woman*, and that would be a terrible degradation! This degradation will be better understood in the following chapter. This rule to my mind is linked up with the low position of the female sex. Just as a man may never do a task that is established by the *adats* as a task exclusively for women, e. g., milk cows, fetch water, gather wood, so a man may never carry, fondle, or rock his child. Čursin seems to be of the same opinion. He says that the Ossetes would call such a man by a very insulting name, "baba," that is, "old lady," if he would ever dare to milk a cow or look after children.[111] We wish to stress two facts: first of all, it is not a lack of affection for one's child that is prohibited, as we have said, but the *manifestation* of that love; and secondly, the manifestation of love is forbidden simply out of fear of being considered an "old lady," a woman! 562 885 593

[111] G. F. Čursin, *Osetini, etnograficeskij očerk*, p. 39.

58 171

(5) and the *patria potestas*[15] in the extreme form as found in North Caucasia are all typically pastoral nomadic.

(6) The father alone has the *right to choose a mate* for his children, and boys are given more consideration in the choice than the girls.[16] [593]

(7) The *bride price*, though found in other cultures also, has a typically pastoral colouring in the Caucasus, since it is measured mainly in cattle and horses.[17] Bride wealth as a *price* in the strict sense of the word is found almost exclusively among pastoral peoples.[18]

(8) *Bride stealing*[19] is a common practice among pastoral nomads. All Turco-Tartars, Indo-Europeans, and the Semites have or at least have had frequent recourse to marriage by capture.

(9) The various *engagement prohibitions*,[20]

(10) the segregation of the bride in a special hut *(ambara)*, the obligation of the young man to cover his entire head and face except for an opening for his eyes,[21] the obligation of the bride and groom to hide during the wedding,[22] the bride's veiling, taciturnity, resistence, the post-nuptial obligation of the couple not to appear together before their parents or older brethren,[23] all these customary laws are in no way a vestige of former group marriage, fraternal polyandry, bride capture and the like, as we have sufficiently refuted above, but they are most likely an expression of the *extreme modesty peculiar to pastoral peoples*, a reaction to the "great change" from single to married life, more strongly felt among pastoral nomads than any other peoples. [834]

(11) It is the *male side who proposes to the female and not vice versa*,[24] likewise a phenomenon found infallibly among pastoral nomads.

(12) The *great longing for children, especially for boys*,[25] although found in other cultures, reaches its highest point among pastoral nomads. Connected with this craving after male children is the custom of marrying a second wife in case the first is sterile or "unable" to bear male offspring. [842]

(13) The *wedding customs*[26] are typically pastoral nomadic in character: dramatization of bride capture, horse-racing, the proof of virginity with subsequent rejoicing if the bride is found "chaste," or mutilation and execution if found "unchaste," the special ceremonies and wishes for fertility, especially for the birth of many male children, the triple encircling of the fireplace, etc. are all typically pastoral nomadic.

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[15] *Supra*, pp. 183—186.
[16] *Supra*, pp. 76—81.
[17] *Supra*, pp. 82—91.
[18] *Supra*, p. 91.
[19] *Supra*, pp. 91—96.
[20] *Supra*, pp. 106—110.
[21] Seidlitz, "Die Abchasen," *Globus*, LXVI (1894), p. 40.
[22] *Supra*, p. 124.
[23] *Supra*, p. 166. For similar customs among the ancient Indo-Europeans see *infra, p. 198.*
[24] *Supra*, pp. 100—106.
[25] *Supra*, pp. 124, 139 ff.
[26] *Supra*, pp. 125—128, especially Table 16

* [i.e. a trait found among the Caucasians--Analyst]

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## § 2. PREGNANCY

An expectant mother is no longer an ordinary woman in the eyes of the North Caucasians. She has assumed an entirely new value. The mountaineers of Caucasia look upon a murder of a pregnant woman as doubly serious, pregnancy being considered an aggravating circumstance. Thus in Sirgua District of the Province of Dargwa, the murderer must pay an additional 30 silver rubles to the mother's relatives besides the usual bloodwite for murder.[8] In many places an assault causing abortion is considered as serious as murder, and full bloodwite must be paid for the death of the foetus. If the mother dies too, a double bloodwite is demanded by the *adats*.[9] Or again, two persons will become blood-enemies (*qanly*) instead of one—the murderer and one of his kin—one to atone for the death of the mother and the other for the death of the unborn child.[10] Sometimes such cases are dealt with according to two distinct laws, the Islamic and customary.[11] In Ossetia, a pregnant woman becomes exempt from the more strenuous tasks, evidently, as a precaution agalnst miscarriage.[12] 843 [L82]

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000 in his arms; to make up for the transgression of the *adat* forbidding public manifestation of affection for one's children, he took out his dagger, crying, "I love my son, but you shall see also that I don't mind killing him," and if the men had not succeeded in calming him, he would have actually killed the child.[21]

606 It is indeed striking that we do not find the parent-in-law avoidances among the Lesghians; at least we have not found any reports in this regard. 602 Parent-in-law avoidances would be quite impossible among the Lesghians, owing to the rule of endogamy.[22]

585 The SOUTHERN CAUCASIANS. Among the mountain tribes of Georgia 591 the bride and groom, after having spent three days together,[23] are obliged to 593 separate, the groom remaining with his parents and the bride returning to her 602 family. The period of separation, according to Eristov, was a fortnight, according to Seidlitz, depending on agreement,[24] and according to Kosven, "for some weeks or years."[25] In ancient Imeretia the newly-weds would live at the bride's house for a week, after which the young man returned to his father's house, while his wife remained with her family for a year.[26] During the period of separation the husband might visit his wife only secretly. On her return to her husband she did not share a common room with him.[27] A Pshav couple may not call each other by name; instead they use the words "Man!" and "Woman!"[28] Similarly, the wife may not call any of her husband's male relatives by name.[29] In Svanetia one may not inquire about the health of the wife of another person unless related to her.[30] A Svan will never permit his wife to sit down beside him; and, in general, he is very reluctant to converse with her.[31] In Khevsuria a father may not carry his child in his arms or say a single friendly word to it in the presence of others.[32]

The OSSETES. In Ossetia the husband must live at the groomsman's house for a whole month after the wedding. He is forbidden to appear before his father, older members of the household, or any older relatives and may [343] visit his wife only secretly.[33] As soon as the young wife becomes pregnant she returns to her family and stays there till the child is born.[34]

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[21] *Supra*, pp. 149 f.

[22] *Supra*, pp. 51 f.

[23] Nansen, *op. cit.*, p. 58.

[24] Eristov, *op. cit.*, p. 110. Seidlitz, "Gemeinde- und Familienleben der Chewsuren," *Das Ausland*, 1891, No. 16, p. 320.

[25] M. O. Kosven, "Perežitki matriarchata u narodov Kavkaza," SE, 1936, No. 4—5, p. 217.

[26] *ibid.*

[27] Eristov, *op. cit.*, p. 111. See also Eichwald, *Reise auf dem Kaspischen Meer und in den Kaukasus*, Vol. I, Part II, p. 204.

[28] Makalatija, "Iz starogo narodnogo byta Pšavov," SE, 1938, No. 1, p. 109.

[29] Hahn, *Bilder aus dem Kaukasus*, p. 82.

[30] Dubrovin, *Istorija*, I, ii, p. 109.

[31] *ibid.*

[32] *Supra*, p. 150.

[33] Baddeley, *op. cit.*, I, p. 269.

[34] Hahn, "Die Täler der 'Grossen Ljachwa' und Ksanka (ksan) und das südliche Ossetien," *Globus*, LXXXVIII (1905), p. 24. It is worthy of note that the Kurds and the Armenians

## BIRTH

842 847 Except in some of the economically poorest areas any increase of the family was a cause for joy- in the country not just for the immediate family, but for the whole village. However, boys were greatly preferred, especially among the mountaineers, the birth of a girl being something of a disappointment. Among the Kartvelian mountaineers, female infanticide still occurred in the nineteenth century; the Khevsur and Pshav practiced birth control mainly by abortion, no couple being allowed to have their first child until the third year of marriage, the second after seven years, while the third must be the last. During menstruation and childbirth the Khevsur women were considered unclean and were banished to special huts (called samrevlo) outside the village.

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551 The names given to children are now mostly those usual in Christian and Islamic countries, though the older custom of giving animal names to boys and terms of affection to girls has not died out, especially among the highlanders.

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[16] Grabovskij, "Ekonomičeskij i domašnij byt žitelej gorskago učastka Ingulevskago okruga," SSKG, III (1870), pp. 19 f; Dubrovin, *Istorija*, I, i, p. 439.

[17] Kovalevskij, *Zakon*, II, p. 202.

[18] Baddeley, *op. cit.*, II, p. 63. A similar custom is found in Ossetia (Pčelina, *op. cit.*, pp. 99 f.

[19] Makalatija, "Iz starogo narodnogo byt Pšavov," SE, 1938, No. [illegible], pp. 110 f.

[20] Makalatija, *op. cit.*, p. 108; Kovalevskij, *Zakon*, I, p. 98.

[21] *Istorija*, I, ii, p. 110.

[22] Baddeley, *op. cit.*, I, p. 158.

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[24] Baddeley, *l. c.*

[25] Baddeley, *op. cit.*, I, p. 270.

551 (" Lion "), *Vari* (" Vulture "), etc. are intended to deceive the evil spirits, who are able to take the life of the child only if they can call it by its true name.[58]

### 4. Segregation

814 A Lesghian woman becomes unclean through childbirth, and hence the
784 father may not be present at the birth nor during the entire period of uncleaness, which lasts for several weeks.[59] Child-bearing renders the mother unclean in Ossetia as well. The Mountain Georgians have special birthhouses for expectent mothers. In Svanetia the mother is unclean for 40 days,[60] in Khevsuria and Pshavia, a few days longer.[61] A woman can be cleansed (in Khevsuria and Pshavia) by washing her hair in cow's urine.[62] In Ossetia a woman is considered unclean for six weeks after childbirth. During this period she is not allowed
[823] to work, except to sweep the floor and look after the children. The marital act is likewise forbidden.[63]

### 5. Weaning

862 Very little data is available regarding weaning of children and taboos during the period of lactation. As a general rule, the Lesghians wean their children at the age of five or six.[64] The Avars usually do not wean them before they have reached the use of reason.[65] Pshav children are weaned at the age of four.

### 6. Fire-place Ceremony

851 We have seen what an important part the hearth played in the marriage ceremonies of the Northwestern Caucasians, the Ingushi and Ossetes. By circling round the hearth the bride officially became a member of the family. We should also expect a birth ceremony of some sort or other at the fire-place, by which the infant would likewise be officially recognized as a fully fledged member of the family and by which the newborn would come in contact with the ancestors and receive their protection. We find such a ceremony among the neighbouring peoples of Iranian stock, the Ossetes[66] and the Kurds.[67] Though the hearth

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[58] Pčelina, " Rodil'nye obyčai u Osetin," SE, 1937, No. 4, p. 98.
For Ossetine naming ceremony, see *op. cit.*, pp. 96 ff.
Could not this fondness for animal names be a vestige of individual totemism ?

[59] Kovalevskij, " Iranian Culture in the Caucasus," *The Archaeological Review*, June, 1888, cited by Kovalevskij, *Zakon*, II, p. 202. See also *op. cit.*, I, pp. 97 f, 139 f.

[60] Dubrovin, *Istorija*, I, ii, p. 110.

[61] G. Demidov, *V uščelijach pervobytnoj gruzii (Chevsuretija)*, Moscow-Leningrad, 1930, p. 16. Polidaev (*Gorcy severnago kavkaza*, p. 107) says that the Khevsur mother is " unclean " for 30 days.

[62] Demidov, *l. c.* After delivery, the mother must remain in the birth-hut for two weeks ; after that she must live in the stable for about five weeks. S. I. Makalatija, *op. cit.*, p. 112. Today the Pshavs use holy water instead of urine (*ibid.*).

[63] Pčelina, *op. cit.*, p. 99.

[64] Nansen, *op. cit.*, p. 104.

[65] Erckert, *op. cit.*, p. 268.

[66] Pčelina, *op. cit.*, p. 95.

[67] Jankó, *Néprajzi, etc.* Zichy's *Kaukázusi és középázsiai utazásai*, p. 63.

8: Lužbetak E-4 (no date) 1951 RHl Caucasia RHl



among the Ingiloi (Islamized Georgians). It has effected the greatest changes in Daghestan, where it has existed the longest. It assumes a middle position in Circassia and Chechnia, where, however, there are important tribal differences that must be taken into account. The Abadzekhs, Shapsugs, Natukhazh, Beshilbey, and Barakey follow their own customary laws rather than the *šarî'a* much more so than do the Bzhedukh, Beslenians, and Kabardians who place both customary and Islamic law on the same level. In regard to the Chechen tribes, we must remember, the *šarî'a* was not accepted by the Ichkerians and Chechens properly so-called till Shamyl's time, while the Karabulaks, Kists, Galgai and Galashi have never expressly aknowledged it.[2] 177.58 58

Of the non-Caucasians, the Kumyks and the Nogai have been the most thoroughly Islamized,[3] being among the first to accept the Koran. The Ossetes and the Karachai disregard the *šarî'a* almost completely, following their own *adats* instead.[4]

### 3. Lesser Historical Influences

(1) **Christianity.** Christianity, too, has left its marks on the customary marriage and family law of the Caucasians. For example, one of the strongest counteractions against Avestic *endogamy* in Northwest and South Caucasus was Christianity (*supra*, pp. 53 f). Official *naming* of children (*supra*, p. 143), official *marriage contracts*, some *penal laws* (e. g., *supra*, p. 178), and, in some cases, changes in *divorce laws* and in the practice of *polygyny* (*supra*, p. 42) are certainly of Christian origin. [551]

Christianity, of course, has had the greatest influence among the Georgians of the lowlands, and considerably less among the mountain tribes of Georgia, and still less among the Northwestern Caucasians and Chechens, and least of all among the Lesghians. [595]

(2) **Avesta.** We have found a few traces of Avestic teaching in the marriage and family observances of the Caucasians, such as the rule of *endogamy* among all the Lesghians (and in pre-Christian Georgia). Zoroastrianism is also a possible explanation for the *local endogamy* of the Svans (*supra*, p. 53) and perhaps also for the obligation of purification after childbirth by washing in cow's urine.[5] The sphere of Iranian influence stretched far beyond Georgia and Daghestan. There is no longer any doubt, for example, that the laws of the Vendidats were known also to the Ossetes.[6] Nevertheless, the influence on North Caucasian marriage and family law has been only slight. [844]

(3) **Armenian, Byzantine, and Roman Influences.** There have been other historical causes for the change and unification of the marriage and family *adats* of the Caucasians, such as Armenian, Byzantine, Roman influence etc., but

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[2] Leontovič, II, p. 233, § 8.

[3] Leontovič, II, p. 233, § 4.

[4] Leontovič, II, p. 232, § 7.

[5] Kovalevskij, *Zakon*, I, pp. 97 f. Cf. also Zacharias, *Protohistory*, p. 351.

[6] Ladyženskij, *op. cit.*, p. 243.

585 [776] (7) In a number of instances we have noticed that the dagger or sword was used in connection with the marriage ceremony. The best-man took the bride around the hearth and each time he struck the chain with his dagger. The bride had to enter her new home under an arch of swords or with a dagger or club held above her head. This wedding custom, too, has a religious basis. The household gods of the bride's family have become exceedingly jealous of the bride, because by marrying she has united herself to another family and will now worship other ancestors, abandoning her own. These jealous godlets realize that the best time to enter her new home and to cause countless harm is simultaneously with the bride. Fortunately, these household gods are afraid of dagger[844]s.[114] Among the Georgian mountaineers, a mother after having given birth to a child will keep a sword under the pillow as a protection against aerial spirits.[115] Spirits are afraid of the sword for several reasons—at least such is our conjecture. The God of Iron, of the Sword, and of the Hearth-Chain is one and the same god, called Safa. This sword ceremony may perhaps insure [823] Safa's protection against jealous godlets. It may also insure the protection of [769] the departed because *iron* is a means of contacting ancestors. In Ossetia on the [787] "feast of the dedication of clothing" clothes are consecrated and sent to the netherworld by means of an iron knife.[116] The Ingushi get in contact with their departed by means of iron tongs.[117]

(8) The other marriage ceremonies are likewise mainly pastoral in character: horse-racing, submission to the husband, wishes for a rich progeny but always with a disproportion of "nine boys to every blue-eyed girl." Finally, the long elaborate and expensive wedding itself is typical of pastoral peoples.

[606] There are, however, a few traces of a so-called mother-right culture. The rôle played by the mother-in-law in the ceremonies, as we have stressed (*supra*, p. 125), is indeed not inconsistent with the position of the mother of the household in a patriarchal family, but, we must admit that their astounding importance gives them a suspiciously matriarchal colouring: in the ceremonies described, it is the Lesghian mother who welcomes the bride into the house as if she were the head of the family. It is the mother who holds her by the hand as she crosses the threshold. It is the mother's brother who led the bride's horse in the Ingiloi procession from her home to that of her groom. It is the mother who puts the honey into the mouth of the bride as a sign that the bride has a sweet life ahead of her under such an amiable mistress as her mother-in-law. And we should not forget that in the Lesghian engagement it was the mother who presented the engagement gifts which concluded the betrothal contract.[118]

595 585 114 We cannot conclude this chapter without briefly refuting some of Kovalevskij's assumptions. Like so many anthropologists of his day, he was inclined to find traces of an epoch older than that of patriarchy, and older than that of

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[114] For the custom among the Ossetes see Kovalevskij, *Coutume contemp.*, pp. 170 f.

[115] Cf. Reineggs, *op. cit.*, II, p. 112 f.

[116] Kokiev, *Slepovye soerukžeinija*, (Vladikavkaz, 1928), p. 38.

[117] Baddeley, *op. cit.*, II, p. 120.

[118] *Supra*, p. 103.

847 married life (in Pshavia, not before the third year[36]). The second child may not see the light of day till the seventh year after marriage, and the third child (just as in Pshavia[37]) must be the last.[38] We called the practice "thoroughly un-Georgian" because it is resorted to only when the mountaineers consider it unavoidable. The indescribable poverty of their land "drove" them to this painful extinction of baby girls. It was this same poverty that led the neighbouring South Ossetes (the Tualti, inhabitants of Nar, Tib, Mamisson and other *auls*) in the eighteenth century to expose or strangle their infant girls and to sell their boys into slavery in spite of their great longing for male children.[39] In Ossetia, [132] before the Revolution, physically deformed babes would be choked to death immediately after birth, without even being shown to the mother. Such deformed infants were killed regardless of sex, for the Ossetes believed that such infants owe their existence to evil spirits. Similarly, even today, deformed colts, calves and lambs are killed immediately after birth, because "they come from the evil spirits."[40] We have already mentioned that some Georgian mountaineers kill their baby girls in the belief that the next child will infallibly be a boy.[41]

## § 5. OTHER BIRTH CUSTOMS

### 1. The Couvade

846 The couvade, to my knowledge,[42] is not practiced anywhere in North Caucasia. We do find it among the SOUTHERN CAUCASIANS, where not a few traces of an ancient mother-right culture have survived. The couvade is upposed to be practiced by the Yassai of Sakataly primeval forest, southwest of Daghestan,[43] and according to Strabo by the West Iberians.[44]

### 2. Circumcision

304 This custom, wherever it is found in the Caucasus, is doubtless of Islamic origin.[45] The Mohammedan Ossetes were greatly averse to the practice till the mullahs succeeded in convincing them that all uncircumcised persons would have to spend their eternity without a head.[46]

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[36] Makalatija, *op. cit.*, p. 110.

[37] *ibid.*

[38] Hahn, *Bilder aus dem Kaukasus*, pp. 73 f.

[39] Kovalevskij, *Coutume contemp.*, p. 189.

[40] Pčelina, *op. cit.*, p. 93.

[41] Šagra, p. 140.

[42] Unfortunately L. M. Melikset-Bekov's study on the couvade in the Caucasus (*K voprosu ob obyčae kuvady na Kavkaze v svjazi s jazykovymi perežitkami matriarchatu*) is not at my disposal.

[43] Essad-Bey, *Der Kaukasus, Seine Berge, Völker und Geschichte*, p. 103.

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[46] Pčelina, *op. cit.*, p. 97.

## BIRTH

842 847 Except in some of the economically poorest areas any increase of the family was a cause for joy- in the country not just for the immediate family, but for the whole village. However, boys were greatly preferred, especially among the mountaineers, the birth of a girl being something of a disappointment. Among the Kartvelian mountaineers, female infanticide still occurred in the nineteenth century; the Khevsur and Pshav practiced birth control mainly by abortion, no couple being allowed to have their first child until the third year of marriage, the second after seven years, while the third must be the last. During menstruation and childbirth the Khevsur women were considered unclean and were banished to special huts (called samrevlo) outside the village.

841 844

551 The names given to children are now mostly those usual in Christian and Islamic countries, though the older custom of giving animal names to boys and terms of affection to girls has not died out, especially among the highlanders.

842 very special festivities take place. Shooting, feasting, and dancing mark the birth
[844] of a boy; whereas no special festivities take place if a girl is born. Women, of course, come to congratulate the mother, at the same time not forgetting to console her.[16]

[574] All Lesghian peoples prefer boys too. The first one to announce the good news of the birth of a *boy* receives a reward.[17] The Avars have the courious custom according to which anyone to whom a *son* (not however a daughter) was born in the past year has to give a special feast to his neighbours in spring.[18]

The SOUTHERN CAUCASIANS. The Pshavs frequently pray and offer numerous sacrifices for the blessing of a male child, and if these supernatural means fail, there is only one thing left to do—marry a second wife, who is "capable" of giving birth to boys.[19] At a Pshav wedding the *khevis-beri* ("The Elder of the Valley") prays: "George, Angel of the Oak, grant thou a boy to
[847] the parents of a girl and another boy to the parents of a boy..."[20] Dubrovin reported that among the Georgian mountaineers baby girls were killed immediately after birth because they believed that by doing so the next child would infallibly be a boy. One could come across families who had killed as many as five girls.[21]

The OSSETES have an unusual longing for male children. Thus, for example, the Digorians are greatly disappointed when a girl is born, and this disappointment is expressed sometimes in very irreverent words by the woman-attendant. "May Mairan (Mary) be struck blind for not making you a boy! May she now provide for you a speedy death!" But then, if the following child is a boy, the woman-attendant pleads for forgiveness, "Oh, Mairan, forgive me!
585 They longed for a boy. That is the reason why I scolded thee."[22] We have
842 already mentioned the marriage custom of leading the bride to a Mairem[23] Shrine, at which the children throw stones and say, "So many boys and only one blue-eyed girl grant thou Mairem, to this our dear bride!" The groomsman then must repeat this prayer.[24] At an Ossetine marriage the Ram-god (Firi-dzuar) is invoked: "Look down upon us and grant that this our bride may give birth to boys healthy and fat as sheep!"[25] We have also mentioned the marriage ceremony of placing a little boy on the lap of the bride, so that she may soon give birth to a boy (*supra*, p. 122). Or again, while the groomsman describes a triple

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[24] Baddeley, *l. c.*

[25] Baddeley, *op. cit.*, I, p. 270.

8: Luźbetak E-4 (no date) 1951 RH1 Caucasia RH1



circle in the air with his special wedding club he cries out three times, "Prosperity! Prosperity! Prosperity!" Then he explains just what is meant by "prosperity": "nine boys to every blue-eyed girl."[26] On New Year's Day the Ossetine boys go round to everyone wishing, that throughout the New Year "men might kill many stags and women might bear sons only."[27] Čursin tells us how a certain Ossete, Bergisov by name, received a vision from above. Now, in such a case, any two wishes will be granted, provided the person thus favoured make also a third wish, which, however, must be an evil one. Bergisov's good wishes were that he and his sons might live happily, while his third wish was that his daughters might die.[28] The birth of a first-born male child is celebrated with unusually great festivity and joy.[29] The happy mother returns to her father's house, where a special feast is given in honour of the baby boy.[30] After the birth of a girl, the mother goes with the baby to a Shrine of Mairem with the hope that the next child will be a boy.[31] 585 842

Some of the Caucasian TARTARS express their preference for boys in the following manner: the bride wears a garment in which nine knots are tied, a sign that she must give birth to seven boys and only two girls. They also have the custom of placing a little boy on the bride's lap.[32]

## § 4. INFANTICIDE AND BIRTH CONTROL

Since Caucasians, as a general rule, crave for children, it is only to be expected that infanticide and birth prevention should be rare. We do not find the practice of infanticide in North Caucasia, especially not in Daghestan, where Islamic influence is strong.[33] Islamism regards female infanticide as a very serious crime. Some of the mountaineers of Georgia indeed practice female infanticide, but the practice is thoroughly un-Georgian. The Svans as late as the last half of the nineteenth century would kill their baby girls immediately after birth by stuffing ashes into the mouth and then throttling the child till it suffocated,[34] or, sometimes, the infant was simply allowed to starve.[35] The Khevsurs prevented birth mainly by abortion, a practice still common today. A young couple in Khevsuria may not have a child till after the fourth year of 847

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[26] Kovalevskij, *Coutume contemp.*, p. 17

[27] Baddeley, *op. cit.*, I, p. 194.

[28] *Ossetini*, p. 82. Cf. Baddeley, *op. cit.*, I, p. 180.

[29] Dubrovin, *Istorija*, I, i, pp. 340 f.

[30] Pčelina, *op. cit.*, p. 101.

[31] Pčelina, *op. cit.*, p. 102. If a girl is born, only a very simple ceremony takes place: the *evsin* (mother of the household) brings the infant to the hearth without saying a word. (See Pčelina, *op. cit.*, p. 99.)

[32] Mir-Galim-bek Vezirov, "Neskolko svědenij o Tatarskich pover'jach," SMOMPK, IX (1890), No. 2, pp. 111 f.

[33] Kovalevskij, *Zakon*, II, p. 202.

[34] Byhan, *La civilisation caucasienne*, p. 111; Dubrovin, *Istorija*, I, ii, p. 110.

[35] Dubrovin, *l. c.*

847 married life (in Pshavia, not before the third year[36]). The second child may not see the light of day till the seventh year after marriage, and the third child (just as in Pshavia[37]) must be the last.[38] We called the practice "thoroughly un-Georgian" because it is resorted to only when the mountaineers consider it unavoidable. The indescribable poverty of their land "drove" them to this painful extinction of baby girls. It was this same poverty that led the neighbouring South Ossetes (the Tualti, inhabitants of Nar, Tib, Mamisson and other *auls*) in the eighteenth century to expose or strangle their infant girls and to sell their boys into slavery in spite of their great longing for male children.[39] In Ossetia, [132] before the Revolution, physically deformed babes would be choked to death immediately after birth, without even being shown to the mother. Such deformed infants were killed regardless of sex, for the Ossetes believed that such infants owe their existence to evil spirits. Similarly, even today, deformed colts, calves and lambs are killed immediately after birth, because "they come from the evil spirits."[40] We have already mentioned that some Georgian mountaineers kill their baby girls in the belief that the next child will infallibly be a boy.[41]

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[46] Pčelina, *op. cit.*, p. 97.

684 This relatively mild punishment has been introduced mainly through Christian influence and on account of the dearth of women caused by female infanticide.[48] 1

[347] The reports regarding the OSSETINE penalties are indeed confusing, until the proper local and temporal distinctions are made. Thus according to an ancient *adat* of the "frontier" Ossetes, as some Russian writers call them, the avenger of adultery would become the blood-enemy of the relatives of the adulterer. Later on a new customary law arose, giving the husband full right to kill the adulterer as well as the adulteress, with impunity.[49] The Ossetes of Tagaursk and Kurtalinsk usually killed the adulterer and threw the unfaithful wife out of the house.[50] The Alaghirs, on the contrary, were more merciful toward the adulterer and less so toward the adulteress. He was obliged to give the offended husband a horse and saddle, and then give him a feast, whereas the woman was mutilated (her nose was cut off) and then sent back to her father. If her husband forgave her, her family had to give him a horse and a gun.[51] In the collection of *adats* of 1841 (§ 41), the adulterer could be killed with impunity if caught *in flagranti*, whereas in the last decades of the nineteenth century Kovalevskij learned that the adulterer might indeed be wounded but not killed.[52] Inspite of these variations, *all* Ossetes have always believed that adultery was a very serious crime.

Formerly even mere suspicion justified the jealous husband to kill his wife and the suspected lover.[53] If he spared her life, he punished her publicly, bound her naked to a donkey and drove her through the village, whipping both the donkey and the miserable culprit, while the children and the girls of the *aul* would throw filth at her and sing jeering songs.[54]

Formerly to accept anything less than blood (that is, bloodwite) was considered a disgrace and even unlawful.[55]

The penalties for fornication were also very severe. The girl was set upon a donkey, her face to the tail and thus publicly driven through the village, jeered and spat upon by her fellow-villagers. And if she gave birth to an illegitimate [348] child, the baby would be killed. If the mother's life was spared, she could marry only a widower,[56] or, of course, her lover.[57] Sometimes the lover was even forced to marry her or at least pay the usual *kalym*.[58]

684 The TURKS of the Caucasus are also very merciless when it comes to punishing adultery. If a Kumyk or Nogai husband or near relative catches a woman in the act of adultery, he may kill both culprits on the spot. If the

[48] Dirr, *l. c.*

[49] Pfaff's article in SSKG, II, pp. 274 f., cited by Dirr, AGKB, p. 80.

[50] Leontovič, II, p. 41

[51] Leontovič, II, pp. 44, 38.

[52] Kovalevski, *Coutume contemp.*, p. 349, *note* 1.

[53] S. Karginov, "Krovavaja mest' u osetin," SMOMPK, XLIV (1914), No. 3, pp. 204 f.

[54] Dirr, *l. c.*

[55] Karginov, *l. c.*

[56] Baddeley, *op. cit.*, I, p. 237.

[57] A. H. Post, *Grundriß der ethnol. Jurispr.*, II, p. 378.

[58] Dubrovin, *Istorija*, I, i, p. 339.

1 [usually divorce, refund of bride price, and half of usual bloodwite -- Analyst]

2 [In Georgia -- Analyst]

684 This relatively mild punishment has been introduced mainly through Christian influence and on account of the dearth of women caused by female infanticide.[48] 2 n

[347] The reports regarding the OSSETINE penalties are indeed confusing, until the proper local and temporal distinctions are made. Thus according to an ancient *adat* of the "frontier" Ossetes, as some Russian writers call them, the avenger of adultery would become the blood-enemy of the relatives of the adulterer. Later on a new customary law arose, giving the husband full right to kill the adulterer as well as the adulteress, with impunity.[49] The Ossetes of Tagaursk and Kurtalinsk usually killed the adulterer and threw the unfaithful wife out of the house.[50] The Alaghirs, on the contrary, were more merciful toward the adulterer and less so toward the adulteress. He was obliged to give the offended husband a horse and saddle, and then give him a feast, whereas the woman was mutilated (her nose was cut off) and then sent back to her father. If her husband forgave her, her family had to give him a horse and a gun.[51] In the collection of *adats* of 1841 (§ 41), the adulterer could be killed with impunity if caught *in flagranti*, whereas in the last decades of the nineteenth century Kovalevskij learned that the adulterer might indeed be wounded but not killed.[52] Inspite of these variations, *all* Ossetes have always believed that adultery was a very serious crime.

Formerly even mere suspicion justified the jealous husband to kill his wife and the suspected lover.[53] If he spared her life, he punished her publicly, bound her naked to a donkey and drove her through the village, whipping both the donkey and the miserable culprit, while the children and the girls of the *aul* would throw filth at her and sing jeering songs.[54]

Formerly to accept anything less than blood (that is, bloodwite) was considered a disgrace and even unlawful.[55]

The penalties for fornication were also very severe. The girl was set upon a donkey, her face to the tail and thus publicly driven through the village, jeered and spat upon by her fellow-villagers. And if she gave birth to an illegitimate child, the baby would be killed. If the mother's life was spared, she could marry only a widower,[56] or, of course, her lover.[57] Sometimes the lover was even forced to marry her or at least pay the usual *kalym*.[58]

[348]

684 The TURKS of the Caucasus are also very merciless when it comes to punishing adultery. If a Kumyk or Nogai husband or near relative catches a woman in the act of adultery, he may kill both culprits on the spot. If the

[48] Dirr, *l. c.*

[49] Pfaff's article in SSKG, II, pp. 274 f., cited by Dirr, AGKB, p. 80.

[50] Leontovič, II, p. 41

[51] Leontovič, II, pp. 44, 38.

[52] Kovalevski, *Coutume contemp.*, p. 349, *note* 1.

[53] S. Karginov, "Krovavaja mest' u osetin," SMOMPK, XLIV (1914), No. 3, pp. 224 f.

[54] Dirr, *l. c.*

[55] Karginov, *l. c.*

[56] Baddeley, *op. cit.*, I, p. 237.

[57] A. H. Post, *Grundriß der ethnol. Jurispr.*, II, p. 378.

[58] Dubrovin, *Istorija*, I. i, p. 339.

1 n [usually divorce, refund of bride price, and half of usual bloodwite -- Analyst]

2 n [in Georgia -- Analyst]

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writings of the Arabs al-Mas'ûdî and Abu-El-Kasim. They claim that the father offers one of his daughters to his guest as a mere point of hospitality. Stählin[72] claimed that illegitimate children were treated the same as legitimate. On the other hand, a large number of authors, such as Struys, Lamberti,[73] Neumann,[74] and others, claim that the Cherkess women are extremely modest. The true solution to these conflicting reports is the one suggested by Ladyženskij.[75] "Den richtigsten Standpunkt nimmt in der Frage Garni ein (Reisen in den Ländern der asiatischen Türkei und des Kaukasus, 1854). Er betont die Keuschheit der freien Frauen und den Hetärismus der Sklavinnen." This is also Dirr's opinion.[76] In other words, the reports are true only to a certain extent: the freewomen are exceptionally modest, while the slaves exceptionally immodest, religious prostitution and sexual hospitality being restricted to slaves. Such conduct in regard to freewomen would be impossible considering the great economic loss the family would suffer from defloration, considering also the virginity test, and, finally, the fear of illegitimate children. On the other hand, defloration, virginity, and illegitimate children in the case of *slaves* would offer no serious difficulty.

We have a similar problem in regard to some of the Lesghians. As we have mentioned above, Herodotus wrote of the Lesghians that "they copulate in public as beasts are wont to do."[77] Przewalski reported that at Tsunta-Akhvakh unmarried couples were allowed to sleep together.[78] Baddeley confirms Przewalski's report: "It is the custom for a host to give his guest one of his daughters or some other girl to sleep with. The couple may . . . do what they like provided the maidenhead remains intact; and even that depends on the fair one's goodwill. But should the guest so far forget himself as to force her, he will pay for it with his life. Those people think meanly of a girl who has never slept with an honoured guest."[79] Baddeley's guide, a native of Ossetia, "accepted this as a fact, and added that something of the same sort went on in certain of the older Cossack 'stanitsas' on the Terek, instancing Tchervlennaya."[80] Herodotus' report is useless, for we do not know exactly who is meant, but there is no reason to doubt Przewalski and Baddeley. However, we wish to stress that this is a custom found exclusively in Tsunta-Akhvakh and is, by no means, the picture of entire Daghestan. Tsunta-Akhvakh is only a *village* (in 1901 it had only 415 inhabitants), which constitutes an *exception*

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[72] Jacob v. Stählin, *Nachrichten von Tschirkassien oder von dem Karbardinischen Lande*, 1771, referred to by Ladyženskij, FT, p. 185.

[73] Cf. Ladyženskij, *l. c.*

[74] Neumann, *Rußland und die Tscherkessen*, cf. Ladyženskij, *l. c.*

[75] Ladyženskij, *l. c.* Ladyženskij, "Zur Erforschung der Rechtsgewohnheiten, etc.," pp. 243 f.

[76] Ladyženskij, FT, p. 184. Cf. Castagné, "Le droit coutumier familial des montagnards du Caucase," p. 252: "Supposer que le montagnard adighé pût proposer sa fille ou sa femme a un hôte, serait comprehensible si la femme des montagnards avait été esclave, mais cela n'étant pas, une supposition de ce genre doit être considéré comme sans fondement aucun."

[77] Cited by Potocki, *Voyage dans les steps d'Astrakhan et du Caucase*, I, p. 240; to which Potocki adds, "Celle de quelques vallées du Caucase sont encore très libres."

[78] Kovalevskij, *Zakon*, II, p. 189.

[79] Baddeley, *op. cit.*, II, pp. 13 f.

[80] Baddeley, *op. cit.*, *II*, p. 14.

551 (" Lion "), *Vari* (" Vulture "), etc. are intended to deceive the evil spirits, who are able to take the life of the child only if they can call it by its true name.[58]

### 4. Segregation

844 784 A Lesghian woman becomes unclean through childbirth, and hence the father may not be present at the birth nor during the entire period of uncleaness, which lasts for several weeks.[59] Child-bearing renders the mother unclean in Ossetia as well. The Mountain Georgians have special birthhouses for expectent mothers. In Svanetia the mother is unclean for 40 days,[60] in Khevsuria and Pshavia, a few days longer.[61] A woman can be cleansed (in Khevsuria and Pshavia) by washing her hair in cow's urine.[62] In Ossetia a woman is considered unclean for six weeks after childbirth. During this period she is not allowed to work, except to sweep the floor and look after the children. The marital act is likewise forbidden.[63] [823]

### 5. Weaning

862 Very little data is available regarding weaning of children and taboos during the period of lactation. As a general rule, the Lesghians wean their children at the age of five or six.[64] The Avars usually do not wean them before they have reached the use of reason.[65] Pshav children are weaned at the age of four.

### 6. Fire-place Ceremony

851 We have seen what an important part the hearth played in the marriage ceremonies of the Northwestern Caucasians, the Ingushi and Ossetes. By circling round the hearth the bride officially became a member of the family. We should also expect a birth ceremony of some sort or other at the fire-place, by which the infant would likewise be officially recognized as a fully fledged member of the family and by which the newborn would come in contact with the ancestors and receive their protection. We find such a ceremony among the neighbouring peoples of Iranian stock, the Ossetes[66] and the Kurds.[67] Though the hearth

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[58] Pčelina, " Rodil'nye obyčai u Osetin," SE, 1937, No. 4, p. 98.
For Ossetine naming ceremony, see *op. cit.*, pp. 96 ff.
Could not this fondness for animal names be a vestige of individual totemism?

[59] Kovalevskij, " Iranian Culture in the Caucasus," *The Archaeological Review*, June, 1888, cited by Kovalevskij, *Zakon*, II, p. 202. See also *op. cit.*, I, pp. 97 f, 139 f.

[60] Dubrovin, *Istorija*, I, ii, p. 110.

[61] G. Demidov, *V uščelijach pervobytnoj gruzii (Chevsuretija)*, Moscow-Leningrad, 1930, p. 16. Polidaev (*Gorcy severnago kavkaza*, p. 107) says that the Khevsur mother is " unclean " for 30 days.

[62] Demidov, *l. c.* After delivery, the mother must remain in the birth-hut for two weeks; after that she must live in the stable for about five weeks. S. I. Makalatija, *op. cit.*, p. 112. Today the Pshays use holy water instead of urine (*ibid.*).

[63] Pčelina, *op. cit.*, p. 99.

[64] Nansen, *op. cit.*, p. 104.

[65] Erckert, *op. cit.*, p. 268.

[66] Pčelina, *op. cit.*, p. 95.

[67] Jankó, *Néprajzi, etc.* Zichy's *Kaukázusi és középázsiai utazásai*, p. 63.

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has (or at least has had) the same significance among all North Caucasian mountain tribes, the explorers pass over the relation between birth and the fire-place without a single word. This may be a serious oversight. 851

## § 6. RESPECT OF CHILDREN FOR THEIR ELDERS

The NORTHWESTERNERS. The *adats* inform us that the children have a strict obligation of acknowledging the authority of their father. They must respect him and carry out all his commands. To disobey him or even to oppose his wishes would be, "according to customary law, the greatest abomination, and according to Islamic law, the greatest of sins."[68] This respect must continue even when old-age renders their parents helpless. When a joint-family is divided the sons must set aside a definite amount of property for the support of their parents and for their funeral.[69] The sons have the strict obligation of erecting a tombstone for their parents. The *adats* also demand that Rs. 300 should be set aside for an elaborate funeral feast. Formerly such feasts would often bring complete financial ruin to the family.[70] This great respect for parents is extended to elders in general, and especially to elder brothers.[71] 593 [888] [737] [765]

The NORTHEASTERN CAUCASIANS. The Lesghians show an unusually great respect for their parents.[72] If the children fail to care for their aged parents, they may be summoned before the *kâdî*, who will force them to do so.[73] Some excellent examples of this deep respect can be found in the official criminological reports of Kaitago-Tabassaran. "On August 3, 1869, a native of the village of Myura, Kaitago-Tabassaran, Mahomet Omar, after having been scolded by his mother for laziness shot himself."[74] Or again, "On October 2, 1869, a native of the *aul* of Kulidzha, Kaitago-Tabassaran, Ali-bek Salig, quarreled with his son, Murtuzali. After some time his son returned to his father and begged forgiveness. His father, however, refused to listen to his son's repentent words, coldly showing him the door and telling him never to return again. On hearing these words, Murtuzali took out his pistol and shot himself. His father, on seeing that he was the cause of his son's grief and death, took his own life by falling on his *kinjal*."[75] 593 762 888

The reports concerning the Avars being contradictory demand special attention. Some claim that the Avars have just as much respect for their elders as do the other Lesghians. If a son is unable to fulfill the wishes of his father,

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[68] Leontovič, II, p. 250, § 134.

[69] Ladyzenskij, FT, p. 206.

[70] Ladyzenskij, FT, p. 208.

[71] Dubrovin, *Istorija*, I, i, p. 169.

[72] Dubrovin, *Istorija*, I, i, p. 441 is certainly exaggerating when he says that the Chechens "deny their mothers even the respect Nature has implanted in the hearts of all men." This very sentence has been copied and re-copied from the *adat* collections by a number of pre-Soviet authors without inquiring into the reliability of the report. Svlčin, *op. cit.*, pp. 61 f, regarding Lesghians.

[73] Kovalevskij, *Zakon*, II, p. 203. For details regarding the kind of support demanded by the *kerl'a* in Dargwa, see Kovalevskij, *op. cit.*, pp. 203 f.

[74] "Iz gorskoj kriminalistiki," SSKG, III (1870), p. 7.

[75] "Iz gorskoj kriminalistiki," p. 8.

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(1) The *Kunak*-relationship is a contract between two men of different localities according to which they are obliged to offer mutual hospitality and protection whenever the occasion lends itself. Whenever a Caucasian passes near a fellow-*kunak's* village while travelling, he will infallibly pay him a visit and will lodge with him at least for the night. Restaurants, inns, and hotels are unknown among the mountaineers; the institution of *kunak*-relationship is however, an excellent substitute. Any offense committed against the guest will be avenged as if it were against one of the family. In fact, the bond that unites the *kunaks* is considered as sacred as, if not more sacred than, the family tie. The institution is found throughout North Caucasia.[79] The question whether members of the two families may intermarry or not seems to have been overlooked by the fieldworkers. It may very well be that such marriages are even preferred. We know for certain that such marriages are not barred in Ossetia.[80]

(2) Another form of fictious kinship is the *tleush*.[81] According to Longworth it constitutes an impediment. The Cherkess, we are told, take an oath among themselves and become "brothers," and "to strengthen the illusion of their being such, their families are not allowed to intermarry; a regulation so rigidly observed, that even where the society is composed of many thousands, as in the case of the powerful one of Natquo, it still holds good, and a marriage between two individuals of it is looked upon as incestuous".[82]

(3) *Relationship by milk (parenté de lait, Milchverwandtschaft)* is a widespread institution. There are two ways in which the relationship can be formed: either by actual breast-sucking or by mere contact of the lips and breast of a woman.[83] The kinship thus formed is as sacred as that of consanguinity. Karginov describes how an Ossetine lover was once forced to kiss the breast of his beloved, the aim of the act being to put an end to their adulterous friendship, for once his lips would touch her breast he would become her "son." From that moment on intercourse and marriage would be looked upon as incestuous.[84] Gaerber wrote in 1728: "Whenever the Usmei has a son, he is carried round from village to village, and alternately suckled by every woman who has a child at her breast until he is weaned. This custom, by establishing a kind of brotherhood between the prince and his subjects, singularly endears

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[79] An excellent description of the *kunak*-relationship can be found in Dirr's article, "Aus dem Gewohnheitsrecht der kaukasischen Bergvölker," *Zeitschr. f. vergl. Rechtsw.*, XLI (1925). See also Interiano, *Della vita dei Zychi, chiamati Circassi*, Ramusio, II (1559), folio 140 v. M. Kovalevskij, *Coutume contemp.*, p. 190: Ossetes, Tartars, Kumyks have the practice too. N. Jakovlev, *Ingaši*, pp. 15—25.
Grabovskij, "Ekonomičeskij i domašnij byt žitelej gorskago učastka Ingulevskago okruga," SSKG, III (1870), pp. 4—7.
A. P. Berže, *Čečnja i Čečency*, pp. 86 f.
The host will even give up his life for his guest; see R. Erckert, *Der Kaukasus*, p. 108.

[80] M. Kovalevskij, *Coutume contemp.*, p. 214.

[81] For possible origin of the practice and ceremonies connected with the institution see V. V. Vasil'kov, "Očerk byta temirgoevcev," SMOMPK, XXIX (1901), No. 1, pp. 80 f.

[82] *A Year among the Circassians*, I, p. 229.

[83] Debouvin, *Istorija*, Tome I, Bk. I, pp. 439 f.

[84] S. Karginov, "Krovavaja mest' u osetin," SMOMPK, XLIV (1914), No. 3, p. 283.

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582 608 853 them to each other."[85] The Utsmi or Usmi were rulers of Kaitag, said to date from the Arab conquest in the eighth century or soon after.[86] The custom of the Usmi did more than merely endear the baby prince to his subjects. The inhabitants actually considered the prince their foster-brother and for him they were ready to die, for milk-relationship implied as strong a tie as that of consanguinity.[87] The anonymous *Tagebuch* (p. 59)[88] gives us another example: an Ingush "murderer of an only son flies to the mother and, dagger in hand, compels her to give him her breast. Other relatives demand blood-revenge, but the woman, whose right it is to decide, says 'now that he has sucked my breast, if you kill him I lose *two* sons,' and the murderer's life is spared."[89]

Both forms of adoption, by actual and by ceremonial breastsucking, are in full accord with the *šarî'a*. According to the Koran, iv. 27, relationship by milk constitutes an impediment as stringent as that of blood propinquity. Excluded from marriage are the woman and her adopted child; the child and all those suckled by the same woman; the child with all his descendents and the woman who suckled him with all her milk and blood relatives and those of her husband. Such kinship is known in Islamic law as *raḍâ* or *raḍâ'h*[90]

It is difficult to determine just in how far the Caucasian practice is dependent on that of Islamism. The explorers and *adat* collectors fail to tell us to what degree marriage between milk-relatives is looked upon as incestuous. In all probability the institution existed in the Caucasus long before the introduction of the Koran. It seems to be pre-Islamic for various reasons. First of all, the custom is not limited to Mohammedan Caucasians but is found among Christian tribes as well, for example in Armenia.[91] Moreover it is very difficult to imagine that a *mere* ceremony, and a *foreign* one at that, could dispense a Caucasian from the most sacred obligation of avenging the blood of a murdered relative. Anyone who has studied Caucasian customary law will admit that perhaps no *adats* are so unchangeable as those regarding blood-feuds. It is unintelligible how an imported ceremony, especially among tribes that have been converted to Islamism rather recently and then only half-heartedly, could change these almost unchangeable *adats*. Finally, relationship by milk is neither an Islamic invention nor restricted to Mohammedan countries (it is found, for example, also among the nomadic peoples of Asia); it could exist in the Caucasus independently of Mohammedanism too.

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[85] G. Ellis, *Memoir of a map of the countries comprehended between the Black Sea and the Caspian nations and vocabularies of their languages*, London, 1788, pp. 40 f.

[86] Baddeley, *The Rugged Flanks of Caucasus*, II, p. 18, note. Ellis, *l. c.*

[87] Baddeley, *l. c.*

[88] *Tagebuch einer Reise, die im Jahr 1781 von der Gränzfestung Mosdok nach dem innern Caucasus unternommen worden*, Leipzig and St. Petersburg, 1797. A certain Steder is the author.

[89] Baddeley, *op. cit.*, I, p. 262.
U. Laudaev, "Priměčanija k statě čečenskoe plemja," SMOMPK, VI (1872), p. 50.

[90] Th. W. Juynboll, *Handbuch des islâmischen Gesetzes nach der Lehre der schâfitischen Schule nebst einer allgemeinen Einleitung*, p. 219.

[91] Baddeley, *op. cit.*, I, p. 263.

In our exposition of the various marriage impediments we have also described the institution called *atalyk* (*supra*, p. 57). The upper classes especially used to give their children over to foster-parents whose task it was to teach them all these things. 868

## § 8. PARENTAL OBLIGATION OF SUPPORTING THEIR CHILDREN

In patrilineal societies in which the perpetuation of the family is the greatest obligation of the individual and of the family as a whole, there is no danger that the boy will suffer any bodily need, food, clothing, shelter, unless absolutely unavoidable. But even girls are well taken care of. Even before Islamic law gave the Caucasian woman a right to a small part of the inheritance, which the *adats* excluded, female members of the family were always well provided for. After the death of the father, his obligation passed on to the oldest brother till all the sisters were married.[102] If the girl happens not to have any brothers, the obligation of support passes on to the nephews,[103] or to other relatives. 855

## § 9. PARENTAL AFFECTION FOR OFFSPRING

Much has been written about the lack of affection of North Caucasian parents for their children. In most cases, however, the authors fail to grasp the real psychology behind what seems extreme coldness and lack of parental affection. Reineggs, for example, who has given us one of the first reliable accounts of Caucasian customs, is not free from this very misunderstanding. He writes: "Er pflanzt sich tierisch fort, ohne Liebe zu kennen; er betrachtet sein Weib und seine Kinder als einen Teil seines Vermögens; er zählt sie zu seinen Herden, und bleibt, da er nur für körperliches Gefühl reizbar ist, gegen sittliche, empfundene Erfahrungen, gefällige Gunstbezeugungen ungerührt und in gleichgültiger Zufriedenheit."[104] In other words, Reineggs failed to distinguish between loving someone and manifesting this love *externally and publicly*. 855 593

The NORTHWESTERN CAUCASIANS. Longworth, speaking about the Cherkess of about a century ago, made this very distinction. He says that the father "is forbidden the slightest manifestation of tenderness" not only for his wife but also his children.[105] He does not deny the existence of tenderness but only its exteriorization and manifestation.

The NORTHEASTERN CAUCASIANS. Grabovskij mentions that an Ingush not only considers it a disgrace to carry his child in his arms or to fondle it but that he is forbidden even to mention its name before others.[106] Baddeley gives us a very fine example of how really degrading the Lesghians consider it to take their own children in their arms. "A fellow villager, Boulat-khan, had brought on himself the contempt of the men of Andee by publicly carrying his little son in his arms, a manifestation of affection so indecorous in native eyes as to imply

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[102] Leontovič, II, p. 246, § 107; II, p. 97. Berže, Čečnja i Čečency, p. 97.
[103] Leontovič, II, p. 177, § 178 (in regard to the Ingushi).
[104] Reineggs, *Allgemeine hist.-topograph. Beschreibung des Kaukasus*, Vorrede, p. viii.
[105] *A Year among the Circassians*, I, p. 285.
[106] "Inguši, ich žizn i obyčaj," SSKG, IX (1876), p. 49.

855 a total want of manliness. On one occasion, stung by the jeers of the men in
593 his native regiment, he drew his 'kinjal' and crying: 'I love my son, but you shall see also that I don't mind killing him', was about to do so when they seized his arm and succeeded in calming him."[107] A better example to illustrate the necessary distinction between love and public manifestation of that love we can hardly offer. "I love my son, but you shall see also that I don't mind killing him!" A paradox which a Western mind finds very difficult to grasp![108]

The neighbouring SOUTHERN CAUCASIANS, the Khevsurs, have the same taboo. A father may never carry his child before others or even say a friendly word to it. The most that the father may do is hold the child by hand when it is old enough to walk.[109]

The neighbouring OSSETES observe the same rule. Here too it is not a lack of affection but a convention, which under no condition may be violated. "Neither husband nor wife might take their children in their arms, or by hand, or give them anything, in the presence of older members of his family. 'So far is this carried,' said Ourousbi [the Author's guide, an Ossete] 'that once one of my children fell into the water and might have been drowned, but as older men of the family were present I did not dare to call attention to the fact, much less take the child out of the water myself. Luckily one of them saw what was happening and saved it.'"[109] "So, too, Kosta Khetagouroff, the Ossetine poet, saved a child from falling off a high house-roof by stamping on its garments, but called a woman to pick it up as it would have been against custom for him to do so; and one of the Abayeffs, having in identical circumstances saved a child, called to its mother—his own wife—'Here, come and pick up your puppy!' (Čursin, *Osetini*, p. 40)." Baddeley claims that in this respect a change has taken place, and as proof, points out that in several of his own photographs Ourousbi is seen carrying a friend's baby. But here Baddeley forgets that the prohibition is not to carry a *friend's* baby but to carry *one's own* child.

## § 10. CONCLUSIONS

842 We have already mentioned the main reason why boys are preferred to
628 girls, namely the patriarchal, patrilocal, and patrilineal structure of the North Caucasian and neighbouring societies. But there is still another reason, based on intertribal relations and on the poverty of the mountain tribes, which leads them to a life of raids and robbery. The Caucasus is a typical land of blood-feuds. In the Terek Province, for example, with a population of about 930,000, there were in one year 365 cases of homicide or attempted homicide, an average of one a day. Feuds accounted for most of them.[110] The rest were the result

[107] Baddeley, *op. cit.*, II, pp. 87 f.

[108] Cf. Dubrovin, I, i, p. 440.

[109] Hahn, *Bilder aus dem Kaukasus*, p. 81. For the practice in the Government of Elizabethpol, see E. Melik-Šachnazarov, "Selenie Arcevanik, Zangezurskago uězda, Elisavetpol'skoj Gubernii," SMOMPK, XXV (1898), No. 2, p. 43.

[109] Baddeley, *op. cit.*, I, p. 269, from whom we borrow also the following citation of Čursin.

[110] Baddeley, *op. cit.*, I, p. 81.

**TABLE 7 ***

**Social Rank of Ossete Child of an Interclass Marriage**

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[858]

| Mother → / Father ↓ Child ↘ | *uzden* | *farsagleg* | *kavdassart* | *gurziag* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| *uzden* | uzden | kavdassart | kavdassart | gurziag |
| *farsag.* | farsagleg | farsagleg | farsagleg | gurziag |
| *kavdasj.* | kavdassart | kavdassart | kavdassart | gurziag? ** kavdassart? |
| *gurziag* | gurziag | gurziag (in Tagaursk child free) | gurziag | gurziag. |

* This table is based on data found in Kovalevskij's *Coutume contemp.*, pp. 202 f.

** Is it gurziag or kavdassart? There seems to be a contradiction: on page 202 Kovalevskij maintains: "Ne peut naître d'un père kavdassard qu'un kavdassard, quelle que soit sa mère... Les kavdassards peuvent acheter et posseder les gourziaks qu'ils ont achetés; mais les enfants de ces gourziaks seront kavdassards, et appartiendront au propriétaire du kavdassard, c'est-a-dire, à l'ouzdanelag." On page 203 we find: "Les fils et les fille d'une esclave sont toujours esclaves, et, commes tels, dépourvus de tout droit."

(and here we may also include the majority of the Ossete tribes) and least insistent on marriages exclusively within one's own class. In fact we can almost say that the prohibition is non-existent in Chechnia and in the greater part of Ossetia. The "Lesghian Zone" occupies a middle position between these two extremes.

### 5. Other Forms of Endogamy and Exogamy

582 We do not maintain to have exhausted the possibilities of endogamy-exogamy regulations. These possibilities, however, have been more or less overlooked by the explorers. We refer, for examples, to the marriage impediments arising from disparity of occupation, disparity of cult, disparity of nationality. We know, for instance, that the Kabardians freely intermarry with the Russians and Karachai,[104] and that they marry any non-Cherkess, especially if the other party is a Mohammedan or is willing to accept the Islamic religion,[105] but is that the situation everywhere in the Caucasus? Till more fieldwork is done, such questions will have to remain unanswered. Midwives are sometimes [608] considered related to the new-born, but we do not know how widespread the custom actually is. In regard to the impediment of disparity of cult we know that the Koran, ii. 20 f admonishes the Muslim: "Marry not a heathen woman before she be converted: a believing slave is much better even if she doth not please thee... The heathen woman will lead thee to hell, but Allah calleth thee to Paradise..." How strictly do the Islamic Caucasians observe this precept? There are doubtless many more lacunae that only the trained and exact fieldworker can fill.

[104] Ladyženskij, FT, p. 191.

[105] Ladyženskij, FT, p. 198

593 for some Persian cloth worth Rs. 240. While the deal was still going on, the
567 girl fled and hanged herself.[7]

We have found no purely Lesghian *adats* prohibiting or sanctioning the selling of children into slavery, in spite of the despotic authority of the father.[8] Although we do not know the attitude of customary law in this regard, we do know that the *šarî'a* strictly forbids not only the selling of a fellow-Mohammedan into slavery, but expressly condemns the selling of one's own children.[9]

The SOUTHERN CAUCASIANS. In times of famine the mountain tribes of Georgia used to sell their children; the Svans, for example, "for 700 to 1,200 francs each" (Mourier, *Guide au Caucase*, I, p. 147).

It was this same poverty that led their neighbours, the Tualti (SOUTHERN OSSETES), to kill their girls and sell their boys.[10]

In short, everywhere in the Caucasus the *right* to sell children is not disputed; the practice, however, is *rare*, except in time of absolute necessity or in regard to children who are not considered fully members of the family.

## § 2. JUS VITAE NECISQUE

593 The NORTHWESTERN CAUCASIANS. The *adats* expressly mention
682 that a father does not have the right over life and death of his children.[11]
[627] However, he may condemn a *perverse* member of the family to death: he must, of course, first chastize him, then disinherit him, and finally, if all these means fail and the son remains incorrigeable, the father, acting as supreme judge of the family, may hand him over to a servant to be killed.[12] In spite of these *adats* it seems that formerly the father actually had the right to kill his child at will.[13]

The NORTHEASTERN CAUCASIANS. The Chechen adat collection of 1843 tells us that "there is no customary law defining or limiting the authority of the father over his children."[14] However, in practice, he enjoys this unlimited
[258] authority only as long as the children are small. Once his sons have grown up, they may take vengeance on their own father for killing one of their brothers.[15] It is quite possible that at one time the father actually possessed the *jus vitae necisque*, a right that had disappeared long before the *adat* collections of the past century were made. By no means does a husband have a right over the

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[7] *Voyage dans les steps d'Astrakhan et du Caucase*, II, p. 123.

[8] Cf. Omarov, "Kak živut Laki," SSKG, IV (1871), p. 18.

[9] G. Bergsträsser, *Grundzüge des islamischen Rechts*, p. 39.

[10] Kovalevskij, *Coutume contemp.*, p. 189.

[11] Leontovič, II, p. 250, § 138.

[12] *ibid.* See also Leontovič, I, p. 152, § 81.

[13] Dubrovin, *Istorija*, I, i, pp. 168 f; P. I. Kovalevskij, *Kavkaz, Narody Kavkaza*, p. 56.

[14] Leontovič, II, p. 112, § 8.

[15] M. O. Kosven, "Avunkulat," SE, 1948, No. 1, p. 18; Leontovič, II, pp. 112 (§ 8), 251 (§ 143), 258 (§ 206); Berže, *Čečnja i Čečency*, p. 96.

551 (" Lion "), *Vari* (" Vulture "), etc. are intended to deceive the evil spirits, who are able to take the life of the child only if they can call it by its true name.[58]

### 4. Segregation

814 784 A Lesghian woman becomes unclean through childbirth, and hence the father may not be present at the birth nor during the entire period of uncleaness, which lasts for several weeks.[59] Child-bearing renders the mother unclean in Ossetia as well. The Mountain Georgians have special birthhouses for expectent mothers. In Svanetia the mother is unclean for 40 days,[60] in Khevsuria and Pshavia, a few days longer.[61] A woman can be cleansed (in Khevsuria and Pshavia) by washing her hair in cow's urine.[62] In Ossetia a woman is considered unclean for six weeks after childbirth. During this period she is not allowed to work, except to sweep the floor and look after the children. The marital act is likewise forbidden.[63] [828]

### 5. Weaning

862 Very little data is available regarding weaning of children and taboos during the period of lactation. As a general rule, the Lesghians wean their children at the age of five or six.[64] The Avars usually do not wean them before they have reached the use of reason.[65] Pshav children are weaned at the age of four.

### 6. Fire-place Ceremony

851 We have seen what an important part the hearth played in the marriage ceremonies of the Northwestern Caucasians, the Ingushi and Ossetes. By circling round the hearth the bride officially became a member of the family. We should also expect a birth ceremony of some sort or other at the fire-place, by which the infant would likewise be officially recognized as a fully fledged member of the family and by which the newborn would come in contact with the ancestors and receive their protection. We find such a ceremony among the neighbouring peoples of Iranian stock, the Ossetes[66] and the Kurds.[67] Though the hearth

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[58] Pčelina, " Rodil'nye obyčai u Osetin," SE, 1937, No. 4, p. 98.
For Ossetine naming ceremony, see *op. cit.*, pp. 96 ff.
Could not this fondness for animal names be a vestige of individual totemism?

[59] Kovalevskij, " Iranian Culture in the Caucasus," *The Archaeological Review*, June, 1888, cited by Kovalevskij, *Zakon*, II, p. 202. See also *op. cit.*, I, pp. 97 f, 139 f.

[60] Dubrovin, *Istorija*, I, ii, p. 110.

[61] G. Demidov, *V učželijach pervobytnoj gruzii (Chevsuretija)*, Moscow-Leningrad, 1930, p. 16. Pužidaev (*Gorcy severnago kavkaza*, p. 107) says that the Khevsur mother is " unclean " for 30 days.

[62] Demidov, *l. c.* After delivery, the mother must remain in the birth-hut for two weeks; after that she must live in the stable for about five weeks. S. I. Makalatija, *op. cit.*, p. 112. Today the Pshavs use holy water instead of urine (*ibid.*).

[63] Pčelina, *op. cit.*, p. 99.

[64] Nansen, *op. cit.*, p. 104.

[65] Erckert, *op. cit.*, p. 268.

[66] Pčelina, *op. cit.*, p. 93.

[67] Jankó, *Népszajzi, etc.* Zichy's *Kaukázusi és középázsiai utazásai*, p. 63.

# EDUCATIONAL PRACTICES

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As everywhere, education in the Caucasus aimed at developing those traits in the children which were part of the national cultural ideal. In the whole N. Caucasus and in Georgia, great stress was laid on the development of character (courage, stamina, loyalty, modesty, but also self-assertion and vengefullness) and on good manners (especially in the N. W. Caucasus there was a complex and rigid code of behavior). The education consisted further in instruction in the use of arms and in horsemanship. Among the mountaineers it had definite Spartan characteristics, e. g. the Khevsur put burning wicks or glowing coals on the hands of their children to harden them against pain and to test their stamina. Stress was also laid on the ability to express oneself well and to the point, and to make speeches at various occasions. In Georgia, among the higher classes, there was a native tradition of training in the arts and sciences, the centers of which originally were the monasteries. In the N. Caucasus such a tradition did not exist, though there were Moslem schools (medrese) giving instruction in religion and some arithmetic, and also Russian schools, founded after the subjugation. Before the revolution, the higher classes sent their children to Russian cultural centers to complete their education. Many chose a

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indeed love my mother; but I must also punish the person who suggested 888
surrender. Take my mother therefore, and punish her, punish her with one 593
stroke and give me the remaining 39." This is a story every North Caucasian Mohammedan has heard again and again.

## § 7. EDUCATION

With the coming of Mohammedanism the method of education in the Cau- 871
casus was revolutionized. In many places throughout North Caucasus and [875]
especially in Daghestan, a new educator was introduced, the mullah. Till then, the *home* was the only "school" and the parents (or foster-parents) the only educators.[80] The subject matter of these Mohammedan schools[81] was, as usual, limited to the study of Arabic and the Koran and Islamic tradition, at times taught by very poorly educated mullahs.[82]

The second important innovation came with the Russians,[83] but especially 212
with the Soviets. Only the Georgians, Armenians, and Azerbaijani had an 191
alphabet in pre-Soviet times.[84] The Soviets immediately realized the necessity of an alphabet for each language, without which the spread of Marxism would be impossible. In 1928 about 40 per cent of the Chechens received formal schooling, while only a very few isolated mountain villages had no school at all.[85] In the mountain of Daghestan the illiteracy is still very great. According to statistics of 1926 only about 10 per cent of the men and 1 per cent of the women can read. Nevertheless, it cannot be denied that progress has been made among these mountain peoples too.[86] Today there are enough Lesghians who are able to read to make Russian, Kumykian, Lak, and Avarian newspapers possible.[87] The Lesghian children receive instructions in their mother-tongue only in the first two years at school; after that they must learn either Kumykian or Russian. In secondary schools both languages are obligatory.[88]

As for home education, a few general remarks will suffice. The education 868
of little children and of all unmarried girls is the task of the mother; the education of the boys is the task of the father.[89] The little children are told to behave

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[80] Cf. K. N. Rosikov, "Poězdka v Čečnju i Nagornyj Dagestan," ZKO, XIII (1884), p. 249.

[81] A. Zacharov, "Narodnoe obučenie u Zakavkazskich Tatar," SMOMPK, IX (1890), No. 2, pp. 7—51; Mir-Galim-bek Vezirov, "O Tatarskich Školach," SMOMPK, IX (1890), No. 2, pp. 1—6; A. Omarov, "Vospominanija mutaallima," SSKG, I, pp. 13—20; II, pp. 46—70.

[82] Cf. Halil Beg Mussayassul for a description of his schooling in *Das Land der letzten Ritter*, pp. 52—56.

[83] "O rasprostranenii gramotnosti meždu gorcami," SSKG, III (1870), pp. 1—30. The main object of pre-Soviet education was to teach a sufficient number of natives the Russian language.

[84] Of course some attempts had been made before the Revolution. Fifteen years after the Revolution all North Caucasians had a written language. The Latin script was used as foundation for the Cherkess, Abaz, Chechen, Karachai, Balkarian, Avar, Dargwa, Kurin, Lak, Tabassaran, Kumykian, Nogai, and Tat languages. Cf. G. P. Serdjočenko, "Jazyki Severnogo Kavkaza i Dagestana," *Sbornik lingvističeskich issledovanij*, Moscow-Leningrad, 1935, p. 7.

[85] Plätschke, *Die Tschetschenen*, p. vii.

[86] R. Kherumian, "Contribution à l'Anthropologie du Caucase," *L'Anthropologie*, LII (1948), No. 1—2, p. 44.

[87] Nansen, *op. cit.*, p. 98.

[88] *ibid.*

[89] Ladyženskij, FT, p. 200.

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868 and to be alert. The boys are encouraged to develop into great warriors and robbers. If the boy's father or one of his brothers was killed by an enemy, the boy is constantly admonished of his sacred duty of blood-vengeance.[90]

[579] [577] Yes, boys are taught to become great robbers and raiders. Robbery and raiding are looked upon by the North Caucasians not only as a licit occupation (as long as the victim is a stranger), but a very honourable one. Robbery is a virtue, a national virtue, and forms one of the most important subjects of the curriculum of the Caucasian school-boy.[91] Robbers of Ossetia even have a patron-saint, St. George himself (*Sau-baredzi Dzuar*, i. e., "The Saint of the Black Horseman"), whose favour must be implored, for success or failure in a raid depends entirely on him. Crime is glorified.[92] Baddeley gives us an example of how a victim once forgave a thief out of mere admiration for the skill with which the theft was committed.[93] To rob without being caught is the greatest glory of the Cherkess.[94] Among the Abadzekhs the best robber is always chosen as leader.[95] It was only in recent times that the People's Court in the district of Adighé began to condemn natives for a crime which till then had been considered a virtue—to steal from another village.[96] The Chechen children are actually drilled in stealing. When a Chechen boy is allowed to bear arms for the first time, his father pronounces the solemn words, "May they serve you on the right and wrong paths, in theft and war."[97] The ambition of the young Georgian mountaineer is none other than to become a famous robber.[98] In short, everywhere in the mountains, the boy must be taught and trained to become great, and greatness consists in raids, robbery, theft, and vengeance.[99] Of course, there is a great difference between the Caucasian robbers of today and those of half a century ago. The Cherkess, for example, are no longer so notorious as they were several decades ago. Today they are generally peaceful agriculturalists and cattle breeders.[100]

Girls are brought up by the mother, from whom they learn to cook, make clothes, embroider, work out in the field, etc.[101]

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[90] Klaproth, *Beschreibung der russischen Provinzen zwischen dem Kaspischen und Schwarzen Meer*, p. 120. What Klaproth says of the Lesghians held good for all mountaineers.

[91] Potocki, *op. cit.*, p. 153: "... dans tout le Caucase le brigandage était en honneur." See also: Ellis, *Memoir of a Map, etc.*, p. 20; Essad-Bey, *op. cit.*, p. 194; Dubrovin, *Istorija, I*, i, p. 442, ii, p. 364.

[92] Baddeley, *op. cit.*, I, p. 24.

[93] Baddeley, *op. cit.*, II, p. 114.

[94] Dubois de Montpéreux, *Voyage autour du Caucase*, I, p. 131.

[95] Pallas, *Bemerkungen auf einer Reise in d. süd. Statth. d. russ. Reiches, etc.*, I, p. 369.

[96] Ladyženskij, FT, p. 194.

[97] Essad-Bey, *op. cit.*, p. 183.

[98] Essad-Bey, *op. cit.*, p. 251.

[99] This reminds us of what Caesar had to say of the Germans, *De Bello Gallico*, vi, 23: "They do not regard it as infamous to rob others, provided that the robbery is committed outside their own land, but they actually encourage their youth to such acts, both to give them practice and to keep them busy."

[100] Ladyženskij, FT, p. 200.

[101] Ellis, *op. cit.*, p. 24.

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In our exposition of the various marriage impediments we have also described the institution called *atalyk* (*supra*, p. 57). The upper classes especially used to give their children over to foster-parents whose task it was to teach them all these things. 868

## § 8. PARENTAL OBLIGATION OF SUPPORTING THEIR CHILDREN

In patrilineal societies in which the perpetuation of the family is the greatest obligation of the individual and of the family as a whole, there is no danger that the boy will suffer any bodily need, food, clothing, shelter, unless absolutely unavoidable. But even girls are well taken care of. Even before Islamic law gave the Caucasian woman a right to a small part of the inheritance, which the *adats* excluded, female members of the family were always well provided for. After the death of the father, his obligation passed on to the oldest brother till all the sisters were married.[102] If the girl happens not to have any brothers, the obligation of support passes on to the nephews,[103] or to other relatives. 855

## § 9. PARENTAL AFFECTION FOR OFFSPRING

Much has been written about the lack of affection of North Caucasian parents for their children. In most cases, however, the authors fail to grasp the real psychology behind what seems extreme coldness and lack of parental affection. Reineggs, for example, who has given us one of the first reliable accounts of Caucasian customs, is not free from this very misunderstanding. He writes: "Er pflanzt sich tierisch fort, ohne Liebe zu kennen; er betrachtet sein Weib und seine Kinder als einen Teil seines Vermögens; er zählt sie zu seinen Herden, und bleibt, da er nur für körperliches Gefühl reizbar ist, gegen sittliche, empfundene Erfahrungen, gefällige Gunstbezeugungen ungerührt und in gleichgültiger Zufriedenheit."[104] In other words, Reineggs failed to distinguish between loving someone and manifesting this love *externally and publicly*. 855 593

The NORTHWESTERN CAUCASIANS. Longworth, speaking about the Cherkess of about a century ago, made this very distinction. He says that the father "is forbidden the slightest manifestation of tenderness" not only for his wife but also his children.[105] He does not deny the existence of tenderness but only its exteriorization and manifestation.

The NORTHEASTERN CAUCASIANS. Grabovskij mentions that an Ingush not only considers it a disgrace to carry his child in his arms or to fondle it but that he is forbidden even to mention its name before others.[106] Baddeley gives us a very fine example of how really degrading the Lesghians consider it to take their own children in their arms. "A fellow villager, Boulat-khan, had brought on himself the contempt of the men of Andee by publicly carrying his little son in his arms, a manifestation of affection so indecorous in native eyes as to imply

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[102] Leontovič, II, p. 246, § 107; II, p. 97. Berže, Čečnja i Čečency, p. 97.
[103] Leontovič, II, p. 177, § 178 (in regard to the Ingushi).
[104] Reineggs, *Allgemeine hist.-topograph. Beschreibung des Kaukasus*, Vorrede, p. viii.
[105] *A Year among the Circassians*, I, p. 285.
[106] "Inguli, ich žizn i obyčaj," SSKG, IX (1876), p. 49.

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from the District Courts' decisions could be taken to the 631
Supreme Court at Tiflis, and from that to Peters- 692
burg. The Courts were accessible and cheap, and there was no discrimination between Russian subjects and foreigners in legal proceedings; but judgements given in Russian Courts had no effect in England, nor decisions obtained in England in Russia.

The Cossack communities are divided into *stanitzas* 631
or villages, each *stanitza* having an elected assembly of 563
30 members; in populous *stanitzas* one man is elected from every ten households. These assemblies have wider powers than the usual *mir* or commune, viz. division of land, assessment of taxes, regulation of schools, grain stores, cultivation, &c., and the election of elders (*ataman*) and judges.

When the Revolution occurred in 1917, the Viceroy was recalled, and the various nationalities in the Caucasus arranged representative National Assemblies; but, as chaos in the Empire increased, relations were broken off with the Central Government. A separate [612]
Transcaucasian Republic was formed, in the Government of which Armenians, Tatars, and Georgians were equally represented; and another new state called the Republic of Daghestan, under the presidency of a Lesghian of the Mohammedan faith, also emerged. The Cossacks, however, remained aloof.

## (3) Educational

Public education was in the hands of the State, or was 871
directly controlled by it. The number of persons able [212]
to read or write in the Caucasus in 1912 was only 17 per cent., and the percentage of schools to the population was very low. Some progress was made in the provision of instruction during 1912 and 1913, but the outbreak of war hindered the completion of the various schemes put forward, in particular by the towns of Anapa, Novorossiisk, Yeisk, Temryuk, Maikop, Grozni, Georgievsk, Pyatigorsk, and Stavropol in

3: Anonymous U-4 (no date) 1920 RH1 Caucasia RH1



871 Ciscaucasia, and Tiflis and Baku in Transcaucasia. In 1913, 3,665 elementary schools were open, and this number was to be increased to 4,220. Secondary or middle schools, divided into Realgymnasia, Gymnasia, and Progymnasia, were also on the increase. The Province of Kuban had the largest number of secondary schools (27), and the Province of Kars the lowest (2). Schools and institutes for the training of teachers were on the increase, and the Polytechnic Institution in contemplation at Tiflis was to embrace agricultural, chemical, economic, and mechanical sections. £210,512 had been collected for this purpose, of which Baku had contributed £42,105, with the petition that a mining section should be added. The Board of Education in 1913 granted permits for 57 new private schools, of which about 234 existed. Movable summer schools for the education of the nomad tribes were attempted for the first time in 1913 in the Governments of Erivan and Kutais. The industrial schools included 22 secondary and lower-grade technical schools, 5 trade schools, 14 lower-grade trade schools, and 3 charitable trade schools.

## GENERAL OBSERVATIONS

181 For nearly a century this region, inhabited by small nationalities of pronounced racial feelings and varied religions, has been welded together by the constraining force of a single dominant power.

The Mohammedan hill-tribes, conquered by superior force, unprogressive, brave, and violent by nature, valued their lost independence more than the peace which Russia's strong hand and impartial justice secured. The Christians, on the other hand, at first grateful for the protection afforded them, began, with increased education and a higher standard of living, to resent the effects of autocratic government and the cramping economic conditions.

The disturbances of 1902–5, though they were

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565 had the right to change masters, and who were protected against arbitrary sale; and the slaves, who were for the most part prisoners of war. Very definite laws regulated the rights and duties of the various castes, and intermarriage was forbidden. On the other hand the princes[1] exercised little real [642] authority; leadership in war was not an hereditary right, but leaders were elected from the families of the princes and nobles by a popular assembly of the four highest classes; while judges were nominated by popular vote, with powers only for a single day.

181 The social organisation of the Cherkesses was in many respects anarchical, for not only was every tribe independent, 871 but every noble's household within each tribe. Nevertheless the general conduct of the people was subject to a series of established customs, based on primitive conceptions of chivalry, respect for age, hospitality and blood-vengeance. The sons of nobles were educated in a long and difficult course of knightly training by cadet members of other noble families, who stood in the joint relation to them of tutor and blood-brother. The women had few rights, but the rights of protection by their fathers and husbands were very clearly defined.

101 The eastern tribes occupied the country between the Daryal and the Caspian littoral, and from the right bank of the Terek to the hills overlooking the valleys of the Alazan and the Kur. On the north, inhabiting the highlands of the Terek, the Sunja and the Argun, were the various tribes of Chechens, and the lesser related tribes of the Ingushes, the Kists, the Itskheris and the Galgais. Segregated in unapproachable villages (*auls*) in the depths of primæval beech-forests, the Chechens had a culture which was far less developed than that of the Cherkesses. They had no class system, and lived together in small anarchical communities.

South-east of the Chechens were the powerful Lesghian [633] tribes, scattered over Daghestan ("The Mountain Country"), which formed an elevated table-land through which innumerable rivers had cut channels to a depth frequently of thousands of feet, the whole being backed and ribbed south and west by mountain chains with several peaks over 13,000 feet in height. The principal Lesghian tribes were the Kubachins and Darghis on the north-east, bordering the Chechen country, the Kazi-Kumukhs of the central plateau, the Kurins and Tabasserans of the south-east, overlooking the Tatar lowlands of Shirvan, and the Avars, Andis and Didos on the west, bordering on Kakhetia.

1 [of the Cherkess--Analyst]

# EDUCATIONAL PRACTICES

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military career, as the qualities required there were most in conformity with the ideals handed down by native tradition.

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Among the higher classes in the N. W. Caucasus, the usage was to have their children brought up in a family of a lower class; this custom also existed among Western Georgian nobles in imitation of Circassian usage. Even before the birth of the child the aspirants vied with each other for the honor of being its atalyk (foster parent). The atalyk acquired all the rights of blood relationship; the ward upon completion of his education was naturally more attached to his foster parents than to his own, and could be counted on to avenge any harm done to his educators.

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indeed love my mother; but I must also punish the person who suggested surrender. Take my mother therefore, and punish her, punish her with one stroke and give me the remaining 39." This is a story every North Caucasian Mohammedan has heard again and again. 888 593

## § 7. EDUCATION

With the coming of Mohammedanism the method of education in the Caucasus was revolutionized. In many places throughout North Caucasus and especially in Daghestan, a new educator was introduced, the mullah. Till then, the *home* was the only "school" and the parents (or foster-parents) the only educators.[80] The subject matter of these Mohammedan schools[81] was, as usual, limited to the study of Arabic and the Koran and Islamic tradition, at times taught by very poorly educated mullahs.[82] 871 [875]

The second important innovation came with the Russians,[83] but especially with the Soviets. Only the Georgians, Armenians, and Azerbaijani had an alphabet in pre-Soviet times.[84] The Soviets immediately realized the necessity of an alphabet for each language, without which the spread of Marxism would be impossible. In 1928 about 40 per cent of the Chechens received formal schooling, while only a very few isolated mountain villages had no school at all.[85] In the mountain of Daghestan the illiteracy is still very great. According to statistics of 1926 only about 10 per cent of the men and 1 per cent of the women can read. Nevertheless, it cannot be denied that progress has been made among these mountain peoples too.[86] Today there are enough Lesghians who are able to read to make Russian, Kumykian, Lak, and Avarian newspapers possible.[87] The Lesghian children receive instructions in their mother-tongue only in the first two years at school; after that they must learn either Kumykian or Russian. In secondary schools both languages are obligatory.[88] 212 191

As for home education, a few general remarks will suffice. The education of little children and of all unmarried girls is the task of the mother; the education of the boys is the task of the father.[89] The little children are told to behave 868

[80] Cf. K. N. Rossikov, "Poězdka v Čečnju i Nagornyj Dagestan," ZKO, XIII (1884), p. 249.

[81] A. Zacharov, "Narodnoe obučenie u Zakavkazskich Tatar," SMOMPK, IX (1890), No. 2, pp. 7—51; Mir-Galim-bek Vezirov, "O Tatarskich Školach," SMOMPK, IX (1890), No. 2, pp. 1—6; A. Omarov, "Vospominanija mutasallima," SSKG, I, pp. 13—20; II, pp. 46—70.

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[84] Of course some attempts had been made before the Revolution. Fifteen years after the Revolution all North Caucasians had a written language. The Latin script was used as foundation for the Cherkess, Abaz, Chechen, Karachai, Balkarian, Avar, Dargwa, Kurin, Lak, Tabassaran, Kumykian, Nogai, and Tat languages. Cf. G. P. Serdjučenko, "Jazyki Severnogo Kavkaza i Dagestana," *Sbornik lingvističeskich issledovanij*, Moscow-Leningrad, 1935, p. 7.

[85] Plätschke, *Die Tschetschenen*, p. vii.

[86] R. Kherumian, "Contribution à l'Anthropologie du Caucase," *L'Anthropologie*, LII (1948), No. 1—2, p. 44.

[87] Nansen, *op. cit.*, p. 98.

[88] *ibid.*

[89] Ladyženskij, FT, p. 200.

8: Lužbetak E-4 (no date) 1951 RHl Caucasia RHl



-177.87
●871
184

Speaking of Russian influence, we must emphasize that nothing tends to unify the marriage and family observances among the mountaineers as much as formal education, formal Russian, and especially Soviet education (*supra*, p. 147).

Russian influence and the consequent change in customary marriage and family law (and we may include changes in Islamic law) are most strongly felt near and in large Russian cities like Grozny, along the coast of the Black and Caspian Sea, and, in general, wherever industrialization is making great strides. It is more strongly felt in the lowlands, less in the highlands, and only slightly in isolated villages.

## 2. Islamic Influence

177.58
58

Going somewhat deeper into history, we find a second principle, changing and unifying the customary law of the various mountain peoples of Caucasia, Islamic law, known as the *šarî'a*.

(1) A number of *marriage impediments*, e. g., the "waiting period," the impediment of relationship by milk, etc. have either been introduced by Mohammedan missionaries or, at least, greatly modified by Islamic law (pp. 55, 66, 69).

(2) We have observed in not a few instances a conflict between the native *adats* and the *šarî'a*, e. g., the struggle between *obligatory levirate* and Islamic optional levirate (*supra*, p. 73).

(3) Non-virgins are sometimes given *freedom of choice* in mating (*supra*, pp. 78 f), while virgins are not, a practice in full accord with the teaching of the Šâfi'itic School.

(4) Thanks to Islamic influence, genuine *bride price* has throughout North Caucasus tended to become a form of dowry, called *kebin* (*supra*, p. 90).

(5) Penalties for *abduction* (*supra*, pp. 92—96),

(6) *the strict separation of sexes* (*supra*, pp. 106 f, 166),

(7) some *birth* customs, such as, naming of children, etc. (*supra*, pp. 142 f),

(8) some *engagement observances* (*supra*, pp. 100—110),

(9) some *divorce* laws (*supra*, pp. 133—137),

(10) *husband-wife relations* (*supra*, pp. 152—156),

(11) *parent-child relations* (*supra*, pp. 138—149, 187),

(12) certain *penal laws* for sexual offenses (*supra*, p. 171),

(13) *slavery* (*supra*, p. 65),

(14) and the general improvement in the *relative position of sexes*, e. g., acquisition of inheritance rights in Kabardia and Ossetia,[1] the *kebin*, and others—

all have been greatly modified by Islamic law. The *šarî'a* is doubtless one of the main unifyng principles in the marriage and family laws of the Caucasians.

However, the strength of this influence and the opposition against it have not been the same everywhere. Islamism has had very little influence on the marriage and family of the Southern Caucasians, except, of course, in Sakataly

[1] Ladyženskij, "Zur Erforschung der Rechtsgewohnheiten der Bergvölker des Kaukasus," *Zeitsch. f. Ethnologie*, XLII (1930), p. 241.

[Sic — Analyst]

21: Kolarz J-4 (no date) 1952 R1 Soviet Union
[Chechen-Ingush] Caucasia RH1



Chechens. They at first accepted the leadership of the Sheikh Uzun 669
Hadji who proclaimed himself Imam and Emir of the Northern Caucasus. The Emir was the ally of the communists in the struggle against the White Guards of General Denikin. Having vanquished the White armies, the Bolsheviks dropped the Imam, but they were unable to cope with Chechen nationalism. The Chechens demanded the expulsion of all Russians who in the course of the last century had settled in their 'living space'. Pending a positive answer to this request Chechen nationalist bands terrorized the Russian population of the area beyond endurance. In the early twenties the Russian settlers in Chechenia sent a complaint to Moscow on account of the endless raids and murders perpetrated by Chechen bands, and petitioned that they be disarmed. Mikhail Kalinin went personally to the Caucasus and attempted to calm down both Russians and Chechens. With carefully chosen words he tried to persuade them to live together in peace, to intermarry and to respect each other's customs.[6]

Whilst in consequence of Kalinin's personal intervention banditry 668
stopped in Chechenia, it would seem that Moslem opposition to the Soviet régime was never quite suppressed. In 1931 the little country still had 2,675 mosques and Arab schools, as well as 1,250 mullahs, 34 sheikhs and 250 religious elders. The mullahs who were powerful opponents of the Soviet régime even managed to keep alive the illegal Shariah courts which were camouflaged as 'reconciliation commissions'. [692]

The hostile attitude of the Chechens towards the Soviet Russian régime was often manifested in the readiness to credit the most fantastic anti-Russian rumours. Thus, in the early thirties, there existed a widespread belief that Kunta Hadji – the head of a popular Moslem sect who [795]
had died at the end of the nineteenth century – was still alive and was soon to return to Chechenia, where he would found a State based on Moslem religious law. Apparently the Chechens did not differentiate between Czarist and Bolshevik Russia in their hopes that Kunta Hadji would appear as Messiah, for it was he who had led them in the risings against Czarism in 1864 and 1877, for which he was exiled to Novgorod.

The Ingush, whose fate Soviet policy had coupled with that of the 771
Chechens, showed themselves no less loyal to Islam. A delegate who 871
represented Ingushetia at the 'Second All-Union Conference of Godless Pedagogists' in 1931, stated that the influence of the Moslem clergy was still so strong among the Ingush that children refused to learn from books which they believed to be anti-religious. Whenever a teacher tried to introduce anti-religious propaganda he encountered a hostile attitude among school children and there were cases in which teachers had even to leave the school for having criticized Islam. The work of the secular Soviet schools, where the children were taught in the winter, was counteracted by the Moslem schools where the young Ingush would learn

Ca 771 during the summer holidays all that the Soviet authorities wished them
● [370] to disregard. A number of Ingush party and Communist Youth League members, instead of working against the influence of religion, used themselves to go to the mosques to pray.[7]

Ca 447 The difficulties existing between the Soviet authorities and the Chech-
191 ens and Ingush were not exclusively due to the Bolshevik failure to understand the importance of the religious factor in the life of the mountaineers. There were also extraordinary difficulties of a technical nature, due to the fact that the directives of the central administration were issued in the Russian language and therefore did not reach the Chechen-Ingush masses. Being unable fully to understand the orders received, the local Soviet organs either could not carry them out, or falsified the decisions of the party and of the administration.[8]

## GROZNY – THE OIL CITY

Ca 178 It was the tremendous dead weight of the predominantly Russian capital of Chechenia that prevented the implementation of any genuine Chechen autonomy and finally spelled the doom of the Chechen people. The actual liquidation of the Chechens would probably not have occurred had not the largest town in their homeland become an oil city, and indeed, one of the most important oil centres of the U.S.S.R.

Ca 315 This oil city had developed out of the little fortress of Grozny. Al-
S.U. 315 though Grozny oilfields had been discovered as early as 1833, they were hardly exploited at all in the nineteenth century. In 1912, however, they already supplied 11·5 per cent of the entire Russian oil. Between 1913 and 1917 this figure had risen to 16·7 per cent, and in the following four years to nearly 25 per cent. By 1937 the proportion of Grozny oil to total Russian oil production had fallen to 9·25 per cent, but in terms of absolute figures this output represented an increase of 234 per cent,
Ca compared to that before the First World War. The development of
361 Grozny as an oil centre made for an increase of the population on an
162 'American scale'. In 1890 the place had no more than 6,000 inhabitants, against 34,067 in 1913, 97,095 in 1926 and 172,468 in 1939. It need hardly be added that the Chechens and Ingush, peoples consisting of shepherds and peasants, could not contribute anything worth mentioning to the rise of the town which was styled, almost ironically, 'Capital of the Chechen-Ingush A.S.S.R.'. Among the oilworkers of Grozny there were probably at no time more than one-tenth of 'natives', and until 1936 there were but 9·7 per cent.

Ca Unlike so many cities in the Soviet Union, Grozny never changed its
177 name under the Soviet régime, despite the imperialistic history connected
S.U. with it. As a matter of fact, it was the Soviet oil city of Grozny which
583 spelled the doom of the Chechens and not the little fortress which

7 [Cf. category 116, pp. 186-188, R1 Sov. Union; 21: Kolarz--Analyst]
8 [Cf. category 116, p. 186, R1 Sov. Union; 21: Kolarz--Analyst]

21: Kolarz J-4 (no date) 1952 R1 Soviet Union R1
[Kabardin] Caucasia RH 1



S.U. 563 634 687

achieved a dual purpose. In addition to punishing the Balkars it served as a warning for the Kabardinians, who from then on hastened to express their loyalty towards Soviet Russia in a very demonstrative, even effusive, way.

Ca. 177.81 814 S.U. 563 814

After the war the Soviet authorities found it advisable to provide for the Kabardinians, as a means of strengthening their allegiance to the Soviet State, a clear conception of history which would unequivocally show that the Russians had always been the protectors of the Kabardinian people. The task of formulating the details of this conception was assigned to the 'Kabardinian Research Institute', whose headquarters are in Nalchik, the capital of the Kabardinian A.S.S.R. The new conception implied the 'official recognition' of Temryuk Idarovich as the national hero of Kabarda. Kabardinian children are expected to look up to Temryuk with the same awe as Russian boys and girls to Peter the Great or Suvorov. According to the new official thesis Temryuk, a Kabardinian prince who lived around 1550, 'endeavoured to build up a strong centralized State able to resist Turkish and Crimean Tartar oppressors'. Temryuk had realized that the Kabardinians were incapable of withstanding their enemies if they were to rely on their own forces only; establishment of close contacts with Muscovy was therefore the only wise Kabardinian policy.[15]

It is the same story which is told with some variation to all the peoples of the Soviet Union in all their many languages. There is always a grain of truth in the story, but never the entire truth, since history is not so simple and so clear-cut that it would fit the purposes of a one-sided propaganda. It is a historical fact that Temryuk asked Ivan the Terrible for protection and even gave him his daughter for wife. Originally, in the days of greater internationalism, Soviet historians failed to stress this fact, and laid more emphasis on the slave trade in which the Kabardinian feudal lords had engaged with the Crimean Tartar Khanate. However, since events had proved the necessity of increasing the attachment and loyalty of the Kabardinians to the Russians and the Soviet State, Temryuk had to be brought to the forefront of Kabardinian history.

Ca. 177.53 538 Ca. 871 191

Kabardinian post-war literature also pursued the aim of re-educating the Kabardinian people. The central theme of the first Kabardinian literary almanac consisted in showing that it was 'the friendship with the Russian people that led the Kabardinians towards a better life.'[16]

While a great deal was done for 're-education' in the sense required by the Russians, education as such had been neglected during the first post-war years, at least as far as the Kabardinian language was concerned. The so-called 'national' schools in the Kabardinian A.S.S.R. were Kabardinian in the first four forms only; from the fifth form onwards teaching was in the Russian language exclusively. The Central Committee of the All-Union Communist Party issued in 1948 a state-

ment on 'serious shortcomings and mistakes' committed in Kabarda in 871
the field of national policy. It stressed that conditions in Kabardinian 191
education were in conflict with the constitution of the A.S.S.R., which stipulated the right of the Kabardinian people to schools in their own language.

Although the Kabardinians are by far more numerous and advanced 875
than the peoples of the Soviet Far North, they suffer from the same acute shortage of national teaching-personnel which has been fatal to the national culture of many a minor Soviet nationality. Thus in 1948, the Kabardinian teachers' training college at Nalchik had but fifty-six Kabardinians out of a total of 559 students.[17]

It is to be expected that the survival of a truly Kabardinian culture 167
and Kabardinian language will become even more remote with the 162
increasing pressure of Slav colonization. Between 1926 and 1935 alone the number of Russians and Ukrainians in the Kabardinian A.S.S.R. more than doubled; it increased from about 37,000 to 93,000. This increase was partly due to immigration, partly to the inclusion in Kabarda of a number of Cossack villages in 1932. After the war the numerical relation between 'natives' and colonists changed to the detriment of the former, owing to the forcible departure of the Balkars.* Moreover more Russian colonists came into the country to staff new factories springing up around Nalchik.

* [Cf. category 631, p. 83 - -Analyst]

THE CIRCASSIANS – A RESERVE OF SOVIET MIDDLE EAST POLICY

For the benefit of the remnants of the Circassian people, the Soviet 631
Government set up two Autonomous Provinces in the western part of 162
the North Caucasus area; the Cherkess Province in the Caucasus foothills and the Adyge Province in the Kuban plain.

Surrounded as they are on all sides by Russian territories these two national units have little chance of long-term survival. This applies in particular to the Adyge Province, whose capital – Maikop – used to be [361]
the third largest Russian oil centre after Baku and Grozny, before the development of the 'second Baku' between the Volga and the Urals.

Originally, Maikop was not included in the Adyge Province, which had a small Adyge majority in its initial stage (55·7 per cent various branches of Adyge, 42·7 per cent Russians and Ukrainians, and the rest made up of other Europeans and Armenians). The size of the Province was increased, however, before the war and the Adyge thus found themselves in the position of a minority. In 1930 the Adyge Province [441]
won doubtful 'fame' owing to its extraordinarily high percentage of disfranchized people. This was due to the arbitrary action of the local Soviet authorities, who had indiscriminately interpreted the terms of 'kulak', 'capitalist' and 'reactionary' with the result that 12 per cent of the entire adult population of the Province were deprived of their civic rights. — * [Cf. cat. 116, p. 182, R1 Sov. Union-Analyst]

C: A: 793 deputy in Erivan, and the latter in turn has imams under him in communities where Azer-
C: A: 874 baijanis are numerous. Of course there are no medressehs (religious schools), and these communities must depend on the recently re-opened medresseh in Baku for their future spiritual leaders. Thus even the largest and the most numerous minority group in Soviet Armenia probably does not have freedom to attend to its spiritual needs.

C: A: 795 659 The case of the Armenian Church is naturally quite different. As was stated earlier, the Church had been the principal national institutions from the very beginning, and continued as such throughout the checkered history of the Armenian people. It served the people supremely well in dispersion, and in their dire need of spiritual sustenance. Before its authority was undermined and practically shattered by the Soviet regime the Church was a most powerful force in the life of Armenian communities. It has become the beneficiary of considerable wealth, largely through bequests and gifts, and had used that wealth for the education of religious and lay leaders. In this respect the Church was practically the sole organizer and supervisor of the educational system prevailing in Armenian communities. With the advent of the new regime, and the separation of schools from the Church, the whole fabric of the old educational system crumbled. And by confiscating all Church property and thus depriving the

7: Columbia U. S-4, 5 1956 RHl Caucasia
RHl

533 1 Arakishvili (Arakchiev) Dmitrii Ignat'evich, 1873- Georgian composer; people's artist of Georgia. Studied in Moscow. Wrote: Gruz narodnoe muzik, tvorchestvo, 1916. Composed first Georgian opera: Skazanie o Shota Rustaveli, 1914; with slight changes the opera appeared first in 1919 and them with Shanshiashvili libretto in 1947.

BE II 2:607-8;13:91

538 2 Arzai (pseud. of Movses Arutiunian) 1878 - Founder of proletarian prose in pre revolutionary Armenia. Wrote: Solntse, 1913. Skazka, Nedostroennyi dom, 1913. Good short-story writer: Ogni, Tovarishch Mukuch Tysiachegolov

BE II 2:606

875 1 646 Ardzinba, Grigorii Shagovich Abkhaz. deputy to Sov. Nats. VS SSSR, 4. sozyv, 1954. Born in Duripsh, 1919- Teacher; deputy to VS SSSR 1-3. sozyv.

Bak. Rab. 3/18/54

532 2 Artsatbanian, V. G. Armenian painter 20th c.

BE II 3:90

7:Columbia U. S-4,5 1956 RH1 Caucasia
RH1

875 1 Burchuladze, E. E.
Rector of Tiflis Univ. im. Stalina, 1954.

Zar. Vost. 2/18/54

646 1 Burchuladze, Mariia Ivlianovna
Adzhar. deputy Sov. Nats. VS SSSR 4. sozyv, 1954

Bak. Rab. 3/18/54

1 Burdzhanadze, Magdana Davidovna
Deputy to Sov. Nats. VS SSSR (4. s'ezd) 1954

Bak. Rab. 2/19/54

535 1 Chabukiani, Vakhtang Mikhailovich
Stalin prize 2. class, 1950
Choreographer of ballet Gorda, performed in Gruz. gos. teatr opery i baleta im. Paliashvili.

Laur. Stalin. prem. 1950
p. 81

759 1 Chachava, Mikhail Konstantinovich
646 Adzhar. deputy Sov. Nats. VS SSSR 4. sozyv, 1954. Born in Lanchkhuti 1902- Military physician; since 1930 surgeon in Tiflis. No party affiliation

Bak. Rab. 3/18/54
Zar. Vost. 2/13/54

665 3 Kerimova, Z. A.
CC CP Azerb. SSR, 20. s'ezd, 1954

538 5 Keshokov, A.
1914-
Kabardian author; wrote poem
U podnozh'ia gor, 1941

BE II 19:216

815 875 646 1 Ketskhoveli, Nikolai Nikolaevich
1897-. Botanist; member of Akad. nauk Gruz. SSR since 1941; rector of Tiflis univ. since 1945. Collected material on Georgian forests. Published: Atlas kul'turnoi flory Gruzii, Flora Gruzii. Deputy to VS SSR I. 3. sozyv. Head of agricult. div. Akad. nauk Gruz. SSR.

BE II 20:578
Zar. Vost. 2/17/54

645 1 Ketsoveli, Z. N.
Minister of food industry Gruz. SSR, 1954.

Zar. Vost. 2/17/54

533 2 Khachaturian, Aram Il'ich
1904-, Tiflis. Finished conservatory in Moscow 1934. Began with

7: Columbia U.S-4, 5 1956 RHI Caucasia RHI

875
1 Melikishvili, P. G. 1850-1927
1st rector of Tbilisi university.

BE II 13:70

665
2 Melkonian, G.O.
Member of CC CP Arm. SSR, 17.-18. s'ezd, 1954, 1956.

Kom. Er. 1/22/56

2 Melkumian, S. A.
Member CC CP Arm. SSR, 17.-18. s'ezd, 1954, 1956.

Kom. Er. 1/22/56

2 Meloian, A. M.
Member CC CP Arm. SSR, 17.-18. s'ezd, 1954, 1956.

Kom. Er. 1/22/56

532
1 Merabishvili, Konstantin Mikhailovich, 1906-sculptor; in 1930 finished Tiflis art academy, studied under Nikoladze. Did bust of Stalin in 1936, also the Rustaveli moument in Tiflis, for which he rec'd Stalin prize in 1943. Did monuments to Eristavi in Gori 1950. Teaches now.

BE II 27:164

7: Columbia U. S-4,5 1956 RHl Caucasia
RHl

533 2 Petrosian, Avak Gegamovich
Stalin prize 3. class, 1950 for performing in opera Geroinia.

Laur. Stalin. prem. 1950
p. 80

646
665 2 Petrosian, Garegin Bakhshievich
815
875
Deputy Sov. Nats. VS SSSR, 4 sozyv, 1954. Member CC CP Arm. SSR, 17.-18. s'ezd, 1954, 1956. Rector of Erevan univ. since 1949. Physicist-mathematician; wrote Matematika v drevnei i srednevekov. Armenii.

Kom. Er. 3/19/54, 1/22/56, 2/27/54

815 2 Piotrovskii, Boris Borisovich, 1908-
Chlen-korrespondent Akad. nauk. Arm. SSSR (1945). Archeologist. Specialist on Zakavkaze. 1930 Archeological research in Teishebiani on hill Karmir-Blur near Erevan, and contributes source material on history of Urartu state 6-8 c. BC. 1946 Stalin prize. Interested in Scythian problem and origin of Armenians.

BE I 3:80, BE II 33:58

8: Lužbetak E-4 (no date) 1951 RH1 Caucasia RH1



indeed love my mother; but I must also punish the person who suggested 888
surrender. Take my mother therefore, and punish her, punish her with one 593
stroke and give me the remaining 39." This is a story every North Caucasian Mohammedan has heard again and again.

## § 7. EDUCATION

With the coming of Mohammedanism the method of education in the Cau- 871
casus was revolutionized. In many places throughout North Caucasus and [875]
especially in Daghestan, a new educator was introduced, the mullah. Till then, the *home* was the only "school" and the parents (or foster-parents) the only educators.[80] The subject matter of these Mohammedan schools[81] was, as usual, limited to the study of Arabic and the Koran and Islamic tradition, at times taught by very poorly educated mullahs.[82]

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[81] A. Zacharov, "Narodnoe obučenie u Zakavkazskich Tatar," SMOMPK, IX (1890), No. 2, pp. 7—51; Mir-Galim-bek Vezirov, "O Tatarskich Školach," SMOMPK, IX (1890), No. 2, pp. 1—6; A. Omarov, "Vospominanija mutaallima," SSKG, I, pp. 13—20; II, pp. 46—70.

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[85] Plätschke, *Die Tschetschenen*, p. vii.

[86] R. Kherumian, "Contribution à l'Anthropologie du Caucase," *L'Anthropologie*, LII (1948), No. 1—2, p. 44.

[87] Nansen, *op. cit.*, p. 98.

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Surrounded as they are on all sides by Russian territories these two national units have little chance of long-term survival. This applies in particular to the Adyge Province, whose capital – Maikop – used to be [361]
the third largest Russian oil centre after Baku and Grozny, before the development of the 'second Baku' between the Volga and the Urals.

Originally, Maikop was not included in the Adyge Province, which had a small Adyge majority in its initial stage (55·7 per cent various branches of Adyge, 42·7 per cent Russians and Ukrainians, and the rest made up of other Europeans and Armenians). The size of the Province was increased, however, before the war and the Adyge thus found themselves in the position of a minority. In 1930 the Adyge Province [441]
won doubtful 'fame' owing to its extraordinarily high percentage of disfranchized people. This was due to the arbitrary action of the local Soviet authorities, who had indiscriminately interpreted the terms of 'kulak', 'capitalist' and 'reactionary' with the result that 12 per cent of the entire adult population of the Province were deprived of their civic rights. — * [Cf. Cat. 116, p. 182/R1 Sov. Union-Analyst]

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of raids and robberies. Girls are useless in these tasks, whereas, in this struggle for existence, every additional boy means greater security and prestige. 842 628

In conclusion, we may ask ourselves, just why should the *adats* prohibit the manifestation of one's affection for a child. The reason behind this customary law seems to be founded not so much on a father-child relation as on the male-female relation of the Caucasian society. If a father were to show his affection for his child, were he to fondle and carry it, he would be imitating a *woman*, and that would be a terrible degradation! This degradation will be better understood in the following chapter. This rule to my mind is linked up with the low position of the female sex. Just as a man may never do a task that is established by the *adats* as a task exclusively for women, e. g., milk cows, fetch water, gather wood, so a man may never carry, fondle, or rock his child. Čursin seems to be of the same opinion. He says that the Ossetes would call such a man by a very insulting name, "baba," that is, "old lady," if he would ever dare to milk a cow or look after children.[111] We wish to stress two facts: first of all, it is not a lack of affection for one's child that is prohibited, as we have said, but the *manifestation* of that love; and secondly, the manifestation of love is forbidden simply out of fear of being considered an "old lady," a woman! 562 885 593

[111] G. F. Čursin, *Osetini, etnografičeskij očerk*, p. 39.

has (or at least has had) the same significance among all North Caucasian mountain tribes, the explorers pass over the relation between birth and the fire-place without a single word. This may be a serious oversight. 851

## § 6. RESPECT OF CHILDREN FOR THEIR ELDERS

The NORTHWESTERNERS. The *adats* inform us that the children have a strict obligation of acknowledging the authority of their father. They must respect him and carry out all his commands. To disobey him or even to oppose his wishes would be, "according to customary law, the greatest abomination, and according to Islamic law, the greatest of sins."[68] This respect must continue even when old-age renders their parents helpless. When a joint-family is divided, the sons must set aside a definite amount of property for the support of their parents and for their funeral.[69] The sons have the strict obligation of erecting a tombstone for their parents. The *adats* also demand that Rs. 300 should be set aside for an elaborate funeral feast. Formerly such feasts would often bring complete financial ruin to the family.[70] This great respect for parents is extended to elders in general, and especially to elder brothers.[71] 593 [888] [737] [765]

The NORTHEASTERN CAUCASIANS. The Lesghians show an unusually great respect for their parents.[72] If the children fail to care for their aged parents, they may be summoned before the *kâḍî*, who will force them to do so.[73] Some excellent examples of this deep respect can be found in the official criminological reports of Kaitago-Tabassaran. "On August 3, 1869, a native of the village of Myura, Kaitago-Tabassaran, Mahomet Omar, after having been scolded by his mother for laziness shot himself."[74] Or again, "On October 2, 1869, a native of the *aul* of Kulidzha, Kaitago-Tabassaran, Ali-bek Salig, quarreled with his son, Murtuzali. After some time his son returned to his father and begged forgiveness. His father, however, refused to listen to his son's repentent words, coldly showing him the door and telling him never to return again. On hearing these words, Murtuzali took out his pistol and shot himself. His father, on seeing that he was the cause of his son's grief and death, took his own life by falling on his *kinjal*."[75] 593 762 888

The reports concerning the Avars being contradictory demand special attention. Some claim that the Avars have just as much respect for their elders as do the other Lesghians. If a son is unable to fulfill the wishes of his father,

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[68] Leontovič, II, p. 250, § 134.

[69] Ladyzenskij, FT, p. 206.

[70] Ladyzenskij, FT, p. 208.

[71] Dubrovin, *Istorija*, I, i, p. 169.

[72] Dubrovin, *Istorija*, I, i, p. 441 is certainly exaggerating when he says that the Chechens "deny their mothers even the respect Nature has implanted in the hearts of all men." This very sentence has been copied and re-copied from the *adat* collections by a number of pre-Soviet authors without inquiring into the reliability of the report. Svěčin, *op. cit.*, pp. 61 f, regarding Lesghians.

[73] Kovalevskij, *Zakon*, II, p. 203. For details regarding the kind of support demanded by the *šari'a* in Dargwa, see Kovalevskij, *op. cit.*, pp. 203 f.

[74] "Iz gorskoj kriminalistiki," SSKG, III (1870), p. 7.

[75] "Iz gorskoj kriminalistiki," p. 8.

888 he may become so disheartened that he may even commit suicide as a result.[76]
593 L'vov, on the contrary, says that once the parents become old, they are no longer
[162] respected. In fact, their sons and daughters become very disrespectful, even refusing to sit at the same table with them. The aged mother must suffer from this ingratitude most of all.[77] The correct explanation for the attitude of the Avars toward their aged parents is that as long as the children are still economically and administratively subject to the father of the household, whether the sons have their own families or not, they have unusually great respect for them; but as soon as the joint-family breaks up, this respect diminishes to an astounding degree.

The neighbouring mountain tribes of GEORGIA show great deference toward their elders too.[78]

The OSSETES have an adage which clearly conveys their attitude toward elders. As Kovalevskij's translation has it, "*Que le taureau boive de l'eau, disent-ils, et que le veau lèche la glace.*" In other words, the Ossete is convinced that "the best morsels are always for the elders."[79]

The great reverence shown toward the father of the family (individual or joint-family) throughout the North Caucasus is to be expected, for the mountaineers are (or have been) strictly patriarchal. Moreover, being family-worshippers, they revere not only their departed (ancestors) but also their living parents, for to both the family owes its existence. Mohammedanism too has encouraged love and respect for one's mother, and not without success. There is a beautiful story told of the Caucasian prophet, Shamyl. The Chechens had been fighting desperately against the "infidels." To continue the battle was futile. They therefore sent a messenger to Shamyl, asking permission to capitulate, but Shamyl answered, "It is not lawful for the children of Allah to compromise with the infidels." The Chechens realized that to continue would mean complete annihilation. Nevertheless, the Chechens continued to fight, bleed, and die. They again appealed to Shamyl, but in vain, for "Allah's words are unchangeable." Realizing that Shamyl never had refused his mother any request, they turned to her. When she approached her son, Shamyl at first listened, then grew pale and speechless. Allah demands that a son should never refuse his mother anything, but on the other hand, He says, "Compromise not with the infidels. Whoever dares to suggest such a perfidious thing shall receive 40 strokes." Shamyl loved his mother and he loved Allah's precepts. Should he now condemn his mother to 40 strokes? He was greatly perplexed. For three days and three nights he prayed and fasted in the hope that Allah would come to his assistance and enlighten him. When he finally came out of the mosque, pale and feeble, he said slowly, "Allah has spoken. His words are unchangeable. The Chechens must continue to fight to the last man; I must

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[76] Hahn, "Poselestvie v Kachetiju i Dagestan (leton 1898 goda), SMOMPK, XXXI (1902), No. 2, p. 94.

[77] "Domašnjaja i semejnaja žizn Dagestanskich gorcev Avarskago plemeni," SSKG, III (1870), pp. 17 f.

[78] For example, the Khevsurs (Cf. Hahn, *Bilder aus dem Kaukasus*, p. 81).

[79] Kovalevskij, *Coutume contemp.*, p. 192, note 2.

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indeed love my mother; but I must also punish the person who suggested surrender. Take my mother therefore, and punish her, punish her with one stroke and give me the remaining 39." This is a story every North Caucasian Mohammedan has heard again and again. 888 593

## § 7. EDUCATION

With the coming of Mohammedanism the method of education in the Caucasus was revolutionized. In many places throughout North Caucasus and especially in Daghestan, a new educator was introduced, the mullah. Till then, the *home* was the only "school" and the parents (or foster-parents) the only educators.[80] The subject matter of these Mohammedan schools[81] was, as usual, limited to the study of Arabic and the Koran and Islamic tradition, at times taught by very poorly educated mullahs.[82] 871 [875]

The second important innovation came with the Russians,[83] but especially with the Soviets. Only the Georgians, Armenians, and Azerbaijani had an alphabet in pre-Soviet times.[84] The Soviets immediately realized the necessity of an alphabet for each language, without which the spread of Marxism would be impossible. In 1928 about 40 per cent of the Chechens received formal schooling, while only a very few isolated mountain villages had no school at all.[85] In the mountain of Daghestan the illiteracy is still very great. According to statistics of 1926 only about 10 per cent of the men and 1 per cent of the women can read. Nevertheless, it cannot be denied that progress has been made among these mountain peoples too.[86] Today there are enough Lesghians who are able to read to make Russian, Kumykian, Lak, and Avarian newspapers possible.[87] The Lesghian children receive instructions in their mother-tongue only in the first two years at school; after that they must learn either Kumykian or Russian. In secondary schools both languages are obligatory.[88] 212 191

As for home education, a few general remarks will suffice. The education of little children and of all unmarried girls is the task of the mother; the education of the boys is the task of the father.[89] The little children are told to behave 868

[80] Cf. K. N. Rossikov, "Poezdka v Čečnju i Nagornyj Dagestan," ZKO, XIII (1884), p. 249.

[81] A. Zacharov, "Narodnoe obučenie u Zakavkazskich Tatar," SMOMPK, IX (1890), No. 2, pp. 7—51; Mir-Galim-bek Vezirov, "O Tatarskich Školach," SMOMPK, IX (1890), No. 2, pp. 1—6; A. Omarov, "Vospominanija mutaallima," SSKG, I, pp. 13—20; II, pp. 46—70.

[82] Cf. Halil Beg Mussayassul for a description of his schooling in *Das Land der letzten Ritter*, pp. 52—56.

[83] "O rasprostranenii gramotnosti meždu gorcami," SSKG, III (1870), pp. 1—30. The main object of pre-Soviet education was to teach a sufficient number of natives the Russian language.

[84] Of course some attempts had been made before the Revolution. Fifteen years after the Revolution all North Caucasians had a written language. The Latin script was used as foundation for the Cherkess, Abaz, Chechen, Karachai, Balkarian, Avar, Dargwa, Kurin, Lak, Tabassiaran, Kumykian, Nogai, and Tat languages. Cf. G. P. Serdjučenko, "Jazyki Severnogo Kavkaza i Dagestana," *Sbornik lingvističeskich issledovanij*, Moscow-Leningrad, 1935, p. 7.

[85] Plätschke, *Die Tschetschenen*, p. vii.

[86] R. Kherumian, "Contribution à l'Anthropologie du Caucase," *L'Anthropologie*, LII (1948), No. 1—2, p. 44.

[87] Nansen, *op. cit.*, p. 98.

[88] *ibid.*

[89] Ladyženskij, FT, p. 200.